in its need? It is said that princes and chiefs who had held back then came forward, and that the Nana began to receive answers to his appeals."

The above, as will be seen from a footnote, is surmise, based on the statement of a man, said to have been the Nana's emissary, who was detained at Mysore and examined. What this man states is, "The Nana wrote at intervals, two or three months previous to the annexation of Oude; but at first he got no answers. Nobody had any hope After the annexation he wrote still more, and then the soukars of Lucknow joined in his views Maun Sing, who is chief of the poorbeahs or pardesee, joined. Then the sepoys began to form plans among themselves, and the Lucknow soukars supported them. Until Oude was annexed, Nana Saib did not get answers from any one; but when that occurred, many began to take courage and to answer him. The plot among the sepoys first took place—the discontent about the greased cartridges. Then answers began to pour in. Golab Sing, of Jummoo, was the first to send an answer. He said that he was ready with men, money, and arms, and he sent money to Nana Saib through one of the Lucknow soukars."

It is a maxim of law, and of common sense too, that the testimony of a witness, to be acknowledged as reliable, must bear the impress of truth in every particular. But the only available test—the conduct of Golab Sing, of Jummoo—by which this man's

evidence is to be estimated, brands it at once as false and untrustworthy. From first to last Golab Sing stood staunchly by our side. That the soukars of Lucknow joined in the Nana's views before the Mutiny and supported them is too absurd to be even alluded to That the princes and nobles of the southern Mharatta country were alike ripe for rebellion is equally without foundation. According to General Jacob, the conduct of one of the princes of Kolapoor was not above suspicion, and the chief of Nurgoond committed himself by acts of active hostility But on the other side might have been catalogued the Rajas of Gudjunderghur, Mhodole, and Savanoor, and a long list of chiefs. Look for instance at the conduct of the Ramdroog chief--half-brother to the traitor of Nurgoond. He remained not only firm in his loyalty to the British Government, but placed in Mr. Manson's hands the letter received from his brother, urging him to co-operation in expelling the English from India.

If anything was an unveiled fact to the kings, princes, and nobles of India, it was, that from the very earliest time the policy of the British in India was an aggressive policy. They saw their dominions gradually extending. Now one potentate was overthrown, now another, and their territories absorbed. The fear inspired by such aggressions led to a general confederacy against the British, in 1779, of the Mharattas, Hyder Alli, and the Nizam of Hydrabad; and

the exorbitant exactions imposed on the Raja Cheyte Sing, of Benares, and others, by the Governor-General of India, led to similar combinations on the Bengal side. Cheyte Sing, moreover, was a prince who was popular and beloved by his subjects. By an act of the most unexampled imprudence, the Governor-General placed himself in his power, and found himself a prisoner. This was followed by a widespread insurrection, to quell which, and to liberate the Governor-General, troops—by far the greater portion sepoys—took part, and fought against "*their own connections and friends*, in the *heart of their own country!*" But sepoy fidelity stood unimpaired under even those fiery tests; and the combination for the overthrow of British power, though widely ramified, proved of no avail. It was then that the question might have been asked, "Who was safe?" When at a later period the power of the great Hyder Alli was smitten down at the gates of his own capital, then, too, the princes and nobles of India, formidable as they were at the time, might have repeated the inquiry, "Who was safe?" and engaged in "quietly spreading the network of intrigue all over the country; from one native court to another native court; from one extremity to another of the great continent of India." And it was then for some wily Machiavel to have undertaken the task, from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, of bringing into a well-banded coalition "the princes and chiefs of different races and

religions." But could the Nana have been ignorant of the fact that his adoptive father, the Peshwa Bajee Roa, had made the most strenuous efforts to bring about such a coalition, that he had had at his command powerful feudatories, men who with their Mharatta hordes had conquered Delhi and Mooltan, had carried their conquests to the classic rivers of Alexander, had swept up to the confines of Afghanistan, and had installed and proclaimed emperors? Could he have been ignorant that previous to the outbreak of the war his adoptive father had made the most persistent efforts to bring about sepoy defection; that at the time of the conflict with the British, he had the families and friends of the sepoys in his power, and acted with cruel severity towards them. And could he have been ignorant of the fact that even *all this had failed to impair sepoy allegiance?* If such was the case during the days of their superior strength and our comparative weakness, is it possible that the Nana, or any number of other individuals, during the days of our strength and India's weakness could have been successful in such an undertaking? The answer, I think, is simple enough and obvious enough. And is it likely that the Nana, by despatching emissaries "all over the country, from one native court to another native court, from one extremity to another of the great continent of India" could have entertained the idea of inducing all the princes and nobles —whom, with one or two exceptions, he had never

seen, and who were perfect strangers to him—to fall in with his intentions, and those intentions involving the peril of life and property? Such a thought might have been possible under more auspicious circumstances, and with more promising political prospects; certainly not when they were the reverse of promising. And by such a man too as the Nana, who was constitutionally a coward, and who, on learning that Havelock and his handful of Europeans were within a couple of days' march of Cawnpoor, disappeared from the scene without so much as striking a single blow! The statement in General Jacob's "Western India," that Chimma Saib had been waited on by emissaries from the Nana, one of whom, who had travelled round by the south, coming last from Mysore, had informed him that he had secured the co-operation of forty different regiments, and that Chimma Saib had bid him assure the Nana that he had gained over all the red-coated men in the southern Mharatta country, may be classed with the mythical. It may, I think, be safely assumed, that instead of being the seducer of the sepoys, Chimma Saib was probably their dupe. And from an intercepted letter quoted by General Jacob, which was posted by a sepoy in the regiment at Belgaum, purporting to be from several sepoys to their brethren of the 75th Bengal Native Infantry, stating, "We are your children, do with us as it may seem best to you; in your salvation is our safety. We are all of one mind; on your

intimation we shall come running;" it will appear that the seduction, as a rule, came from the mutineers of the Bengal Presidency.

General Jacob "was sorely puzzled to account for the mutiny at Kolapoor" Two days "were spent" in the ineffectual task of "examining every officer, European and native, of the regiment and others, without any clue to the causes of discontent or explanation of the extraordinary conduct of the men; not one would or could admit the existence of any grievance, or assign any reason for the outbreak." This is by no means surprising They had no grievance, and could improvise none to meet the General's inquiry Instead of attempting, in the regiment itself, to trace the cause of the outbreak, a glance at the progress of the mutiny in the Bengal Presidency would have disclosed this fact to General Jacob, that it proceeded from a derogated estimation, on the part of the sepoy, of the importance of the European, and from a highly inflated view of his own superiority, which the Daood Begs in the regiment took advantage of and worked upon. Take, for instance, the statement of the sepoy who, on the night of the mutiny, escaped to his village. When taken into custody and asked why he had not kept with his European officers, he replied, "Where was I to go? All the world said the English raj had come to an end, and so, being a quiet man, I thought the best place to take refuge in was my own home."

This is clearly illustrative of the extent to which the less intelligent among the men had been practised upon by the bolder and the more daring.

