

Sir Charles Jackson will not believe that there was any "dependent" Prince, except the Rajah of Mysore, left in India, to be alarmed at "the doctrine of lapse," or that any "independent" Prince could have been so "unreasonable" as to be alarmed, either at the doctrine or the practice, and he casts doubt upon Mr. Kaye's report of the general alarm throughout Rajpootana. He requires "a little more particularity as to the date and venue of the rumour;" thinks it "very improbable that a native rumour would be couched in the exact language used by Mr. Kaye," and pronounces that "it was, like most Indian rumours, totally destitute of truth."\* I am not so sure of that. Of the prevalence of such a report in the last year or two of Lord Dalhousie's administration, couched in the exact language used by Mr. Kaye, there can really be no question.† It may not have been based on any official communications, or upon any plan reduced to writing, and yet it may,—and I suspect it did,—represent very accurately the "large views,"‡ at which the Government of India, and probably the Ministry at home, and perhaps a majority of the Court of Directors, had arrived, by the time the Dalhousie "series" was completed in the annexation of Oude.

When the case of Kerowlee came before Lord Dalhousie and his Council, the series had only just commenced. The Punjaub being called a conquest, they had only acquired Sattara by "the doctrine of lapse." In his Minute, dated the 30th of August, 1852, the Governor-General himself suggests that "the refusal of sanction to adoption in the case of Kerowlee might create alarm and dissatisfaction in the elder and more powerful States of Rajpootana, as being apparently significant of the intentions of the British Government towards themselves. Such an alarm," he continues, "would be unfounded. For I presume that the Government of India would not at any time be disposed to interfere with the customary mode of succession among

\* *A Vindication*, p. 50.

† I presume Sir Charles Jackson does not mean to remind us that rumours do not circulate among natives in the *English* language.

‡ "He had large views." *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, p. 67. "Lord Dalhousie was a great administrator and statesman, with large views."—*A Vindication*, p. 3.

these old Rajpoot States, whose antiquity, whose position and feelings, would all make it our policy to leave them in the possession of such independence as they now enjoy.\*

Still, though he admits that Kerowlee is "a Rajpoot Principality, and, unlike the existing Mahratta and Mahomedan dynasties, has the claims of antiquity in its favour,"† he cannot allow these scruples and misgivings to turn him from his general policy. "The arguments appear to me to preponderate in favour of causing Kerowlee to lapse."‡ He argued that "the supremacy of the British Government" over this little Principality, was "practically declared," in the Treaty of 1817, "by the remission of tribute payable to the Peishwa," and was, moreover, "specifically acknowledged by Kerowlee in the 3rd Article of the Treaty." And, he said :—

"In the Minute upon the case of Sattara in 1848, I recorded my own opinion that the British Government should not neglect such rightful opportunities as might occur, of extending its rule over Native States which fell to its disposal, either by total lapse, or by the succession depending on the recognition of an adoption. I did not advise that adoption should universally be refused the sanction of the Government, but I was of opinion that it should not be admitted in States which recognised formally the supremacy of the British Government in India, unless strong political reasons recommend the exception in any particular case or cases." §

If the supremacy of the British Government over Kerowlee was practically declared by the remission of tribute, the declaration must have been still more practical where tribute was actually paid. ALL the States of Rajpootana, including "the elder and more powerful States" of Oodeypoor, Jyepoor, and Jodhpoor, either pay tribute, or have tribute remitted, under their Treaties with the British Government. By these Treaties they all "acknowledge the supremacy" of the British Government, and promise to act in "subordinate cooperation."|| The elder and more powerful States enjoy no more independence than Kerow-

\* *Kerowlee Papers*, 1855, p. 9. † *Ibid.*, p. 9. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 9. § *Ibid.*, p. 8.

|| *Collection of Treaties*, Calcutta, 1864, (London, Longman and Co.) vol. iv, pp. 1 to 100. The accidental and merely nominal independence of the Rana of Dholpoor is scarcely worth mentioning as an exception,—see pp. 121, 122, of the same volume of *Treaties*.

lee; the terms by which they are bound are quite as stringent as those which bind the smaller Principalities.

The demise of the Kerowlee Sovereignty, from which the doubtful succession arose, took place in July, 1852. The final decision of the Court of Directors is dated the 5th of July, 1854.\* The Blue Book did not appear till 1855. However alarming may have been the rumours during the two years of suspense, they were amply justified by the positive disclosures of the Parliamentary Papers. Here was perilous stuff enough to poison the drop of consolation to be derived from the reprieve of Kerowlee. For it was evidently a mere reprieve. The Rajpoot States, great and small, having "recognised formally British supremacy," were *all* pronounced liable to extinction, on the first failure of a lineal male heir. It was declared advisable to neglect no opportunity of annexing native States, "unless strong political reasons recommend the exception in any particular case or cases." Thus *all* were denied any right of permanent existence; *all* were left dependent on the tender mercies of the British Government, and the political notions which might prevail when "a rightful opportunity" occurred. For the time being they were protected only by certain vague scruples, founded on their "antiquity, position, and feelings," which, mentioned by Lord Dalhousie with the greatest indifference, had been overcome by him on the first temptation.

Kerowlee, however, Lord Dalhousie admitted, was "isolated," and "would not consolidate our territories like Satara."† The same might be said of the other States of Rajpootana, though, by the bye, we have a large Province, Ajmeer, in the very centre of them. But how long would this isolation continue, if the process of absorption were carried on among those "Mahratta and Mahomedan dynasties," which, according to Lord Dalhousie, had not even "the claims of antiquity in their favour"? If at any future "rightful opportunity," the dominions of Scindia, of Holkar, of the Powars of Dhar and Dewass, or of the Nawab of Tonk, scattered in detached portions, up and down Rajpootana, were to be "made to lapse," the more ancient

\* *Kerowlee Papers*, 1855, p. 5.

† *Ibid.*, p. 9.

States would immediately be wanted, in order "to consolidate our territories."

In addition to these very obvious considerations, the Rajpoot Princes and their advisers could not fail to observe that between 1852, when Lord Dalhousie's Minute was written, and 1855, when the Papers were published, a great advance had been made in the process of consolidation. Jhansi, one of the few Principalities ruled by a Brahmin family, had been "caused to lapse," in spite of the regular adoption of a kinsman by the Rajah, and without consulting the Home Government. The great and important State of Nagpore was annexed, not only without any reference to the widows and other relatives of the Rajah, but, as in the case of Jhansi, without any reference to the Court of Directors, as if their concurrence was considered as a matter of certainty.\* The annexation of the Kingdom of Oude, and dethronement of the reigning King, without war, without a quarrel, without a complaint, without any pretext that was intelligible or credible to the Hindoo mind, gave the finishing stroke to the new aspect of affairs. No Rajpoot Prince could now believe that there would ever be two years of suspense again, if any one of the brotherhood should die without male issue.

During the last two years of Lord Dalhousie's administration, and especially about the time of his departure from India, that portion of the Calcutta Press which represented the opinions of the Bengal Civil Service, resounded with exultations at the success of the acquisitive system, and assurances or predictions of its speedy and symmetrical completion.

On the 12th of January, 1854, when the fate of Nagpore was supposed to be under consideration, the *Friend of India* declared that "the decision of the Governor-General" would "decide whether the country which has been committed to our charge is ultimately to be fused into one great and progressive Empire, or to continue split into Principalities, in which two hundred and eighty Rajahlings exhaust the energies left them by debauchery in every species of oppression." The writer pronounces

\* *Papers, Rajah of Berar*, 1854, p. 37; *Jhansi Papers*, 1855, p. 5.



every Native State to be merely "an exceptional jurisdiction," as were the Palatinates of Lancaster and Chester. These Indian Palatinates have the additional disadvantage of being invariably ruled by a debauched despot, and must be got rid of as rapidly as possible. He refers to what he considers to have been the doubtful and timid action of our Government before 1848, but "at last," he says, "a policy was found," and is recorded in Lord Dalhousie's Minute on the Sattara succession. Under the doctrines there laid down, "the whole of India must pass gradually under our rule":—"we shall gain Province after Province." Alluding to the possibility of some opposition, he concludes thus:—"We cannot believe that Lord Dalhousie will yield one inch to the clamour of an ignorant section of the last of English political parties, or hesitate to maintain a policy which is at once great, righteous, and his own."

When the fate of Nagpore was no longer in suspense, the *Friend of India*, on the 16th of March, 1854, rejoices over the decision, because it settles "three great principles,—unity of dominion, equality of taxation, and centralisation of the executive." He explains what he means by unity of dominion. "The two hundred and fifty Kinglings, whose names and territories have been recorded by the Court of Directors, must inevitably disappear, and that speedily."

The same writer, on the 18th of May, 1854, remarks on the annexation of Jhansi, that "to change India from a congeries of States into an Empire one and indivisible, it is only necessary to maintain the policy which Lord Dalhousie has laid down. It must, however," he continues, "to be just, be *invariably* adhered to. The system must be rigidly enforced, till the Indian Palatinates become what the English Palatinates now are, evils whose extent is known only to the antiquary."

But this able editor rises to the highest degree of satisfaction on the 13th of December, 1855, when he quotes a recently published article from the *Edinburgh Review*, recommending the annexation of Oude, then on the eve of its accomplishment. With such powerful support the good work cannot stop there. "Oppression," he says, "will not be extinct with the monarchy of Oude." And he points

out, as the Princes whose misrule most urgently demands the abolition of their Principalities, the Rajah of Travancore, the Nizam of the Deccan, and the Guicowar of Baroda. The accession of "the great Whig Review" to the cause of Imperial consolidation, appears to the Editor, and justly so, most significant and important. The Whigs were then in power, and the *Edinburgh Review* had long been regarded as their organ. And if that fact, as is very probable, had never been understood or heard of before in Rajpootana, and at the Durbars of other native States, this hint in the *Friend of India*, everywhere anxiously consulted, is sure to have enlightened them, and never to have been lost sight of. The idea was by no means a novel one to Indian politicians, for the *Friend of India* itself was generally reputed, and flourished to some extent on that reputation, to be the organ of the Calcutta Foreign Office.

A time was to come, when the hint of the *Friend of India* was to be verified, and the alarm of the native Princes renewed and redoubled,—after a brief period of security,—by an Edinburgh Reviewer, the apologist and advocate of annexation, stepping forward and announcing himself to the world as a Whig Cabinet Minister, his Grace the Lord Privy Seal.

On the 3rd of January, 1856, referring to a Native State, which was then not badly managed, and is now one of the best governed Provinces in India, our own not excepted, the *Friend of India* said:—"Annexation is the only remedy for the great disorders of Travancore."

On the 24th of July, 1856, the same journal predicts, that "the knell of the Princes of India" has sounded; and that "men now living may see the Empire one and indivisible."

Perhaps Sir Charles Jackson may now be disposed to confess that the Princes of Rajpootana, and other Princes of India whom he calls "independent," may have had some slight grounds for fear, without deserving to be reviled as "unreasonable."

The Duke of Argyll will, perhaps, now admit, that there really was "something which was called 'Lord Dalhousie's policy,'" by others besides those "fifth-rate writers," whose

injustice and ignorance of Blue Books he denounces. The previous extracts from the *Friend of India* prove that during Lord Dalhousie's administration, his admirers and supporters understood that there was a settled policy of annexation, and that this policy was emphatically Lord Dalhousie's—"his own."

Mr. J. C. Marshman, whose connection with the *Friend of India* still continues, and who was proprietor and Editor of that journal until 1854, coolly writes in 1867 of "the annexation policy, as it has been somewhat insidiously termed,"\* as if it were a novel term of reproach, which he could not recognise at all.

