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ESSAYS

ON THE

INDIAN ARMY AND OUDE.

BY THE LATE

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE, BART. K. C. B.,

Chief Commissioner of Oude.

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PREFACE

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE on different occasions contributed some dozen Articles* to the *Calcutta Review*. The following Essays have been selected from these, chiefly on the ground that their subjects give them a new interest since the events of the Rebellion. They are republished almost exactly as written by their author. Only a few sentences, which refer to the works specially reviewed, have been omitted. The frequent occurrence in italics of words and phrases which now

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* Articles contributed to the *Calcutta Review* by Sir Henry Lawrence

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read as predictions, is due to Sir Henry himself. As men peruse the concluding passages of the third and fourth Essays; as they read such sentences as, "*Come it will, unless anticipated;* a Clive may not then be at hand," in the light of the past two years, they will form even a higher idea than they have had of the wisdom and statesman-like prescience of their author.

Serampore, 23*rd July*, 1859.

MILITARY DEFENCE

OF

OUR EMPIRE IN THE EAST.

[*First Published in October* 1844.]

In many learned volumes, more or less empirical, we have an infinite variety of "sure means of preserving health." New remedies for all the abundant evils, to which frail flesh is heir, start into being every day, and doctors and disciples are so numerous in their diversities, and so strong in their convictions, that the marvel is, with so many infallible specifics, there is still so much human woe. The health which we are thus taught to preserve, after a variety of fashions so endless that it is difficult to escape following some one of them by chance, is the health of man as an individual unit; the health of man, in those thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands which constitute nations, is not so tenderly cared for; nor so assiduously watched; nor are such varied efforts made to preserve it. Still, ever and anon national remedies for the cure of national diseases, are exhibited with an amount of confidence which we may call dogmatism; and whilst the wise men are quarrelling over their theories, the world is left very much to itself to suffer, uncared for and unrelieved. With the endless catalogue of ailments, which afflict a nation as an individual, we have, in this place, nothing to do. In imitation of the medical writers of the present day, who now, for the most part, consider one organ and one disease, sufficient matter for an elaborate treatise, we direct

our attention to one especial item of the great catalogue of national calamities. Peace is not in itself national health; but without it there can be no national health; and who will deny that the sage, who should write a treatise on the "true means of preserving peace,"—really exhibiting what it professes to exhibit—would entitle himself to a statue of gold in every city of the universe. There is no prospect, we fear, of such a consummation; but we have rival political schools, each propounding with an air of more or less infallibility its own profound dogmata; and often looking on with marvellous unconcern, whilst great battles are fought, and countries desolated in spite of their never-failing specifics. The two great schools may be described as the *irritative* and *sedative* schools. The former, proceeding upon the broad principle of the homœopathists, that *similia similibus curantur*, contend that war can only be cured by war—that it is necessary to make war in order to preserve peace. The other lays down, with no more misgivings than its antagonist, the more desirable and encouraging doctrine, that war does not check, but generate war; that peace ever engenders peace; that there is no security so certain as that which we purchase for ourselves, by creating a sense of security in the breasts of our neighbours.

We do not now purpose to examine these antagonist doctrines. On whichsoever side worldly experience may range itself, there is no disinclination on the part of either to appeal to it, as the standard whereby the question shall be settled. There is a better method of settlement; but it admits not of a conflict on equal ground, for one party is more inclined to that mode of adjustment than the other, whilst both are willing to appeal to human experience. The irritatives contend that there is no security without constant demonstrations of strength; that to be placid is to invite aggression; that to be ready to offend is the only way to escape being offended; that the birds of the air and the beasts of the field daily teach us this lesson; that we are instructed in it from our earliest youth, during which we learn by hard experience that we must fight our way up the school-boy ladder

to peace, and thus alone avoid molestation; that this same principle is at work in the larger school of nations, and that the history of the world declares the fact, that if we would escape the injuries and insults of our neighbours we must show, by a few practical exhibitions of our strength, not only our readiness but our ability to resent them. The sedatives, on the other hand, declare that to be tranquil and inoffensive is the surest means of inviting confidence, and thus of stifling the inclination to injure us; that the fear of being injured tempts to the commission of injury; and that, the converse of this being equally true, it follows that there is the utmost protectiveness in a peaceful and inoffensive character; and that so long as our neighbours consider themselves secure from ours, we shall be secure from *their* aggressions. Experience is said to demonstrate this; the man of peace is rarely insulted; the unarmed traveller walks more safely in the neighbourhood of the roving bandit than he who goes armed to the teeth; that in troubled times, the man of peace and he alone escapes the perils of popular commotions; that with states, as with individuals, the one which never arms itself—which never prepares itself for aggression or the resistance of aggression, is ever the last to be assailed; that as soon as there is a falling off from such practical proofs of a firm reliance on Providence, the protection is at once withdrawn, and we take up arms to have them turned against us. Such are the arguments derived from human experience—we are not at present to decide the contest.

Indeed, with regard to the matter now before us, it is not necessary that we should decide it. A resort to abstract speculation, however inviting, is no part of our career of duty, and we would rather, avoiding all controversies, build up our present structure on common admitted grounds. Our Empire in the East is of so peculiar a nature, that we can scarcely make a just application of the principles of either one party or the other. It matters little what course would have been the best; we cannot now begin our work anew; or betake ourselves to new principles of action. We have reached an epoch, at which it would appear

to be our only course to make a compromise between the irritative and the sedative systems—or rather we should say, an epoch at which it becomes our duty to allow the former to merge into the latter. The irritative system has been tried—has been carried out to its full extent. It has been our practice now for nearly a century; and it would seem that we had attained to that eminence, which has been compared to the status of the school boy, who has fought his way to the very summit of pugilistic renown. If it be necessary for a nation to preserve itself from injury and insult by demonstrating its power, surely the British in the East have done so in the most unmistakeable manner. There is little call for fresh demonstration; for the weight of our arm is still acknowledged, and many are yet reeling under the blows which it has dealt out. We can now, therefore, afford to be pacific—but we cannot afford to be weak. We have no occasion to put forth our strength; but we must not suffer ourselves to waste it. We must keep ourselves up to the athletic standard; and as we have made our election we must abide by it—as we have fought our way to power, we must show ourselves capable of retaining the lofty position we have assumed. The time may come when we shall find our best safeguard in the hearts of a grateful people—but that time has not *yet* come, nor is there a near prospect of its advent. The sword, whether in the hand or in the scabbard, has yet its work to do; and the philanthropist may labour to some good purpose, in endeavoring to show in what manner it may best be shaped, for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of that dominion, which we are justified in regarding as a means, under Providence, of advancing the happiness of the people, who are compelled now to bear our yoke.

At first sight, bayonets and red coats do not appear to be precisely the instruments of Government, which a philanthropist would advocate; but we belie or deceive ourselves when we declare or fancy that our Government is maintained otherwise than by the sword. And in pronouncing it to be so, we are far from admitting that it must therefore be one of oppression. The land

that has for nearly a thousand years been held by the sword, and that has as often changed hands as that sword has been blunted, or the grasp that held it relaxed; the land that knows no principality of longer standing than our own;* that in its length and breadth, within the last fifty years, has seen Moguls, Patans, Mahrattahs, Pindarees, and mixed miscreants of every caste and clan rooting up the old families, and settling themselves in their places—how could any Government, however beneficent, subsist for a day simply by its civil policy on the ruins of such a tempest-tost land? How in a day convert tribes, who have lived only by war to habits of peace; how make cultivators, who for centuries have never paid a rupee, but under fear of the sword or the scourge—how induce them to pay their dues, unless they know that the civil officer has the power of calling in the military, and that the latter is prompt and bold? It has been the fashion to exalt the Mahomedan conquerors at the expense of the British Government; and some of those, who have most benefited by the latter and possibly have in their sphere oppressed the subject, against the views, opinions and orders of their masters, have been loudest in vituperation of them; but let any impartial person turn over the pages of Dow—a violent hater of the system of his day, and we fear with too much reason—and see how little cause there is for singing the praises of the Moslem rule, beyond that of the Christian. War, eternal war, was then the sole business of royalty. Akbar made some laws for the protection of the people, but he is almost a solitary exception; and having spent the half-century of his reign in eternal battles and ceaseless marches, he could have had but little time to look to the improvement and cultivation of his empire. In the early days of his reign, every province was in rebellion, and with him, as with his predecessors and successors, while Guzerat was being subdued, Cashmere or Bengal would be in arms; and while the royal troops were employed against those states or in the

* It is a curious fact, that not only has the power of the Nizam, the kingdom of Oude, and all the Mahrattah States risen within the last century, but that the families of the three bordering States, Burmah, Nepal, and Lahore have been established within that period.

Deccan, the Punjab or Delhi itself would be in revolt. A freak or favor to an individual would for a time remove the Hindu capitation tax; while once in a century a tyrannical Governor would be trodden under the feet of the imperial elephants. Seldom was the honest Minister or Governor (when such rare creatures appeared) rewarded, whilst the bold and the unprincipled amassed treasure and bequeathed it to their children. Mark the fate of Akbar's great minister Byram—the man to whom he owed his throne; whilst the Saadut Allys and Nizams have left kingdoms to their descendants. Our only wonder is, when reading the Moslem annals, that such men as Asoph Jah, and his father, and Mohabat Khan, should have lived (generally) prosperously and died in their beds.

Utter selfishness was the Moslem motive; the high roads, the serais, the plantations—were they for the people? Not at all, but for the royal progresses to Cashmere. The expense of one Badshahe serai would have built a dozen for the people. Throughout the country, it was the same. In the direction the king was likely to travel there would be roads and conveniences; but elsewhere the people might sigh in vain for paths, for water, or for shelter. The Nawabs of Oude, the Kings of Juanpore and of the Deccan did the same. They beautified the neighbourhood of their own favourite residences, made roads to their country seats, built bridges over the rivers in their way, sunk splendid wells and planted lines of trees. Some of our own magistrates, in the times of the good old close-borough system, did the same; and to this day European convenience is more regarded than native wants—the collector-and-magistrate being often considered more sacred than the thousands of poor around him.

Despotism, unchecked power, in whatever hands and in whatever quarter, produces the same fruit; and we would divest our minds of all clannish feeling in discussing its merits. Wars and their train of ills were not confined to the Mahommedan times or States in India. A glance at the old Hindoo annals will shew that if the country so suffered in Moslem times, it was not more

free from such distractions in what are called the bright days of Hindu supremacy. Everywhere we see that the present occupants of the soil are not the aboriginals; and almost every district in India has its particular legend, how a Rajput, or other band, drove out, or enslaved the original holders; while another tale will perhaps tell of how the late conquerors were themselves overwhelmed; and how they eventually merged in to another and a bolder race. We doubt whether India was ever under an universal monarch; and the Kings of the Hindu States of Oude, Kanouge, Muttra, Hustunapore, Delhi, &c. played but the game that warriors of every age and every clime have ever played. They prospered, or sank; they conquered, or were themselves led captive; and then, as in later days, independent kingdoms disappeared, and small states rose into great ones. Not content with the usual and tolerably sufficient grounds for war, we read that Prithora the brave, the hero of a hundred fights, amused himself with carrying off the brides of the several kings, of whose intended marriage he had information. He thus brought on himself many wars, and eventually thereby lost his throne—but he lost no credit, and is to this day the hero of Rajput Romance. It would seem, indeed, to be mere idleness to write and talk of the happiness and purity of a people who deified the perpetrators of every crime, and whose very worship sanctioned every abomination. When we read of the hundreds of thousands that took the field with the Persian Kings and with the Moguls; and consider that they had no commissariat, we may imagine the frightful famines that such armies themselves experienced, and the more frightful afflictions they caused to the countries through which they passed. Dow, in his preliminary dissertation to Ferishta, writes of bazars, &c. in camp; but no-where do we find that there were any regular establishments of the kind; Brinjaries (themselves plunderers of the worst description) carrying grain, followed the camp or did not, according to the individual genius and forethought of the monarch or general of the day; but when Dow goes on to tell us that each horseman received from sixty to two hundred ru-

pees* per month, we can understand the value of his several dissertations. We doubt whether under any native ruler, in any age, Hindustani horsemen received all their pay in cash; or if our present rate of twenty rupees per month to irregular Horse was ever materially and continuedly exceeded. And whatever was paid was in assignments on distant lands, or in at least half grain and food as rations for man and beast, and the small balance only in cash. Dow goes on to say that on such high pay, the soldiery could afford to encourage the grain-dealers, &c. who flocked in from neighbouring towns and villages as armies advance; but the Traveller Bernier, with much more apparent truth, tells us that there were no towns worth mentioning between Delhi and Agra, and that the banks of the Jumna above Delhi, being the line of the imperial progress towards Lahore and Cashmere, were extensive hunting grounds; that the imperial cortége usually left the high road, and sported through these Shikargahs, while the troops moved more directly forward.

We know that every where in the East, the track of an army is marked by desolation—that villages and towns are abandoned even at the intelligence of a coming hostile force. In the south of India, as the Historian Wilkes tells us, such flights are called *wulsa*, the people burying their valuables, and carrying with them a few days' grain, flying to the hills or the nearest fortress, and when the enemy remained longer than their supplies lasted, famine and death ensuing.

While we should all endeavour, abstaining from idle self-congratulations, to soften the rigour of the British yoke, it is only fair to our country to shew that the English in India are not the monsters they are sometimes represented; and that although much remains to be done; many improvements to be made; many legislative enactments to be set forth, and *acted on*; much to be done, much to be *undone*, much for us to do, more for us to let alone; we have less to learn than is generally thought from either our Mahomedan or Hindoo predecessors.

Lord Valentia fifty years ago travelled in a palankeen to

* Page xviii., Preface to Dow's Hindustan.

Lucknow, and wrote a book, in which he stated that the Moguls had roads or causeways from one end of their dominions to the other—Mr. Buckingham, a quarter of a century afterwards declared, and in his time not untruly, that there was not a good road in India above Barrackpore—and still more recently we have heard a somewhat similar declaration made at a great public meeting in Calcutta. But let the period of our rule be counted, and let it be considered that it does not materially exceed the united length of the reigns of Aurungzebe and Akbar, and then let it be remembered that we have a trunk road from Calcutta to Delhi, a better road than the Moguls or the Romans ever had; and that not a district in India but has its branch roads, all doubtless more or less defective, wanting more or less bridges, ghats, serais, wells, &c., but still shewing that some attention is now being paid to the important subject. Let any impartial person visit the Punjab, where he will scarcely see such a vehicle as a hackery, or throughout the country alight upon a road; let him then travel to Oude, where his experiences will be similar, and then let him cross the Gogra and enter the Gorruckpoor District, not half a century in our hands. At once he will find himself in a country abounding with good roads, many of them bridged; and every year the number of bridges and other improvements are increasing. In this one district alone we doubt whether there are less than a thousand miles of road. We say, let these comparisons be fairly made, and then let England be exempted from the vituperations and unfair comparisons with which she is sometimes assailed; and rather let those who would so assail her, honestly do their own work; and however humble be an individual's sphere, no one of us but has the opportunity, if not of making a road, building a bridge, or a serai; at least of planting a tree, or of preserving one that is planted. But if even this small means is denied us, no poverty can prevent us from setting a good example to those around us by shewing all that come within our influence that a Christian is not to be recognised only by wearing a hat and coat, and by attending neither at the

mosque or the temple; but by purity of life and honesty of conduct.

But though compelled, in candour, to admit that without sword-government the British in India could not maintain their position, we feel strong in our hearts the conviction that one good magistrate may be better than a regiment; one sound law, well administered, better than a brigade; that civilians must co-operate with the military; that neither unaided could maintain our empire, but that a happy admixture of a just civil administration with the strong hand will retain the country in peace and happiness as long as it is good that we should hold it; and it is not by believing either ourselves or our laws all purity, or all corruption, that we are likely to come to a right understanding of what is best for India, but by a close study of its past history; of the mistakes, and the injustice of former Rulers, Hindu, Mahommedan and European; and then by setting ourselves down, each in his own sphere, and honestly working out the details of a code honestly and ably prepared; not shifting and changing from day to day, but founded on experience; and suitable to a rude and simple people, who like all people under the sun prefer justice to law, and the speedy obtainment of their ends to eternal dangling about the precincts of dilatory Courts.

But it behoves us, under every view of the case, to keep up our strength. Debility, the result of apathy and negligence, would be nothing short of a state of crime. There are few national, as there are few bodily ailments, which have not their seat in debility; and any very apparent symptoms of weakness in the dominant power, would, under the present combination of circumstances, plunge the country into a state of terrible disorder, and gird about with desolation every province in Hindostan.

Let us see then what is our military strength—what are our means of national defence. Glance at the map, and see the enormous expanse which the Indian Army is employed to protect—from Cape Comorin to the Sutlej, from Kurachee to the Gulf of Martaban—a tract of country, containing, according to

the calculations of the Surveyor General's department, a gross area of 1,076,590 square miles, to which must be added some 25,000 on account of our recent acquisitions on the banks of the Indus. Our army has not only to protect from foreign aggression this immense territory; but also to coerce a population of not less than a hundred millions, many of them men of strong military, and others of stronger predatory habits—twenty millions of them Mussulmans—all feeling that they are under the yoke of the stranger. And however lightly that yoke be imposed, we must know that, differing in colour, caste, language, habits—everything; having indeed nothing in common with our subjects, our rule can scarcely be a loved one. It has been declared, in prophetic language, that "Japhet shall live in the tents of Shem;" but may we not attach to the figure more of a military than of a pastoral character?

But what is this Indian army, called upon thus to defend this wide expanse of conquered territory? It consists of 159 regiments of regular Infantry; 21 of Cavalry; 5 brigades of Horse Artillery; 14 battalions of Foot Artillery; and 3 regiments of Sappers and Miners. To these must be added about 40 Irregular corps of Cavalry and Infantry, officered from the line, to the extent of a Commandant, a Second-in-command, and an Adjutant, the commanders of troops and companies being Russaldars and Subadars. In round numbers we may say that our Indian army is somewhat very near the following:—

Regular Infantry (European) ...	5,600	
——— (Native)	184,000	
Cavalry (Native)	10,200	
Artillery (European) ...	5,600	exclusive of Lascars.
——— (Native)	4,600	exclusive of Lascars.
Sappers and Miners (Native)	2,500	
Irregular corps*	30,000	
Total, ...	242,500	

* This rough estimate does not include all the several components of the Nizam's force, the Gwalior Contingent and the Police Battalions.

To these regiments are attached, according to the latest Army Lists of the several presidencies, 5850 European officers. Such, with some approach to accuracy, for perfect accuracy is not easily attainable, is the extent of the Indian army. By this we must be understood to signify only the troops of the East India Company; but in calculating our means of national defence we must consider, in addition to these forces, the very important item of some 20 or 30 regiments of European Infantry and Cavalry, belonging to the army of Great Britain. The number of regiments thus employed in India varies according to the exi gency of the times; at present there are in the three presidencies, under the Company's rule, 29 regiments of Cavalry and of Infantry detached from the army of the Crown.

But the strength of an army does not depend upon its numbers, but on its efficiency: and the matter now to be considered is the means of turning the troops at our disposal to the best possible account. Let us show, after some rough fashion of our own—suggesting rather than elaborating—how this is to be done.

Our Engineer Corps can scarcely be so called. It is a Regiment of officers, perhaps not surpassed in ability by any equal number of officers in the world; but they are too much employed as Civil Engineers, too little engaged during peace in the functions that would best prepare them for war; and still less so their few subordinates. Barrack-building and repairing, and account-keeping, are not the best preparatives for a campaign; and we know no inducement that the sappers, (all natives, except four Serjeants to each company,) have for exertion, for the enlargement of their minds, or the study of engineering. The Trigonometrical Survey of Ireland was almost entirely conducted by the Royal Sappers; Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates doing all parts of the work. An Engineer Officer used the Theodolite, but it was as often used by common Sappers, as was the microscope on the base operations; and much of the mapping was done by them. We do not mean to say that every Sapper was a Colby or an Everest; but that many, nay the majority, could read, and use all the instruments, and understood

the construction of maps. Why should it not be so with us? and why should not at least every Serjeant and every native Non-Commissioned Officer in our Sappers be able to do as much? Our Trigonometrical and our Revenue Surveys shew how easily natives are to be taught surveying, and if looked after how well they can survey. Why then should not our Sappers be employed on the surveys, on the canals, on the roads; not as coolies but *as workmen*, until qualified as supervisors; and then, as such, in positions graduated to their conduct and abilities? A company or more could be employed in the same neighbourhood, so that at a day's notice, they could be ready for field service—how much more easily when already in the field, than when summoned from Delhi; and how much better qualified would officers and men be for any duties that they might be called on to perform, than as now when coming from perfect idleness or from mere bricklayer's work. Not that these labors in the Barrack-master's department are without their uses; or that we object to Sapper companies taking their turn in cantonments; but we do contend that field work, surveys, laying out of canals and roads, especially in hilly countries, draining of lands and so forth, are the employments to call out the powers of engineers, and to habituate them to do readily and quickly what, on vital occasions, may be required of them in the field. Every engineer should not only be able to make an accurate map, but should be also accustomed to rapid sketching, and practise to take in the features of a country; so that at a glance he can comprehend the strong and weak points of positions, the distances of points and their bearings on the one he occupies, or that the Army is to take up. His subordinates of every grade should be qualified for some work or other, beyond that of the shovel, and while none should be ashamed to employ himself in throwing up the trench or the battery, many should be able to trace them out and superintend their construction.*

* We need not point out to those who have much *worked* with natives, how peculiarly their talents fit them for all such duties as we have mentioned; the trace of the road from Serinugger (in Gurhwal) to Kedarnauth, marked out by a native under Mr. Trail's eye, would do credit to any Engineer; and it is our opinion that if their moral qualifications were equal to their intellectual, there are Native elèves of the Trigonometrical Survey fully competent to complete the work.