Sir John Kaye states that the Kolapoor mutiny did not come out of the greased cartridges, but out of the Sattarra lapse There is not one word of evidence or authority for the statement. The only thing advanced is, that it "*may be assumed*, without any violent straining of the imagination," that Rungo Bahoojee, who had been to England as the advocate of the Sattarra claimant, *must* have been in communication with the Nana * General Jacob states "The conspiracies in Western India first came to light at Sattarra through the exertions of Mr Rose and his able assistants, and were there nipped in the bud by the deportation of the two Sattarra princes, and the execution of sundry conspirators" These events occurred during the height of the Mutiny agitation in Bombay and elsewhere, and I was not aware of the grounds upon which the executions had taken place. A few months after, Kooshaba Leemiah, a Bhramin gentleman of great intelligence (an alumnus of the Poona College, who was formerly my clerk in the Poona Police, and afterwards, for some years, tutor to the Raja of Jamkhundee, and at the period of

* This man was captured by my detectives in 1863 in the neighbourhood of Ajmeer, but two medical officers were of the opinion that his appearance did not correspond with the description given of him at the time of the mutiny Particulars will be found in my letter to Government, and a subjoined note, Appendix B

the Mutiny, sudder ameen or second class native judge of Sattarra), came on a visit to Bombay and called to see me. Alluding to the executions at Sattarra, I said, "I hope, Kooshaba, you rendered some eminent service to the Government at the time." His answer was: "Sir, I had nothing to do with the executions. The panic at Sattarra was such that the authorities had lost their heads, and every designing scoundrel took advantage of it. You are aware how remarkably cautious natives always are. Is it possible that, without making quite sure of the grounds upon which they were acting, they would attempt any communication suggestive of treason to the sepoys? or that a rabble was likely to arrange an attack on the camp, guarded as it was by the native regiments whose loyalty there was no reason whatever at the time to doubt?" Sir Henry Anderson will remember my incidentally mentioning what the sudder ameen had stated to me, and his having afterwards called on Sir Henry and repeated it to him.

General Jacob has instanced the fact of native officers who sat in judgment upon and condemned their fellows, having been themselves subsequently tried, condemned, and executed. He has instanced also the fact of a native captain having made himself conspicuous by seizing a man who had gone to him with a message of inquiry from some person of note as to "co-operation and promise of support." The man was tried, convicted, and executed on the evidence,

no doubt, of the native captain, *who was himself afterwards proved to have been one of the leaders of the mutiny,* and, after a long and careful trial, was condemned and executed. The fact is, every regiment was tainted and watchful of the progress of events in the north; and being aware of the doubts entertained as to their own fidelity, freely accused others in order to avert suspicion from themselves.

General Jacob states that the commander of the Jamkhundee troops was an active agent in the conspiracy, and, on proof of carrying on a seditious correspondence with our soldiery, was tried and executed. The Raja of Jamkhundee was himself so charged, and placed in confinement at Belgaum, under a European guard, and was brought to trial, and would, in all human probability, have terminated his career at the gallows or at the cannon's mouth, but for his having employed Mr. Barton, a barrister of the Supreme Court of Bombay, who showed up the puerility and worthlessness of the evidence brought against him.

The General mentions that Chimma Saib, the younger of the Rajas of Kolapoor, whom he had sent for and had had an interview with, when returning home, found the streets crowded with women cracking their fingers' joints over their heads, and uttering cries of joy and congratulation at his having gone back to them. And this manifestation, he concludes, denoted the Raja's popularity and the fact of

"his being the head of the rebellious movement." Womankind will always take a deep interest in a handsome young man, especially if he happens to be a prince We all remember the story of the laird's son, who said he had never seen a man hanged, and would like to witness such a sight, and of the good woman, the wife of a feudatory, who happened to hear the wish expressed, running away to her spouse and exclaiming, 'John, dear, do go and be hanged; it would so please the young laird" At a time when executions were by no means uncommon, the women of Kolapoor concluded that when the young Raja had been sent for by the great British functionary, with whom rested the dispensation of life and death, he had gone to meet his doom, and were, no doubt, rejoiced to find that he had been allowed to return safe and alive. But to suppose that any rebel, whatever his position, would make confidants of all the women in the place, is to suppose what is perfectly absurd.

The author of "The Sepoy War" has repeatedly alluded to annexations and lapses and resumptions in terms of condemnation, and has reiterated the assertion, that by giving effect to them, we caused widespread discontent, and, to a perilous extent, weakened our hold upon India. The instances I have enumerated point to an opposite conclusion, and are suggestive of the belief that if the measures carried out by Lord Dalhousie in vindication of the rights of humanity had not been carried out, the

omission would have been imputed by the people of India to pusillanimity; and when the perils of the sepoy outbreak had come upon us, we should have encountered from the princes and nobles of the land an opposition all the more formidable.

No one will deny that we were very largely assisted by the Sikhs during the outbreak. If, after the second war, we had followed the advice of those politicians who apprehended danger and disaster in the acquisition and extension of territory, and allowed the Sikhs to retain their government, with His Highness the Maharaja Duleep Sing re-established in his ancestral throne, what would have been the consequence during the period of the Mutiny? I cannot do better than answer the question in His Highness's own words He did me the honour of calling upon me on his return from the Punjab in 1864, and in the course of conversation expressed himself "happy at finding the country well governed and the people prosperous and contented;" but added that "he was most thankful he was not in the Punjab during the time of the Mutiny; for if he had been, he felt quite sure his people would have compelled him to take part against the British Government." Who can be a more competent judge of this than His Highness?

The efforts of Government in the promotion of education, the countenance accorded by Lady Canning to female seminaries, and the zeal displayed by

missionary labour, have also been severely censured by the author of "The Sepoy War." These measures, it is stated, tended to lead the soldiery and the civil population to the belief that proselytism was the object of the British Government; that it excited their fears and contributed largely to the causes which brought about the "sepoy outbreak and rebellion." A quotation, however, in vol. iii. page 228 of "The Sepoy War," from a volume published by Mr. Charles Raikes, gives the above imputation a full and complete contradiction Mr. Raikes says that while "every Englishman was handling his sword or revolver, the road covered with carriages, people hastening right and left to the rendezvous, while city folk were running as if for their lives, and screaming that the mutineers from Aligurh were crossing the bridge, and budmashes twisting their moustaches and putting on their worst looks; while outside the college all was alarm, hurry, and confusion, within calmly sat the good missionary, with hundreds of young natives at his feet, hanging on the lips which taught them the simple lessons of the Bible And so it was (it is stated) throughout the revolt,—the students at the Government, and still more the missionary schools, kept steadily to their classes, and when others doubted or fled, they trusted implicitly to their teachers, and openly espoused the Christian cause."*

* I think it necessary to quote also the following, to show how wild was the panic at the time, and that too at Agra, the seat of the

The constancy of *hundreds* of native students who, under such peculiarly trying circumstances, continued to attend the missionary and other schools, affords strong and unquestionable evidence, that neither the native soldiery, nor the population at large, were under any apprehension as to proselytising attempts on the part of the Government. If any such fear had existed, these schools would at once have disappeared at the very outburst of the Mutiny. The outcry on the subject, like the outcry against greased cartridges, was first raised by the more designing among the native military, and was taken up afterwards by others. Then followed the factitious and circumstantial story, that annexations and lapses and resumptions had caused widespread disaffection, and that the Nana, by means of emissaries, had been enabled to band together, with the object of effecting the eviction of the English from India, the princes and nobles of different races and religions, and that he and others with him, brought about the sepoy outbreak.

Contemporary historians may not do Lord Dalhousie justice, nor those who preceded him in the

Lieutenant-Governor of the province! Mr Paterson Saunders, writing to his brother, said: "The panic here exceeds anything I have ever witnessed. Women, children, carts, gharries, buggies, flying from all parts into the fort, with loads of furniture, beds, bedding, baskets of fowls, &c. The Europeans have all escaped from Aligurh. Lady Outram came in here, partly on horseback, partly on foot. One or two civilians here have behaved most shamefully. One of them went into his office, pale as his own liver, and told all the crannies to save their lives as they best may."

work of emancipating the large masses of the people from oppression, outrage, rapine, and murder. They may not think that acts, the outrageous licentiousness of which placed the stigma of infamy upon human nature, should have been visited with punishment upon the perpetrators, that, on the contrary, those who effected the extinction of profligate dynasties, of libertine courts, of worse than brutal territorial aristocracies, and of predatory armies, should have considered, not the condition of the rural populations, not the good which a sacred sense of duty dictated should be conferred upon them by British rule, but the resentment which such a policy was likely to arouse in the breasts of the influential classes of the community!!! Had such been the views which governed the conduct of those by whom those great measures had been carried out, the connection of England with India would have proved a curse rather than a blessing. Happily, the statesmen and philanthropists by whom the destinies of India were then governed were actuated by no interested or sordid motives. Influenced by a lofty spirit of humanitarianism, they did what duty dictated. Their conduct was a practical exemplification of the sublime maxim, *fiat justitia ruat cœlum.* They did justice though the heavens should have fallen.

