CHAPTER XXXI.

Lord Ellenborough arrived in India in the midst of a disastrous war, and the first event of importance occurring after his arrival partook of the character of too many which had preceded it. The fort and citadel of Ghuznee, so gallantly won by the British arms, returned into the hands of the enemy. The town had been lost at an earlier period. It appears that when the affairs of Shah Shoojah and his ally began to go wrong, Colonel Palmer, the officer commanding at Ghuznee, applied to the British authorities at Kabool for sanction to certain necessary repairs and alterations there, but failed to obtain it. "The infatuation that appears to have seized the chief authorities there," says an officer present at the time in Ghuznee,* "not only hurried them on to ruin at the capital, but also paralyzed us at Ghuznee." It is, however, to be remembered, as some extenuation of the apparent neglect, that there was quite enough to be done and thought of at Kabool.

* Lieutenant Crawford, 3rd Bombay native infantry, narrative published in appendix to Lieutenant Eyre's "Military Operations in Kabool."
to occupy all the energy and all the reflections of those who held command there. They have enough to answer for in connection with the more immediate sphere of their duty, and may claim to be visited lightly for a seeming forgetfulness of the dangers of distant places. "At the eleventh hour," continues the writer above quoted, "the colonel took the responsibility on himself;" and it is certainly to be lamented that he did not assume it at an earlier period, for, it is added, "most invaluable time had been suffered to pass unimproved, and when the enemy made their appearance under our walls, they found us but ill prepared for a siege, especially when it was not man alone we had to combat with, but the rigours of a winter as intense as that of Canada." The inhabitants of the town were believed to be faithful to the British cause. It turned out that this, like many similar convictions, was a delusion. They intrigued with their countrymen outside, and finally provided means for their admittance, when they poured in, in such vast numbers, that the garrison, after fighting for a night and a day, were compelled to abandon the town and retire to the citadel. This was maintained until the 1st of March, more than ten weeks after the loss of the town. During this interval the duty was most oppressive, and the weather frightfully severe. Snow would often fall in the course of a single night to the depth of two feet, and the thermometer was sometimes fourteen degrees below zero. Every officer and man in the place was on duty during eight hours
of the twenty-four; provisions were scarce, fuel still more scarce. The sepoys, compelled to undergo such severity of duty in a climate to which they were unaccustomed, and whose rigours they were unfitted to sustain, rapidly became diseased, and the hospital was soon crowded. The supply of water at last failed, a result accelerated by an occurrence which might otherwise be regarded as of favourable aspect—the disappearance of the snow, on which the garrison mainly depended. This continuation of suffering enforced the surrender of the place, a step which Colonel Palmer had been authorized, and indeed required, to take by the authorities at Kâbool, in pursuance of the arrangements into which they had entered with the Afgân chiefs, but which he had avoided as long as practicable. The evacuation was to be effected on terms according to which the garrison were to march out of the citadel within six days, when a portion of the city was to be assigned for their abode till they could pursue their march from the place, which was to be performed with their colours, baggage, and a sufficient stock of ammunition, and under an escort for protection. To observe the terms of agreement the chiefs solemnly bound themselves by an oath upon the Koran; and on the 6th of March the British troops quitted the citadel, and took up their quarters in the town. The value of an Afgân oath was soon ascertained. On the day after the evacuation of the citadel by the British, they were treacherously attacked by the enemy, and during three days had
to defend themselves in the best manner they were able against the guns of the citadel, so lately at their own disposal, and the furious onsets of countless numbers of fanatics thirsting for their blood. Overtures for a termination of hostilities came at intervals from the commander, Shumsoodeen Khan, nephew of Dost Mahomed, but the horrible conditions tendered for the acceptance of Colonel Palmer were, that all the officers should surrender themselves to the personal care of Shumsoodeen, abandoning the sepoys to the fury of the murderous hordes who surrounded them. This of course was refused, and the slaughter proceeded; officers and men alike falling victims to it. Certain death, sooner or later, seemed to await every individual of the garrison, and this was the impression of the sepoys, who at length, without the knowledge of their officers, held a consultation among themselves, and framed a plan of escaping to Peshawur through a hole in the outer wall of the town, which they forthwith commenced digging. When their determination had been taken, they informed their officers of it, expressing a desire that they would go with them, but intimating that, however this might be, the men would go. Thus virtually deserted, the officers had no choice but to surrender themselves to Shumsoodeen.

The attempt of the sepoys to escape proved a miserable failure. A heavy snow fell, in which they became bewildered as to the route to be pursued, and they were all either cut to pieces or made
prisoners. Had they got clear of the Afghans occupying and surrounding the city, they would have had but little chance of safety. They appear to have utterly mistaken the distance to Peshawur, believing it to be much less than it actually was, and no reasoning could satisfy them of their error, or of the utter impracticability of their reaching the place. The officers fared little better than the sepoys; their lives were preserved, but they were subjected to almost every description of suffering that can add to the necessary and unavoidable evils of imprisonment.

Greatly was the fall of Ghuznee to be lamented, and much its probable effects on the enemy, as well as on the British troops, to be feared. But Jelalabad still happily held out, under the command of Sir Robert Sale. The difficulties with which this most able and most heroic officer had to contend have been already adverted to, but now, when the narrative has advanced to the period when a crisis in the affairs of Jelalabad was impending, it may be proper to notice them somewhat more in detail. He found the walls in a state which, in his own language, "might have justified despair as to the possibility of defending them." Not only was the space inclosed by the walls far too extensive with reference to his force, but their tracing was bad; there was no parapet except for a few hundred yards, and this not more than two feet high. Earth and rubbish had accumulated about the ramparts to such an extent that there were roads in
various directions across and over them into the country. There was a space of four hundred yards together at no point of which, excepting one, the garrison could shew themselves; the population within was disaffected, and without the place was surrounded by ruined forts, walls, mosques, tombs, and gardens, from which a fire could be opened on the defenders at twenty or thirty yards distance.*

It has already been mentioned that the garrison were greatly in want of provisions and ammunition; every possible exertion was made to reduce the consumption of both to the point of necessity, and to procure fresh supplies, while the apparently hopeless task of placing the town in a respectable state of defence was carried on with a vigour and success which seemed to recognize difficulties only to defy and overcome them. The successful sallies by which Sir Robert Sale cleared the vicinity of vast bodies of the enemy have been narrated in their proper place. When the first disastrous news from Kabool reached him, he hoped that Jelalabad might afford a place of refuge to the retreating army from the former place. That hope was met by a miserable disappointment in the intelligence that the Kabool force had been totally destroyed in the Ghiljie defiles. While thus deprived of the opportunity of affording succour to others, Sir Robert Sale was disappointed of that which he

* The substance of this account of the state of the place is taken from Sir Robert Sale's letter to the Government of India, 16th of April, 1842, and the greater part of it in his own words.
expected for himself by the check which the force under Brigadier Wyld received. His position was now most critical, and one of the grounds upon which it had been maintained had ceased to exist. But he determined to persevere. "I might," he says, "whilst our enemies were engaged in plundering the force from Kabool, have attempted and perhaps effected, though with heavy loss, a retreat across Khyber, but I resolved, at all hazards, on not relinquishing my grasp on the chief town of the valley of Ningrahar, and the key of Eastern Afghanistan, so long as I had reason to consider that our government desired to retain it."* The restoration, or rather the reconstruction of the works was now completed. The labour had been great, extending to the removal of a vast quantity of cover for the enemy, the demolition of forts and old walls, the filling up ravines, the cutting down of trees, and sweeping away of gardens. Such were the operations of the destructive kind. In the constructive they had embraced the raising the parapets to the height of six or seven feet, repairing and widening the ramparts, extending the bastions, retrenching three of the gates, covering the fourth with an outwork, and excavating a ditch ten feet in depth and twelve in width round the whole of the walls. "The place," observes Sir Robert Sale, "was thus secure against the attack of any Asiatic enemy not

* Letter from Sir Robert Sale to the Government of India, 16th of April, 1842.
provided with siege artillery.”* The greater part
of their defences, however, were overthrown by one
of those awful visitations not unusual in Afghan-
istan, the effects of which are thus described by Sir
Robert Sale:—“It pleased Providence on the 19th
of February to remove in an instant this ground of
confidence. A tremendous earthquake shook down
all our parapets, built up with so much labour,
injured several of our bastions, cast to the ground
all our guard-houses, demolished a third of the
town, made a considerable breach in the rampart of
a curtain in the Peshawur face, and reduced the
Kabool gate to a shapeless mass of ruins.”†
“Thus,” observes the garrison engineer,‡ “in one
moment the labours of three months were in a
great measure destroyed.” Dispiriting as was this
fearful overthrow of the product of so much time
and labour, it did not paralyze the energies of
either officers or men. No time was lost in lament-
ation or despairing bewilderment; “the shocks had
sarcely ceased when the whole garrison was told off
into working parties; and before night the breaches
were scarped, the rubbish below cleared away, and
the ditches before them dug out, while the great
one on the Peshawur side was surrounded by a good
gabion parapet.”§ It is not easy to give an ade-

* Letter from Sir Robert Sale to the Government of India,
16th of April, 1842.
† Ibid.
‡ Captain Broadfoot, note on works, dated 16th of April, 1842.
§ Note by Captain Broadfoot.
quate impression of the labour performed, or of the noble spirit which prevailed among those who laboured, without quoting at an inconvenient length from official reports. One extract respecting the general result must suffice. "From the following day* all the troops off duty were continually at work, and such were their energy and perseverance that, by the end of the month, the parapets were entirely restored, the Kabool gate again serviceable, the bastions either restored, or the curtain filled in when restoration was practicable, and every battery re-established."† So extraordinary did this appear to Akbar Khan, who had now advanced to a spot about seven miles distant from the place, that he could find only one solution of the difficulty, and unhesitatingly attributed the unlooked for security of Jelalabad to English witchcraft. The enemy soon approached nearer,—Akbar Khan establishing his head-quarters about two miles from the city, and a secondary camp about a mile distant,—invested the place, and kept up a vigorous blockade. Various skirmishes from time to time took place, and the spirit, gallantry, and military skill displayed in them would justify a minute detail of the circumstances of each, did space permit. They must, however, be passed by with this general notice, saving the mention of some of the officers who respectively led the detachments engaged, and who well merited the approbation which they received from the illustrious officer under whom

* February 20th. † Note by Captain Broadfoot.
they served: they were, Colonel Dennie, a name long associated with noble deeds; Captain Broadfoot, garrison engineer, who was severely wounded; Captain Fenwick, of the Queen’s 13th light infantry; Captain Pattison, of the same regiment; Captain Oldfield and Lieutenant Mayne, of Shah Shoojah’s cavalry. These successes, as Sir Robert Sale observed, were “crowned by Providence by the issue of the decisive and brilliant attack on the camp of the Sirdar, on the 7th of April.” Of this attack it will be proper to take somewhat more extended notice. Three columns of infantry were formed, the centre consisting of the larger part of her Majesty’s 13th, mustering five hundred bayonets, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dennie; the left, of the chief part of the 35th native Infantry, also five hundred strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Monteath; and the right, of one company of her Majesty’s 13th, and one company of the 35th native infantry, with a detachment of sappers, the whole amounting to three hundred and sixty, and under the command of Captain Havelock. The columns were to be supported by the fire of the guns, and by the small cavalry force at Jelalabad. The troops issued from the Kabool and Peshawur gates early in the morning, and found the whole force of the enemy, amounting to about six thousand, formed in order of battle, for the defence of their camp, their right resting on a fort, their left on the Kabool river. Some ruined works, recently repaired, were filled with Affghan marksmen, ready to pour forth a fatally directed fire. The attack
was led by the skirmishers and column under Captain Havelock, by whom the extreme left of the enemy's advanced line was pierced. The central column directed its efforts against a square fort upon the same base, which was obstinately defended. And here a calamity occurred for which victory scarcely affords compensation; Colonel Dennie, while leading his regiment to the assault, was mortally wounded, and shortly afterwards breathed his last.* The command of the column thus devolved upon Captain Wilkinson, of the same regiment, and the conflict proceeded. The rear of the work having been with some difficulty gained, orders were given for a combined attack upon the enemy's camp. The Afghans made repeated attempts to check the advance by a sharp fire of musketry, by throwing forward heavy bodies of horse, which twice threatened in force the detachments of foot under Captain Havelock, and by opening guns under cover of a garden wall, served, as it was said, under the personal

* The fall of this gallant officer, so strangely slighted in the distribution of honours and rewards, excited universal regret. One well-deserved mark of honour, which could not have been refused him, came too late to gratify his noble spirit. Medals were bestowed on the officers who distinguished themselves in Afghanistan, and that of Colonel Dennie, with a feeling of delicate attention, was forwarded to his mother, a lady far advanced in years, but whom age had not rendered insensible to the value of the memorial, nor unfitted for gracefully acknowledging it. She received the medal, she said, with pleasure and with pride; she felt that she had a right to be proud of her son's life—and also of his death; a declaration not less worthy of a Roman than of an English matron.
superintendence of the Sirdar, but in vain. The artillery advanced at a gallop, and directed a heavy fire on the enemy's centre, whilst two of the columns of infantry penetrated his line near the same point, and the third forced back his left from its support on the river, driving into it some both of horse and foot. In a very short time the foe was dislodged from every part of his position, his guns captured, his camp involved in flames, and Akbar Khan, with his discomfited army, in full retreat towards Lughman. This defeat in open field by the troops whom he had boasted of blockading was indeed, as stated by Sir Robert Sale, "complete and signal." On the 16th of April, nine days after this memorable affair, the force under General Pollock reached Jelalabad.

General Pollock, on arriving in the camp at Peshawur, had found the four infantry regiments there dispirited by their recent failure;* in truth, a very bad spirit prevailed among them, and, further, the ravages of an epidemic disease had thrown hundreds of men into hospital. Under such circumstances, it was obviously imprudent to attempt to advance, and the junction of her Majesty's 9th foot did not, in the general's opinion, change the state of things so materially as to warrant his taking such a step. Reinforcements were in the rear,† and it was deemed advisable to wait their arrival. It was contrived, however, to open communications with Sir Robert Sale, warning him of the approach of

* See p. 321.  † See notice of the extent, p. 321.
relief, and representing the expediency of waiting for the junction of the whole force destined for the purpose, but intimating, that in case of extreme emergency, an attempt to advance would be made at all hazards. Ultimately, it was resolved not to wait for the infantry regiment, but to move forward as soon as the cavalry and guns arrived; but further delay became necessary, in order to complete arrangements with the Seiks who were to co-operate in forcing the passes. Attempts had been made to purchase the aid of some native chiefs, and some money had been paid, but it seems to little purpose. On the 5th of April, General Pollock found himself in a condition to move forward to force the pass. The task was accomplished, not indeed without difficulty, but with complete success. Two columns were formed to storm the heights, while a third advanced to the mouth of the pass. The severer duty fell to the lot of the flanking columns, the right of which was under Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, of her Majesty's 9th foot, and Major Anderson, 64th native infantry; the left under Lieutenant-Colonel Mosely, of the 64th native infantry, and Major Huish, of the 26th native infantry. The conduct of some jezailgees, under Captain Ferris, was highly spoken of by General Pollock. The arrangements for the protection of the baggage were so complete, that not a single baggage animal was lost. This immunity from plunder is attributable to General M'Caskill, who commanded the rear-guard. After
this encounter, General Pollock experienced little opposition until he arrived in safety, and happily in due time, at Jelalabad.

Kandahar continued to be maintained by General Nott, who, like Sir Robert Sale, refused to recognize the treaty concluded at Kabool, or to yield obedience to the order extorted from General Elphinstone for the surrender of the place. On the 7th of March he moved out of the city, with the larger part of his force, to attack the enemy, drove them before him across the Turnack, and then across the Urgundab. On the 9th he was able to approach sufficiently near to open his guns on them, when they dispersed in every direction and in comparative safety, General Nott being unprovided with cavalry adequate to the task of pursuit. During his absence a strong detachment of the enemy made an attack on the city, and succeeded in burning one of the gates, but they were repulsed, with great loss, by the officer in command of the garrison, Major Lane, of the 2nd regiment of Bengal native infantry.

Less fortunate was an attempt to relieve Kandahar from Sinde. For this purpose Brigadier England, with an inconsiderable force, advanced through the Bolan pass, and arrived safely at Quetta. It was his intention to proceed through the valley of Pisheen to the village of Hykulzie, and there to wait the arrival of reinforcements coming up through the pass; but on reaching the entrance of a defile leading to the village, he unexpectedly found Ma-
homed Sadig, an insurgent chief, strongly posted in
the pass and on the contiguous heights, to oppose
his progress. The difficulty of acquiring accurate
information in a country like that in which the Bri-
tish government were now carrying on war, the
danger of relying on friendly professions, which, in
the East, are bestowed with a reckless profusion
portioned to their want of sincerity, were here
illustrated. At a village only six miles from the
mouth of the defile, the British commander and his
officers had been received by the chief men of the
place with the greatest show of cordiality; but,
though minutely questioned as to the state of the
country, their friendliness did not suffer them to
proceed to the length of warning General England
of the resistance which awaited him. When the
first symptoms of opposition appeared, it was be-
lieved that the force of the enemy was small, and
four light companies, supported by a small reserve
under cover of four guns, were ordered to attack
the hill. The strength of the enemy was concealed
behind a succession of breastworks, with a ditch and
abattis, until the British advance party reached the
crest of his exterior defence, when a vast body
sprang into view, and it became evident that the
contest could not be advantageously maintained.
The four companies engaged consequently fell back
on the supporting column, which had to sustain an
attack from the enemy’s cavalry, who, on the retreat
of the assaulting party, rushed down from the hills.
Their efforts to break the column were, however,
unavailing, and the entire British force moved off in good order and without loss of baggage. Subsequently, General England deemed it advisable to fall back to Quetta. This abortive attempt was attended by the loss of ninety-eight men, killed and wounded. Among the killed were two British officers, Captain W. May, of her Majesty's 41st, and Major Apthorp, of the 20th Bombay native infantry. The action took place on the 28th March.

On the preceding day Colonel G. P. Wymer, commanding a foraging party dispatched from Kandahar, dispersed with great brilliancy a large body of the enemy's cavalry, who hung upon him and threatened the security of his convoy.

In the month of April an event happened which, though of little political importance in itself, may be regarded as relieving the British government from one source of embarrassment in dealing with the affairs of Afghanistan—Shah Shoojah was murdered. Had his life been prolonged, it is not to be supposed that exertions to maintain him on his throne would have been persisted in. British rulers, both at home and in India, were heartily weary of the connection with Afghanistan; and the only questions to be solved were, in what manner and how quickly could it be dissolved? In a communication from the governor-general in council to the commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, dated 15th March, the following observations occur:—

"The commanders of the forces in Upper and Lower Afghanistan will, in all the operations they may
design, bear in mind these general views and opinions of the government of India. They will in the first instance endeavour to relieve all the garrisons in Afghanistan which are now surrounded by the enemy. The relief of these garrisons is a point deeply affecting the military character of the army, and deeply interesting the feelings of their country; but to make a rash attempt to effect such relief in any case without a reasonable prospect of success, would be to afford no real aid to the brave men who are surrounded, and fruitlessly to sacrifice other good soldiers, whose preservation is equally dear to the government they serve. To effect the relief of the prisoners taken at Kabool is an object likewise deeply interesting in point of feeling and of honour. That object can probably only be accomplished by taking hostages from such part of the country as may be in or may come into our possession; and with reference to this object, and to that of the relief of Ghuznee,* it may possibly become a question, in the event of Major-general Pollock effecting a junction with Sir Robert Sale, whether the united force shall return to the country below the Khyber pass, or take a forward position near Jelalabad, or even advance to Kabool. We are fully sensible of the advantages which would be derived from the re-occupation of Kabool, the scene of our great disaster, and of so much crime, even for a week, of the means which it might afford of recovering the prisoners, of the gratification which it would give to

* The fall of this place was not then known.
the army, and of the effect which it would have upon our enemies. Our withdrawal might then be made to rest upon an official declaration of the grounds on which we retired as solemn as that which accompanied our advance, and we should retire as a conquering, not as a defeated power; but we cannot sanction the occupation of an advanced position beyond the Khyber pass by Major-General Pollock, unless that general should be satisfied that he can—without depending upon the forbearance of the tribes near the pass, which, obtained only by purchase, must, under all circumstances, be precarious, and without depending upon the fidelity of the Seik chiefs, or upon the power of those chiefs to restrain their troops, upon neither of which can any reliance be safely placed—feel assured that he can by his own strength overawe and overcome all who dispute the pass, and keep up at all times his communication with Peshawur and the Indus." Similar feelings appear to have been entertained before the arrival of the new governor-general. In a letter of instruction, addressed to Sir Jasper Nicolls shortly before the departure of Lord Auckland,* even the maintenance of Jelalabad is spoken of as an event scarcely to be hoped for. Intelligence, then recently received, is said to have convinced the government that, excepting under some very unforeseen change, no sufficient advantage would be derived from an attempt to retain possession of Jelalabad for any prolonged period

* Under date February 10th, 1842.
during the present season. "The fate," it is con-
tinued, "of the gallant garrison of that place will
probably have been determined before the intima-
tion of our opinion to the above effect can reach
Major-General Pollock. But we would request your
excellency, without delay, to inform the major-gene-
ral that the main inducement for the maintenance
of a post at Jelalabad, namely, that of being a
point of support to any of our troops escaping from
Kabool, having now, it must be feared, unhappily
passed away, it is the object of the government that
he should, unless any unforeseen contingency should
give a decidedly favourable turn to affairs, confine
himself to measures for withdrawing the Jelalabad
garrison in safety to Peshawur, and there for the pre-
sent holding together all the troops under his orders
in a secure position, removed from collision with the
Seikh forces or subjects." A few days afterwards,*
the following instruction, among others, was trans-
mitted to General Pollock by the government of
India, Lord Auckland being still at its head. "On
the whole, you will understand that the great pre-
sent object of your proceedings in Peshawur is,
beyond the safe withdrawal of the force at Jelala-
bad, that of watching events, of keeping up such
communications as may be admissible with the
several parties who may acquire power in the
northern portion of Afghanistan, of committing
yourself permanently with none of those parties,
but also of declaring positively against none of

* 24th February, 1842.
them, while you are collecting the most accurate information of their relative strength and purposes for report to the government, and pursuing the measures which you may find in your power for procuring the safe return of our troops and people detained beyond the Khyber pass.” There was, therefore, no substantial difference on this point between the views of the retiring governor-general and those entertained by his successor. General Pollock, who, from being on the spot, as well as from his military knowledge and habits, could best appreciate the difficulties around him, appears, even previous to his advance through the Khyber pass, to have been deeply impressed with a sense of the fatal consequences, temporary and permanent, which must follow the sudden abandonment of all hope of again establishing British superiority in Afghanistan. “If,” he observed, “I were to advance with the intention of merely withdrawing the garrison of Jelalabad, my success in advancing must chiefly depend on concealing my intentions; for although (if I succeed in any negotiation to open the pass) every precaution will be taken by me to secure a retreat, I must expect that every man will rise to molest our return, as they would be left to the mercy of the Afghan rulers; and I must confess I sincerely believe that our return here, unless I have first an opportunity of inflicting some signal punishment on the enemy, would have a very bad effect both far and near.”

* Letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Luard, February 27th, 1842.
The receipt of the intelligence of the fall of Ghuznee, and of the check received by General England in attempting to advance to Kandahar, seems to have added to the desponding feelings entertained in the highest quarters, and orders were transmitted to General Nott to take immediate means for drawing off the garrison of Kelat-i-Ghilzie, to evacuate Kandahar, and to take up a position at Quetta. "The object of the above-directed measures," it was added, "is to withdraw all our forces to Sukkur, at the earliest period at which the season and other circumstances may permit you to take up a new position there." Subsequently, the governor-general heard of the defeat of the enemy by Sir Robert Sale before Jelalabad, and of the easy retreat of General England to Quetta, but neither of these events seems in his mind to have excited any sanguine hope. In a despatch to the secret committee, dated Benares, 22nd April, after advertsing to these transactions, the governor-general continues: "These several events, although they improve our prospects to some extent, have in no respect altered my deliberate opinion that it is expedient to withdraw the troops under Major-General Pollock and those under Major-General Nott, at the earliest practicable period, into positions wherein they may have certain and easy communication with India. That opinion is founded upon a general view of our military, political, and financial situation, and is not liable to be lightly changed." Three days before the date of the despatch last
quoted, the governor-general, being then aware that General Pollock had entered the Khyber pass, and concluding that he had effected a junction with Sir Robert Sale, thus wrote to Sir Jasper Nicolls, in reference to a previous request that the commander-in-chief would issue instructions which might be necessary for the guidance of General Pollock:—"The object of the instructions which will thus be given to those officers* is to bring their respective corps into easy and certain communication with India. What ulterior destination may be given to those corps when that of Major-General Nott, having drawn off the garrison of Kelat-i-Ghilzie, shall be concentrated ultimately in the vicinity of Sukkur, and that of Major-General Pollock, having drawn off the garrison of Jelalabad, shall be again on this side of the Khyber pass, is a matter for the most serious consideration." After expressing a wish to confer with the commander-in-chief on the subject, and advertting to the possibility of selecting a new line of operations, if aggressive measures should be deemed necessary, his lordship adds the following remark, clearly shewing the tendency of his own judgment: "It will, however, likewise be for consideration, whether our troops, having been redeemed from the state of peril in which they have been placed in Affghanistan, and it may still be hoped not without the infliction of some severe

* His lordship had referred to his own instructions to General Nott, as well as to those requested for General Pollock, and seems here to speak of both.
blow upon the Afghan army, it would be justifiable again to push them for no other object than that of revenging our losses and of re-establishing in all its original brilliancy our military character.”* Sir Jasper Nicolls hesitated to give the required instructions, and thus wrote in answer to the demand for their issue. “I have not ventured to give any instructions to Major-General Pollock. The fifth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh paragraphs of your orders of the 15th March must now guide him.† It is for him alone to decide between the practicability of a forward movement, either upon Kabul or Gundamuck (or its vicinity), and the withdrawal of the whole force to Peshawur. The general is a clear-headed officer, and you have loaded his advance with heavy cautions.”‡

So anxious, however, was the governor-general that instructions of the proposed tenor should be conveyed to General Pollock, and so opposed was he at that time, not merely to an advance, but to maintaining the positions yet held by the British in Afghanistan, that, on being apprized of the hesitation of the commander-in-chief, he took upon himself the task of making to General Pollock a communication of the nature which he had suggested. It is thus conveyed in a letter from the secretary to government,

* Letter from the governor-general to Sir Jasper Nicolls, 19th April, 1842.
† The whole of the 9th paragraph and part of the 10th are quoted, pp. 342, 343, and 344.
‡ Letter of Sir Jasper Nicolls to governor-general, 27th April, 1842.
with the governor-general:—"The aspect of affairs in Upper Affghanistan appears to be such, according to the last advices received by the governor-general, that his lordship cannot but contemplate the possibility of your having been led, by the absence of serious opposition on the part of any army in the field, by the divisions amongst the Affghan chiefs, and by the natural desire you must, in common with every true soldier, have of displaying again the British flag in triumph upon the scene of our late disasters, to advance upon and occupy the city of Kabool. If that event should have occurred, you will understand that it will in no respect vary the view which the governor-general previously took of the policy now to be pursued. The governor-general will adhere to the opinion, that the only safe course is that of withdrawing the army under your command, at the earliest practicable period, into positions within the Kyber pass, where it may possess easy and certain communication with India."* A further communication was, at the same time, made to Major Outram, with a view to the movements of the British forces in Lower Affghanistan. For reasons which do not appear, Sir Jasper Nicolls, on the 29th April, did forward instructions of the character required by the governor-general. They directed General Pollock to "withdraw every British soldier from Jelalabad to Peshawur," to "destroy the fort and any useless guns;" but, it was added, "as there need be no haste in the retreat, when

* Letter from Mr. Maddock to Major-General Pollock, 28th April, 1842.
commenced, you are requested not to leave any trophies.” These orders were qualified by reference to three circumstances, as authorizing, not any wide departure from them, but delay in obeying them. They are thus enumerated. “First, that you may have brought a negotiation for the release of the prisoners lately confined at Buddeeabad to such a point, that you might risk its happy accomplishment by withdrawing. Second, that you may have detached a lightly equipped force to endeavour to rescue them. Third, that the enemy at Kabool may be moving a force to attack you. In this improbable case, should any respectable number of troops have descended into the plain below Jugdulluk with that intent, it would be most advisable to inflict such a blow upon them as to make them long remember your parting effort.” The exceptions under the first and second head were limited by the following observations. “I do not recommend delay in the first case, unless the prisoners are actually on their way to your camp, as no faith can be placed in Afghan promises. The second would of course require that you should await the return of the detachment. I allude entirely to the officers and ladies now or lately at Buddeeabad or its vicinity. Those at Kabool cannot, I think, be saved by any treaty or agreement made under existing circumstances at Jelalabad.”* In ignorance of the issue of these instructions, the governor-general, on the 4th May, A.D. 1842.

* Letter from Sir Jasper Nicolls to Major-General Pollock, April 29th, 1842.
caused a further communication to be made to General Pollock, enforcing the views previously propounded, representing that they had derived additional strength from the victory of Sir Robert Sale and the death of Shah Shoojah, and avowing an expectation that the general had already decided upon withdrawing his troops within the Khyber pass. "The first object of the governor-general's anxiety," it was observed, "has ever been to withdraw with honour into positions of security the several corps of the army which he found scattered and surrounded in Afghanistan. That object," it was added, "may now be accomplished, as respects the army under your command."*

The quotations that have been made from the despatches of the government of India shew an accordance between the views of Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough, as to the course to be pursued with regard to Afghanistan; and they equally shew that those views tended to an evacuation of the country with the greatest possible celerity. It has been shewn, too, that the judgment of some at least of the military authorities was not in favour of this policy. That Sir Jasper Nicolls hesitated to give orders for carrying it into effect, and yielded at last, perhaps rather from a feeling of deference to the governor-general than from any change in his own opinion; while General Pollock, "a good and clear-headed officer," as he was well characterized by the

* Letter from Mr. Maddock to Major-General Pollock, 4th May, 1842.
commander-in-chief, was anxious that some step should be taken to assert the honour of the British name, and disperse the clouds which had been permitted to enshroud it. This feeling was shared by General Nott. As soon as he had reason to doubt the intentions of the government to "redeem the credit of the British arms in Afghanistan," he remonstrated strongly against the indulgence of any craven feeling. Adverting to the noble retention of Jelalabad by Sir Robert Sale, to the reinforcements advanced for its support, and to the unfavourable effect which the abandonment of Kandahar must have upon the means in progress for the relief of the former place, he said, "Under these circumstances, I never had a moment's hesitation as to the course I ought to pursue, so long as discretionary power was left me; and all my arrangements have consequently been made with a view to the present maintenance and future extension, should such prove desirable, of our power in this country."* After dwelling on the importance of standing fast, both at Kandahar and Jelalabad, he says, "If government intend to recover, even temporarily, and for the security of our national honour, their lost position in this country, even if doubtful of the policy that it may be deemed expedient to pursue, I earnestly hope that before any immediate retrograde step is made in either direction, our whole position in Afghanistan will be attentively viewed; and that the effect which

* Letter to Mr. Maddock, 24th March, 1842.
a hasty retirement would certainly and instantly have upon the whole of Beloochistan, and even in the navigation of the Indus, will be taken into consideration. At the present time, the impression of our military strength among the people of this country, though weakened by the occurrences at Kabool, is not destroyed; but if we now retire, and it should again become necessary to advance, we shall labour under many disadvantages, the most serious of which, in my opinion, will be a distrust of their strength among our soldiers, which any admission of weakness is so well calculated to insure: and in what other light could a withdrawal from Jalalabad or Kandahar be viewed?"*

In a subsequent letter General Nott says, "Perhaps it is not within my province to observe, that, in my humble opinion, an unnecessary alarm has been created regarding the position of our troops in this country, and of the strength and power of the enemy we have to contend with. This enemy cannot face our troops in the field with any chance of success, however superior they may be in numbers, provided those precautions are strictly observed which war between a small body of disciplined soldiers and a vast crowd of untrained, unorganized, and half-civilized people constantly renders necessary. True, the British troops suffered a dreadful disaster at Kabool; and it is not for me to presume to point out why this happened, however evident I may

* Letter to Mr. Maddock, 24th March, 1842.
conceive the reasons, and the long train of political and military events which led to the sad catastrophe.”

It thus appears that the military commanders in Afghanistan, certainly the best judges, were far more sanguine, as to the probability of a successful advance, than was either Lord Auckland or Lord Ellenborough. On the 4th of May, the latter nobleman, addressing General Pollock, declared his views as to the immediate retirement of the British troops to be unaltered. On the 6th, writing to Sir Jasper Nicolls, he expressed his approbation of the orders for such retirement, issued by the commander-in-chief. On the 14th his views, however, appear to have undergone a change. Again addressing Sir Jasper Nicolls, his lordship seemed disposed to acquiesce in the retention, for a time, of the positions held by the British commanders. The change is apparently to be ascribed to a communication of the opinion of General Pollock, and of that of the

* Letter to Mr. Maddock, 18th April, 1842. In a letter to General England, of the same date, General Nott makes some remarks highly characteristic, and in every way worthy of the country to which he belonged. “The people of this country cannot withstand our troops in the open field. I am well aware that war cannot be made without loss, but I yet hope that British troops can oppose Asiatic armies without defeat; and I feel and know that British officers should never despair of punishing the atrocious and treacherous conduct of a brutal enemy. * * * I feel obliged to you for pointing out the many difficulties attending our position; but you are well aware that it is our first and only duty to overcome difficulties when the national honour and our military reputation are so deeply concerned.”
commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls. Those opinions were to the effect, that neither the army at Jelalabad, nor that at Kandahar, could properly commence their return march till the autumn. The language of his lordship, however, is that of toleration, rather than of approval. "The advance of the season," he observes, "which really renders the retirement of Major-General Pollock, at the present moment, a measure of some hazard to the health of his troops—the improved facilities which the major-general finds of obtaining supplies of provisions—but more than all, the influence which those now about him, anxious to vindicate the army by some signal blow against the Afghans, and to effect the restoration of the prisoners to liberty by negotiation, supported by force, must necessarily have upon his mind—all these things induce me to apprehend that it will hardly be until October that the major-general will commence his homeward march. Your excellency is of opinion that Major-General Nott cannot safely commence his march to the plains before the same time. It will, therefore, probably not be until the end of November that the army of Major-General Pollock, nor until the end of December that the army under Major-General Nott, will be established within the British territory."* In this letter it is also announced to be the intention of Lord Ellenborough to assemble an army of reserve, in a position from which it

* Letter from the governor-general to Sir Jasper Nicolls, 14th May, 1842.
might advance to the support of either General Pollock or General Nott, a step represented as necessary for the purpose of misleading the Afghans as to the design of the British government to withdraw its armies from the country, "even," it is added, "were there no other object." The other object contemplated is explained to be that of overawing the states of India—a very important one at a period when the influence of the British name had suffered serious diminution. In the Punjab and other countries bordering on the British territories there were sufficient causes for alarm to warrant such a measure, without reference to any endeavour to retrace the march to Cabool. Indeed, such a march seems to have been as remote as ever from the contemplation of the governor-general; and in a letter addressed, on the 25th of May, to Mr. Clerk, resident at Lahore, the opinion formerly expressed,* as to the maintenance, by General Pollock, of an advanced position beyond the Khyber Pass, is again emphatically brought forward. On the 29th of the same month, a communication was made to the general, to prevent his misinterpreting the orders which he had received to retire so as to give the qualified permission to remain a wider range than was intended. The supposed necessity for this caution seems hardly reconcilable with the previous assent of the governor-general to the maintenance of the British positions till October.