We would double, nay treble or quadruple, the Sappers, and we would attach every Engineer Officer to them; not simply as at present a Captain and a few of the youngest Subalterns. We should then, with the instruction and employment above suggested, have a most valuable Staff Corps; most useful in peace, invaluable in war; and when we think how little is yet known of India, how few the roads that are passable throughout the year; that are laid out on scientific principles or kept in order on any plan; how few the canals; and how much those in use pay in revenue, as well as what a blessing they are to the lands through which they pass—when we consider what is wanted for the commerce and for the military purposes of the country, in roads and bridges, we shall find profitable work for many corps of Sappers. In short we may make their peace employments as useful to the Government and to the country as to themselves.

While on this subject, we may incidentally observe that two years ago Lord Ellenborough promised us a military road from Simla to Mussourie; and the result has been that a single Engineer Officer took a glance at the line, and no more has been heard of the project. A road such as was projected would possibly have been impracticable—that is, its expense would have far exceeded its advantages; but still there is no possible reason why there should not be a military road from Kumaon to the Sutlej passable for guns on mules and elephants—why the intervening streams should not be bridged, instead of, as at present, that the only good bridge nominally, on the line, (that over the Jumna,) should be really not on the line at all, but several miles off—so placed, as we are credibly informed, because the bank at that place offered a better abutment. When we have good roads through and up to our Hills, we shall find the value of them for our European soldiery; but on this subject we shall presently enlarge.

Our Artillery Officers receive much the same education as the Engineers; though their course of study is a less extensive one. They receive, however, sufficient preparation in England to enable them at Dum-Dum to become excellent Artillerists, which

many of them are; and we owe it to their early education, and perhaps to their having no loaves ready baked for them, to their being obliged to work their own way to anything beyond a Subaltern's birth with a company for eighteen years, and then the command of a foot battery, that we see more names among the Artillery as Persian and Hindustani scholars than in any other branch of the service.

The men are, as material, as machines, excellent; but few are much more. Some few good laboratory men are to be found among them, perhaps three or four in a company. Thirty or forty per cent. can read and write, but not one in a hundred studies his duty scientifically; and the obvious reason is that he has not the shadow of a motive for so doing. If he can read and write and is decently sober, he is sure to become a Serjeant. If he is smart at drill and well-behaved and not too independent, he may rise to be a Serjeant Major. Or if his liver is sound, he may live to be a Conductor, or even, at the age of seventy, a Deputy Commissary of Ordnance. And so in the Golundauze; if he has taken care of himself and not expended his vital energies as a young man, he will live to be an old one; and when physically and mentally disqualified, he will become a Soobadar, or even a Soobadar Bahadoor; and all this even though he may be very little deserving of such promotion. He has the negative merit of having outlived the companions of his youth, who possibly got maimed, or killed, or lost their health, when he who gained the palm was absent from his post or shirking at it; but we are strongly of opinion that old age is *but* a negative virtue, and should not without positive merit be rewarded in soldiers; but that the young man should have some motive to emulate the veteran.

There is little objectionable in the Artillery system, except its locations, its system of patronage, and its utter sacrifice of the interests and usefulness of the foot Artillery to those of the mounted branch. Native Artillery is stationed at Almorah in the hills: they dislike it, and are out of their element there. They should be replaced by Europeans. Large bodies of Golun-

dauze should not be kept at Dum-Dum and at Cawnpore, serving as Infantry, without guns and without Officers. *At least* half the European Artillery should be located in hill stations; and the weakly and sick men of the other half should be with them. Cherra Poonjee, Darjeeling, Kumaon, Mussourie, Subathoo, Kussoulie, and the immediate neighbourhood of those places, would amply accommodate them all.

To each company of Golundauze should be attached three European Serjeants and three Corporals; and to every company, European and Native, there should not be less than two Officers when in cantonments and three in the field. At present, while a single troop of Horse Artillery has three or four Officers, and they remain with it for years, a company is lucky if it possesses one; and that one is sometimes changed two or three times within a year. We have often and often seen lads of a year's or two years' standing, going on service with two or four guns, and even with a company. Indeed the exception to the rule is, when a company of Artillery proceeds on service under a Captain, and then the chances are ten to one that he has been taken from the staff or suddenly drawn from another end of the country to command men, on perhaps an emergency, that he never saw before; to take charge of stores and guns that he has not a day to inspect; and where, as a stranger, he knows not the good from the bad men, and has not only to do his own duty, but to be the laboratory man, and the every-thing-else for a time himself. The consequence of all this is that our Foot Artillery is not at all what it might be, and that the Foot Artillery Officers, though harder worked and worse paid, are often better Artillerists, more practical, rough-and-ready men, than their Horse Artillery brethren. But the reward they look to, for making a bad company a good one; for redeeming drunkards into respectability, slovens into smart soldiers, is to be removed from the company into a troop; and to throw back the poor fellows who have learnt to appreciate their exertions, to the tender mercies of an old Officer who cares not for them, or to a young hand who is learning his own duty, and each of whom will possibly have

gone his way before the year has expired. Such a system is cruel in the extreme to the men themselves, and most injurious to the service.* The men, as material, are much the same in both branches; the officers are the same; but whether it be the Golundauze and the Native Horse Artillery, or the European Horse and Foot Artillery, there is a woeful difference between the two branches, entirely owing to the different footing on which the two are placed, the standing they occupy, and the way they are officered. It is a dogma very staunchly upheld by some Horse Artillery officers—generally not the wisest of them—that their branch should be a close borough. We have heard some Captains, who spent most of their Subaltern days in the Foot, forgetful of this fact, uphold the absurdity. We, as dispassionate observers, always thought that if the Horse Artillery were to be a matter of patronage and profit, it should be given to the best Artillery Officers, to those who were best acquainted with and best performed their duty; who could ride, who could see, and who could hear. But too frequently we have seen all these requisites neglected; and very bad officers appointed, simply through local interest, and as this is likely to continue the case as long as man is man, we should be glad to see the Foot Artillery on a full equality with the Horse as to all emoluments, equipment, and officering. It would be materially to the benefit of the service and to the advantage of the Artillery Regiment at large. All Artillery officers should have Horse allowance and Cavalry pay, after they have joined Batteries, and as long as present with them. All Batteries should be horsed; the additional expense to be covered by reducing two guns from each of the Horse Artillery Troops. Three 6-pounders and a 12-pounder Howitzer well horsed, with, as at present, a double

* We cannot too strenuously insist on this point. We have known companies of Foot-artillery to be, in the course of three or four months, commanded by as many officers. We have known subalterns to command, one after the other—or perhaps, two at a time—all the four companies of a battalion, within six months; and we have known a battalion to be so destitute of officers that the four (now five) companies have fallen to the command of the adjutant. It is impossible that, under such a system, the officers can take any interest in their men; or that the men should place any confidence in their officers, who necessarily trust every thing—even the promotions—to the Pay-Sergeant, who really commands the company.

set of Horses, all picked ones, no roarers and man-eaters to stop the team and vitiate the powers of the other five; but all steady first-rate cattle, accustomed to work with Cavalry on all sorts of ground; with every horse willing to work either as leader or in the shafts. Such batteries on the out-rider system would, on a long campaign, tell more effectually than the six guns under the present system; and it is not the least merit of the plan we propose that it would put at the head of troops the young and active captains, or at least men who did not seek such commands simply for the extra pay.

Our Foot-Artillery Batteries would then be on their proper footing; they would be well horsed with slow but stout cattle; they would be as well officered as the Horse Artillery; the officers would have no motive for change, and their men would soon feel and appreciate the difference, and be as smart and efficient as are now their mounted brethren. Our nine-pounder batteries, instead of, as at present, being considered encumbrances, would always be up in action with the Infantry; and would perform all the service they are capable of, but which they are now seldom permitted to do. It is at any rate a sheer waste of money, to keep the whole Foot Artillery of India inefficient; it is a waste of *money* now, we say, for we look on two well-equipped guns as more to the purpose than six ill-found ones. But what is waste and folly now may, if not rectified, cost life and treasure hereafter, nay may cost us India; and most absurd does it seem that the one arm which our enemies all dread; which alone from the days of Hyder Ally to those of Akbar Khan, they all acknowledge they cannot match—the arm which our own sepoys look to and rely on—is the one we most neglect, the one that is in fact left to Providence. We could point out innumerable instances; we will satisfy ourselves with one—the state of the single battery at Ferozepoor when the Cabul outbreak took place. For the two previous years we all know how many reports there had been of Seikh inroads and invasions; and yet in November 1841, when half that battery was ordered to Peshawur, it had to borrow bullocks from the

commissariat, and was sent under an officer not three years in the service. The battery was then under one of its many transitions; it had twice had horses and once camels, and we believe twice bullocks within two years; and of course when wanted for the field had no cattle at all; and the young officer who went with the detachment had not joined the company a month. The sooner such matters are mended the better: we should at least know by this time whether camels, bullocks, elephants, or horses are best for draught; and at any rate if experiments are to be tried, our exposed frontier stations are not the ones to dismantle, while the periodical mutations are in progress.*

We are amused to hear that it has been determined to add a Captain to each Infantry Regiment, but not to the Cavalry. If any branches of the service require officers and good ones, they are the Native Cavalry and Native Artillery. Either is almost useless without officers; and yet the latter has only half the number that the European branch has; whilst the former is not thought to require as many as the Infantry. Had we our will, there should be, in addition to a full complement of officers, half a dozen or more Europeans in every Troop of Native Cavalry; say three Serjeants and three Corporals; men promoted for smartness and gallantry from the Dragoons and Horse Artillery. Such men, with two officers to every troop, would bring up a Cavalry Corps to the charge in the style in which it should be done. We should have no pausing to count the enemy; nor would the few European officers have to be casting in their minds whether their men would follow them; nor when the critical moment came would they have a doubt that, wherever they led, the corps would be at their heels.

But our Infantry must ever be our main stay; if it is indifferent, the utmost efficiency in other branches will little avail. We are inclined to advocate the presence of two European officers with each company of every regular Sepoy corps; but we

* We are glad to hear that a mountain train is again likely to be equipped, and should be glad to see an elephant battery of six pounders added to a strong one of hree, all p laced with a couple of companies of Europeans in a hill station.

would divide the Native Infantry into three classes; have a fourth of the army on the footing of the Khelat-i-giljee corps; and say an eighth forming a third class somewhat similar to the Khelat-i-giljees and the several contingents, but the officers commanding companies being solely natives; and from them should be selected commandants, seconds in command and adjutants, for the corps formed and commanded by Natives, one of which should be in every Brigade to cause emulation and prevent suspicion, and by a mixture of interests interfere with combinations. We will presently offer a scheme for doing away with Native officers in the Regular corps; but would desire that all promotions to command of companies in the corps of the 2d and 3d class, should be made from the Infantry at large.

Native officers have long since been voted useless. They are great encumbrances in war; they are nonentities in peace. Occasionally a lion-hearted old fellow of seventy will keep up with his company in a charge or on a forced march; but he forthwith dies of exhaustion, after having, perhaps for a year or more during the campaign, put the commissariat to the expense of carrying grain for him, three or four servants, a pony, and half or a whole camel. In quarters they have nothing to do but to brood over their positions; to feel that they are nominally officers, and yet that the Serjeant Major is liable to command them, and that beardless boys are every day put over them. At Vellore and elsewhere they did not prevent or give warning of intended massacre and insurrection; nor have they in the late cases of the 60th, 34th, 64th, and of the Cavalry and Artillery, either given a clue to their officers of what was the real motive of discontent; or do they appear to have striven to prevent insubordination.

We conceive that the motive of Government in having three Native officers attached to each company and troop, who have nothing to do, and whose ages may be said to average sixty-two, must be their supposed moral influence with the sepoys, and the encouragement given to the latter by placing before their eyes their kinsmen promoted to such grades, and living comfortably and in honor among them. If such be the reason, how much

more potent would this moral influence be, if the old men were comfortably seated under their own neem or mangoe trees, talking to their grandchildren and to the wondering villagers gathered around them, of the beneficence of the Honorable Company; instead of toiling in the hot winds on treasure parties, or vexing themselves under young European officers in petty and discomforting duties unsuitable to their age, in which, though they are present in person, they can scarcely be called performers.

We would fain see every soldier, European and Native, and every native officer, appear before a Committee at fifty years of age, and be at once sent to the invalids, or remanded for five years' further duty, according to his health, after which time, that is at latest after fifty-five years of age, no man should be allowed to remain with a Regiment. European officers are less exposed than their men; the waste of vital energy is not so great, but we are not sure that our commissioned ranks might not benefit by some such weeding.

Allahabad, Chunar and other Fortresses, as well as all Treasuries and Magazines—both of which should *invariably* be within Forts, or redoubts of some kind or other—should be garrisoned by invalids, supported by small detachments of regulars for night and exposed duties. Invalids should be sent to their homes at sixty years of age *at latest;* or, as at present, at earlier periods, when disabled by sickness or wounds.

No Sepoy, not considered qualified to rise to be a Soobadar, should be promoted beyond the rank of Naick. Havildars should be promoted in their turn to the rank of Jemadar, and if considered unfit for the active duties of a Lieutenant (Jemadar) of a Company or troop, to be transferred to the Garrison or Home Invalids, according to age and strength. Jemadars, should rise by seniority to the rank of Soobadar; but no native officer should be promoted to second in command, but for distinguished conduct. Seconds should rise to commandants by seniority, subject of course to proof of continued good conduct. The Adjutants of these Native corps might be promoted at once from the rank of Naick and Havildar; and as Jemadars rise in

their turn to command, naicks being steady soldiers, but passed over as not being sufficiently smart for native officers, might be invalided, (when worn out or beyond age) as Havildars.

The Garrison Invalid corps should in all respects be paid as Troops of the Line; the home invalids as at present; and all ranks and orders should understand that rates of pay will not be altered, that invalids will not be remanded (as has been the case) to Regimental duty; and the rates of pay, rations, foreign allowance, &c. &c. should be as distinctly and fully laid down as possible; so that no excuse could be given for error or miscalculation on the subject.

We should then have three descriptions of Native Infantry; the first class, regular infantry, officered by a full complement of Europeans; the second class, partially so officered; the third class, commanded and officered entirely by natives—but the two last always employed in brigade or at least in concert with the regular corps.

The native officers would then have definite duties and not be too old to perform them. The old and worn-out veterans would be comfortably located in quarters or enjoying themselves quietly at home. There would be less clashing of interests, more contentment, and greater efficiency at perhaps a less expense than at present; for a much less number than seventy regular Infantry Regiments would suffice for Bengal, if we were to establish an increased number of such as form the Gwalior Contingent; supported again by a few commanded by such soldiers as old Mahommed Issoof.* Let us not be met with an outcry about the attendant decrease of European officers. We know their value very well; but we know that there are many bad as well as many good ones; and we know that although, where sepoys have been taught to follow only Europeans, there should always be enough of the latter to ensure vacancies being

* The reader of Indian History will remember the commandant of the English sepoys, the famous Mahommed Issoof, who in the worst times of the Carnatic wars under Lawrence, was the only person who could safely conduct our convoys through the enemy's country. We commend his history as narrated by Wilkes to our readers, and especially the detail (page 326, vol. I.) of the effect of injurious treatment and unjust suspicions on the conduct of this fine old Native soldier.

filled up in action, as leaders fall; yet where men have not been so habituated, we see not why our sepoys should not be permitted to use the senses and the courage they possess, without on every occasion relying on the leading and the life of an individual. Shah Soojah's Regiments behaved admirably in Affghanistan; and the discipline of Capt. Mitchell's Regiment of the old Gwalior Contingent was the admiration of beholders. Clive's, Lawrence's, and Coote's battalions had seldom with them more than three or four officers; and yet the deeds of those days are not surpassed by those of the present.

Our regular issue of pay and our pension establishment are the foundation stones of our rule; and there cannot be a doubt that for the lower orders our service is a splendid one. But it offers no inducement to superior intellects, or more stirring spirits. Men so endowed, knowing they can always gain their bread in any quarter, leave us in disgust and rise to rank in foreign services. Did the times avail, they would raise standards of their own; and turn against us the discipline they learnt in our ranks. Rank and competence in our service would bind such men to our interests. It is a straw that turns the current. Such men as Nadir Shah and Hyder Ally did not at the outset aim at sovereignty; their ambition increased with their success, and what early in life would have contented them, was at a later day despised.

There are many commandants in the Mahrattah and Seikh service who were privates in our army. General Dhokul Singh, now at Lahore, was a Drill Naick in one of our sepoy corps; and Rajah Buktawar Singh, one of the richest and most powerful men in Oude, was a Havildar in our Cavalry. But is it not absurd that the rank of Soobadar and Russaldar Major is the highest, that a native can attain in a native army of nearly three hundred thousand men, in a land too that above all others has been accustomed to see military merit rewarded, and to witness the successive rise of families from the lowest conditions, owing to gallantry in the field?

There is always danger in handling edged tools, but justice

and liberality forge a stronger chain than suspicious and niggardly policy. We hold that no place or office should be absolutely barred to the Native soldier, although the promotion of every individual should be grounded on his individual merits, and the requisite cautions be taken that he should not be tempted beyond his strength. The grandsons of the Gauls, who opposed Cæsar, were senators of Rome; and the Jye Singhs and Jeswunt Singhs led the Mogul armies; but it cannot be said that it was to any such liberality the empire of either Rome or Delhi owed its fall.

Whenever Sepoys and Europeans know and understand each other, the utmost harmony exists between them; witness the 35th B. N. I. and H. M. 13th at Julalabad, and we remember many such cases of old. Indeed it was only the other day that we heard a Sepoy of the 26th N. I. say, "if we go on service, send with us Lumber nine" (H. M. 9th, with which they were Brigaded in Affghanistan). Such a spirit should be encouraged, and it would be well to attach permanently to each European Regiment, while in India, a couple of companies or more of picked men, chiefly Mussulmans, and the lower tribes of military Hindus—these companies to act as the Auxiliaries and Velites did with the Romans. Let them be Light Infantry, and as picked and honored troops receive some additional pay. We know that Europeans cannot march in India without a detachment of natives accompanying them, and that such duty, as at present performed, is much disliked. But placed on some such footing as above proposed, the service might be made a duty of honor, and the sepoys of such companies, working well with Europeans, would be almost equal in value to the latter. The system has been found to work well with the gun lascars attached to the European Artillery, even though they have not been cared for and made much of, as we would propose all natives so employed should be.

And now a few words on the subject of enlistment. Our sepoys come too much from the same parts of the country—Oude, the lower Dooab, and upper Behar. There is too much of clan-

ship among them, and the evil should be remedied by enlisting in the Saharunpoor and Delhi districts, in the hill regions, and in the Malay and Burmah states. We laugh at our hill men, but they are much the same class as form Rajah Golab Singh's formidable Jumboos. But what inducement do we offer to any but coolies to enter into the Simoor or Nusseree battalions, when we give the men only five rupees per month, proportionably pay Native officers, and calling the corps local battalions, have them one day at Bhurtpoor, the next at Ferozepoor. Such policy is very bad; and we should rather encourage the military classes in the hills to enter all our corps. We would have, too, some Companies or Regiments of Malays, of Chinamen, of Mhugs and Burmese; and mix them up at large stations with our sepoy corps. We would go further, and would encourage the now despised Eurasians to enter our ranks, either into sepoy corps where one or two here and there would be useful, or as detached companies or corps. We are aware that they are not considered a warlike race. We might make them so, and we doubt not, with good officers, could do so. Courage goes much by opinion; and many a man behaves as a hero or a coward, according as he considers he is expected to behave. Once two Roman Legions held Britain; now as many Britons might hold Italy.

There is no doubt that whatever danger may threaten us in India, the greatest is from our own troops. We should, therefore, while giving no cause of discontent, while paying them well and regularly providing for them in their old age, while opening a wide field for legitimate ambition, and rewarding, with promotion, medals, jagheers, gallantry and devotion, abstain from indiscriminately heaping such rewards upon men undeserving of them; and we should at all times carefully avoid giving any thing or doing any thing, under an appearance of coercion, on the demands of the soldiery. The corps that under General Pollock misbehaved at Peshawur, should at least have been denied medals. Had they been so, possibly we should have been spared late events on the N. W. Frontier and in Sinde; and we should remember that every officer is not fitted for com-

mand, much less to command soldiers of a different religion and country; and that where, as has repeatedly of late years been shewn, regiments were found to be going wrong through the weakness or the tyranny of their commanders—it matters not whether from too much strictness or too little—full enquiry should at once be made and remedial measures instituted. If commanders cannot manage their regiments they should be removed from them, and that quickly, before their corps are irremediably destroyed. How much better would it be to pension, and to send to England, such men as we have in command of some corps, than to allow them to remain a day at the head of a regiment to set a bad example to their men. We could, at this moment, point out more than one commander answering our description; and we would seriously call the attention of those in high places to the injury that even one such officer may commit. He may drive a thousand men into discontent, and that thousand may corrupt many thousands—and all this may be done by a man without any positive evil in him; but simply because he is not a soldier, has not the feelings of a soldier, frets the men one day, neglects them the next, and is known by them all to care for nothing beyond his personal interests and his own hisab-kitab.