The following passage, published in the *Friend of India* about three months after Lord Canning assumed the Government, may serve as another specimen of the triumphant tone that then prevailed, and may also remind the Duke of Argyll, Sir Charles Jackson, and Mr. Marshman, that the phrase, "policy of annexation," to which they now seem to object, was invented by its advocates and not by its adversaries.

"The policy of annexation may be considered secure. One by one its opponents are convinced, or otherwise confess by their silence, that they are logically defunct. The dreamers who feared that the Empire would be weakened by extension, and the Orientalists who believed native governments better than civilised rule, are already, for practical politics, extinct."†

Sir Henry Lawrence, at the time Lord Dalhousie left Calcutta, was the Governor-General's Agent in Rajpootana, where those doubts and fears existed, stigmatised by Sir Charles Jackson as utterly "unreasonable." Let us hear what he thought on the subject:—

"The Serampore weekly paper, the *Friend of India*, which was Lord Dalhousie's organ, and is conducted with great ability, is a perfect Filibuster. Almost every number contains a clever article on the duty of absorbing Native States, resuming jaghires, etc."‡

Nor is the effect of these citations to be neutralised by the averment, that, whatever may have been the alarms excited by rumours of a connection between the Govern-

\* *History of India*, vol. iii, p. 399.

† *Friend of India*, June 6th, 1856.

‡ *Raye's Lives of Indian Officers*, vol. ii, p. 314.

ment of India and a certain weekly paper, we have no right to make Lord Dalhousie answerable for its leading articles, or to assume that he approved of them. Lord Dalhousie himself took the very unusual step,—unprecedented, I believe, except by Sir Robert Peel's letter to the Editor of the *Times* in 1835,\*—of informing the Editor of the *Friend of India*, that, to say the least, he had found nothing to disapprove in the doctrines taught by that journal in the last two years of his Government. The gentleman who, as he tells us, had conducted that paper, "single-handed," during the whole of that period, published in its columns on the 31st of December, 1857, the following interesting letter addressed to himself:—

Government House, March 3rd, 1856.

My dear Sir,

Before I quit this land I am desirous of offering you my thanks for the fairness with which you have always set your judgment of my public acts before the community, whose opinions are largely subject to your influence, for the frequent support you have given to my measures, and for the great and invariable personal courtesy you have shown to myself.

I regret exceedingly that while at Barrackpore I was so close a prisoner as to be unable to receive the guests whom I should have desired to see. On the one occasion on which I made the attempt I broke down, and was obliged to forego all further attempts of the same kind.

I should be glad if I thought there was any chance of my seeing you in Calcutta before the evening of the 6th, when I embark for England.

If not, I pray you to accept my parting thanks, and to believe that, if they have seemed tardy, they, nevertheless, are cordial and sincere. I beg to remain, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

Meredith Townsend, Esq.

DALHOUSIE.

The letter does honour both to the writer and to the recipient,—to Lord Dalhousie, because he deferred this graceful acknowledgment of his obligations to the *Friend of India*, until its support had become almost a matter of indifference to him, until the moment when his own power and influence were about to disappear,—to the Editor, because the contents of the letter prove the disinterested and public spirited character of his pernicious counsels.

\* *Carlyle's Collected Works*, vol. i, p. 376.

Lord Dalhousie would certainly have tendered no such expressions of respectful thanks and greeting to a man whose labours on his behalf had already been requited, directly or indirectly, by the bestowal of favours, in any of the numerous forms at the Governor-General's command. The letter proves that not even the charm of "gilded saloons,"—supposed to have its influence in some regions of the globe, and peculiarly attractive in general at Calcutta to one not belonging to the official aristocracy,—can have fostered the singular community of thought and feeling between the two men. But the letter, and its publication, prove the existence of that strong sympathy, and its full appreciation on both sides, and explain, in some measure, how that sympathy still shows itself every now and then, by a few words of reminiscent eulogy or regretful comparison, in the writings currently attributed in the present day to the former Editor of the *Friend of India*.

So long as the friends and admirers of the late Lord Dalhousie, confine themselves to such general and passing panegyrics, it is not easy, nor would it often be useful or becoming, to challenge their effusions. But when, like the authors of the two apologies which have hitherto formed the chief theme of our remarks, they reiterate and reassert the worst of their client's political heresies,—even those recanted by his successor,—we can no longer remain silent. Some English politicians—perhaps the majority,—not deeply versed or interested in the details of Indian affairs, have arrived at a general conviction that the deliberate policy of annexation was a mistake, or was, at any rate, carried on too far and too hastily; but they have no clear notion of the legal merits of any particular case, and believe the more important territorial extensions to have been all but unavoidable. It is in order to assist this large class to form a more decided judgment, that I have given so much space to the annexations of Oude and the Punjaub. With the same object in view, I must now make a few remarks on a more insidious, because less indiscriminate style of apologetics, much in use with those who have changed their opinions, but cannot submit to acknowledge that they ever were wrong, or that their

former opponents ever were right. They have, indeed, changed their opinions, but not, they flatter themselves, for the reasons so persistently urged upon them by their adversaries. Their former policy may have been partially erroneous, but it was a noble and a generous policy, and only failed from circumstances which nobody could have foreseen.

Thus a very acute and vigorous writer in the *Spectator* of October 6th, 1866, advises Lord Cranborne, then the Secretary of State for India, to arrest the annexation of Mysore, "though for reasons other than those upon which so much stress has been laid." He makes light of "Treaties, promises and Hindoo rules of succession," but doubts the prudence of closing every field to native ambition, and of "sowing distrust over an entire Continent," by "changing our policy every six years." He admits that the policy of annexation failed, but then Lord Dalhousie's projects were magnificent, and he was "the most statesmanlike Governor-General, except Lord William Bentinck, who ever reigned in India."

"He intended to make of the Continent one vast military monarchy, the right arm of England in Asia, ruling a rich and orderly people, who, slowly disciplined by British sway, slowly permeated by British education, and slowly, if possible, brought to perceive the superior claims of Christianity, might in the end be ready for self-government as a thoroughly civilised and progressive Asiatic people. If that was a small policy, where is there a great one to be found? It failed, first, because Lord Dalhousie retired; secondly, because it lacked one essential datum—the acquiescence of Northern India; and thirdly, because it had one radical, and, we fear incurable defect. It barred up native careers."

It may be admitted that this *sounds* like a great policy, but as the writer confesses that it was impracticable, unacceptable to the people, and crushing to all honourable aspirations, I cannot understand why it is to be called statesmanlike. To suggest that it failed, "because Lord Dalhousie retired," is a mere bravado of posthumous adulation. The policy of annexation broke down conspicuously amidst the awful lessons of 1857,—most conspicuously when the bulk of the population of Oude joined heart and soul in the rebellion. Lord Dalhousie could



have done nothing to check or quell the rebellion, that Lord Canning\*omitted. But let the writer in the *Spectator* himself tell us what he conceives to have been the great lessons of 1857.

"The mutiny did teach us that the natives prefer their own system of government, with its open careers and occasional injustices, light taxation, and frequent robberies, to our more orderly, more rigid, but leaden rule; that it was dangerous to produce so awful a scene as a Continent occupied only by officials and peasants; that the Native Principalities acted as breakwaters when a surge of native feeling—we will say, at the risk of being misunderstood, of national feeling—threatened to overwhelm the foreigners. Madras was saved by the Nizam. Bombay was saved because Gwalior broke the rush of the wave which had the able coward, Tantia Topee, on its crest. The Punjaub was saved because the old Sikh Princes of the Protected States stood honestly by our side."

How could a more severe condemnation be passed upon the policy of "getting rid of petty intervening Principalities, which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never," Lord Dalhousie ventured to think, "be a source of strength"?\* Yet the Editor of the *Spectator* wants us to confess that this was not "a small policy," but "great" and "statesmanlike." I cannot agree with him; and he evidently cannot agree with himself.

As to the alleged intention of "slowly disciplining" the people of India "for self-government," the Editor of the *Spectator* may have exclusive sources of information regarding Lord Dalhousie's esoteric doctrines and ulterior designs, but assuredly nothing of the sort can be gathered from his published Minutes. There is a great deal said about "adding to the resources of the public treasury," about swelling the revenues of the annexed countries by confiscating the estates of all malcontents, but nothing about visions of "self-government," even in the most distant future. When Sattara was to be annexed, he said:—"The district is fertile, and the revenues productive. The population, accustomed for some time to regular and peaceful government,"—the Rajah's, be it remembered,— "are tranquil themselves, and are prepared for the regular government" (which by his own account

\* *Ante*, p. 184.

they had got already), "our possession of the territory would give."\* On two occasions, when Nagpore was to be annexed, and when the Nizam's richest provinces were to be sequestered, the Governor-General boasted, as Sir Charles Jackson reminds us,† of having acquired the best cotton-growing districts in India; and thus, said Mr. J. B. Norton, "cotton stuffed the ears of Justice, and made her deaf as well as blind."‡ But there was not a word of "self-government," or "progressive civilisation," or "the superior claims of Christianity." Those fine words would not have made the policy more just or more statesmanlike, but still they were not there.

This clever writer, unable to reduce his old and his new opinions to harmony, at once repentant and reprobate, tries to give up the practice and maintain the principle,—to exalt the theory and cry down the conclusion,—to abandon the policy of annexation as inexpedient for the time, but to leave the question open for the future. He seems to make a great point of having no decided policy for the treatment of Native States in India at present; he considers that since the failure of the great and statesmanlike policy of annexation, we have drifted into a period of transition and experiment, and he only dreads lest the experiments should be varied too often. He objects to the rejection of the Mysore Rajah's adopted son, because the Princes and people of India understood from the terms of the Royal Proclamation of 1858, that adopted heirs would always be recognised. And, he asks:—"Is it wise or right, for the sake of one Province, to abandon so suddenly in so apparently crafty a style, a policy meant for an Empire?" Still he anticipates the possibility that it may be abandoned.

"It may be necessary one day to unsettle it, the new policy may fail, as the old one failed, a third policy of appointing picked native rulers for life may prove wiser than either, but till we resolve, and announce that we resolve, that the mixed system shall end, let us at least adhere to it."

He cannot make up his mind to acknowledge, that the policy of annexation is either unjust, or absolutely inex-

\* *Sattara Papers*, 1849, p. 83.

† *A Vindication*, p. 40.

‡ *The Rebellion in India*, p. 98.

pedient. In discussing whether Mysore shall or shall not be annexed, he says, that "the single point at issue is whether the existence of subordinate hereditary jurisdictions is beneficial to all India or not. That is a very difficult and, with all deference to the very able Indians who signed the petition presented by Mr. Mill,\* by no means a settled point." He still doubts whether autonomy should be allowed to any Native State, except on condition of its paying what he calls "a fair tribute." "In the case of a State not paying a fair tribute, autonomy is injustice, for the people of Bengal are taxed to exempt the people, say of Guzerat." With blind persistence in the errors of Lord Dalhousie and Mr. George Campbell, he still hankers after the revenue belonging to Native States, and thinks that with it the British treasury might be replenished. He is strangely ignorant, or unmindful, of the actual results of that acquisitive policy, which in one breath he admits to have failed, and in another declares to have been great and statesmanlike. Instead of the resources of the public treasury being augmented, as Lord Dalhousie promised, a monstrous tribute is annually extracted from our older possessions, and poured into the recently-annexed Provinces. The people of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, are taxed to supply the financial drain of the Punjaub, Oude and Nagpore, and not to meet any expenditure created by Native States. "The Bengalees, being our subjects," says the Editor of the *Spectator*, "are taxed for the general defence of the Empire, while the Guzerattees are not."† That is an extraordinary assertion for one who believes that in our most desperate hour of need "the Nizam saved Madras," the Maharajah Scindia saved Bombay; that the Punjaub was saved by the old Sikh Princes; that "a signal from the Rajah of Mysore would have brought the descendants of Tippoo's soldiers down upon Madras, and he did not give it; and that the despised Nawab of Moorshedabad could have imperilled our possession of Cal-

\* Petition to the House of Commons, presented by J. S. Mill, Esq., M.P. for Westminster, on August 10th. 1866.