A further communication made to General

* See page 344.
Pollock on behalf of the governor-general, bearing date the 1st of June, is couched almost in terms of reproach. After expressing extreme regret that the want of carriage should have rendered the army unable to move, it thus continues: “The retirement of your army immediately after the victory gained by Sir Robert Sale, the forcing of the Khyber Pass, and the relief of Jelalabad, would have had the appearance of a military operation successfully accomplished and even triumphantly achieved. Its retirement, after six months of inaction, before a following army of Afghans, will have an appearance of a different and less advantageous character. It would be desirable, undoubtedly, that, before finally quitting Afghanistan, you should have an opportunity of striking a blow at the enemy; and since circumstances seem to compel you to remain there till October, the governor-general earnestly hopes that you may be enabled to draw the enemy into a position in which you may strike such a blow effectually.”*

To multiply quotations from official papers, and references to such documents, may be tedious, but

* In another part of this despatch, the following passage occurs: “It will be for your consideration, whether your large army, one-half of which would beat in open field every thing that could be brought against it in Afghanistan, should remain entirely inactive during the period which must now apparently elapse before it can finally retire!” General Pollock was not the man to allow his army to remain inactive, when any thing could be gained, either for the honour or interest of his country, by putting it in motion.
in this case it is necessary, in order that it may be distinctly apparent to whom the merit or the blame of the course ultimately taken is due. On the 6th of June the governor-general caused a further communication to be made to General Pollock, intended, like a former one, to guard him against misconceiving his orders. In one of his letters, General Pollock had adverted to the proposed transfer of Jelalabad to the Seiks, and expressed a belief that he should receive a communication on the subject from the resident at Lahore. The object of the governor-general's explanatory intimation was to warn General Pollock that he was not expected to defer his departure from Jelalabad till it should be decided whether the place should or should not be given up to the Seiks, in case that decision should be protracted. Here again, as it was understood and admitted that the British force was not to move till October, there seems to have been little necessity for the extreme anxiety displayed to guard against misapprehension on the point.

The state of affairs in Lower Afghanistan now claims attention. General England, on retiring to Quetta, after the repulse which he experienced in attempting to advance, commenced fortifying the lines and town of that name; but General Nott requiring him again to advance through the Kojuck Pass, and undertaking to dispatch a strong force to meet him, the general, having in the meantime been joined by his expected reinforcements, re-
sumed the march so unfortunately interrupted at Hykulzie. Near that place he again found the enemy posted in a strong position; but on being attacked they rapidly dispersed, and General England and his force arrived at Kandahar with little further interruption.

In May, General Nott, in obedience to his orders, dispatched a large force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wymer, to bring off the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghiljie. On the 20th of May that place was attacked by a body of Ghiljies, consisting of upwards of two thousand. It was gallantly defended by Captain J. Halsey Craigie; and the enemy, after an hour's hard fighting, were beaten back with severe loss. On the 29th of the same month, advantage was taken by the enemy of the reduced strength of the force at Kandahar, caused by the detachment of the troops under Colonel Wymer, to occupy some hills near the city of Kandahar, believing that the force left after marching the detachment was not sufficient to admit of holding the city, and at the same time making an attack in the field. But they were mistaken. General Nott moved out with portions of her Majesty's 41st regiment, the 42nd and 43rd Bengal native infantry, the Bombay light battalion, the 25th Bombay native infantry, the Poonah and the Shah's 1st cavalry, with a detail of horse artillery, and twelve guns. The enemy were in great strength, mustering about eight thousand in position, and two thousand more engaged in guarding the pass and roads leading to their camp.
The troops under General Nott amounted only to about a thousand infantry, two hundred and fifty cavalry, and something more than a hundred artillery-men; but the great disparity of numerical strength availed nothing—the positions of the enemy were rapidly carried in the most gallant style, and in less than an hour.

Colonel Wymer having performed the duty of destroying the works at Kelat-i-Ghiljic, escorted the guns and ammunition in safety to Kandahar. One part of the governor-general's orders was thus fulfilled, much against the inclination of the officer holding the chief command in Lower Afghanistan. General Nott had intended to throw supplies into the place, to make an effort to recover the garrison of Ghuznee from the hands of the enemy, and to make a diversion in aid of General Pollock. All these measures were delayed, and part of them entirely defeated by the instructions received from the governor-general, whose only object, as he avowed, was to effect the safe return to India, of the British troops in Afghanistan. He had acquiesced in their temporary stay at the positions which they occupied, but this was all, and the concession was obviously made with reluctance. There can be no danger of misrepresenting his lordship's views, for his efforts to prevent their being mistaken were unceasing. On the 4th of July he caused a letter to be addressed to General Pollock, with reference to a movement contemplated by that officer. Satisfaction was expressed that the means of making the
intended movement existed, and credit was taken for suggesting it.* But the general was cautioned

* So again Lord Ellenborough wrote on the 8th of July to the secret committee:—"My instructions of the 1st ultimo to Major-General Pollock have induced him to contemplate a forward movement of such portion of his army as he has equipment for." Certainly, the word "induced" was never more inappropriately used. General Pollock wanted no inducement; and to enable the reader to judge whether he received any, the whole of the rousing instructions referred to are submitted. A small portion has been quoted in the text at page 358; but to avoid all appearance of unfairness, the instructions are here given entire.

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo, and to express the extreme regret of the governor-general that your army should be so deficient in carriage as you represent, and thus unable to move.

"The retirement of your army immediately after the victory gained by Sir Robert Sale, the forcing of the Khyber Pass, and the relief of Jelalabad, would have had the appearance of a military operation successfully accomplished, and even triumphantly achieved.

"Its retirement, after six months of inaction, before a following army of Affghans, will have an appearance of a different and less advantageous character.

"It would be desirable, undoubtedly, that, before finally quitting Afghanistan, you should have an opportunity of striking a blow at the enemy; and since circumstances seem to compel you to remain there till October, the governor-general earnestly hopes that you may be enabled to draw the enemy into a position in which you may strike such a blow effectually. You have already full powers to do everything you may deem necessary for the comfort of your troops, and for their efficiency.

"The officers, termed political agents, well acquainted with the country, and with the people, are at your disposal, for the purpose of aiding you in the equipment of your army.

"The governor-general will request the commander-in-chief to select an officer who may be solely responsible for the procuring for your army of the means of movement, and bring into
not to mistake the governor-general’s views, in which he was again emphatically informed, “no efficient co-operation all the several persons now employed for that purpose. This officer will be directed to report weekly to the governor-general, and to the commander-in-chief, and to you.

‘It will be for your consideration whether your large army, one-half of which would beat, in open field, every thing that could be brought against it in Afghanistan, should remain entirely inactive during the period which must now apparently elapse before it can finally retire. Although you may not have, or soon be able to procure, the means of moving your whole army, you may possibly be able to move a part of it rapidly against some portion of the enemy’s force incautiously exposed, and of giving it a severe blow.

“You may possibly be able to throw a portion of your force over the Kabul river, for the purpose of a chuppow, and of bringing in prisoners of importance, whom you may use in exchange. You may make your strength severely felt by sallies of this description, should they be practicable, and create a strong desire, on the part of the enemy, to induce you to leave the country.

“You will recollect, in all you undertake, that you must keep your communications in your own power, and not depend upon Seiks or Afreedees.

“The Seiks you will endeavour to induce to occupy the left bank of the Kabul river, so that the road to your rear may be always unencumbered and free.

“You have properly no political duties; you are to be governed by military considerations alone, to make the force you have at your disposal felt by the enemy, whenever you can, and withdraw it at the earliest period, consistently with its health and efficiency, into positions wherein you may have easy and certain communication with India. The execution of these military objects will, of itself, accomplish all the political objects which the government now has in Afghanistan.

“It has already been intimated to General Nott that it is expected that considerations, connected with the season and the health of his troops, will not enable him to withdraw below the passes till October.”
change" had "from the first taken place." On the same day (so anxious was his lordship not to be misunderstood), General Nott also was addressed for the purpose of guarding him against being misled by the activity of General Pollock. A copy of the cherished instructions of the 1st of June was transmitted with the letter to General Nott, in order that he might not suppose that any change had taken place in the main object of the instructions heretofore furnished. On the same day, however, other letters were addressed to General Pollock and General Nott, which letters were withheld from the records for the sake, it was alleged, of secrecy. The letter to General Pollock consisted only of a few lines, calling his attention to the letter to General Nott, of which a copy was inclosed to him, and suggesting that, in the event of the latter officer taking a particular course, the movements of General Pollock should be regulated accordingly. The letter to General Nott was the important one, and its extraordinary character will justify an extended notice of its contents. It commenced by referring to the understanding that General Nott should not move towards the Indus till October; and after adverting to the despatch of Colonel Wymer to Kelat-i-Ghiljie, and to a supply of camels recently received at Kandahar, thus proceeded: — "I have now, therefore, reason to suppose, for the first time, that you have the means of moving a very large proportion of your army, with ample equipment for any service. There has been no
deficiency of provisions at Kandahar at any time, and, after harvest, you will have an abundant supply." It would not be easy to conjecture to what this prelude was to lead, but it could hardly be expected to lead to what actually follows it. "Nothing has occurred to induce me to change my first opinion, that the measure commanded by considerations of political and military prudence is to bring back the armies now in Afghanistan, at the earliest period at which their retirement can be effected consistently with the health and efficiency of the troops, into positions where they may have easy and certain communication with India, and to this extent the instructions you have received remain unaltered." The matter of the above passage has been repeated so often, and nearly in the same words, that it is calculated to excite no surprise, excepting from the exordium by which it is ushered into notice. That which succeeds offers more of novelty. "But the improved position of your army, with sufficient means of carriage for as large a force as it is necessary to move in Afghanistan, induces me now to leave to your option the line by which you shall withdraw your troops from that country." The words, "improved position of your army," did not, of course, apply to local position, for the army was still at Kandahar, where it had been many months. They must have referred to the supplies of ammunition, treasure, and medicines which had relieved General Nott from the chief causes of his difficulties, and perhaps more particularly to the means of carriage.
placed at his disposal. In furnishing these articles, the governor-general had been most laudably active; and, therefore, the "improved position" of General Nott must have been a "position" which he had for some time contemplated. It is not to be supposed that while exerting himself so laboriously and so honourably, he acted under a persuasion that all his efforts would be thrown away; and why, therefore, he should express a feeling almost approaching to surprise on finding that General Nott's situation was improved, it is not easy to conceive. His lordship proceeds to weigh the comparative advantages of retiring by the line of Quetta and Sukkur, and by that of Ghuznee, Kabool, and Jelalabad; shewing the practicability and ease of passing by the former, and pointing out in very discouraging language the danger and difficulties of the latter. The leaning of Lord Ellenborough's mind was obviously in favour of the easier and less hazardous course; and had such instructions as those under notice been addressed to one not strong in a just confidence in his own judgment, the effect must have been to have turned the scale in favour of such a course. It is not to be believed that the governor-general purposely framed his orders so as to screen himself in any case from blame, while he might secure some share of the praise due to successful enterprise, if enterprise should be determined on. This is not even to be imagined; but if the existence of such an intention could be credited, he might have been expected to issue instructions precisely like
those which were actually transmitted by him to General Nott; issued, as it must be concluded that they were, in an honest and sincere spirit, they must be regarded as relieving the governor-general from all responsibility as to the line of march from Kandahar, but at the same time as depriving him of any claim to praise in respect of that march beyond that which is due to successful exertion in providing the means of making it. His lordship writes: “I do not undervalue the aid which our government in India would receive from the successful execution, by your army, of a march through Ghuznee and Kabool, over the scene of our late disasters. I know all the effect which it would have upon the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of our enemies in Asia, and of our countrymen, and of all foreign nations in Europe. It is an object of just ambition, which no one more than myself would rejoice to see effected, but I see that failure in the attempt is certain and irretrievable ruin, and I would endeavour to inspire you with the necessary caution, and make you feel that, great as are the objects to be obtained by success, the risk is great also.” Subsequently, his lordship speaks of the movement on Kabool as an “adventurous march,” and the tone of the instructions in respect to it is uniformly discouraging and desponding. In a letter to General Nott, dated July 10th, the same tone was preserved. A copy of a letter from General Pollock was inclosed, and it was intimated that efforts were in progress to increase the amount
of carriage at the disposal of the latter officer, but it was added, that the terror of Afghanistan operated so strongly on the drivers, that extensive desertion might be apprehended, and that the animals which left Ferozepore might never reach Jelalabad. General Nott was warned that his success in marching upon Kabool must in a great measure depend on the support to be expected from General Pollock, and the dangers to be apprehended in passing Gundamuck were pressed upon his attention; after which the governor-general thus continued, maintaining strictly the tone of his previous letter: "The return of your two armies to India in a state of efficiency is of more importance than any success you might obtain at a great cost of men; and, as I have already told you, the occurrence of another great reverse would be of very fatal consequence."

Writing to General Pollock a few days afterwards, when, as his lordship stated, he expected General Nott was in possession of his letter of the 4th, above quoted, he says: "My expectation is, that Major-General Nott will feel himself sufficiently strong, and be sufficiently provided with carriage, to march upon Ghuznee and Kabool." Believing, therefore, that General Nott was sufficiently strong to take this step, the governor-general had notwithstanding held language calculated to make the commander doubt its success; and which, if addressed to many men, would certainly have led to its abandonment. With General Nott it had no such effect. The opening sentence of the gallant officer's answer contains the
pith of his decision, and well deserves to be quoted, on account of its soldierly character. "Having well considered the subject of your lordship's letter of the 4th instant; having looked at the difficulties in every point of view, and reflected on the advantages which would attend a successful accomplishment of such a move, and the moral influence it would have throughout Asia, I have come to a determination to retire a portion of the army under my command, via Ghuznee and Kabool.* I shall take with me not a large but a compact and well-tried force, on which I can rely. Your lordship may rest assured that all prudence and every military precaution shall be observed: there shall be no unnecessary risk; and, if expedient, I will mask Ghuznee and even Kabool. But if an opportunity should offer, I will endeavour to strike a decisive blow for the honour of our arms."†

It now remains to trace the progress of the gallant armies permitted to vindicate the reputation of the government and country which they served.

* It seems strange to speak of retirement from Kandahar by Ghuznee and Kabool, but the phrase was the governor-general's, and only adopted by General Nott.

† Letter from General Nott to governor-general, 26th of July, 1842. The confidence placed by General Nott in his troops, and his own ardent attachment to them, are displayed in a letter which he wrote to General Pollock, 30th of May, 1842, giving an account of the withdrawal of the garrison of Kelat-i-Ghilzie, and the attack made upon Kandahar during the absence of the troops employed in the duty. After narrating the gallant conduct of his men, he says, with the enthusiasm of one whose heart was in the subject, "I would at any time lead 1,000 Bengal sepoys against 5,000 Afghans. * * * * My beautiful regiment are in high health and spirits."
The first event to be noticed is the destruction of thirty-five forts in the Shinwavee valley, a short distance from Jelalabad. This service was performed by a force under the command of Brigadier Montcath. The enemy from some adjacent heights contemplated their blazing forts as long as they were allowed to occupy the situation; but their enjoyment of the spectacle was interrupted by an attack from part of the British force, led by Major Skinner, of her Majesty’s 31st, which, aided by a few shrapnel, completely cleared the eminences. A.D. 1842. This affair took place at the latter end of July.

General Pollock moved from Jelalabad on the 20th of August, and on the 23rd was at Gundamuk. Here he learned that a body of the enemy, under two chiefs, held the fort and village of Mammo Khail, about two miles distant, and he determined to attack them on the following morning. Accordingly, at four o’clock, he moved towards the enemy with her Majesty’s 9th foot, the 26th and 60th Bengal native infantry, two squadrons of light cavalry, some sappers and miners, and a light field battery. The enemy at first made a show of resistance, and continued in position so long that it was hoped they intended to resist with their entire force; but they retired as the British troops advanced, and the latter entered the village. The fort and another village in the vicinity were speedily occupied by British troops; others drove the enemy from the hills. Upon the more elevated and precipitous of these a stand was sometimes made, and a sharp fire
of jezails maintained. But the vigour with which the various attacks were pressed rendered these attempts unavailing, and the whole of the enemy's camp equipage, with their carriage cattle, fell into the hands of the English.

General Pollock remained at Gundamuk till the 7th of September, when he marched with the 1st division of his army, commanded by Sir Robert Sale; the second division, under General McCaskill, being left to follow on the 8th. On that day the progress of the first division in its advances towards Jugduluk was interrupted; the hills commanding the pass being occupied by the enemy. These hills formed an amphitheatre, inclining towards the left of the road on which the British troops had halted, and the enemy were thus enabled to fire into the column; the intervention of a deep ravine precluding any direct approach to them. Guns were opened upon them, but with little effect; and their fire in return caused several casualties in the British ranks. It was, consequently, necessary that an attempt should be made to force their position. This was effected with great labour, from the steepness of the ground, but with little fighting; the enemy retiring as the British came near them. But the labours of the day were not at an end. A large body of the enemy took up a position still more formidable than that which they had quitted, planting their standards on the summit of a lofty and almost inaccessible mountain, and shewing every demonstration of an intention to defend them.
From this post of defiance, however, General Pollock determined to dislodge them. In his own words, "the achievements of the day would have been incomplete were they suffered to remain;"* and feeling a just confidence in his troops, he dispatched a portion of them, consisting of her Majesty's 13th, one company of the 6th, one company of the 35th Bengal native infantry, and some sappers, to perform the required duty.

"Seldom," says General Pollock, "have soldiers had a more arduous task to perform, and never was an undertaking of the kind surpassed in execution; these lofty heights were assaulted in two columns, led by Captains Wilkinson and Broadfoot; the discomfited Ghiljies, not relishing an encounter, betook themselves to flight, carrying away their standards, and leaving our troops in quiet possession of their last and least assailable stronghold. It gratifies me," continues the general, "to be enabled to state that we have thus signally defeated, with one division of the troops, the most powerful tribes, and the most inveterate of our enemies, the original instigators and principal actors in those disturbances which entailed such disasters on our troops last winter."† Captain Nugent, sub-assistant commissary-general, was killed in this affair, and Sir Robert Sale slightly wounded.

The first division advanced without further mo-

* Letter to Major-General Lumley, 9th of September, 1842.
† Ibid.
lestation to Tezeen, where they were joined by the second. The cattle belonging to the latter division being fatigued by the march, it was deemed expedient to halt for a day. This was regarded by the enemy as the result of hesitation, and in the afternoon they commenced an attack on the picquets on the left flank. Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, with two hundred and forty men of her Majesty's 9th, being ordered to drive them back, some sharp fighting took place, and the enemy was forced up the neighbouring hills, from the crests of which they kept up a heavy fire, till they were engaged by Colonel Taylor, who, with a small party, contrived to creep up one of the hills unperceived, and to lie concealed till joined by a few more of his men, when rushing on the flank of the astonished Afghans, he put them to rapid flight, pouring on them a destructive fire as they escaped down the hill. This well-planned and admirably-executed scheme relieved the left flank of the British from the enemy, who forthwith withdrew to the right, where they attacked a picquet of eighty men of the 60th Bengal native infantry, under Lieutenant Montgomery. The assault was met with great intrepidity, and Lieutenant Montgomery succeeded in keeping the enemy off till reinforcements reached him, when they were driven back. So close was the conflict, that recourse was frequently had to the bayonet. Repeated attempts upon the picquets were made during the night, but in no instance with success.
This was but the prelude to a more serious attack. The valley of Tezeen is completely encircled by lofty hills, and on the morning of the 13th of September, it was perceived that the enemy had occupied in great force every height not previously crowned by the British troops. On the army commencing to march, the enemy's horse appeared in the valley, with the intention of falling upon the baggage, but the dragoons and native cavalry, by a brilliant charge, put them to the rout, and their flight was attended by considerable loss. On the heights the enemy fared no better, though they made an obstinate defence. On the approach of the British, the Affghans, contrary to their usual custom, advanced to meet them, and the thrust of the bayonet in many instances decided the contest. The conflict, however, was not only severe but protracted, the fight being continued through the greater part of the day. The series of passes called Huft Kabul was defended by the Affghans with great obstinacy, but they were driven in succession from all their positions, which were both numerous and strong, and the British signal of three cheers at length announced that the summit had been gained. The victory was complete, and the loss of the enemy in men severe, in addition to that of their guns, and several standards. The number brought by them into the field was about sixteen thousand, and Akbar Khan in person commanded. At the spot where this battle took place the massacre of the British in the early part of the year was consummated, and here they were
now avenged, the energetic representations of the military authorities having happily succeeded in obtaining permission to perform this act of justice.

The loss of the English was only thirty-two killed. The number of wounded was more considerable, being a hundred and thirty. Among the latter were Captain Lushington, of her Majesty's 9th; Captain Geils and Lieutenant Montgomery, of the 60th native infantry; and Lieutenant Norton, of the 58th native infantry. No British officers were killed; but a distinguished native, named Hyder Ali, who commanded the Jezailchees, and who is noticed by General Pollock as "a most gallant and enterprising soldier," fell in the act of seizing one of the enemy's standards. Attacks on the baggage of the British were frequent during the day; but through the vigilance of Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond, commanding the rear-guard, all failed.

The enemy being completely dispersed, General Pollock pursued his march, and encamped at Khoord-Kabool, without encountering further opposition. On the 14th of September he marched to Boothauk, and on the 15th moved on to Kabool, and encamped upon the race-course there. On the following morning, he proceeded with a party of troops to the Bala Hissar; and there, amid the shouts of the soldiery, the roar of artillery, and the inspiring strain of the British national air, planted the colours of his country to wave in proud triumph over the place from whence, a few months before, a miserable band of British subjects had
crept forth, humiliated, destitute, and spiritless—
relying on the sufferance of a treacherous enemy,
whose vengeance was soon glutted by their destruc-
tion. The counsels of General Pollock and General
Nott had prevailed, and here was the result.

The progress of General Pollock has been traced
to the spot whence the tarnished honour of the
English name called aloud for vindication, and the
blood of slaughtered English subjects for punish-
ment on the murderers. It now remains to deli-
neate that of his gallant coadjutor. It has been
intimated that General Nott proposed to take only
a portion of his force to Ghuznee and Kabool. The
rest retired, under General England, by way of
Quetta, and pursued their march with little molesta-
tion. General Nott commenced his march on the
9th of August, with her Majesty’s 40th and 41st
foot, the 2nd, 16th, 38th, 42nd, and 43rd Bengal
native infantry, the 3rd Bombay light cavalry, and
some irregular horse, a troop of Bombay horse artil-
ler y, two companies of foot artillery (one Bengal
and one Bombay), a troop of the Shah’s native horse
artillery, and some sappers. The number of guns
was twenty-two, of various calibre. A large stock
of ammunition was taken, and forty days’ provi-
sions. Nothing beyond the ordinary annoyances of
a march through a hostile country occurred, till the
28th of August, when an attack on the rear-guard,
by a body of the enemy, required the despatch of
some cavalry to disperse the assailants. This duty
was satisfactorily performed by two parties of irre-
A more serious affair occurred on the same day. The enemy having fallen on some grass-cutters, while engaged in their labours, Captain Delamere, of the 3rd Bombay light cavalry, with two companies of that regiment, and about three hundred irregulars, set off to rescue them. The enemy retired precipitately, and led on the British party a considerable distance, till the pursuers unexpectedly confronted a vast force, believed to be the army of Shumsoodeen, the Afghan governor of Ghuznee. Retreat was, of course, inevitable; but it was commenced in an orderly manner. The enemy, however, closing in upon the retreating force, to within fifty or sixty yards of them, and pouring a heavy fire, it became necessary to make an attempt to drive the foe to a greater distance. The squadrons were accordingly ordered to front, and one of them to charge. The charge was intrepidly executed; but a tremendous fire of matchlocks being brought in aid of the enemy's force, their assailants were hurled back in disorder. They rallied at the distance of a few hundred yards, though still under a heavy fire, and the retreat was thenceforward conducted in good order. The loss sustained was heavy, and it included several valuable officers. Captains Bury and Reeves, of the 3rd Bombay cavalry, were killed; the former is said to have cut down four of the enemy before he was overpowered. Captain Ravenscroft and Lieutenant Mackenzie, of the same regiment, and Lieutenant Chamberlain, of the Shah's horse, were wounded, the two former severely.
The attack on the grass-cutters was said to have proceeded from the occupants of a fort in the vicinity, to which the attention of the British commander was now directed. On his approaching it, some unarmed persons came out to supplicate his forbearance, representing that themselves and their companions had taken no part in the attack. Captain F. White, with the light company of her Majesty's 40th, was thereupon ordered to enter, and ascertain, by examination, whether there was reason to believe the representation to be true; but on advancing, with Major Leech, who acted as interpreter, they were greeted by a volley of matchlock balls. The company, with Captain White, thereupon rushed in, and another company of the 40th, the light company of the 41st, and some companies from native regiments, were ordered to their support. The fort was found full of people, all armed, and resisting. The assailants were infuriated by the treacherous scene just executed before them, and the horrors common on such occasions followed. Every man that was met was put to the sword, the place was set on fire, and in a short time was a mass of blazing ruins.* The hollowness of the assertion by which

* The Rev. J. H. Allen, an assistant chaplain on the Bombay establishment, who was present on the occasion, has given a narrative of the affair in his "Diary of a March through Sinde and Afghanistan," published in 1843. In a despatch, dated 29th of August, 1842, General Nott transmits an account of the dispersion of the party which attacked the grass-cutters early in the morning of the preceding day; but no allusion is made to what followed, though the despatch bears date the day after the occurrence.
it was sought to divert the British commander from attacking the fort was demonstrated by the seizure, among other spoil, of a string of camels bearing the commissariat brand.

On the 30th of August, Shumsoodeen was in the vicinity of the British camp in great force, and General Nott moved out with about half his troops to meet him. The enemy's left was upon a hill of some elevation; their centre and right extended along a low ridge, until their flank reached a fort filled with their men. This fort appears to have been the first object of attack by the British force; and it does not seem that the attempt was successful.* During the time thus occupied, a cannonading was maintained on both sides with apparently no great effect; but on the advance of the British columns the enemy gave way and dispersed in all

Strangely enough, too, in a despatch dated the 31st of August, giving an account of an action on the 30th, a return is forwarded of killed, wounded, and missing, in the engagements with the enemy, on the 28th and 30th of August, 1842; which return contains the names of the officers who suffered in the affair of which no report was made. How it could totally escape notice in official communications, it is impossible to conjecture. That the omission was intentional, is not to be believed; first, because such an intention would not be creditable; and, secondly, because no one could indulge the expectation, that all knowledge of facts witnessed by thousands of men could be suppressed. The only official notice of any part of the later proceedings of the 28th of August is found in a letter from Captain Delamere to the adjutant-general of the army, dated 26th of September, twenty-nine days after the occurrence; and this seems very imperfect.

* The authority of Mr. Allen is here followed. The official report is quite silent on the point.
directions.* Their tents and an immense quantity of ammunition were captured, and two guns, one of which was broken by the shot of the British, and left on the field, the other brought in by Captain Christie and Lieutenant Chamberlain, of the irregular horse.

A.D. 1842. On the 5th of September, General Nott was before Ghuznee. The hills north of the city were cleared of the enemy and occupied by the British. The camp was established at Rozeah, about two miles and a half distant, and preparations were actively commenced for assault, a principal attack, supported by two false ones, being meditated. Throughout the night the besiegers carried on their preparations, and the enemy appeared to be in some degree on the alert. A brisk matchlock fire had been commenced early in the evening, but it gradually slackened, and after a time ceased altogether. At dusk the enemy's infantry had been observed crossing the river near the water gate, with the intention, it was supposed, of attacking the working party during the night, but in the morning it was ascertained that the place had been evacuated, and before sunrise both town and citadel were in quiet possession of the invaders. There being no enemy, the sole labour of the victors was that of destruction, and the 7th and 8th of September were employed in this work. Fourteen mines were

* The official details of this action are singularly vague and general; but happily it is quite clear that the defeat of the enemy was complete.
sprung in the walls of the citadel, all with effect, and the gateways, both of the citadel and town, with the roofs of the principal buildings, were fired. Among the trophies of success, were the gates of the tomb of Mahomet of Ghuznee, believed previously to have belonged to the temple of Somnath, respecting which the governor-general had expressed considerable interest. On the 10th, General Nott marched from Ghuznee, and on the 14th and 15th his army had to dislodge about 12,000 men, occupying a succession of heights, and intercepting his march upon Beenee Badan and Mydan. On the 16th, General Nott was at Urghundee, and on the 17th within five miles of Kabool, which city General Pollock had previously entered.

The Afghan war was now drawing to a close. No party had ever contemplated any attempt to re-establish permanently the British power in the country; but it was deemed expedient to dispatch a force under Major-General McCaskill* against Istalif, a rather large and populous town in Koh-i-daman, upwards of twenty miles distant from Kabool, in a north-westerly direction. The force encamped within four miles of the place on the

* Consisting of two eighteen-pounders and a detail of artillery (Bombay), Captain Blood's light field battery, Captain Backhouse's mountain train, head-quarters and two squadrons of her Majesty's 3rd dragoons, one squadron of the 1st light cavalry, Christie's horse (irregular), her Majesty's 9th and 41st foot, the 26th, 42nd, and 43rd native infantry, and Captain Broadfoot's sappers and miners.
28th of September, and on the evening of that day a reconnoissance was made. The position of the place was found extremely strong. The town, which was composed of masses of houses and forts, was built on the slope of a mountain, in the rear of which appeared yet loftier eminences, shutting in a defile leading to Toorkistan. No mode of access was discernible except by surmounting ridges of hills separated by deep ravines, or threading by narrow roads a series of gardens, vineyards, and orchards, fenced in, with strong inclosure walls; the whole of which, with the mountain sides and the tops of the houses, were occupied by Jezailschees. The confidence which the enemy reposed in the strength of the place was attested by their having retained within the town the women and children of the inhabitants, as well as those of numerous refugees from Kabool.

Notwithstanding these indications of difficulty, General McCaskill ventured upon an assault, and soon after daylight broke on the morning after his arrival the troops were in motion in two columns; the right, to which was attached the mountain train, commanded by Brigadier Tulloch; the left, which was accompanied by Captain Blood's battery and the eighteen-pounders, by Brigadier Stacy. A third column, composed of a wing of her Majesty's 4th, and the cavalry under Major Lockwood, and commanded by Major Simmons, was allotted as a reserve. Captain Christie's horse protected the baggage. The columns in their
progress met with some annoyances from the Jezailchees, but these were repressed by the light troops and guns. The point selected for attack was a village called Ismallah, which Brigadier Tulloch’s column assaulted on its left, while that of Brigadier Stacy, by making a long detour, attacked its right. The former column came into action first, but was followed after no great delay by the other. The combined attacks were marked by extraordinary steadiness as well as impetuosity, and the enemy gradually gave way, until the inclosures, forts, heights, suburbs, and town were successively won by the assailants. The reserve established itself on the lower heights, all beyond being in possession of the columns which had preceded. A vast amount of property was found in the town, and two guns were taken, one of which was immediately turned on the enemy by its captor, Lieutenant Elmhirst, of her Majesty’s 9th foot. This regiment distinguished itself greatly in the assault, as did also her Majesty’s 41st, the 26th, 42nd, and 43rd native infantry, and the sappers and miners. The loss sustained was not severe; one officer only was killed, Lieutenant Evans, of her Majesty’s 41st. A considerable part of the town was destroyed by the captors before they quitted it.* The same fate

* Reports of great enormities perpetrated at Istalif by the British troops having been circulated, the general commanding was called upon to offer such explanation as he might be able to afford. From his statement, it appeared that for a certain period the men were allowed to appropriate such things as they might
awaited Charekar, and was carried into effect by the same hands.*

find, in conformity with a practice which, whether justifiable or not, seems pretty well established. General McCaskill further stated, that his orders were to ruin the town, but that not more than one-third was destroyed; the attention of the engineers having been directed chiefly to the destruction of the better sort of buildings. It had been alleged, that atrocious outrages on women had been committed. General McCaskill declared that only one such instance had come to his knowledge; that the conduct of the soldiery towards women had been almost universally good; that when the troops attained the highest part of the town, large numbers of women and children were making their way up the mountain, among whom men were interspersed, who fired on the British soldiers, but that the latter abstained from returning the fire, lest they should injure the women; that at the same time many women and children were so far in the rear that they were intermingled with our foremost troops, who suffered them to proceed entirely unmolested; that about fifty women, captured in the town, were conveyed under an escort to the British camp, where they remained in safety during the night close to the tent of the chief, Jan Fishan Khan, and were next morning sent to one of his forts; that on the day of the storm the sepoys of the 26th native infantry were employed in conducting to the head-quarters of Brigadier Tulloch aged and infirm men and women, and young children, who received food and covering, and were left in safety when the troops withdrew. General McCaskill also denied that in any case Affghans had been murdered in cold blood. General Pollock gave a general denial to the charge of perpetrating excesses, made against the British troops in Afghanistan; and General Nott offered a like denial in very indignant terms.