Before leaving this subject of the Native Army, we must devote a few sentences to one of its most important components, of which we have made no specific mention. The Irregular Cavalry is a most useful branch of the service, doubly so as providing for military classes that do not fancy our regular service. But we much doubt whether we adopt the best method of keeping up the efficiency of the Irregulars, which are our light horse; but which we encumber as we do all other branches with officers and even privates of sixty and even seventy years of age. We are not sure that we could not point out many native officers very much above seventy; and we once heard a commandant of one of these corps say his old men were his smartest—no great compliment to the quality of his young ones. But the fact is, that the purwustee system is more injuriously employed in the Irregular Horse than in any

other branch of the army; though generally from kind and good motives. In times of peace these corps are little thought of, have nothing to do, are on small outpost duty, or, where collected, are entirely under their Commander's authority and eye; but in service they are cruelly and often recklessly knocked about and exposed; no one has pity on them, and their own officers have therefore need the more to care for them. Mostly Patans or Rajpoots and Mahommedans of family, they are men of expensive habits, are almost all involved, and, from a system that has gradually crept in, they do not (generally) receive the pay allowed them by Government; that is to say, every man entering, in (we believe) seven out of the nine corps, has not only to purchase his horse and equipments, but to pay one hundred and fifty Rupees or thereabouts to the estate or family of the man whose decease or invaliding created the vacancy. Such donation of course throws the recruit at once into the money-lender's hands, and often leaves him for life a debtor. If the man again has not the cash to purchase a horse, he rides one belonging to a Native officer or to some privileged person, and becomes what is called his bargeer—the Soldier receiving only seven or eight rupees a month, and the owner of the horse the balance of the twenty allowed by Government.

There is much in all this and in the Kutcherry and Banking system, prevalent in almost every corps (and without which, so deep-rooted is the evil, few irregular Regiments could now take the field) that requires gradual amendment, for while Government pays twenty rupees a month to each man, it is calculated, one with another, that the men do not receive above sixteen; and consequently as far as efficiency is concerned, they are as if they received only that much pay; and when called on for service, instead of having a stock to draw on to render them efficient, they have to call on their banker, and enter more deeply into his books.

We have heard officers say that but for these bankers they did not know how they could have taken their corps on service; and we know how much trouble, vexation, and expense, has

often been incurred by commanders, to render their Regiments efficient. But whatever be the motive—and we believe that in the irregular Horse it is a very good one—that makes close boroughs of corps, bringing into them only the sons and nephews of those already enlisted, when better men are candidates, the result is bad; and it is worse still, that such fines should be paid at starting as tend to shackle the troopers for life. So great is the evil that we consider that Government would do well to redeem all debts as they now stand, and forbid the system for the future; and peremptorily order the service to be thrown open to candidates out of the several Regiments, being men of respectability and bringing their own horses, or able to purchase that of the man who created the vacancy. The fine we have mentioned is in some corps put on the price of the horse, so that the Recruit, instead of one hundred and twenty-five rupees, has to pay two hundred and seventy for his charger.

The consequence of all this is, that we have not the horses, and often not the men in the Irregular Cavalry, that we might have for the twenty rupees per month paid by Government. It is only justice to the Irregulars to say that it is wonderful what they have done on service, in spite of their old men and their small poor horses; but having done well with little means, they would assuredly do better under a more encouraging system. The Poona Horse, we understand, receive thirty rupees per month, and they are a most efficient body. The matter of pay and equipment of the Irregulars requires serious attention; bad Cavalry are worth little, and we would prefer five regiments of first-rate, to ten of indifferent, quality.

As our army is constituted, the Irregular Horse is the only outlet for the native gentry. Every day it becomes less so, while recruiting is restricted to dependants of those already in the service. Lord Ellenborough's project of adding a portion of Irregulars, on increased pay, to the Body-guard, was a wise measure; and we should be glad to see still further encouragement held out to gallantry and devotion. A Rassalah in each regiment might be formed from men who had dis-

tinguished themselves, each man of such troop receiving four or five rupees additional monthly pay. We would also give the command of half the Irregular corps to Native officers; such commanders, with their seconds and adjutants, to be selected for gallantry and good conduct; two Brigades, each of two such corps, might be formed in the Bengal Presidency; one stationed at Umballa, the other at Cawnpore; to be commanded by a Brigadier under the Native title of Bukshee with a Brigade-Major under the designation of Naib—these two (European) Officers not interfering in regimental details, further than paying the men and sanctioning promotions—the Bukshees and Naibs to be officers selected from present commandants. The system, we are convinced, would work well as giving objects of ambition to the more adventurous spirits. And having two good European officers with them, there would always be a check on the conduct of the Native commanders, who, we believe, would feel pride in keeping their corps in as efficient a state as those commanded by European officers.

But after all, what could we do without the European portion of the army—useless of course by itself; but without which all else would soon pass from our hands. And yet how do we repay the gallant hearts that daily bleed for us, that daily sink and expire in a foreign land, uncared and unpitied. We chiefly allude to the Company's European troops, but much will apply to Her Majesty's. How little is done, or at least how much more might be done, for the comfort and happiness of the men, and by the saving of their lives, for the pockets of Government.

In the first place, we consider that Fort William is about the worst station in India for Europeans, especially for new comers. We would therefore see H. M. Regiments at once proceed up the country; and throughout India would have the Europeans, as far as possible, on the hills, not keeping a man more than absolutely necessary on the plains. Three-fourths of the European Infantry and Foot Artillery and one-half of the Dragoons and Horse Artillery might easily be established on the Hills; and of the corps at Fort William, Madras and Bombay, all the weakly

men should be at Cherrah Poonjee or Darjeeling, or at the Sanataria of the other Presidencies. Nature has given us chains of hills in all directions, not only east and west, but through Central India, that would enable us to have moderately cool stations in every quarter ; and when the expense in life and in death of Europeans on the present system is considered, when it is remembered that every recruit costs the Government one thousand rupees, or £100; that barracks, with tatties and establishments and hospitals, must be kept up at great expense, and that with all appliances the life of an European is most miserable, how clear it is, that we should alter the old system and following the laws of nature, avail ourselves of the means and localities at our disposal that enable us, at a much less expense, to keep up our Europeans in double their present efficiency in the hills ; entailing, it is true, a certain first outlay, but which would be soon covered by the saving of life and the reduction in establishments, rations, &c. If Lord Ellenborough had done nothing else in India, he would deserve well of his country for establishing three European stations on the hills. Three more may easily be so placed on the Bengal Presidency, and the proportion of Artillery and Cavalry we have mentioned be posted there. But we must have good roads and ample means of conveyance on all the routes and rivers leading to such locations; we must have a certain proportion of carriage kept up; and have our rivers covered with boats, and among them many steamers.

We would advocate the employment, or permission to employ themselves, of half the Europeans on the hills at handicrafts, in agriculture, trade, &c.; a large proportion of the household troops are so employed in London, and yet the guards of England have never been found wanting. Rations, establishments and barracks in half quantities would thus only be required ; and perhaps a portion of the pay of men so employed would in time be saved. Small grants of land, too, might be given on the hills or in the Doon to European invalids of good character, on terms of military service within a certain distance ; or on

terms of supplying a recruit, for seven or ten years, to a European corps.

Three-fourths of the European children, who now die in the barracks on the plains would live on the hills, and would recruit our corps with stout healthy lads, such as may be seen in Mr. Mackinnon's school at Mussourie, instead of the poor miserable par-boiled creatures, that we see as drummer boys throughout the service.

The Chunar establishment bodily moved to the Mussourie neighbourhood would be an incalculable benefit and blessing. Indeed, it is marvellous that the cruelty of such a location as Chunar for European invalids has not been oftener brought to notice, and that the hottest rock in India has been permitted to continue, to this day, as a station for European invalids.

All that we have mentioned is not only feasible but easy; and we doubt not that all the expense which would be incurred by the change of locations and abandonment of barracks would be cleared by the several savings within seven years. We must walk before we can run; and we therefore only advocate roads, *metalled* roads, to each hill station; but we hope and expect soon to see railroads established on each line, so that in twelve hours the corps from Kussowlee, Subathoo, and Mussourie could be concentrated at Delhi. Great as would be the first outlay on such rails, we are well satisfied that they would pay; and who can calculate the benefit of being at once able to keep our Europeans in a good climate, and at the rate of twenty or thirty miles an hour to bring them to bear upon any point. We should then realise Hyder Ally's notion, and really keep our Europeans in cages ready to let slip on occasions of necessity.

Every inducement should be held out to our European soldiers to conduct themselves as respectable men and good Christians. Reading rooms and books in abundance should be provided; all sorts of harmless games encouraged; the children of all on the plains be sent to the hills and placed in large training establishments, where boys and girls might (separately) be instructed in what would make them useful and respectable in their sphere of

life; and be taught from the beginning to stir themselves like Europeans, and not with the listlessness (as is usual, in the barracks) of Asiatics.

We cannot write too emphatically on this most important branch of our subject. The morality of our European army in India is a matter which should engage the anxious attention, not only of the military enquirer, but of every Christian man, every friend of humanity in the country. It is not simply a question of the means of making good soldiers, but of the means of making good men, and *therefore* good soldiers. We do not judge the European soldier harshly, when we say that the average standard of Barrack morality is very low, for we cheerfully admit, at the same time, that the temptations to excess are great; the inducements to good conduct small; the checks wholly insufficient. It would be a wonder of wonders if, neglected as he is, the European soldier were to occupy a higher place in the scale of Christian morality, but whatever he may have to answer for, it is almost beyond denial that the responsibilities of the officer are far greater than his own. The soldier's sins of commission are not so heavy as the officer's sins of omission, from which thay are the direct emanations. The moral character of a regiment, be it good or bad, fairly reflects the amount of interest taken by the officers in the well-being of their men. The soldier wanders out of garrison or cantonment and commits excesses abroad, because he has no inducements to remain within the precincts of the barrack square. He goes abroad in search of amusement, and he finds not amusement but excitement; he makes his way to the village toddy-shop, or to the punch-house; he seeks other haunts of vice; and when both money and credit are gone, perhaps he takes to the high-road. This would not happen, if regimental officers really did their duty to their men.* It is not merely the duty of an officer to attend parade, to manœuvre a company or regiment, to mount guard, to sanction promotions,

* The wives of the officers have also a duty to perform; and the moral influence, which they might exercise is great. Some ladies are willing to acknowledge this, not merely in word, but in deed. To all would we say "*Go and do likewise.*"

to see the pay issued, to sign monthly returns, and to wear a coat with a standing collar. The officer has higher duties to perform; a duty to his sovereign; a duty to his neighbour; a duty to his God; not to be discharged by the simple observance of these military formalities. He stands in *loco parentis;* he is the father of his men; his treatment of them should be such as to call forth their reverence and affection, and incite in them a strong feeling of shame on being detected by him in the commission of unworthy actions. It is his duty to study their characters; to interest himself in their pursuits; to enhance their comforts; to assist and to encourage, with counsel and with praise, every good effort; to extend his sympathy to them in distress; to console them in affliction; to show by every means in his power, that though exiles from home and aliens from their kindred, they have yet a friend upon earth, who will not desert them. These are the duties of the officer, and duties too which cannot be performed without an abundant recompense. There are many idle, good-hearted, do-nothing officers, who find the day too long, complain of the country and the climate, are devoured with ennui, and living between excitement and reaction, perhaps, in time sink into hypochondriasis, but who would, if they were to follow our advice, tendered not arrogantly but affectionately, find that they had discovered a new pleasure; that a glory had sprung up in a shady place; that the day was never too long, the climate never too oppressive: that at their uprising and their down-sitting serenity and cheerfulness were ever present, that in short they had begun a new life, as different from that out of which they had emerged, as the sunshine on the hill-top from the gloom in the abyss. Some may smile, some may sneer, some may acknowledge the truth dimly and forget it. To all we have one answer to give, couched in two very short words—*Try it.*

We need scarcely enter into minute details to show the manner in which this is to be done. Every officer knows, if he will know, *how* it is to be done. The youth of a month's standing in the army, endowed with ordinary powers of observation,

must perceive that there are fifty ways open to his seniors, by which they may advance the well-being and happiness of the inmates of the barracks. Let them see, think, and act, as men endowed with faculties and understandings; and we shall hear no more of that intense longing after transportation to a penal settlement, which has of late possessed many of our soldiers and urged them to the commission of capital offences. Does not this one fact declare trumpet-tongued the misery of a barrack life in India, does it not pronounce the strongest condemnation on those, who make no effort to shed a cheering light upon the gloomy path of the exiled soldier?

But we must do something more than alleviate the sufferings of the present—we must render him hopeful of the future; we must brighten up his prospects, animate him with a new-born courage, fill him with heart and hope that he may "still bear up and steer right on," until better days shall dawn upon him; and the wretchedness and humiliation of the past shall have a subduing influence in the retrospect, and shall lift up his soul with devout feelings of gratitude and love.

The commissioned ranks of the army should not be wholly closed against the deserving soldier in the Company's service, more than in the Queen's. There are no English regiments, which contain so many young men, of family and education, as the few European corps and battalions in the army of the East India Company; and we should be truly glad to see the present great paucity of officers in the Native Army, in some degree, remedied by the appointment to each Regiment of Cavalry and Infantry, and battalion or brigade of Artillery, and to the corps of Engineers, an ensign or second-lieutenant from the Non-Commissioned ranks; and that henceforth a fourth or fifth of the patronage of the army should be appropriated to the ranks.

For such promotion, we would select in some such fashion as the following. Let examination committees be held at Calcutta, Cawnpore, and two of the Hill stations, twice a year; let any European soldier that wished appear before it; and having passed some such examination as is required at Addiscombe, substitut-

ing a course of history and geography, and what by late orders is required in Hindustani before officers can hold Companies, for some of the Addiscombe requisites ; let such men be held eligible for commissions in the Engineers and Artillery, and those passing in Hindustani and in a more limited course of mathematics for the Cavalry and Infantry; but before any man received a commission, he should have served one year as a Serjeant Major, Quarter-Master Serjeant or Colour Serjeant or as a Sub-Conductor, and produce a character for sobriety and good conduct and general smartness as a soldier.

With such a stimulus what might not our European soldiery become? The educated and unfortunate, instead of being our worst characters, would be inspired with hope, while many would wipe away the stain of early misconduct and, by recovering their characters and position, bring peace to their bereaved families. By the infusion, too, of a different class into our covenanted service, we should all be more put on our metal; and in fact not only would the whole tone and position of the *Gora-log* be elevated, but their rise would in a certain degree raise the European character throughout the country. As Secretary-at-war, our present Governor-General did much for the British Soldier; he thoroughly understands their wants, and by his acts he has proved that he does not consider that they should be shut out from hope. We beseech his good offices on behalf of the European Soldiers of India; the majority of them exiles for life—and when we consider the effect of character every-where, the moral influence of one honest, of one good and zealous man, who would lightly discard any means of raising the tone of our Europeans? Too lamentable is the effect of their present misconduct, of their drunkenness, their violence, their brutality, for us to deny that the present system does not answer, and that it calls loudly for change. Every individual European, be he officer or private soldier, we look on as, in his sphere, a Missionary for good or for evil. We have hinted that one indifferent commanding officer may ruin a whole corps. The experience of many will furnish an example. From violence, injustice,

meanness or indifference—from seeds of different sorts the equally baneful fruit is produced, discipline is undermined, discontent engendered, and misbehaviour and its train ensue.

On the other hand, what may not one Christian soldier do? However lowly his position, how much has he not within his power? The man who, a Christian at heart, devotes himself to his duties; and vexing neither himself nor those under him with harassing frivolities, perseveringly acts up to what he believes his duty—not with mere eye or lip service; but as evincing his love to God by performing his duty to man—such a man will not be the one to quail in the hour of danger; his shoulder is ever at the wheel, whether it be in the dull duties of cantonment, the trying times of sickness and famine, or the exhilarating days of success; all will find him cheerful, all will find him at his post.

We fear there is still a very common under-estimate of military character and military duty. The philosophical moralist who calls the soldier a mere licensed murderer; the Epicurean who only wonders at the madness of men who consent to stand and be shot at, when they could get their bread in some pleasanter way; the narrow-minded Christian, who thinks of soldiers and their possible salvation in the same dubious tone as Corporal Trim, when he asked "a negro *has* a soul? an please your honor!" and the country gentleman who pronounces on the blockhead or black-guard among his sons, that "the fellow is fit for nothing but the church or the army," all, all, are equally wide of the mark. A soldier—it is a trite commonplace, we know, but like many trite commonplaces often forgotten—is not necessarily a man who delights in blood, any more than a physician is one who delights in sickness. Both professions will cease with human crime and misery. The prophecies that hold out to us a prospect of the days, when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more," tell us likewise of that period, when "none shall say, I am sick."

We may refresh our spirits by the contemplation of these promises, and pray for the coming of that kingdom; but our own

personal duty lies under a different order of things. War is probably the sorest scourge with which our race is visited; but constituted as the world is, a good army is essential to the preservation of peace. Military discipline at large comes not within the province of individual soldiers; but if every man who enlists took care that there was *one* good soldier in the army, our commanders would have easy work.

No man attains to excellence in any design without setting before him a lofty standard, and Christianity, where it is more than a name, incites us always to take the highest. It is no easy slipshod system of shuffling about the world; but "up and be doing," is the Christian's motto. Cecil's opinion was that "a shoeblack, if he were a Christian, would try to be the best shoe-black in the whole town."

There is some grave defect in our religious instruction, which almost every one feels, when he awakens to the importance of the world to come. Some how, the duties of time and the duties of eternity, instead of being inseparably blended, present themselves to the mind, as Dr. Johnson expresses it, "as set upon the right hand and upon the left, so that we cannot approach the one without receding from the other;" and the consequence is, that while some take one side, to the neglect of the other, the majority pass quietly between the two, on the broad road of self-pleasing. The great problem to be solved is, how we may put the soul of high principle and imperishable aim, into the body of our daily acts, small as well as great, as the quaint but delightful old poet George Herbert, tells us—

> The man who looks on glass,
> On *it*, may stay his eye;
> Or if he pleaseth, through it pass,
> And then the Heavens espy.

Applying these general remarks to military duties, we desire to see every soldier set before himself a lofty standard; remembering that if high qualities and high principles are requisite in the man who would lead and influence his countrymen, they must be more so in the European, who would gain the affec-

tions of a race differing from him in colour, language, and religion. Mindful of their own religious observances, the Hindoo and Mahommedan soldier, far from despising their Christian officer, will respect him the more, on seeing that he has a religion; and the rudest of them will appreciate the man, who, first in the fight, first in the offices of peace, is staunch to the duty he owes his God.

The Apostle Paul of whom Paley, no bad judge, says, that "next to his piety he is remarkable for his *good sense*," when he speaks figuratively of the Christian warfare, gives some of the best maxims for the literal warrior; he lays down, "holding fast a good conscience" as indispensable to "warring a good warfare," and tells us that "a good soldier" must "endure hardness." That religion unfits a man to be a soldier, is a maxim that may be placed in the same category as that marriage spoils one. Both assertions arise from misapprehension of what a soldier, a Christian, and a married man, ought to be. We have quoted an Apostle, let us now refer to a Poet—

"Who is the happy warrior? who is he*
That every man in arms should wish to be?
* * * Who doomed to go in company with pain
And fear and bloodshed, miserable train;
Turns his necessity to glorious gain;
In face of these doth exercise a power
Which is our human nature's highest dower;
Controls them and subdues, transmutes, bereaves
Of their bad influence and their good receives:
By objects which might force the soul to abate
Her feelings, rendered more compassionate;
Is placable—because occasions rise
So often that demand such sacrifice;
More skilful in self-knowledge, even more pure,
As tempted more; more able to endure,
As more exposed to suffering and distress;
Thence also more alive to tenderness.
—'Tis he whose law is reason; who depends
Upon that law as on the best of friends;
Whence in a state where men are tempted still

* Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior."

To evil for a guard against worse ill,
And what in quality or act is best
Doth seldom on a right foundation rest,
He fixes good on good alone, and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows:
Who if he rise to station of command,
Rises by open means; and there will stand
On honorable terms or else retire;
And in himself possess his own desire;
Who comprehends his trust and to the same
Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim;
And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
For wealth and honours, or for worldly state;
Whom they must follow on whose head must fall
Like showers of manna if they come at all:
Whose powers shed round him in the common strife,
Or mild concerns of ordinary life,
A constant influence, a peculiar grace;
But who, if he be called upon to face
Some awful moment to which heaven has joined
Great issues good or bad for human kind,
Is happy as a Lover, and attired
With sudden brightness, like a man inspired;
And through the heat of conflict, keeps the law
In calmness made and sees what he foresaw;
Or if an unexpected call succeed,
Come when it will, is equal to the need.
He who, though thus endued as with a sense
And faculty for storm and turbulence,
Is yet a soul whose master bias leans
To home-felt pleasures and to gentle scenes;
Sweet images! which wheresoe'er he be
Are at his heart; and such fidelity
It is his darling passion to approve,
More brave for this that he hath much to love.
* * * * *
Whom neither shape of danger can dismay
Nor thought of tender happiness betray—
* * * * *
This is the happy warrior this is he
Whom every man in arms should wish to be."

We would willingly quote the whole of this noble Poem, but

as space forbids, we can but recommend every soldier to read it in the volume from which it is taken. We wish the same hand that drew the warrior had given us a picture of a fitting wife for him.

That neither piety nor domestic affection* spoil a soldier, we see in both classes and individuals. The Puritans and Covenanters fought and suffered as bravely as if they had owned their be-all and their end-all here, and the history of America testifies to the fact that the Winthrops, the Williamses, and others, while most loveable in all the relations of life were as brave, and daring as were the ruffian bands of Cortes and Pizarro. And where does History show such bright examples of genuine heroism, as in the persons of the royalists of La Vendée—in Lescure; in Henri Larochejacqueline; in their brave and devoted associates, who with hearts full of love towards God and the tenderest domestic affections, rushed from the village Church, or started from their knees on the green-sward, to stem with their rude phalanxes the disciplined battalions of the National Guard, and met death on the field with the serenity and constancy of Christian martyrs?