CHAPTER II.

OUR REAL DANGER IN INDIA.

THE East India Company,—which in the course of time had subjugated one of the greatest empires in the world, originally a small trading corporation, its first settlement in India, comprising a few square miles for which rent was paid to native princes; its soldiers, armed with swords, shields, and bows and arrows, and scarcely numerous enough to man four or five badly constructed fortifications erected for the protection of their warehouses,—encountered, from a French trading corporation, which was established at no great distance from them, a dangerous rivalry, which bid fair to extinguish their commercial hopes, and threatened their expulsion from India, but following the example of the French, the British factors enlisted natives of the country as soldiers, and trained them in the art and discipline of European warfare. They were thus enabled, not only to keep their own footing, but gradually, in the course of time, as opportunities offered, to assert their wonted national superiority in arms. And their indomitable courage and repeated success in the field, inspired the people of India with awe, and won for them the devotion and allegiance of their sepoy followers.

It has been often stated that, under the pretext and with the ostensible motive of furthering the interests of a trading corporation, the British pursued an aggressive policy in India; that they excited dissensions among native princes, and urged them on to war in order to their own advantage The early history of the British connection with India, however, very clearly points to the fact that it was a struggle—at times a hard struggle—for very existence It will be seen that while at Madras they were busied in taking stock, shipping cargoes, and making money advances in promotion of the objects of commerce, the French corporation at Pondicherry were constituting themselves into a military power And taking advantage of the war in Europe of the Austrian Succession, the French governor of Mauritius led an expedition to the continent of India, and landing his troops in defiance of the opposition offered by the British fleet, appeared before Madras, and compelled the town and fort to capitulate The French colours were hoisted on Fort St George, and the principal English factors were marched off under a guard to Pondicherry, where, under the gaze of "fifty thousand spectators," they were paraded through the town in a triumphal procession.

Whilst the French were thus rapidly rising to ascendancy in India, the fortunes of the English East India Company were at their very lowest. At this conjuncture, Mahomed Ali, the legitimate Nabob of

the Carnatic, was besieged at Trichinopoly by a pretender who laid claim to the throne. The French supported the pretender's claim, the English espoused the cause of Mahomed Ali. Owing to the smallness of the force at Madras, it was not possible to relieve Trichinopoly. A diversion was therefore thought of, and under the command of the renowned Clive, a force consisting of 200 Europeans and 300 sepoys was despatched for the capture of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. The enterprise was perfectly successful, but Clive was himself besieged, immediately after, by a force about ten thousand strong, a hundred and fifty of whom were French European soldiers. Clive's forces were less than one-twentieth the number

Brilliant and valorous was the defence of the besieged. Every white man displayed a heroism that commanded the admiration of every beholder. The siege had lasted fifty days. The defences were maintained with vigour and ability. The walls, however, were in a ruinous state; the trenches were dry, the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns, the battlements too low to protect the soldiers, and the breaches becoming wider every day. The garrison was greatly lessened by casualties; Clive's two hundred Europeans were reduced to one hundred and twenty, and the three hundred native soldiers to two hundred. Preparations, on the other hand, on a formidable scale, were being made by the enemy to capture the place

on the occasion of the Mohorum, a Mahomedan festival, during which there is great excitement and greater religious frenzy and fanaticism. To add to Clive's trials and difficulties, the garrison fell short of provisions. Then occurred that touching scene, that manifestation of devotion to the white on the part of the black soldier. The sepoys came to Clive in a body, and desired that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, and that they themselves would be satisfied with the gruel strained from the rice. It may well be said that history contains no more touching instance of military devotion, which an unmistakable consciousness of the white man's superiority could only have prompted,—a superiority which evidenced to the sepoy that on the white man's safety depended his own salvation.

The last desperate effort of the enemy was then made to carry the place by storm, but it met with a resistance from the besieged, as crowning as the one which has embalmed the memory of "the handful" of Thermopylæ, and from which both frenzy and fanaticism recoiled. It was expected that the attack would be renewed on the following day; but when the morning dawned, no enemy was found within sight. Afterwards, on the arrival of reinforcements from Madras, Clive assumed the offensive.

The affair of the Calcutta Black Hole may be regarded as the most cruel and terrible incident chronicled in British India. One hundred and

twenty-three Englishmen, out of one hundred and fifty, perished miserably, because an oriental Nero who had retired to rest, was not to be awakened. But it is gratifying, even at this distance of time, to contemplate the signal retribution that overtook the incarnate demon. On receipt of the intelligence at Madrás, the bitterest feelings of resentment were aroused, and an expedition was immediately despatched to avenge the atrocity The land forces, consisting of nine hundred British infantry and fifteen hundred sepoy soldiers, were under the command of Clive; the naval squadron was commanded by Admiral Watson. Sooraj-oo Dowla, on the other hand, lost no time in marshalling his hosts to meet the British advance. After some successes obtained by Clive in the Hoogly and on land, Sooraj-oo Dowla wished to treat for peace, and made offers of restitution and indemnity. But during the course of the negotiations, it became evident that his motives were not sincere. It was at the same time known that he was intriguing with the French at Chandernagore, and had invited their general to march from the Deccan to the Hoogly to drive the English from Bengal. It then became necessary to commence operations against the French, which was done by land and water. The French were vanquished. Their fort, their garrison, in fact all belonging to them, fell into the hands of the English, and some five hundred European troops were among the prisoners.

Shortly after, a conspiracy was set on foot in the capital to depose Sooraj-oo Dowla, and place Meer Jaffer on the throne. Then occurred that unfortunate event which has left a stain on Clive's moral character, —the episode of the white and red paper treaties, and the counterfeiting of Admiral Watson's signature. After this Clive moved forward to encounter Sooraj-oo Dowla, and reached a spot within a few miles of his encampment. Here he expected that Meer Jaffer, according to a previous understanding between them, would separate himself from Sooraj-oo Dowla, and join him with his division; but as the crisis approached, the fears of Meer Jaffer overcame his ambition. He returned evasive answers to Clive's urgent requests to march up and unite with him. It was a most anxious moment, when even the stout-hearted Clive, a stranger to every feeling of fear, might well have been perturbed at the prospect of the responsibility he was on the eve of incurring. It was by no means a light matter to find himself opposed by an army twenty times as numerous as his own, and abandoned by his powerful confederate who, for anything he was aware of to the contrary, might take part against him. Placed in circumstances so desperately critical, he hesitated to act without due deliberation, and called a council of war. The decision of that council was opposed to the adoption of any hostile measures. Clive acquiesced; but was by no means satisfied. He soon after separated from his councillors and resolved

to engage the enemy at all hazards. It is the brave only who may hope to conquer; and Clive did conquer. But every white man proved himself a hero; and the black soldier, fighting by his side, was perfectly conscious of the guardianship under which he fought. Without his white soldiers, with even ten times the number of only native soldiers, Clive would not have challenged the issue against such tremendous odds. Every native of India was as conscious of this as was Clive himself. Clive's European infantry numbered a thousand; his native infantry two thousand. The hosts opposed to them were no less than sixty thousand. But Clive gained a most complete victory; and Plassey is a name which the battle has rendered memorable.