General McCaskill seems to have satisfactorily disposed of the

* Some account of the attempt to defend Charekar, and of the ultimate escape of Major Pottinger and Lieutenant Houghten from Herat to Kabool, after being abandoned by the garrison of the former place, will be found at pp. 268, 269.
But far more gratifying than any exercise of vindictive justice, however signal and necessary, was the recovery of the prisoners, for whose safety the most serious apprehensions had long been entertained. Akbar Khan had threatened to carry them to Toorkistan, and there distribute them as slaves; a threat which the character of him by whom it was uttered rendered of very probable fulfilment. Saleh Mahomed Khan, who had charge

the charge made against the troops engaged at Istalif, and the general correctness of the statements of General Pollock and General Nott is not to be impugned. It is to be feared, however, that the excited state of the men's feelings, created by the treacheries of which their comrades had been the victims, led in some instances to individual acts which cannot be defended. The following story is related at page 176 of "A Narrative of the late victorious Campaign in Affghanistan," by Lieutenant Greenwood, of H.M.'s 31st regiment: "There is a ferocity about the Afghans which they seem to imbibe with their mothers' milk. One of the officers of the 9th regiment related to me an occurrence which took place during the action, when they forced the Khyber Pass. In storming one of the heights, a colour serjeant was killed; and from some cause or other his body was left where it fell. A soldier of the same corps happening to pass by the spot some time after, saw a Khyber boy, apparently about six years of age, with a large knife, which his puny arm had scarcely sufficient strength to wield, engaged in an attempt to hack off the head of the dead serjeant. The young urchin was so completely absorbed in his savage task, that he heeded not the near approach of the soldier, who coolly took him up on his bayonet and threw him over the cliff." This story, professedly introduced as exhibiting an instance of "Afghan ferocity," seems quite as well calculated to illustrate European "ferocity." It is to be lamented that the execrable act of the English soldier, committed "coolly," as is justly said, should be passed by the narrator without one word of reprobation.
of the prisoners at Bameean, had received orders to remove them to a greater distance. "All hope of deliverance," says Lieutenant Eyre, "seemed now at an end; and we endeavoured to resign ourselves to a fate that seemed inevitable. But Providence had mercifully ordained otherwise. At ten p.m.* to our unbounded astonishment, Major Pottinger† came to inform us, that Saleh Mohamed Khan had offered to make us over to the British general, on condition of our securing to him the payment of 20,000 rupees in ready cash, and 1,000 rupees per month for life." The latter sum was the amount of his pay, as commander of a regiment.‡ General Shelton and Colonel Palmer refused to become parties to this agreement, lest they should implicate themselves with Akbar Khan; but the remainder of the British officers resolved to embrace the chance presented to them, and, if treachery should be manifested, to endeavour to master the guard, and hold possession of the fort till succour should arrive. They had not, however, occasion to resort to this desperate attempt. Saleh Mohamed gave no cause for suspicion;

* On the 11th of September.
† The officer referred to is Major Eldred Pottinger, brother of Sir Henry Pottinger.
‡ Narrative, p. 368. The merit of effecting the extraordinary change in the fortune of the prisoners, and of the conversion of Saleh Mohamed Khan into a friend, is claimed by an individual named Mohun Lal, who had been moonshee to Sir Alexander Burns. Mohun Lal represents that, at much personal risk, and at the hazard of being subject to great expense, he contrived, through the agency of another native, named Syud Moortza Kashman, to assail the weak point of the officer in charge of the prisoners.
and the decisive conduct of Major Pottinger, in nominating a new governor of the province, in the name of the British government, secured the obedience of that numerous body who are always prepared to give their adhesion to the party that seems to be in the ascendant.* The Huzareh chiefs declared in favour of the British party, and the latter commenced its march unmolested. General Pollock being apprized of the turn which affairs had taken at Bammeean, caused a body of 700 Kuzzulbash horse to advance towards that place, accompanied by Sir Richmond Shakespear. The zeal with which this movement was executed is proved by the fact of the force having traversed ninety miles of mountainous country in two marches. Four days after the departure of the Kuzzulbash force on this duty, General Pollock dispatched a force, under Sir Robert Sale, to occupy the Urghandee Pass. On the 17th of Sep-

* Lady Sale, in the following passage, bears testimony to the admirable manner in which Major Pottinger sustained the character which had so unexpectedly devolved upon him:—"It would be great injustice to Major Pottinger, not to mention the active part he took in affairs. From his perfect knowledge of the Persian language, and his acquaintance with the manners and customs of the people, he well knew how to manage them, and take advantage of the slightest opening on their part in our favour. His coolness and decision were only equalled by the promptness with which he met the wishes of the chiefs; giving them barats on the neighbouring lands, empowering them to receive the government rents, &c.; all which documents, though he executed them with an air of great condescension, and with the gravity of a judge, he well knew were mere pieces of waste paper; yet they had a magic charm for the time, which was all we required."

tember, the emancipated prisoners were met by Sir Richmond Shakespear and the Kuzzulbashes; and on the 20th, they re-entered Sir Robert Sale's camp at Urghandee.* The illustrious veteran had arrived at that place on the preceding day; it was the anniversary of his birth, on which he numbered sixty years. Having halted for the night, he left his camp standing, and mounted to meet the returning captives, whom he had then the happiness of placing in triumph under the protection of the brave men who had been the sharers of his toils and his glory.†

* It was well that the British officers were not compelled to have recourse to force, either before quitting the fort in which they were confined, or on the road. The spirit of their followers was so entirely broken, that no reliance could be placed upon them. This lamentable state of feeling is illustrated by the following anecdote related by Lady Sale:—"Here [on the march to Killer Topchee] Saleh Mohamed Khan came up to us, and speaking in Persian to Captain Lawrence, told him that he had succeeded in getting a few muskets, which, together with ammunition, he had brought with him on a camel, and requested that he would ask the men which of them would take them, it being his wish to form a small advance-guard of Europeans as a show. Captain Lawrence then said, 'Now, my lads, here's Saleh Mohamed Khan has brought arms and ammunition for some of you; who volunteers to take muskets?' I blush to record, that a dead silence ensued. Thinking the men might be shamed into doing their duty, I said to Lawrence, 'You had better give me one, and I will lead the party;' but there was still no offer, and he told our general that it was useless, and he had better take them on. It is sad to think the men were so lost to all right feeling."—Journal, pp. 430, 431.

† Among those captives, it will be remembered, were the gallant officer's wife and daughter; the latter of whom he had left a happy wife, but met, alas! a widow. It would be wrong
Nothing now remained but to withdraw the army to India; and this operation was effected with little annoyance—none of sufficient importance to call for notice in this work. As the British government renounced all connection with Afghanistan, there was no motive for retaining Dost Mahomed and the other Afghan prisoners in captivity. Their intended release was accordingly announced in a government notification, couched in that grandiloquent tone which seems to have been inseparably associated to record the meeting in any other than the simple but expressive language of Lady Sale:—"It is impossible to express our feelings on Sale's approach. To my daughter and myself, happiness, so long delayed as to be almost unexpected, was actually painful, and accompanied by a choking sensation, which could not obtain the relief of tears. When we arrived where the infantry were posted, they cheered all the captives as they passed them; and the men of the 13th [Sir Robert Sale's regiment] pressed forward to welcome us individually. Most of the men had a little word of hearty congratulation to offer, each in his own style, on the restoration of his colonel's wife and daughter; and then my highly-wrought feelings found the desired relief, and I could scarcely speak to thank the soldiers for their sympathy, whilst the long-withheld tears now found their course. On arriving at the camp, Captain Backhouse fired a royal salute from his mountain-guns; and not only our old friends, but all the officers in the party, came to offer congratulations, and welcome our return from captivity."—Journal, pp. 436, 437.

A few of the prisoners, who had been prevented by sickness from moving with the rest to Bameean, were released by a party of Kuzzulbashes, and reached the British camp before their companions. Captain Bygrave, who remained in the hands of Akbar Khan, after the liberation of the remainder of the prisoners, was voluntarily released by the chief. General Elphinstone had died in captivity.
with our Aflghan expedition.* One act, marked by singularly bad taste, was threatened, but not performed. It was publicly intimated to be the intention of the governor-general to parade the prisoners for exhibition at a grand military show to be got up at Ferozepore. The motives which led to the abandonment of the design are not known; and in the absence of authentic information, it would be worse than useless to attempt to conjecture them. It is well that our national reputation escaped the stain which would have been incurred by a renewal of one of the most barbarous practices of bygone times, in the production of an array of captive princes to grace the triumph of conquerors. The pageant, however, took place, though the actors chiefly relied on for attraction were withdrawn. Still it seems to have been a showy spectacle; and, perhaps, the stage of Drury-lane Theatre has not often presented any thing better calculated to please the "children of a larger growth," who delight in such displays. There were painted elephants, triumphal arches, waving banners, and roaring artillery. The curtain had fallen on the tragedy, and, in accordance with theatrical usage, a

* This remark is not intended to apply to the communications of the officers engaged in the war, but to the official publications of the government, from that which announced the formation of the "Army of the Indus," to the last issued in connection with the war. Some of these writings have caused much amusement, and will certainly be read with wonder, if not with incredulity, by the men of the coming age.
splendid pantomime followed. This latter performance, it is to be presumed, afforded gratification to its contrivers; and if it effected this, its object was, without doubt, answered. And thus, with masking and mummer, terminated a war more calamitous than any which Britain had previously waged in the East—a war, the termination of which, but for the noble spirit evinced by those intrusted with high military command, would have left the name of our country a by-word of reproach; would have roused every unfriendly state to active hostility, and have placed in mortal peril, not merely the supremacy, but the very existence of British power in India.

The lesson is an awful one, and it is to be hoped that it may not be lost. We commenced a war, which indeed upon the principles of justice was not to be impugned, but which it is now obvious was utterly unwarranted by prudence. The information upon which this important step was taken was altogether unworthy of trust, and indeed intelligence got up for an occasion is seldom calculated for any thing but to mislead. The natives will furnish to order any information that is wanted, and though such Europeans as the British government mostly employs as its agents will not knowingly deceive those to whom they are responsible, they are to a great degree at the mercy of native informants, and consequently their communications are often worse than useless. It is idle to suppose that the most acute and well-prepared man can, by a residence of a few weeks or a few months in a strange...
country, acquire such a perfect acquaintance with
it as would justify any government in risking much
upon his report. The men of unbounded confidence
and popular and plausible talent who undertake such
missions, and thereby raise themselves to eminence,
are the only parties who derive any real benefit from
them. The very fact of their appearing in a public
character is a bar to their obtaining any information
worth having. Every one who has intercourse with
them is on his guard, and nothing is presented to
them without being coloured for the purpose. The
wily government of Russia understands the business
better than it yet appears to be understood else-
where. That government has, in every place where
an object of sufficient importance is in view, agents
carefully selected with a view to their qualifications,
but not maintaining any public character, not
recognized by the government under which they
dwell, and not even known by it. Far distant be
the day when Britain shall imitate the aggressive
and profligate policy of Russia, but we may law-
fully and beneficially avail ourselves of her example
to improve that much-neglected branch of our
diplomatic establishments which is devoted (or
should be devoted) to the collection of information.
The expense would be trifling, compared with the
amount of benefit; it would even be trifling in itself,
for unaccredited agents require nothing for show
and splendour. The advantages of such a system
would not soon be apparent; we could not venture
at an early period to act upon the stock of intel-
ligence thus acquired. But here again we should learn from Russia to wait till the proper time arrives for striking, and avoid the mischances which result from striking too soon.

The war with Affghanistan was commenced unadvisedly, and was throughout prosecuted without circumspection; hence the blame must rest upon the heads of the chief military authorities. Our army marched to Kabool, but military students will not derive much profit from the study of the campaign that brought it there, except it be in the way of caution against the errors committed on the route. The engineering talent displayed at Ghuznee, and the heroic bearing of those who pushed to completion the success thus begun, will shew that there was no lack of either military ability or daring courage in the army sent to re-seat Shah Shoojah on his throne; but the far-seeing sagacity which discerns every possible contingency, and the prudence which provides for the occurrence of each, appear to have been altogether wanting. Again, no sooner was Shah Shoojah acknowledged sovereign, than it was concluded that the object of the war was attained. We had enthroned that prince at Kabool, and were satisfied. It was desirable to retrench the enormous expense to which we had been subjected, and we therefore, in spite of the most unmistakeable intimations to the contrary, deluded ourselves into the belief that what we had been told of Shah Shoojah's popularity was true. Then came the fearful outbreak which seems
to have paralyzed all but the envoy Sir William Macnaghten and a part of the military officers, unfortunately not of the highest rank, and possessing no influence save that which was derived from talents and character. The results were the destruction of the army at Kabool, and the triumph of those who were believed to be without power. All this was gloomy enough, but a yet darker cloud hung over British prospects, when it was proposed, after the rescue of the garrison of Jelalabad, to withdraw the Anglo-India troops from Afghanistan without any satisfactory vindication of the national honour. The design was frustrated, and though our countrymen cannot recur to the war in Afghanistan without sorrow, they may at least look to its conclusion without shame.
CHAPTER XXXII.

The festivities of Ferozepore closed with noise and show the chapter of British adventure in Afghanistan; but there was another country bordering the western frontier of the English possessions in India with which unadjusted differences yet existed. In regard to Sinde, the time for painted elephants and the other constituent parts of Oriental spectacle had not arrived. Diplomacy and intrigue were there actively at work. A British force was in the country, and the question of the continued existence of Sinde, as even a nominally independent state, trembled in the balance which the active commander of that force held in his grasp and directed at his will.

To understand the relations then existing between Sinde and the Anglo-Indian government, a brief retrospect will be necessary. For a considerable period preceding the year 1786, Sinde was ruled by a tribe called Kulbooras. At that period the Kulbooras, after a series of struggles extending over several years, were displaced by another tribe, the Talpoors, the chief of which was named Meer Futteh Ali. This personage assigned distinct portions of the conquered country to two of
his relations; and thus arose the states of Khyrpoor and Meerpoor. But the larger division of territory was retained by Futteh Ali himself, in connection with his three brothers, whom, by a strange arrangement, he associated with him in the government. This chief state contained the capital of the country, Hyderabad, and from this cause was generally called by that name. The extraordinary mode of government introduced by Meer Futteh Ali continued to be maintained after his death, and was imitated at Khyrpoor, where a plurality of Ameers claimed and exercised authority, though one was recognized as chief.

The efforts of the East-India Company to prosecute their commercial pursuits in Sinde had never been very successful. The earliest attempt to establish a factory seems to have been made in the year 1758; but the establishment was withdrawn in 1775, under instructions from England. The reason for the withdrawal was not the absence of mercantile promise, but the existence of differences with the government, which led probably to the apprehension of serious danger to the factory, and those who conducted its affairs. Twenty-four years elapsed without any endeavour on the part of the East-India Company to revive their mercantile connection in Sinde; but in 1799 permission was obtained for the establishment of a factory at Tatta, and it was subsequently sought to extend the transactions of the company to Kurrachee. The Kulboora dynasty had now given way to that of Talpore; but the new
rulers were not more favourably disposed to foreign commerce than the old ones. The chief of the British establishment was peremptorily ordered to quit Kurrachee, and confine his operations to Tatta; and after a few months he and his associates were expelled from Sinde altogether. So many important affairs then, and for some time afterwards, pressed upon the attention of the Anglo-Indian government, that for some years Sinde and its jealous spirit of exclusion seem to have been little thought of. In 1809, however, a treaty, singularly brief and dry, was concluded between the British government and that country, the only noticeable article in which provided for the exclusion of the French from Sinde. In 1820, another treaty was concluded, by which all Europeans and Americans were excluded from settling in Sinde, while it was stipulated that the subjects of each of the contracting states should be allowed to reside in the dominions of the other, so long as they should conduct themselves in an orderly and peaceable manner. The Ameers also undertook to restrain all tribes and persons within their limits from making inroads upon the British dominions, or committing depredations within them. Thus matters stood, the British and Sindean governments treating each other with a cold and restrained civility, till 1832, when the opening of the Indus for the purposes of commerce became a favourite object with the Anglo-Indian government, as well as with the mercantile community at home. Through the
agency of Colonel Pottinger* a treaty was concluded with Khyrpoor by which the use of the river and roads within the limits of that state was secured to the merchants of Hindostan, upon whatever terms might be settled with the government of Hyderabad, and a written statement of just and reasonable duties was to be furnished. A treaty, having the same object, was more reluctantly acceded to by the rulers of Hyderabad, whose jealousy was distinctly marked by the conditions which they attached to the privilege of navigating the river, and traversing the roads. They were these: first, that no military stores should be conveyed by either; secondly, that no armed vessels or boats should be used on the river; thirdly—and this restriction is the most remarkable of all, seeing that by the treaty of 1832 the subjects of the British government were entitled to remain in the dominions of the Ameers—that no English merchants should settle in Sinde, but should come as occasion might require; and “having stopped to transact their business,” should return to India.† Further; merchants from British towns were to be provided with passports, the grant of which was to be duly intimated to the authorities of Hyderabad, by whom a scale of duties was to be fixed, and not departed

* Now Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., C.B.

† The fears of the Ameers were not confined to themselves. It is said that a Syud, while gazing on the boat which, in the year preceding the treaty, conveyed Captain Burns up the Indus, exclaimed, “Alas! Sinde is now gone, since the English have seen the river.”
from. A supplementary treaty, bearing date two days later than that last noticed, promised that the table of duties to be levied by the Ameers should be examined by officers of the British government, versed in affairs of traffic; and if it appeared to them too high, the government of Hyderabad, on a representation to that effect, was to reduce the duties. This was certainly one of the most extraordinary stipulations ever inserted in a commercial treaty. It virtually gave to the British government the power of fixing the duties to be levied by the government of Hyderabad on foreign goods passing through their territories. The concession of such a power evincs great confidence, or great fear; to which motive it is to be attributed is a question which it would be a waste of time to discuss. The time necessary for making the inquiries requisite to a just determination of the amount of toll to be levied seems to have been considerable; for it was not till the 23rd of December, 1834, that the scale was settled. This was effected by an additional treaty with Hyderabad, bearing date on that day.

Some time afterwards, Sinde was threatened by Runjeet Singh. The British government was not unwilling to undertake the office of a mediator between the parties; but it would seem as though something more was looked for than the preservation of peace. If this only had been the object, it might have been effected without any important change in the subsisting relations between the two
states. A most important change was, however, contemplated by the British government, and it may best be explained in their own words:—"We considered it our duty to endeavour to induce the Maharajah to lay aside his hostile intentions. It appeared to us, also, that this opportunity ought not to be neglected, of establishing the British influence on a solid basis in Sinde, a country which is of great importance to us, both from its commanding the entrance to the Indus, and from its position in reference to the Punjab and Affghanistan. With these views, we, on the one hand, instructed Captain Wade to endeavour, by any means short of actual menace, to deter the Maharajah from advancing against Shikarpore, while, on the other, we desired Colonel Pottinger to intimate to the Ameers that we were ready to enter into a closer alliance with them on such terms as might be mutually agreed on. Owing to the distance of the scene, and the uncertainty of events, we did not consider it expedient to prescribe to Colonel Pottinger the precise conditions on which he was to treat. He was authorized by us to offer our protection against the Sikhs, and we expressed our hope that, with a view to enable us to fulfill this obligation, the Ameers would consent permanently to receive, and to pay the expense of, a body of British troops, to be stationed at their capital. Short of this, we informed him, that he was at liberty to offer the mediation of the British government with Maharajah Runjeet Singh, on condition of the recep-
tion of a British agent at Hyderabad, and, of course, of all the relations between Sinde and Lahore being conducted solely through the medium of British officers, and of the expense of any temporary deputation of the British troops into Sinde, which might be found requisite, being defrayed by the Ameers."* The state of affairs was not ripe for the former of these plans; but one feature of the latter was introduced in a treaty concluded by Colonel Pottinger in April, 1838, by which the British government engaged to interpose its good offices to adjust the differences between the Ameers and their powerful neighbour; and the Ameers agreed to the permanent residence of an accredited British minister at the court of Hyderabad, with the power of changing his ordinary place of abode, and the right of being attended by such an escort as might by his own government be deemed suitable. The reception of a permanent British agent was very distasteful to the government of Hyderabad; but Colonel Pottinger was instructed to state, that unless this point were conceded, the interposition of the British government with Runjeet Singh could not be affirmed. The presence of a British agent was probably necessary to the preservation of the unmolested right of navigating the Indus, which

* Letter from governor-general in council to secret committee, 28th of November, 1836.—Sinde Papers, printed by order of General Court of Proprietors of East-India Stock, 17th of November, 1843, pp. 5 and 6.
had been assented to by the Ameers some years before; and had the demands of the government of British India been restricted to this, they would scarcely have been accused of asking too much for their services in preserving Sinde from an unequal contest with the ambitious and powerful ruler of the Punjab. Disinterested friendship between nations is not to be expected; and when it is professed, the profession is an emanation of pure hypocrisy. But the further views which were entertained, and in all likelihood never lost sight of, cannot be approved. The desire to reduce Sinde to the condition of a subsidiary state ought to have found no place in British counsels. The Sindean governments had always been cold and unfriendly, but never hostile. They wished to keep aloof from British connection, but they had never afforded ground for anxiety or alarm.

About two months after the ratification of the new treaty between the British government and Sinde, the position of those two powers was embarrassed by the conclusion of the tripartite treaty, to which the British government, Runjeet Singh, and Shoojah-ool-Moolk, were the parties. Sinde had formerly been a dependency of Kabool—that is, its rulers had paid tribute to the sovereign of Kabool whenever the latter was strong enough to enforce payment. But the low state of the Afgan power had for many years rendered this impracticable, and consequently nothing had been paid.
By the tripartite treaty, Shah Shoojah renounced all claim to further payment, and consented to receive, in consequence of the arrears, such a sum as might be determined by the British government. On this arrangement the Ameers had never been consulted, and consequently its effect was to transfer to another an undefined portion of their wealth without their own consent. They had, without doubt, never intended to pay anything; and it is quite certain that, without the aid of their British ally, Shah Shoojah could never have compelled them to make payment of the fraction of a rupee. The British government had proffered its services to arrange the differences of the Ameers with Ranjeet Singh, and they had been accepted; this government now undertook, without reference to one of the powers interested, to determine how much of an outstanding claim should be paid and how much remitted. Shah Shoojah consented to be bound by their award, for on that rested his only hope of getting anything; but that the Ameers should be equally ready to submit to an authority founded, with regard to them, upon pure assumption, and which was created for the very purpose of levying a contribution upon them, could not reasonably be expected. But the case was embarrassed by a release from Shah Shoojah which the Ameers produced. By this document the former renounced all claims or pretensions upon Sinde or Shikarpore, and engaged that none should ever be made. With reference to the release, the resident might well observe, "how this is to be
got over I do not myself see."* The authority which the resident represented took a different view, and he was apprized of that view in the following terms:

"The governor-general is of opinion that it is not incumbent on the British government to enter into any formal investigation of the plea adduced by the Ameers;" † though it was added that the arbitration of the question might possibly be left, by mutual consent, to the British envoy at the court of Shah Shoojah. The position that the British government was not bound to investigate the subject was certainly most extraordinary. A party claims from another a large sum—a third party, without consulting the reputed debtor, undertakes to compromise the matter, and to determine how much shall be paid—the alleged debtor denies that any thing is due, and produces a release from the creditor—the arbitrator, thereupon, declares that it is not incumbent on him to inquire into the plea. Would such a course be considered just in any private transaction? And if not, can it be reconciled with any honest principles of public morality? The truth is, that money was wanted; the Ameers were looked to for a supply, and it was inconvenient to enter upon any inquiry as to whether they could justly be required to furnish it or not. Further, the pecuniary demand was not all.

* Letter to secretary with governor-general, October 25, 1838. —Sinde Papers, p. 80.
† Letter from secretary with governor-general to resident in Sinde, November 19, 1838.—Sinde Papers, p. 117.
The suspicion entertained by the Ameers of the designs of the British government was well known, and that suspicion was now to be increased by the requisition of a passage through their country for a part of the forces proceeding to the invasion of Afghanistan. It was expressly provided in the treaty of 1832, that no military stores should be transmitted by the river or roads of Sinde, but this promise was now to be set aside by one of the parties to the treaty without the consent, and even against the strongest wishes, of the other. In these arrangements for giving away a large sum at the expense of the Ameers, and making use of their country for military purposes, without reference to their views or desires, it is obvious that they were not treated either as friends or independent princes. The object for which the territories of the Ameers were to be traversed by foreign armies, moreover, was one in which it would be too little to say they had no interest. They had a direct interest in counteracting it. Those armies were to reseat Shah Shoojah on the throne of Afghanistan, and the Ameers were to pay part of the expense. They were not such zealous moralists, nor such devotees to the cause of legitimacy, as to reconcile themselves to the sacrifice required, by reflecting that it was to be made for the purpose of dispossessing usurpers. They would have been well content that the usurpers should remain in power, and their own treasury be spared.

It happened most opportunely that about this time one of the Ameers was detected in carrying
on a correspondence with Persia. This undoubtedly indicated an unfriendly spirit towards the British government, but with reference to its own proceedings that government could scarcely deem itself aggrieved. The discovery, however, was employed in aid of the designs already in progress, and great indignation was expressed at the "duplicity" of the Ameer, "in maintaining, at the same moment, professions of submission to Persia and of close alliance with the British government." That "close alliance," it should here be remembered, had never been sought by the Ameers—it had been forced upon them—and an alliance which was to allow the stronger party to dispose of the treasures and occupy the territory of the weaker at pleasure could not be regarded by the latter with much gratification.

The summary and determined manner in which the British government was prepared to treat the insubordination complained of will best be illustrated by a few extracts from the instructions furnished to its agent for his guidance in dealing with the refractory party. "It seems open to you to decide upon proclaiming, as soon as a force from Bombay may enable you to do so with effect, that an act of hostility and bad faith having been committed toward the British government, the share in the government of Sinde which has been held by the guilty party shall be transferred to the more faithful members of the family; and it may be thought right to accompany this transfer with a condition, that, as a security for the future, a British subsidiary force
shall be maintained in Sinde; or, secondly, the
maintenance of this force may be required without
the adoption of an act so rigorous as that of de-
position; or, thirdly, it may be thought expedient,
upon submission, and the tender by the Ameer of
such amends as may be in his power, to point out
to him that no better reparation can be given than
by exertions to give effect to the treaty formed for
the restoration of Shah Shoojah, by a cordial adoption
of its terms, and by exertions on every side to
facilitate the success of the coming expedition, the
party or parties to the breach of faith now com-
mented upon being required to contribute much
more largely than the other Ameer or Ameers,
to the pecuniary composition to be paid to Shah
Shoojah-ool-Moolk. The course first named is, in
the opinion of his lordship, clearly justified by the
circumstances of the case: it would alone give
security for the future: and every other course
would seem to put the friends and the unfriendly,
the faithful and the faithless, on the same footing:"

These instructions it was easy to enunciate; to
carry them out in any way was a matter of difficulty.
With this difficulty the resident had to grapple, as
well as with others connected with the arrival of the
Bombay force, destined for the invasion of Afgha-
istan. The Ameers were expected to afford facilities
for obtaining supplies—they afforded none, but, on
the contrary (those of Hyderabad at least), were not
unnaturally anxious to throw every possible impedi-

* Letter from secretary with governor-general to resident in
Sinde, September 6, 1838.—Sinde Papers, p. 49.
ment in the way of procuring them. Through the exertions of various officers, the force, however, was provided with the means of advancing; and it gradually approached the capital of Lower Sinde.

The resident had deferred making to the Ameers a definite communication of the views of the British government as to their future position till this period, and as a diplomatist he acted rightly. The Ameers were intensely averse to even the passage of troops through their territories; the notion of a British force permanently occupying any part of those territories had never entered their minds.* The time at length arrived for suggesting it, and the draft of a treaty was submitted to them, the second article of which declared that the governor-general of India had commanded that a British force should be kept in Sinde, to be stationed at Tatta, where a

* This appears from the communications of Colonel Pottinger to his government. "I now beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th ultimo; and, after most attentively studying the instructions conveyed by it, I am obliged candidly to confess, that I feel myself placed in a situation in which I can indulge no hope of carrying the governor-general's commands into effect on the principle prescribed. My despatches, subsequent to that of the 2nd of November, will have shewn the abject state to which Noor Mahomed Khan has been reduced, by my refusal to treat with him relative to the money payment to Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk; but even when labouring under his worst apprehensions, it will be observed that no such idea has apparently ever crossed his mind, as that our ultimate plan was to station even a company of sepoys in Sinde; and the moment that intention is announced, I think it will be the signal for a cordial coalition to oppose our arrangements."—Letter, December 15th, 1838. Sinde Papers, page 133.
cantonment was to be formed, and that the strength of this force was to depend on the pleasure of the said governor-general. Thus in the outset it was assumed that the rulers of Sinde were dependent upon the government of British India, for the stationing of a military force at Tatta, and the determining the amount of the force, were not made subjects of mutual contract; the first point was rested on the governor-general’s command, and the second was left to his pleasure. By the next succeeding article it was provided, that the Ameers should pay a sum (left open in the draft) “in part of the expense of the force, from the presence of which they will derive such vast advantages.” Such was the language employed; the chief advantage, as far as can be discerned, being the exchange of sovereignty for dependence.

The draft treaty was laid before the Ameers, and Lieutenant Eastwick, with some other British officers, were admitted to an audience, for the purpose of discussing and explaining this extraordinary document. On this occasion, Noor Mahomcd took from a box all the treaties that had formerly been entered into with the British government, and significantly asked, “What is to become of all these?” The question was not an inappropriate one, and it was followed by some observations not unfaithfully describing the progress of the intercourse between Sinde and the British government. The Ameer said, “Here is another annoyance. Since the day that Sinde has been con-
nected with the English, there has always been something new; your government is never satisfied; we are anxious for your friendship, but we cannot be continually persecuted. We have given a road to your troops through our territories, and now you wish to remain."

It would be useless to pursue the history of this period minutely. The Ameers of Hyderabad were well disposed to resist, and the Beloochee population not less ready to support their resistance. The British mission returned from the capital to the British camp, danger being apprehended from a continued stay at the former place. But difficulties, discouragements, and circumstances of embarrassment congregated thick and fast round the Ameers. The army of Sir John Keane was marching onward to Hyderabad; the reserve was in possession of Kurrachee. Sir Alexander Burns had concluded a treaty with the Ameers of Khyrpore, by which possession of Bukkur had been obtained; and Sir Willoughby Cotton, with the force under his command, was approaching from that quarter. In this situation the Ameers had no choice, but, in their own language, to become our "humblest slaves," and the offensive treaty was accepted; the sum to be paid for the subsidiary force being fixed at three lacs. But this treaty was not entirely approved by the government of British India. Three of the articles which related to the use of Kurrachee as a port during the months when other modes

* Sinde Papers, p. 164.
of communicating between Bombay and Sinde were not available, were struck out, inasmuch as the English were in possession of that place, and their government meant to keep it. In the second article, as accepted by the Ameers, the exercise of the "pleasure" of the governor-general, as to the force to be maintained in Sinde, had been restricted to the employment of five thousand men. This was qualified so as to declare no more than that "it was not intended" that the force should exceed five thousand fighting men, thus virtually restoring the article to its original state. By another modification, the power of the British government was almost indefinitely extended as to the choice of the locality in which this force should be stationed. Instead of being fixed absolutely at Tatta, it was to be either there, or at "such other place westward of the river Indus" as the governor-general might select. There were other alterations, the most important of which was the omission of an article restraining the British government from forming any treaty or engagement which could possibly affect the interests of Sinde, without the knowledge and concurrence of the Ameers. The remainder it will not be requisite to notice. The result of the changes may readily be anticipated; the Ameers objected, implored, and finally gave way, by affixing their seals to the revised documents.

Thus, in a very brief period, was Sinde reduced from a state of perfect independence to that of a feudatory of the British government. The modern
history of India affords many instances of similar changes, but few, if indeed any, in which the incorporation has been effected so entirely without fair pretence. The Ameers of Sinde wished no alliance or connection with us; they owed us nothing, and they had inflicted on us no injury; but it suited our policy to reduce them to vassalage, and they were thus reduced. If it be argued that we could not have prosecuted our views in Afghanistan without securing the dominion of Sinde, it must be answered, that if such were the case, they ought to have been abandoned. We had an object, and a legitimate one, to accomplish in Afghanistan, and as far as the rulers of that country, and those who claimed to rule it, were concerned, the prosecution of our policy did not violate the laws of justice; but if it could not be pursued without invading the rights of others, there ought to have been an end to all attempts for carrying it out. It might be, and without doubt it was, very convenient to pass through Sinde; but we might have confined the passage of our army to Upper Sinde, where the reluctance to grant the favour seems to have been less strong, or we might have entered Afghanistan without passing through Sinde at all. With Runjeet Singh we had a long-established alliance. Why should so old a friend distrust us? if he did, how could we expect to find greater favour from those who had always looked coldly upon us? and, finally, if both authorities refused us that which we wanted, upon what principle did we select Sinde
for coercion? The principle was this—we could not safely quarrel with Runjext Singh, but we entertained little apprehension of danger from the enmity of the Ameers of Sinde.

When Lord Auckland retired from the government of British India, the subsidiary treaty was that which regulated the relations of that government with Sinde. Little of importance had occurred since its ratification, except the death of Noor Mahomed, the chief of the college of Ameers at Hyderabad, and some negotiations for transferring to the British the management of Shikarpore, which were never concluded. It was alleged that the Ameers had been engaged with various parties in correspondence of a tendency opposed to British interests. The charge is not improbable, and may have been true; but it is remarkable that the terrible reverses which our army sustained in Afghanistan, and the consequent diminution of our military reputation, did not tempt the Ameers, writhing as they were under a deep sense of wrong, into any overt act of hostility. Indeed, the man likely to be best informed on the subject, Colonel Outram, political agent in Sinde, declared that “nothing very definite had been resolved on,” and expressed an opinion that “such changeable, puerile, and divided chieftains” were not “ever likely to enter into deep, and consequently dangerous, conspiracy,” nor did he “consider that any thing of the sort would be persevered in so long as no further disasters befell our arms in Afghanistan.” This was
written on the last day of May, 1842, when our prospects in Afghanistan were brightening.

Early in the year 1842, Lord Ellenborough, as already mentioned, arrived in India as the successor of Lord Auckland. In May, from what especial cause does not appear, his lordship transmitted to Colonel Outram letters addressed to the three divisions of the Ameers, threatening them with the confiscation of their dominions in the event of their proving faithless to the British government. The agent was allowed a discretion as to the delivery of these letters, and in the exercise of that discretion he withheld them.

The governor-general was prepared to dispossess the Ameers of their territories; but on the supposition that no sufficient, or ostensibly sufficient, cause might be afforded for this step, he meditated an important change in their situation, in regard to the British government. This was the commutation of the tribute payable by the Ameers to that government, by the transfer of territory; and the localities, where cessions of territory were to be derived, were specified. Colonel Outram submitted to the governor-general the sketch of a supplemental treaty, embodying these views; but for some reason not explainable, his lordship deemed it not advisable to press negotiations on the Ameers "precipitately," and determined "to leave their minds for the present in tranquillity."