† As a matter of fact, the Guzerattees pay a good deal of direct tribute to the British Government, but that is an immaterial inaccuracy, for many Native States do not, and he might, with a little more care, have chosen one of them for his illustration.

cutta." Were not the "subordinate hereditary jurisdictions beneficial to all India" then? Did they not then contribute to the "general defence of the Empire"? Are they not contributing now, so long as they keep themselves prepared to render similar services, if ever rebellion, internal war or foreign invasion, should again, in the Editor's words, "threaten to overwhelm the foreigners with a surge of national feeling"?

The Editor of the *Spectator*,—clearly identified with the former "single-handed" Editor of the *Friend of India*,—affords a good example of the truth of the following words written on the 20th of December, 1857, by the venerable Mountstuart Elphinstone to Sir Edward Colebrook:—"I think the ardour for the consolidation of territory, concentration of authority, and uniformity of administration, which was lately so powerful, must have been a good deal damped by recent events. Where should we have been now, if Scindia, the Nizam and the Sikh Chiefs, had been annexed?"\*

His ardour has been damped. The loudest spokesman during the annexing mania gives up the policy as a failure, but he cannot bear to admit that it deserved to be a failure,—that it was not only a violent injustice, but that it was mean, petty and short-sighted.

The most seriously objectionable feature in this, as in other essays by the same hand, is not so much the effort to make the policy of annexation appear great and statesmanlike, as the persistent assumption that it was just. The Queen, according to him, is "the only true Sovereign" in India. The Native States are merely "subordinate hereditary jurisdictions."

"If, therefore, the general welfare of India required that Mysore should be directly administered by her"—the Queen's,— "agents, no right whatever could be pleaded in bar of that supreme necessity, any more than the right of the Highland Chiefs to hereditary jurisdiction could be pleaded against an Act taking it away from them."

What would be "pleaded in bar" of the arbitrary annexation of Mysore, or any other Native State, in time of peace, would be "a Treaty of perpetual friendship and al-

\* *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xviii, p. 334.

liance;" and that is considerably "more" than can ever have been pleaded in favour of any Highland Chieftain's heritable jurisdiction. The proposed analogy is absurd. He goes on :—

"The natives have never denied this, never questioned the right of the Mogul to remove any Mohammedan Ruler or invade a Hindoo State, if considerations of general policy required it,—lay down in fact as a general principle that a Sovereign must be expected to increase his direct dominion by all fair means, one of which, they add, is force."

If by this he means to say, that the natives of India have never questioned the right of a Sovereign to carry on a war of conquest, it is true. But if he means to say, that the Mogul ever possessed the unquestioned right of removing any Ruler in India, Mohammedan or Hindoo, except his own appointed Deputies, or ever pretended to the right of restricting the law of inheritance in Hindoo Principalities, it is utterly untrue, and without the smallest foundation. He brings forward "the doctrine of lapse" once more, as if it were intact.

"The annexation of Mysore may be, in our judgment is, perfectly legal, but it appears to every Native Prince, and therefore to every native, an unfair, underhanded attempt to cancel the Golden Bull. Whether the Rajah of Mysore had a right to adopt or not, without the consent of the Paramount Power, does not signify a straw; we do not believe that he had, but we readily acknowledge that to prove he had not, Lord Cranborne must quote Mussulman precedents directed against Hindoo Houses."

That which he "readily acknowledges" is totally incorrect. There are *no* "Mussulman precedents" for the pretended prerogative of rejecting adopted heirs. There was *no* precedent at all, until, as Sir George Clerk said, Lord Dalhousie's Government "led off with that flagrant instance of the bare-faced appropriation of Sattara."\*

The other analogy which this writer attempts to draw,—between the absorption of Mysore, or any other Native State, in British India, and the extinction of Hanover, as a separate State, by Prussia,—though not so ridiculously disproportionate in *scale* as that of the Highland Chieftainships, is totally inadmissible. He says :—

\* *Ante*, pp. 9 to 20

"The analogy is not perfect, for in India the Queen possesses a special and admitted right in every Native State which the King of Prussia did not possess in Germany, namely, a right to control all foreign affairs, and to appoint an Envoy whose 'advice must be followed on every occasion,' great and small. She is, in fact, the only true Sovereign."

In many Native States the British Resident has no right to interfere in internal affairs. This inaccuracy, however, may be passed over, for substantially the irresistible influence of our Government is not much overstated. But a very little reflection will convince any one, that the more stringent is the controlling power over the minor States, the less excuse, morally, the less reason, practically, must there be for destroying their separate existence. The treaties which secure certain cessions of territory, tribute and supremacy, to the British Government, secure also certain equivalent services and reserved rights to the protected Sovereignities,—among which, surely, permanent existence must be presumed, were it not expressed clearly enough in the terms "perpetual friendship and alliance." And if they can be controlled, they can be reformed.

If a treaty between Prussia and Hanover had secured to the great German Power the right to control all foreign affairs,—as in the new treaties of the Northern Confederation,—and if Hanover had scrupulously remained within the scope of this engagement, as the Native States of India have always done, the King of Prussia would have had no right, according to any doctrine or process hitherto devised at Berlin, to abolish the separate Sovereignty. We need not enter upon the merits of the quarrel; suffice it to say, that Hanover was undoubtedly *conquered* in a war with Prussia. Without fighting for it, the King of Prussia would have had no pretext for annexing Hanover. Without popular support in Germany, he would have had no power to do so.

The last words at once suggest the utter inappropriateness of the comparison. We did not fight for Oude, Nagpore, Jhansi, or Sattara. We did not obtain those territories by conquest, but by prevarication, backed by force. The abolition of those separate States was called for by no popular want or complaint, was sanctioned by no popular



approval. The forty millions of Germans speak one language. The hundred and eighty millions of India, diverse in race and creed, speak upwards of twenty distinct languages. There was no national movement for unity in India. The impulse of the annexation policy came from the English professional administrators, instigated by the pride of race, and the lust of patronage and promotion. It is true, in a certain sense, that Lord Dalhousie, as Sir Charles Jackson says, did not "invent," or "originate" that policy. He was, unwittingly, the tool of "the Services." The *Friend of India* was their mouthpiece.

To that extent, a very good case might be made out in Lord Dalhousie's exculpation, from the purely official point of view, if once the misleading and mischievous attempts to exalt him into a great statesman were dropped. But the apologists are not satisfied to argue that much light has been thrown upon the controversy within the last ten years,—that above all the rebellion of 1857 was a political revelation,—they are not content to plead that Lord Dalhousie seemed to have good grounds for his erroneous doctrines at the time, that he was supported by the general opinion and feeling of his advisers and subordinates. They acknowledge no error or excess. They do not palliate, they extol, both the policy and the process, both in the past and for the future.

If this were nothing more than a question of historical glory,—if Lord Dalhousie's political canonisation were merely a matter of sentimental interest,—no one would care to play the part of Devil's Advocate. But by this time it has been made sufficiently manifest, that the pretensions and principles we denounce, are by no means extinct, and are explicitly reaffirmed by the vindicators of Lord Dalhousie's reputation. The Duke of Argyll in some degree represents a powerful class of politicians, and his name carries great weight. Sir Charles Jackson's pamphlet was well calculated to produce a considerable effect on current English opinion. The *Spectator* has deservedly won an influential position among the more cultivated Liberals. The study of Indian affairs is very unattractive, and a feeling of national self-reproach is very unpleasant ;

so that to be told, firstly, in a Review of recognised authority, like the *Edinburgh*; secondly, by his Grace the Lord Privy Seal in person; thirdly, by a retired Indian judge so much respected as Sir Charles Jackson, and, occasionally, by a journal of high character, like the *Spectator*, that we have never been to blame at all; that if our policy has failed, it was yet a great and statesmanlike policy, and deserved to succeed, is eminently soothing and satisfactory to most people.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE TEST OF PREVISION.

THE Duke of Argyll and Sir Charles Jackson in their pamphlets, and Mr. J. C. Marshman in his History, all protest against any charge of want of foresight being brought against Lord Dalhousie, for not having provided against such a convulsion as the Mutinies of 1857, and for having allowed the more important posts in Northern India to be denuded of European troops. All three go very far in their protestations.

The Duke of Argyll declares that the native Army "had never been regarded in connection with even the possibility of a contest of race against race," and that "no such thoughts had ever entered into the minds of Indian statesmen or of Indian soldiers."\* This, as I shall prove, is a very great mistake.

Mr. Marshman's views can hardly be reconciled with those last quoted. He says, that "the repeated acts of insubordination by the Sepoys convinced Lord Dalhousie that the native Army was no longer to be depended on."† It may be so: the former Editor of "Lord Dalhousie's organ," may have better materials for judging than are generally available; but nothing to that effect is to be seen in any of Lord Dalhousie's published Minutes or despatches.

Sir Charles Jackson says that "fifteen months before the Mutiny began," Lord Dalhousie had protested against the reduction of the European force which took place in his time, and had recommended "a very considerable increase to that force, as well as a large reduction of the native Army."‡ I have no correction to offer to Sir Charles Jackson's statement, except one of *degree*. For "a very considerable increase" of the European force, I should sub-

\* *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, p. 51.

† *History of India*, vol. iii, p. 448.

‡ *A Vindication*, p. 158.

stitute, "a very *moderate* increase." For "a very *large* reduction of the native Army," I should substitute "a very *small* reduction."

From the accounts given by the Duke of Argyll and Sir Charles Jackson, we find that Lord Dalhousie, about a month before he left India, proposed to raise the nominal Indian establishment of European Infantry from thirty-three to thirty-five battalions, and to disband about 14,000 Sepoys, out of a native army numbering 233,000 men.\*

These seem to have been the most remarkable suggestions contained in the "nine Minutes" on military affairs, produced by Lord Dalhousie on the 28th of February, 1856, the last day he presided in Council. The contents of these Minutes, as described by Mr. Marshman and Sir Charles Jackson, afford proof positive that Lord Dalhousie was totally blind to the real dangers of the day,—the results of his own policy.

He brought forward certain plans for modifying the organisation of the army; he recommended a trifling addition to the European force, to bring it up to its former standard, but merely on grounds of general efficiency. He had not the least notion of the increased military strain arising from the newly annexed territories. So little did any such anxiety cross his mind, that in the most important of these nine Minutes, (No. 2) he assigns European troops to specified places, and assigns *none* to Oude, though European troops were actually there at the time, to support the Resident in carrying out the annexation, then in process of execution. Sir Charles Jackson thinks this Minute was written some time before its date, and that "if Lord Dalhousie had adverted to the approaching annexation of Oude when he signed the Minute, he *would* have altered his suggestion" (of adding two European battalions to the Bengal establishment,) "into a positive demand for a still greater increase."† This is a perfectly gratuitous supposition, and I see no reason whatever for acceding to it. The fact of no permanent force of European troops being allotted to Oude long after the annexation had been

\* *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, pp. 51 to 63; *A Vindication*, pp. 158 to 167; *Marshman's History*, vol. iii, pp. 448, 450.