The King of Delhi at this time was a prisoner in the hands of a subject. His eldest son, Shah Allum, at the instigation of the King of Oude and other powerful princes, raised his standard, and was soon joined by an army of forty thousand, consisting of Rohillas, Jhats, Afghans, and Mharattas, some of the most hardy of the races in India; and with the object of overthrowing Meer Jaffer, commenced hostilities by laying siege to Patna. Clive, with only four hundred and fifty Europeans and two thousand five hundred sepoys, was marching up to give battle; but such was the terror which Clive and his white soldiers had established, that the sight of the advanced guard sufficed to scatter the hosts of Shah Allum.

These splendid services rendered to Meer Jaffer, failed to secure his fidelity or excite his gratitude. He looked upon his powerful English allies with fear rather than with confidence; for he argued that the power which had set him up might pull him down again. He accordingly intrigued with the Dutch at Chinsurah, and at their request the Dutch Government at Batavia, anxious to extend the influence of their country in India, equipped a powerful armament which arrived unexpectedly in the Hoogly. The troops were landed, and attempted to force a passage, but were encountered by the English by land and by water, and vanquished on both elements.

It is not necessary for my purpose to state any further instances of battles or of victories which uniformly attended British warfare in India From Arcot and Plassey to the latest engagements, the results were always the same Everywhere greatly outnumbered, but everywhere triumphant. There have been occasions in which native soldiers alone have been employed to put down a petty insurrection or quell a trifling outbreak, but they were always led on by their European officers. In all important engagements the white soldiers, however small in number, were invariably a most powerful and indispensable element, which no numerical superiority of the enemy could withstand.

Sir John Kaye states that our first sepoy levies were few in number when the English and French

were striving for predominancy in the south, and at the outset were commonly held in reserve to support our European fighting-men; but in course of time they proved themselves worthy of being entrusted with higher duties, and that they then went boldly to the front under native commandants who had been disciplined by the English captains.

There can be no question as to the importance of the body of men held in reserve to act as supports to forces led into action, nor can there be the least doubt that if Indian generals had at any time adopted the plan of holding "native troops in reserve to support our European fighting-men," that the former must have had but little or nothing left them to do; for had the Europeans been worsted, not even the bravery, the example, and the leading of the European officers would have sufficed to induce the men to come into action. I may take upon myself to state that sepoy courage had never been subjected to such a test. The plan, so far as I am aware, was always to intermix Europeans and natives in detachments, so that the native soldier might have ocular demonstration of the bearing and bravery of the European, and do as he did. During the first Punjab war, it will be remembered that when one European and two native regiments were being led to the charge, the European regiment was unexpectedly brought to a momentary stand on account of a precipitous break in the ground, and were obliged to make a détour;

but observing them halt, the native regiments, though meeting with no impediment themselves, halted too, exclaiming, "Ghore log hut geya!"—"The Europeans are holding back!"—and advanced only when the Europeans went on again.

I have not met with any official or historical record of the circumstance, but the following general order, issued by the Commander-in-chief, on the 28th January, 1846, appears to me to refer to it —

"Justice to the 62nd Regiment, and to the native regiments brigaded with that corps, demands the exposition of the sentiments of the Commander-in-chief in connection with an erroneous impression with respect to the conduct of the brigade which had been produced by the publication, purely through an oversight, of a dispatch written exclusively for his Excellency's information"

We have also the opinion of that maturely experienced and brave old warrior Sir C J Napier, stated in a letter to the Governor-General of India after the battle of Meeanee, that "the want of European officers in the native regiments at one period endangered the success of the battle. Three times I saw them retreat, evidently because the officers had fallen, and when another appeared and rallied them, they at once followed him boldly."

I cannot think any measure more dangerous, when the enemy was likely to offer any serious resistance, than taking sepoys into action unaccompanied by

European soldiers. My own arrangement in Bombay during the Mutiny—in which the possibility of an encounter with the native military was at all times kept in view, was to lead on the native mounted police, *followed* by the European body. I had in this a double object. The greater part of the native mounted police being Purdesees, men from the north-west, it was quite possible that they might have been tainted with the mutinous spirit of their brethren in Bengal, and in case it became necessary to lead the police force against the sepoys, among whom there was a large number of their castemen, and the Europeans were brought to the front, the native police, left to follow, might have proved false; whereas, in leading off with them, and the Europeans following in their rear, there was the very best chance of guarding against their treachery, if such was intended.

Sir John Kaye states "how the sepoy fought in the defence of Arcot, how they crossed bayonets, foot to foot, with the best French troops at Cuddalore, historians have delighted to tell." On all such occasions there were the Europeans who set them the example. "Large bodies of troops," Sir John Kaye says, "were sometimes despatched on hazardous enterprises under the independent command of a native leader; and it was not thought an offence to the European soldier, to send him to fight under a black commandant. That black commandant," he adds,

"was then a great man, in spite of his colour. He rode on horseback at the head of his men, and a mounted staff officer, a native adjutant, carried his commands to the soobedars of the respective companies; and that a brave man or a skilful leader was honoured for his bravery or his skill as much under the folds of his turban as under a round hat." This is the only instance I have seen mentioned of European soldiers being sent to fight under black commandants; nor am I aware that black commandants ever rode on horseback at the head of their men with an adjutant to carry his commands to the soobedars of the respective companies during battle; and I very much question if any one else ever heard of commanding authority having been exercised by black commandants. From the earliest period of the formation of the native army, no native regiment was ever left without European officers in command, and this is very clearly evidenced by Williams's "Bengal Army." The youngest ensign was always far superior to the highest native officer in army rank, and the idea of European soldiers being commanded by native officers is utterly at variance with the general fitness of things. Indeed, it is ludicrously absurd when considered in relation with the temperament and characteristic of the two races.

There have been frequent opportunities of witnessing the respect and deference paid to European sergeants by native officers of the highest rank.

Many years ago, I was at the residence of the officer commanding the garrison of Cuddalore. It was Christmas Day. At nine o'clock, the hour for the delivery of the daily reports, the sergeant-major and the native officer of the day walked in, followed by all the native commissioned officers of the regiment, to pay their commanding officer their Christmas congratulations. At the major's request the native officers became seated; the sergeant-major, being only a warrant officer, remained standing The major had occasion to leave the room for a few minutes, when, taking advantage of his absence, the native officers, with the soobedar major at their head, apologised to the sergeant-major for being seated while he stood; "but what could we do," they said, "the major ordered us to be seated."

The official existence, however, of native commandants and their adjutants does not appear to have been a lengthened one. The first mention of them in Williams's "Bengal Army" is in 1773, when a commandant and an adjutant were tried by court-martial for cowardice in action with the "Suneeashee," or ascetic warriors, and blown away from guns; and the next is, that the appointments were done away with in 1781.

Sir John Kaye states: "The British sepoy had faced death without a fear, and encountered every kind of suffering and privation without a murmur." I again repeat that he did so, following the example

of the European soldier. I have myself witnessed similar devotion in the discharge of duty. The Bombay powder works were on fire; the flames had reached the roof of a large room filled with barrels of gunpowder and ingredients for the manufacture of powder. All I had to do was to call upon the native policemen present to follow me, and I was instantly followed by two European constables and some thirty policemen The powder and other materials were removed from the room while the roof was burning over our heads.

Sir John Kaye states further, that the sepoy had planted the colours of his regiment "on a spot which European valour and perseverance had failed to reach." This is Sir John's highest flight! Instead of history, instead of an impartial narration of facts, we have here the emanation from a fancy that has been rendered fervid by sepoy enthusiasm. In no other manner is the statement that the sepoy planted the colours of his regiment on a spot which European valour and perseverance had failed to reach, to be accounted for! It has no doubt surprised many an Anglo-Indian, as it has surprised me.