* Letter to political agent in Sinde, 10th of April, 1842.—Sinde Papers, p. 380.
The "tranquillity" conceded was not of long duration. In the month following that in which expression had been given to the wish that the Ameers should enjoy this inestimable boon of tranquillity, Major-General Sir Charles Napier was ordered to proceed to Sinde, to assume the chief military command there. This was not all; he was also to exercise the chief political and civil authority. Such an arrangement, under peculiar circumstances, may be sometimes beneficial. The present instance is pronounced by a writer hostile to Lord Auckland, and generally favourable to Lord Ellenborough, to have been "a step, at such a crisis, of very questionable policy."

Sir Charles Napier, in accordance with the instructions of the governor-general, proceeded to Sinde, and on the 5th of October, reported that the Ameers levied tolls on the river, contrary to the treaty. Without waiting for the result of the remonstrance which the British representative made on the subject, that functionary was, by instructions forwarded in answer to his communication, directed to intimate to the Ameers, that he was authorized to treat for a revision of the treaty. The agent to whom these instructions were addressed was nothing loth to follow them; and in a paper of extraordinary length, he recorded his conviction that the existing state of political relations between Sinde and the British government could not last—"That the more

powerful government would, at no very distant period, swallow up the weaker;" and that "it would be better to come to the results" at once, "if it could be done with honesty." The difficulty of doing it "with honesty" was great; but Sir Charles Napier was not a man to despair. An array of charges against the Ameers, extending over a considerable period, was transmitted to the governor-general, and was answered by the draft of a treaty to be presented for the acceptance of the alleged offenders. By this document, required to carry into effect the project of obtaining territory in place of tribute, certain places were pointed out as centres, to which a convenient arrondissement of country was to be assigned at the pleasure of the British general, and political representative of his government. Another portion of territory was to be taken to reward the fidelity of the Khan of Bhawlpore as a British ally. The Ameers were to provide fuel for the steamers navigating the Indus, and if they failed, the servants of the British government were to be entitled to fell wood within a hundred yards of the banks of the river, within the territories of the Ameers. This was an offensive privilege, but not the most offensive that was claimed. By a series of articles in the treaty, which would seem to have been framed purposely with a view to insult, the Ameers were to cease to exercise the privilege of coining, one of the chief characteristics of sovereignty. The British government were to coin for them; and, to aggravate the indignity offered to
these wretched princes, the coin was to bear on one side "the effigy of the sovereign of England." Thus every transaction at every bazaar throughout Sinde was to be made the means of publicly proclaiming that the Ameers had ceased to rule; that they had become dependants of a foreign potentate, and held so much of authority as was allowed to remain with them only by the sufferance of a superior, or of the servants of that superior. Separate treaties were to be tendered to the governments of Hyderabad, and to, those of Khyrpore, but they were framed upon the same principles, and directed to the same ends.

The justice of imposing such severe terms was rested upon the authenticity of the letters said to have been written respectively by Meer Nusseer Khan, of Hyderabad, and Meer Roostum Khan, of Khyrpore, and on the escape of an insurgent leader from the British authorities through the agency of a servant of the latter prince. As to the letters, every one acquainted with Oriental affairs knows that correspondence is constantly fabricated to aid any purpose that may be in hand. It is not meant that any Englishman was connected with the fabrication in this case, supposing the process to have been resorted to, or had any acquaintance with the matter. The supposition is unnecessary; native adventurers have great tact in guessing what will be useful or acceptable to those above them, and a rare facility in counterfeiting both signatures and seals. The authenticity of the letters was denied by
the alleged writers; the denial is certainly not to be received as conclusive against belief in their authenticity, but such belief is not warranted by any sufficient evidence. The seal attached to the letter professed to be from Meer Nusseer Khan differed from the ordinary seal of that prince, but was said to correspond with another seal which he was represented to possess. The authenticity of the letter, however, was doubted by at least one very competent judge.* The letter of Meer Roostum Khan, according to the admission of those who brought it forward in accusation against him, could not be traced to his cognizance; it was believed to have been written by his minister, but whether with or without his knowledge was not shewn; and the escape of the prisoner from British custody was in like manner traceable no further than to the agent by whom it was effected. Certainly the rights of princes were never assailed on such slender ground as these charges afforded. But it was enough: for reasons not then disclosed, it was resolved to go forward with the process which had been commenced under a different administration, to tighten the grasp of the British government upon Sinde, and thus to accelerate the progress of the movement which was to convert that country into a British province in name as well as in fact.

The treaties were presented for the acceptance of the Ameers both of Upper and Lower Sinde, on the 6th of December. They were accompanied by

* Mr. Clerk, envoy at Lahore.
letters from Sir Charles Napier, intimating his intention to take immediate possession of the districts which it was proposed to assign to the Khan of Bhawlpore. The letters were dated the 1st of the month; and on the 18th publicity was given to the intention by the issue of a proclamation, signed by the British general, which, after reciting the orders under which he acted, and the purpose which he had in view, declared that if the Ameers should, after the commencement of the ensuing year, collect any revenue in advance, or impose any new tax within the districts which they were destined to lose, they should be punished by amercement. At this time the new treaties were matters for discussion—they had not been ratified—they were mere proposals from one party, which the opposite parties might reject; subject, of course, to the penalty attached to rejection. But it cannot fail to be observed, that Sinde is dealt with by Sir Charles Napier as though the right of the governor-general of British India to parcel it out at his pleasure were unquestioned and unquestionable; and, moreover, as if it were desired to exercise this right in a manner as offensive as possible to those who were to suffer privation from the exercise. The direct tendency of the proclamation was to render the Ameers contemptible in the eyes of those whom they were yet, perhaps, for a time to be permitted to regard as subjects. Such a course could not facilitate the acceptance of the proffered treaties; it was directly calculated to influence hostile feel-
ings already believed to prevail in their minds; and had it been determined to hurry on an appeal to the sword, no more likely means could have been devised than the issue of this most injudicious and insulting proclamation.

The extraordinary constitution of the Sinde government has already been adverted to. An incident, arising from this cause, has now to be noticed. Meer Roostum was the chief of the Ameers of Khyrpore. He was above eighty years of age, and consequently no long tenure of life and power (such power as he was likely to retain) could be anticipated for him. According to the constitution of the Sinde state (if constitution it had), Ali Moorad, brother of Meer Roostum, was the legitimate successor of the prince in the chieftainship. Meer Roostum, it was alleged, wished to divert the succession in favour of his own son; and Ali Moorad applied to Sir Charles Napier for support against any such attempt, should it be made. It was promised, on condition of the fidelity of Ali Moorad to the British cause. But something further was wished. The unmanageableness of a government constituted like that of Sinde was obvious enough; and it occurred to Sir Charles Napier that the age of Meer Roostum, and a presumed indisposition on his part to be longer burthened with the toils and vexations of government, might afford means for effecting some modification favourable to British influence. The following statement rests upon the authority of Sir Charles Napier, but it is proper to observe in the outset
that it is not in all points uncontroverted. Meer Roostum sent a secret communication to Sir Charles Napier to the effect that he could do nothing, and would make his escape to the British general's camp. This step was not desired; it was regarded as inconvenient, and by a very adroit, if not a very straightforward, piece of diplomacy, the general was relieved alike from the embarrassment which would have resulted from entertaining Meer Roostum in his camp, and from that which would have followed his refusing him this refuge. As the transaction was in many points extraordinary, it will be best to relate it, as far as possible, in the words of the chief actor, Sir Charles Napier himself. It appeared, then, to him that the only desirable system to follow in Sinde was that of "making the chief powerful, and holding him under the power of the government," the British government being meant. "This," writes Sir Charles Napier, addressing the governor-general, "made me promise Ali Moorad your lordship's support in having the turban,* which your lordship has approved of. The next step was to secure him the exercise of its power now, even during his brother's life. This I was so fortunate to succeed in, by persuading Meer Roostum to place himself in Ali Moorad's hands."† Meer Roostum, accord-

* The word turban, it will be perceived, is here used in the same sense as the word crown is frequently employed to indicate the sovereignty.

† Letter to governor-general, 27th of December, 1842.—Sinde Papers, p. 515.
ingly, instead of proceeding to the British camp, threw himself upon his brother, and surrendered to him the chief authority. He seems, however, soon to have repented of the steps which he had taken, for in a very few days he escaped from the care of the person to whom he had been commended by the British general.*

The flight of Meer Roostum—his first flight, namely, that which was followed by the surrender of his power to Ali Moorad—excited great consternation among his family and followers. They forthwith fled, but not to the British camp nor to Ali Moorad. Their choice was the desert, and the greater portion were reported to have sought safety in a fort called Emaun Ghur. Thither Sir Charles Napier resolved to follow them, and commenced his march without delay. No certain intelligence as to a supply of water being attainable, it was deemed

* That the intrigues of Oriental princes should be inexplicable is nothing new. Unfortunately in this instance the conduct of the British general is inexplicable also, and his statements irreconcilable until he shall furnish some further explanation. An account given by him has been closely followed in the narrative which will be found in the text; but it ought not to be concealed that the letters of the gallant general, written at different periods, contained discrepancies amounting to positive contradictions. The account followed above was written only eight days after the transactions recorded, and coincides with another more brief, which bears date on the day after Meer Roostum sought shelter with his brother. Any reader disposed to exercise his ingenuity in unravelling the perplexities and reconciling the discordance of this strange affair, all resting on the authority of Sir Charles Napier, will find abundant opportunity in the papers on the subject. Some notice of them will be found hereafter.
prudent to take forward only a very small force. It consisted of three hundred and fifty men of the Queen's 22nd, mounted on camels (two on each animal), two hundred Sindean horse, and two 24-pounder howitzers. The want of forage rendered it necessary to send back a hundred and fifty of the horse. The remainder of the force encountered the difficulties of the desert march, which were great, and reached Emaun Ghur, which place was occupied without difficulty, and destroyed. The fort was stated to belong to Ali Moorad, who consented to its destruction. The march of the British general, and the capture and destruction of a fortress belonging to some or other of the authorities of Sinde, took place at a time when we were professedly in a state of peace with all. It is greatly, therefore, to be desired, for the credit of the British name, that the statement above noticed should be correct. It has, however, been disputed, and with some appearance of truth. The fall of Emaun Ghur took place early in the month of January, 1843.

The event was not without effect; but the Amcers were yet naturally anxious to put off the evil day, which was to divest them almost of the very semblance of sovereignty. Major Outram, whose powers had been withdrawn, and who had, consequently, retired to Bombay, it was thought might, by his personal influence, be able to effect something in the way of diminishing the reluctance of the princes to sign the sentence of their own virtual deposition. He returned, held various con-
ferences with the Ameers, and finally prevailed on them personally to affix their seals to the treaties.* But there were other parties who claimed the privilege of judging beside the Ameers. The Beloochee tribes—bold, fierce, and intractable—were greatly excited against the European intruders, who, by no slow advances, were establishing their own authority supreme in Sinde. As the British commissioner and his attendants departed from the final conference, they were assailed with execrations from an assembled crowd, who were restrained from more dangerous expression of their feelings only by the presence of a strong escort of horse, sent by the Ameers, under the command of some of their most influential chiefs.

One great point on which the Ameers had dwelt in their conferences with Major Outram, was the wrong which the British authorities had caused, and continued to uphold, in the transfer of authority from Meer Roostum to Ali Moorad. It was stated, that the surrender of power by the latter had been the effect of compulsion; and seeing that the aged chieftain was altogether in the hands of his brother, it is very probable such was the fact. The political move, which the British general thought a master-stroke of diplomacy, thus became a chief cause of embarrassing the negotiation, while it placed a chief, venerable for his years at least, in the position

* With the exception of one of the Ameers of Khyrpore, who alleged that his seal was in the possession of his brother, and promised to ratify the treaty at a future time.
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of an oppressed and injured man, and left on the shoulders of the highest British authority in Sinde the charge of being the principal author of the chieftain's degradation.*

It was constantly represented by the Ameers, that the continued advance of Sir Charles Napier

* The embarrassing situation in which Sir Charles Napier placed himself by his proceedings in regard to Meer Roostum and Ali Moorad was obviously felt by him very deeply, as may be seen by a collation of his statements on the subject in the Sinde Papers and the supplementary collection.

The first notice of the affair to be found in the printed papers occurs in a letter from Sir Charles Napier to the governor-general, dated Sukkur, December 20th, 1842, which commences thus:—“I had a secret message from Meer Roostum. The bearer had an open letter in the usual unmeaning style of the Durbar; but the messenger privately informed Lieutenant Brown, that Roostum could do nothing, and would escape to my camp. I did not like this, as it would have embarrassed me very much how to act; but the idea struck me at once that he might go to Ali Moorad, who might induce him (as a family arrangement) to resign the turban to him (Ali Moorad), especially as Roostum has long been desirous of getting rid of this charge of the Talpoors. I therefore secretly wrote to Roostum and Ali Moorad, and about one o'clock this morning I had an express from Ali Moorad, to say that his brother is safe with him, and that he requested me not to move upon Khyrpore before twelve o'clock to-day, to give time for his women to get away in safety. This I promised, and the more readily, as I could not (from other circumstances) move before to-morrow. Ali Moorad is now virtually chief; for, if Meer Roostum does not bestow the turban upon him, he will, at all events, be guided by Ali, into whose hands he has voluntarily thrown himself. Ali Moorad was more powerful than any of the Talpoors, even when Meer Roostum's name and power were against him; now he is irresistible, and in alliance with us besides.” After a few further observations, Sir Charles Napier briefly sums up the results of the course which he had followed; and at the head of the summary stand the three points following:
would exasperate the Beloochees, and cause them to resort to arms in defence of the independence of

"First: that Ali Moorad, the most powerful of the Talpoor family, is secured to our interest by the promise of the turban. Second: that the chief of the Talpoors, frightened at the violence of his family, and at our steady operations to coerce them, has thrown himself into his brother's power by my advice, otherwise I should believe some trick was intended. Third: that we, having complete power over the brother, have power over all, without any 'chief-making,' or any apparent interference, or any disturbance of the natural order of succession."

In another letter to the governor-general, dated 27th of December, Sir Charles Napier, after advertting to the duplicity of the Ameers, says, "This conviction opened upon me a system which appears the only one to follow,—making the chief powerful, and holding him under the power of the government. This made me venture to promise Ali Moorad your lordship's support in having the turban, which your lordship has approved of. The next step was to secure him the exercise of its power now, even during his brother's life. This I was so fortunate to succeed in, by persuading Meer Roostum to place himself in Ali Moorad's hands. This burst upon his family and followers like a bomb-shell." In a letter of still later date (29th December), also addressed to the governor-general, Sir Charles Napier, who had then become acquainted with Meer Roostum's flight from his brother, thus writes:—"Meer Roostum had resigned the turban to his brother Ali in the most formal manner, writing his resignation in the Koran before all the religious men collected to witness the resignation at Dejee. Ali sent the Koran to me to see it. I said that these family arrangements were their own, but that your lordship would support the head of their family, whoever it might be, according to the spirit of the treaty; that I personally thought it better for Roostum to keep the turban, and let Ali Moorad act for him, but that he was free to do as he pleased; it was a family arrangement, with which your lordship would not interfere."

This much is to be gathered from the first published collection of papers relating to Sinde, and the amount may be stated as follows:—that Meer Roostum proposed to escape to the British camp, that Sir Charles Napier was desirous of averting such a
their country. That officer, however, continued to advance, and on the 15th of February the long-
movement, and suggested that the old chief should take refuge with his brother, Ali Moorad; that in making this suggestion he was actuated by a wish to place Ali Moorad, at all events, in possession of the actual power attached to what is called the turban, and, if it could be accomplished, in possession of the turban itself. He abstained from suggesting the transfer, but thought it might be effected by a “family arrangement.” Meer Roostum acted on the British general’s advice, proceeded to join his brother, and by his own free consent, or as the result of compulsion, made the surrender of the turban, as Sir Charles Napier had desired.

The supplementary collection of papers contains the following letter from Sir Charles Napier to Meer Roostum, which it is to be presumed is the letter written in answer to the alleged communication from the chief to the British general offering to come to his camp. “My own belief is, that, personally, you have ever been the friend of the English. But you are helpless among your ill-judging family. I send this by your brother, his Highness Ali Moorad; listen to his advice; trust yourself to his care; you are too old for war; and, if battle begin, how can I protect you? If you go with your brother, you may either remain with him, or I will send an escort for you to bring you to my camp, where you will be safe. Follow my advice, it is that of a friend; why should I be your enemy? If I was, why should I take this trouble to save you? I think you will believe me, but do as you please.” This letter, it will be observed, does indeed give the person to whom it is addressed the option of coming to the British camp—after he had surrendered himself to his brother and successor, Ali Moorad, not at once and immediately; and Sir Charles Napier, in his correspondence with the governor-general, declared that the presence of the Ameer in his camp would embarrass him.

In a paper drawn up by Sir Charles Napier at a later period, and which will be found in the supplementary collection, pp. 112—115, as an inclosure in a letter to the governor-general, dated 10th of August, 1843, numbered 155, the writer, after adverting to some conversations with Ali Moorad, thus continues: “Soon after, a message arriving from Meer Roostum, claiming my pro-
threatened outbreak took place; the first object of attack being the residence of the British com-
tection against the intrigues of his own family, offered an opportu-
tunity of having one man to deal with instead of a faction, with
whom it was impossible for a civilized government to deal, and
into whose intrigues I considered it undignified for a powerful
government to enter, and from the first I determined not to enter
into them. I was determined that when there was a breach of treaty,
whether great or small, I would hold all the Ameers responsible,
and would not be played off like a shuttlecock, and told, this was
done by one Ameer, and that by another, and have a week’s inquiry
to find out whom I was to hold responsible for aggression; for I at
once saw, on arriving in Sinde, that this hide-and-seek shifting
responsibility was the game which the Ameers had been playing. The
proposal of Meer Roostum to come into my camp offered me an
casual remedy for this evil; and, having adopted the high opinion
which Major Outram entertained of Ali Moorad, I had no hesita-
tion in recommending his brother to seek his protection, and be
advised by him; but I beg the reader to bear in mind—for it is
a matter of first-rate importance, and one upon which the whole
gist of the matter depends—that, while advising Meer Roostum
to be guided by his brother, yet having suspicions, in despite of
the high character given to me by Major Outram of that brother,
that some intrigue must be going on, I gave Meer Roostum the
option and invitation of coming to my camp, and putting himself
under my protection. I repeat the word ‘must,’ because it is
utterly impossible for me to believe that any Eastern Divan can
act without intrigue. By my advice to Meer Roostum, which,
let the reader observe, was not given till it was asked, I secured
to Meer Roostum the honourable and powerful protection of the
British government. This he did not choose to accept; he went
to his brother, and then he fled from that brother with his usual
vacillating imbecility.”

All this is reconcilable with what has been already quoted, but
there is a colouring given to the transactions described which in
strict truth they will not bear. Meer Roostum denied that he
had ever sent the message upon which Sir Charles Napier’s inter-
ference with his movements was based; and the fact of his hav-
ing sent it rests solely on the assertion of the moonshee by whom
missioner, Colonel Outram. A dense body of cavalry and infantry took post in a manner to command the message, real or pretended, was delivered. But, presuming the message to be genuine (and upon this presumption Sir Charles Napier, throughout the papers, grounds his right to advise), it follows that Meer Roostum desired to place himself in the hands of the British general, but the latter did not wish to have him. He advised the aged chieftain to go to his brother, and with reference to this advice, and the manner in which it was given, it is not a fair statement to say that Meer Roostum “did not choose to accept” the protection of the British government. He did choose to accept it (supposing the message to have been sent), for he had applied for it; but he was recommended to take another course, which suited Sir Charles Napier better. Let Sir Charles Napier speak for himself. In a letter to Meer Roostum, dated January the 2nd, 1843 (in supplementary collection, p. 7, No. 17), he says: “You know that you offered to come to my camp, and that I advised you to go to your brother's fortress instead of coming to my camp.”

But a more extraordinary passage occurs in a later part of the paper, No. 155 in the supplementary collection; it follows: “Another thing I have to observe—it is, that when I heard that he had resigned the turban to Ali Moorad, I disapproved of it; and Mr. Brown will recollect my sending Ali Moorad’s vakeel back to him with this message. I even recommended him to return the turban, and merely act as his brother’s lieutenant. His answer was, that the deed had been executed in due form before all the moollahs or priests, and that it was impossible to alter it. I, of course, had nothing to say; I had no business to interfere with the private arrangements of the Ameers.” And in a letter to the governor-general in council, dated the 12th of August, 1843 (supp. coll. No. 157), Sir Charles Napier says: “I assuredly did not press the abdication of the turban by Meer Roostum, nor did I even advise it; on the contrary, my letters will shew that I recommended that he should not.” In these two passages Sir Charles Napier asserts that he did not press the resignation of the turban; that he did not even advise it; that he recommended that it should not take place, and that on hearing that it had been effected, he disapproved of the act and suggested its voidance. It may be granted that
three sides of the inclosure in which the residence was situated, the fourth being defended by a British

he did not openly advise the transfer of the turban, and consequently that he did not press it, but from his own declaration it "is clear that he wished it: "The idea struck me at once that he (Meer Roostum) might go to Ali Moorad, who might induce him, as a family arrangement, to resign the turban to him (Ali Moorad)."—Letter (above quoted) December 20th. In the hope of effecting this object, he advised Meer Roostum to place himself in his brother's hands, as appears from Sir Charles Napier's own declaration in his letter of December 27th to the governor-general above quoted, from the letter to Meer Roostum in answer to the message, which has also been quoted, and from the other letter to the same chief, likewise quoted above, where Sir Charles Napier says: "You know that you offered to come to my camp, and that I advised you to go to your brother's fortress instead of coming to my camp." Further, he recommended Meer Roostum not only to go to his brother, but to "listen to his advice," and he knew full well what were Ali Moorad's views. Sir Charles Napier laid the train, expecting and desiring that it should be fired by another—it was so fired, and his language, in explaining his own share in the transaction, partakes more of the character of special pleading than might be looked for in a man bred, not in chambers, but in camps. In a note upon a statement made by Major Outram, p. 29 of the supplementary collection, Sir Charles Napier says: "It (the transfer of the turban) was the positive act of Meer Roostum, without my connivance, or even knowledge, till it was done." It was without the British general's "knowledge;" but after reading his own account of his views in sending Meer Roostum to Ali Moorad, can any one say that it was without his connivance?

But besides denying that he pressed or advised the abdication, Sir Charles Napier says that he recommended that it should not be made, and that his letters will shew this. The only letter found in the collections, which tends to bear out this assertion, is one addressed to Meer Ali Moorad, under date of the 23rd of December, 1843 (supplementary collection, p. 6, No. 14), which commences thus: "I think your highness will do well not to assume the turban, for the following reasons. People will say that the English
steamer, which, happily, lay in the river at no great distance. A hot fire was commenced and kept up put it on your head, against the will of Meer Roostum. But do as you please. I only give you my advice as a friend who wishes to see you great and powerful in Sinde. This is the wish of my government. The governor-general has approved of all that I have said to you. If to be the chieftain gives you power, I should say, assume the turban. But it gives you none. You are strong without it. No one in Sinde can oppose you, no one out of Sinde can oppose you. The British government will secure you against all enemies.” Now herein Sir Charles Napier certainly does express an opinion unfavourable to the assumption of the turban by Ali Moorad, but the force of that opinion is altogether neutralized by the words “do as you please.” When a man has within his grasp the object of his highest ambition, and receives from a person of whose opinion he stands in awe a mild dissuasive from possessing himself of it, qualified, however, by the gracious concession “do as you please,” there can be no doubt as to the result; he will “please” to take that which he covets. Thus acted Ali Moorad, and thus did Sir Charles Napier intend that he should act, notwithstanding the affectation of gently dissuading him from a step, which the general had placed Meer Roostum in his hands for the very purpose of forwarding.

The tortuous course of Sir Charles Napier in regard to the transfer of the turban is further illustrated by a proclamation which he issued from his camp at Khyrpore, on the 1st of January, 1843, and which appears in the supplementary collection, No. 15, on p. 6. In this document he says: “His highness the Ameer Roostum Khan sent a secret messenger to me to say that he was in the hands of his family, and could not act as his feelings of friendship for the English nation prompted him to do, and that if I would receive him he would escape and come to my camp. I answered his highness that I would certainly receive him, but that my advice was for him to consult with his brother, the Ameer Ali Moorad Khan. He took my advice. He went to the fort of Dejee to his brother. When I heard of this I was glad, for I thought that Sinde would be tranquil; that his highness would spend his last days in honour and in peace. I moved with my troops towards Khyrpore to
for four hours by the assailants; but their attempts to effect an entrance were defeated by the judicious
force his violent family to disperse the wild bands that they had collected. I sent his highness word that I should visit him; I
wanted to ask his advice as to the arrangements for the new treaty; I thought that he had again become the friend of the
government that I serve. That night I heard that he had solemnly
conferred upon his brother, the Ameer Ali Moorad, the turban of
command over the Talpoo family, which brother is the heir to
that honour. I thought this a very wise proceeding, and it added
to my desire to meet his highness, that I might hear from his
own lips all about these things, and report the same to the
governor-general, being assured that these acts of his highness
would recover for him the good opinion and friendship of the
governor-general of India. My feelings towards his highness
were those of friendship, honour, and peace. I even advised his
highness's brother, the Ameer Ali Moorad, not to accept the
turban, but to assist his brother, the chief, in the care of govern-
ment."

The above passage is not of great length, but notwithstanding,
the writer seems to have found it impossible to preserve anything
like consistency through it. He declares that he thought the
surrender of the turban "a very wise proceeding," and that he
wished to report it as one among various acts (what were the
others does not appear) which would recover for Meer Roostum
"the good opinion and friendship of the governor-general;" and
yet he goes on to boast that he had advised Ali Moorad not to accept
the turban, not to concur in an act which was "wise," and which,
moreover, in the opinion of Sir Charles Napier, would be grati-
fying to the head of the government which he served. It is
proper to state that a version of Sir Charles Napier's procla-
mation differing in some respects from that just quoted appears
in the supplementary collection, but the variations do not clear
up the British general's character for consistency or plain dealing.
In the second version, the more important part of the passage
extracted stands thus:—"That same evening I had intelligence
that his highness had conferred the turban of the Talpoo family
on his brother, Meer Ali Moorad, because he was the rightful
possessor of it. I considered that this was well, and desired
efforts of Captain Conway, the officer in command, ably and zealously supported by his subalterns, more earnestly to meet his highness, in order that I might hear from himself what he had done; and also, that I might be able to state the same to his lordship the governor-general; and I thought that, by his observing such a line of conduct, he would have re-established himself in the favour of the British government; my wish was, that friendship and honour should continue with Meer Roostum; and I gave his brother, Meer Ali Moorad, advice that he should not take the turban, but that he should assist his highness in the arrangements for his country. The reader will see that this leaves the matter in question as it stood. The variations between the two versions of the proclamation are greater than could have been expected; but they do not affect the views of Sir Charles Napier, as to the transfer of the turban, nor the character of his proceedings in respect of that transfer.

Sir Charles Napier alleges, that he not only abstained from advising the transfer of the turban—that he not only advised the direct contrary—but that after he heard of the transfer, he "disapproved of it;" sent a message recommending the rescission of the act, and acquiesced in giving it effect only on being assured that it was both regularly executed, and irrevocable. Now it is to be feared that the word "disapproved" is here used in a manner which, if not altogether unwarrantable, is at least obscure and equivocal. How could Sir Charles Napier disapprove of that which he had taken pains to bring about, and which he invariably affirmed to be desirable for the British government? It is to be presumed, therefore, that in saying he "disapproved," he means not that he felt disapprobation, but that he expressed it. His communication to Meer Ali Moorad must have been a deliberate piece of double-dealing, or his avowal, several weeks before, of a desire that Meer Roostum should give the turban to Meer Ali Moorad, must have been insincere. There is no reason for embracing the latter branch of the alternative, and, consequently, there is no choice but to accept the former.

Meer Roostum, after going to his brother Ali Moorad, as advised by Sir Charles Napier, and surrendering to that brother the turban, as wished, though not advised, by Sir Charles Napier, subsequently fled from his brother, declared that the surrender of the turban was extorted from him (as most probably it was), and
Lieutenant Harding and Ensign Pennefather, of her Majesty's 22nd, and by two volunteers, Captain alleged that Sir Charles Napier had recommended him to go to his brother, and be governed by his advice, which recommendation he had followed. On this Sir Charles Napier remarks, in a letter to Major Outram, Feb. 11, 1843, Supplementary Collection, page 32, No. 57:—"Roostum's plea of being sent to Ali Moorad by me is a shallow affair; because, in the first place, he sent a secret message (by Moyadeen, I believe Brown told me), to say he was to all intents a prisoner in Khypore, and that he had tried to send away his family, and was obliged to bring them back after they were on their road, and that he would escape and come to 'my camp. Brown knows all this matter. The messenger said, he (Roostum) would do whatever I advised. My answer was, 'Take your brother's advice; go to him, and either stay with him, or I will escort you to my camp.' His flying from his brother's camp proves that he was not a prisoner; his not flying to mine proves either his duplicity or his imbecility; I believe the latter; but imbecility is not a legitimate excuse for rulers. I have only to deal with his acts; he played you the same trick; he even now stands out; he cannot say Ali Moorad still influences him. I believe he did at first, but does not now; and I am half inclined now to doubt the fact, though I did not do so at first; but, as I said, the intrigues of these people are nothing to me; only I will not let his cunning attempt to cast his conduct upon my advice pass. He went contrary to my advice, and now wants to make out that he acted by it. I send you a copy of my letter." A more extraordinary and painful specimen of floundering than is afforded by this passage, is rarely to be found. "Roostum's plea of being sent to Ali Moorad by" Sir Charles Napier, was not "a shallow affair:" he was so sent, and no sophistry can explain the fact away. Indeed, a few lines after the above, Sir Charles Napier admits the fact. "My answer was, 'Take your brother's advice; go to him, and either stay with him, or I will escort you to my camp.'" The reckless mode of arguing adopted by Sir Charles Napier, in regard to Meer Roostum's flight from his brother, is not less remarkable than the rest of the passage—"his flying from his brother's camp proves that he was not a prisoner"—did Sir Charles Napier never know of a prisoner making his escape? "His not flying to mine
Green, of the 21st native infantry, and Captain Wells, of the 15th. Captain Brown, Bengal engi-
proves either his duplicity or his imbecility." It proves neither one nor the other, though possibly the old chief might be under the influence of both; but, at all events, he had little cause for confidence in one who had recommended him to trust himself to the advice and keeping of a rival, by whose threats or cajolery his dignity had been subverted. The conclusion of the above extract is worthy of all that precedes it. "I will not let his cunning attempt to cast his conduct on my advice pass. He went contrary to my advice, and now wants to make out that he acted by it. I send you a copy of my letter." On first reading this, it is impossible not to suppose that the words "he went contrary to my advice" must apply to the flight of Meer Roostum from his brother, not to his going to him; but the accuracy of this construction seems doubtful, because the letter, a copy of which is referred to, is that to Meer Roostum, in answer to his secret communication, and which is quoted above (page 427). If it be meant that Meer Roostum went to his brother contrary to Sir Charles Napier's advice, the assertion is one of the boldest experiments upon the extent of human credulity ever hazarded. After the most careful consideration of this passage, no one can feel satisfied that he is in possession of its meaning; and the impression left on the mind is, that the writer felt that he was struggling with difficulties which could not be overcome; that he was conscious of the badness of his cause, and of the impossibility of making out even a plausible case in his favour. No degree of ingenuity can give to the conduct pursued towards Meer Roostum the colour of straightforwardness and honesty.

Throughout this inquiry, the conduct of Sir Charles Napier has been tried solely upon his own testimony. Much might be added, if the statements made on the other side were admitted; but it is better that the case should be rested upon evidence, to which even the friends and defenders of the British general cannot object. Upon such evidence it is clear, that though, not in appearance, Sir Charles Napier was in substance, the party chiefly instrumental in transferring the power and station of Meer Roostum to Meer Ali Moorad; and that, subsequently, finding that the act was regarded as odious, he vainly struggled to relieve himself from responsibility in respect to it.
neers, was dispatched to the steamer, and there rendered valuable assistance in directing her fire. The number of men under Captain Conway was entirely inadequate to any protracted defence, and the stock of ammunition was scanty. A reinforcement of men and a supply of ammunition were expected by another steamer, but she arrived without either, and it became obvious that there was nothing to be done but to effect a retreat with as little loss as possible. An attempt was made to remove the property within the residence; but the camp followers became alarmed, and after reaching the steamer with their first loads, could not be brought to return; while the fighting men had employment more important as well as more stirring than looking after baggage. The greater portion of the property was therefore abandoned, and the British party evacuated their quarters in a body, covered by a few skirmishers. The movement was effected with perfect order; and the British commander, with his brave escort, arrived in safety at the camp of Sir Charles Napier.

There was now no mode of deciding the existing differences but by the sword. Sir Charles Napier accordingly advanced to a place called Meeanee, about six miles from Hyderabad, which he reached on the 17th of February, where he found the Ameers posted in great force. Their position was strong, their flank being protected by two woods, which were connected by the dry bed of the river Fulailee, having a high bank, behind which and in the woods were the enemy posted. In front of the extreme right, and on the edge of the wood protecting it,
was a village. Having made his observations, the British general prepared for attack; posting his artillery on the right of the line, and sending forward skirmishers to drive out the enemy's force. The advance then took place from the right in echelon of battalions; the left being declined to escape the fire of the village. The artillery and her Majesty's 22nd formed the leading echelon; the 25th native infantry the second, the 12th native infantry the third, and the 1st grenadier native infantry the fourth.

About a hundred yards from the bank the British opened the fire of their musketry in answer to that of the enemy. Thenceforward the official details of the battle are neither very full nor very clear. This much is certain, that the conflict was obstinate and sanguinary, and that for a time the event was doubtful. The British, however, continued to press determinedly on their opponents; and a charge from the 9th Bengal light cavalry (which formed the reserve), aided by some Sinde horse, completed the discomfiture of the enemy, who slowly retired. The victory cost the British a loss of sixty-two killed, and one hundred and ninety-five wounded. Among the number was a large proportion of officers.* The

* The following is a list of the officers who suffered:—


Her Majesty's 22nd regiment—Captain W. W. Tew, killed; Lieut.-Col. J. L. Pennefather, Captain Conway, Lieut. F. P. Harding, Ensign R. Pennefather, Ensign H. Bowden, wounded.
loss of the enemy was estimated at five thousand; but this amount seems incredible.*

Immediately after the battle six of the Ameers (three of Khyrpore and three of Hyderabad) surrendered themselves prisoners; and on the 20th of February Sir Charles Napier entered the capital of Lower Sinde. But the contest was not yet at an end. Shere Mahommed, Ameer of Meerpore, remained in arms; and on the 24th of March the British commander marched out of Hyderabad to

12th regiment native infantry—Captain and Bt. Major Jackson, Lt. and Bt. Captain Meade, Lieutenant Wood, killed; Ensign Holbrow, wounded.