† *A Vindication*, pp. 164, 165.

arranged and was in progress, proves that Lord Dalhousie considered that territorial acquisition to have imposed no additional military burden upon the Empire. We have every reason, in fact, to assume that he thought the annexation of Oude, as he had said of the annexation of Nagpore and Sattara, would "consolidate our military strength," and "absorb a separate military Power."\* He really believed that he could take into our direct administration these new Provinces, covering two hundred thousand square miles of territory, with twenty-five millions of inhabitants, without the services of one additional soldier being required. He was enabled to keep up the temporary and superficial appearance of not having entailed a heavy burden on the Imperial resources, solely by not calling for a proper augmentation of European troops to occupy the new Provinces, and by the whole charge of the Regular troops in the Punjaub being laid on the revenues of Bengal. Had he demanded a reinforcement of 15,000 British soldiers for the Punjaub, Nagpore, and Oude, had the Punjaub accounts not been cooked, the expence would have opened all eyes to the ruinous nature of his policy.

He did not insist upon any reinforcement as a precaution that was urgently and imperatively required, nor did he allude to the extended area of the Empire as having rendered any augmentation necessary. He really asked for no augmentation at all, over and above the number of European soldiers that were in India before the annexations of Nagpore and Oude. He only asked for the return of four Battalions that had been sent to the Crimea and to Persia. The Duke of Argyll tells us that "the urgent necessities of the Russian war had compelled the Government at home to diminish sensibly the number of European Regiments in India,"† so that "the total number of European troops had suffered a gradual diminution from 48,709, at which they stood in 1852, to 45,322, at which they stood when Lord Dalhousie closed his government in India."‡ Thus the four Battalions required to complete the establishment which Lord Dalhousie considered to be essential, would merely have brought up the number of

\* *Sattara Papers*, 1849, p. 83; *Rajah of Berar, Papers*, 1854, pp. 35, 36.

† *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, p. 61.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

British soldiers to what it was in 1852. Indeed all Lord Dalhousie's remonstrances in his Minute of the 5th February 1856, were directly against "the withdrawal of European troops from India to Europe and Persia." The Duke of Argyll acknowledges this very clearly:—

"Lord Dalhousie saw with regret the necessity for a temporary reduction of the European Force; but the risk which was actually incurred thereby was not the risk against which he had it in his mind to guard. There was not, indeed, any danger which he considered imminent."\*

The apologists are not quite in accordance among themselves. The Duke of Argyll says that in remonstrating against a reduction of the British troops, Lord Dalhousie was guarding against no "danger which he considered imminent." Mr. Marshman, perhaps from better sources of information, assures us that "the repeated acts of insubordination had convinced him that the native Army was no longer to be depended on."† The Duke not only denies that Lord Dalhousie felt any anxiety as to the fidelity and obedience of the Sepoys, but roundly asserts that no fear on the subject had ever been expressed by any one.

"No such thought ever entered into the minds of Indian statesmen, or of Indian soldiers. They knew that without the Native Army our Empire never could have been acquired, and they knew, too, that without it that Empire could not be maintained for a single year. To doubt its fidelity would have been to doubt our own powers of rule.

"It is not surprising, therefore, that we look in vain for any symptom of a fear which would have gone so deep and would have implied so much."‡

If the Duke never looked beyond his infallible Blue Books for information, he may well have "looked in vain"; many "thoughts" and "symptoms" may well have escaped his inquiry. He certainly would "look in vain" among the self-glorifying despatches and Reports of the annexing period, for any "doubt" or "fear" as to the good-will of the native troops, or the content of the newly acquired Provinces. But if he had extended his reading a little, he

\* *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, p. 61. † *History*, vol. iii, p. 448.

‡ *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, p. 51.



might have found the "symptoms" of which he was in search, not only in the writings of the most eminent Indian soldiers and statesmen, from Warren Hastings downwards, but in books and pamphlets, written during Lord Dalhousie's Government, and expressly connecting the danger of military revolt with the policy of annexation and resumption.

Sir Thomas Munro wrote as follows :—

"Even if all India could be brought under the British dominion, it is very questionable whether such a change, either as it regards the natives or ourselves, ought to be desired. One effect of such a conquest would be, that the Indian army, having no longer any warlike neighbours to combat, would gradually lose its military habits and discipline, and that the native troops would have leisure to feel their own strength, and for want of other employment, to turn it against their European masters.

"We delude ourselves if we believe that gratitude for the protection they have received, or attachment to our mild government, would induce any considerable body of the people to side with us in a struggle with the native army."<sup>\*</sup>

Here is the opinion pronounced in 1832 by Sir Henry Russell, for many years Resident at Hyderabad :—

"A well conducted rebellion of our native subjects, or an extensive disaffection of our native troops, is the event by which our power is most likely to be shaken ; and the sphere of this danger is necessarily enlarged by every enlargement of our territory. The increase of our subjects, and still more of our native troops, is an increase not of our strength, but of our weakness."

Lord Metcalfe, after speaking of "the disaffection dormant, but rooted universally among our subjects," says :—

"It may be observed that the tried services and devotion of our native Army furnish a proof to the contrary of the preceding assertion. Our native Army is certainly a phenomenon, the more so as there is no heart-felt attachment to our Government on the part of our native troops.

"We can retain our dominion only by a large military establishment ; and without a considerable force of British troops the fidelity of our native Army could not be relied on.

"Our danger does not lie in the military force alone of Native States, but in the spirit by which they are actuated towards us ; and still more in the spirit of our subjects, from one end of India to the other."<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Gleig's *Life of Sir T. Munro*, vol. ii, p. 33.

<sup>†</sup> *Selections from Lord Metcalfe's Papers*, (1855) p. 144.

The Sepoys were our subjects, and to a great extent representative men among them, and they were peculiarly exposed to be personally taunted in places of public resort, with being accomplices in the destruction of all the historical dignities and ancient institutions, which every native with a spark of honour and national pride, was bound to admire, to love, and to respect. Let us hear what Sir Henry Lawrence said on that subject, after the annexation of Oude, but before the outbreak of the rebellion ;—

“The Sepoy is not the man of consequence he was. He dislikes annexations,—among other reasons, because each new province added to the Empire widens his sphere of service, and at the same time decreases our foreign enemies, and thereby the Sepoy’s importance. The other day an Oude Sepoy of the Bombay Cavalry at Neemuch, being asked if he liked annexation, replied: ‘No. I used to be a great man when I went home; the best in the village rose as I approached; now the lowest puff their pipes in my face.’”\*

General Briggs, in 1849, when the annexation of Sattara, the first in Lord Dalhousie’s series, had just taken place, warned the advocates of consolidation that if they did away with “the right of adoption, with respect to the Princes of India, they would tread on delicate ground.” No one would believe that they were going to confine the process to sovereignties.

*“If you are to do away with the right of individuals to adopt, you will shake the faith of the people of India; you will influence that opinion which has hitherto maintained you in your power; and that influence will thrill through your army; and you will find some day, as Lord Metcalfe more than once said, ‘we shall rise some morning, and hear of a conflagration through the whole Empire of India, such as a few Europeans amongst millions will not be able to extinguish.’ Your army is derived from the peasantry of the country, who have rights, and if those rights are infringed upon, you will no longer have to depend on the fidelity of that army. You have a native army of 250,000 men to support your power, and it is on the fidelity of that army your power rests. But you may rely on it, if you infringe the institutions of the people of India, that army will sympathise with them, for they are a part of the population; and in every infringement you make upon the rights of individuals, you infringe upon the rights of men, who*

\* *Kaye’s Lives of Indian Officers*, vol. ii, p. 320.

are either themselves in the army, or upon their sons, their fathers, or their relatives. Let the fidelity of your army be shaken, and your power is gone."

When the proposed annexation of Kerowlee was under consideration in 1853, Mr. John Sullivan, formerly a Member of Council at Madras, wrote as follows :—

"We must remember that in order to keep India at all, we are obliged to hold it by a strong military grasp ; that our chief military instrument is the Sepoy ; and that a very large portion of the Bengal and Bombay armies are Rajpoots, whose feelings of clanship are as strong as those of Highlanders, and who still retain a lively recollection of the ancient grandeur of their race. *If we sap the foundation of our rule by acts of injustice to the Rajpoot Princes, we shall surely awaken a sympathy for them in the hearts of the native army ;* and the greatest of Indian authorities has told us what the consequence will be, whenever our native army is roused to a sense of its own strength."\*

The following extracts are taken from *India, its Government under a Bureaucracy*, a pamphlet by Mr. John Dickinson, published in 1853, before the annexations of Nagpore and Jhansi, and when the question of confiscating Kerowlee, which would have been the first encroachment on Rajpootana, was yet undecided.

"There are many signs and warnings in India at this moment, and if the present system is allowed to go on, it will soon expose our Empire to a greater peril than it has ever yet encountered (p. 8.)

"The present system is not only ruining and degrading the natives of India, but is bringing our Empire into a more critical situation every day. (p. 27.)

"The natives seem what they know we expect them to appear ; we do not see their real feelings : we know not how hot the stove may be under its polished surface. For the fire is not out ; *we are obliged to keep it up by our native army, which may blaze into a conflagration and burn the Empire. There may be some conspiracy, of which, as at Vellore, we have not even a suspicion, until the native Regiments open their fire on our barracks :* and, as a merchant who is obliged to throw all his treasure overboard to save the ship, a storm may arise in India which will cost us more to maintain our power, than all we have gained, or can ever hope to gain, *by our confiscations.* (p. 166.)

"Would not a violation of religion and the rights of property,

\* *Are we bound by our Treaties ? A Plea for the Princes of India*, (Effingham Wilson, London,) 1853, p. 70.

which lit a flame of insurrection in Rajpootana, and sent over three-fourths of our Bengal Sepoys to the enemy, instantly paralyse the right arm of England?" (p. 177.)

This warning was plain enough. It may, perhaps, be objected that Lord Dalhousie could not be expected to listen to every volunteer adviser in England. I shall show, therefore, that, besides Sir Henry Lawrence, whose opinions were no secret, there were others in constant official communication with him in India, who uttered the same warnings, and urged the same remonstrances.

General Sir William Sleeman wrote in these terms to Sir James Weir Hogg,—very fruitlessly, for that gentleman was Lord Dalhousie's strongest supporter in the Court of Directors,—on the 12th of January, 1853 :—"The Native States I consider to be breakwaters, and when they are all swept away, *we shall be left to the mercy of our native army, which may not always be sufficiently under our control.*"\*

The following passage is taken from a letter addressed by Sir William Sleeman to Lord Dalhousie himself, on the 10th of April, 1852 :—

"In September 1848, I took the liberty to mention to your Lordship my fears that the system of annexing and absorbing Native States,—so popular with our Indian service, and so much advocated by a certain class of writers in public journals,—*might some day render us too visibly dependent upon our native army; that they might see it, and accidents might occur to unite them, or too great a portion of them, in some desperate act.*"†

Some of these expressions of opinion, especially those of General Briggs,—remarkable for its calm sagacity,—Sir William Sleeman, and Mr. John Dickinson, seem to me to approach as closely to the character of prophetic warnings, as has ever occurred, or can be expected to occur, in the efforts of human intellect.

What becomes now of the Duke of Argyll's very confident and very extravagant assertions, that "no Indian statesman or soldier" ever entertained a doubt of the fidelity of the native army; that "no such thought ever entered into their minds;" and that "we may look in vain for any symptoms of such fear"?