Sir John Kaye had in view, probably, the incident which occurred at Bhurtpoor in 1805 when penning his eulogy on sepoy valour. What Grant Duff states on the subject is this:—Two European regiments, one of them the hitherto brave 76th, refused to follow their officers, and thus gave the 12th Regiment of

Bengal Sepoys an opportunity of immortalising themselves. *Following the gallant remains of the flank companies of the 22nd Regiment of Foot,* the sepoys advanced with the greatest alacrity, planted their colours on the top of a bastion, and, it was *supposed* that an equal degree of ardour on the part of the 75th and 76th would have made them masters of the place. Next day the men of the regiments, when addressed by General Lake, were overpowered with shame and remorse; they volunteered to a man, and a fourth and last attempt was made, when the *men, walking over the dead bodies of their companions* which crowded the ditch and glacis, rushed with a desperate resolution which would have overcome any practicable obstacle. *On this as on the former occasions,* none of the troops relaxed in their efforts, and for two hours, until ordered to desist, they persevered at the breach or in climbing up a high bastion which adjoined it, but as fast as the leaders got up, they were knocked down with logs of wood or speared by rows of pikemen who crowded the tops of the parapets. The besieged took every precaution, and used every effort of prudence and resolution. The damage done to the mud wall was generally repaired during the night. Their guns were drawn within the embrasures, to prevent their being dismounted, and during the assault, particularly in the last, pots filled with combustibles, burning cotton bales steeped in oil, with incessant discharge of grape from the cannons and

a destructive fire of small arms were poured upon the British troops, whose casualties were very great; and in the four assaults, 3,203 men were killed and wounded, of whom were 103 European officers. The most affecting circumstance attending these failures, was the necessity of leaving many of the wounded behind, who were almost invariably put to death by a sally from the garrison."

The discipline of a soldier consists of course in the observing of the strictest obedience to superior authority. When under orders he has no right to exercise his own judgment as to the practicability or the impracticability of what he is called upon to undertake. His duty is to set aside all thoughts of self, all promptings of reason, and to do just as he is bidden. If such are the requisite qualifications of a disciplined soldier, how heavy is the responsibility of the commander-in-chief, of ordering that only to be undertaken of which there is a reasonable probability of success! When the ardour that impels a first assault is damped by a repulse, it generally needs some skill and good sense to prepare the way for a second attack. But the second, too, proved signally unsuccessful. All that was possible had been done. The most persevering efforts of European valour had proved abortive. The opposition to be overcome was insurmountable, and smarting at the same time under the painful feelings of having had to abandon their wounded comrades to be cruelly butchered, led the

men of the 75th and 76th, no doubt, in the first instance, to represent the difficulties, but finding the Commander-in-chief unyielding, they refused to follow their officers. A third attempt was then made without them, but the result was the same And the fourth attempt, led on by them, in which the Europeans fought on with a "desperate resolution, walking over the dead bodies of their comrades," proved equally unavailing And the sacrifice in killed and wounded of 3,203 men, of whom 103 were European officers, in the four assaults, shows that Lord Lake, the Commander-in-chief, was more bull-headed than discerning and tactical If these men had persevered in their refusal to follow their officers, they would have been tried, and the court-martial, in all probability, would have given them but a short shrift to the cannon's mouth, but it would have been, notwithstanding, a noble display of manliness in vindication of the moral rights of military life. With facts such as the above before him, especially that of the sepoys having been led by the gallant remains of the flank companies of the 22nd Regiment of Foot, Sir John Kaye's disparagement of European "valour and perseverance" is neither just nor fair.

Indian historians and poets have deplored, in mournful strains, the indomitable valour of the British in India. In fact they declare that the British conjoined "undaunted bravery" with "courage the most resolute," and "the most cautious prudence." While

prosecuting my studies of the Indian languages, I found it was necessary to read considerably of the history of the country, and though I found much in it in praise of native valour, previous to the advent of the English, the most complete silence was maintained on this point in the subsequent periods to it. The successful repulsion of two thousand five hundred Mharatta horse, and eighteen hundred of the Peshwa's infantry, by a handful of European artillery, headed by Lieutenant Patteson, at Koregoan, immediately after the battle of Poona, was as vivid in the recollection of the inhabitants of Poona in 1836 as if the occurrence had taken place only a few days previously. Nor had the charge at the village of Ashte upon Sir Lionel Smith and his handful of English dragoons, by four thousand horsemen of the "Hoozoor Paga," headed by Bapoo Saib Gokla, the General-in-chief of the Peshwa's army, been forgotten. The remarkable circumstance about this charge is that though Bapoo Saib Gokla had commenced it with an overwhelming number of the household cavalry, only about thirty or forty remained with him and came into conflict with the dragoons. These and the general were of course cut up; the rest had wheeled round and galloped back. Such was the dread entertained of European troops by native soldiers, and those the choicest of the Peshwa's forces. But what is still more remarkable in connection with this display of

cowardice is, that the people did not view it as a disgrace to their manhood, but looked upon it as a matter of course, considering it impossible for natives of the country to cope with European warriors!!

The fact of there being no mention in native history of sepoy valour since the advent of the European in India, is in itself a most significant fact. The people, too, whenever the sepoys were spoken of, spoke of them as the shadow of the Europeans, following in their footsteps when they went forward, and falling back with them when they receded, and I have no hesitation in stating that the belief among natives throughout India is universal, that without the European, the native soldier is worthless. The sepoy may not have estimated himself so low; but he unquestionably indulged in no inflated views of self-importance, and there would have been no mutiny in 1857 if, in an unfortunate moment, in a paroxysm of explosive generosity, the belief had not been instilled into his mind that he was as brave and as good a soldier as the European.

Sir John Kaye mentions an instance of combination on the part of British officers, and resistance to the orders of Government for curtailing their double batta, which caused a serious reduction in their pay. In that case, it is said the European soldiers had got under arms, and were preparing to follow their officers; but "the unexpected appearance of a firm

line of sepoys, with their bayonets fixed and arms loaded, threw them into some confusion, of which Captain Smith, the officer who was acting on behalf of the Government, took advantage, and warned them that if they did not retire peaceably into their barracks he would fire upon them." The soldiers, it will be seen, were following the example of their officers, and the officers themselves no doubt joined Captain Smith in dissuading and inducing the soldiers to remain. This was a happy termination of a somewhat unfortunate occurrence If the soldiers had resisted and charged, it is possible that the sepoys, under the orders of Captain Smith, might have discharged their loaded firearms into them, but at the very next moment they would all have wheeled round and fled. Of this there can be no doubt I have had myself personal proof of their cowardice. In 1843 a drought was followed by a heavy advance in the price of grain, and more than three hundred sepoys, belonging to regiments stationed at Poona, entered the grain market in the city, armed with bludgeons and provided with bags and baskets, to convey away plundered grain. Their appearance overawed the grain merchants, and the work of plunder was being proceeded with actively, when a report was brought to me of what was going on. I immediately hurried into the saddle, reached the market, and charged into the nearest crowd of them. Some half a dozen or more were knocked down; but this was followed by a flight

so wild and reckless, that more were floored by running against each other than I and my horse had succeeded in knocking over. Such was the result of the encounter of a single individual with a body of more than three hundred duly trained regimental sepoys. And such, too, was my estimation of sepoy gallantry, that on the receipt of intelligence in Bombay of the mutiny of the 27th Regiment at Kolapoor, I called on Colonel, now Sir P. M. Melvill, who was at the time military secretary to Government, and urged the disarming of the native regiments in Bombay, some two thousand strong, deeming the sixty European mounted policemen then under my command quite adequate to undertake the duty. Of this I had not the least doubt; but the step was considered hazardous, and it was moreover thought that the time had not arrived for so extreme a measure.