25th regiment native infantry—Major Teesdale, killed; Lieut. Qr.-M. Phayre, Lieut. Bourdillon, wounded.


* One of the most pleasing duties of a general is to render just praise to those who have distinguished themselves under his command. It is scarcely a less gratifying duty to those whose humbler province it is to record the results of the soldier's efforts; but the list of officers favourably noticed by Sir Charles Napier is so long, that to introduce their names into the text would have the effect of converting a considerable portion of it into a mere catalogue. It is, however, not fitting that such names should be passed over, and they are consequently here presented. The officers named in the general's despatch are Major Teesdale (killed), Major Jackson (killed), Captains Meade, Tew, and Cookson (all killed); Lieutenant Wood (killed), Lieutenant-Colonel Pennefather (wounded), Major Wyllie (wounded), Captains Tucker and Conway (both wounded), Lieutenants Harding and Phayre (both wounded), Lieutenant-Colonel Pattle, Major Story, Captain Jacob, Major Lloyd, Captains Whittle and Hutt, Major Waddington, Major Reid, Major Poole, Captain Jackson, Lieutenant McMurdo, Major McPherson, Lieutenant Pelly, Lieutenant Thompson, Lieutenant Younghusband, Captain Henderson, Lieutenant Boyle, Lieutenant Outlaw, Captain Taite, Lieutenants Leeson and Brennan.
attack him. He found him at the head of a great force posted behind a nullah, which had been partially scarped and otherwise strengthened. Shere Mahomed, perceiving that the British force was out-flanking him on the right, moved in that direction; and Sir Charles Napier, believing that the movement drew him away from that part of the nullah prepared for defence, chose the moment for commencing an attack. A troop of horse artillery, under Major Leslie, was ordered to move forward, and endeavour to rake the nullah, while the 9th light cavalry and Poonah horse were ordered to advance in line on the left of the artillery, which was supported on the right by her Majesty’s 22nd; that regiment being, however, considerably retired, to avoid interfering with the oblique fire of the artillery. The artillery opened upon the enemy’s position, and the British line advanced in echelon from the left, the Queen’s 22nd leading the attack.

From the official account of the battle, the following particulars are to be collected. The enemy appearing to shrink from the cross fire of the British artillery, Major Stack gave an impetus to their movement by a brilliant charge upon their left flank with the third cavalry, under Captain Delamain, and the Sinde horse, under Captain Jacob. These troops crossed the nullah, and pursued the enemy for several miles. While this was in progress, the Queen’s 22nd, under Major Poole, commanding the brigade, and Captain George, commanding the corps, attacked the nullah on the left, marching up to it
under a heavy fire of matchlocks, without returning a shot, till they came within forty paces of the intrenchment, which they forthwith stormed in gallant style. Lieutenant Coote, who was the first man to mount the rampart, seized one of the enemy's standards, and was severely wounded while waving it to encourage his men. The efforts of the 22nd were supported by batteries, commanded by Captain Willoughby and Captain Hutt, the fire from which crossed that of Major Leslie; while the Poonah horse, under Captain Taite, and the 9th cavalry, under Major Story, turned the enemy's right flank, pursuing and cutting down the fugitives. A brigade, consisting of the 12th, 21st, and 25th regiments, commanded respectively by Captain Fisher, Captain Stevens, and Captain Jackson, the brigade being under Major Woodburn, was also meritoriously engaged, supported by the fire of a battery under Captain Whitlie, on the right of which were the 1st and 8th regiments, under Major Brown and Major Clibborn, which regiments appear to have manifested great coolness and great anxiety for action. Of the details of the battle little can be gathered; and all the information furnished amounts in fact to this:—that Sir Charles Napier, with a force the component parts of which are only incidentally mentioned, met a large body of Beloochees, engaged and defeated them. The loss sustained by the British amounted to two hundred and sixty-seven killed and wounded. Among the killed were two valuable officers, Captain C. Garrett, of the 9th light cavalry, and Lieutenant
J. C. Smith, of the Bombay artillery. The latter officer fell while exhibiting an instance of desperate valour, in riding along the top of the nullah in advance of his battery, with a view of ascertaining where his guns could be brought to bear with the greatest effect.*

After this battle, Sir Charles Napier marched forward, and took possession of Meerpore. The reduction of Omercote, situate in the desert, and a fortress of some importance (with reference to Oriental notions), was the next object sought. A detachment was dispatched against this place, originally under Captain Whitlie; but Major Woodburn subsequently assumed the command. Acting on information reaching him at a distance from the spot, Sir Charles Napier ordered a retreat when the force sent against Omercote was about twenty miles from the fortress. At the moment when the order was received, the officer in command was informed that

* The following officers were wounded:—Lieutenant T. C. Pownall, 8th company Golundauze battalion; Lieutenant Taite, of the Poonah horse; Lieutenants Chute, Coote, Evans, and Brennan, of her Majesty’s 22nd; Ensign Pennefather, of the same regiment; Lieutenants Burr and Wilkinson, of the 21st native infantry; and Lieutenant McMurdo, acting-assistant quartermaster-general. The following officers are favourably noticed in Sir Charles Napier’s report of the battle:—Lieutenant-Colonel Pattie, Lieutenant Thompson, Major McPherson, Lieutenant Brown, Captain Tucker, Lieutenants Rathborne, Hill, North, Battersby, Pelly, and McMurdo; Majors Lloyd and Leslie; Captains Willoughby, Whitlie, and Hutt; Major Waddington, Captain Henderson, Lieutenants Outlaw and Boileau, Captain Blenkins, Lieutenant Leeson, and Inspecting-Surgeon Bell.
the place had been abandoned by the garrison; but
the order to retire seems to have been peremptory,
and he did not feel justified in disregarding it. Under
the influence of this embarrassment, the capture of
'Omercote might have been postponed indefinitely,
but for the energy of Captain Brown, who, mount-
ing his horse, performed, without halting, a journey
of eighty miles, under the burning sun of Sinde, in
order to put Sir Charles Napier in possession of the
report which had been received by Major Wood-
burn, and obtain his revised decision. Permission
being given to advance, it was acted upon by Major
Woodburn. The final march was commenced at
midnight on the 4th of April. It lay over a good
road, but through jungle, which became thicker and
higher as Omercote was approached; and it was
not till arriving within eight hundred yards of the
north-west frontier, that a fair sight of the fort could
be obtained. On a party of horse approaching to
reconnoitre, a few armed men shewed themselves
on the walls, and this induced Major Woodburn to
order Captain Jacob, with the Sinde horse, to pro-
ceed round to the eastern face of the fort, to inter-
cept the escape of the garrison, if they were dis-
posed to resort to such a step, or to induce them to
display their strength, if they were prepared for de-
fence. The chief persons of the Hindoo population
within the place came out, however, and tendered
their submission to the British commander, assuring
him, at the same time, that the greater part of the
garrison had fled some days before, that there remained few armed men within the fort, and that those few had no desire to resist, but were ready to depart, if the safety of their lives were guaranteed. An officer was dispatched to inform them that their lives would be spared, on condition of their coming out and laying down their arms. In the meantime some guns were brought up, and placed in position, Major Woodburn rightly concluding "that the sight of them" was likely to "hasten the determination of the garrison." There was no necessity for employing them, the remnant of the garrison meeting the communication made to them by opening their gates, surrendering the keys, and laying down their arms.

Sir Charles Napier had directed a squadron of horse to be left as a garrison for Omercote. Major Woodburn determined to add to this a company of infantry, and his reasons appear well founded. "I beg," he says, "to submit to the major-general's consideration, that foraging parties will, from all I can hear, be obliged to go often to the distance of many miles, and will be required to be in strength, as there are now many parties of the followers of the Ameer Shere Mahomed scattered about the country, as well as others of different tribes, who are always to be met with where forage is most plentiful. To make these foraging parties sufficiently strong might, were a squadron left alone, often leave too small a garrison in the fort; and on this account I have been induced to add the infantry, so as to
admite of all the cavalry being absent at one time, when such is required."*

Sir Charles Napier concluded his despatch to the governor-general, announcing the occupation of Ómercote, with the words, "Thus, my lord, I think I may venture to say Sinde is now subdued."† But the subjugation of a country inhabited, for the most part, by a wild and warlike population, is a thing easy to talk of, but not easy to accomplish. The governor of Sinde (for to this office Sir Charles Napier had been appointed by Lord Ellenborough), for many months after uttering this declaration, found that he had something more to do than merely to make the requisite arrangements for carrying on the civil administration of the country which he represented as subdued. The Ameer Shah Mahomed continued to break the tranquillity upon which Sir Charles Napier had calculated. The chief was attacked on the 8th of June by a British force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, consisting of twelve companies of native infantry, followed by the 6th, 15th, and 20th regiments, a troop of the 3rd light cavalry, and a battery of four guns. Shah Mahomed was encamped at a place called Peer Assee, with a force reported to amount to two thousand men. On the approach of Colonel Roberts, the enemy was discovered in retreat. Captain Walker was dispatched with the cavalry to intercept this

* Despatch addressed by Major Woodburn to assistant adjutant-general in Sinde, April 5, 1843.
† Despatch, 5th of April, 1843.
movement, and succeeded in destroying many of the fugitives. The remainder of the detachment continued to advance, and a party of the grenadier company of the 20th native infantry, scouring an inclosure, discovered Shah Mahomed, with three or four servants, concealed in some underwood. He seemed at first disposed to resist; but Captain Travers, of the 23rd Bombay infantry, coming up, he delivered his sword o him. Thus terminated the endeavours of this chief to disturb the British in Sinde.

Another Ameer, named Shere Mahomed, was still at the head of a large force of Beloochees; but his situation was one of peril. Colonel Roberts' column was threatening him on the north. Sir Charles Napier, with the troops under his personal command, was marching upon him from the south; and another force, under Captain Jacob, cut him off from retreat to the desert. The force last named, Shere Mahomed determined to attack; and his choice was probably governed by two considerations: in the first place, it was the weakest of the three bodies of troops by whom he was menaced; and in the second, it interfered with his chance of escaping the others. On the night of the 13th of June, Captain Jacob received information that the Ameer was about to attack him; and about three o'clock on the morning of the 14th, the enemy were discovered approaching. The advance, however, was too slow to meet the expectations of the British officer in command; and, leaving a troop and
a company to protect his camp, he went out with the rest of his force in search of the tardily advancing enemy. The Beloochees formed on the bank of a nullah, in considerable strength, both horse and foot, and opened three guns, which advanced on the British, and shewed a front of defiance. But its continuance was brief; for no sooner had the British commander formed his line, and brought his guns into play, than the Beloochees were perceived moving off; and on Colonel Jacob advancing with the Sinde horse, they broke, dispersed, and fled in all directions, leaving their guns in the hands of the British, without an effort to save them. The deprivation of these, and of several standards, constituted almost their entire loss, for five or six only were killed. But the dispersion was complete, and Shere Mahomed fled from the field with ten horsemen, the remnant of a force of about four thousand that he had brought into action.

Since this period Sinde has been more tranquil; but it will probably be long, ere the irruptions of the wild Beloochee tribes shall cease to afford ground for alarm.

The proceedings of the British government, with regard to Sinde, were never popular in England, and even the splendour of victory failed of securing public approbation to a course of policy believed to be based in injustice. The governor-general, in a despatch to the Secret Committee, dated in June, entered into an elaborate defence of that policy, obviously under the impression that such a step was
not unnecessary. "As this document was the official vindication of a series of acts regarded by a great majority of observers as of very questionable character, some examination of its contents seems to be called for.

* With a view to fairness, the vindication itself, as given in the parliamentary collection, follows:—

"On the withdrawal of the British armies from Kabool to the Sutledj, I had to decide what course I should pursue with respect to the Lower Indus. I had to decide whether the Lower Indus should be altogether evacuated, and our armies everywhere resume the positions they occupied before the Affghan war; or whether, while the old positions were re-occupied upon the Sutledj, certain points should still be held upon the Lower Indus, which would ensure the strict performance of commercial treaties, and give us the military command of that river.

"The withdrawal to the Sutledj, and the withdrawal from the Lower Indus, appeared to me to be very different questions. The withdrawal to the Sutledj was dictated by the clearest views of military and political prudence; I shall not recapitulate the reasons for that measure, as they have been placed on record in what has been called my Proclamation of the 1st of October, 1842.

"I have adopted every measure which could have the effect of giving the appearance of triumph to the return of the armies from Kabool; but still it was a retirement from an advanced position, and it was the first retirement ever rendered necessary to a British army.

"I was deeply sensible of the impression which the reverses at Kabool had produced upon the minds of native princes, of the native population, and of our own troops. I knew that all that had taken place since, and all I had said and done, although it must have much diminished, could not have oblitered that impression, and restored to our government, and to our army, the place they had before held in the opinion of India.

"To have added to retirement to the Sutledj, retirement from the Lower Indus; to have abandoned every part of the advanced position we had taken up in 1839; to have withdrawn from Kurachee and from Sukkur amidst the insults, and exposed, as
The defence commences by a reference to the state of affairs at the time of the withdrawal of the
we should have been, to the attacks of the Beloochees upon our
rear-guard; to have practically abandoned, as we should thereby
have done, all the benefits which we might expect ultimately to
derive from the commercial treaties concluded in 1839 (for it was
idle to imagine, after what had passed, that, without the presence
of force, those treaties would be observed); to have abandoned
also all the great prospective advantages which may be expected
to be derived from substituting the Indus for the Ganges, as the
line of military communication between England and the north-
west provinces, and to have left open to the ambition of the Sikhs,
or of an European power, that route of which we had demonstrated
the practicability and the importance; to have done all these
things, without positive instructions from you, or without some
overpowering necessity, would have been, in my opinion, con-
trary to my duty, because inconsistent with our national interest
and the national honour.

"Such a measure would have confirmed the most exaggerated
accounts which had been circulated of our disasters. It would
have been humiliating to the army.

"There was no overpowering necessity for retirement. There
is no difficulty in holding the positions of Kurachee and Sukkur.
The first is, during the largest portion of the year, accessible in a
few days from Bombay; the latter is, during the whole year,
accessible in less than three weeks from Ferozepore. We can,
besides, command the river by our steam-vessels, if we have a
sufficient number of them well adapted to the navigation.

"The misinterpretations placed upon some provisions of the
commercial treaty, and the various violations of its letter and of
its spirit, even while our armies were in force in Sinde, satisfied
me that, unless some penalty were imposed upon the Ameers for
such infractions of their engagements, there could be no security
whatever for their future observance.

"I saw troops collected by the Ameers, contrary to their
usage, and without legitimate cause; but such collection of troops
in the presence of a British army is, in itself, an offence, and an
indication of hostility not to be misunderstood or overlooked.

"With respect to the authenticity of certain letters of hostile
British army to the Sutledj; and it is urged, that the question of withdrawing from the Lower Indus rested character, ascribed to the Ameers, or to their agents, you will have observed how strongly I impressed upon Sir Charles Napier the necessity of caution in coming to a decision on that point. I had, however, the fullest reliance upon his sense of justice; and with this reliance I felt that he, on the spot, with every opportunity of personal communication with those conversant with such matters, was infinitely more competent to form a correct conclusion than I could be, at Simla. To him, therefore, I confidently remitted the question.

"I am satisfied with the grounds upon which he decided that the letters were authentic.

"Major Outram's doubt as to the authenticity of the letter of Meer Roostum Khan to the Maharajah Shere Sing appears to have rested upon the circumstance of the party whose information led to the seizure of the letter, being inimical to Meer Roostum Khan; but, assuredly, information tending to criminate Meer Roostum could not be expected from one of his friends. Lieutenant Postans believed the document to be genuine. Major Outram's suggestions to Mr. Clerk, as to the use which might be made of the letter, could hardly have been given, had he entertained a serious doubt of its authenticity. Mr. Clerk never had the opportunity of elucidating, in a personal conference with the Maharajah, in which he thought it could best be done, the doubts to which this letter, and the intercepted letter to Dewan Sawun Mull, gave rise; doubts which in his mind must have had reference more to his belief in the loyalty of the Maharajah, to whom the letter was addressed by Meer Roostum Khan, than to his confidence in that of Meer Roostum, who was unknown to him. Mr. Clerk truly observes, that 'he does not think the question could, at any time, be well judged of here;' that is, at Simla. I thought so too, and, therefore, referred the question altogether to Sir C. Napier, and the officers employed in Sinde.

"It appears, by Sir Charles Napier's letter of the 17th November, that Major Outram had doubts whether Meer Roostum was privy to the writing of the letter; but that the letter had his seal, and was written by his confidential minister, there was no doubt. Lieutenant Brown assured Sir C. Napier that there could not be
on very different grounds. The reasons assigned for the difference are, that such a course would have the slightest doubt of the authenticity of the letter. There has been no officer employed in Sinde, upon whose opinion I would more confidently proceed than on that of Lieutenant Brown. Everything that has come to my knowledge, with regard to that officer, has tended to make me entertain a feeling of great respect for his ability and his character.

"But while doubts have thus been thrown upon the letter of Meer Roostum to the Maharajah, none have been entertained with respect to the proposed agreement between Meer Roostum and Meer Nusseer Khan, 'binding them to act together in every affair, whether for good or evil, peace or war;' which proposed agreement, to the best of the judgment and belief of Major Outram, is in the handwriting of Meer Roostum himself. When that proposed agreement is considered, in connection with Meer Nusseer's conduct, and with the collection of troops, before any intimation was given to the Ameers of any intention of proposing any modification of the treaty, it is impossible to view it in any other light than as an act of hostility.

"That the letter of Meer Nusseer Khan to Beebruck Boogtie bore his seal, there can now be no doubt. The seal upon that letter, by all before believed to be that of Meer Nusseer, was found to correspond exactly with the seal upon a letter of that Ameer, which bore also the handwriting of his confidential moonshee.

"Much care appears to have been taken to investigate all the circumstances attending the escape of Mahomed Shurreef. It seems impossible to doubt the participation of Meer Roostum's minister in that escape of an enemy to the British government, proceeding to act hostilely against us.

"I cannot admit the convenient doctrine that a chief is not to be responsible for the act of his minister. That minister, known to be so hostile to the British government, remained with Meer Roostum to the last.

"I have endeavoured to judge my own conduct as I would that of another; and I cannot think, in reviewing it, that in the circumstances in which I stood, I was unjustified in requiring from the Ameers the specific modifications of their engagements which I instructed Sir Charles Napier to propose to them.
been humiliating; that there was no overpowering necessity for it; that our advanced positions were

"These modifications of the existing treaty involved on our part the abandonment of a considerable revenue, payable to us every year by the Ameers, under the name of tribute. They involved, undoubtedly, the sacrifice, on their part, of lands of more than equivalent value; but the penalty imposed did not seem disproportioned to the offence I had reason to believe they had committed.

"You have been long in possession of the reason which induced me to think that the abolition of tribute was in itself a good. You have also long been aware of the grounds on which I deemed it politic to make a gift to the Nawab of Bhawlpore, of territory which formerly belonged to his state. Had you disapproved of the general principles upon which the new treaty proposed to the Ameers was founded, still more had you disapproved of the intention I had announced of holding military possession of certain points upon the Lower Indus, after the evacuation of Affghanistan, I presume that you would have acquainted me with that opinion; in the absence of any intimation to that effect, I had reason to suppose that a new treaty, based upon those principles, if legitimately obtainable, would not be unacceptable to you.

"Had the Ameers seen fit to reject the treaty proposed to them, and to support that rejection openly by arms, they would have pursued a legitimate course, and their defeat in fair fight would have admitted of subsequent arrangements on the basis of their retaining a portion of their territory, and the exercise of sovereign authority: but, from the first, while they of course denied the correctness of the charges made against them, they professed their willingness to submit to the penalty imposed; still, they collected more troops. At last, having drawn the British general into the vicinity of Hyderabad, having then actually signed the draft of the treaty, they, with a portion of their troops, made a treacherous attack upon the residence of the British commissioner, and, with all their forces united, they opposed the further advance of our army at Meeanee.

"It would be to take an incorrect view of the treachery of the Ameers were we to regard them, from their first acquiescence in
maintainable without difficulty, and that it was not
desirable to abandon the Indus to the Sikhs, or to a
the proposed treaty, in the first week of December, to the attack
on the residency on the 15th of February, as proceeding upon
any other principle than that of collecting all their forces to
surround and destroy our army, while they endeavoured to deceive
the general by professing their readiness to submit.

"When Sir Charles Napier gained the battle of Meeanee he
had 22,000 men in his front; but he had also had for some days
10,000 men in his rear, who had crossed the Indus to attack
him.

"Such large assemblages of armed men cannot take place in
any country without much previous preparation. It was in this
case a levy en masse of the ruling tribe from every part of Sinde.

"Our first duty is to our own army; and it is due to that army
that we should not forgive, or leave without the most exemplary
and deterring punishment, the far-seeing and long-designing
treachery by which its destruction was to be effected.

"The example of the Affghans at Kabool was to be followed by
the Beloochees at Hyderabad; but the spirit in which they were
met was different from that which at Kabool led to the destruc-
tion of a British army.

"It was my duty to mark such conduct by an extent of punish-
ment which should be a warning to every chief and people in
India, which should give future security to the persons of British
ministers, and protect British troops from treacherous aggres-
sion.

"The battle of Meeanee entirely changed the position in which
the British government stood with respect to the Ameers of Sinde.

"To have placed confidence in them thereafter would have
been impossible.

"To have only exacted from them large cessions of territory,
would have been to give them what remained as the means of
levying war for the purpose of regaining what was ceded.

"Foreigners in Sinde, they had only held their power by the
sword, and by the sword they have lost it.

"Their position was widely different from that of a native
prince succeeding a long line of ancestors, the object of the hered-
ditary affection and obedience of his subjects.
European power; that the Ameer had committed violations of the commercial treaty, and that the

"They had no claim to consideration on the ground of ancient possession, or of national prejudice. Certainly, they had none arising out of the goodness of their government. To take advantage of the crime they had committed to overthrow their power, was a duty to the people they had so long misgoverned.

"It was essential to the settlement of the country, that I should take at once a decided course with respect to the Ameer; and, having no doubt that I was justified in dethroning them, I determined on at once adopting and announcing that decision.

"Their removal from the country with which they were no longer to be connected as sovereigns, was a measure of obvious expediency. It has apparently had the beneficial effect I anticipated from it. The willing acquiescence of the people in our rule, and the adhesion of many of the chiefs to our government, are already the just rewards of an unhesitating and decisive policy, which, in taking away every hope from the Ameer, has given confidence to their late oppressed subjects.

"Some resistance on the part of the Ameer, I regarded as not an impossible event, and I considered that, having once felt our strength, they might thereafter be more strict observers of their engagements. Treachery, such as that we experienced, had not come within my calculations. A victory, decisive as that at Mecanee, and gained under such circumstances, was to me a wholly unexpected event. As I have said, it entirely changed our position, and I was compelled at once to decide what policy should be adopted in the new state of things. I could not, for the reasons I have given, reinstate the Ameer. Any other arrangement than I have made, would have imposed upon us all the burthen of protecting a government, without affording us the means of benefiting the people or ourselves. Any half measure would have failed. Adopting the decisive measure of taking the province into our hands, I determined to adapt the means to the end, and not to omit any step by which security could be given to the new possession.

"The Ameer were removed beyond sea. All arrears of revenue due to them on the day of the battle of Mecanee were remitted; the transit duties were abolished; the neighbouring
imposition of some penalty upon them was, therefore, expedient; that the Ameers were collecting troops; states of Joudpore and Jessulmere were, as well as Bhawlpore, interested in the overthrow of the Beloochees, by the intimation that their ancient possessions would be restored. The inhabitants of Sinde were assured by proclamation, that the property of all who laid down their arms would be respected. As far as possible, the former officers of the government were employed, and everywhere as little change as possible has been made, beyond that essential change of substituting justice for injustice in the administration. The police has already attained some degree of efficiency. The most able engineers will be employed for the purpose of surveying, and of restoring, if it can be done, the ancient water-courses whereby the country was fertilized, and especially that, first closed by the vindictive and destructive policy of the rulers of Sinde, which once gave prosperity to the dominions of our ally the Rao of Cutch.

"The vast tracts which the Ameers have converted into shikargahs will also be surveyed. Such of the woods as it may be necessary to retain will be carefully preserved; and extensive portions of land, having the richest soil, lately reserved for hunting-grounds by the Ameers, will be restored to cultivation.

"Some of these measures have originated with myself; in others I have been anticipated by the governor of Sinde; in all, I know I shall have his most cordial co-operation.

"One of the measures which, in the first instance, I adopted,—that for the abolition of slavery,—has produced an extent of relief far beyond what I had expected. I was by no means aware of the degree to which that dreadful scourge of mankind had added to the misfortunes of the people of Sinde.

"It is impossible to calculate the extent to which, by opening ancient courses to the waters of the Indus, and by extending the means of irrigation, we may improve the productiveness of the soil. As little can we calculate the extent to which the assurance of protection given to the people may increase their industry, and thus finally promote their prosperity. You may be assured that no exertion of mine shall be wanting to make the conquest of Sinde by the British arms no less the source of happiness to the inhabitants of that country, than of advantage to our own."
that they were charged with writing letters of hostile character, which Sir Charles Napier determined to be genuine; that two of the Ameers entered into an agreement, binding themselves to act together in every affair, whether for good or evil, peace or war; that the servants of some of the Ameers acted hostilely, and that their masters were accountable for their actions. These are the grounds from which the conclusion is deduced, that it was just to demand the substitution, in place of the existing treaty, of one more favourable to the British government, which demand may be regarded as the first important step in the dealings of Lord Ellenborough with Sinde.

The withdrawing from the Lower Indus was, in one view, a very different measure from the withdrawal to the Sutledj. When it became a question whether or not the British should retain their positions on the Lower Indus, the impression produced by the disasters in Afghanistan had been in a great degree effaced by the triumphant march to Kabool. It will be recollected, that before this march the British generals beyond the Sutledj had been urged to return with all speed. This would, undoubtedly, have been "humiliating," and the effect might, perhaps, have been fatal. Happily, the officers commanding, both in Upper and Lower Afghanistan, were men not open to the influence of panic. They returned, but not till after they had vindicated their country's honour. Surely, it could not be so humiliating, or so disastrous, to quit Sinde at a moment of triumph, as it would have been to quit Afghanistan under the
disgrace of defeat. Yet the governor-general, who was prepared for the latter step, shrank from the former. It was, at least, as safe to retire from Sinde victorious, as to retire from Affghanistan beaten; and the difference which exists between the two cases, as far as national military character is concerned, tells alike, against the course urged upon the generals commanding in Affghanistan in the one case, and the opposite course voluntarily taken by the governor-general in the other.

To the argument that there was no overpowering necessity for retiring from Sinde, it is unnecessary to say any thing further than that its adoption will justify a government in keeping any thing which it is strong enough to hold; and if a government may thus argue, why may not an individual? The British were in Sinde, and it was believed that they had the power to remain. The question of how they came there appears not to have been thought of. It is true, that Lord Ellenborough was not accountable for the original wrong inflicted on the rulers of Sinde; but he did not hesitate to add to that wrong, and thus to identify himself with an evil policy. Further—in the doctrine that nothing should be yielded except to an overwhelming necessity, we find a severe condemnation of Lord Ellenborough's proposed policy in regard to Affghanistan, that of quitting the country without an effort to vindicate the national honour. There was no overwhelming necessity for this, yet he would have done it.

But it was not to be expected that Lord Ellen-
borough should sever the British connection with Sinde; before his arrival in India, the rights of the Ameers, as independent rulers, had been violated, by forcing upon them a treaty containing provisions which they regarded with great, and as the event shewed, with very just apprehensions. It would be too much to maintain that Lord Ellenborough was bound to set aside this treaty, and to restore the state of affairs existing previously to its being made. Such things have occurred in India as for a governor-general summarily to annul engagements solemnly concluded by his predecessor, even when one of the contracting parties was thereby exposed to ruin, and was most anxious to receive the protection of the great European power which now gives law to the Eastern world; but Lord Ellenborough might justly hesitate at the adoption of such a course; and assuredly, had he adopted it in the case of Sinde, he would have been met in certain quarters by clamorous accusations of neglect of duty, in having abandoned the Indus, that great line of communication with Upper Asia, to which our merchants and manufacturers had been taught to look, as affording the means of deluging with British goods, countries known only by name. The governor-general could not reasonably be blamed, had he only endeavoured to maintain things as he found them; but with this he was not content. He was resolved to have a new treaty, more humiliating and more hateful to the Ameers than that which preceded it; and in endeavouring to accomplish this object, he preci-
pitied his government into a new and dangerous war, ending, indeed, successfully, and thus saving the military reputation of the British from blot, but leaving on their character for honour and good faith a deep and enduring stain.

The provisions of the commercial treaty, it was said, had not been strictly adhered to by the Ameers, and the charge was probably true; but if every trifling breach of treaty committed by a native prince, or by his servants, were to furnish occasion for war, the British government of India would never be at peace for a single year with any one of the states with whom it is in alliance. The alleged aggressions were all very slight; they afforded proper ground for remonstrance, but not for forcing on the Ameers, at the point of the sword, an entire change in their situation in regard to the British government. Lord Ellenborough was for prompt and decisive measures; he deemed it necessary to inflict "some penalty," because without it there would, in his judgment, be "no security" for the future observance by the Ameers of their engagements. What security was gained by the course which he took? He deposed the Ameers and took possession of their country, thus putting their future adherence to treaties quite out of the question; but this was but the clumsy expedient of an unskilful surgeon, who cuts off the limb which he is unable to restore to healthy action. Looking merely to the relations subsisting between the Ameers and the British, it is impossible to deny that the former were in the wrong;
but if the means by which those relations were brought about be remembered, some degree of excuse will be suggested for men who had been coerced, by those whom they had never injured, into a position which they wished to avoid. The same remark will apply to the charge founded on the hostile letters (the authenticity of which is, to say the least, very doubtful), and to the other acts of an unfriendly character which the Ameers were charged with doing or tolerating. They had received gross provocation, and they might not unreasonably expect that remonstrance would be followed by some further period of probation before they were sentenced to descend still lower in the scale of dependency. But this was not granted. The charges were some of them trivial and some unproved, but they were sufficient to support a demand upon the Ameers for the execution of a new treaty inflicting a penalty—for that is the word employed by the governor-general. It was not enough that the British government should be safe, it was deemed requisite that the Ameers should be punished. These princes had been subjected to much injustice—they were naturally dissatisfied, and it was, therefore, fitting that they should suffer more, especially as there was an opportunity for inflicting further injustice without much risk. If the Ameers gave cause for suspicion, it was right to watch their conduct narrowly—it was justifiable to require them to conform to the treaty which they had subscribed—it was lawful even to propose alterations in the treaty; but if they were declined, it was
neither lawful nor honourable to treat an ally as a conquered enemy, and require submission to any terms which it might be the pleasure of the stronger power to dictate.

The Ameers were blamed for not peremptorily rejecting the treaty, and supporting the rejection by arms. This would certainly have been the more honourable course; but why should honour be expected to find a place in a native government when it had departed from that which had hitherto rested its claim to power in Asia, upon its character for good faith? What measure of openness and fair dealing had the Ameers met with at the hands of the power which, within eleven years from the period when it obtained a reluctantly granted permission to use the roads and river of Sinde for commercial purposes, and for these only, had by steps following each other in rapid succession advanced its claim even to the right of disposing of the territory of the Ameers at its pleasure? This is not an exaggerated representation. Sir Charles Napier assumed the right of transferring a portion of the territory of the Ameers of Sinde to the Rajah of Bhawlpore under orders from the governor-general, and with reference to the provisions of a treaty which the Ameers had never executed. The general's proclamation announcing the transfer bears date the 18th of December, the Ameers did not subscribe the treaty till the 12th of February following. By threats or cajolery, by force or finesse, one sacrifice after another had been extorted from the Ameers. At length, at

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the end of the year 1842, the British government, being disembarrassed of all other difficulties, was able to deal very decidedly with the one which remained. It was thought no longer necessary to go through the forms of diplomacy, or to wear even a decent mark of friendship. It sufficed to declare that the British government wanted certain portions of territory for their own objects, and forthwith to take them without reference to the treaty of 1839, though that was the only document which defined the relations of the Ameeers and the British government, and slight infractions of that treaty by the Ameeers were represented by the other party as sufficient to stamp on those princes the character of the most faithless of men. If a few breaches of commercial regulations, some of which were doubtful, demanded the infliction of a penalty, what punishment was due to the seizure of a province in violation of treaty? The rulers of Sinde were guilty of the former offence, and lost a kingdom: the British government committed the latter, and gained one. Affairs had indeed been for some time approaching a point where it was inevitable that disguise on both sides should be abandoned; it was maintained by one party as long as was practicable, by the other as long as was necessary. The British in the earlier of their proceedings had employed both cunning and force. They were now in a condition to rely solely on force, and accordingly they dispensed with the less dignified means, by the use of which they had won their first steps. The situation of the Ameeers was
different. They could not afford to discard the use of temporizing, and accordingly they clung fast to it. There is this apology for them; they were acting in self-defence. This at no time could be said of their opponents; they were throughout acting aggressively. The contest on their part was an unrighteous one, and their triumph is felt by their countrymen to be almost as great a source of shame as would have been their defeat.