\* *Sleeman's Oude*, vol. ii, p. 392.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 362.

"Looking back," says the Duke of Argyll, "as we now do, upon the years of Lord Dalhousie's rule through the light of subsequent events, we naturally search for anything in the transactions of the time which can have had any bearing on the condition of the Native Army." "It cannot be said that during those years any new influence was brought to bear upon it."\*

If the Duke will "search" in those same passages in which I have just shown him the "symptoms" of that fear, for which he had "looked in vain," he will also find what "new influences" were "brought to bear" upon the native Army during "the years of Lord Dalhousie's rule." There was something "in the transactions of that time," that made the native troops, in the words of Sir Thomas Munro, "feel their own strength,"—that altered, to use the words of Lord Metcalfe, "the spirit by which the native States," and, therefore, "our subjects, from one end of India to the other, were actuated towards us." It was "Annexation," which Sir Henry Lawrence tells us, "the Sepoys disliked," and which Sir Henry Russell had warned us, would prove "an increase not of our strength, but of our weakness." When the adopted heirs of Hindoo Princes were repeatedly rejected, "the faith of the people of India," as General Briggs predicted, "was shaken," and "that influence thrilled through the army,"—when the most sacred rights of the Native Sovereigns were "infringed," we could "no longer depend upon the fidelity of the army;"—when "the institutions of the people of India" were "infringed," to the detriment of the greatest families, "the Army sympathised with them," for they too had families, and many of them had lands. When, in the words of Mr. Dickinson, "a violation of religion and the rights of property," had been systematically carried on for some years against our faithful and submissive Allies, the native troops could no longer trust that the religion and property of our subjects would be respected; and on the first occasion of their suspicions being roused, "the native Army blazed into a conflagration," and "three-fourths of the Bengal Sepoys" became our enemies.

Such was "the new influence" that was "brought to

\* *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, pp. 49, 50.

bear" upon the native Army during "the years of Lord Dalhousie's rule," and were it not for the Duke of Argyll's personal responsibility in the worst "transactions of that time," he would have learned the lesson without any assistance.

The Duke talks about "looking back through the light of subsequent events," and about "every fifth-rate writer having his say," during the agony of the Great Indian Mutiny, "against something which he called 'Lord Dalhousie's policy.'" Let me remind him, and the other apologists and eulogists, who all raise a similar cry, that I have now not only displayed what was really called "Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation" by his Lordship's friends and supporters, but have shown that some, at least, of "the fifth-rate writers," whose "ignorant injustice" is denounced by his Grace, did not wait for "the Great Indian Mutiny" to condemn that policy, and cannot now be accused of judging it "by the light of subsequent events."

That light, however, can enable any one now to see, that there was more statesmanlike foresight and moral dignity, and a higher sense of national honour, in the grave censures and gloomy forebodings of General Briggs and Mr. John Dickinson, than in the shallow exultation of the retiring Governor-General, who boasted that "in eight years, four Kingdoms,"—besides "various Chiefships and separate tracts,"—"had been placed under the sceptre of the Queen of England," that he had added "four millions sterling to the annual income of the Indian Empire," and that he should leave it in peace, "without and within."\*

It is not enough to say that Lord Dalhousie manifested no statesmanlike foresight. All his most confident promises were contradicted and falsified in the most unequivocal and conclusive manner, within fifteen months after his departure from India. His financial anticipations had already been sufficiently refuted, for those who could form an impartial judgment, by the evident results of his policy before his departure.

In opening the series of annexations in 1848 with that of Sattara, Lord Dalhousie declared that "by taking pos-

\* *Minute by the Marquis of Dalhousie, February 28th, 1856, Reviewing his Administration, (paragraphs 11, 12, 19,) p. 7.*



session of Native States," under the doctrine of lapse, he would "add to the resources of the public treasury."\* When about to relinquish the reins of government, he boasted of having added "four millions sterling to the annual revenue of the Empire." But what is the true picture? "We were not prepared," the Court of Directors wrote to him in 1852, "to find that the annexation of Sattara would prove a drain on the general revenues of India." In the eight years of Lord Dalhousie's administration he added £8,354,000 to the public debt; in the three last of these years there was a heavy deficit, amounting in 1853-4, though India was at peace, to £2,044,000, and in 1854-5 to £1,850,000.† In his flourishing financial summary Lord Dalhousie only gave the gross receipts of his territorial acquisitions, and said nothing at all about the expenditure. He even included in this alleged addition to the revenue of the Empire, £500,000 from the Assigned Districts of Hyderabad, administered in trust for the Nizam,‡ not one penny of which could fall into the British Treasury.

He declared that "petty intervening Principalities" might be made "a means of annoyance," but could "never be a source of strength," and that by "getting rid of them" we should "acquire continuity of military communication," and "combine our military strength."§ The time of trial soon came, and it was then found that one great source of strength lay in those "petty intervening Principalities," which not only gave us no "annoyance," but afforded the most serviceable aid in men, money, and moral influence, so that one of Lord Dalhousie's former thick-and-thin partisans is now compelled to admit that "Madras was saved by the Nizam," "Bombay by Maharajah Scindia," and "the Punjaub by the old Sikh Princes."||

On the other hand, instead of our military strength being combined or consolidated, it was so scattered and dispersed, as a direct result of Lord Dalhousie's policy, that the great strategic and political centres of Delhi, Bareilly and Cawn-

\* *Ante*, p. 184.

† *Minute by the Marquis of Dalhousie*, 1856, para. 23, p. 8. *The Rebellion in India*, by John Bruce Norton, pp. 162, 167.

‡ *Minute by the Marquis of Dalhousie*, 1156, para. 19, (note) p. 7.

§ *Ante*, p. 184. *Sattara Papers*, 1849, p. 83.

|| *Ante*, p. 203.

pore, fell into the hands of the rebels almost without a struggle; the small forces at Lucknow and Agra were beleaguered; and Allahabad and Benares were barely saved in time.

There was not a single British soldier in the Kingdom of Oude from 1846 to 1856, when it was annexed, including the period of our Sutlej and Punjaub wars, when every man was urgently required. We have now in Oude one Regiment of Dragoons, seven Batteries of Artillery, and four Battalions of Foot, at an annual cost of about £600,000, or nearly half the revenue of the Province, without counting the native troops. This is the way we "have consolidated our military strength," and "added to the resources of the public treasury."

During the great rebellion, the immediate offspring of Lord Dalhousie's injustice and imprudence, which broke out with the mutiny of the Bengal Sepoys in 1857, and was not finally suppressed till 1859, it became necessary to augment the British forces in India to the enormous number of 122,000 men; of whom 35,000 disappeared entirely from the muster-rolls in those three years, having either died or been discharged from wounds or ruined constitutions; and during the same three years upwards of forty millions sterling were added to the public debt of India. Thus did Lord Dalhousie's policy "consolidate our military strength," and "add to the resources of the public treasury."

In 1848 Lord Dalhousie said:—"The assumption of the Raj" (of Sattara) "will cause no ferment or discontent among other Native Powers."\* In 1854 he was told in Council by Sir John Low, speaking from his own personal knowledge and experience, that "the confidence of our Native Allies was a good deal shaken by the annexation of Sattara," and that it had roused feelings of "dread and discontent."† Sir Frederick Currie, also, has recently stated,—and he must have said the same thing to Lord Dalhousie when the Kerowlee case was before the Supreme Council, that "The decision in the Sattara case, whatever

\* *Sattara Papers*, 1849, p. 82.

† *Papers, Rajah of Berar*, 1854, pp. 42, 43.

its merits may be, undoubtedly caused surprise and alarm throughout the length and breadth of India."\*

Mr. Mansel, the Resident at Nagpore, in his despatch of the 14th of December, 1853, quoted by Lord Dalhousie himself, said :—"The subject of adoption has been one of much interest and anxiety to the Court people, *especially since the close of the Sattara discussions.*"†

The prevalence of discontent and dread among the Native Princes, contrary to Lord Dalhousie's expectations, is thus confirmed by Lord Canning, in his very cautiously worded Adoption despatch of 1860 (paragraph 2) :—"There appears to be a haze of doubt and mistrust in the mind of each Chief as to the policy which the Government will apply to his own State in the event of his leaving no natural heir to his throne, and each seemed to feel, not without reason, that in such case the ultimate fate of his country is uncertain." Such was the political effect of Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation.

He asserted, in the Farewell Minute reviewing his own measures, that the extinction of the Nagpore Principality "was hailed with lively satisfaction by the whole population of the Province."‡ He greeted Lord Canning on his arrival at Calcutta with the telegraphic message, "All is well in Oude!"§

And Sir Charles Jackson puts it to us, as an unanswerable question, if we suppose the annexations to have caused general discontent, and to have been "a principal cause of the rebellion,"—

"How was it that Nagpore and Sattarah remained faithful to our rule? Surely the inhabitants of Sattarah had as much cause of complaint as those of Jhansi, and Nagpore as Sumbulpore, and yet during the rebellion neither Nagpore nor Sattarah joined the insurgents. It was no fear of British troops that caused the difference, for the European Regiment had long been withdrawn from Nagpore, and Sattarah never had such a garrison."||

Before proceeding further, let us first put Sir Charles Jackson's facts right a little. It is true that there was no Regiment of European Infantry at Nagpore,—there is

\* *Mysore Papers*, 1866, p. 46.

† *Papers, Rajah of Berar*, 1854, pp. 17, and 54.

‡ *Minute by the Marquis of Dalhousie*, 1856, paragraph 27, p. 9.

§ *Ibid.*, 1856, p. 21.

|| *A Vindication*, p. 39.

one there now,—but there were “British troops” of the most imposing description, though not of great numerical strength. There was a splendid Troop of Horse Artillery, and the Head Quarters and one Company of a Battalion of Foot Artillery,—altogether more than 250 men with twelve guns. The native Regiments all belonged to the Madras Presidency.

“Sattara,” he says, “never had such a garrison.” No,—never until 1857, when the dangerous conspiracies that were discovered, and the general agitation and excitement of the Mahratta Provinces, compelled Lord Elphinstone to take the earliest opportunity of stationing European troops at Sattara. Detachments of the 14th Dragoons and 3rd Europeans arrived there on the 19th of June, 1857.

Mr. Marshman, formerly of the *Friend of India*, makes similar assertions in his History.

“That the annexation by war or lapse did not create the mutiny, appears evident from the fact that except in the case of Oude, and the little Principality of Jhansi, under the instigation of the enraged Ranee, none of the annexed Provinces manifested the slightest disposition to turn against us in the great crisis. Sattara and Nagpore were tranquil.”\*

There were sixteen executions for treasonous conspiracy at Sattara in 1857 and 1858, besides numerous sentences of transportation and imprisonment. If this is not indicative of “the slightest disposition to turn against us,” what does it indicate?

The following account of a scene that took place at Sattara in June, 1857, appeared in the *Bombay Telegraph*:—

“Several arrests have been made; the ringleaders are being brought in prisoners almost daily. The gallows-tree has hard work awaiting it. Its services were put in requisition this morning. The prisoner in a bold fearless manner mounted the drop, and during the process of adjusting the noose and pinioning, he, in a loud firm voice, addressed the crowd in the following words (my informant knows Mahrattæ as well as English):—‘Listen, all! As the English people hurled the Rajah from his throne, in like manner do you drive them out of the country. This is murder. This example is made to frighten you, but be not alarmed. Sons of Brahmins, Mahrattas and Mussulmen, revolt! Sons of Christians look to yourselves!’”†

\* *History of India*, vol. iii, p. 450.