Washington's life is better than a hundred homilies; it may offer a useful lesson to the martinet. How clearly it shows what integrity, good sense and oneness of purpose may effect. The simple land surveyor, by his energy and honesty keeping together the ragged and unwilling militia of the states, training and accustoming them to victory, and having performed his work, retiring to private life, is an example that even Britons may set before themselves; but we want not good and great soldiers of our own land,—who more so than Hampden, Col. Gardiner, Admiral Collingwood, and a host of others?

But a soldier, though always ready for the fight, is not always fighting, and the beauty of right principles, and exalted aims, is,

* Was Hector or was Paris the better soldier? There is no finer illustration—though unintentional—of the difference between the military husband and the military bachelor than in the pages of the Iliad. The Hero of the Odyssey too is drawn, as one eminent in all the domestic relations. Turning from Poetry to History, what character of antiquity, drawn in the breathing pictures of Plutarch, is more admirable than that of Agesilaus.

that they need not the stimulus of a concussion to arouse them, but are operative in the daily and hourly details of life. It is here that a Christian soldier shines, as much as in the conflict; and it would be difficult to over-estimate the influence and utility of a *good* (using the word in its widest sense) commanding officer in the barracks and the field. Devoting himself to his profession, he will have an interest in every man under him; his example will check the dissolute, encourage the good, and confirm the wavering. A king among his subjects, a father among his family, a master among his pupils, a physician among his patients—the officer's position partakes of the power, the responsibility and the interest of all these positions. A living homily himself, he aids by his example and influence the labours of those appointed to teach and preach; having cultivated his own mind, he tries to bestow the blessings of intellect on those under him; having studied the feelings and circumstances of his men he can estimate their temptations, and determine the best means of helping them out of vice, and into virtuous habits. Above all, he works not for self gratification, or outward applause. He has before him a rule of right, a hope of reward, independent of present success; and therefore is he able to persevere against obloquy and failure, to go straightforward "doing with all his might whatever his hand findeth to do."

But we must return to our military details. We had purposed to have offered some remarks on the different branches of the Staff, but our limits are already nearly exhausted. What we have said regarding the Engineers applies even more strongly to the Quarter-Master General's Department; at best but the shadow of an intelligence corps, consisting as it does of eight or ten officers, and they not selected for peculiar qualifications, as linguists and surveyors, and not having any permanent establishment of non-commissioned officers or privates under them. In fact, it may be said that with more need for an intelligence department than any army in the world, we are worse supplied than any other. A handful of officers, however well qualified, does not form an establishment or department; and it is a cru-

lty to impose on officers important duties, involving often the safety of armies, without placing efficient means at their disposal.

When the Army of the Indus assembled at Ferozepoor in 1838, e are credibly informed that Major Garden, the Deputy Quarter-master General, about to proceed in charge of his department with the expedition, had not a single European at his disposal; and not a dozen clashies. Three officers were then appointed, without any experience as intelligencers, and altogether it may be said that the army marched, as if it did not require information; as if the commander had perfect maps of the country, and had some special means, independent of the legitimate channel, for acquainting himself with what was going on in his front and on his flanks. The exertions of Major Garden are well known; and if he had been shot, as he possibly might have been any morning, the Bengal Division at least would have been without a Quarter-Master General's Department. Colonel Wild, it is well known, was sent in December 1841, on perhaps as difficult and hazardous an undertaking as has, for many years, been entrusted to an officer of his rank; with four Regiments of Native Infantry and one hundred Irregular Cavalry, a Company of Golundauze without guns, and one of Sappers, (the two latter being under officers of less than two years' standing) and without staff of any kind—Quarter-Master General's, or Commissariat Dapartment. A regimental officer was for the occasion appointed brigade-major; and with him began and ended the staff of Brigadier Wild, who, had he had half a dozen guns and as many good staff officers, might have reached Julalabad early in January 1842; and have thereby, perhaps, averted the final catastrophe at Cabul. To this it may be added, that *two days before* the battle of Maharajpore, extra establishments were ordered for officers in the field.

These are recent instances of defects in our military organization, and misapplication of the means at our disposal; but the experience of our military readers will tell them, each in his own line and from his own reminiscences, how often an apparently

trifling deficiency has vitiated the exertions of a detachment. Only last December, or January, all Oude was alarmed by the report of a Nepalese invasion, and *then* individuals were called upon to lend Horses to move the guns at Lucknow; and scarce twelve months before, when a small party was beaten at Khyree in the Seikh states within forty or fifty miles of Kurnaul,—one of our Army Division stations,—it was three days before a small force could move; it was *then* found that there was no small arm ammunition in store, and ascertained that a European corps could not move under a fortnight from Subathoo.

At that time, when both Kurnaul and Umballa were denuded of troops, and every road was covered with crowds of armed pilgrims returning from the Hurdwar Fair; the two Treasuries containing, we have heard, between them, not less than thirty lakhs of Rupees, were under parties of fifty sepoys in exposed houses or rather sheds close to the Native towns; and, extraordinary as it may appear, *both* within fifty or a hundred yards of small forts in which they would have been comparatively safe; but into which, during the long years that treasuries have been at those stations, it seems never to have occurred to the authorities to place them.

The treasury at Delhi is in the city, as is the magazine; the latter is in a sort of fort,—a very defenceless building, *outside* of which in the street, we understand, a party of sepoys was placed, when the news of the Cabul disasters arrived. We might take a circuit of the country and shew how many mistakes we have committed, and how much impunity has emboldened us in error; and how unmindful we have been that what occurred in the city of Cabul, may, some day, occur at Delhi, Benares, or Bareilly.

It needs not our telling that improvements are required in the Commissariat. We observe that Ramjee Mull, who was a man of straw in the department at Bhurtpoor in 1824, died at Delhi, the other day, worth twenty-four lakhs of Rupees; and not long since one of the Calcutta papers gave a biographical sketch of Mr. Reid, who in 1838 was a hungry omedwar, and in 1843 died worth about two lakhs of Rupees, having been

in the receipt of a salary amounting to perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred Rupees per month. We recollect being amused by the native expression that his gains were all honestly made. It is just possible that Ramjee Mull's were so; but we look on it as something highly improper that Mr. Reid, a salaried public servant, should have made anything beyond his pay. He took contracts, but he should not have been allowed to do so; and in taking them he was only entering into partnership with Native Gomashtahs or Principals, such as Ramjee Mull, Doonee Chund, &c. who, by combining, raised their charges on Government; and it is clear that in so participating or even in being a contractor on his own bottom, he became useless as an assistant to the Commissariat Officer in checking fraud on the part of other subordinates.

We have repeatedly seen the charge of a batch of camels on ten Rupees per month preferred by an indolent Mootusuddee to a quiet one of thirty or forty Rupees; the inference is that they have a percentage on the grain of the animals; and so it is throughout the establishment; and low rates of pay only are authorized. Commissariat Officers are actually in the power of their subordinates; they have not the means of paying respectable men, and being generally called on suddenly, they are in self-defence thrown on their monied dependants or hangers-on.

The whole establishment requires reform. The few European officers are now no check on the subordinates; they are indeed often screens, and it sometimes occurs that a gentleman-like inexperienced officer considers it a personal offence to have it proved that his gomashta watered the grog, or served out short grain. Commissariat Officers should be carefully chosen, and should then be armed with sufficient authority to do their duty efficiently. They have now just power enough to do harm—none to do good, unless they are bold enough to risk their own prospects and even character. A Commissariat Officer may easily starve an army and yet bear no blame; but if he saves a detachment from starvation and loses his vouchers: or under extreme difficulties if he has failed to procure them, he is a ruined man. Oh, how much

more, in this as in every other department, are forms looked to rather than realities: and how much does Government seem to prefer being robbed according to the usual forms, than to act on the plain principles of common sense that would actuate the same Government taken individually instead of in its collective character.

But we must draw our remarks to a conclusion, first briefly recapitulating our recommendations:—

1st. To increase the Engineer Regiment and to make it the nucleus of a General Staff Corps available in peace for all Civil Engineering operations—giving all ranks opportunities to qualify themselves for field duties, and by having acquired intimate acquaintance with the language, habits and manners of the people and the features of the country; by giving them habits of enquiry and practice in such duties as they may be called on to perform during war.

An immediate increase to the Engineers might be made by volunteers from the Line and Artillery—all ranks of such volunteers passing an examination in the requisite scientific points. They might then, according to standing, be drafted into the present Engineer corps, or form a new Regiment of two, three, or more Battalions.

We advocate the more efficient officering of the Foot Artillery, its elevation to an equality with the Horse Artillery, or at least that the latter should not be unduly cared for to the neglect of the former.

The Regular Cavalry should have some smart European Dragoons attached to each Troop; the Irregulars should be paid in all cases the full twenty rupees per month; Bargeers not being admitted, unless in the case of Native officers who might each be allowed to have their own sons or nephews (failing sons) as Bargeers; but their number should be limited to four to each officer.

We further desire that some Regiments of Irregular Cavalry, and some of Native Infantry, should be commanded and officered by Natives, and placed in Brigade under Europeans.

We would fain see the army, year after year, more carefully

weeded of incapables. Age should no longer be the qualification for promotion; Jemadars and Soobadars should either be pensioned at their homes, or be real and effective Lieutenants and Captains. We have shewn how the deserving old soldier, unqualified to be an officer, may be provided for by being allowed to return to his home as a Havildar, on completion of his service. Our army being, in relation to the country it has to defend, a small one, it requires that every man should be effective; its Subalterns and Native officers should not be hoary-headed invalids, but young and active men, and its field officers and commanders should not be worn out valetudinarians. We need hardly say that, gallantly as the army has ever behaved and much as it has done, more might often have been effected at less expense of life and treasure, if a few years could have been taken from the ages of all ranks. We have all experience before us in proof that great military achievements have been generally performed by young armies under young leaders; Hannibal and Napoleon had conquered Italy before they could have been Brevet Captains in the Company's army; at as early an age the victories of Cæsar were gained, and at an equally early age Alexander had conquered the world. Forty years ago the victories of the Great Duke were gained in India, and happily he is still at the head of the British army, and we doubt if the ages of all the Generals commanding divisions under Wellington or against him in the Peninsula, would amount in the aggregate to the ages of an equal number of Captains of the Bengal army; and this, be it remembered, in a climate where Europeans are old men at forty; and where, as there are but few of us, those few should be of the right sort, and full of energy mental and physical.

The location in strength of Europeans in the Hills—having good roads and carriage by land and water for at least a portion of them always ready—is another of our schemes; as it is also our hearty desire to see the commissioned ranks of the army opened to them, and hope no longer shut out from the inmates of the barracks. The better education of European children, and

colonization on a small scale, under restrictions, is a part of this scheme.

The attachment of Native Companies to European Regiments as posts of honor, or at any rate, the permanent brigading of different classes of Troops, seems to us highly desirable, as likely to enhance the good feeling of all, improve the tone of the sepoys, and soften the asperities of Europeans.

The greater mixture of classes in our Native army we also hold to be desirable, so as never to give a designing Brahmin the opportunity of misleading a whole Regiment. Instant and full enquiry into every case of discontent or disaffection we hold to be of vital moment—no glossing over to save individual feelings, or what is wrongly considered to save the credit of the service. No army in the world has been at all times without taint; but where insubordination or dictation once was permitted, or donatives resorted to, where summary punishment should have been inflicted—that army soon mastered their Government.

We would make the staff of the army in all its branches efficient; keep it so and practise it, while opportunity offers during peace, so that it may be always ready for war. We would have a baggage train; and precise orders that *should be obeyed* as to the amount of carriage and servants and camp followers, which under all circumstances on service should accompany our armies. We should not take mobs of hangers-on, or the luxuries of the capital into the field, and it should be understood to be as much the duty of all ranks to obey orders in such matters, as in doing their duty when actually under fire.

We can see many advantages in having the three armies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, united into one Indian army, having one Commander-in-Chief and one General Staff; having rates of pay, equipments and all else as far as possible, assimilated; and having *four* Commanders of the forces with Subordinate Major Generals, all having sufficient authority to order and finally dispose of many matters of detail that now go to Army Head-quarters and some that cannot now be there settled; with the power of bringing up the bulk of the Madras

Cavalry and a portion of their other branches to our North West Provinces; while the Bengal Presidency might send down a few Native Infantry Regiments to the central stations—all being on the same footing as to pay and batta, &c. Much good would thus accrue to the service. Emulation between the Natives of different provinces would be excited, and the danger of combination be greatly lessened.

We have necessarily but glanced at the various branches of our noble army. We have not forgotten our own deep personal interest in its honor and welfare; but as we hold that our presence in India depends, in no small measure, on the contentedness and happiness of our native soldiery, we have prominently put forth what has long been our opinion, that something more is wanted for the sepahi than that at the age of sixty he should, by possibility, reach the rank of Soobadar Major, and with it the first class of Sirdar Bahadoor. Doubtless such hope and expectation is sufficient to influence nine out of ten of our sepahis; but it is for the tenth we want a stimulus; for the man of better education, the superior character, the bold and daring spirit that disdains to live for ever in subordinate place; and it is for such we firmly believe that is absolutely required some new grade where, without our risking the supremacy of European authority, he may obtain command and exert in our behalf those energies and talents which under the present system are too liable to be brought into the scale against us. Commands of Irregular Corps, Jaghers, titles, civil honors, pensions to the second and third generation, are among the measures we would advocate for such characters; while we would give the invalid pensions, at earlier periods and under increased advantages, to men who had distinguished themselves in the field or by any peculiar merit in quarters. For all such and such only there should be medals and orders and not for whole Regiments, who may have happened to be in the field on a particular day.

Much reform is required in the Native Army, but still more in the European branch of the service. The system of terror has long enough been tried and been found wanting; the system

that filled the American navy with British Sailors and drove the flower of the French army into the ranks of their enemies, and that daily drives many Europeans in India, who under different circumstances might turn out good soldiers, to suicide, and to the high-road, should at once be exploded. Under a better regime our Europeans instead of enacting the part of Highwaymen, might be rendered as available to purposes of peace as of war, and be as well conducted during one period as another. With commissions open to the ablest, and subordinate staff employment after certain periods to all the well-behaved; with aids to study and to rational amusement in barracks instead of eternal drills, whose beginning and end is to torment and disgust men with a noble service, how much might be done with the materials at our command, and how much would our Government be strengthened and the value of every individual European's services be enhanced.

To raise men from the ranks, we feel, will be considered a terrible innovation, but we have not ourselves as a body of officers been so long emancipated from degrading restrictions that we should not have some fellow feeling for our brother soldiers. Argument is not required in the matter; common sense dictates the measure. All history teaches its practicability: the Roman Legionary, nay the barbarian auxiliary, lived to lead the armies of the empire; almost every one of Napoleon's marshals rose from the ranks, and at this day and with all the preventions of aristocracy and moneyed interests, scarcely less than a fifth of Her Majesty's army, is officered by men who rose from the ranks. Indeed, since this paper was commenced, we have observed not less than six staff-serjeants promoted to Ensigncies, Adjutancies, or Quarter-Masterships in a single gazette; but it is reserved to the army of a company of merchants that her sentinels should be blackballed, should be driven with the lash instead of led by consideration and common sense.

Wonderful indeed is it, that this subject should have been left for our advocacy, and that situated as we are in the midst of a mighty military population, we should fail to see the neces-

sity, the common prudence, of turning our handful of Europeans to the best advantage; and that while we foster the Native, we degrade our own countrymen. Drive away hope from the former, make transportation, or death a boon—a haven to the heart-broken or desperate sepahi, and then see whether the lash will be required in the Native army as well as the European. We would not abate a jot of discipline with the one or the other; each should be taught his duty thoroughly, which at present he seldom is; he should be a good marksman or swordsman according to the branch of his service, and until he is master of his weapon, he should be kept at drill; but there should be no after drills and parades to *keep men out of mischief*, to disgust them with their duty. They should have enough of exercise and instruction as should keep them practised and able soldiers, and their lives should be rendered happy, that they might remain willing and contented ones. The lash should be reserved for mutiny, desertion and plunder—for natives, as well as Europeans—and while the worthless and incorrigible are thus dealt with according to their deserts, the indifferent soldier should be encouraged to become a good one; and the best be rewarded according to their abilities by promotion to the non-commissioned Staff, and the commissioned ranks; and by comfortable provision in old age in climates suited to their constitution.

We cannot expect to hold India for ever. Let us so conduct ourselves in our civil and military relations as, when the connexion ceases, it may do so, not with convulsions, but with mutual esteem and affection; and that England may then have in India a noble ally, enlightened and brought into the scale of nations under her guidance and fostering care.

NOTE.—In an article on the military defence of the country, it is obvious that some detailed notice should have been taken of so important a point as the means of rapid locomotion. We had not overlooked it; but the subject is too interesting and too important to be lightly touched upon in a rough desultory article, like the foregoing, which aspires not to teach but to suggest. A small force, which can be moved at an hour's notice from one part of the country to another, with a celerity that will disconcert the measures of an enemy—be the hostile demonstration from without or within—

is of more real service in the defence of the country, than an over-grown, cumbrous army, which cannot be put in motion without much difficulty and much delay. To attain this great end, it is not only necessary that our troops should be prepared to move, but that they should have good roads along which to move. Now roads and bridges—we are uttering but a trite common-place—are excellent things, not only as they strengthen our position, but as they conduce to the prosperity of the country, they are blessings to all and no mean part of the real wealth of a nation. In a military point of view, they are of incalculable value; and when the country is not only intersected with good roads, but boasts of at least one rail-road along the main line, from the sea to the north-western boundary; when our rivers are spanned, at the most important points, with bridges, and ever alive with magic steam-ships, then will it be found that our army of a quarter of a million is equal, in real strength, to an army of a million of men; and that with this facility of transporting troops and stores to any given point—of concentrating a large army, with all the muniments of war, in a few hours—we have acquired an amount of military strength, the mere prestige of which will be sufficient to overawe our enemies and to secure an enduring and honorable peace.

LORD HARDINGE'S ADMINISTRATION.

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THE general diffusion among our countrymen in India of a spirit of fair and candid enquiry, is a marked and gratifying sign of the progress of improvement. A course of enlightened and consistent policy in a Ruler is now certain of being met with calm and dispassionate consideration, and, when shown to be characterised by integrity and honesty of purpose, of being received with cordial approval. We may, therefore, safely predict that the administration of Lord Hardinge which has become, by his departure from India, matter of History, will be unanimously praised by all who make Indian affairs their study; and that the Eastern career of this soldier-statesman will commend itself to their judgment and approval, as strongly as it evidently has done to that of the Court of Directors and both sides of both Houses of Parliament. We proceed to detail those acts; prefacing them with a few words regarding the early and Peninsular career of Lord Hardinge, chiefly compiled from the Memoir of Lieutenant-General Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

Lord Hardinge is descended from an old Royalist family of King's Newton, county Derby; through which he traces his ancestry up to the conquest. His immediate ancestor raised troops for Charles 1st, hazarded his life and lost his estates in the service of the Stuarts. Lord Hardinge's uncle, Richard Hardinge, of Bellisle, county Fermanagh, was created a Baronet in the year 1801, and was succeeded by His Lordship's elder brother, the Reverend Charles Hardinge, of Bounds Park, Kent, and Rector of Tunbridge. Lord Hardinge had three other brothers; of whom one died young, Col. Richard Hardinge of the Royal Artillery still alive; and Captain Nicholas Hardinge, who, in his 27th year, when in command of the "*San Fiorenzo*,"

fell in the moment of victory at the close of a three days' action with "*La Piedmontaise*," an enemy's ship of far superior force. A monument in St. Paul's Cathedral, records his achievements.

Before Lord Hardinge had attained his fifteenth year, he joined his Regiment in Canada. At the peace of Amiens he returned to England, and having studied at the Royal Military College, was selected for a situation on the Quarter-Master General's Staff with the expedition, in 1807, under Sir B. Spencer, to the coast of Spain. He was actively employed under Sir A. Wellesley in the Campaign of 1808, was present at the battle of Roleia, and severely wounded at Vimiera. At the close of the war he conveyed despatches to Sir John Moore, with singular rapidity through many dangers. With the Rear Guard at the side of his heroic Chief, he shared in the many severe affairs of the retreat on Corunna, and was one of the officers near him when he fell. In March of the same year (1809) he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel and Deputy Quarter-Master General of the Portuguese Army, under Sir B. D'Urban. He served at the passage of the Upper Douro, on the borders of Gallicia; afterwards in Castile; and at the battle of Busaco.

Highly distinguished in the Campaign of 1811 under Lord Beresford in the Alemtijo and Spanish Estremadura, it was at Albuera that his brightest wreath was won. The fight had gone against the handful of British soldiers. Half of those under fire had fallen, when Colonel Hardinge, on his own responsibility pointed out to Major General Sir Lowry Cole, that on his moving up his Division depended the fortune of the day. These fresh troops were, on the instant, hurled against the enemy's left flank; while Colonel Hardinge caused the right to be simultaneously assailed by the re-inspirited Brigade of Abercrombie. The heavy columns of the superb French Infantry were thus checked, rolled back and broken: the British guns, already limbered up and ready for retreat, were again brought into action, and the enemy driven from that fierce field.

This glorious turn in the tide of that fight, which itself turned the tide of the Peninsular War, was the achievement of Lieute-

nant Colonel Hardinge then only 25 years old, immortalized by Alison in his record of Albuera, as "the young soldier with the eye of a General and the soul of a Hero."

Lieutenant-Colonel Hardinge served at the siege and capture of both Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz; and especially distinguished himself at the storm of the strong out-work "La Picurina." During the operations which led to the battle of Salamanca, he officiated as Quarter-Master General of the Portuguese Army, and for his conduct received the Military order of the Tower and Sword.