That which was said to be the first sepoy mutiny in Bengal, in 1831, is rightly described by Sir John Kaye as "one of those childish ebullitions" which had for its object certain pecuniary advantages, and not the overthrow of British rule; but the affair grew to such proportions, and assumed such a serious character, as to call for the extreme measure of blowing away from guns of twenty-four of the mutineers. The first mutiny in India, the purpose of which was the overthrow of British rule, was that which took place at Vellore; but in that case it was brought

on from want of consideration for the caste prejudices of the Mahomedan as well as the Hindoo. There is nothing connected with his person more sacred to the Mahomedan than his beard, which he regards as the emblem of manhood and veracity; and the Hindoos are superstitiously attached to the different marks placed daily on their forehead, and which are distinctive of their religious and social gradations. When, therefore, the beard was ordered to be cut and shaved to a regulation form, and the mark on the forehead to be discontinued when in uniform, it is by no means surprising that both Mahomedan and Hindoo, jumped to the conclusion that these were the introductory measures for bringing about an amalgamation of all castes. And when those measures were followed by an order for the use of the round hat, and it became known that it was made of cowhide and pigskin, a contact with which, on religious grounds, both consider unclean and extremely desecrating, the point was at once reached which converted the loyalty and devotion for which the Madras sepoy was distinguished, into rancorous disaffection. This was no doubt taken advantage of by those who had experienced the effects of British power, and those who dreaded the advances which that power was steadily making; and combinations were doubtless formed for bringing about its downfall. In those days of India's strength and of British weakness the conspiracy among the princes and nobles of

India, there can be no question, was widespread and well organised; but that peculiar Indian fatuity of watching the result of each outbreak as it took place, was the means of preventing a simultaneous uprising. In Vellore, the presence of the sons of Tippo Sultan encouraged the mutineers to take the initiative; but happily there was a Gillespie in the neighbourhood, and he had at hand a body of European dragoons, a regiment of native cavalry, and galloper guns. He was soon in the saddle The native cavalry were, no doubt, very deeply implicated in the conspiracy for the overthrow of the English Government, but Gillespie gave them no time for deliberation, much less for consultation The soldier's instinct, whether European or native, in obeying the word of command, is proverbial. The bugle sounded to saddle—to mount—to march—to trot—to canter On they went. They reached Vellore Two galloper guns had already shattered the gates. On they went again, and both European dragoon and native cavalryman at once received and obeyed the word of command to "charge." The carnage was great, and the work of retribution became complete.

The Vellore mutiny, and the speedy retribution which overtook it, left their traces in the feelings of the European and the Asiatic. The unexpected character of the outbreak, and its sanguinary accompaniments, had excited the hatred of the alien against the native, and the native mind was deeply imbued

with fear and suspicion of the white man's determination to do away with caste; for the absurd red-tapeism in respect to the cut of the beard and the interdiction in the use of the caste marks, had been such as to cause the deepest alarm. The wonder is that there was not a more terrible outbreak on the part of the subsidiary force at Hydrabad, the capital of a reigning Mahomedan prince, where the sepoys were worried by commanding officers on the same account. But wise and judicious measures on the part of the Government and the authorities averted the evil there, as well as at Nundydroog and other places. This was followed by a quiet of some eighteen years.

The war with the Burmese afterwards rendered it necessary to transport to the seat of war some Bengal regiments then at Barrackpoor, consisting of men of high caste and high social privileges. To be despatched by sea was contrary to their religion, and was not provided for in the terms of their engagement. They must go by land, but cattle for the conveyance of kit and necessaries were not to be had. After a great but unavailing effort, the authorities gave up the idea of providing them, and the fiat, thoughtless and unwise, went forth that the sepoys were to supply themselves. Before such an order was issued, the probabilities and consequences should have been clearly weighed and estimated; but the order having been issued, it should have been

upheld at all risk. The sepoys resisted the order: this might have been expected; but the resistance was unfortunately met by the offer of an advance of the money for the purchase of the cattle. One extorted concession is sure to beget other and more unreasonable demands And hence it was that the want of firmness on the part of the Barrackpoor authorities ultimately led to the necessity of bringing the regiment under the fire of grape-shot. Those of the sepoys who could do so, threw down their arms and accoutrements, and took to flight. There was *no* attempt at resistance. Battle *was not thought of*, and *their muskets were all unloaded.* I have thought it necessary to enter into so much detail in this matter, to show that though Sir John Kaye speaks of it as the Barrackpoor mutiny, the object of it was by no means the overthrow of British rule, as was the case in 1857; and if better judgment had been exercised, the extreme and severe measure might have been avoided.

With reference to the insubordination displayed at Arracan by the Bengal regiments, in 1825, Sir John Kaye states:—"The high caste men were writhing under an order which condemned the whole body of the soldiery to work as labourers in the construction of their barracks. The English soldier fell to with a will; the Madras sepoy cheerfully followed the example. But the Bengal soldiers asked, if Brahmins and Rajpoots were to be treated like coolies; and for

a while there was an apprehension that it might become necessary to make another terrible example, after the Barrackpoor pattern. But this, it is said, was fortunately averted by General Morrison calling a parade, and addressing the miscreants; that the speech, sensible and to the point, was translated by Captain Phillips; and so admirable was his free rendering of it, and so perfect the manner in which he clothed it with familiar language, that every word carried a meaning, every sentence struck some chord of sympathy in the sepoy's breast; and when he had done, the high caste Hindoostanees looked at each other, understood what they read in their comrades' faces, and forthwith stripped to their work." This was a remarkable achievement. There is nothing which the Hindoo law more strictly enjoins than that every man should, in the most exclusive manner, keep to his own profession, and exercise no other; and the hereditary profession of the Rajpoot is soldiering. To do otherwise, their holy writ declares, is to commit "mahapatak"—sin of the highest degree, the penalty of which is to become an out-caste, and this involves the forfeiture of all privileges pertaining to caste membership and of the civil rights of Hindooism. The only way, therefore, in which the success that attended General Morrison's address and Captain Phillips' rendering of it is to be explained, is, that the impression on the minds of the sepoy regiments at Arracan was, that British might was too great to

be withstood, and that it was expedient to obey its mandates even when opposed to the teaching of their own sacred writings. And happy would it have been for India, as regards the calamities of 1857, had this most salutary dread not been weakened.

Up to this time, and for some years later, there was nothing to ruffle the serenity of the sepoy mind. His disposition and temperament were peculiar, but impressible; and his belief in European superiority and power knew no limit The potency of the white man, in fact, was an article of professional faith with him.

When at Madras and Calcutta our factors first began enlisting native sepoys, they were only able to secure the services of the lowest classes, of pariahs who had no caste, who partook of animal food as freely as the European, and owing to which, when asked what caste they belonged to, they prided themselves by saying that they belonged to master's caste. The victory of Arcot and other early conquests were achieved by us with the assistance of pariah soldiers. My father, who belonged to the Madras Foot Artillery, was present at the siege and capture of Seringapatam, and was wounded there. He often spoke of the pariah sepoys in terms of high commendation, but always qualifying his praise by saying that they only did well in company with Europeans The higher classes of natives, seeing that these men were well treated—better, in fact, than they themselves would treat them;

that they were liberally and punctually paid, and that those who had become disabled in war were provided for, as were also the families of the men who had fallen in battle—began in the course of time to enlist too, and gradually to keep out the pariah classes.

In the Bengal provinces, which is especially under reference, the Bhramin, the Rajpoot, and the Mahomedan, are far superior to any of the classes in the Madras and Bombay provinces as regards physical proportions and mental intelligence. The Bengal officers, taken by their fine appearance, aided the high caste men in bringing about the expulsion from the ranks of the pariah element, so that in the course of time the Bengal army consisted only of high caste men who, of course, became the pride of their European officers. The native gained largely in the estimation of the European, but the European failed to bear in mind that the high caste Bhramin, the Rajpoot, and the Mahomedan, held him in detestation because of what was his food and drink.