The case properly rests on the grounds which have already been adverted to, but in the labourd defence of the governor-general there are passages of wider and less special application, which claim some remark. They are those in which the situation of the Ameers, in regard to their subjects, the character of their government, and the moral and social consequences of their dethronement, are referred to. "Foreigners in Sinde," writes his lordship, "they had only held their power by the sword, and by the sword they have lost it. Their position was widely different from that of a native prince, succeeding a long line of ancestors, the object of the hereditary affection and obedience of his subjects. They had no claim to consideration on the ground of ancient possession or of national prejudice." The argument intended to be included in the word "foreigner" obviously bears just as much against those who displaced the Ameers, as against the princes themselves, if not more strongly; and though it be true that they held their power only by the sword, the British, according to the statement under examina-
tion, have no better tenure. They struck the sword out of the hand of the Ameers, and took it themselves; another party, if strong enough, may wrest it from them, and thus the question is reduced to one of mere force. The "position of the Ameers," it is said, "was widely different from that of a prince succeeding a long line of ancestors, the object of the hereditary affection and obedience of his subjects; they had no claim to consideration on the ground of ancient possession, or national prejudice." The length of the possession of their family was about sixty years; our own standing in India is not so much more as to warrant us in despising a sixty years' possession. As to the case of a prince supposed not only to be derived from a long line of ancestors, but to be "the object of the hereditary affection and obedience of his subjects," it may confidently be asked, where, within the wide expanse of India, and the adjacent countries, is such a prince to be found? For the most part, the "obedience" rendered to native princes is very imperfect; but the Eastern potentate enjoying the "affection" of his subjects has still to be sought for. This imaginary case of a prince of ancient descent, and of such a character as shall command not only obedience but affection, is introduced merely for the purpose of a contrast with the Ameers, who, it is immediately added, had no claim to commendation "arising out of the goodness of their government." This may readily be admitted; it may be at once allowed that the Ameers were not above the ordinary run of native princes—
that they were even very bad specimens of a very bad class; but why, it may yet be asked, were they selected for punishment by confiscation and imprisonment, while other royal profligates are permitted without restraint to cover with desolation some of the fairest portions of Asia? "To take advantage of the crime they had committed, to overthrow their power," it is said, "was a duty to the people they had so long misgoverned;" but how came it that the claims of the people of Sinde pressed so much more strongly upon the British government than those of other countries, with whom that government had been much longer connected? There was an opportunity, it seems—the Amceers had committed a crime. That crime consisted in a desire to keep to themselves the country from whose roads and river they had, down to the year 1832, excluded strangers at their pleasure; the country in which, down to the year 1839, they had exercised sovereign rule; the country in which they still retained the name, and many of the functions of sovereignty, some of which, together with a large portion of territory, they were about to be deprived of. This was the crime of the Amceers; it was the crime of a man who resists an unlawful attempt to despoil him of his property. In all our disputes with these princes we had been the aggressors; we had dealt with their country as though it had been our own, and to suppose that they should regard us with friendly feelings was impossible. All that has been said of the bad government of the Amceers, and of
the benefit likely to result from its transfer, is the result of after-thought. If a regard for the people of Sinde were the motive of our proceedings, why was it not avowed from the first? It was, surely, a more honourable one than some which could not fail to be imputed. Did we or did we not invade Sinde for the deliverance of its people from tyranny? If we did, why did we so long decline the honour attached to our chivalric movement? If we did not, how can we now pretend to any merit on such ground? The government of the Ameers was bad: so is that of every other native state. The people will be more prosperous and more safe under British rule, than under that of their native governors; so would the people of every other state of India. Are we, therefore, prepared to take possession of every state subject to native rule? The case, in truth, stands thus:—The British were anxious for the possession of Sinde; they were strong enough to take it, and the people, it may be admitted, will be benefited by the change. But the motive which led to that change was ambition, not philanthropy; cupidity, not benevolence; and it is sheer hypocrisy to declaim on the vices of the Ameers, and the wrongs of their people, while, if our own interest had not furnished a spur to interference, the rulers might, for us, have revelled in their vices, and the people bent under their wrongs until the end of time.

Thus, too, of the vapouring display which has been made of the advantages of opening the Indus. It need not be denied that some degree of benefit...
to commerce may follow, but how has it been secured? By a series of political crimes; and if the actors in them are to be justified by the results, then may we do evil that good may come. Men have ceased, in a great degree, from attempting to propagate religious truth by violence; and there are now few who will not admit the wickedness of such attempts. But it seems that it is quite lawful to open up new sources of trade by such means, and that when there may appear any chance of extending commercial operations, the sword may properly be employed to clear the way. Thus the errors and crimes of one age disappear in the next, but too often only to be replaced by others equally great, and equally dangerous.

And with such vindication of the policy of a British governor-general, in dealing with an ally, as the letter of Lord Ellenborough affords, closes, for the present, the history of Sinde, henceforth a British province.

Another subject, not unfraught with anxiety, had divided with Sinde the attention of the British government during the year in which that country was added to the British possessions. This was the state of the dominions of the House of Scindia, where events occurred which threatened to light up again the flames of war but just extinguished in Afghanistan, and the embers of which yet glowed in Sinde. Dowlut Rao Scindia, with whom, it will be recollected, treaties had been concluded, under the administrations of the Marquis Wellesley and the
Marquis of Hastings,* died in the year 1827, leaving no son, and having adopted none. His widow, the daughter of the notorious Shirzee Rao Ghugay,† thereupon assumed the exercise of the sovereign authority, and meditated introducing a member of her own family as her successor. But this design she was forced to abandon; and, ultimately, she adopted a boy of the Scindia family, who was declared to be the nearest relation of the deceased chief, eligible for adoption, with reference to age. The youth of the new chief secured to the ambitious widow of the deceased one the continued exercise of power for some years; but on the former attaining the age of seventeen, he aspired to the actual possession of the authority which he had been selected to inherit. After a struggle, he succeeded; and, in 1833, was proclaimed sovereign, the regent retiring, after some months of hesitation, to Agra. Years were required to settle the amount of a pension to be assigned to her, and the provision of a place for her residence; and these points were scarcely arranged, when, in 1841, the chief was attacked by sickness, of which he sustained repeated shocks, until the 7th of February, 1843, when he died, childless, and without having made any arrangement for the succession by recourse to the ceremony of adoption. His widow, who was under thirteen years of age, adopted, with the concurrence of the influential persons and powerful officers of the

† See vol. iii. pp. 492—495.
court, a boy, named Bhageerut Rao, reputed to be the nearest relative to the deceased Maharajah, and he was forthwith seated on the guddee, with the usual ceremonies.

The Maharajah was about eight years old. His youth, therefore, rendered imperative some special provision for the discharge of the active duties of sovereignty; and the Maharanee, having little advantage, in point of age, over her adopted son, it was obvious that her hands were not those in which the requisite power should be placed. The British resident, Colonel Spiers, supported the pretensions of Mama Sahib, the maternal uncle of the deceased chief, and the governor-general acquiesced in the opinion of the resident. Mama Sahib had enemies and rivals; in an Oriental court every man, intent solely on his own advancement, is an enemy to every other man whose success may impede it. But the influence of the British resident prevailed. Mama Sahib was appointed regent, and on the day on which the Maharajah was enthroned, was invested with a dress indicative of his accession to the office.

Thus far the views and wishes of the British government were realized. But from the period when Mama Sahib entered upon the exercise of his functions, he found himself counteracted by sinister influence. A woman named Nurungee, whose power over the mind of the Ranee appears to have been great, exercised it in hostility to the regent. She was removed, but the effects of her evil counsel
did not cease with her presence. A more serious evil was the state of the army, more especially of a brigade of infantry, consisting of three battalions. One of the three, commanded by a person named Ishooree Singh, had committed great excesses during a march to Malwa. This had occurred before the death of the late Maharajah; and, on the representations of the British resident, orders had been dispatched for the recall of Ishooree Singh, which step was to be followed by his dismissal from the service, and imprisonment. The order required Ishooree Singh to return alone, leaving his battalion where it might be when the order reached him. But this did not correspond with his views; he returned, but brought the battalion with him; and on the arrival of this force in the camp, the disaffection which pervaded it spread to the two other battalions, which formed part of the brigade to which that of Ishooree Singh belonged.

The British resident called for the immediate and signal punishment of the contumacious officer, whose conduct had diffused a mutinous spirit through an entire brigade of the army, and offered the assistance of British troops for the purpose of effecting it. The regent, Mama Sahib, expressed his readiness to act upon the suggestion of the resident, but preferred accomplishing the desired object without the aid of British troops; the introduction of which, he represented, might cause a disturbance extending through the whole army. He believed himself capable of bringing Ishooree Singh and his battalion
to punishment, but not immediately. A delay of a month or six weeks was necessary, that time being required for issuing pay to the troops—a process necessary to be performed before they were called upon to act in support of the government. This was communicated to the governor-general, then at Agra, and he was thereupon satisfied that no necessity would arise for the march of troops on Gwalior; a measure which he had previously thought likely to be called for.

For nearly three months after his appointment to office, the regent, Mama Sahib, was thwarted by the Maharanees, and the clique of intriguers by whom she was surrounded. Suddenly and unexpectedly, on the 18th of May, the British resident received a message from the Maharanees, intimating a wish that the young Maharajah should contract a matrimonial alliance with the niece of the regent. The next evening was fixed for the performance of the initiatory ceremony of the Teeka, and it accordingly took place. This turn of affairs was sufficiently strange, but it was almost immediately followed by another not less startling. On the 18th of May the current of court favour seemed to flow entirely in the regent’s favour, and by the proposed marriage of his niece with the Maharajah his tenure of power appeared to be rendered secure. On the 21st the Maharance summoned to her presence all the chiefs in camp excepting Mama Sahib, and subsequently dispatched a message to the British resident, complaining of the conduct of the regent, and expressing
a desire for his removal. The resident remonstrated, but in vain; and in a few days Mama Sahib was on his journey from Scindia's camp, which he had been ordered to quit.

Oriental intrigues are rarely explicable, except by the parties engaged in them; and in a majority of instances, perhaps, even they would be unable to give a rational account of their motives and conduct. It would be vain to inquire at length into those of the actors in the extraordinary course of events which raised Maqta Sahib apparently to the summit of uncontrollable power only for the purpose of immediately precipitating him headlong into ruin and disgrace. One point, however, is clear, that the British government had little influence. The regent, who enjoyed its support as far, at least, as verbal assistance went, was dismissed with as little ceremony as a menial servant would have been discarded, and this by a faction, headed by a girl whose immature age would in Europe have precluded her from the exercise of any control over the most ordinary matters of business. It appears strange that no effort should have been made to sustain the regent by military aid, such having some months before been tendered to enable him to put down the mutinous battalions. The resident applied for permission, in case of need, to call on the officer commanding at Agra for troops to support the regent, but was refused; the governor-general declaring the sending troops to interfere in the internal disputes of an allied state to be a matter of too much importance
to justify his delegating to any one the power of so employing them. The letter by which the resident was apprized of this determination concluded with the emphatic declaration, "Under no circumstances does the governor-general desire that a single man be permitted to pass our frontier without his personal direction."

Troops were refused, but despatches were written. The resident was advised that the British government could not acquiesce in the removal of the Mama Sahib without the assignment of some better reason than the wish of the Maharanee; he was to hold no official intercourse with the successor of the deposed regent without special instructions from the governor-general; and it was authoritatively announced, that "the Maharanee and the chiefs must bear in mind that the frontier of the territories belonging to the British government, and of those of the Gwalior state, being for the most part conterminous," it was "a matter of paramount importance that there should exist in Gwalior a government willing and able to preserve tranquillity along that extended line;"—that "the British government" could "not permit the growing up of a lax system of rule, generating habits of plunder along its frontier;"—that "its duty to its own subjects imperatively" required "that it should interfere effectually to main-

* Letter from secretary to the governor-general, 30th of May, 1843. This letter will be found in "Further Papers respecting Gwalior," presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of her Majesty, April, 1844, page 35, No. 54.
tain the public peace by all such means as” might "appear best calculated to secure that essential object;” — that "it would be far more satisfactory to adopt the necessary measures in cordial co-operation with the authorities of the Gwalior state," and that it had been hoped "that under the regency of the Mama Sahib this might have been done; but" that "in any case the public peace must be preserved, and" that "the Gwalior state" would "be held responsible for all such interruptions thereof as" might "arise out of the mal-administration of its dominions."* These declarations were well; but the movement of a brigade would have been much more effective. In the East no argument is so convincing as that presented by strong battalions. "I do not think it possible," said the resident, "to restore the Mama Sahib to power by remonstrance alone;"† and beyond all question he thought correctly.

The British resident, in conformity with instructions from his government, prepared to remove from Gwalior for a season. This step appears to have excited in the minds of the Maharanee and her admirers that vague apprehension of evil not uncommon where there is a consciousness that offence has been given, and where every act of the party offended is regarded with suspicion. Inquiries were made as to the cause of the resident’s removal; and the hollow professions of regard, always current

in eastern courts, were tendered with great liberality. The representative of the British government was entreated, on behalf of the Maharanee, to consider the Maharajah and herself as his children (albeit her recent conduct had exhibited little of filial obedience); his forgiveness was implored, and that of the governor-general, but the Mama Sahib was not recalled. The resident answered in language less warm than that in which he had been addressed, but designed to have little more meaning; and, this edifying intercourse concluded, he proceeded to Dholepore. There he was informed that it was deemed by the governor-general inexpedient that he should return to Gwalior till some government should be created, “having the appearance of good intention, and giving the promise of stability;” or, until the Maharanee and chiefs should “earnestly call” for his assistance, in forming such a government. The governor-general had been sojourning in the upper provinces, but was now on his return; and the distance by which he was about to be separated from the resident made it obviously inconvenient that, under all circumstances, the latter should wait for instructions. The inconvenience was perceived and noticed; but it was declared that the governor-general deemed the return of the resident to Gwalior to be a measure requiring so much consideration, that except in case of unforeseen emergency, it was not to be adopted, without previously representing the circumstances, and waiting for
orders, having reference to the representation.* These instructions were forwarded from Allahabad on the 27th of June.

The principle of non-intercourse was, it appears, difficult to be adhered to. The Mama Sahib had retired to Seronge, and it was apprehended that some attempt might be made by the ruling parties at Gwalior to seize him there. The calm acquiescence of the British government in the deposal of the Mama Sahib had not tended to raise its character; and the seizure of the ex-regent at Seronge would have completed its humiliation in this respect. The governor-general had declared that he did "not wish to have any concern with the Mama Sahib's proceedings;" and the resident had accordingly been instructed to abstain from taking any notice of that person's residence at Seronge, or any other place. This was on the 30th of June. On the 13th of July, a different tone was adopted. The resident was desired, if he entertained the least apprehension of danger to the Mama Sahib, to address the Maharanees in the language of warning, intimating that the entrance of a single man into the territory of the British government would be considered as an attack upon that government itself, and punished accordingly. The threat was to be enforced by reference "to the conduct recently adopted by the British government towards the Ameers of Sinde, its enemies"—a most unhappy reference, except as to the indication of power—and towards the chiefs

of Bhawlpore, of Joudpore, and of Jessulmere, its allies.* A copy of this letter was transmitted to the Maharanee, with whom it had been deemed necessary to open communications on matters of state, without the intervention of any minister. This was a complete departure from the principle laid down some months before, that the Maharanee was to have no power, not even that of appointing ministers, but that all authority was to be centered in a responsible regent. The Maharanee, in her answer, denied that any intention existed of attacking the Mama Sahib, and a second representation on the subject received a like reply.

It would be impracticable to give any clear account of the intrigues at Gwalior, except at a length disproportioned to the importance of the subject, and the details, if furnished, would have little interest. The following brief notice may be sufficient:—The person most active in the deposal of the Mama Sahib, and whose influence became predominant after the fall of the regent, was called the Dada Khasjee Walla. An attempt was made to obtain for the Maharanee's father a portion of the power of the state, and it was directed that he should be consulted on all affairs; but the Dada Khasjee Walla represented that great evils were likely to arise from a divided authority; and thereupon he was reinstated in that plenitude of power which he so disinterestedly claimed.†

* See "Further Papers," ut supra, No. 78, pages 57, 58.
† The character of this person may be illustrated by reference
But all real power was, in fact, in the hands of the army. This body comprised above 30,000 men; a number out of all proportion to the demands of such a state as that of Gwalior for defence, and not less to its means of supporting them. These troops were, in some instances, commanded by office to a passage in a letter from Colonel Sleeman, forming No. 106 in "Further Papers." The following extract will be found in page 89:—"I may here be permitted to mention something of the character of the usurping minister; he is considered to be, personally, a great coward, and to owe all his influence to intrigues. * * * When the wife of the late chief, Junkojee, was to be confined, he, the Khasjee, collected several women who expected to be confined about the same time, with a view to substitute a boy, should the princess give birth to a daughter. She gave birth to a daughter, but the birth of a son was announced by the resident to the supreme government, and royal salutes were fired on the occasion. The fact of the child being a daughter was concealed from Scindia himself for ten days, till all the other women had given birth to daughters, and the Khasjee had no longer any hope of being able to substitute a boy. Scindia, as soon as he became acquainted with the truth, sent to the resident, and, with unfeigned sorrow and mortification, made the falsehood known to him. It is generally believed that the Khasjee intended to poison, or otherwise destroy, the father, could he have succeeded in substituting the boy, and he is known to have employed all kinds of supposed sorcerers and charms to make away with him, in the hope that the supreme government would, as in the case of the Baiza Baece, allow his widow to adopt a son, which would secure him a long minority. The mother and daughter both died, and Scindia married the Ranee Tara Baece, a girl now thirteen years of age, who was permitted to adopt the boy, who is now about nine years of age.

"The Khasjee occupies the palace with them, and never ventures outside the door night or day. Whenever danger threatens him, he conceals himself in the most sacred of the female apartments, from which issue the orders by which the state is governed."
cers of European birth, or of European parentage on one side; but the ordinary relation between officers and men was constantly inverted; the latter assuming the province of command, and punishing their officers at pleasure.*

* The following observations respecting the army of Gwalior occur in Colonel Sleeman’s letter above quoted (“Further Papers,” No. 106, page 86):—“The great evil with which the court of Gwalior has had to contend, since the death of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, in 1827, has been this concentrated mass of 40,000 soldiers at the capital. They have been often in a state of mutiny, and always in a state of disorder bordering upon it; and, in consequence of these disorders, the life of the Sovereign has always been in danger, while the revenues of the state have, it is said, fallen off since 1833, from ninety-five lacs to sixty-five.

“Since the suppression of the Pindaree system by the Marquis of Hastings, in 1817, and the establishment of our paramount authority in all the surrounding states, this disorderly army has had no employment. Just before that time, a part of it was employed, under Jean Baptiste Felose, in the conquest of surrounding districts. He attacked the Rajah of Kurralee, and seized from him the district of Sabulghur, yielding four lacs of rupees a year. He then attacked and seized upon the oldest of Bundelcund principalities, Chanderee, whose chief, Morepylad, had rejected the offer of our protection, which all the other chiefs of Bundelcund accepted. The chief, subsequently, at our intercession, received an assignment of land to the value of 40,000 rupees; but the district has ever since been in a state of anarchy, very prejudicial to the peace of our conterminous districts. He then seized upon the principality of the Keecheewar chief of Raghogur, yielding a revenue of three lacs of rupees a year, and that of the chief of Bahadurgur, alias Easaugurh, yielding two. The chief of Bahadurgur received the small Jagheer of Murcoodungurh as a provision, and the chief of Raghogur got 50,000 rupees a year, at the subsequent intercession of our government. He then seized upon Shedpore, yielding two lacs a year, and gave the prince twenty-five thousand. He then took Gurba Kolah, yielding several lacs. On the termination of the Pindaree war, in 1817, all these acqui-
Somewhat tardily the British government turned its attention to the necessity of interposing by force, if other means should fail, to suppress the disorders which prevailed in Gwalior, and menaced the peace and security of its own dominions. On the 10th of August, the governor-general recorded a minute, containing the following passage:—“The recent change of ministry at Gwalior, effected through the expulsion of the regent, who had been recently nominated with our sanction; the concentration at Gwalior itself of almost the whole army; the removal from that army, with circumstances of violence, of almost all the officers of European or Eurasian* origin; the selection for posts, civil and sitions were confirmed and guaranteed to the Gwalior chief, on the principle adopted, of respecting actual possession in the new relations with the native states to which that war gave rise.

“It might be supposed that this army, and its leaders, would never feel very well disposed towards a paramount authority, that has the power, and has manifested the will, to interpose and prevent its indulging in such excursions as these; for, if left alone, they would, in a few years, have seized upon every principality in Bundelcund in the same manner, and their bearing towards us has always been that of men restrained only by their fears.

“The chief and his ministers have often attempted to reduce the numbers of these military establishments, as well with a view to the tranquillity of the country on which they prey, as to economy; but such attempts have ended in their ruin, for they will never allow any corps or establishment to be paid off, or any vacancies in them to remain unfilled; and nothing but the interposition of the paramount power can ever enable the chief to reduce this body to a scale commensurate to his wants in the altered state of his affairs.”

* It may be necessary to explain that the word Eurasian is a term applied, somewhat affectedly, to the large class in India who trace their origin to one European parent only.
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military, of persons known to be hostile to our government, and of some whose removal from their appointments had but recently been carried into effect by the late Maharajah, on our representation; all these things, exaggerated as they will be by a people desirous of change, make it desirable that the representations our government may find it necessary to make to the Gwalior Durbar, and our general influence over native states, should be supported by the presence of an army. It may be impossible accurately to calculate upon the future, when its complexion must depend upon troops without discipline, who may soon be without pay, and upon men unscrupulous as to the means by which the objects of their bad ambition may be effected; but the course of events which seems most probable is this, that the inhabitants of the detached territories of the Gwalior state in Malwa, and of the districts adjoining Saugor and Bundelcund, being under no real control, will become the invaders and plunderers of our subjects and allies, and thus compel us to demand from the Gwalior state, a reparation which it will be really unable to afford, and which we must, therefore, in some manner take for ourselves. The measures we may thus adopt with respect to the districts belonging to the Gwalior state in Malwa, and adjoining Saugor, will be most conveniently covered by the union of a considerable force in a camp of exercise upon or near the Jumna.” In accordance with the views herein propounded, the commander-in-chief was desired to form his camp
at Cawnpore, on the 15th of October next ensuing, and it was directed that shortly afterwards an army of exercise, consisting of at least twelve battalions of infantry, with a proper complement of cavalry and artillery, should be assembled upon or near the Jumna.

In the meantime anarchy continued to increase, though communications between the Maharaneec and the British resident at Dholepore were not suspended. The Maharaneec expressed a strong wish for the return of the resident to Gwalior, but the latter, acting under the instructions of his government, refused, except on condition of the Dada Khasjee Walla being not only deprived of authority, but punished by fine and banishment; or what was regarded as a preferable course, surrendered to the British government. A paper, addressed to the Maharaneec by the resident, which contained the demand for the punishment or surrender of the Dada, was by that personage intercepted;—he very naturally feeling reluctant that such a proposal should reach the royal ear. When this fact became known to the governor-general, great indignation was expressed at the conduct of the Dada in withholding the communication, which was declared to be "an offence of a most criminal character against the state of Gwalior, amounting to a supersession of the Maharaneec's authority, and the transference of all power in an unlawful manner to himself. The governor-general in council," it was added, "will not permit any subject of the state of Gwalior thus to
supersede the authority of his sovereign." As the British government had authorized its representative to communicate with the Maharance, disappointment, not unmixed with anger, might be felt at the step taken by the Dada to prevent the transmission of any representation hostile to himself. But it seems rather an exaggerated tone of writing, to designate the act of the Dada as a criminal offence against the state of Gwalior; that state, if it deserved the name, being at the time altogether without any responsible or recognized government. One of the reasons adduced in illustration of this view—that the act amounted to a suspension of the Maharance's authority—seems perfectly idle. It is true, Dada Khasjee Walla had no right to the power which he had assumed; but it is equally true, that, according to the declared conviction of the British government, neither had the Maharance any right to the exercise of sovereign authority. It had been solemnly and most justly determined, that her extreme youth rendered her utterly unfit for the charge. She had no authority, but that which, like the Dada, she had usurped. A regent had been appointed, with the sanction of the British government; he had been deposed, and the Maharance took the power, for which she had been adjudged incompetent. Yet the same government, which had so adjudged, condescended, by its representative, virtually to recognize her usurpation, by holding intercourse with her, as the guardian of the interests of the house of Scindia. Not only so, but in an official paper
issued by that government, the Maharanees is ad-
verted to in a character which the most devoted of
her adherents would scarcely have ventured to claim
for her. The Dada is spoken of as a subject, and
the Maharanees as his sovereign. Now, it is quite
clear that the boy Scindia was the sovereign, and
that even if the usurpation of the Maharanees were
overlooked and submitted to, she could be regarded,
at most, only as regent. Strange it is, that after
denying her the latter office, she should, without a
shadow of claim, have been invested with the higher
rank of sovereign.

The governor-general was now preparing to leave
the presidency for the purpose of proceeding to the
vicinity of the place, where, by negotiation or force,
the differences between the British and Mahratta
states were about to be determined. But before he
departed, he recorded his view of the cause of his
journey in a lengthened minute. In this document
the rights and obligations of the British government
as the paramount power in India within the Sutledj,
were adverted to and maintained. The doctrine
that in India such a paramount power must exist,
and that the British government should be that
power, was one which statesmen, both at home
and in the East, were slow to learn; but it may
be hoped that it is now too deeply seated in the
minds of men of all parties to be easily effaced,
and Lord Ellenborough was justified in assuming it
as the basis of his proposed movements. After some
very unnecessary and rather questionable remarks
on the mode by which our power was acquired, he proceeded to point out the effects of an abandonment of our high position in the following passage, which is quoted, not for its novelty, but its truth:—"Nor while, by receding from that position, we endangered our own existence, should we fail, at the same time, to bring upon all the states now dependent upon us, the most afflicting calamities. The withdrawal of our restraining hand would let loose all the elements of confusion. Redress for the daily occurring grievances of the several states against each other would again be sought, not from the superintending justice of the British government, but from the armed reprisals of the injured; and bad ambition, availing itself of the love of plunder, and of war, which pervades so large a portion of the population of India, would again expose to devastation countries which, under our protection, have enjoyed many of the advantages of peace."

It would appear from the next paragraph of his lordship's minute, that he had little hope of effecting a settlement of the affairs of Gwalior, otherwise than by force, and that at this period (the 1st of November) he contemplated something more than merely menacing the frontiers of the disturbed country; for he continues:—"To maintain, therefore, unimpaired, the position we now hold, is a duty, not to ourselves alone, but to humanity. The adoption of new views of policy, weakness under the name of moderation, and pusillanimity under that of forbearance, would not avert from our own subjects, and
from our own territories, the evils we let loose upon India; and the only result of false measures would be to remove the scene of a contest, altogether inevitable, from Gwalior to Allahabad, there to be carried on with diminished force, a disheartened army, and a disaffected people."

After noticing the scattered and ill-connected nature of Scindia’s territory, and the sources of evil to be found in the existing state of Gwalior, the governor-general proceeded to speak of the Maharajah in a manner which, did not the result refute the belief, might have been understood as intimating an intention to dispossess the youthful prince of the chieftainship to which he had so recently been elevated. The Maharajah, it was stated, was a boy of poor parentage, and altogether uneducated. This latter point was referred to more than once in the minute, from which circumstance it may be inferred that some considerable importance was attached to it; but it is difficult to conjecture upon what grounds. Indian princes are seldom highly educated, and though the attainments of the Maharajah afforded no cause for boasting, it does not seem that he was properly described as altogether uneducated: it was stated on official authority that in Mahratta literature “he had made as much progress as boys of his age generally do;”* it is not often that boys at nine years of age are either great linguists or great philosophers. A further objection

* Letter from Colonel Spiers, resident at Gwalior, to secretary with governor-general, No. 17 in “Further Papers,” page 12.
to the prince, to whose elevation the British
government was an assenting party, is found in the
allegation that he was not "descended from any
one of the family of Scindia who has possessed
sovereign authority, but from a remote ancestor of
those by whom sovereignty was acquired." Yet
in a public notification, issued on the death of
Junkogee Rao Scindia, dated at Delhi, the 11th of
February, in the same year in which the minute
under examination was recorded, the following
passage is found: "The governor-general has also
received information of the adoption, by the widow
of the late Maharajah, with the assent of the chiefs
and people, of Bhageerut Rao, the person nearest
in blood to the late Maharajah."* As the adopted
prince had been recognized in February as the
nearest in blood, it does not appear how in November
any reasonable objection could be taken to him on
the ground that his relationship to the robber chiefs
who had held dominion was only collateral. Fur-
ther, that no possible objection to the Maharajah's
title might be omitted, it was alleged in the minute,
that the prince was "elected by the Zerana and
the chiefs of the army for their sole benefit, not for
that of the people." This, without doubt, was quite
true; but as the election had been confirmed by the
British government, it was rather late to object to
it. Indeed, the entire passage in which the objec-
tions are embodied is almost immediately neutral-
ized by the following: "On the decease of the late

Maharajah, the British government readily acknowledged the succession of the present Maharajah. He was the member of the family of Scindia nearest to the deceased sovereign by blood.” Here, then, after the turns and doublings of the preceding sentences, we arrive at a conclusion to which certainly they cannot be regarded as a preparation.

A passing reference to points noticed before—the Maharajah’s youth and deficiency of literary acquirement, and the immature age of the Maharanee (with whom, notwithstanding, public business had been discussed)—was followed by a history of the then recent proceedings at Gwalior, concluded by a statement, the perusal of which is not calculated to give a very high impression of the vigour, decision, and unity of purpose with which the British government was at the time administered. After relating the expulsion of the regent, the governor-general thus went on: “The representations made by the British resident were of no effect. The successful rival of the regent became all-powerful. The Christian officers were, with few exceptions, ill-treated and turned out of the camp by the soldiers. Persons who had been deprived of their offices on our representations, were restored. Offices were taken from those who were supposed to be favourable to the maintenance of friendly relations with us; and Gwalior has exhibited to all India the example of a regent, to whom our support had been promised, expelled from the territory he governed, and of a successor, whose acts shew him to
be hostile to our interests, established in power, in
despite of our remonstrances."

Notwithstanding all these proceedings, so insulting
to the British government as well as so dangerous
to the maintenance of peace, it appears, however,
that no intervention with Gwalior might have taken
place—the governor-general might have been conten
ted with sullenly withdrawing the British resi
dent to a distance, and leaving the bandit army to
pull down and set up its officers at discretion, plun
der at will, and continue a terror to all within the
territories of the house of Scindia, and to all on
its borders, had it not been for the peculiar situa
tion of affairs at the time. It is allowed, indeed, that
"under any circumstances, to permit the lengthened
continuance of this state of things would have been
inconsistent with the honour and interests of our
government, and of our allies:—a hostile minister,
with a large and ready army, watching us, and
threatening us from Gwalior; while plunderers,
along the extended frontier, fostered by his suffer-
ance, if not by his protection, would soon destroy
all the confidence which has hitherto been placed in
our government, and must materially weaken our
power." But though honour, and interest, and
peace, and character, were thus at stake, the go-
vernor-general recorded his opinion that, but for one
reason, interference was not imperatively called for.
"Still," he says, "under ordinary circumstances, we
might perhaps have waited upon time, and have ab-
stained from the immediate adoption of measures of
coercion, expecting the restoration of our influence at Gwalior, from the disunion manifest amongst the chiefs, and the usual vicissitudes of an Indian court. But," it is added, "the events which have recently occurred at Lahore will not permit the resort to a policy suited only to a state of general tranquillity in India." The events referred to were those which occurred subsequently to the death of Runjeet Singh, when in the struggle for peace a series of crimes and excesses were perpetrated worthy of the worst days of the worst governed state of India. From this quarter danger was not unreasonably apprehended, and his lordship's views on the subject were thus expounded: "Within three marches of the Sutledj is an army of 70,000 men, confident in its own strength, proud of its various successes against its neighbours, desirous of war and of plunder, and under no discipline or control. It may be hoped, it may perhaps be expected, that no hostile act on the part of this army will occur to produce a war upon the Sutledj, but it would be unpardonable were we not to take every possible precaution against such an event; and no precaution appears to be more necessary, than that of rendering our rear, and our communications, secure by the re-establishment of a friendly government at Gwalior."

After stating his opinion that it was desirable, with reference to Lahore, that disputes with Gwalior should be brought to a speedy termination, the governor-general on this ground expressed his con-
viction that the government should confine its claims there to a single point—the expulsion of the Dada Khasjee Walla. This he considered would for a time give to the government an actual predominating influence in Gwalior, and to this he trusted for effecting a reduction of the army, and all other measures that might be desirable. The mode of carrying out these measures he left to be determined by circumstances, and modifications of the views themselves were contemplated as not of improbable occurrence.*

At the time when the minute above quoted was recorded, the state of affairs in Gwalior seemed to be approaching to a crisis. The army was divided into three parties—one friendly to Dada Khasjee Walla, another hostile to him, and a third neutral. The second party obtained possession of the person of the Dada, and it was expected that they would deliver him up to the British resident at Dholepore: this expectation was not fulfilled; but Bappoo Setowlea Deshmook, one of the chiefs most active in the capture, transmitted a communication to the resident, informing him of what had been done, and expressing a hope that his conduct, and that of the chiefs who had acted with him, would be approved of by the British government, with which they were anxious to re-establish the usual good understanding. The resident, in acknowledging this communication, spoke of the con-

* The governor-general's minute will be found in the "Further Papers," No. 115, pp. 99 to 102.
duct of the chiefs in commendatory terms, and concluded by strongly urging that the custody of the Dada should be made over to him. Similar advice was given in two letters addressed, within a few days of each other, by the resident to the Maharani. The representations contained in these letters were enforced at the Gwalior durbar personally by a moonshee, but in vain. The Maharani had not, in fact, any control over the person of the Dada, that officer being in the hands of a party opposed to that to whose influence she had yielded herself. For this reason she might have pleaded inability to comply with the demand for his surrender, and have rested her case upon this point. But she, or rather her advisers, for she was but a puppet in their hands, met the requisition in a manner more direct than might have been expected. To the declaration that the delivery of the Dada was the only measure which could arrest the advance of British troops, it was answered that this was the first instance in which a prisoner of the Gwalior state had been demanded by the British government. The moonshee returned to his employer at Dholepore without having gained a single step towards effecting the purpose for which he was sent, and leaving the state of parties in Gwalior at a dead lock, as thus described by a news-writer at the time:

"All parties say that there are difficulties on all sides; the Bace (Maharanee) is young and inexperienced; the Goopurra (her father) has not sense sufficient for such a crisis. Both parties are afraid
of the treachery of each other, and no one is trusted by either party. The Baee's party wish Bappoo Sahib to come to durbar and consult; but it is impossible that the Goopurra can give him confidence that he will not be seized. The Bappoo Sahib wishes to go to durbar and consult, but wishes Colonel Jacob (commander of a brigade) to stand security against treachery. Colonel Jacob is alarmed, as both the Bappoo Sahib and the Goopurra are powerful; there are no means in his power of doing any thing if either of them act treacherously. Under these circumstances, there appears no way of settling differences."