At Vittoria, Colonel Hardinge was severely wounded in the body, and, while still suffering from a painful surgical operation, resumed his duties in the Pyrenees. He afterwards served at St. Sebastian, at the passage of the Bidassoa, and in the battles of the Nevelle and Nive.

In February 1815, when in command of a Portuguese Brigade of Infantry, he, in conjunction with General Byng's Brigade, gallantly carried with the bayonet some strongly occupied heights near Pallas. He was then engaged at Orthes, and in the operations ending with the battle of Tolouse. For the battle of Orthes Colonel Hardinge received his ninth medal.

During the whole of the Peninsular War, Col. Hardinge was never absent from his duty except for very short periods after his wounds at Vimiera and Vittoria. At the peace, his signal services were rewarded by his Sovereign with a Company in the Guards, and by the distinction of Knight Commander of the Bath, an honor usually reserved for General Officers.

Sir H. Hardinge accompanied Sir C. Stewart to the Congress of Vienna, and on the renewal of the war was attached by the Duke of Wellington in a political capacity, with the rank of Brigadier General, to the Head Quarters of the Prussian Army under Blucher. At the sanguinary battle of Ligny on the 16th June, Sir H. Hardinge again distinguished himself. About 4 P. M. his left hand was shattered by a common shot, but, refusing to dismount or leave the field, he placed a tourniquet on his arm and sat out the battle, retiring after night-fall with the

Prussian army. At midnight, in a hut by rushlight, attended by a single servant, he had his hand amputated. Sir Henry had previously despatched his brother, who was his Aide-de-Camp, to report to the Duke the fate of the day and to bring an English Surgeon. At daylight the French beat up the bivouac, when Sir Henry, determining not to fall into the enemy's hand, though faint from loss of blood, accompanied the retreating Prussians. At Wavre he rejoined the gallant Blucher, who though still suffering from a fall, and from having been ridden over by a whole brigade of cavalry, got up and kissing his friend affectionately, begged he would excuse the garlic (with which he was perfumed,) and condoled with him on Ligny, but characteristically added, "Never mind, my friend, if we outlive tomorrow, Wellington and I will lick the French."

After the battle of Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington devoted a separate Gazette to the merits of Sir Henry Hardinge, and to a notification of his own regret for his severe wound. From bad management in the first instance Sir Henry's arm had to be several times redressed, causing him extreme torture; yet within the fortnight he rejoined the army at Paris, where he was received with military honors by Blucher, in the Palace of St. Cloud, and there placed in possession of the apartments of Marie Louise.

At the expiration of the occupation of Paris, the King of Prussia in testimony of his high opinion of his Political and Military Services, decorated him, at a grand Review with the order of merit and of the Red Eagle; and the Duke of Wellington personally presented him with the sword from his own side.

During these eventful seven years Sir H. Hardinge had received four wounds, and had four horses killed under him; nor was he singular. Men long unaccustomed to warfare are frightened at such losses as those of Ferozshah, Múdkí and Sobraon; and forget, in these recent events, the casualties of Albuera, Talavera and Waterloo. If, after a hard day's fight in India, all the "means and appliances" of a Cantonment Hospital are not found

upon the field; if Doolie Bearers, (who get no pensions!) run away and leave their wounded charge to be cut up by a straggling enemy, and every wound is not dressed and soothed with cerate on the instant, loud is the cry against the "culpable negligence of the authorities:" but let them talk over Wellington's campaigns with any of his Veterans, and learn how men of the best families of the land, lay stiff and cold where they fell, unattended for hours and hours, or even for the whole night as Ponsonby on the field of Waterloo; or (to take a still nearer example) as our own gallant old Chief, Lord Gough, whose wound at Talavera remained undressed for two whole days, though a Lieutenant Colonel Commanding a Regiment; and as Sir Henry Hardinge, who though attached to the Prussian Army in a high and honorable position, had to wait eight hours for a Surgeon to amputate his hand.

Peace came at last, and with it peaceful duties. Sir Henry Hardinge now served for some years as a Captain in the Guards; he then entered Parliament and for twenty years sat as Member for Durham and Launceston. During this period he was employed for a short time as Clerk of the Ordnance; on two occasions as Secretary at War, and twice for short periods as Secretary for Ireland. Sir Henry was early distinguished for his clear business-like statements, his matter of fact manner of transacting his official duties, and for the vigour which he threw into all his actions. It is as much the fashion to decry "Military Civilians," as to undervalue "Heaven-born" warriors. Such men as the Duke of Wellington, Sir H. Hardinge, and a host of others of all ages, should ere this have taught the folly of the first error, as Cromwell, Washington, Clive and Blake, that of the other. When will the world perceive that wisdom, foresight and courage are the gifts of God, and not the mere results of social position?

The quickness of perception, the physical and mental energy and business habits which had been so often tried in the field, were now to be tested in the cabinet, and in the Parliament of England—the noblest arena in the World. Here Sir Henry's temper is described by a candid political opponent as warm but

generous, kindling at the least imputation but never "allowing the sun to go down upon his wrath." His adversaries described him as "really a kindly and generous man, warm in friendship, placable and scrupulous in hostility, plain, sincere, straightforward, just and considerate." They allowed him not only these personal qualities, but all the ordinary ones of a safe practical executor of the suggestions of others. They gave him credit for "understanding what he undertakes, and undertaking nothing but what he understands." Still, in reference to his nomination to the post of Governor-General of India, the same party observed that, "to consolidate our Indian empire by ameliorating its institutions; improve justice; remove remaining restrictions on industry; lighten taxes; to execute great public works; to extend education; and above all to raise the Natives and give them a higher social position, a more elevated tone of feeling, and a greater share of political power, require a great and zealous man. But to achieve such results or even to propose them, requires higher qualifications than we can give credit to Sir Henry for possessing."

That the writer erred in this estimate will, we doubt not, be acknowledged when the extent of what Lord Hardinge *has* done for education, for public works, for the reduction of taxes and for the general amelioration of the people of India, is known to him. It is strange that the charge should ever have been made, for in the only departments in which Lord Hardinge had been tried, he had uniformly endeavoured to better the condition of those under him. The British Soldier is indebted to him for many boons, and liberal regulations, which add to his comfort during service and improve his condition in old age; and thus he has justly earned the title of "*the Soldier's friend.*" To him also we believe it is, that England owes the humane prohibition to the Military and Police against firing vollies on mobs. The instructions are now precise and positive as to when the Soldier is to supersede the Magistrate, and then instead of wholesale measures being at once resorted to, *only one file*, in the first

instance, is allowed to fire; the remaining soldiers standing prepared to resist attack.

But the time was come when Sir H. Hardinge was to be called into a new and wider field of action. In May 1844, his kinsman and friend, Lord Ellenborough, was removed from the Government of India by the indignant Court of Directors, whose authority he had defied; and the Ministry of the day, though disposed to defend their colleague, wisely acquiesced in a measure which they could not prevent. With equal wisdom, their selection for the vacant office fell on Sir H. Hardinge. The Court heartily and unanimously acquiesced, and the lovers of official scandal were disappointed at the sudden termination of what at one time bade fair to be a bitter controversy, nay a struggle for superiority between the Directors and the Ministry.

The new Governor-General was selected not as a brilliant orator or Parliamentary partizan, but as a tried soldier and straightforward practical Statesman. Without, however, impugning the candour of either the Cabinet or the Court, we may believe that each had a motive for the choice they made. The former, perhaps, desired as much as possible to soothe the feelings of Lord Ellenborough; and the Court, in accepting his kinsman, doubtless considered that they gave the best possible proof that they had recalled His Lordship on public grounds alone, and with no factious motive. The appointment, in which the Ministers and the East India Company thus happily concurred, was equally popular with the public both in England and India. In the latter, the friends of Lord Ellenborough (and they were not a few, especially among the Juniors of the army) looked with hope and confidence to a similarity of military feelings in the mind of his successor—at once his relative and a soldier; while all trusted to Sir H. Hardinge's acknowledged character for fairness, decision and plain dealing.

Not long before, when the tidings of the Kabul disaster reached England, Sir Henry Hardinge had been offered the command of the Army in India; which he declined. And now, for two whole days, he is understood to have resisted the temptation of

£25,000 a year, with authority greater than that of the autocrat of Russia, over a population inferior in number only to that of China. At the age of 60, to give up his family, his seat in the Cabinet, and the society of the greatest men of the times, for the sake of responding to the call of his country and proceeding to the far East, at the behest, and, in a measure, at the mercy of the Board of Officials, who had so summarily dismissed his relative and friend, required no little forgetfulness of self—no ordinary sense of public duty. A common mind would not have so confided. In this, as in many other passages of Lord Hardinge's Indian career, we recognize the prompt courage of the hero of Albuera.

The usual pledges were now given and taken; the usual dinners eaten, and the accustomed speeches enunciated, but with more than their accustomed interest derived from the past, and more, we believe, of sincerity with reference to the future. On this occasion at least the promises of peaceful policy were not forgotten, though doomed to be disappointed; and after-dinner visions of great works, and plans for the internal improvement of the Anglo-Indian empire, for once did not melt into air.

In his speech on the victories of Múdkí and Ferozshah, delivered on the 2d March 1846, Sir Robert Peel thus well described the circumstances under which Sir Henry Hardinge accepted his high office :—" I well know what was the object of my friend, ' Sir Henry Hardinge, in undertaking the Government of India. ' He made great sacrifices from a sense of public duty ; my gal- ' lant friend held a prominent place in the Councils of her Ma- ' jesty: he was, I believe, without any reference to party divi- ' sions, held in general esteem in this House, as well by his politi- ' cal opponents as by his political friends. He was regarded by ' the army of this country as its friend, because he was the friend ' of justice to all ranks of that army. It was proposed to him at ' a time of life, when, perhaps, ambition is a less powerful stimu- ' lus than it might have been at an earlier period—it was propos- ' ed to him to relinquish his place in the councils of his Sove- ' reign—to forego the satisfaction he must have felt at what he

'could not fail to see, that he was an object of general respect 'and esteem. He separated himself from that family which con- 'stituted the chief happiness of his life, for the purpose of per- 'forming a public duty he owed to his Sovereign and his country, 'by taking the arduous and responsible situation of chief Go- 'vernor of our Indian possessions. He went out with a high 'military reputation, solicitous to establish his fame in connexion 'with our Indian empire, not by means of conquest, or the ex- 'hibition of military skill and valour, but by obtaining for him- 'self a name in the annals of India, as the friend of peace, and 'through the promotion of the social interests and welfare of the 'inhabitants."

Such, we are told by the Premier of England, by him who best knew them, were the motives of Sir Henry Hardinge in accepting the vice-royalty of India: and when we glance over the parting address of the Chairman of the Court of Directors to the new Governor-General, and apply it as a touchstone to that Governor's administration, we cannot fail to perceive how honestly and ably Lord Hardinge has acted up to both the Court's instructions and to his own pledges.

After assuring Sir Henry that he had the Court's "entire confidence—a confidence founded on the reputation he had established for himself not only as a Soldier but as a Statesman," the Chairman slightly but distinctly alluded to the fact that the general administration of British India is the direct charge of the Court of Directors, "subject to the control of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India;" and, drawing thence the corollary that "the maintenance of respect for the authority of the Court is demanded by the existing system of the Indian Government," significantly added, "we are persuaded that you 'will impress this feeling upon our servants abroad, not merely 'by precept, but *by your example.*"

The Civil and Military services, and (with some emphasis) the Governor General's "constitutional advisers, the members of the Council of India," were then recommended to Sir Henry's attention; the Native soldier's good qualities were lauded; and

lastly the Chairman thus urged upon Sir Henry's notice the questions of peace, conciliatory policy, and their results—consolidation and internal improvement:—"By our latest intelligence, 'we are induced to hope that peace prevails throughout India. 'I need not say it is our anxious desire that it should be pre-'served. You, Sir, well know how great are the evils of war, 'and we feel confident that, whilst ever ready to maintain 'unimpaired the honor of our country, and the supremacy of 'our arms, your policy will be essentially pacific.

"To the native states which still retain independence, you 'will extend the shield of British protection. It has hitherto 'been considered a wise and just policy to uphold and support 'those which are in alliance with us; and in dealing with those 'which are more immediately dependent upon our Government, 'we have, with a view to soothe the feelings, and conciliate the 'attachment, of both chiefs and people, permitted the former to 'retain the recognized emblems of authority, their titles and 'other insignia of rank and station. Peace, apart from its other 'advantages, is desirable with a view to the prosperity of our 'finances and the development of the resources of the country.

"The strictest economy consistent with the efficiency of the service" was then enjoined.

The Chairman next touched on education; observing, it "has 'long been the desire of the Court to encourage education 'among the people of India, with a view of cultivating and 'enlarging their minds, of raising them in their own and our 'estimation, and of qualifying them for the more responsible 'offices under our Government. It is, however, necessary, 'with reference to the subject of education, to exercise great 'prudence and caution, in order to avoid even the appearance 'of any interference with their religious feelings and preju-'dices, and to maintain on such points the strictest neu-'trality.

"Finally, Sir Henry, I would earnestly recommend the whole 'body of the people of British India, and its dependencies, to 'your paternal care and protection. It has always been the

'earnest desire of the Court of Directors that the Government of 'the East India Company should be eminently just, moderate, 'and conciliatory. The supremacy of our power must be main- 'tained, when necessary, by the irresistible force of our arms; 'but the empire of India cannot be upheld by the sword alone. 'The attachment of the people, their confidence in our sense of 'justice and in our desire to maintain the obligations of good 'faith, must ever be essential elements of our strength. I be- 'seech you, therefore, to keep these sacred principles habitually 'and permanently in view. The Court has selected you for the 'high office of Governor-General with reference not less to the 'confidence which they entertain in your character for justice, 'moderation and benevolence, than to your undoubted posses- 'sion of a sound practical judgment, and a firm and indomitable 'spirit. You are already in possession of the highest renown 'as a soldier, and we feel assured that you will now rest 'your happiness and your fame on the furtherance of mea- 'sures tending to promote the welfare and best interests of 'the Government, and of the people committed to your care, 'and it is our earnest prayer that, after an extended career of 'useful and valuable service, you may return to your native coun- 'try, bearing with you as the best and most gratifying reward of 'your labors, the thanks and blessings of the people of India."

In a modest rejoinder Sir Henry promised *less than he has performed.*

Sir H. Hardinge reached Calcutta on 23d July. The tremendous heat of the Red Sea at that season did not prevent him from minutely inspecting the works of Aden, and drawing up a Memorandum in correction of the errors of the Bombay Engineers, and proving how unnecessary was the extravagant expenditure then going on upon the rock. Afterwards in India full information was called for, and the Governor-General recorded in another very able paper, that works to an extent sufficient for 1200 men in peace and 1500 in war and proportionate artillery, would make good the post against all probable comers;

since a European enemy must either drag his guns by land, 1500 miles, or be master of the sea.

It is in similar adaptations of ways and means that the officers in every department of the Government of India have found Lord Hardinge's strength to lie; his practical intellect sees and seizes at once upon the strong and weak points of a question; and above all, a military fallacy stands no chance with him. Thus in the instance before us he justly ridiculed the inconsistency of making Aden a Gibraltar, while Singapore, Hong Kong, &c. are left comparatively defenceless. The Aden Papers have generally transpired, and are justly considered as among the very ablest that have emanated from Lord Hardinge's pen.

One of the first acts of the new Governor-General in India was to appoint the late Private Secretary of Lord Ellenborough to the important Commissionership of Tenasserim and Moulmein. Captain Durand has since been removed; but, when appointed, no man in India, of his standing, bore a higher character for talent, application, and business habits; and even those who have since condemned him, find him guilty mainly of errors of judgment. A more honorable man than Captain Durand of the Bengal Engineers does not exist. By his appointment to Tenasserim, the Governor-General was enabled to call up Major Broadfoot, who had for two years held that Commissionership, to the North West Frontier, where Lord Ellenborough had contemplated employing him. These two selections, and a general adherence to his predecessor's policy, satisfied men's minds, that, however in personal demeanour to the Court of Directors, and in some domestic questions, Sir Henry Hardinge might act on his own special views, yet there would be no systematic repeal of Lord Ellenborough's acts, no running down of his opinions because they were those of his predecessor; —a practice too often prevalent in India in places both high and low; so much so, indeed, as often to lead natives to suppose that there is no stability in our institutions, and that one official comes after another only to reverse his orders. Sir Henry Hardinge came to India "fore-warned, fore-armed" against this rest-

less error. He had visited Mount Stuart Elphinstone in England and asked his advice. The veteran Statesman warned him against *meddling with civil details.* The advice was wise; and, what is rare, has been as wisely acted on. The advantage of letting things alone where there is no certainty of mending them, is here too little understood, especially by the half-informed. William Fraser, who was murdered at Delhi, was once consulted by one of his subordinates, who in despair declared that he had tried every means he could devise to bring the people of a certain district into order, but without avail. "Did you ever try what could be done by letting them alone?" was the reply. We recommend the anecdote to every magistrate in India who has got a little leisure, and is thinking what to do with it!

We would not be understood to imply that Lord Hardinge neglected civil affairs; but when it can be truly said that the most industrious magistrate in India may let "well alone," and yet find ample occupation for *all* his time; how much truer is it in regard to a Governor-General. As he cannot possibly have leisure for fiscal and judicial details, there is real wisdom in his leaving them to such men as are usually found in the position of Lieutenant Governor of Agra or Deputy Governor of Bengal.

We shall be delighted to hear that Lord Hardinge has recommended the permanent appointment of a Deputy Governor at Calcutta. The system works admirably at Agra. The Governor-General cannot, and in our opinion ought not, to enter into all the minutiæ of civil *details;* but it is most important that the man who has to do so, should not only be up to his work, but be a fixture for at least a moderate term. By some such arrangement alone, can he be enabled to turn his experience to proper account, or encouraged to sow with any reasonable prospect of seeing some portion of the fruit of his labours. The improvement of the North West Provinces under Mr. Thomason's four years' administration has been most marked; but what possible amelioration can be expected under a system, that, in ten years, has given us nine Deputy Governors over a province containing

thirty millions of inhabitants, and paying a revenue of nine millions? Fortunately for Bengal, it has had an able Secretary in Mr. Halliday. But, however excellent the ministerial officers, and however worthy and efficient the Deputy Governor, if the latter is to be annually relieved, he can at best only keep matters straight for theday. It is morally impossible he can domore. He would indeed be unwise to hazard his own reputation in the projection of schemes which his successor might mow down in the bud.

The Punjab has been called *the* difficulty of recent administrations; but the Government of Oude has been the difficulty of *all.* A fortnight had scarcely passed over the head of the new Governor-General before his attention was drawn to Lucknow affairs. The King, a poor vacillating creature, who had only a twelvemonth before rejected from his counsel the upstart Amin-úd-Dowlah, now again desired to place him at the head of the Ministry to the exclusion of the Vizier Múna-úd-Dowlah, who was giving satisfaction to the envoy. Strong measures were advised: no less than enforcing the article of the treaty, which authorizes the assumption by the British Government of the direct control of all districts whose mismanagement endangers the public tranquillity. The Governor-General did not consider the case to require such an extreme measure; but, addressing the King, as a friend and well-wisher, solemnly warned him of the consequences of a systematic disregard of the Envoy's representations and advice. In the same manner, mixing firmness with friendliness, and respect for individual treaties with determination to maintain the general peace, Sir Henry Hardinge endeavoured in persuade the foolish Nepal Rajah, the equally foolish Nizam, and the whole host of petty princes, to look to their own concerns; to conduct themselves with moderation and good faith; and not to fear British encroachment.

As little communication as possible was kept up with Lahore; and the British Administration of the day, after years of war, and its baneful consequences, sat down in earnest hope of peace, improvement and retrenchment.

Sir Henry Hardinge lost no time in redeeming one of the most important of his pledges to the Court of Directors. On the 10th of October 1844 was passed that memorable education resolution, by which employment under Government was secured to native youths whether educated in private* or Government schools, on proof shown of qualification, ability, studious habits and integrity. The effect of this noble resolution was immense; and the Calcutta Baboos especially, lost no time in responding to the call of Government. Early in December they called a Meeting, and voted an address of thanks, which was signed by more than 500 Native Gentlemen, presented to the Governor-General, and by him most graciously received and answered. He told the deputation that he advocated education as mutually beneficial to the Governors and the governed; that he felt the advantages to Government of the services of Natives of superior intelligence and integrity; but added that he patronized learning on the far higher principle that it increased the happiness and prosperity of society. His speech concluded with these words, "Rely upon 'it, gentlemen, you cannot perform a more patriotic service to 'your countrymen, than by encouraging and promoting education 'among the native population." The Governor-General on another occasion distributed the Prize medals at the Hindu College, and in reference to the speech he then made, a respectable Baboo declared, " never did words more convince me of the 'ardent sincerity of the speaker than did the unaffected but stir-'ring language of Sir Henry Hardinge."

Having thus patronized the Hindus, the Governor-General early in March 1845, attended the distribution of Prizes and Scholarships at the Mahommedan College in Calcutta, where an address was delivered by the students, and received with the same encouraging kindness which had been shown to the disciples of the rival creed. In his reply Sir Henry Hardinge called the attention of his youthful audience to the exciting and wondrous

* It is to be regretted that, from the benefits of this truly liberal measure, *private* Institutions have hitherto been wholly shut out, owing to the narrow and exclusive test of examination which has been adopted.

facts of Steam and Railroads, and the magic power conferred on man by the discovery of electro-magnetic telegraphs; showing how deeply even at that early day the mind of the Governor-General was impressed with the value of such means of communication in an empire so vast as that over which he ruled. Sir Henry concluded by holding out the encouraging example of a distinguished pupil of the college named Syud Hossein, who had recently been made a Deputy Magistrate, and among whose qualifications was a knowledge of English as well as of several Oriental languages.