† Quoted in *The Rebellion*, by John Bruce Norton, pp. 96, 97.

Sir Charles Jackson says that "Nagpore was faithful to our rule,"—Mr. Marshman that "Nagpore was tranquil." In the Province of Nagpore, without counting those killed in open rebellion or summarily put to death by military authority, there were nine executions in 1857 for high treason, and seventeen officers and soldiers of the Local Force, formerly the Rajah's Army, were hanged for mutiny. The English Sergeant Major of one native corps was killed by mutineers. An English official of the Electric Telegraph Department was murdered by rebels. Two petty Chieftains, the Zemindars of Arpeillee and Sonakhan, were engaged in open rebellion, the latter of whom was hanged. As compared with the stirring events, and brilliant exploits farther North, Mr. Marshman may still choose to call this "tranquillity," but even he can scarcely persist in saying that there was not "*the slightest disposition to turn against us.*"

It is very natural that those who did their best, in office or in the Press, to promote the rapacious schemes which at once broke down our moral supremacy, and dispersed our military strength, should shut their eyes to all those facts which prove a very general disaffection, and should speak of the great Indian Rebellion as a mere mutiny of Bengal Sepoys. In their anxiety to shake off the painful feeling of self-reproach, they have been led to make some remarkable declarations. The Duke of Argyll, for instance, who as a Cabinet Minister might have had access to the best information, most erroneously asserts that "the infection of the mutiny never reached the Presidencies of Madras or of Bombay," and that "the entire armies of Bombay and of Madras escaped the plague."\* When the Duke penned these lines, he cannot have heard of the Field Forces that were actively engaged for so many months in suppressing insurrection, not without much bloodshed, in the Rewa Kanta, in the Satpoora district, on the Goa frontier, in Kolapore, Nargoond, Shorapore, Jumbhunde, Kopal, and other parts of the Mahratta country; or of the murder of Mr. Manson, the Collector,

\* *India under Dalhousie and Canning* (Longman and Co.) 1865, pp. 118 and 92.

by the rebel Chieftain of Nargoond, who had been refused permission in 1851 to adopt a near relation as his heir.

The Duke, when he wrote these sentences, cannot have heard of the mutiny of the 27th Bombay Native Infantry at Kolapore, when three of their officers were murdered, and of the terrible retribution inflicted on the mutineers by General Le Grand Jacob;\* or of the mutiny of the 21st Bombay Regiment at Kurrachee, for which seven men were hanged and three blown from guns; or of the Golundauze Artillery at Shikarpore and Hyderabad in Scinde, where a Havildar was blown from a gun;† or of the 2nd and 3rd Bombay Cavalry at Neemuch and Nusseerabad; or of the disaffection and plots among the 10th and 11th Infantry in the city of Bombay itself, when two Sepoys were blown from guns and others transported; or of the attempted mutiny of the 2nd Grenadiers at Ahmedabad, for which upwards of twenty men were executed. These trifles had escaped his notice, and yet he censures his opponents for not, as he alleges, studying the Blue Books!

Immediately on the publication of *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, the Duke of Argyll was taken to task, as to the alleged tranquillity of the Bombay Presidency and Army, by General Le Grand Jacob, who had promptly addressed the Editor of the *Edinburgh Review* on the appearance of the original articles in 1863, in a letter which, it appears, the noble contributor had not the advantage of seeing before his Essays were reprinted. In the correspondence which ensued, the Duke made a partial and very inadequate admission of his errors. He expressed his readiness, if he had the opportunity, "to qualify the statement made in the Review, and to mention the appearance and effectual repression of the mutinous spirit in Bombay."‡ This mention of a "mutinous spirit" very insufficiently recalls transactions for which, as General Jacob had reminded him, "some hundreds of Sepoys and native officers, in divers corps, were tried and executed, or transported, besides those shot or cut down in fight."§ Al-

\* Correspondence as to Mutiny and Rebellion in the Bombay Presidency, 1865, pp. 11, 12, 13.

† The Sindian, September 21st, 1857.

‡ Correspondence between Major General Jacob and the Duke of Argyll. (Privately printed, 1865,) p. 8.

§ Idem., p. 5.



though the Duke acknowledges "the mutinous spirit" and its "repression," he says nothing of the actual outbreaks of mutiny and rebellion.

Under the form of a criticism on Mr. Kaye's *Sepoy War*, an article in the *Edinburgh Review* of October, 1866, continues and reiterates the same justifications of the acquisitive policy, the same assertions that the insurrection of 1857 was "simply" and "merely a military mutiny," and by no means "a popular rebellion,"\* the same denunciations of all dissentients, which pervade the two Essays reprinted by the Duke of Argyll. Such a harmony and consistency with the previous articles is kept up throughout, that at first one would confidently attribute all three to the same author, until certain indications of style negative that supposition. The Duke of Argyll, for instance, would never lay claim to local experience and personal observation, as the writer does who contrasts the strange notions of "*those who have no practical acquaintance with the people of India*," with the more enlightened ideas of "*those who know*" all about "*the faith of ignorant Hindoos*."†

This *Edinburgh Reviewer* "regrets" and "laments" that Mr. Kaye should have "made himself, to a great extent, the mouthpiece of a party small in numbers and smaller in ability, Englishmen too,—for the verdict of thoughtful foreigners has been very different,"—that he should have "lent the credit of his high reputation to abet those party-writers" who attack the memory of Lord Dalhousie.‡ Of course the spirit of party never enters the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*; and an *Edinburgh Reviewer*, even though for twenty years he had been successively the leader and spokesman of the annexation policy in the Court of Directors, the House of Commons and the Council of India, cannot be "a party-writer," and must bring a perfectly unbiassed judgment to the defence of that policy, and the discussion of its results.

Just as the Duke of Argyll denounces all the assailants of Lord Dalhousie's measures as "fifth-rate writers," the more recent Reviewer, with equal depth and refinement of sarcasm, sets them down as "a party small in numbers

\* *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, p. 98; *Edinburgh Review*, October 1866, p. 300. † *Edinburgh Review*, October 1866, p. 304. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

and smaller in ability." Like the other vindicators he carefully avoids grappling with any of his opponents,—restrained, no doubt, by "a proud sense of what is due to himself,"\*—and though he quotes one of them, neither mentions his name nor gives a reference to the book.

The Reviewer taunts us with being "a small party." He is right, and if he had added that it was not a very popular party, he would not have been far wrong. There cannot be a more ungraceful and thankless position than that of an accuser and detractor,—one who denounces national exploits, decries recognised merit, and prophesies evil things. It would have been much more pleasant to have joined, many years ago, that much larger and more popular party which hailed and echoed the confident assurances of Lord Dalhousie, his colleagues in Council, Mr. R. D. Mangles and the *Friend of India*, that by destroying Native States we should add to the resources of the public treasury, combine our military strength, and gain the cheerful allegiance of the unfortunate people, "impatient for the rule of the stranger, rather than suffer" any longer from "the rod of iron" with which their Native Princes had "scourged the nationality out of them."† We did not believe in either the highly coloured obloquy cast upon native rule, the supposed desire of the people to exchange it for British administration, or the imaginary benefits that our own Government would derive from its ill-gotten acquisitions. Let the Reviewer and the Duke of Argyll call to mind that this party, "small in numbers and smaller"—if they will have it so—"in ability," did not spring up, wise after the event, amid the lurid lights of the Rebellion of 1857, but had raised the voice of rebuke and warning during several previous years. Let them call to mind that all the confident hopes and promises of the great party, strong in place and power, to which they belong, have been falsified,—that instead of having added to the public resources, they have added to the public debt and expenditure; that instead of combining our military strength in India, they weakened it, and by their consequent demand for British soldiers, have, for the time, paralysed the military strength and political influence of

\* *Ante*, p. 4.

† *Papers, Rajah of Berar*, 1854, p. 52.

the Empire in Europe, and throughout the world. On the other hand, the small party who received the splendid visions and premature exultation of Lord Dalhousie and his supporters with cold incredulity and bitter remonstrance, have given the best proof of their more sound political science, by having manifested the power of prevision. And without ascending to the period before 1848, the political school stigmatised by the *Edinburgh Review*, is now seen to be the school of Henry St. George Tucker and Mountstuart Elphinstone, of Sleeman, Samuel Macpherson, George Clerk, and Henry Lawrence.

On one point it must be admitted that the *Edinburgh Reviewer* of 1866 does us more justice than we could well expect at his hands. Instead of branding us with the extremely effective epithet of "un-English," he admits our nationality. The "small party" is described by him as consisting of "Englishmen, for the verdict of thoughtful foreigners has been very different." But if our party is so small, and his own, it is to be supposed, comparatively large, how is it that the Reviewer is reduced to quote "thoughtful foreigners" in support of his views? How is it he cannot cite the opinions of thoughtful and independent Englishmen on his side? How is it that every one who comes forward, even behind the screen of a Review or a newspaper, to defend Lord Dalhousie's policy, is always sure to be, like the *Edinburgh Reviewers*, implicated in the progress of that policy, and interested in denying its disastrous results? The Reviewer cites as a high authority Sir John Lawrence. He might as well have cited Mr. Mangles. In many respects Sir John Lawrence is undoubtedly a high authority. He has been a successful administrator in peace; and in time of war,—in 1849 and 1857,—he showed himself as bold and clear-sighted in his plans, as he was skilful and provident in organisation. Few men more able, more honest, more lofty in character, ever entered the public service in India. He is a man of whom his country may well be proud. But in every fibre of his heart he is a functionary. He is nothing if not a Bengal Civilian. He was trained in the school of Mr. Thomason. He was the favourite Lieutenant of Lord Dalhousie. He cannot be expected to

pronounce the most active and eventful period of his public career a mistake. Of course he can draw no lesson from the Rebellion but that of military precautions, and can see no cause but the greased cartridge for that tremendous convulsion.

We return, therefore, to the two "thoughtful foreigners," M. de Montalembert and M. de Tocqueville, than whom, the Reviewer assures us, there can be "no higher or more impartial authorities." M. de Montalembert's character commands universal respect; he is eminent as a scholar and as a man of letters; but his public career at home has not been either so successful or so consistent as to make him a political oracle for the world. I am not prepared to bow to his authority in Indian any more than in Italian politics.

The eloquent brochure from which the Reviewer quotes was notoriously written as a vehicle for an attack on the French Government, with no real reference to the affairs of India. The hackneyed eulogy of the East India Company, and assertion that the insurrection was entirely the work of the Sepoys, adopted from some of the English journals of the day, carry no greater weight because repeated by M. de Montalembert, who had no special means of knowing the truth, and had made no special inquiry into the subject.

M. de Tocqueville was, indeed, a master of political science; but then his opinion, far from helping the Reviewer, is entirely in our favour. M. de Tocqueville, we quote from the Review, "has compressed his opinion into a single sentence, as vigorous as it is profound. 'Je crois,' he observes, speaking of the mutiny, 'que les horribles évènements de l'Inde ne sont en aucune façon un soulèvement contre l'oppression; c'est une révolte de la barbarie contre l'orgueil.'"<sup>\*</sup>

"A revolt of barbarism against pride!" The struggle of despised Asiatics against the arrogance of Western civilisation,—that is exactly the concise description of the Rebellion of 1857 that we could accept. Does the Reviewer accept it? Does he really think that it corresponds, or can be reconciled, with the assurance of himself and Sir

<sup>\*</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, October 1866, p. 302.