Some further communications passed between the Maharaneec and the British resident, but they produced no result. Colonel Spiers, who had been superseded in his functions at the court of Gwalior, on grounds not very intelligible, now quitted Dholepore to proceed to Nagpore, where he had been appointed resident. Shortly after this the two parties most strongly opposed commenced cannonading each other, and continued the operation during parts of two days. The firing ceased in consequence of orders from the Maharaneec (though it is stated that it was begun by the troops who adhered to her interests), and the chiefs opposed to the court were invited to a conference. They overcame their fear of treachery, accepted the invitation, and were received with honour. The next step was still more remarkable, for Bappoo Setowlea Deshmoook was appointed to the ostensible
administration of public affairs. The proximity of a British military force, and the probability of its advance to the frontier of the Gwalior state, occasioned much alarm there, and the expectation was for a time raised, that to avert such a result the Dada would be given up. But all remained in the state of uncertainty which had so long prevailed. On the 11th of December, when the governor-general arrived at Agra, he immediately resolved on moving forward the assembled troops with as little delay as possible, and on the following day he addressed to the Maharane a communication expressive of his intentions.* The forward movement of the army

* "It is a subject of deep regret to me, that your highness should not from the first have adopted the advice which has been offered to you by the resident, Colonel Spiers.

"Your highness will find when it is too late, that the British government always advises an ally in the true spirit of friendship, that it always means what it says, and that it never conveys a threat which it has not at once the intention and the power to execute. Your highness has been informed of the deep interest which your youth and the real difficulties of your position induced me to take personally in your welfare. It would have been most gratifying to me, had your conduct enabled me to look forward to the long continuance of friendship; but your highness has unfortunately listened to other counsels.

"The British government can neither permit the existence, within the territories of Scindia, of an unfriendly government, nor that those territories should be without a government willing and able to maintain order, and to preserve the relations of amity with its neighbours.

"The British government cannot permit any change in the relations between itself and the house of Scindia, which have for forty years contributed to the preservation of the peace of Central India.

"Compelled by the conduct which your highness has been advised to adopt, to look to other means than those of friendly
had the desired effect. Dada Khasjee Walla was surrendered, and conducted to Agra.

The object thus attained the governor-general had professed to regard as that of chief importance, indeed the only one proper to be pressed on the durbar of Gwalior;* and his lordship had expressed an

remonstrance for the purpose of maintaining those relations in their integrity and spirit, I have now directed the advance of the British armies, and I shall not arrest their movement until I have full security for the future tranquillity of the common frontier of the two states, for the maintenance of order within the territories of Scindia, and for the conducting of the government of those territories in accordance with the long established relations of amity towards the British government.

"I could have wished to have effected these objects in concurrence with your highness; that your highness would have listened to my voice, and that of the respectable chiefs by whom you have been counselled, not to throw away the friendship of the British government; but now, my paramount duty to the subjects of the British government and its allies, whose interests are compromised by misrule in the territories of Scindia, and moreover, my duty to the Maharajah himself, whose person and whose rights, as the successor of Dowlut Rao Scindia, are placed by treaty under the protection of the British government, compel me to resort to other means for the accomplishment of my rightful purpose; and as, in resorting to those means which Providence has placed in my hands for the general welfare of the people of India, I entertain no views inconsistent with the honour and integrity of the Raj of Scindia, but am steadily purposed to maintain both, so I trust that I shall receive the aid of all such as are faithful to their sovereign, and that my intervention may have the happy result of establishing permanent good government and order, and of affording new security to the general peace of India, which is the object nearest my heart."

* "It is so desirable to re-establish visibly our influence at Gwalior without delay, by the expulsion of the Dada Khasjee Walla, and thus to have freely disposable the force now assembling at Bundelcund and at Agra, that it would seem to
opinion, that when it should be accomplished, the influence thereby established, would "place within our easy and early reach the attainment of all just objects of policy," including the reduction of the army. The opinion, it will be recollected, had been given not at a time when it was expected that the Dada would be given up to a demand unsupported by a military force, but when the movement of such a force was contemplated, and its assemblage had for the purpose actually taken place. But the facility with which the surrender of the Dada had been yielded under the influence of the terror imposed by the march of the British force seems to have effected a change in the policy of the governor-general, and he determined to employ that terror as an instrument for obtaining those ulterior objects which less than two months before he had been content to leave to the effect of "influence." An intimation to the new resident, dated the 18th of December, thus commences: "The governor-general is gratified by the delivery of the Dada Khasjee Walla to the charge of the British government, as indicating, on the part of her highness and the durbar of Gwalior, a disposition to restore the accustomed relations of friendship between the two states. But her highness is already informed, that the movement of the British armies cannot be arrested until the

be most prudent to confine to that one point any requisition addressed to the durbar of Gwalior."—Minute, by governor-general, Nov. 1st, 1843, "Further Papers," No. 115, page 101.
governor-general has full security for the future maintenance of tranquillity upon the common frontier; nor until there shall be established at Gwalior a government willing and able to coerce its own subjects, and to maintain permanently the relations of amity with the British government and its allies." Reference is then made to the expediency of increasing the force maintained in Gwalior under British officers, and to the assignment of districts to be administered under the British government for its support. The increase of the contingent had been noticed in the minute of the 1st of November; but any attempt to enforce it, except by predominating influence, was then disclaimed. The language held on the subject was as follows: "The increase of the contingent is also on general grounds expedient; the nomination of officers who may be depended on along the frontier is a measure obviously necessary. All these things a de facto predominance would ultimately give without a treaty, and no treaty without such influence would secure; but to press now, while men's minds may be in an excited state, the formal concession of all these points at once, and especially the reduction of the army, could hardly fail to lead to the collision it is most our desire and interest to avoid."* Now a different course was to be taken. At a conference held between the governor-general and certain chiefs of the Gwalior state, on the 20th of December, it was required as the only con-

* "Further Papers," page 102.
dition on which the march of the army could be stopped, that a treaty, making provision for these and various other points, should be ratified within three days. Thus, what was formerly proposed to be left to "influence," was to be extorted at the point of the bayonet.

This was not the only change. In the minute of the 1st of November, the right of interference with the Gwalior state had been rested on the claim of the British government, as the paramount authority in India, to maintain the peace and safety of the whole of the country, and on the dangers with which its own frontiers, and those of its allies, were threatened by the disordered state of Scindia's territories. In the following passage these grounds are very distinctly set out:—"In Europe, there is no paramount state. The relations of a paramount power to a dependent state create in India rights and duties altogether different from those which can exist in Europe between states subject to one admitted international law, and controlled in the exercise of their individual power by the general opinion of the great republic of states to which they belong; but, even in Europe, a condition of affairs in any country which manifestly threatened the general repose would not long be suffered to exist; and the combination of the leading powers would effect that which, in India, must be effected by the British government alone. When the existing relations between the state of Gwalior and the British government are considered, it is impossible to view the
expulsion of the Mama Sahib, and the elevation of the Dada Khasjee Walla to the ministry, otherwise than as an affront of the gravest character offered to the British government by that successful intriguer in the Zenana of Gwalior, and by the disorganized army by which he has been supported. That army of 30,000 men, with a very numerous artillery, under the direction of a person who has obtained, and can only retain, his post in despite of the British government, is within a few marches of the capital of the north-western provinces. The frontiers of the Gwalior state, for a great distance, adjoin ours in the lately disturbed districts of Sauror. They adjoin the territories of the chiefs of Bundeleund, and so scattered are they as to touch the dominions of almost all our allies in Malwa, while they extend beyond the Nerbudda, and even to the Taptee. Everywhere along this line the most cordial and zealous co-operation of the Gwalior authorities is essential to the maintenance of tranquillity; and we know that, under the present minister, the most we can expect is that such co-operation will be coldly withheld, if, indeed, it should not be covertly given to the plunderers we would repress.” Such were the original views the governor-general recorded on the right of interference. In the communication made by his lordship on the 12th of December, to the Maharance,* it is vaguely stated that the person and rights of the Maharajah, as the successor of Dowlut Rao Scindia, “are

* See note, on page 494.
placed by treaty under the protection of the British government.” In a conference between the governor-general and one of the Gwalior chiefs, on the 19th of December, the chief referred to this statement, and it thereupon appeared that the treaty under which the supposed obligation to defend the person and uphold the rights of Scindia’s successor had its origin, and on which the right of interference was now grounded, was the treaty of Boorhampoor, concluded in the year 1804. The chief seemed to know very little about this treaty, alleging, that though he had it among his records, he had not referred to it for many years, and did not recollect with accuracy the engagements which it contained. An article which provided for the employment, “on the requisition of the Maharajah,” of a subsidiary force, to be stationed near his frontier, being pointed out, the chief asked, admitting such an engagement to exist, what was its practical bearing on the question in hand—whether the interference of the British government was restricted to cases in which the Maharajah might apply for such interference? He was answered, that the case under the spirit of the treaty had arisen from the fact of the Maharajah and the Maharanee, both children, incapable of acting for themselves, having, by the machinations of evil-disposed persons, who had usurped the whole authority of the government, been virtually set aside; that in consequence of the proceedings of those persons, the usual friendly relations of the
two states had been for the time dissolved, and that
the ruin of the Gwalior state must ensue, if the
British government, which was almost in the place
of guardian of the infant sovereign, did not interfere,
to save the person of the Maharajah, and preserve
the government of the country.

It is not easy to perceive what advantage was
gained to the British cause at this conference, from
resting it upon the treaty of Boorhampoor. Under
that treaty, so long as it might continue to be in
operation, the British government was bound to
assist Scindia with a military force of a certain
strength, in certain cases, on his request. In the
present instance there was no request. The sove-
ereign was incapable of making any, and those who
actually exercised authority did not wish for British
interference. This difficulty, it will have been seen,
occurred to the Gwalior representative, and was met
by a train of argument, not very intelligible as applied
to justify interference under the treaty, grounded on
the youth of the Maharajah and the Maharanee.
With regard to the latter, it was said that her
"position in the government had been recognized
by the British government."* Her position, as the
actual administrator of the affairs of the state, had
never been formally recognized, and the British resi-
dent had withdrawn in consequence of her assumption
of the office. Indirectly, indeed, her position had
been recognized by holding correspondence with

* Papers respecting Gwalior, ordered by House of Commons to
be printed, 12th of March, 1844, page 14.
her on public business—a recognition certainly inconsistent with the very passage under examination, in which the Maharajah and Maharanee are classed together as "children, incapable of acting for themselves."* Then, again, it is said that the British government "stood almost in the place of the guardian of the infant sovereign."† The qualifying word here introduced has a most strange effect. What is the precise situation of one who is almost a guardian? Is the state or the individual sustaining this new and seemingly undefinable character entitled to act as a guardian or not? If entitled, why is the word "almost" employed? If not entitled, what powers are attached to the character of an almost guardian? The truth seems to be, that the questions of the Gwalior deputy were found embarrassing, and that the answer, which rests the interference of the British government neither on necessity nor contract, but on an unsatisfactory combination of the two, was but an expedient to escape the consequences of an injudicious resort to a forgotten treaty. Had the ground taken in the minute of the 1st of November been adhered to, the objection of the Gwalior deputy could not have been taken. The disorganized state of Scindia's territories could not have been denied any more than the danger thence resulting to the adjacent countries. To rest the British policy on the treaty of Boorham-poor was an after-thought, and, in every point of view, an unfortunate one.

* Papers, ut supra.  
† Ibid.
On the day after the conference just noticed, another, as already intimated, took place, at which the chief subject of discussion was a proposed meeting between the governor-general and the Maharajah. On the part of the latter, it was suggested that the place of meeting should be the ground then occupied by the British army—that being the spot where former governor-generals had been met on occasion of visiting Gwalior, and any deviation from the established usage would, it was represented, detract from the honour of the Maharajah. The governor-general, however, expressed his determination to advance. The chiefs, thereupon, earnestly entreated that he would reconsider the matter, urging that if the British army passed the Gwalior frontier before the Maharajah had a meeting with him, "it would be a breach of all precedent, and eternally disgrace the Maharajah and the government of Scindia."* The governor-general being unmoved by these representations, the language and manner of the chiefs in pressing them appear to have increased in earnestness—they expressed their belief that "if the British army crossed the frontier before the meeting with the Maharajah, the troops of Gwalior, who were already in a state of the utmost alarm, would believe that the governor-general was coming not as a friend, but with a hostile purpose"—in the language of the paper from which this account is framed, "they implored him (the governor-general) with joined hands to weigh well

* "Further Papers," No. 146, p. 146.
the step he was taking, for that the state of Scindia was in his power to uphold or to destroy; and that, in their opinion, the most serious consequences depended on the passing of the British army across the frontier before the meeting between the governor-general and the Maharajah.”*

After some further discussion—or rather some further interchange of prayers on the one side and refusals on the other—the following proposal was made by the governor-general: that the details of a treaty, framed in accordance with the principles laid down at the previous conference, should be drawn up on the following day, the 21st of December; that the Maharajah should meet the governor-general on the 23rd, prepared to ratify such a treaty, and that the chiefs present should guarantee the ratification taking place: upon these conditions, the movement of the army across the river Chumbul was to be delayed till after that day; but if the chiefs failed of redeeming their guarantee, the failure was to be punished by a heavy fine. After some consultation, the chiefs came to the conclusion that the Maharajah could not be brought to the ground at so early a day, and the conference broke up with an apparent understanding that the meeting should take place at Hingona, the first stage beyond the Chumbul, on the 26th.

It was not by Mahratta chiefs only that representations were made of the extreme repugnance felt to the governor-general crossing the Chumbul before an

* "Further Papers," No. 146, p. 147.
interview had taken place between the Maharajah and himself. Colonel Sleeman, the newly appointed resident, in a letter dated the 21st of December, made the following communication of the impression entertained at Gwalior on the subject. "When I mentioned his lordship's intention to cross the Chumbul on the 22nd, Suchurun Rao, the brother of Ram Rao Phallthea, and Bulwunt Rao, who had come to meet me, expressed a very earnest desire that this might not take place, as it was usual for his highness to pay the first visit to the governor-general on the other side of the river. They seemed to have this very much at heart, and I think it my duty to mention it."* This statement was followed by an account of the ceremonies observed in 1832, when the chief crossed the Chumbul to visit the governor-general, and the latter, on the following day, crossed the river to return the visit. In a letter dated the 22nd of December, Colonel Sleeman, after reporting his having visited the Maharajah and Maharanee, and having announced to them and the assembled chiefs that he had been commanded to repair to the governor-general's camp, and then to return and accompany the young chief, added, "They were exceedingly earnest in the expression of their hope that his lordship would remain to receive the young chief's visit on the other side of the Chumbul."†

On the 24th of December, Colonel Sleeman

* "Further Papers," No. 147, p. 148.
† "Further Papers," No. 148, p. 149.
wrote to the secretary with the governor-general, thus:—"The soldiers talk largely to my people of the army crossing the Chumbul as a hostile movement on the part of our government."* On the 25th, Colonel Sleeman again wrote, in terms which sufficiently described the utter disorganization of the army, the feeling which they entertained in regard to the expected passage of the Chumbul, and the impossibility of averting collision, if British troops were brought into contact with them. Colonel Sleeman had retired from Gwalior, after his interview with the Maharajah and Maharance, but was expected to return, in order to accompany them to meet the governor-general. The resident, however, was desirous that they should join him at Dhu nửa, and these are his reasons:—"I think it to be my duty to state, that I do not think it possible for me to advance further towards Gwalior without collision with the disorderly troops who fill the road from this place to Gwalior." After referring to the danger which would attend any attempt of certain native chiefs to return to Gwalior, and to the absence of all restraint upon the conduct of the soldiers, he continued:—"If I go on, it must be without a single soldier, horse or foot, for it will be impossible to prevent collision if any of them accompany me; and among such a licentious soldiery, without any ostensible commanding officers, I do not think it will be safe for any European or native

* "Further Papers," No. 150, page 150.
officer to go with me. This is the universal feeling and opinion of my camp. There is a large park of artillery on each side of the river, at this place (Dhunaila), and the troops vauntingly declare that they are come out to resist the further advance of his lordship towards Gwalior, and to make the British force recross the Chumbul.*

Before this time, the important step for good or for evil, the passage of the Chumbul, had been made. From Hingona, the governor-general, on the 25th of December, transmitted to the Maharana a proclamation, announcing that the British army had entered the territories of Scindia, as a friend bound by treaty to protect his highness's person and maintain his sovereign authority. This was followed, on the 26th, by a communication that the treaty to be framed on the terms formerly laid down was expected to be ratified on the 28th, and that for every day that the ratification might be delayed beyond that date, a fine of fifteen thousand rupees would be inflicted. On the 27th, another proclamation was issued, much in the tone of that which had appeared two days before.

Before this time, the reception which the British visitants were likely to meet was placed beyond doubt. Bappoo Setowlea Deshmook, who had been understood to be friendly to the British interests, and who had proceeded to the British camp, to negotiate the terms of reconciliation, left it on the 25th, three days after the head-quarters,

with the governor-general's camp, had crossed the Chumbul, returned to Gwalior, and undertook the command of a division of the troops destined to oppose the march of the English. On the 26th, the Sumbajee Angria, one of the coadjutors of Bappoo in the work of negotiation, also left the British camp without notice. The 28th, the day fixed for the ratification of the treaty, passed without producing the expected event; and on the 29th, the British army, under Sir Hugh Gough, became suddenly engaged in deadly conflict with that of the Mahrattas.

It is to be regretted that the details of the circumstances under which the engagement was commenced are vague and imperfect. The despatch to the governor-general, reporting the battle and its results, begins thus:—"Your lordship having witnessed the operations of the 29th, and being in possession, from my frequent communications, of my military arrangements for the attack on the Mahratta army in its strong position of Chonda, I do not feel it necessary to enter much into detail either as to the enemy's position or the dispositions I made for attacking it." The respect which is due to the judgment of an experienced and successful general ought not to stifle the avowal of an impression which cannot fail to arise on reading the passage just quoted, that the reason given for not entering much into details is altogether unsatisfactory. Despatches, like that of the commander-in-chief in this instance, are not written for the
information merely of the individual to whom they are addressed; they are framed for the public eye—they receive official publicity, and they ought to convey all the information which can be given without incurring political inconvenience. It is nothing to the purpose that the governor-general was acquainted with the views or actions here vaguely hinted at; the public had a right to know them, and in a despatch, prepared certainly as much for the general reader as for official perusal, they should have been fully related.

After giving the above reasons for the omission of information, which certainly ought not to have been withheld, the commander-in-chief proceeds to observe, that the position of the enemy at Chonda was particularly well chosen and obstinately defended, and that he never witnessed guns better served, nor a body of infantry apparently more devoted to the protection of their regimental guns, "held by the Mahratta corps as objects of worship." Some brief reference to part of the details previously noted as well known to the governor-general follow. It appears to have been the intention of the commander-in-chief to turn the enemy's left flank by Brigadier Cureton's brigade of cavalry, consisting of her Majesty 16th lancers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowell; the governor-general's body-guard, under Captain Dawkins; the 1st regiment of light cavalry, under Major Crommelin; the 4th irregular cavalry, under Major Oldfield, with Major Lane's and Major Alexander's troops
of horse artillery, under Brigadier Gowan, the whole under the orders of Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell. With this force, the third brigade of infantry, under Major-General Valiant, was to co-operate, the brigade consisting of her Majesty's 40th, under Major Stopford; 2nd grenadiers, under Lieut.-Colonel Hamilton; and 16th grenadiers, under Lieut.-Colonel Maclaren. The enemy's centre was to have been attacked by Brigadier Stacy's brigade of the 2nd division of infantry consisting of the 14th native infantry, under Lieut.-Colonel Gairdener; the 31st, under Lieut.-Colonel Weston; and the 43rd light infantry, under Major Nash. To this brigade was attached a light field battery, under Captain Browne, the whole being under the command of Major-General Dennis. This force was to have been supported by Brigadier Wright's brigade, composed of her Majesty's 30th regiment, commanded by Major Bray, and the 56th native infantry, under Major Dick, with a light field battery under Major Sanders. Major-General Littler, commanding the third division of infantry, was to superintend the movements of this column. On the left, with a view of threatening the enemy's right flank, it was proposed to place the 4th brigade of cavalry, under Brigadier Scott, consisting of the 4th light cavalry (lanceers), under Major Maetier, and the 10th light cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Pope, with Captain Grant's troop of horse artillery. The country through which this force had to advance is represented as of extreme difficulty, being intersected by deep ravines, and rendered practicable
only by the unremitting labours of the sappers under Major Smith. The Koharee river was to be passed by the army in three divisions on the morning of the day in which the battle took place; but the whole of the force were in their appointed position, about a mile in front of Maharajpoor, by eight o'clock.

Such is the account given by the commander-in-chief of his intentions and preparations. These had reference to a meditated attack upon the Mahrattas at Chonda. It was not expected that they would be met at Maharajpoor; but on arriving at this place, the British force was made aware of the presence of the enemy, by receiving the fire of their artillery. This was evidently a surprise. The language of the despatch is as follows:—"I found the Mahrattas had occupied this very strong position during the previous night, by seven regiments of infantry with their guns, which they intrenched, each corps having four guns, which opened on our own advances. This obliged me to alter in some measure my disposition."* The alterations were these:—General Littler's column being directly in front of Maharajpoor, was ordered to advance upon it direct, while General Valiant's brigade was to take it in reverse; both being supported by General Dennis's column and the two light field batteries. The details of what followed are very slight; but it appears that her Majesty's 39th, supported by the 56th native in-

* Despatch from commander-in-chief to governor-general, January 4th, 1844.
fantry, drove the enemy in very dashing style from their guns into the village. There a sanguinary conflict ensued; the Mahratta soldiers, after discharging their matchlocks, fighting sword in hand with great courage. General Valiant’s brigade, it is stated, displayed equal enthusiasm in the duty assigned to them, that of taking Maharajpoor in reverse, and the capture of twenty-eight guns resulted from this combined movement. The cavalry, under Brigadier Scott, was opposed by a body of the enemy’s cavalry on the extreme left; some well-executed charges were made by the 10th, supported by Captain Grant’s horse artillery and the 4th lancers; and some guns and two standards were taken in these encounters.

The enemy having been dislodged from Maharajpoor, General Valiant, supported by the third cavalry brigade, moved on the right of the enemy’s main portion at Chonda. During his advance, he had to take in succession three strongly intrenched positions, where, in the language of the despatch, the enemy defended their guns with frantic desperation. In these services, her Majesty’s 40th were much distinguished. This regiment captured four standards, and two of its commanding officers in succession (Major Stopford and Captain Codrington) were disabled by wounds. By the 2nd grenadiers, two standards were captured; and the 16th grenadiers worthily aided the achievements of this portion of the British force.

The brigade under General Littler, after dis-
persing the right of the enemy at Maharajpoor, advanced, supported by Captain Grant's troop of horse artillery and the 1st regiment of light cavalry, to attack the main position at Chonda in front. It was carried by a rush of the Queen's 39th, under Major Bray (who was desperately wounded), supported by the Queen's 56th, under Major Dick. Two regimental standards were captured. A small work of four guns on the left of this position, long and obstinately defended by the enemy, was compelled at length to yield to the grenadiers of the Queen's 39th, under Captain Campbell, aided by a wing of the 56th native infantry, under Major Phillips.

The victory was complete, but it was not gained without difficulty, nor without very heavy loss, the killed, wounded, and missing amounting to nearly eight hundred. So strenuous a resistance has rarely been offered by a native army when opposed to a British force, even when the disparity of numbers has been far greater than it was on this occasion.

* The following officers are honourably mentioned in the official report of the battle:—Major-General Churchill, C.B. (killed); Captain Somerset, grenadier guards (wounded); Lieutenant-Colonel E. Sanders, C. B., engineers (killed); Major Crommelin, C. B., 1st light cavalry (killed); Major-General Sir J. Thackwell, G. C. B.; Major-Generals Dennis and Littler; Brigadier Gowan; Major-General Valiant, K. H.; Brigadiers Scott, Stacy, Cureton, and Wright; Major Smith, of the engineers; Major-General Smith; Major-General Lurnley; Lieutenant-Colonel Garden; Major Grant; Major Barr; Major Drummond; Lieutenant-Colonel Burlton; Captain Ramsey; Lieutenant-Colonel Birch; Lieutenant W. Fraser Tytler; Captain Ekins; Lieutenant-Colonel Gough, C. B., her Majesty's 3rd light dragoons; Major Havelock,
The commander-in-chief thus expresses himself on the subject: "I regret to say that our loss has been very severe, infinitely beyond what I calculated upon; indeed I did not do justice to the gallantry of my opponents."

On the same day which gave victory to the British force, under the commander-in-chief, the left wing of the army, under Major-General Grey, defeated a large body of Gwalior troops, and captured their guns, twenty-four in number, a standard, all

C. B., her Majesty’s 13th light infantry; Lieutenant Frend, her Majesty’s 31st foot (wounded); Captain R. Smith, 28th native infantry; Captain Evans, 26th light infantry; Lieutenant Bagot, 15th native infantry; Captain Sir R. Shakespear, artillery; Captain Curtis, 37th native infantry; Lieutenant Macdonald, 2nd Madras light cavalry; Lieutenant Hayes, 62nd native infantry; Captain Pratt, 16th lancers; Captain Clayton, 4th light cavalry; Lieutenant Pattinson, 16th lancers; Lieutenant Cowell, 3rd light dragoons; Captain Herries, 3rd light dragoons; Lieutenant Renny, engineers; Captain McKie, her Majesty’s 3rd Buffs; Lieutenant Sneyd, 57th native infantry; Lieutenant Downman, her Majesty’s 40th foot; Major Bray, her Majesty’s 39th (wounded); Major Straubenzee, her Majesty’s 39th; Majors Dick and Phillips, 56th native infantry; Major Ryan, her Majesty’s 50th; Captain Nixon, her Majesty’s 39th; Captain Campbell, her Majesty’s 39th; Captain Graves, 16th grenadiers; Lieutenant Croker, her Majesty’s 39th; Captain Harris, 70th native infantry; Captains Alcock and Johnston, 46th native infantry; Lieutenant Vaughan, 21st native infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel Maclaren, 16th grenadiers; Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, 2nd grenadiers; Major Stopford, Captain Codrington, and Captain Oliver, successively commanding her Majesty’s 40th (the first two wounded); Captain Manning, 16th grenadiers; Captain Young, 2nd grenadiers; Lieutenant Nelson, her Majesty’s 40th foot; Brigadier Tennant; Brigadier Riley; Superintending-Surgeon Wood; Field-Surgeon Chalmers; Assistant-Surgeon Stephens.
their ammunition, and some treasure. General Grey had marched from Simmereca to Burka-ka-Serai, on the 28th of December, and there learned that the enemy were in position at Antree, seven miles in front of his camp, and intended to make a night attack. On the 29th General Grey made a march of sixteen miles, being desirous of getting through a narrow valley, extending from Himmutghur to Purniar. The enemy, it appeared, marched from Antree early on the same day by a parallel movement, took up a strong position on the heights in the immediate vicinity of the fortified village of Mangore, near Purniar, and commenced firing on the British line of baggage. Some cavalry, under Brigadier Harriott, were detached to oppose them, and a troop of horse artillery, under Captain Brind, took up a position from which they were enabled to return the enemy's fire with precision and effect; but the cavalry were unable to approach the enemy, from the ground being intersected by ravines. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy was observed to have taken up a position on a chain of high hills, four miles to the east of the British camp. Here General Grey determined to attack them, and arrangements for the purpose were made. The attack was commenced by her Majesty's 3rd Buffs, and a company of sappers and miners, who had been detached to take up a position opposite to that occupied by the Mahrattas. It was directed against the centre of the enemy's force, who were driven from height to height in gallant style, with the loss
of their guns. A wing of the 39th native infantry having occupied the crest of a hill commanding the enemy's left, after pouring in a destructive fire, rushed down and captured a battery of two guns. Brigadier Yates, and Major Earle, successively commanding the 39th, were both wounded. An infantry brigade, under Brigadier Anderson, of the Queen's 50th, gave the finishing stroke to the enemy, and captured the guns which had escaped the previous attacks. Her Majesty's 50th regiment, and the 56th and 58th native infantry, seem to have been chiefly concerned in achieving the satisfactory termination of the conflict.*

The natural consequence of the success which had attended the British in the two battles was to bring the Maharanees and her advisers to accept whatever

* The following officers are named by General Grey as honourably distinguished:—Lieutenant-Colonel Clinic, her Majesty's 3rd Buffs; Brigadier Yates and Major Earle, 39th native infantry (both wounded); Brigadier Anderson, her Majesty's 50th (wounded); Major Petit, her Majesty's 50th; Major White, 50th native infantry; Captain Parker, 58th native infantry; Brigadier Biddulph, Major Geddes, Captain Campbell, Lieutenant Tombs, all of the artillery; Major Fitzgerald, 11th cavalry; Brigadier Stubbs, commanding in Sipree contingent; Captain Christie, 8th irregular cavalry; Lieutenant-Colonel Parsons, deputy commissary-general; Lieutenant Cunningham, field engineer; Lieutenant Maxwell, sappers; Captain G. Reid, assistant quartermaster-general; Captain Guyon, deputy assistant adjutant-general; Captain Tudor, her Majesty's 50th; Brigadier Campbell; Major Mainwaring, and Captain C. Mainwaring. General Grey's despatch bears date the 30th of December, the day after the battle. The despatch of the commander-in-chief is dated the 4th of January, six days after the conflict; the cause of the delay is not explained.
terms it might please the victors to dictate. On the 30th of December the Maharajah and Maharanees were admitted to a conference with the governor-general, and after an interchange of the usual expressions of civility, and of much more, scarcely less usual on such occasions, and certainly not more sincere, the British authorities, in conjunction with the native chiefs in attendance on the Maharajah and Maharanees, adopted the following propositions to meet the existing state of circumstances—the Maharajah to issue an order to all his officers and servants to desist from hostilities against the British armies; the governor-general to issue a similar order, forbidding hostilities on the part of the British troops, unless they should be attacked; the Maharajah to issue orders for furnishing all necessary supplies to the British armies, on the requisition of the commissary-general; these orders of the Maharajah to be sent by Huzzooreeaaahs, in such manner as distinctly to make known his highness’s determination to have them observed; the Maharajah to send Huzzooreeaaahs, with a safe conduct, with the messengers dispatched by the British commander-in-chief to the army in Bundelcund; to prevent collision, no Gwalior troops to be allowed to come within three miles of any position taken up by the British armies; the British armies to advance to the immediate vicinity of Gwalior on the 2nd of January, and the governor-general to take the Maharajah with him; the British government to give compensation to such cultivators and others in the Gwalior states, as might
have been exposed to loss by the passage of its armies, and the amount of the compensation to be paid under arrangements to be made at a future time by Scindia. Lastly, the Maharajah was to issue the following proclamation, and to cause it to have the quickest and widest circulation possible:—“The British armies have entered the Gwalior territories to protect the person of the Maharajah, to support his just authority, and to establish a government capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of friendship between the two states. All faithful subjects of Scindia are therefore directed to give them every aid in their power. No person will be injured by the British armies. All supplies furnished will be paid for. All damage unintentionally done will be compensated.”*

These arrangements were followed by others for settling anew the relations between the British government and that of Scindia, the dispersion of the mutinous army, and the future mode of conducting the affairs of the government. On the 5th January, A.D. 1844, the governor-general and the army having advanced to Gwalior, the chief points of a new treaty were agreed upon, at a conference held with some of the chiefs. The mode adopted for carrying on the government was very different from that which had formerly been deemed the most advantageous. Instead of vesting it in a single person, and thus securing an undivided responsibility, it was committed to a council, the president to be the prin-

cipal agent in the conduct of affairs, and the medium of communication with the British resident. The disbandment of the army was effected much more quietly than had been anticipated. The task was commenced on the 9th of January, and completed by the 17th without a single disturbance. Part of the men were enlisted in the new contingent force; the remainder received a gratuity of three months' pay, and departed to seek their future livelihood elsewhere.

The new treaty was ratified by the governor-general on the 13th of January. It consisted of twelve articles. The first recognized and confirmed all existing treaties and engagements, except as to points where alterations might be made by the new one. In the enumeration of the treaties understood to be in force, that of Boorhampoore was included. By the second article it was provided that the contingent force stationed in the territories of Scindia should be increased, and that permanent provision should be made for defraying its charge by the assignment of the revenue of certain districts enumerated in a schedule attached to the treaty, such revenue to be in addition to any source of income previously set apart for the purpose. By the third article, if, after defraying the charges of the contingent force, and of the civil administration of the districts assigned for its support, there should be any surplus beyond the amount of eighteen lacs of Company's rupees, the surplus in excess of such sum was to be paid over to the Maharajah; but if the
revenues and receipts should fall short of eighteen lacs, the Maharajah was to make up the deficiency. The fourth article declared, that for the better securing of the due payment of the revenues of the assigned districts, and for the better preserving of good order therein, the civil administration of those districts should be conducted by the British government in the same manner as in the districts of which the revenues had been previously assigned. The fifth article introduced a subject of standing importance and interest in India—that of debt. The claims of the British government on that of Gwalior, arising from a variety of sources, were taken (subject to future examination) at twenty-six lacs of rupees, and it was agreed that payment of that sum should be made within fourteen days from the date of the treaty. In default, the revenues of further districts, enumerated in another schedule attached to the treaty, were to be made over to the British government, to be held by it until such time as its claim on Scindia's government should be liquidated, together with interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum. In regard to this subject, the governor-general observed, in the despatch announcing the conclusion of the treaty, "Schedule B was from the first a mere form, as the durbar declared their intention of paying the amount demanded from them, and have now intimated to the resident that it is ready for him to send for when he pleases." The sixth article commenced with another recognition of the treaty of Boorhampoor, though it was not dis-
tinctly named, and then proceeded to limit the amount of military force to be maintained by the Maharajah, and to provide for the reduction of the army to the prescribed number. The seventh provided for the discharge of the arrears of pay to the disbanded troops, and for bestowing a gratuity on those not re-enlisted. The two articles ran thus:—"And whereas the British government is bound by treaty to protect the person of his highness the Maharajah, his heirs and successors, and to protect his highness's dominions from foreign invasion, and to quell serious disturbances therein; and the army now maintained by his highness is of unnecessary amount, embarrassing to his highness's government, and the cause of disquietude to neighbouring states: it is therefore further agreed, that the military force of all arms hereafter to be maintained by his highness, exclusive of the contingent above provided for, shall at no time exceed nine thousand men, of whom not more than three thousand shall be infantry, with twelve field guns, two hundred gunners, with twenty other guns; and his highness the Maharajah engages to take immediate measures for the reduction of his army within the number above specified, and the British government engages, on its part, to assist his highness therein, should such aid appear to be required. It is further agreed, that his highness will discharge all pay due to the troops disbanded, and also give a gratuity of three months' pay to such of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the corps disbanded, as may not be re-enlisted in
the contingent, or in any new corps formed by his highness." The operation of reduction was in progress when the treaty was ratified, and, as already mentioned, was completed four days afterwards. Next came that important part of the treaty which was to regulate the future government of the Gwalior state. By the eighth article it was determined that the minority of the infant prince should be considered to terminate on his attaining the full age of eighteen years, and not sooner; and a day was fixed as that on which such age would be attained, namely, the 19th of January, 1853. It was then declared to have been agreed, that during the prince's minority the persons intrusted with the administration of the government should act upon the advice of the British resident, and the words which followed gave to this provision as wide a range as could possibly be desired. Those exercising the functions of government were to act upon the British resident's advice, not only generally or on important points, but "in all matters wherein such advice shall be offered." This, it will be seen, virtually transferred the government to the British resident, and converted the parties having place in the body dignified by the high-sounding name of the Council of Regency into mere ministerial dependents. No change was to be made in "the persons intrusted with the administration," as they are properly designated in this article, though more pompously referred to in the next as "the Council of Regency," without the consent of the British resident."
under the express authority of the governor-general." Considering the importance of the point to which it relates, the latter part of this article would seem not to be characterized by all the precision desirable. It might become a question, what was meant by the "express authority of the governor-general." The ninth article nominated the persons who were to form the "Council of Regency." The tenth assigned to the Maharani an annual allowance of three lacs, to be at her own sole disposal. The eleventh pledged the British government, "as heretofore," to "exert its influence and good offices for maintaining the just territorial rights of the Maharajah and the subjects of the state of Scindia at present existing in the neighbouring and other native states." The twelfth and last article recorded the settling and ratification of the treaty.