The education Minute affected the middle and reading classes of the Natives; and much about the same time (30th October 1844) was issued a notification scarcely less interesting to the lowest and poorest. It involved a considerable reduction in the price of foreign salt. This measure, which had been contemplated during Mr. Bird's Deputy Governorship, seemed to be called for not less by motives of humanity than by the soundest maxims of policy. Nevertheless, the measure was regarded by many as a bold one, since it was expected to affect the revenue to the extent of not less than 12 lakhs of Rupees; and that at a time of great pecuniary pressure, at the close of a five years' war, and the opening of a new administration. There is, however, at least as much of wisdom as of mercy in all such reductions of duties; for by them smuggling is starved, and revenue ultimately augmented.

We come next to a question which has been much canvassed both in England and India;—corporal punishment in the army. A large majority of experienced Indian officers were agreed that Lord Wm. Bentinck's well meant abolition of flogging in the Native army had entirely failed as an experiment of discipline. Insubordination had increased. Evil doers were under no restraint; and a sepoy had actually on one occasion stepped out of the ranks and dared his Commanding officer; telling him that the worst punishment he could inflict was dismissal. It was proved, that, while on the old system the average instances of corporal punishment had not exceeded one in 700 per annum,

the number sentenced, under the new system, to labor in irons on the roads had been not less than one in one hundred and fifty —amounting to as many as ten thousand in ten years,—a frightful catalogue, and one that the benevolent heart of Lord Wm. Bentinck could never have dreamt of. Abstractedly considered, corporal punishment is odious; but it is nevertheless true that many men in the Native as well as in the European ranks have gained and honored Commissions whose backs have been scored at the halberds; we much doubt, however, whether any have recovered the moral searing of labouring with robbers and pick-pockets on the public roads. The number alone of men punished by the new Code, was sufficient proof of its inefficiency. The punishment brought misery and dishonour into hundreds of innocent families; while, at the same time, from its being generally inflicted far from the scene of the offence, it was no example to the comrades of the offender, of the consequences of insubordination and neglect of duty.

But a cry had been raised in England against "the lash." With some right feeling, much sickly sentimentalism had been expended on it in Parliament, and by the Press. In India also there was opposition to the idea of restoring flogging to the list of Military penalties; and Sir James Lumley, the respected Adjutant General of the Bengal army, declared it not only unnecessary but highly dangerous. Sir Henry Hardinge calmly heard all that was to be said on both sides; and, having given the opposing arguments the consideration of an experienced soldier, decided upon repealing Lord William Bentinck's abolition. In a masterly record of his own views, he exposed the error of the prevailing system, miscalled *humane*, by exhibiting the statistics of its convictions and punishments; and then, separating *flogging* from *dismissal*, and showing that one was not a necessary consequence of the other, he stripped the bug-bear of half its ignominy, and all its worldly ruin.

Let us not be mistaken. We are no more advocates for flagellation than the softest-hearted of our readers, but we know that

the purposes of discipline, especially in camp and on service, often require instant and summary punishment for offences not in themselves involving moral degradation; and that, therefore, as one great object of all punishment is, or should be, the prevention of crime, it was not only justifiable but absolutely necessary that the law should be altered and discipline restored, by a return to a *modified and closely checked* system of corporal punishment. God forbid that any right-minded man should advocate flogging, except as the *effectual* substitute for the *ineffectual* punishments of imprisonment and death! Moreover, we would fence in the penalty with every possible restriction, and never inflict a lash more than the particular case required. The purposes of discipline are as likely to be effected by 50 lashes as by 500, and in no case would we have them inflicted except under the orders of the chief Military authority on the spot. Prompt punishment is required for mutiny and insubordination—crimes, which, unless on the instant put down, soon convert obedient armies into ruffianly mobs. Neglectful compliance with orders soon engenders jeers and abuse, then blows, and lastly bayonet thrusts or bullets. Twenty lashes within a few hours of the offence may suppress the spirit which, unchecked, requires the infliction of death.* On the other hand there is much detriment to the service, and no possible good to any party, in marching men as prisoners, as has been the case, from Affghanistan to the British Provinces or from Saugor to Arcot and Madras.

Some such thoughts as these must have been passing through the Governor-General's mind, when he summoned Lieut. Col.

* Within the year 1847 there have been full fifty convictions of European soldiers for gross insubordination. Almost all the offenders have been either imprisoned or transported: three were shot, but only three or four men were flogged. They received fifty lashes each, but we are inclined to believe that their convictions were not generally known when the crimes were committed that entailed corporal punishment.

The law, or rather its practice, still requires amendment. "An eye for an eye" is the law of retributive justice, and surely flogging is a more suitable punishment for the Soldier who strikes his Officer than transportation *which he desires*. We are satisfied, that, if the first ten of the culprits above noticed had, each within twenty-four hours of his offence, received fifty lashes, and then been imprisoned, on the silent system, with hard labor for a twelvemonth or so, the three executions as well as the expense and loss of all the transportations would have been avoided.

Birch, the able Judge Advocate General of the Bengal army, down from Simla to Calcutta; caused the whole of the articles of war to be revised; and, in the face of a still strong opposition, and at a time when he was told that a dangerous feeling of discontent was prevalent in the Native army, had the new Code quietly introduced. We can recollect that it was not without some misgivings that the first case of corporal punishment was enforced in our own neighbourhood: but neither then, nor since, have any murmurs been heard against the law. The quiet and well-disposed Native soldiers know that the punishment will never be their fate; and the dissolute and unruly have no voice or discretion in the matter; indeed, it is merciful to themselves to have a punishment which they dread. We have said that the late Adjutant General was strongly opposed to the re-introduction of Flogging in the Native Army; but are happy to add that he lived to correct his error, and *acknowledge* it. We have still greater satisfaction in recording that the returns of the army in the three Presidencies shew that the punishment is *so rarely enforced, as to be almost a dead letter.*

We have enlarged on this topic, because we consider the restoration of corporal punishment as the boldest act of Lord Hardinge's Indian career. He found more than one Regiment in mutiny, and a feeling prevalent that a spark was all that was wanted to light a flame. A large proportion of the Native army was on, or near the frontier, subject to the temptations and seductions of the rioting Sikh troops, whose emissaries were leaving no means untried to spread defection in our ranks. The Governor-General had before his eyes the fate of Sir John Craddock and Lord Wm. Bentinck, at Madras; and, little as was said when the event turned out happily and all went well, he must have foreseen as it were already in type, and only waiting for the printer's ink, the columns of invective and reprobation which would have assailed him had a single *file* demurred upon a punishment parade, much more if the new order had caused general disaffection among the Sepoys. An Aliwal is trumpeted even to nausea; but the bold experiment of legislation, the *moral* victory, whose

loss would have been revolution, passes by unnoticed in the calm of its own success.

It was during the autumn of this year (1844) that the little war of Kolapore and Sawuntwarrí took place. The Governor-General is understood to have urged on the Bombay Government prompt and energetic measures, nor did he disguise his disapprobation of the dilatory proceedings of General Delamotte and his colleagues; and though a member of the Cabinet which had approved, or at least shielded, the appropriation of Sindh, might well have been expected to be prejudiced against the sturdy advocate of the unfortunate Amírs, Sir Henry at once approved of the nomination of Lieut. Colonel Outram to the command of a light field force; and that able and gallant officer justified the confidence reposed in him by bringing hostilities to a speedy close.*

The war concluded; able officers were nominated to conduct the civil management of the lately disturbed tract, where the whole authority was left in the hands of the British agents; in Kolapore during the minority of the Prince, in Sawuntwarri apparently for ever. All has since remained perfectly tranquil in that quarter, mainly owing to the same means that have more recently tranquillized the Punjab. The forts were dismantled, or occupied for the Government; the hereditary Militia honestly disposed of, paid up and discharged; or such as had claims retained and usefully employed in police and other duties. There is a favorite and true saying in the East that without "siyasut" there can be no "riyasut;" or—to be intelligible at home—that severity is inseparable from good government. And on this principle the Governor-General acted in the case before us. He insisted on the punishment of the leaders of the insurrection, but forgave all others.

Immersed in these high duties of a Civil ruler; patronizing literature, encouraging education, cheapening the poor man's food, drawing tight the bands of military discipline, maintaining peace,

* In reference to Colonel Outram's services on this occasion, we understand Lord Hardinge to have said, that he was just the sort of fellow he would wish to have in the field at the head of a Light Brigade.

and repudiating aggression,—the charge has been brought against Lord Hardinge that he descried not the cloud which was rising over the North-West Frontier; that he permitted the Sikh invasion to take him by surprise, and thus jeopardised the empire, and sacrificed many valuable lives. Strange to say, the most forward of these accusers has been the *Quarterly Review*, the political organ of His Lordship's party. We are prepared to prove that the assertions which it contains are as groundless, as they are injurious to Lord Hardinge's reputation.

The Mail which first bore to England the news of the Sikh invasion, carried, we believe, only a hasty and exaggerated account of the battle of Múdkí; and in a time of profound peace the country was aroused with the intelligence that nearly 100,000 Sikhs* were encamped upon British territory and threatening a British outpost. Public confidence, and common sense, fled at the announcement; and without reflecting that the beleaguered post was held by the best General Officer in the Bengal Army, at the head of 10,472 men; that this force which had the advantage of holding a walled town and a partly intrenched cantonment, was more than double that which won the battle of Assaye, and four times that which stemmed the whole torrent of Holkar's Army at Delhi;† and above all that those most qualified to judge (Sir Hugh Gough, Sir John Littler, and Brigadier Wheeler,) were perfectly satisfied not only of the safety of Ferozepore but also of Lúdiana;—without giving a moment's consideration to any of these things the Press assumed defeat, in the interval between the two Mails, and a portion of it *yelled* for the recal of an "imbecile" Governor, and an "incapable" Commander-in-Chief. Other Mails arrived; and with them the tidings of the glorious victories of Ferozshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon. And when Sir Robert Peel in Parliament, in that clear and convincing manner for which his statements are remarkable, detailed the

* We do not estimate the Sikh *Army* which crossed the Sutlej at more than 60,000; but the crowds of armed plunderers, who flocked in the train of the Camp to what they deemed certain victory, swelled the invading force to at least 100,000.

† Burn and Ochterlony had 2½ Regiments and some untrustworthy irregulars. Holkar mustered 70,000 men!

policy which had been observed by the Governor-General towards the Lahore Durbar—although the Right Honorable Baronet, in avoiding exaggeration, very largely understated the strength of the frontier posts at the time of the Sikh irruption, —yet the house and the country generally, went with him when in concluding that part of his speech he declared,—"*It is quite 'clear that my gallant friend the Governor-General did take every 'precaution to ensure the safety of the British dominions in India, 'in case of sudden and unprovoked attack.*"

The *Quarterly Review* undertook for "the incapable Commander-in-Chief," the same friendly office which the Premier had performed for "the imbecile Governor-General:" And zealously did it execute the task. But it was not content with eloquently advocating the claims which that undaunted leader had upon his country's admiration. In the warmth of Biography it forgot History; and taking for its model those warlike medals in which the erect figure of the victor is made to appear gigantic by the corses prostrate at his feet; it elevated the subject memoir *by denying* all merit, all sagacity, all Military of its forethought, to his friend and superior, the Governor-General, beyond the boldheartedness that is common to every British Soldier.

The words of the Reviewer are as follows:—"If there had 'been urgent arguments addressed to Lord Ellenborough in fa-'vour of a peaceful reign, the wish both of the Directors and of 'the cabinet on that head was expressed with increased earnest-'ness to Sir Henry Hardinge. It is necessary to state all this 'clearly, in order that the true causes of our seeming unpre-'paredness to encounter the danger of a Sikh invasion, when it 'came, may be understood. Sir Henry entered upon the duties 'of his office more anxious than perhaps any other Governor-Ge-'neral had ever been before him, to signalize the entire term of 'his residence in India by the useful labours of peace. At the 'same time *he did not consider himself bound either to censure 'to retrace the steps which his predecessor might have taken in 'opposite direction.* He found that the attention of Lord 'borough had been turned seriously towards the North

'Frontier, THAT ALL THE TOWNS FROM DELHI TO KURNAUL 'WERE FILLED WITH TROOPS, that the Commander-in-Chief had 'already surveyed the whole extent of the protected states with a 'view to make choice of military positions; and that the advanc- 'ed posts of Lúdiana and Ferozepore were garrisoned. *Sir 'Henry Hardinge neither undid any thing of all this, nor 'found fault with it; but he carefully abstained from the discussion 'in Council or elsewhere of topics which might turn men's thoughts 'to War;* and, without neglecting any necessary preparations, 'bent himself to the arrangement of plans for the better educa- 'tion of the people of India, &c. pp. 187, 188, No. 155, *Quarter- 'ly Review*, June, 1846."

"Sir Henry Hardinge continued the winter of 1844, and the 'early spring of 1845, to prosecute his plans for the general im- 'provement of India. That he kept his eye upon the Punjab, 'and was neither regardless of the confusion into which its affairs 'were falling, nor of the consequences to which this might pro- 'bably lead, is most certain. He had already directed that the 'works both at Lúdiana and Ferozepore should be strengthened; 'and raised the garrison of the latter place from four thousand to 'seven thousand men. The former was held by about six thou- 'sand; and at Umballa, where Gough's Head Quarters were es- 'tablished, and among the Cantonments in its rear, lay about 'seven thousand five hundred, of all arms. *But as Sir Henry 'certainly did not anticipate that the whole power of the Punjab 'would be thrown across the Sutlej, he naturally concluded that 'there was force enough at hand to meet and repel whatever invasion 'might be hazarded."—Page* 189, *No.* 155, *Quarterly Review, 'June*, 1846.

Such entire ignorance of localities, and of what, in reality, had been done on the frontier, is displayed throughout the article on which we are commenting, that if we were writing for India one, the Reviewer might safely be left to his own meditations; but t. as an air of authority pervades his essay, it may be necessary they de. † Burnark, for the benefit of readers in Europe, that not only Holkar mus. towns from Delhi to Kurnaul were" *not* "filled with

Troops," but that not a single soldier was stationed in any one of them at the period referred to; moreover, that Kurnaul itself had been abolished as a military station, a twelvemonth before Lord Hardinge arrived in India.

If the English language conveys any meaning at all, the extracts we have quoted imply that Lord Ellenborough had prepared every thing on the frontier for war; that Lord Hardinge refrained out of delicacy from countermanding those preparations, which he however considered unnecessary; but that he as carefully refrained from adding to them a single man or a gun, except at the post of Ferozepore; satisfied that the force which his predecessor had collected between Meerut and the Sutlej was "enough to meet and repel whatever invasion might be hazarded."

The Table below will show how the case really stands :*

Post.	Strength as left by Lord Ellenborough.	Ditto at first breaking out of War.	Increased preparation made by Lord Hardinge.
Ferozepore,	4,596 men 12 guns.	10,472 men 24 guns.	5,876 men 12 guns.
Lúdiana,	3,030 men 12 guns.	7,235 men 12 guns.	4,205 men 0 guns.
Umballa,	4,113 men 24 guns.	12,972 men 32 guns.	8,859 men 8 guns
Meerut,	5,873 men 18 guns	9,844 men 26 guns.	3,971 men 8 guns.
Whole Frontier, exclusive of Hill Stations which remained the same,	17,612 men 66 guns	40,534 men 92 guns.	22,911 men 28 guns.

* We have taken these figures chiefly from a "Note" which we can scarcely say *appeared*, but which *is to be found*, in the 157th No. of the *Quarterly Review*, of December 1846. The materials of this "Note" the Editor says he received "from India;" and that he advances them "on authority which it is impossible to controvert;" yet it will scarcely be credited that after having, six months previously, in a widely circulated article on the War, disseminated the belief that the Military Governor-General of India had been so absorbed in peaceful occupations as to forget his frontier and endanger the Empire; when in process of time he received "from India" and "on authority" the completest refutation *in figures* and *facts*; the only *amends* which he makes as *an historian* and instructor of the public mind, is to smuggle the contradiction into his 157th number, at the bottom of a page and the tail end of an

Yes; as the *Quarterly Review* in self-correction says in its "Note," two numbers later, "The state of preparation with 'reference to the Sikhs, at the time of his arrival in India, '(July 1844) *did not satisfy him* (Lord Hardinge) *at all.* On 'the contrary, within three weeks of his arrival in Calcutta,— 'as soon, that is, as he had received from the Commander-in- 'Chief a correct state of the distribution of the force in advance, '*he came to the conclusion that it would by no means suffice,* '*even for defensive purposes; and that it was wholly inade-* '*quate to carry on an offensive war, should such be forced* '*upon him.* In like manner the answers to his inquiries rela- 'tive to the state of the Magazines and means of transport, 'declared, that to assemble 36,000 men—the total amount of 'troops stationed within a circuit of some hundreds of miles— 'would require two months after the order to concentrate should 'have reached Benares. Sir H. Hardinge saw that this state of 'things would never do; *and he began forthwith to reinforce every* '*post in advance*—yet did it so quietly, that even in our own 'provinces the operation passed unnoticed."—*Note in No.* 157.

The result was that before he had been three months in India, Sir Henry Hardinge had several Corps marching from the farthest confines of the Bengal Presidency towards the N. W. Frontier; apparently in the usual course of relief; "but giving orders that not a man should withdraw from his position till the relief arrived; upon one pretext or another he kept the whole together; thus doubling without the smallest appearance of care on that head, his disposable force."—*Note in Quarterly Review, No.* 157.

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article on "the state of Ireland" !!!—This too without any announcement in the Table of Contents either on the cover, or fly-leaf, that such a "Note" was to be found by any one anxious to know the *truth* about the War in India. We wish not to be uncharitable; but it is apparent that if there had been as much desire to make known the corrections, as to blazon the errors, some more conspicuous place would have been found for the "Note," and the *usual* means have been adopted of attracting the attention of the Reader, by including it in the table of Contents. That we are not imagining a grievance is proved by the fact that the Indian papers which copied the entire original article of nearly 40 pages, took no notice, so far as we know, of the *Note* of scarcely more than three. This can only be attributed to their being unaware of its existence. Certainly they could not have found it devoid of interest.

With a similar prescience of their coming necessity, the Governor-General in September, 1844, only two months after his arrival in India, gave orders for European barracks to be built at Ferozepore, and they were completed in April, 1845. In January, 1845 Sir Henry wrote *privately* to the Governors of Madras and Bombay for remount horses; and borrowed 600 from the former and 500 from the latter, for his Artillery; 968 of which reached Muttra in November, 1845, *before the War broke out.*

From Bombay also the Governor-General summoned H. M.'s 14th light dragoons, foreseeing that if there was a war the British Cavalry on the Frontier would have warm work of it.

Equal preparation was made in the Ordnance Department. In January, 1845, the horses of Light Field Batteries were increased from 98 to 130; four Bullock Batteries got horses; and two Batteries of iron 12-pounder Batteries were prepared with elephants.

"It was not, however, by providing men and guns alone that 'the Governor-General put matters in a train against every emer-'gency. Fifty-six large boats prepared by Lord Ellenborough 'were brought up from the Indus, and reached Ferozepore in 'September, 1845. The flooring, grappling, cables, &c., arriv-'ed likewise complete; and a pontoon train was borrowed from 'Sindh, and rendered available. It was this forethought which 'enabled the Engineers to lay down the bridge below Feroze-'pore in the course of one night and one day; and to do their 'work so securely, that the whole of the invading force—24,000 'strong, with 40 pieces of siege-cannon, 100,000 camp follow-'ers, and 68,000 animals—passed without the occurrence of a 'single accident."—*Quarterly Review, note in No.* 157.

To quote still further from the ungracious recantation *Quarterly*; "it appears in a word, that the new Governor-Ge[illegible]r is ral judged it necessary to re-arrange with the concurrence even C. C. the whole plan of distribution; and the result of the Sikh rangements was that no less than 14,000 British soldier may be at Múdkí five days after the declaration of War; and busied in

ing a strong detachment with the baggage, 17,727 men, including seven English Regiments and 69 guns at Ferozshah three days later." These figured statements are a sufficient answer to the charge against the Governor-General of being unprepared; for no one who has seen a single Regiment, much less a brigade or Division move, can be ignorant that the rapidity with which this force was concentrated was unprecedented in Indian warfare,—that not a tithe of the amount was ever before assembled in an equally brief period—and that, without long continued previous preparation, not one-half of it could possibly have been brought to bear within any reasonable time.

To assist, however, a just estimate of what Lord Hardinge did in the way of preparation, let us reduce our speculation to one simple question; viz. If, out of 32,479 men including the European Regiments in the Hills at and above Umballa in December 1845, only 17,727 men could be brought into action after junction with the Lúdiana and Ferozepore forces; and, if that number but just sufficed to beat back the most formidable enemy and win one of the most bloody battles which British India has ever witnessed;—what sort of an army could the Commander-in-Chief have assembled and brought into the field, and what would have been the position of the empire, had the strength of the frontier at and above Umballa remained as Lord Ellenborough left it in July 1844, at 13,538?