John Lawrence, that the Rebellion was caused by "the cartridge affair and nothing else."† Does he suppose that M. de Tocqueville uses the term, "orgueil," pride, in a sense eulogistic of British rule?

On the other hand, where did the Reviewer find that the assailants of Lord Dalhousie considered the Rebellion of 1857 to be "un soulèvement contre l'oppression,"—a rising against oppression, or in his own words "the consequence and retribution of civil misgovernment," "the insurrection of an oppressed people"? Not in Mr. Kaye's book, the only work opposed to his own views to which he gives a reference; certainly not in my book, *The Empire in India*, which he quotes without naming, nor in any book of mine. The Reviewer might know from Mr. Kaye, whom he styles "to a great extent, the mouthpiece of the party," that they attribute the outbreak to "manifold causes" producing a general feeling of suspicion and disaffection, upon which the cartridge affair acted as the spark to a mine, none of the causes amounting to what is properly called "oppression," but rather to what M. de Tocqueville terms "orgueil,"—pride or contempt. This pride of race and culture,—disguised, even from the British rulers themselves, by benevolent though cheap consideration for the masses, who never come really into competition or contact with them, led them to dislike and scorn all rights and claims which impeded their plans or checked their undivided supremacy. Consequently the natives of the country were excluded from all share in the Government of the British Provinces, and from every administrative office of honour and emolument; while the tendency of our rule from the first was to lower the position, and destroy the public career of great nobles and proprietors. At later periods, varying in the different Presidencies, in the Punjab, and in Oude, the native landed aristocracy saw ruin, immediate or prospective, brought to their doors, by our revenue settlements, resumption laws, and Inam Commissions,—strenuously supported by Lord Dalhousie, "the Services," speaking through the *Friend of India*, and the Mangles party in the Court of Directors. But even when they lost property or income, the natural leaders of the

\* *Edinburgh Review*, October 1866, p. 303.

people did not lose their influence. The masses found no cause for gratitude towards the British Government. They everywhere not only sympathised but suffered with the despoiled landlords.

With increase of power, the same pride of race and culture led us to regard direct British possession as the sole remedy for the defects of Native States, and produced an impatient contempt for the Treaties by which we had secured every step of our advance. They now seemed to fetter our progress. The *Friend of India* derided them as "musty old parchments."

By the extinction of allied and protected Principalities, and by the resumption of landed estates, for the most part under the false doctrine of "lapse," "the rights and institutions of the people of India," represented by their Princes and nobles, were "infringed upon" systematically, and, as General Briggs had predicted, "the native army, being a part of the population, sympathised with them."\* A general suspicion of bad faith in all our dealings was spread through the land; the air was thick with rumours, imprecations, and threats.

When Lord Dalhousie left Calcutta, after perpetrating the annexation of Oude, the moral influence of Great Britain in India was, for the time, annihilated. On the first direct provocation applied to their own religious prejudices, the Sepoys led the way in revolt, expecting the Princes and the people everywhere to answer to their signal and to follow their example.

The following extracts from the letters of the late Major Samuel Charters Macpherson, who was Resident at Scindia's Court during the crisis of 1857, give at once the opinions formed by that distinguished and lamented officer, and those of Rajah Dinkur Rao, the able Minister of the Gwalior Principality :—

"It was the opinion of the more intelligent Chiefs of the Gwalior State, who were but few in number, that the Bengal native army believed our Government to have intended, through the greased cartridges, to strike at the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions in favour of Christianity. But they held that the army was predisposed to revolt through the disaffection of the population, and that the chief causes of the popular dissatisfaction with

\* *Ante*, p. 216.



our rule were—the extinction of Native States and our consequent measures, the depression of Chiefs and heads of society.

“Every cause assigned for the revolt has tended to produce it; but dissatisfaction with our rule, common to the army and the people, was the preliminary condition *sine quâ non*. The main cause of that dissatisfaction was actual and apprehended disturbance of rights connected with the soil.

“The mutiny arose in the villages, not in the cantonments.

“You see that Lord Ellenborough quite understands that the population are hostile to us—that the rising has been a revolt of the people, not of the army. I alone ventured to say this here for a long time.”

Mr. W. Edwards, of the Bengal Civil Service, a Judge of the High Court of Agra, printed in 1859 for private circulation an interesting account of his Personal Adventures during the Rebellion, with reflections on its origin and cause. These chapters are embodied in a work published by him in 1866, when, as he says, “his subsequent experience of seven years in India had tended to confirm him in the views and opinions therein expressed.”\*

The following passages will give some idea of the conclusions at which he has arrived. After speaking of certain recently lost privileges and other new grievances of which the native troops complained, especially of “the vast distances they now had to travel in going to their homes on furlough and rejoining their Regiments,” in consequence of the Punjaub having become a British possession, the higher rate of pay they had received while it was foreign territory being stopped, he says:—

“While our native army was in this state of discontent and restless suspicion, Oude was to their astonishment and extreme dissatisfaction annexed. There is not the slightest doubt that this act was regarded by the native army as one of rude and unjustifiable spoliation, and I believe that they would have resented it at first, had they not been under the conviction that the home authorities would annul the decision of the Governor-General, and restore Oude to the King.

“As soon as it became known that the mission of the Oude royal family to England had proved ineffectual, and that no hope remained of the restoration of the country to the King, I noticed a marked change in the feelings and demeanour of the Mahomedans of my district, and of the Sepoys in particular.

\* *Reminiscences of a Bengal Civilian*, (Smith, Elder and Co., 1866) Preface, p. viii.

"While the minds of our Sepoys were, from the causes I have already detailed, full of resentment against the Government, and suspicious of its good faith, the report was spread among them by the instigators of the rebellion that the Government intended to take away their caste, and compel them forcibly to adopt Christianity, and for this purpose had cartridges ('cartouch,' as they called them,) prepared with pigs' fat to destroy the caste of the Mahomedans, and with cows' fat that of the Hindoos.

"The rural classes, who afterwards broke out into rebellion, had other causes (to which I will hereafter allude) which moved them, but as they themselves were not affected by the cartridges, they were indifferent on the subject, although they freely expressed deep sympathy with the Sepoys, having no alternative between losing their caste and mutinying."\*

In explaining "the condition and feelings of the people in general, and particularly of the agricultural classes in the North West Provinces at this time, which predisposed them to rebellion,"† he enters into detailed criticism of our revenue, judicial and police system, and of many recent changes, "beautiful on paper," which "caused the most bitter resentment and disaffection among the agricultural body."‡ The most mischievous of these he considers to have been "the action of our Resumption laws, the abolition of Zemindary and Talookdaree rights," and the processes of our civil Courts, by the combined action of which, he says,

"Society in the North-Western Provinces had become in late years thoroughly disorganised. The ancient proprietary body remained, it is true, but in the position of tenants on their hereditary estates, smarting under a sense of degradation, and holding intact their ancient feudal power over their old retainers, who were willing and ready to cooperate with them in any attempt to recover their lost position."§

The personal observation, inquiry, and experience of two such men as Major Macpherson and Mr. Edwards, placed far apart, with perfectly distinct spheres of duty, and under very different circumstances, will, I think, carry considerably more weight than the second-hand repetitions of M. de Montalembert, even though pressed upon us by "the high and impartial authority" of an Edinburgh Reviewer, who, for all we know, may be personally as much

\* *Personal Reminiscences*, pp. 313, 314, 315.

† *Ibid.*, p. 321.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

responsible for the policy of annexation, and as deeply concerned to clear it from every stain of blood, as the Duke of Argyll or even as Mr. R. D. Mangles.

We look upon the policy of annexation as one great cause, perhaps the greatest, but by no means the only cause that accumulated the mine of combustibles to which the cartridge affair acted as a spark. We point out not only the connection between the policy of annexation and the terrible outbreak of 1857, but that in that outbreak the policy failed in every sense of the word,—and in its failure proved the falsity of all Lord Dalhousie's promises and expectations, the futility and inadequacy of all his preparations.

The enthusiastic partisan of Lord Dalhousie's reputation who writes in the *Spectator*, assures us, however, that the first and principal reason why the "great" and "statesman-like" policy of "one vast military monarchy" in India "failed," was "*because Lord Dalhousie retired.*"\* This means, if it means anything, that Lord Dalhousie possessed faculties for dealing with mutiny and rebellion far beyond what can be claimed for his successor, Lord Canning.

Now, during the eight years of his administration, it fell three times to Lord Dalhousie's lot to deal with mutiny, once with a petty insurrection, and once to cope with a succession of mutinies, culminating in a formidable rebellion; and in every instance he proved himself unequal to the occasion,—incapable of appreciating the danger, feeble and irresolute in his measures of repression and retribution, tardy and confused in his control of military operations.

The first of these occasions arose out of the dangerous combination of the Bengal Regiments in the Punjaub in 1849 and 1850, when at last the 66th Native Infantry attempted to seize the Fort of Govindghur. The mutinous spirit was subdued for the time by the judicious method, partly of stern correction, partly of just concession, adopted by Sir Charles Napier, and in a great degree by his commanding personal influence. Few will now question the

\* *Ante*, p. 202.

happy inspiration which prompted that great soldier to disband the mutinous 66th on the spot, and to place their colours in the hands of an Irregular Battalion of Goorkhas, admitted to their place in the Line. Few will now join with Lord Dalhousie in his doubts of the necessity of that step, or in his expression of regret that the Commander-in-Chief should have acted on his own responsibility in the matter. In the conflict which followed as to the summary suspension, pending a reference to Government, of an order withholding certain extra allowances from the Sepoys, there can be little doubt that Napier's action was practically right, although officially unauthorised. But mark how contemptuously Lord Dalhousie treated the idea of a conspiracy among the Native Regiments, and of the Empire having been in peril. He presumed to charge Sir Charles Napier, a soldier seventy years of age, renowned through Europe, and covered with honourable wounds, with having made use of "extravagant and mischievous exaggerations," with having brought "unjust and injurious imputations" against the Bengal Army.\* He had read "the statements" of the Commander-in-Chief with "incredulity." Yet the testimony of all the superior officers in the Punjaub, including Sir Colin Campbell, afterwards Lord Clyde, was to the same effect, that "the mutinous spirit was very formidable," and was only kept down by the presence of a powerful European force.† "There is no justification," continued his Lordship, "for the cry that India was in danger. Free from all threat of hostilities from without, and secure, through the submission of its new subjects, from insurrection within, the safety of India has never for one moment been imperilled by the partial insubordination in the ranks of its army."‡

When we add that in his Farewell Minute the sole reference to the Sepoy was to say, that "the position of the native soldier in India has long been such as to leave hardly any circumstance of his condition in need of im-

\* *Papers (printed by the East India Company) Discussions between the Marquis of Dalhousie and Sir Charles Napier*, 1854, p. 15.

† *Defects of the Indian Government*, edited by Sir William Napier, 1853, p. 59.

‡ *Papers, Discussions between Dalhousie and Napier*, (Minute by Lord Dalhousie, paragraph 37) p. 15.

provement,"\* Sir Charles Jackson may, perhaps, be able to understand "on what authority Mr. Kaye speaks of Lord Dalhousie's 'rooted conviction of the fidelity of the Sepoy.'"†

Can anyone believe that Lord Dalhousie, so blind in 1850, so regardless of warning, so confident in "the submission of our new subjects," would have been more watchful and more far-sighted than Lord Canning in 1857, when the first symptoms of mutiny appeared, and when Oude was on the eve of insurrection?