On the day on which the treaty was ratified a notification of the fact was published by order of the governor-general, announcing, as the result of the battles which had been fought, the secure establishment of British supremacy. This boast might perhaps have been spared. The maintenance to the British government of the position to which it may justly aspire, of being the paramount power in India, should always be kept in view by those intrusted with the administration of that government; there may be occasions on which it is expedient publicly to assert the claim to it; but there seems some deficiency of generous feeling in parading it before an humbled enemy at a time when friendly relations
had just been restored by the conclusion of a new treaty. Another allusion seems on the same ground exceptionable. "The governor-general," it was said, "successful in the field, has adhered to the principles upon which the intervention of the British government, in the affairs of the Gwalior state, was from the first based."* It could not be necessary at such a moment to remind the people of Gwalior that the British had been "successful in the field." Exception on other ground might also be taken to this passage: success in the field is claimed not for the British government but for the governor-general, who, it is to be presumed, did not interfere with the duties of the commander-in-chief, who was himself present for the purpose of conducting the military operations. The 18th of January brought forth a proclamation, which does not seem directed to any object which might not be supposed to be effected by the notification of the 13th. The issue of these papers, indeed, after the conclusion of the treaty, and the recognition of a government established under that treaty, appears to have had no other purpose but to give expression to a feeling of triumph, and to gratify a desire of treating the Gwalior state as a conquered country.† Judging from the language

† To enable the reader to judge on this point for himself, both papers are subjoined:—

"Notification of the Governor-General.
Camp Gwalior, 13 January, 1844.

"The evil advice of ill-disposed persons, considering only their own interests, and not the good of the Gwalior state, and the
officially held on the subject, it seems to have been thought an act of extraordinary lenity that the resolution of the Gwalior army, over-confident in its strength, to endeavour to preserve the advantages it derived from its power over the government of Scindiah, have led to two battles between the British forces and those of Gwalior, deeply to be lamented on account of the loss of brave men mutually sustained, but having for their result the secure establishment of British supremacy.

"The governor-general, successful in the field, has adhered to principles upon which the intervention of the British government in the affairs of the Gwalior state was, from the first, based. He has only used the power which victory has placed in his hands to carry into effect the necessary measures for securing the future tranquillity of the common frontier of the two states, for establishing the just authority of the Maharajah's government, and for providing for the proper exercise of that authority during his highness's minority.

"A treaty, calculated to effect these legitimate objects, and confirming former treaties, has this day been signed by the British plenipotentiaries and the Council of Regency, and ratified by the governor-general and his highness the Maharajah Jyajee Rao Scindiah.

"The accustomed friendly relations between the British government and the Gwalior state are now restored, and the British armies will immediately return to their own provinces.

"By order, &c.

F. CURRIE,
"Secretary to Government of India,
with the Governor-General."

"Proclamation by the Governor-General.

"Camp Gwalior, 15 January, 1844.

"The governor-general makes known to all the subjects of the Maharajah Jyajee Rao Scindiah, and to all the inhabitants of the territories adjoining those of his highness, that friendship has been re-established between the British government and the Maharajah, and that the British government will receive from his highness sufficient funds wherewith to provide a force for the preservation of good order within his highness's dominions, which dominions, as well as the person and authority of his highness, are under the protection of the British government.
state should have been suffered to exist at all; for it is made matter of boast, in a despatch addressed by the governor-general to the Secret Committee on the subject, that "neither the excitement of victory nor the consciousness of irresistible power has led to the entertainment of views of ambitious aggrandizement."*

On reviewing the strange course of events which commenced at Gwalior early in 1843, and were closed by the treaty concluded at the beginning of the following year, the observer, as far as the native state is concerned, will find little to distinguish the proceedings there from the ordinary routine. A host of male and female intriguers, intent on nothing but circumventing each other, are the regular occupants of an Oriental court; and an ill-paid, mutinous, and threatening army, holding in terror those whom it professes to serve, is by no means an uncommon appendage. But the conduct of the British authorities throughout these series of strange transactions may well strike men's minds as not being distinguished by any remarkable unity of purpose, or any

"The governor-general, therefore, warns all disturbers of the peace, and all such as are disobedient to his highness's just authority, that their misdeeds cannot be permitted, and he exhorts them to abstain from such acts as cannot fail to draw upon them punishment from his highness, and the severest displeasure of the British government.

"By order of the right honourable the governor-general.

"F. CURRIE,

"Secretary to the Government of India,

with the Governor-General."

very consistent perseverance in prosecuting the purpose entertained for the time, whatever it might be.

The connection between the British government and that of Gwalior was very loose; and it was not easy to define with accuracy what the one might fairly demand, and the other be reasonably expected to yield. But at the time of the decease of Junkojee Rao Scindia there appeared to be a distinct feeling that the British government might expect its views to be consulted as to the selection of a successor, and the mode in which the government was to be carried on. 'When the time arrived for the enthronement of the youthful prince, he was, with the concurrence of the assembled chiefs, led to the guddee by the British resident; and whatever might have been the actual views of the leading persons at Scindia's durbar, there was every external sign of deference to his opinion, or to that of the government which he represented. It was the suggestion of the governor-general that "it would be most for the benefit of the Gwalior state that the regency should be confined to one person, in whom, during the minority of the Maharajah," might "reside all the authority of the state. It would be," his lordship continued, "for the regent to nominate the ministers, and they would be responsible to him. This arrangement," his lordship added, "evidently the most advantageous to the raj and the family of Scindia for all purposes of internal government, as preserving intact the sovereign authority during the minority of the young Maharajah," was
"at the same time that which" was "most conducive to the maintenance of friendly relations between the raj of Gwalior and the British government, as in all cases of complaint, if any such should arise, against the subjects of the state of Gwalior, the British government would know what individual it should hold responsible for the conduct by which it was aggrieved." It was thus the opinion of the governor-general, that until the adopted prince should be of an age to exercise sovereign authority for himself, the powers of the state should, with reference to the interests of Gwalior, and to those which the governor-general was still more especially bound to promote—the interests of Great Britain—be administered by a single person. This was not all, for he determined who was the most eligible person for the office. On this subject the resident at Gwalior was thus instructed: "Your opinion in favour of the Mama Sahib inclines the governor-general to consider that the Ranee and chiefs and people of Gwalior would do well in selecting him as regent."* After adverting to some circumstances which, in the opinion of the governor-general, tended to recommend the claims of the Mama Sahib, the communication to the resident proceeds thus: "The governor-general would therefore gladly see the regency conferred upon the Mama Sahib. The governor-general cannot doubt that

* It might here be inquired, what was meant by referring to the "people" of Gwalior as having any share in the choice of a ruler. The democratic portion of the Gwalior constitution has not yet, it is believed, been developed.
the Mama Sahib, sensible of the importance of preserving a good understanding with the British government, and especially of taking, in conjunction with the British resident at the court of Gwalior, all measures which from time to time may appear to be required for the preservation of tranquillity upon our common frontier, would readily avail himself of the advice of the resident, and endeavour thereby to avoid all grounds of difference between the two governments."

At the durbar of Gwalior these views were not generally entertained. The predominant party there wished either to delay the appointment, and suffer the ministers previously in office to continue to carry on the government, or, if there were to be a regent, to place one of themselves in that important post, the person selected for the office being the Dada Khasjee Walla, who was subsequently the cause of so much mischief. They yielded, however—upon what motives is not very readily traceable, but yield they did, and the Mama Sahib became regent with the avowed countenance and support of that government which holds the balance of power in India. It has been admitted that there would be some difficulty in fixing the precise extent of interference with Gwalior which on such an occasion the British government might claim to exercise. Had the chiefs refused to appoint a regency, there might, in the judgment of some, have been no sufficient call for enforcing

by arms the recommendation of the dominant power, although that recommendation was given with a direct view to the interests of the state of Gwalior, and to the maintenance of peace on its borders. The same opinion may be maintained, with plausibility at least, in reference to two other supposable cases: that the chiefs had refused to deposit the entire power of the state with an individual, and had preferred the plan ultimately adopted by the governor-general, of committing it to a council; or that, although willing that the sovereign power should be exercised by one man, they should have made a choice differing from that of the governor-general. In either of these cases, timid reasoners might have suggested acquiescence, and although it could not have been dissembled, that in recommending that which it was not prepared to enforce, the government of British India had placed itself in a false position, much might have been said upon the danger and injustice of interference. None of these three possible cases, however, actually occurred. The person named by the governor-general was recognized as sole regent, and there can be no question, that from the moment of his having been thus recognized, the British authorities were bound to support him. This was felt at the time, and the language held on behalf of the highest of those authorities to the British resident was the following:—“The governor-general did not acquaint you, that he was prepared to support the authority of the regent,
without taking, at the same time, the necessary preliminary steps to enable him to give at once the most effectual support, if it should be desired. It is inconvenient that there should be protracted suspense upon this point; and the governor-general is therefore anxious to know, as soon as possible, whether the state of affairs at Gwalior is such as to render it improbable that his immediate aid will become necessary to support the regent's authority."* These were not empty words. The governor-general was at that time certainly prepared to act upon them; for the following passage occurs in a subsequent communication in reply to an intimation that the occurrence of a necessity for interference was not looked for.—"The governor-general, satisfied that no necessity will occur for the march of troops upon Gwalior, to support the regent's authority, will now countermand the several measures he had taken for the purpose of concentrating a preponderating force."†

The wisdom of the act announced in the last quotation may be doubted. It was true that the regent thought that there was no immediate necessity for the employment of British troops, and that, if it could be avoided, it were better not to employ them. The latter opinion might be well founded, but the former ought not to have been received with such a degree of confidence as to lead to the precipitate abandonment of precautions which under

† "Further Papers," No. 24, page 17.
precisely the same state of affairs it had been thought expedient to adopt. It was known that part of the army was mutinous, and that the good feeling of the remainder could not be depended upon; that intrigues in the palace were unceasing and complicated; that there was a strong array of interests and prejudices against the regent; that the Marraee was not well affected towards him, and that she was surrounded by parties who hated and were anxious to circumvent him; all this was known, and yet within three days after the governor-general had declared himself ready to give "effectual support" to the authority of the regent—that is, support by means of an armed force—he determined to deprive himself of the means of fulfilling his pledge by countermanding the preparations which he had made.*

Up to the time when the orders of countermand were given, no doubt seems to have been entertained as to the propriety of interfering by force, if necessary. But immediately afterwards, the governor-general is found holding language intimating that doubt existed. In a letter to the resident, dated 11th March, after a re-announcement of the want of ability to afford aid, the following passage occurs: "This circumstance adds to the force of the objections which the governor-general would in

* The letter announcing the intention of supporting the authority of the regent was dated the 5th of March, 1843; that intimating the intention to countermand the preparations made for effecting it bears date the 8th of the same month.
any case have seen to the adoption of any step of a
violent nature, of which the effect on the army might
be problematical, and which would inevitably pro-
duce a feeling of hostility towards the regent on
the part of the Maharanee.”* His lordship appears
to have adhered to this conviction after the deposal
of the regent; for it will be remembered that when
the resident on the 29th of May solicited permission,
in case of necessity, to call upon the general officer
at Agra for assistance in troops, “to reinstate the
Mama, and turn out those who” had “been the
principal actors in the late disturbances,” it was re-
fused on the ground that the employment of troops
to interfere in the internal disputes of an allied state
was a matter of too much importance to admit of
the power of calling them out being delegated
to any one. It might be that, in his lordship’s
judgment, no force could be furnished by the com-
manding officer at Agra, of sufficient strength to
overawe, or if requisite to overcome, the troops
likely to be opposed to them; but this is not the
reason assigned to the resident. Indeed, at this
time, it seems to have been a question whether the
British government should countenance even the
advocacy of the claims of the Mama Sahib, or
abandon them; and it was not long before the latter
course was preferred.† The humbled regent retired

† This is amply illustrated by the correspondence in the “Further Papers.” In the following letter from the governor-general
to the resident, dated the 3rd of June, though a high tone is
assumed, there are indications of wavering:—
from the scene of his temporary greatness; the British resident was even instructed to press his

"Your letter of the 31st ultimo, addressed to the foreign secretary, was delivered to me here last night.
"The foreign secretary is not yet arrived.
"I deeply regret the obstinacy with which the Maharaneo insists on the dismissal of the regent.
"That high officer was placed in his present station with the general concurrence of the chiefs. His appointment was represented as giving general satisfaction. The cordial approbation of the appointment by the British government was publicly communicated to the chiefs, as well as to the Maharaneo; and all were distinctly informed, that the regent would be deemed the responsible representative of the Gwalior state during the Maharajah's minority, and, as such, supported by the British government.
"Under all these circumstances, it is obviously impossible for the British government to acquiesce in his removal, without the assignment of any reason for such a measure, except the wish of the Maharaneo.
"The British government can have no object but the good of the Gwalior state, in preferring one minister, or regent, of Gwalior, to another. To the British government, as to the Maharaneo herself, and to the chiefs, it appeared but three months ago that the good of the Gwalior state would be best consulted by placing the Mama Sahib in the station of regent, during the minority of the Maharajah; and nothing has occurred to alter my opinion upon that point.
"The Maharaneo and the chiefs must bear in mind, that the frontier of the territories belonging to the British government, and of those of the Gwalior state, being, for the most part, conterminous, it is a matter of paramount importance that there should exist in Gwalior a government willing, and able, to preserve tranquillity along that extended line. The British government cannot permit the growing up of a lax system of rule, generating habits of plunder along its frontier. Its duty to its own subjects imperatively requires that it should interfere effectually to maintain the public peace by all such means as may appear best calculated to secure that essential object. It would be far
retirement, and all that the government by whom the Mama Sahib had been set up would vouchsafe more satisfactory to adopt the necessary measures in cordial cooperation with the authorities of the Gwalior state; and I hoped that, under the regency of the Mama Sahib, this might have been done; but, in any case, the public peace must be preserved, and the Gwalior state will be held responsible for all such interruptions thereof as may arise out of the mal-administration of its dominions.

"In the event of the Mama Sahib being actually removed from office, and of another person being appointed to perform the functions of regent or minister, you will report the circumstances which may have occurred, and hold no official intercourse with the successor of the Mama Sahib, without specific instructions from me.

"In the event of the Mama Sahib being personally in danger, you will inform the Maharanee and the chiefs, that the recent transactions upon the demise of the Maharajah having, with the general consent of all, placed the Mama Sahib at the head of the Gwalior state, as regent during the minority, the British government must continue to respect the Mama Sahib's high station, and must consider him entitled to its protection."

Two days afterwards (5th June), in a letter from the secretary with the governor-general, to the resident, the regent is fairly thrown over:—

"The governor-general has had under his consideration your letter of the 2nd instant.

"2. The governor-general observes, that the Mama Sahib has, throughout these late transactions, which have terminated in his downfall, manifested a want of that decision and energy which are essential to the chief conduct of affairs in a state like that of Gwalior. Powerful at first, and having reason to suppose he might rely upon a large majority of the officers, and of the army, he used none of his advantages, and gradually allowed to grow up an opinion of his weakness, which has led those originally inclined to his cause, and even those whose interests seemed to be bound up with his, ultimately to sign a paper requiring his dismissal.

"3. The Mama Sahib has probably owed his downfall to the
on his behalf, was a feeble endeavour to secure his personal safety.

very measure upon which he must have most confidently relied for the securing of his power, namely, to the marriage of his niece to the Maharajah, which he, very improperly, managed without communication with you. It is most probable that the Dada Khasjee Walla represented this measure to the Maharanees as intended to lead to the setting aside of her highness, and to the conducting of the government by the Mama Sahib in the Maharajah's name, without allowing to his highness any participation therein. The very sudden change in the position of affairs at Gwalior is so identical, in point of time, with the marriage; and the Dada Khasjee Walla, at first reduced to despair by that event, and thinking only of securing his safety by retiring from Gwalior, was so soon the prime mover of every thing within the palace, that it is no more than a fair conclusion, that, having obtained access to the Maharanees, he so alarmed her by his representation of the effect of the marriage upon her future position, as to induce her highness blindly to aid all his designs.

"4. You have been already instructed to afford personal protection to the Mama Sahib, should he be in need of it; but the governor-general cannot but be sensible of the extreme inconvenience, and even danger, which must attend our giving permanent protection, within the Gwalior state, to a subject of that state, deprived of the office of regent; and whether, at the time of your receiving this letter, the Mama Sahib should be actually under your protection, or in a position of precarious security within the Lushkur, you will represent to him that he will best consult his own interests by retiring from Gwalior, and you will make this representation in such a manner as shall induce him to act upon it. The great heats usually lead you at this season to absent yourself from Gwalior, and the governor-general sees no sufficient reason for your now departing from your usual course.

"5. You will not fail to obtain and transmit the fullest intelligence of all that takes place at Gwalior during your absence."

In fifteen days more (June 20), the deposed regent is spoken of in still more disparaging terms than in the letter of the 5th; a
The regent, it was represented, had disappointed the hopes which the British government had for the renewal of intercourse with Gwalior, and that through the Maharanee, whom it had been previously deemed proper to exclude from power, is suggested.

"The governor-general infers, from your letters of the 15th instant, that the two measures you were instructed to adopt, of discontinuing official intercourse with the Gwalior durbar, and of retiring to Dholerpore, have had the desired effect of impressing the Maharanee and the durbar with a sense of the serious displeasure with which their recent conduct had been viewed by the British government.

"2. It would be impossible permanently to adhere to either measure, but they are calculated, by the vague apprehension they must excite, to lead to the adoption of moderate counsels by the party which has succeeded in expelling the Mama Sahib.

"3. The first of the measures will probably have the effect of retaining the durbar vakcel in office, under the impression that he must be a person with whom it will be most agreeable to you to communicate; and through whom, therefore, it will be easier to retain some communication, than through any successor he might receive.

"4. The governor-general is inclined to consider this a point it would be desirable to gain, although certainly the durbar vakcel did not, in the late transactions, exhibit much firmness in his conduct, or any very valuable fidelity to his declared patron the Mama Sahib.

"5. With respect to the Mama Sahib, although the support he received from you on the part of the British government, and the movement of the governor-general to Agra, probably determined his election, still he was from the first thought of by the chiefs, and it may be doubted whether, under any circumstances, he might not have secured his own nomination.

"6. He has proved himself quite unfit to manage either men or women, and a minister of Gwalior must manage both.

"7. With respect to the Maharanee, if she be really fourteen and not nine, as is said in the paper inclosed in your letter,
formed of him—he had manifested deficiency of ability, of firmness, and of prudence. This charge wherein her grievances are detailed, the sort of management required must be very different from that which would be adapted to a child of the earlier age.

"8. It is evident that the Maharani is allowed to exercise personally a degree of power which makes the management of her the material object. No minister, however appointed, would, without managing her, long retain his station, unless, indeed, she were altogether deprived of authority, and set aside, a measure the governor-general is by no means yet prepared to adopt.

"9. The governor-general has at all times declared that we require nothing from the Gwalior state, except that its territory, and especially its frontier, should be so governed as not to become the source of disturbance to ours. Any form of administering the affairs of the Gwalior state, which may effect this object of frontier tranquillity, will be satisfactory to the British government.

"10. The governor-general is by no means certain that the direct mode of communication with the Maharani herself, which has been suggested as open to you, and while there is no ostensible minister, may not be that which may practically give you the most beneficial influence over the government.

"11. The governor-general has, on all occasions, expressed the strong personal interest he takes in the welfare and happiness of the Maharani; and you might put that prominently forward in your communications with her highness, as calculated to give her confidence in the loyalty and sincerity of the advice you may give her.

"12. The governor-general does not know whether you have any means of obtaining accurate information of what passes within the palace, still less whether it would be possible for you to secure the services of any one immediately about the person of the Maharani, and having any influence over her; but both these things it would be very desirable to accomplish.

"13. It is clear that the slaves and others about the Maharani have some influence over her, and that indiscreet changes in her personal attendants have gone far towards alienating her mind from the Mama Sahib.
it might not be difficult to support, but what hope was there of improvement from substituting the authority of the Maharanee and her slave girls in place of that of the regent? It was known that this would bring in the Dada Khasjee Walla, virtually, if not formally, as minister, and he had always been regarded as a dangerous person. Further, if the British government were to retain a shadow of influence or respect, could it submit calmly and unresistingly to witness the overthrow of the regent, whose elevation it had recommended, and whom alone it recognized as the ruler of the Gwalior state during the minority of the prince? These reasons for upholding the Mama Sahib, notwithstanding he had in some degree failed to satisfy

"14. The governor-general's impression is, that the Maharanee is a very sensitive, and somewhat impetuous, girl, but that she is by no means without a good disposition; and that, with her character, any thing may be made of her, according to the manner in which she is approached and treated. In any case, the governor-general would wish you to proceed upon this supposition, until you have reason to consider it incorrect.

"15. The explanation you have given of your retirement to Dholepore enables you to terminate it at any time at which you may deem it expedient to return to Gwalior; but the governor-general wishes that no measure adopted by you should have the appearance of suddenness, of precipitation, and of change of purpose, without adequate cause."

This letter contrasts strangely with a passage in one from the same writer to the resident, dated the 11th of March:—"When his lordship first advised, and subsequently approved the nomination of the Mama Sahib as regent, he did not intend to advise or approve only the selection of the Mama Sahib, under the authority of the Maharanee, and liable to be controlled by the intrigues of slave girls."
the expectations which had been entertained of his talents and judgment, were obvious enough; but they seem either not to have occurred, or to have been disregarded.

Like the regent, the British resident withdrew from Gwalior, and this step, as it would seem from certain parts of the correspondence, was intended as an intimation of the displeasure of the government which he represented. According to this view, it was deemed expedient to afford a sullen expression of offended dignity, in a case where it was either imprudent or impracticable to do more; but, strangely enough, it was thought advisable to soften this expression as much as possible. In the instructions given to the resident on the subject, it is observed:—"The great heats usually lead you at this season to absent yourself from Gwalior, and the governor-general sees no sufficient reason for your now departing from your usual course." It does not, however, seem that such was the "usual course" at that season; for in a letter from the resident, bearing date ten days later than the above instructions, the writer refers to a conversation which he had held with the durbar vakeel, in which the latter person referred to a prevalent belief, that the resident was about to proceed to Dholepore. The resident answered, that it was his intention to go there "for change of air." The vakeel replied, "that this was not the season at which" the resident "usually moved." His remark was not met by a denial, but by an assent to the fact. "I said no; but that, as I had nothing
particular to engage my attention at present, I should go there (to Dholepore) when I could obtain carriage.” The vakeel made some further observations, which were thus met: “I requested the vakeel to inform the Maharanee, that she was aware as well as he was, that I was in the habit of moving about occasionally, and that she must look upon my going to Dholepore on this occasion as nothing more than what I had stated, and that she must not think that it was because I was offended with her that I went there.”

Indeed, the proceedings connected with this movement to Dholepore seem to have been characterized by the same indecision which, throughout the year 1843, was constantly displayed in regard to the affairs of the state of Scindia. It might be argued, that it was desirable to lull the durbar of Gwalior into security till the time arrived for acting with greater decision. A reference to the language held on the subject will shew that this was not intended. The departure of the regent for Dholepore was meant to be an indication of offence: and it is made matter for boast that it was so understood; yet pains were taken so to manage it, as to divest it as much as possible of the appearance which it was thought desirable it should present.

Similar inconsistency seems to have been displayed in regard to the question of holding correspondence with those who succeeded to power upon the fall of the Mama Sahib. The British resident

* "Further Papers," No. 64, page 43.
had been instructed to discontinue official intercourse with the Gwalior durbar. The durbar vakeel, however, on a visit to the resident, which was understood to be the last that would be received, "remarked, as the Ranee had not appointed any minister to succeed the Mama Sahib, that he thought the official intercourse should not have been interrupted; that the Ranee herself held durbars daily, and conducted the affairs of the state;"* and therefore it was determined to continue the intercourse, though the Maharance had been declared utterly incompetent, on account of her youth, for the exercise of political authority. Whether it were better to maintain some correspondence with the Gwalior durbar or abstain, may be a question open to discussion; but both courses could not be right; and the vacillation displayed in this, as in other instances, seems to indicate that no well-considered plan had been adopted for the management of the British relations with Gwalior.

At last, as has been seen, the governor-general assumed a warlike attitude, and directed the assemblage of an armament: and now the tone of instruction to the resident was changed. The Dada Khasjee Walla and other offending parties were to be punished, the army reformed, and peace and good order established. Yet the Maharanee was still to play an important part. The resident was informed that "the governor-general in council" was "strongly of opinion that all important measures of the govern-

* "Further Papers," No. 64, p. 44.
ment should be adopted after communication with” him (the resident), and that he should himself “main-
tain constant personal intercourse with the Mahar-
neee, and hereafter with the Maharajah. No chief
whatever,” it was added, “should be suffered to stand
between the British minister and the natural head
of the Gwalior state;”* the natural head at this
time being a girl of about thirteen years of age,
who, five months before the above was written,
had been declared unfit to exercise authority, even
through the agency of a responsible minister.

Resort to force having been determined upon, it
became necessary to fix the grounds of the determi-
nation. It has been already shewn that the armed in-
terference contemplated was rested on the fact of the
British government having for many years assumed
the rights, and performed the obligations, of the
paramount power of India. It has been shewn, too,
that at the time when this ground was taken as the
basis of action, it was proposed to demand from the
Gwalior durbar nothing but the expulsion of the
Dada Khasjee Walla; that all other points, numer-
ous and pressing as some of them might be, were to
be left to time and influence. Further, it has been
shewn that in less than two months the ground of
interference was shifted, and a treaty raked up for
justification of the change; and also, that instead of
confining the demands of the British government to
one single point, a variety of demands were raised,
and embodied in a new treaty, the adoption of which

* “Further Papers,” No. 90, p. 70.
was carried by the sword. To enforce those demands, the governor-general with an army approached the bank of the Chumbul. He was warned, both by native and European authorities, that to cross that river would be regarded as an act of hostility, and would precipitate a state of things which he professed to be anxious to avoid. He had often hesitated in the course of his policy towards Gwalior, but in this instance he was determined. He crossed the river; this act put an end to the differences previously existing between the conflicting factions, and united all against an enemy who had entered their country. As it is impossible to know what would have been the result of a contrary course, it is impossible to decide positively that the course taken was either right or wrong, but the result certainly fulfilled the predictions which had been made as to the effect of the movement upon the army of Gwalior. This much, however, might have been expected—that the fearfully important step having been taken, it would at least have been followed up with vigour; that all the consequences depending upon it having been incurred, there would have been no hesitation in pushing onward.

This reasonable expectation was not fulfilled. The British loitered at Hingona, when no one could hope for anything but from an appeal to arms, and this enabled the enemy to complete measures for attacking the advancing force to a disadvantage. Before crossing the Chumbul there was abundant
ground for pause—after that step had been taken, there was nothing to be looked for except what could be won at the sword’s point. Battle ensued, and the British, though they had trifled with their advantage, were victorious. It would almost seem, from a consideration of the circumstances of the engagement, that the possibility of being forced to combat was scarcely contemplated on the part of the British. Up to the moment when awakened from the trance of security by the discharge of artillery it would appear as though an expectation, and a confident one, was entertained that the march to Gwalior would be a bloodless one. Arrangements were made for opposing the Mahratta army, but it seems hardly to have been expected that they would give any trouble. This delusion was not an unfitting termination of the series of half-timidous, half-violent measures which had preceded it.*

The battle won, negotiation followed, and as its basis came the treaty of Boorhampoor. This was the treaty of alliance and mutual defence concluded by Captain Malcolm, under the instructions of Sir Arthur Wellesley, in 1804, during the administration of the Marquis Wellesley. The treaty was disregarded by Scindia and disapproved by the Marquis Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow. In consequence, a new treaty of amity and alliance was concluded at Mustafapoor, in 1805, which, with some alterations,

* The fact of the British being taken by surprise is attested by the presence on the field of the governor-general and the ladies belonging to the family of the commander-in-chief.
was ratified by Sir George Barlow, then at the head of the British government in India.* The treaty of Mustafapoor recognizes that of Serjee Angengaum (the treaty of peace concluded with Scindia by Sir Arthur Wellesley in December, 1803), and confirms every part of it not thereby altered; but it is entirely silent as regards the treaty of Boorhampoor, and does not contain the common article confirming all previous engagements in so far as they are not affected by the operation of the new one. The treaty of Serjee Angengaum is referred to, and that only. There can therefore be no doubt that this treaty and that of Mustafapoor were intended to be regarded as the only engagements existing between the two states at the time of the conclusion of the latter. The provisions peculiar to the treaty of Boorhampoor were never acted upon, and as it escaped recognition in the treaty of Mustafapoor in 1805, so did it in the treaty concluded with Scindia, under the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, in 1817, though in this latter treaty, as in the former, the treaty of Serjee Angengaum is confirmed. If ever treaty was rendered null, that of Boorhampoor was certainly in that predicament, and its revival in 1843, after a slumber of almost forty years, is not one of the least remarkable points in the remarkable course of policy of which that revival formed part.

Of the treaty which Lord Ellenborough added to the archives of Indian diplomacy it will be un-

* For these treaties, see vol. iii. pp. 378, 383; and vol. iv. pp. 49, 51.
necessary to speak at large. Of one point notice has already been taken. After determining in March that the regency should be held by a single person, the governor-general consented in December that it should be exercised by a council, thus adding a fresh instance of versatility to a catalogue which before was sufficiently long. So, too, in March, he declared that the regent was to be independent of the Maharanees; in June he avowed that he was not prepared to deprive* the Maharanees altogether of authority;† and in December he did deprive her altogether of authority. But it is unnecessary to catalogue such instances.

A.D. 1844.

On the 26th of February, 1844, the governor-general returned to Barrackpoor, and on the 28th, he entered Calcutta. This was the second anniversary of his lordship's arrival from Europe, and whether the concurrence were designed or fortuitous, it was somewhat remarkable. On the occasion of his return, he received an address from the inhabitants of Calcutta, which falls on the ear with the effect almost of rebuke. His lordship had passed a considerable portion of his time in India at a distance from the ordinary seat of government, a fact noticed by those who welcomed his return in the following manner:—

"We, the undersigned inhabitants of Calcutta, beg to present our hearty congratulations on your lordship's return to the presidency, after the accomplishment of the great objects that called you hence to

† Ibid. p. 50.
Upper Hindostan. That those objects should have been so promptly and so triumphantly attained, is a matter of national concernment; to us it is doubly gratifying, inasmuch as it enables your lordship to devote the energies of a powerful mind towards measures of internal benefit—second only in real importance to those affecting public security. The presence of the head of this colonial empire is so essential in every way to its prosperity, as to make it but natural that we should bear even his necessary absence with something like impatience, and hail his return with the warmest expressions of satisfaction. That your lordship’s residence among us may be continued—that no state emergency may again demand your personal care in other parts of this wide territory, must always be our earnest desire. It will be our study to make that residence as much a matter of choice, as it is of public expediency.”

The transactions of the government of Great Britain with the Chinese belong not to a history of India, and here, therefore, the narrative of Lord Ellenborough’s administration closes.

No further “state emergency” occurred to call his lordship away from Calcutta; but his residence there was not of prolonged duration. On the 15th of July it became known that his lordship had been removed from the office of governor-general by the Court of Directors of the East-India Company. From this unusual exercise of authority, it must be concluded that the points of difference between Lord
Ellenborough and those whom he served were neither few nor trivial. The precise grounds of removal were not made public, and, consequently, they can for the present only be inferred from a consideration of his lordship's acts.

Of Lord Ellenborough, as governor-general of India, it is as yet difficult to speak with the freedom which may be used towards the statesmen of a former age. It is certain, however, that his Indian administration disappointed his friends; and if a judgment may be formed from his own declarations previously to his departure from Europe, it must have disappointed himself. He went to India the avowed champion of peace, and he was incessantly engaged in war. For the Afghan war he was not, indeed, accountable—he found it on his hands; and in the mode in which he proposed to conclude it, and in which he would have concluded it, but for the remonstrances of his military advisers, he certainly displayed no departure from the ultra-pacific policy which he had professed in England. The triumphs with which the perseverance of the generals commanding in Afghanistan graced his administration seem completely to have altered his views; and the desire of military glory thenceforward supplanted every other feeling in his breast. He would have shunned war in Afghanistan by a course which the majority of his countrymen would pronounce dishonourable. He might without dishonour have avoided war in Sinde, and possibly have averted hostilities at Gwalior, but he did not. For the in-
ternal improvement of India he did nothing. He had, indeed, little time to do any thing. War, and preparation for war, absorbed most of his hours, and in a theatrical display of childish pomp many more were consumed. With an extravagant confidence in his own judgment, even on points which he had never studied, he united no portion of steadiness or constancy. His purposes were formed and abandoned with a levity which accorded little with the offensive tone which he manifested in their defence, so long as they were entertained. His administration was not an illustration of any marked and consistent course of policy; it was an aggregation of isolated facts. It resembled an ill-constructed drama, in which no one incident is the result of that by which it was preceded, nor a just and natural preparation for that which is to follow. Every thing in it stands alone and unconnected. His influence shot across the Asiatic world like a meteor, and but for the indelible brand of shame indented in Sinde, like a meteor its memory would pass from the mind with its disappearance.

FINIS.