Thus far we have only compared Lord Hardinge's Military preparations on the N. W. Frontier, with those of his immediate predecessor, who contemplated not merely *defensive*, but *offensive* operations. But should the Historian in his search after materials, ever glance his eye over these pages, we call upon him to go farther back and bring the light of former times former administrations, to bear upon the one before us. Let tell the mole-eyed critics of one war, how other wars came British India; how the Indian army was *prepared* when ernment had virtually broken the treaty with Mysore; der Ali's invasion burst upon our defenceless frontier; rdes swept the country around Madras; and, having

destroyed one army, and paralyzed the only other in the field, his nightly watchfires illumined the senators of the "benighted Presidency!" *How prepared,* when the Burmans broke through treaties, invaded our territories and for six months sat down in front of our hastily assembled army; and how prepared when the Nepalese murdered our Police officers, occupied our lands, and one after the other destroyed our detachments! Or, as more akin to what might have been expected from the Sikhs; what was the extent of our preparation when, on two occasions, the Mahrattas confederated against us, or even when the Pindarri bands burst upon our borders and devastated our districts? When all shall have been fairly told, it will be, we think, unnecessary to add that in no one of these instances were we in a tenth degree as well prepared for war as in 1845, though in all we had at least as much reason to expect it.

The retrospect may be further pursued. Was there less cause, antecedently, to dread the Mysore troops, the Burmans, the Mahrattas, and the Nepalese, than the Sikhs? Which of all these enemies had the best Military reputation; and which was considered in India most formidable to the British Empire? Was it the warlike banded force of Mysore, led by French Officers under their able, unscrupulous, and powerful chief, in the first flush and the tide of his conquests, and in the hour of our greatest weakness; the disciplined and veteran Battalions of Perron and DeBoigne, backed by a formidable artillery and by bands of hardy cavalry; the undaunted and energetic Gúrkhas proud of a hundred victories; the lusty Burmans scarce rested from a long career of unchecked success;—or, was it the *supposed* rabble of dissolute and mutinous Sikhs, with weapons scarce cleansed from the murder of their Sovereign, and the massacre of their best and bravest leaders? Anarchy doubtless has its strength. Its wild impulsive throes may overthrow whatever is immediately within its reach, and by a mad assault may even surprise and conquer kingdoms; but it was left for the Sikh soldiery to prove that the centurion and the sentinel may be training themselves for offensive war, while apparently busied in

murdering their consuls and their tribunes;—France herself cannot show such an example. The French were invaded; the Sikhs were invaders.

And let not the historian, who begins the parallel we have suggested, stop here. Let him, after showing how former wars came upon British India, set forth how they were *carried* on by the administrations of the day: let him recount the dangers and destitution of Rangoon, the six months' delay at Chittagong, the constant famine-stricken state of the Arracan Division, and the little better condition, and still worse results of General Shouldham's column, during the Burman war; the disasters of the two Woods, the defeat and death of the gallant Gillespie, the fruitlessness of the whole first Nepal Campaign, and the all but failure of the second,—saved only by Ochterlony's happy rashness; the starving state of the Army at Kandahar and Ghuzni, and lastly the battles of Meaní and Dubba fought just after a British Regiment had been sent by one route out of Sindh, and the Bengal column by another;—and then, let him compare these blunderings into a victory, with the noiseless combinations of Lord Hardinge, who, in nine days after the invasion, brought no less than 17,500 men (among whom were no less than seven* British Regiments) into action at Ferozshah, and six weeks later finished the campaign with an addition to his European force of two Regiments of Infantry and two of Cavalry at Sobraon; so that the most terrible war which has ever threatened our empire was gloriously concluded in sixty days, at which period Sir Charles Napier, with a reinforcement of 16,500 fresh men and 50 guns, was close at hand! We have thrown out these last suggestions to those who read, or may one day add to, the History of India. We must leave the campaign to stand upon its own merits, unrelieved by the contrast of others less successful; and feel sure that after a calm perusal of the facts we have adduced and the *figures* we have given—those obstinate and indelible proofs—it will seem astonishing to our readers that the cry of want of preparation should ever have been raised against

* There being at the time only eleven in the Bengal Presidency.

Lord Hardinge; and that 22,911 men and 28 guns should steal up so softly to the frontier as to be unnoticed even by the newspapers. In the end, however, according to the old motto, "truth will prevail" even in the teeth of a "*Quarterly Review*;" and whenever the time shall come (may it be distant!) for History calmly to review the closed list of Lord Hardinge's Military deeds in India, we believe that this very quality of *foresight*, which, from ignorance of *facts concealed by himself*, he is now so strangely denied, will be accounted foremost among his claims to the title of an able General. It is true that his fire and vigour in action at sixty does no shame to the glories of his early fields; but his *main excellence* consists in prudence of preparation, and that accurate calculation of time, place, necessity, and result, which in strategy is called combination. Seldom indeed in any country has been found a soldier who so minutely entered into the economical details of his Army, who so thoroughly understood those details, and as far as in him lay brought them to bear upon the work in hand. We wish too that he could have left behind him in India a little of that "mens æqua rebus in arduis," which is so happily perpetuated on his medal. Our countrymen in the prostrate East become enervated by long prosperity; and little fitted to meet even temporary trouble. Like the Romans of old, we have vitality enough to survive a Thrasymenus or a Cannæ, but we not only cannot forgive a Varro, but find it difficult to understand a Fabius. We are too loud in consternation at occasional disaster and unaccustomed loss; and in scanning the conduct of our leaders are too ready on half information, or no information at all, to register as dastards and imbeciles, men who —perhaps before we were born—had proved themselves in the field, and in the cabinet, both brave and wise.

Among the injurious insinuations of the "*Quarterly Review*" in chronicling events previous to the war, it was pretty broadly implied that not only did not the Governor-General make military preparation himself, but that he would not allow the Commander-in-Chief to do so for him. As an instance, the supposed marching and counter-marching of the Meerut division, was

quoted; and we now extract the same Reviewer's recantation "*upon authority which it is impossible to controvert.*"

"For example, at page 190, Sir Henry Hardinge is described as 'arresting, in November, 1845, the advance of a force which Sir 'Hugh Gough had ordered up from Meerut, and declining to 'reinforce the Garrison of Ferozepore with an additional 'European Regiment. This turns out not to have been the 'case. No regiments were ordered to remove from Meerut, 'so early as the month of November, with the exception of H. 'M.'s 9th Lancers; and even that corps was subsequently halted 'at the Commander-in-Chief's suggestion. Other regiments were 'directed to *hold themselves in readiness*—and that they were in 'a condition to move so early as the 11th of December, was 'owing entirely to the vigorous measures adopted by the Go-'vernor General in his dealings with the Commissariat."

Not only, indeed was the Governor-General no stop upon the Commander-in-Chief's proceedings, but the two veterans were united in opinion both as to the measure of danger, and the means of meeting it. Both believed that the frontier might be insulted, perhaps invaded, by desultory hordes of marauding horse, and loose bands of Akalís; but neither imagined that the threat which, since the death of Runjít Singh, had so often been idly made in our times of trouble and even of peril, would now be carried out at a period of perfect peace, when the undivided resources of the British Indian Empire were available to repel attack. And it should be remembered that they held this opinion in common with Major Broadfoot, Captain P. Nicolson,* Mr. Currie, Sir John Littler, Brigadier Wheeler, Captain C. Mills,

* A very erroneous idea was prevalent after the Sikh War, with regard to its having been foreseen by some of the Political officers on the Frontier and not by others. It has been said—chiefly, we believe, on the authority of private letters, some brief and hurried expressions of which might very easily be misconstrued by inexperienced readers at a distance,—that Captain Nicolson was always of opinion that the Invasion would occur, but that Major Broadfoot scouted the idea; and this has been made a handle for exalting the sagacity of the former at the expense of the latter. Captain Nicolson was an able and zealous officer, and did his best at a difficult time: certainly his manly and upright character wants not the support of an untruth! We have seen copies of more than one of Captain Nicolson's letters written just before the Sikhs crossed. In one, to Captain Mills, so late as the 2nd of December 1845, he wrote, "I do not think the Sikh Army will come on, but it is feverish." "The whole army with guns

and indeed all the ablest and best informed officers on the Frontier. Time has shewn the error of the belief; and recorded it in the blood of the two first of the wise and gallant men we have enumerated; but even after this lapse of time, and familiar as we are with the actual result, their judgment seems to us sound and consistent with *human* reason and probability. For it was *not* credible that the Lahore *Government* would calmly sit down in the midst of its difficulties, and make the horrible calculations which it did of its inability to stand another month against the army—that the next revolution would be directed against the lives and properties of the few surviving Sirdars; and that the vengeance of a foreign Army would be a lesser evil than the fury of its own,—that, *therefore*, it was expedient to fling the soldiery upon British India, supplying them with every possible means of success, taking, if unsuccessful, the chance of clemency and forgiveness, and if victorious the merit and profit of repelling the English from Hindustan. We repeat that this calculation was too monstrous to be altogether credible, though not too monstrous to be true. We have shewn that Lord Hardinge did not credit its probability, but *was* prepared for its possibility.

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and commissariat to some extent is ready for a start, but I cannot help thinking it is taking up its position rather with a view to defence *in case of our advance** than with the idea of crossing the Sutlej *en potence*. Small bands of them we must look for, &c. &c."—and again the very next day to Major Broadfoot—"If the Sikhs do cross the river *it will be for plunder; but I do not think they will cross. Small independent bodies may.*" Shortly after the war we saw some original letters of the same officer to Major Broadfoot, and though we cannot recall the exact words, we can positively state that up to the last moment they expressed a firm belief that the Sikh Army, *as an Army*, would never be mad enough to cross the Sutlej. We mention these facts, not to depreciate Captain Nicolson's real merits; but simply to vindicate the memory of Major Broadfoot, who had no equal on the Frontier, and few perhaps in India.—Captain Nicolson having been Major Broadfoot's assistant could have had no other sources of information than those open to his official superior. By his position at Ferozepore he only saw and heard what was reported a few hours later to Broadfoot, and what the latter could corroborate or correct by Captain Mills' and his own immediate emissaries. We have quoted the opinions of all on the Frontier that the enemy would not cross, *as an Army*. To their testimony we may add that of Major Lawrence in Nepal and Captain Cunningham at Bahawulpúr, both of whom it is understood discredited the *fact* of the invasion *after* it had occurred. But we needlessly accumulate evidence on the subject. We very much doubt whether the Sikhs themselves knew their *own* intentions 24 hours before they carried them out. *They had prepared the means of a great military movement—chance—accident—caprice determined the quarter against which it should be directed.*

* The italics are ours.

A few words will not be misplaced here as to the bygone policy of our Government on the frontier in question.

It has ever been the wish of the British Government to assist in the maintenance of a strong Sikh Government in the Punjab. It is understood that those who had the best means of forming a judgment on the question, Colonel Richmond, Major Broadfoot, Colonel Lawrence, and Mr. Clerk—in whatever other points they may have differed, were all agreed in this, that no advantage that might be gained by annexation could equal that of having an independent and warlike but friendly people between us and the loose, wild, Mahommedan hordes of Central Asia. Not that the latter are in themselves formidable, even in their own country; but that their unsettled Government, or too often absence of all Government, must ever render them unsatisfactory neighbours. Much however as the maintenance of a Sikh Government in the Punjab was desired, it was early perceived that the chances were against it. One after another the ablest men in that unhappy country were cut off; falling by each other's hands or plots; often the assassin with his victim.*

The violent death of Jowahir Singh, though for an instant it promised to prevent hostilities, in the end rather accelerated than postponed them. No man dared to seize the helm. Raja Lal Singh was not wanting in courage; and Maharaja Golab Singh has abundance; but neither coveted the Viziership of the "Búrcha Raj,"† which involved responsibility to a thousand exacting masters. Intoxicated with success at home, where no man's honor was safe from their violence, where they had emptied the coffers of the state, and plundered those of Jummú; the unsated soldiery now sought to help themselves from the Bazars and

* Dr. MacGregor, in his History of the Sikhs, naively mentions the name of the Múnshí who now holds Raja Dhyan Singh's written order for the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh; and also the one written by Ajít Singh for that of the false Vizier; but his believing in the existence of such documents only proves how little qualified the Doctor is for the office of the Historian. Asiatic Ministers in general are much too prudent to give *written* orders for the assassination of their rivals or masters; Rajah Dhyan Singh was the last man in the world to have put on record such a document!

† "Búrcha;" somewhat equivalent to our Butcher, was the designation applied to the Lahore Pretorians during their reign of terror.

treasuries of Delhi. This madness of the Sikh army was the true cause of invasion, and not either the acts of the British Government, or its Agents.

Next to Runjít Singh, Maharaja Sher Singh was the truest friend in the Punjab to the British alliance. He was not a wise man, but in this at least he shewed wisdom. Few indeed are the native chiefs, or natives of any rank, whose wisdom is consistent and complete. Many are clever in the extreme, acute, persevering, energetic, able to compete with the best of Europeans in ordinary matters, to surpass them in some; but the most accomplished character among them has its flaw. We never yet met one that was not an infant at some hour of the day, or on some question of life. Maharaja Sher Singh is an instance. Brave, frank, and shrewd, he might have been a strong, if not a great Ruler, had he not been the slave of sensuality, and shrunk from the exertion of opposing the Jummú brothers. He felt himself in their toils, but lacked the energy to snap the cords. He saw that they ruled, though he was King. He wanted the resolution to act as one.

It is as difficult for an administration to shape its conduct so as to please all parties as it is for an individual to do so. Great was the outcry against Lord Auckland for anticipating, what he believed, invasion; and as loud against Lord Hardinge, because he acted contrarily. It is now much the fashion, in some quarters little cognizant of facts, to declare that among the duties of the Paramount Power is the obligation to interfere in the concerns of every state of India at all internally disturbed. The loudest setters forth of such doctrines, however, shut their eyes to the fact that interference may possibly rather increase than prevent mischief, and that British Troops once marching into any native state, the independence of that state then virtually ceases. In short, that unless we subdue and occupy for ourselves, which under the circumstances here referred to, we have no right to do, the chances are that we inflict injury rather than confer benefit. Interference therefore must be made on pure motives, for the good of the people and not for the improvement of the

finances of India. The day has gone by for annexing principalities, because they are rich and productive. The spirit of the age is against such benevolence. With so much of preliminary remark, we may observe that it is now no secret, that in the spring of 1841 Maharaja Sher Singh *did* make overtures to the British Government, and was offered an armed interference in his favor. A force of 10 or 11,000 men, was moreover actually told off, and under preparation at Kurnaul, to move into the Punjab under Major General Sir James Lumley; and the vituperators of Lord Hardinge's preparations for the defence of the frontier will—or ought to be—"at a loss for words to express their indignation," when they hear that only four years previous to the Sikh Invasion of British India, it was calmly contemplated to march a force, not exceeding that of Sir John Littler's at Ferozepore, to Lahore, to put down the whole mutinous Sikh Army.

In referring to this circumstance, however, we are far from desiring to make it the handle of an imputation against Lord Auckland's Administration: we only give it its weight in judging of Lord Hardinge's military prudence. The intentions of Lord Auckland and of his advisers were most pure: his Lordship was perfectly aware of the dangers of interference, but he believed that the benefits to all parties would outweigh the evils. He acted on the light of his day. He calculated on divisions in the Sikh camp, separation of interests in the Sikh Durbar, and immediate junction of the Maharaja and his partizans with the British auxiliary force. And the event might certainly have justified the measure; but we doubt whether the military movement, much less the political scheme, would have succeeded. For if the Sikh soldiers could drag their chiefs and officers over the border which Runjít Singh had never crossed but to repent, and there induce them to lay down their lives for the Khalsa, how much greater must have been their influence, how infinitely more determined would have been their opposition, had *we* been the invaders of Umritsur and Lahore. Our own opinion is that a massacre of Sher Singh and his adherents would have closely followed the British passage of the Sutlej,

and that the whole Khalsa Army and the flower of the Jat population would have united to oppose us in one decisive action which would have destroyed our army, or have given us the keys of the Capital. Our British Indian readers—many we trust heroes of the Sutlej—are now in a position to judge as accurately as we can of what might have been the result; but let them in fairness remember, that their own knowledge is recent and dear-bought *experience*, and not prescience: perhaps at the opening of the War of 1845 they themselves (as the custom was in the British Camp) both thought and talked contemptuously of the Sikh army. How then shall any man "throw a stone" at Lord Auckland, who only trod in the steps of those who went before him, and whose opinions were, in this respect at least, enthusiastically embraced by *his successor*.

Within a twelvemonth, the Kabul catastrophe depressed our Military reputation in India more than any disaster since the retreat of Monson. The necessity was recognized of making extraordinary efforts to recover our pre-eminence and our prestige. Yet General Pollock's avenging army never exceeded 10,000 men, until united with Sale, when with Irregulars "of all sorts," it might have mustered 15,000 of all arms. It may be said, "Lord Ellenborough relied upon Sikh friendship and co-operation, or he would never have permitted so small a British force to carry on operations at the further extremity of the Punjab." On the contrary, Lord Ellenborough recorded on the 15th March 1842 his opinion that no reliance was to be placed on the Sikh Sirdars or Soldiers co-operating with the General; and ordered accordingly that the army should not advance, unless General Pollock could "by his own strength overawe and overcome all who dispute the pass, and keep up at all times his communication with Peshawur and the Indus." Thus wrote the Governor-General, who was at heart a Soldier; and, as the advance took place we must presume, the General, who was chosen from all India to the high office of avenging his country, felt himself equal to the task, and that the Political Officers (Mackeson, Lawrence, MacGregor and Shakespeare) employed under his

orders, saw no peculiar danger in the move. In short Lords Auckland and Ellenborough, backed by public opinion, based a mighty military operation on the belief that a British army no larger than Littler's at Ferozepore,* though watched by 30,000 disaffected Sikhs, could "by their own strength" force the formidable Khyber; and when reinforced by Sale, could "keep up their communications with the Indus."

When we remember Plassey, Buxar and numberless other victories of early days; when we call to mind that the great Duke in the face of Holkar, the most dangerous enemy we had encountered since the days of Hyder Ali, divided his scarce 10,000 men, and with less than half that number fought and won the glorious battle of Assaye; when indeed we review all our greatest battles in Burmah, Nepal, India, Affghanistan, and China, and see what handfuls were enough for victory, and lastly when we acknowledge the estimation in which, with very few exceptions, our officers held Sikh Soldiers *till they tried them* in 1845; surely we need not too closely scrutinize either the intentions of Lord Auckland or the overt acts of Lord Ellenborough. But if we can—nay if we must—exculpate those noblemen, how unjust to arraign Lord Hardinge? The armed interference contemplated by Lord Auckland was postponed by the vacillation of Sher Singh and the lateness of the season, until at last it was prevented altogether by the Kabul catastrophe. On the return of Generals Pollock and Nott from Affghanistan, Lord Ellenborough at the head of 40,000 men and 101 guns, met them at Ferozepore. Early in 1843 the assembled thousands dispersed, and the frontier station was left with only 2,500 men, and so remained until after the battles of Maharajpúr and Punniar, when it was strengthened by two Regiments. Lord Ellenborough contemplated the erection of a strong Fortress at Ferozepore, but the foundations were never laid; and the

* We refer the curious reader to the Affghan Blue Book, No. 89, for Sir Jasper Nicholl's own expression of his "extreme unwillingness" to part with his Brigades. There is much food for reflection in the mode Colonel Wild was first sent up to Peshawur, and General Pollock, and then Colonel Bolton successively followed.

intrenchment that was substituted, scarcely, if at all, strengthened the position.

We may take this opportunity of stating the opinion to which mature consideration, and the gradual disclosure of facts, has led us; that,—whereas the War Establishment of the Indian army, including 33,000 British Soldiers, as also Irregulars and Contingents, did not exceed 300,000 men, and had to defend a frontier of 12,000 miles, and protect as well as coerce a population of not less than* 100,000,000 souls, a large proportion being of warlike habits, and ill habituated to our yoke,—so far from Lord Hardinge having failed to bring up to the frontier in 1845 every soldier that was available; his error lay, if any where, in having denuded the provinces by *bringing up too many.* But the result justified the measure, and showed that the Statesman had not been forgotten in the Soldier. At Gwalior, by Lord Ellenborough's arrangements, a hostile army of 30,000 men had merged into a friendly contingent of 6,000. Nepal was quiet, or at least engrossed in its own petty domestic broils; Burmah was somewhat similarly situated; Oude, the Deccan, and Mysore preserved an obedient subordination; and from Rajpútana Colonel Sutherland is said to have written that 100,000 gallant Rajpúts were ready to march to the support of Government. There remained then only the chances of domestic insurrection, and of disaffection in our own Army. How well the native Soldiery resisted all appeals from the Lahore incendiaries; how true they were to their salt, when double pay with unlimited license was offered them, is best shewn by the fact that not above thirty men deserted from the Ferozepore garrison of 10,472; and that *after* hostilities commenced, not an individual among them abandoned his colours; nor are we aware that twenty did so from the whole Army during the war.

Domestic insurrection was a more probable contingency. There is no denying that much alarm was felt in Bengal, and in those parts of the Agra Presidency which were farthest from the seat

* With a population of 34,000,000, the French Army is 450,000, or more than four to one of the Indian, in reference to population.

of war; but a crude conspiracy at Patna, which injured only the few desperate men concerned in it, was the only treason of which we ever heard.

If, however, partial commotions had been the consequence of the withdrawal of troops from the lower provinces, it was perhaps wise to hazard them for the great purpose of bringing the war to a rapid and glorious close. The rising of a mob, or even the tumultuous gathering of armed men without discipline or means, is a small matter when compared with the approaching tide of a Regular Army of 60,000 men, well supplied with Artillery, and daily swelled by numberless recruits of its own creed from the very country it invaded.

To combine the defence of the frontier with the defence of the provinces, one other alternative presented itself to Lord Hardinge. He might have increased the army. But he rejected the idea for reasons sufficiently obvious and cogent. Already the expences of the state were more than a million above the income; already the Government was threatened with bankruptcy.