In England and other European countries a lady or gentleman may indulge in the pastime of riding a donkey; but in India felons only are sentenced to be mounted on donkeys, as being the most degrading and ignominious of punishments. The sight of a lady or gentleman on a donkey in India would excite the deepest feelings of contempt in the natives. And with feelings equally contemptuous the Bhramin, the

Rajpoot, and the Mahomedan, view the beef-and-pork-eating and brandy-drinking European, and contemplate their connection with him with disgust. Outwardly they will show all possible respect; but in thought and feeling they are by no means sparing of their hatred and condemnation. To a Bhramin or Rajpoot, death would be far preferable to the desecrating touch of beef; and the touch of pork to a Mahomedan, is equally sacrilegious.

As long, however, as promotion went by merit, as long as the advancement of the rank and file to the higher grades depended on the officers in command of companies, and the promotion to the commissioned ranks on the commandant of the regiment, so long the evil of high castes was kept in check; but with the substitution for it of promotion by seniority, the tie that bound the sepoy to his European officers was snapped. They were his "Ma bap"—terms expressive of their being everything to him, but this event did away with the high official importance in which they were held. It reduced them in his estimation to the condition of nonentities. The active, the intelligent, the aspiring had no incentive left to work out their advancement; they were placed on an equality with the worthless and the incompetent. Thus a deadly blow was struck at military authority; and the army, rendered independent of the European officers, was left at liberty to form combinations of which, as the unfortunate circumstances

in connection with the Mutiny subsequently exemplified, the officers were in perfect ignorance.

Sir John Kaye states that there had been "great difference of opinion with respect to promotion; that some declared that the Bengal army was destroyed by the seniority system, which gave to every sepoy in the service an equal chance of rising to the rank of commissioned officer, that others maintained that it was the very sheet-anchor which enabled it to resist all adverse influences," which I suppose meant that it rendered the native army generally contented. But was it a wise policy to deprive the European officers of their influence over the native army, and so render the latter perfectly independent of them?

I have before me extracts of general orders, commencing from the battle of Hydrabad in Scinde to the conclusion of the war in the Punjab, and these may be considered as so many emphatic avowals, on the part of the Governor-General of India, that the sepoy is quite as good a soldier as the European.

The following short extracts will show that I am by no means extravagant in my conclusions:—

"The Governor-General's especial thanks are due to H.M. 39th and 40th Regiments, to the 2nd and 16th Regiments of Native Grenadiers, and to the 56th Regiment N I., which took with the bayonet the batteries in front of Maharajpoor." "H.M. 40th Regiment, and the 2nd and 16th Regiments of Native Grenadiers, again serving together, again

displayed the pre-eminent qualities as soldiers, and well supported the character of the *ever victorious* army of Candahar."

"Everywhere, at Maharajpoor and Puniar, the British and the *native* troops *emulated each other*, and animated by the same spirit of military devotion, proved that an army so composed and united by the bonds of mutual esteem and confidence, must ever remain invincible in Asia. The Government of India will, as a mark of its grateful sense of their distinguished merit, present to *every general and other officer, and to every soldier* engaged in the battles of Maharajpoor and Puniar, an Indian star of bronze, made out of the guns taken at these battles."

"The Governor-General's thanks are due to the brave infantry of the native army, whose valour so mainly contributed to these victories (Punjab) and he cannot withhold his admiration of the patience and perseverance with which they endured privations inseparable from forced marches. H.M. 16th Lancers on this occasion have added to their former reputation, acquired in various fields of battle in Asia, by routing the enemy's cavalry in every direction, and by resolute charges under Captain Bere, Major Smith, and Captain Pearson, penetrating the enemy's squares of infantry; in which charges the squadrons were gallantly supported by the 3rd Light Cavalry, under Major Angelo. In these exploits the native cavalry distinguished itself during the day, and the Governor-

General is happy to bear his testimony to the fact, that since the army of the Sutledge commenced its operations on the 18th of December, *the native cavalry has on every occasion proved its prowess, whether in the general actions that have been fought, or in the various skirmishes at the outposts.*"

These general orders, published, read, and interpreted to every native soldier in the Indian army, with all the blandiloquent flattery peculiar to native diction, undoubtedly inspired them with very highly inflated views of their own valour and importance, and these, conjoined with the contempt for their European officers which was engendered by the concession to them of promotion by seniority, and the still deeper contempt inspired by habits in the European which are held as detestable by the Bhramin, the Rajpoot, and the Mahomedan,—the elements of which the Bengal army consisted—tended completely to undermine sepoy allegiance and devotion. And, then, what was it that naturally followed? The weighing, of course, of probabilities as to their competency to possess themselves of the dominion of India, and to govern the country for themselves What were the grounds that afforded them hope? The belief that they were trained in the arts of European warfare, and rendered quite equal in that respect to the European. That fact, they must naturally have thought, is admitted by the highest European authority in the land—the great Governor-General

of India. "He tells us so, and has proclaimed it to the world; and we know it to be the case. And then, the Europeans are merely a handful—we an overwhelming body; and all we have to do is to kick them out of the country and possess it for ourselves." These are the circumstances that brought about the Mutiny. It was a military outbreak, not an insurrection worked out by means of a "widespread conspiracy." And the Government order, issued in July, 1856, for general service enlistment, and the report that it was the intention of the Government to enlist 30,000 more Sikhs, brought matters to a culmination. With the exception of only six regiments, the Bengal army was exempt from serving abroad, because of their unconquerable aversion, on religious grounds, to cross the sea. The change intended might not affect those who had already enlisted; but they saw, if the British Government retained its power, that it would prove a bar to their sons taking to the honourable profession of arms.

The more daring men in the army, and those capable of taking the lead, then commenced the work of spreading disaffection; the leaven had spread throughout the native regiments, whilst at Barrackpoor, in the 34th Regiment, the agitation arose in respect to the greased cartridges and the bone-dust. Under ordinary circumstances the word of his officers would not, for a single moment, have been doubted by the sepoy. *The utterances of the saibs must be the*

truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, was his firm and inalienable belief; and I appeal to every Anglo-Indian if such was not the case. But the men of the Bengal army, instigated by the designing amongst them, had now quite made up their minds to doubt everything that was told them. It would not have answered their purpose to do otherwise. Hence the assurances of the Government, of the Commander-in-chief in his clear and most sensible address, and of General Hearsey, in respect to the greased cartridges and the bone-dust delusion, produced not the least effect. Could anything have exceeded the monstrous absurdity that corn-dealers, themselves high caste men, could have laid themselves open as to be induced by us to sell bone-dust to the sepoys or to any one else? And the dogged persistence of the jemedar,—who was a Bhramin, of the Oude artillery, mentioned by Sir Henry Lawrence in his letter to Lord Canning on the day previous to the outbreak at Meerut,—in stating that he believed that for ten years the Government had been engaged in measures for the fraudulent conversion of the natives, and that he considered them quite capable of the bone-dust "dodge," shows the ineffable pitch of bold impudence reached by the Bengal army. And the conduct of the non-commissioned officer of the 26th Regiment, who visited the rifle depôt andwas publicly taunted by a soobedar with having become a Christian, and who cried like a child when reporting the circumstance to Lieutenant

Martineau, that he was an outcast, and that the men of his regiment had refused to eat with him, shows the extent to which the ignorant had been imposed upon by the daring and the disaffected