The second of these occasions was in 1852, when the 38th Bengal Native Infantry refused to proceed on foreign service to Burmah. Lord Dalhousie yielded to them, and supplied their place by a Regiment of Sikhs.‡ The following remarks on this incident are from the *Hurkara*, one of the Calcutta daily papers:—

"Our readers will not forget that Lord Dalhousie was the first Governor-General who succumbed to mutineers. When the 38th N. I. (the corps which raised the cry of mutiny in Delhi) refused to go to Burmah, Lord Dalhousie gave in; from that instant the feelings of the Sepoys, in all probability, underwent a change towards their masters. That act was sufficient to demoralise an army: who can say that it did not do so?

"It has been the fashion in certain circles to abuse Lord Ellenborough. Whatever may have been his faults, he never allowed himself to be conquered by mutineers. There are many in India who recollect that when the 4th§ and 64th Regiments refused to go to Scinde, they did not meet with the same mild treatment as the 38th, when they declined to go to Burmah. The difference of conduct on the two occasions showed the difference between the two men. Lord Ellenborough compelled the Sepoys to carry out his order; the Sepoys compelled Lord Dalhousie to put up

\* *Minute by the Marquis of Dalhousie*, 1856, (para. 151) p. 39. Even with regard to the material condition of the native troops, he was quite wrong. They had many substantial grievances, among others the increased length and frequency of marches, entailing great expenses, particularly upon the Madras troops, who are always accompanied by their families. The pay of the Irregular Cavalry was at starvation point. Since Lord Dalhousie left India, the emoluments of almost every branch and every rank of the Native army have been augmented, directly or indirectly. Lord Dalhousie most injudiciously lowered the pay and injured the prospects of the Hyderabad Cavalry, some of the finest corps in India.

† *A Vindication*, p. 169; *Kaye's Sepoy War*, vol. i, p. 324.

‡ *Marshman's History of India*, vol. iii, p. 367.

§ I think this must be a misprint for the 34th, which was disbanded, with ignominy by Lord Ellenborough in 1844 at Meerut, in presence of all the troops of the station.

with their resolves. The one saved India, the other brought it to the verge of ruin.”\*

The third of these occasions was in 1855, when the 3rd Hyderabad Cavalry mutinied at Bolarum, and cut down Brigadier Colin Mackenzie, the Commandant of the Division, and Captain Murray, one of their own officers. Brigadier Mackenzie was left for dead with no less than ten wounds. Let us hear Lord Dalhousie’s own description of what took place after the first outbreak and attempted assassination.

“It is clear to the Governor-General in Council, from the evidence before him, that the greater part of the Regiment in the Lines was in a state of open mutiny; some rushed into the streets, cutting and hacking at the passers-by, and brutally assailing even women in their course.

“Their European officers were not allowed to approach them. They paraded without orders from their European officers, and without any of the usual calls to parade, but by the direction of their Rissaldar. They were armed, and mounted and equipped. They sent out videttes to watch the approach of other troops sent for from Secunderabad, and acted as a military body guided by other orders than those of their regular European superiors.

“Such proceedings are manifestly destructive of all discipline, and tend not less to destroy all confidence in the fidelity of troops that serve the Government. They appear to the Governor-General in Council to call for grave animadversion and for severe punishment.

“They appear to his Lordship in Council to call the louder for animadversion and punishment, that this is not the first time that the Hyderabad Cavalry has been guilty of violence towards their European officers.”†

And then—most lame and impotent conclusion!—after the long-winded “animadversion,” came the decree of what he called “severe punishment.” Six native officers were dismissed the service, without a Court-martial; while three of the ringleaders in the murderous attack on Brigadier Colin Mackenzie were, in Lord Dalhousie’s words, “arrested,” and “with them,” he added, “the law of the land will deal.” They were eventually sentenced to fourteen years’ transportation.

\* Quoted in *Norton’s Rebellion in India*, 1857, p. 176.

† *General Order*, Fort William, No. 132, January 23rd, 1856; *Calcutta Gazette*, January 26th, 1856. I am not aware whether this General Order has been given in any Parliamentary Return.



The mutiny had broken out on September 21st, 1855. Lord Dalhousie's verbose judgment was promulgated on January 23rd, 1856, after a delay of four months. All possibility of a striking example had then gone by; but the weakness and tameness of the Governor-General's grave lecture to these mutineers and assassins on the impropriety of their conduct,—“manifestly destructive,” as he said, “of all discipline!”—taken in conjunction with his slow and inconclusive proceedings, by no means convey the impression that in a tremendous crisis, like that of 1857, he would have exhibited more promptitude, firmness or vigour than Lord Canning.\*

The petty insurrection was that of the Sonthals, the wild aboriginal tribe of the Rajmahal Hills, who possessed scarcely any arms but pickaxes and bows and arrows.† In consequence of most discreditable vacillation and mismanagement this revolt was kept alive from July to December 1855, to the great alarm and injury of the peaceful inhabitants, and was not suppressed without the employment of a considerable military force, at a very great expense, and with much more bloodshed and more severity towards the misguided insurgents than ever ought to have been necessary. Lord Dalhousie was at Ootacamund on the Neilgherry Hills, and probably trusted, for some time, the subordinate Government of Bengal to put down a disturbance within its own limits. He cannot, however, be relieved from responsibility; and in this instance, also, he clearly showed no aptitude for planning operations, and no just appreciation of the damage done to the dignity and authority of Government by dilatory measures in the face of rebellion.

The most formidable insurrection during Lord Dalhousie's vice-royalty was that of the Punjaub. We have shown how that insurrection was intensified and extended,

\* I am not to be told that I have “concealed” anything in this case. I know that Brigadier Mackenzie's conduct in personally confronting the men who had disobeyed his very reasonable orders regarding the route of a procession, was questioned. I am quite prepared to go into that point, and fully to justify the Brigadier's proceedings. I take the fact of open mutiny, as stated in Lord Dalhousie's own words, and I show that he paltered with it.

† *Marshman's History of India*, vol. iii, p. 376.

how a petty outbreak grew into a rebellion, and was protracted till it assumed the proportions of a war, in consequence of a succession of blunders and delays for which the Governor-General was fully answerable. He hesitated to support Edwardes until it was too late; he sent no succour to Hazara or Peshawur; he hampered Lord Gough by misdirections, and held him back by positive orders, giving time, and opportunity and confidence to the rebels, and contributing directly to the disasters of Chillianwalla. So much has already been said in these pages on this subject, that it will suffice to add here a few extracts from an author strongly prepossessed in favour of Lord Dalhousie, Mr. J. C. Marshman, formerly Editor of the *Friend of India*. The first refers to the period of vacillation and inactivity immediately following the outrage at Mooltan.

"The emergency for which the foresight of Lord Hardinge had made provision by his moveable Brigades had now arisen; but there was no longer Sir Henry Lawrence at the head of affairs in the Punjaub, or Lord Hardinge at the head of the Government. The Resident at Lahore was an amiable and intelligent Civilian, the Governor-General was an able statesman, but young in years, and new in authority. He was as yet but partially acquainted with those who held posts of importance in the Government, and was, moreover, without any of that military experience which enabled his predecessor to maintain, without presumption, a powerful control of our military movements. Had Sir Henry Lawrence been at Lahore, he would have moved the Brigade upon Mooltan, with the same promptitude which he had exhibited in his march to Cashmere at the beginning of the winter, to crush Imam-ood-deen, and doubtless with the same success. Had Lord Hardinge been at the head of the Government, he would have taken upon himself to despatch the large force he had massed on the North West frontier and collected at Bukkur, and invested Mooltan before Moolraj could make any adequate preparations for resistance. A march through Scinde and from Lahore in the month of May would doubtless have occasioned many casualties, but our Empire in India had been acquired and maintained, not by fair-weather campaigns, but by taking the field on every emergency, and at any season."\*

After setting forth the original orders given by the Resident, Sir Frederick Currie, for an advance on Mooltan, the withdrawal of those orders, the reference to the Com-

\* *History of India*, vol. iii, p. 313, 314.

mander-in-Chief, and Lord Gough's opinion that military operations should be postponed to the cold weather, Mr. Marshman adds :—

"Lord Dalhousie gave his concurrence to this decision. Sir Henry Lawrence aptly described this procrastination as 'a resolution to have a grand shikar (hunt) in the cold season under his own lead.'\*

"The paltry outbreak of Moolraj, fostered by the folly of delay, had grown into a portentous war."†

In his description of the final Punjaub campaign, which opened so inauspiciously with the indecisive affairs of Ramnuggur and Sadoolapore, Mr. Marshman has the following passage :—

"Throughout the month of December," 1848, "and the first half of January," 1849, "the British army remained inactive between the Jhelum and the Chenab. This policy, which has been the subject of much censure, was in some measure owing to the restrictions imposed on the movements of the force by Lord Dalhousie, who had requested Lord Gough, after the battle of Sadoolapore, 'on no consideration to advance beyond the Chenab except for the purpose of attacking Shere Sing in the position he then held, without further communication with him.' He had, in fact, injudiciously interfered with the military dispositions of the Commander-in-Chief, on whom the responsibility of the campaign rested.

"But, however injudicious may have been this act of interference on the part of the Governor-General, subsequent events gave reason to regret that it was not prolonged. Indeed, the whole plan of the campaign has been condemned by the judgment of the highest military authorities."‡

It may be very possible in each and all of these instances to say a great deal in extenuation of Lord Dalhousie's shortcomings, and even to trace one or two of them to persons and circumstances quite beyond his control. All that I am concerned to urge is that the uniformity of these negative results cannot produce in the mind of any reasonable inquirer a positive impression of Lord Dalhousie's great capacity. Whenever an emergency arose, he was manifestly found wanting. From the enormous means at his disposal, a successful result was ultimately attained, where the object was merely that of

\* *History of India*, vol. p. iii, 314.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 320.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 331, 332.

overcoming material resistance,—as in the great and little wars against the Sikhs and the Sonthals,—but at a disproportionate cost, and after a long and injurious delay. In the three cases of military mutiny he was manifestly deficient in firmness and discrimination. On not one of these five occasions, all presenting some analogy with the far more serious crisis of 1857, can Lord Dalhousie be said to have evinced either breadth of vision, promptitude in action, or fertility of resource.

Nothing can be found in the annals of India, during or since the administration of Lord Dalhousie, to justify that invidious reflection, half eulogy and half apology, that the annexation policy failed, “firstly, because Lord Dalhousie retired.” That policy never could have succeeded, if Lord Dalhousie had remained twenty years at Calcutta. It failed at its first trial, not because its author had retired, but because it was rotten at the core, materially and morally. It had destroyed our persuasive influence and ruined our high reputation. It had tainted every organ, and weakened every function of the Empire. While it made our power almost exclusively dependent on physical force, it had scattered our European soldiers, and exasperated the native troops. As a financial and military policy it had so utterly failed before Lord Dalhousie left India, that, unless he shut his eyes very closely, he must have begun to suspect it himself.

The writer in the *Spectator* who considers Lord Dalhousie's policy, although it failed, to have been “great” and “statesmanlike,” admits that during the mutinies “the Native Principalities acted as breakwaters when a surge of national feeling threatened to overwhelm” the British rulers. The same writer acknowledges that “Bombay was saved because Gwalior broke the rush of the wave which had Tantia Topee on its crest.”\* But how was it that Scindia of Gwalior did us such good service? He was childless: he had no “natural heir,” according to the new law of succession enacted by Lord Dalhousie for Hindoo Princes who enjoyed the advantage of our protective alliance. He had seen during the late Governor-General's tour of office the Principality of Sattara abolished, of which

\* *Ante*, p. 203.