The fallacy of Sir John Kaye's statement that the outbreak was caused by "a widespread conspiracy," I have touched upon in the first chapter Absurd as was the deposition of the "Nana's emissary," who had been detained and examined at Mysore, it was surpassed in absurdity by the statement that delegates had gone about the sepoy lines "saying that the great King of Delhi had sent a confidential agent *to give a month's pay* to every native officer and soldier in the regiments, in order that if any outbreak should occur in their part of the country, they should not lift a hand in support of the Government" The one month's pay and the alleged communication are much too absurd to deserve any comment. The jemedar to whom this offer was said to have been made, reported it to his commanding officer and produced the money paid to him The amount is not stated; large sums were said to be forthcoming. What was paid may have been fifteen rupees, or perhaps twenty, which, if the jemedar's object was to either ingratiate himself with the commandant, or to prevent any suspicions of disloyalty from attaching to the regiment, it would have been worth his while to pay from his own pocket. The wildest stories were then set afloat. It is said that "it is

certain a scroll was found, *described by a witness* as being many cubits long, to which the names of some hundreds of respectable inhabitants of Patna, Hindoos and Mahomedans, were attached, and that the scroll contained a solemn declaration, binding them to die in defence of their religion" The civil magistrate, however, made the attempt to track down the instigators, *but it all ended in smoke* "A native officer and a moonshee who traitorously took the corrupting coins were found implicated in the plot," on the evidence, no doubt, of the jemedar and his coadjutors, and were sentenced to death, but it was not followed by execution

With regard to the King of Oude, it is stated that his followers "had endeavoured to corrupt the sepoys in the fort—especially the sentries posted at its gates, that Colonel Cavenagh, the town major, had received repeated warnings from Mahomedan friends that mischief was brewing, that Mussulman sepoys were frequently visiting the king's people at Garden Reach, and that some influential visitors from Oude, including the great talookdar, Maun Sing, had visited Calcutta, and held conferences with the king or his ministers." But the only item in the allegation admitting of proof and verification—the visit of the great talookdar—is contradicted in a foot-note on the same page. Instead of being closeted with the king, the talookdar was at the time under surveillance at Fyzabad!

In times of public excitement one can never be too cautious in accepting and crediting every rumour and flying report. In Bombay there was no lack of persons ready and willing to reveal plots and combinations Lord Elphinstone himself, through the medium of European gentlemen, was stocked with all kinds of information, the particulars of which his lordship communicated to me Mr Jugonnath Sunkersett, a most respectable and wealthy native gentleman, had a reception-house in the garden attached to his mansion, intended for the accommodation of itinerant Bhramin mendicants, who, during the day, begged their bread in the town Immediately after the outbreak of the Mutiny, I placed an intelligent up-country Bhramin on detective duty at the reception-house, disguised as an itinerant mendicant, and who joined the other inmates in begging during the day, this reception-house was made to contribute its share to the prevailing excitement, and European gentlemen conveyed to Lord Elphinstone the stirring information that Jugonnath Sunkersett, Meer Jaffer Alli, the titular Nabob of Surat, and three other native gentlemen, were in communication and in conspiracy with the Nana Saib. This information was so frequently repeated, that his lordship thought it necessary to send for me a second time, and tell me what had been brought to his notice. I repeated my previous assurances, and adding that I should be happy to subject my

own arrangements to any test that the informants might suggest, begged of his lordship to ask the European gentlemen to send them to me. They came, and I received them with a hearty welcome. If I had been possessed of the faculty of ready belief, the conviction produced would have been that Jugonnath Sunkersett, Meer Jaffer Alli, Kassim Natha, Dhurmsee Poonjabhoy, and Bhow Dajee, were deeply dyed traitors. I left these informants under the impression that I believed they had it in their power to bring about a momentous revelation, and expressed myself ready to take action in the matter whenever they wished I should do so. "But," I added, "my friends, listen to what I have to say. I shall take nothing at second hand. You must know I never do. You know, too, that I can speak your language as well as yourselves; that I can so disguise myself as to render discovery impossible." I at the same time called to their recollection the fact of my having, previous to being gazetted in command of the police, bribed European constables and native policemen through the medium of their own go-betweens, in order to test the extent to which the reputed corruption of the Bombay police was well founded; and of my having dined with one of these go-betweens, a high caste Hindoo, on his pressing invitation, without being discovered. And I added that I should be at a moment's notice prepared to join them, and that I wished a beginning

as speedily as possible. They left, promising to call again; but they never came. The result was reported to Lord Elphinstone, and I heard nothing more on the subject of volunteer information. I afterwards learnt that the European gentlemen were desired by these men to go to his lordship in preference to coming to me, as that course, they thought, would be the more effective.

There is no evidence to show that the Mutiny was the result of any "conspiracy." There had been executions for alleged tampering with sepoy fidelity: but these cases rested only on sepoy evidence, and the sepoys, as I have already noticed, were anxious to divert suspicion from themselves and their regiments. Take for instance the case of the Bhramin at Alighur. He was said to have tampered with two sepoys, who reported the circumstance to their commanding officer. He was tried by a native court-martial, and sentenced to death. The execution had no sooner taken place, than a Bhramin sepoy stepped forward and exclaimed, "Behold a martyr to our faith!" *and the regiment immediately broke out into mutiny*, and the officers and Lady Outram had to fly for their lives. Had the regiment not been *thoroughly disaffected and ripe for muting*, the Bhramin sepoy would have been seized and dealt with by the regiment as a madman.

The outbreak of each regiment, as it took place, exhibited the spirit of mutiny full blown and clearly developed. Mungul Panday, of the 34th, at

Barrackpoor, aware of the determination formed by the native army to exterminate the Europeans, and hearing of the landing of a part of the 53rd Foot, took the alarm, and arming himself, called upon his fellow sepoys to follow his example. The sergeant-major, who then appeared upon the scene, was fired at, but was missed The adjutant then galloped up, was also fired at, and also missed; but his horse being wounded, was brought to the ground. Extricating himself, the adjutant and sergeant-major closed with Mungul Panday; but finding him too much for them, they beat a by no means creditable retreat. All this took place in front of the quarter-guard, consisting of a jemedar and twenty men, and in the presence too of most of the regiment; but not a man stirred to assist the adjutant and sergeant-major. Mungul Panday, still master of the situation, paced up and down and called upon his comrades in a vehement and excited manner to follow his example; but as they did not think the time suitable, he "*reviled them as cowards, who had first incited and then deserted him,*" and he then shot himself with his own musket.

When the 19th were on their march from Berhampoor to be disbanded, the 34th, stationed at Barrackpoor, sent emissaries to them to say that they would cast in their lot with them, if they would resist and mutiny.

Native officers of the regiments stationed at Bareilly, informed the acting brigadier, that they

believed the prisoners in the gaol were beaten and kept without food for five days; and presumed to add, that they *must go and see them!*

On the following day a general parade was held. The brigadier harangued the troops, spoke of the uneasy feeling that had recently pervaded all ranks; of the discontent too plainly manifested by their demeanour—the result, he said, of erroneous apprehensions; but if they would resume the cheerful performance of their duty, the past would be forgiven, and the good old relations of mutual confidence thoroughly restored Commissioner Alexander, too, addressed the native officers. He told them that they had been led away by a great delusion, that the intentions of Government towards them were what they had ever been, and he besought them to dismiss from their minds all feelings of distrust and alarm. After this the brigadier reported to the Government that the troops were in a more happy and cheerful state, and in their own words, "had commenced a new life" He asked for a formal assurance from the Lieutenant-Governor, that the promises made to the troops would be confirmed, adding, "Were the men under my command fully convinced that the past would be forgotten, I feel convinced that their loyalty and good conduct may be relied upon." The Lieutenant-Governor lost no time in sending the required assurances. The brigadier was authorised to inform the troops "that nothing that had happened since the