Let us do justice therefore to the all but overwhelming difficulty of the Governor-General's position; and honor to the firmness with which he met and overcame it. It was, we may rely upon it, no easy task—no light responsibility—to defend a wide frontier with a scanty army, await a war with an empty treasury, and so cautiously prepare for hostilities as not to give cause for offence. The latter was hardest of all. The threatening rupture with the Khalsa might not come in a day, or a year, or might even be staved off for the duration of Lord Hardinge's administration; but in all human probability it was nigh at hand, could not be avoided, and *yet in good faith could not be anticipated.*

Yes, it is our opinion that up to the date of the actual invasion we had no "casus belli;" and had we invaded the Punjab because the mad Sikh Soldiery, as they had often done before, threatened to invade *us*, the Princes of India would have supposed that our long and patient forbearance had been merely an

untiring ambush,—a lying in wait till dissension had thinned the ranks of the Sikhs, in order that when they were exhausted with intestine strife, we might come forth and spring upon the prey. The press of Europe too would have found in such a questionable policy another theme for calumniating "perfidious Albion," and in all probability that very portion of the Indian press which has systematically assailed Lord Hardinge's "want of preparation," might have then been loudest in vituperating his *aggression.*

Native States have, at any rate, appreciated the chivalrous good faith which marked his conduct. Character, we can assure our friends, is as useful, and "honesty as good policy" in Asia as in Europe. The Duke of Wellington, with reference to Gwalior, well said that he would prefer giving up any advantage to bringing by implication a stain upon our name. We would desire that our forbearance and good faith should ever prove to the millions who so closely watch our actions, that we have come among them as messengers of peace, protection and good will; that we are slow to take offence, and abhor the subterfuges of the aggressor, though, when injured, we have the power and the spirit to avenge ourselves. This train of thought pervades Lord Hardinge's policy, and we honor him for it.

Having now fully discussed the Governor-General's preparations for defensive war upon the N. W. Frontier, let us pass to the war itself, first pausing a little to see what reason there was to expect invasion in 1845 more than in any other year since the death of Sher Singh, and next to add a few words as to how we had been prepared in former times to resist aggression.

Mr. Metcalfe's veto, rather than Ochterlony's Battalions, stopped Runjít Singh's southward career in 1808; and when the station of Lúdiana was established and left, with three or four Regiments, 150 miles in advance of all support, the British authorities must have either estimated the Sikhs very lightly or confided in them very implicitly. Thus Lúdiana remained for thirty years, until strengthened by Lord Ellenborough. But more extraordinary still, Ferozepore, though the base of the

grand movement of Affghanistan, was, after the first few months, left with a garrison of three, four, and sometimes of even two Regiments.

How jealously Runjít Singh watched British movements in Affghanistan is well known; how he forbade the passage of the Punjab, obliging the army of the Indus to proceed by the wide circuit of Sindh and the Bolan Pass. How, after the Lion's death, Sir J. Keane's return to the provinces, during the cold weather of 1839-40, was only not opposed through the extraordinary personal influence of Mr. Clerk and the estimation in which he was held by the Sikhs, is also no secret. Those who were with Sir John may remember, that when he arrived at Shahdurra with the mere skeleton of a Brigade, and saluted the fort of Lahore, his compliment was not returned; and barely the commonest personal civilities paid to himself. Some at least of his companions may also remember that an official notice then reached him from Captain Nuthall, an intelligent commissariat officer, who had been for months employed in collecting supplies in the Punjab, that a treacherous attack on his camp was intended, and that simultaneously with it the Sikhs purposed to cross the river, burn Ferozepore and march on Delhi. Whether there was any truth in the information is perhaps not now ascertainable, but one thing is certain, that, about the same time the British kafila for Affghanistan, on which our very existence in that country depended, was refused a passage; and not till after a month's delay, and *again* through Mr. Clerk's personal influence, was it permitted to pass.

During the next year, 1840-41, Major Broadfoot's progress with Shah Sujah's family to Kabul was impeded as much by his own Sikh escort as by the mutinous soldiers on his way; and but for his own indomitable courage, he probably never would have reached his destination. It is well known how *cordially*, in 1841-42, that ill-fated and ill-used officer Brigadier Wilde, was supported by his Sikh allies, and how, on General Pollock's arrival at Peshawur and during his two months' stay there, they were considered more as enemies than as friends; and yet, by

entrusting them with the escort of our treasure and our supplies, the safety of the army was virtually placed in their hands!

But still more to the point are the little remembered facts, that, in the year 1843 and again in 1844, the Sikh army *actually left Lahore* with the declared purpose of invading the British provinces: the Frontier authorities considered it possible they *would* come, and General Vincent, commanding at Ferozepore a force scarcely half the strength of that of Sir John Littler, received his orders how to act *in case they should.* And yet, after all these threats, all these symptoms for years disregarded by two successive administrations, that of Lord Hardinge, *which alone took all the steps that could with propriety be taken, has been recklessly accused of neglect and supineness.*

We offer Sir Robert Peel's opinion in regard to the course pursued by Lord Hardinge, as expressed in the admirable speech already referred to :—

" It is quite clear that my gallant Friend the Governor-General did take every precaution to ensure the safety of the British dominions in India, in case of sudden and unprovoked attack. In the early part of the year, at the time when he was occupied with his functions as Governor-General, and when it was most material that he should perform them in conjunction with his Council at Calcutta; in a minute, dated on the 16th June, he submitted to the Council his opinion that our relations with the Court of Lahore became so doubtful, that, great as was the inconvenience of separating the Governor-General and his Council, it was desirable, with reference exclusively to Indian interests, that he should proceed to the left bank of the Sutlej, in order that on the spot he might be enabled to give such directions as appeared necessary, and which, if given at the distance of a thousand miles, might be inappropriate. The unanimous opinion of the members of the Council was, that it was for the public interest that the Governor-General should proceed to join the army ; and, in conformity which this advice, in the month of October he took his departure for the left bank of the Sutlej. Up to an early period in December, the opinion of my gallant Friend (Sir Henry Hardinge) was, that there would be no irruption from the right bank of the Sutlej into the British territory. He felt confident that the Sikhs must be convinced that such an attempt could only end in signal defeat, and therefore that it would not be made. So far as he could reason from experience, he had a right to arrive at this conclusion. In 1843, the army of Lahore left the capital and advanced to the Sutlej ; but

after remonstrance on our part it retired again and abandoned the enterprise. In 1844, exactly the same conduct was observed; the Punjab army, eager for pay, or for booty, if pay could not be obtained, and instigated by the Government and the chiefs, appeared to contemplate an irruption; but, in 1844, as in 1843, the army withdrew to the interior. Accounts, however, reached my gallant Friend towards the end of November last, which led him to believe that an invasion of the British territory was seriously menaced. The House will find by the Papers recently presented by command of Her Majesty, that on the 20th November, Major Broadfoot addressed a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, and another to the Governor-General to this effect:—

"Governor-General's Agency, Nov. 20, 1845.

"Sir,—Since I had the honour of waiting on your Excellency to-day, I have received Lahore letters of the 18th instant (morning). During the night of the 17th, the chiefs had agreed on, and the Durbar had ordered in writing, the following plan of operations. The army was to be divided into seven divisions, one to remain at Lahore, and the rest to proceed against Roopur and our hills, Loodiana, Hureekee, Ferozepore, and Scinde, while one was to proceed to Peshawur; and a force under Rajah Golab Singh was to be sent to Attock."

The decision then taken by the Lahore Durbar was, that four divisions were to be employed in an attack upon the British territory, but they were not to make a concentrated or simultaneous movement; and the policy of the course adopted by the Governor-General was thus demonstrated. The Lahore army, in four divisions, was to make four separate attacks on different points along the river—the first division was to force the eastern extremity of the line; another to attack Loodiana; a third pass the river at Hureekee; and the fourth attack Ferozepore. Those divisions were to consist of about 8,000 men each. The House will see by reference to the Papers laid before them how difficult it was for any person, even the most experienced, to speculate on the decision to which the governing powers at Lahore might arrive. They will see, too, that the Ministers, or those who held the reins of government, spent their days in such continuous drunkenness and debauchery, that no resolution of theirs could be depended on. An account written by the Agent at Lahore, to the Secretary to Government, dated Umballah, November 21st, founded on information received direct from Lahore, presents this picture of the councils of the Punjaub:—

"The Ranee (that is, the regent, the mother of the infant Maharajah) complained that whilst the troops were urging the march, they were still going home to their villages as fast as they got their pay; and Sirdar Sham Singh Attarcewallah declared his belief that unless something was done to stop this, he would find himself on his way to Ferozepore with empty tents. The bait of money to be paid, and to accompany them was also offered, and at length the Durbar broke up at two P. M. Great consultations took place in the afternoon; but I know only one result, that the

Ranee had to give her lover his formal dismissal, and that he (Rajah Lal Singh) actually went into the camp of the Sowars he is to command, and pitched his tent. What the Ranee says is quite true of the sepoys dispersing to their houses; the whole affair has so suddenly reached its present height, that many of the men themselves think it will come to nothing, and still more who had taken their departure do not believe it serious enough to go back. On the day after this scene took place, *i. e.* the 19th, the usual stream of sepoys, natives of the protected States, who had got their pay, poured across the Sutlej, at Hureekee, on the way to their home."

There appears also an account of another conversation, in those papers, which took place between the Rajah Lal Singh and Bhaee Ram Singh, one of the principal officers and advisers of the Lahore Government, and who seems to have been the only one of them in whom, from his character and wisdom, the slightest confidence could be placed. In a letter from Lahore, dated the 24th day of November, the following conversation was detailed: Bhaee Ram Singh, addressing Lal Singh, said—

"The English have interfered in no affairs of the Khalsa; what is the wisdom of your making religious war at the bidding of the soldiery? None of the nobles have discovered the real intentions of the English. The Governor-General's agent, who is a steady friend, has written in the plainest terms, that the English Government desires only friendship like that of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh; but that if any thing wrong is done by the Sikh army, the rulers of the kingdom will be held responsible, for rulers must account for the acts of their troops and subjects. Be cautious how you march to Hureekee with the troops. The Rajah said, 'Bhaee Sahib, what can I do? if I remain, the soldiery seize me by the throat.'"

*In a word, the councils of the Durbar seem to have shifted from day to day, and no one could speculate with any degree of confidence on the probable result.**

On the 9th of December, the Governor-General, thinking our relations with the Punjaub very critical, and that it was desirable to take every precaution against any sudden irruption, gave orders that the division of troops at Umballah, consisting of 7,500 men, should move towards the Sutlej. On December 11th, the very day on which the Lahore army crossed the Sutlej, the British and native troops of that division were on their march from Umballah to the frontier. The whole proceedings of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, subsequently to that day, as well as before it, were characterized by the greatest prudence, skill, and foresight. From Umballah the troops marched to a place called Busean, where, owing to the prudent precautions of the Governor-General, they found an ample supply of food and stores. It was resolved that a junction should be effected with the Loodiana division, and that it would be better to incur some risk at Loodiana, rather than forego the advantage of a junction with the

* The Italics are ours.

Loodiana division of the army. Those troops advanced accordingly towards Ferozepore, and learned by the way that the army of Lahore, amounting to not less than 60,000 men, had crossed the river, and were prepared to attack the British army. The expectations of the Governor-General were entirely justified by the result."

Our extract is long but to the purpose. Sir Robert Peel under-estimating the force at Ferozepore at only 7,500, but over-estimating the number of heavy guns in position, correctly states that "the Army of Lahore shrunk from the attack of so formidable a post," and moved down to give battle to the Army advancing from Umballa. There is much in the extract quoted by Sir R. Peel from Major Broadfoot's despatch to induce belief that, whatever were the insane intentions of some wild spirits among the Sikh Army, there was still, even late in November, no general intention of invasion. "*On the 19th (of November) the usual stream of Sepoys, Natives of the protected States, who had got their pay, poured across the Sutlej, at Hureki, on the way to their home.*" This in itself was justly considered a pacific symptom. These men were not emissaries sent to mislead our Sepoys. Such did not come in *streams*, but stole over one by one, and were, without exception, Hindustanis, who had relatives in our ranks.

So late as during the month of October 1845 the tenor of the Governor-General's conversation and correspondence was sanguine as to peace for another year at least: to the Commander-in-Chief alone did he urge preparation for a defensive war, and it was at this time that confidential orders were issued for two-thirds of the force at and above Meerut to be prepared by the 12th November, with the means of moving on the shortest notice.

On the 22d of November the first *authentic* intelligence reached Major Broadfoot, and through him the Governor-General, that invasion was intended; and the very same day the report was contradicted. The greatest indecision prevailed at Lahore, in the Camp as well as in the Court. Both felt that they were on the brink of greater events than in their worst revolutions they had ever shared in—greater too than they felt able

to direct and guide to their own profit. Astrology was now called in; as if the perpetual stars would shed down firmness upon such miserable mortals and be accomplices in their plots! But the soothsayers themselves declared that a fortunate day would not arrive before the 28th of November; and the soldiery who would have hailed "*To-morrow*" as an oracular response from Heaven, now called the interpreters of fate, impostors. The majority of voices was for an immediate march. The Raní and her advisers, who felt that all authority was lost, urged them to be gone at once; but this very impatience roused the suspicions of the soldiers. Hesitation again fell upon them; and Lahore became like a sea without a tide, agitated by opposing winds. Thus doubtful did matters remain for more than twenty days: the whole Sikh Army, it is true, at last left Lahore, but, as on former occasions they still hesitated to "cross the Rubicon," and finally commit themselves. The great delay, however, was in persuading the Sirdars. *They* had property to lose. The rabble had only property to gain. Sirdar Tej Singh, who ultimately was Commander-in-Chief of the invading force, consented only when openly and loudly taxed with cowardice, and even threatened with death.

Her Majesty's 80th Foot marched from Umballa on the 11th December for Ferozepore, or a day before the invasion took place; and so little did the Military authorities expect that it was running into danger, that the families of the men actually moved with them. On the 2d December, the Governor-General had dismissed the Lahore Vakíl because he had given no satisfactory answer to the Political Agent's demand for an explanation of the reasons of the advance on the Sutlej. A week was allowed him to satisfy the Governor-General that hostility was not intended. That week was required to complete the Commissariat arrangements. The Deputy Commissary General had required six weeks for preparation, and received for answer that it must be done in as many days. The energetic Broadfoot volunteered to undertake the task, and was ready

within the time. The Army of the Sutlej is indebted to him for food.

On the 12th of December the Commander-in-Chief moved with his head-quarters from Umballa. On the evening of the same day the Sikhs commenced crossing the Sutlej. On the 13th the Governor-General proclaimed the Cis-Sutlej states, at once invaded and incorporated with British India. Sir Henry being some days' march in advance of the Commander-in-Chief, rode over to Lúdiana, inspected the Fort, and, deeming it secure, withdrew the Lúdiana troops to Bussean, the great grain depôt on which the British Army depended, and which was only 60 miles from the Nuggur Ghat at which the Sikh Army crossed.* The Sikhs might have easily made a forced march on that important place, reached, and burnt it on the evening of the 14th December, had not the Governor-General by that time, thus thrown in front of it the Lúdiana force of 5000 men. The main column of the British Army, under the Commander-in-Chief from Umballa, did not reach Bussean till the 16th, and the importance of the Governor-General's combination will be better understood when we explain, that, if Bussean had been fired by the enemy, the advance of the whole British Army would have been delayed ten days at least, until food could have been brought from the rear; and Ferozepore would have been all that time without relief! On the 15th and 16th, as the Governor-General's camp passed Raí ke Kote, it was disencumbered of its heavy baggage, spare tents, &c., and the elephants and camels thus rendered available, were forthwith employed in bringing up stores for the Army. The elephants in particular were most useful on the 19th December, in bringing up the wearied men of the first European Regiment and Her Majesty's twenty-ninth Foot, who had made an extraordinary march from the Hills to join the Army, but after all were too late for Múdkí.

* Among other instances of ignorance of localities, the Quarterly Reviewer increases the distance from Lúdiana to Ferozepore by one-fourth, and places Bussean between them. The commonest map would have shewn his error, and considering that the *whole* army and *all* its supplies moved by way of Bussean, he *might* have taken thus much trouble.

This provision and application of carriage, was one of many instances which the war afforded of the Governor-General's happy management, and attention to *details*.

On the 15th the Sikhs crossed their heavy Artillery. On the 16th they encamped at Lungiana, about three miles north of Ferozepore; and Sir John Littler gallantly marched out with two Brigades and offered them battle, which the boasting enemy declined. On the 17th the Sikhs advanced a division, and occupied the celebrated position of Ferozshah, which they immediately entrenched. On the morning of the 18th, another strong division of upwards of 30,000 men, horse and foot, with 22 guns, was pushed on to within a few miles of Múdkí, where, concealed in the jungle, it awaited the arrival of the British Generals, whose destruction they looked forward to with confidence, from a belief that they were attended only by a small escort.

On that morning the British Army had made a fatiguing march of twenty-one miles from Churruk to Múdkí, where a Sikh picquet was on the watch, and retired to inform Raja Lal Singh and the troops in ambuscade, that now was the time to make their spring. The British picquets had hardly been planted; scarcely one of the Soldiers had breakfasted; and officers were at their ablutions or snatching a little sleep upon the ground, when Major Broadfoot, who was sitting at luncheon with the Governor-General, received a scrap of paper. Looking at it he rose with the exclamation, "the enemy is on us." He rode to the front and passed the word along. Some mistrusted his information, and even when he shewed the clouds of dust raised by the advancing enemy, his warning was not implicitly believed, and the dust attributed to skirmishers—"That dust," he energetically exclaimed, "covers thousands; it covers the Sikh Army." The story is differently told in different quarters; but, though like Plutarch's biographies, the anecdotes of Broadfoot may not be all strictly true, yet they are all illustrative of his bold, energetic, and able character. While the British troops were yet forming, he returned from his recon-

noissance, galloped up to the Commander-in-Chief, and gracefully saluting him, pointed to the rising cloud of dust ahead and said "There, your Excellency, is the Sikh Army!" It was the Political Agent making over the Frontier to the Soldier. The cannon shots that almost immediately began to lob in from the still unseen guns, soon told their own tale. The Commander-in-Chief at this time despatched an Aide-de-Camp to the rear to hasten on H. M.'s 29th and the 1st Europeans still a march behind: and the Governor-General had previously sent back his active Commissariat Officer, Captain G. Johnston, with elephants, as before mentioned, carrying food and water to assist the movement.

The victory of Múdkí has often been well chronicled. Suffice it that, the battle won, every exertion was made to improve it. Expresses were sent in every direction with information; Sir J. Littler was in the first instance warned to be ready to move by his right to join head-quarters, and afterwards directed to combine with it by mid-day of the 21st near Ferozshah. On the night of the 19th H. M.'s 29th and the 1st Europeans accompanied by the 11th and 41st N. I., arrived in camp, and at day-light of the 21st, after two full days of rest to the Army, the whole force moved, without baggage, in light marching order on Ferozshah. During this halt of two days, the wounded and sick were cared for, and secured in the fort of Múdkí, a Regiment and a half being told off to protect them and the baggage of the Army. Regarding the latter arrangement we understand, there was much difference of opinion, but the Governor-General insisted that none should be taken to the field. The decision was a wise and a humane one. It was better in every sense to place a strong detachment at Múdkí, than leaving the wounded with a small one, to embarrass the column with the *care* of the baggage train; while the Fort, defended by a Regiment and a half, was safe for a time against the enemy's Cavalry and loose plunderers, which alone could penetrate to the rear of our Army. Much needless alarm however was caused by idle reports in the Camp

at Múdkí, which would have been more reasonable had it been left less protected.

Leaving 5000 men to hold his position, and watch Tej Singh, Sir John Littler prepared early on the 21st to join Head-quarters, with 5,500 men and 21 guns. Permitting his division to snatch a hasty meal, at 8 A. M. of the 21st he quietly moved off by his right, leaving his camp and picquets standing, and at mid-day had effected his junction, without Tej Singh's being aware of his departure from Ferozepore,—so ably was the movement conducted.* Sir John sent word of his approach to the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, who had arrived within a mile of, and opposite to the intrenchment of Ferozshah, when the ever-active Broadfoot, riding forward with a few horsemen, conducted the General to the Commander-in-Chief. Arrangements were now made for the struggle. A question has arisen,—the combination having been completed by mid-day,—why the attack was delayed till half past three? Time was of the utmost importance, all the force expected having arrived, it was vitally important to strike the blow before Tej Singh could join; why then was there a delay of nearly four hours? We have never heard the question satisfactorily answered, and shall therefore leave it, with other points of this battle and of the war generally, to be hereafter explained.

A few minutes before 4 P. M. the attack commenced, Sir Hugh Gough leading the right, Sir Henry Hardinge, the centre, and Sir John Littler the left. The advance was made partly in line, partly in echellon, the Governor-General preferring the first formation, as less likely to create confusion, especially in difficult ground. The right and centre were successful; the left wing was repulsed. Daylight failed and prevented complete

* The intelligence department of the Sikhs, during the war, has been as unduly trumpeted as that of the British has been depreciated. Their information is proved on this as on many other occasions to have been very much worse than ours. Tej Singh's conduct on the 21st and again on the 22nd, though usually attributed to treachery, may much more safely be imputed to ignorance of what was passing around him and to incapacity as a General in chief; perhaps also, in part to the conflicting orders of his many masters in his own ranks. Doubtless he, like many others, had little inclination for the war; but, once involved, he could not help himself: his life, then, depended on his fidelity to the Khalsa.

success. The loss on our side was severe, ten Aides-de-Camp fell by Lord Hardinge's side, five killed and as many wounded; among the latter was his nephew. His two sons, though closely attending their father, escaped unscathed.

At the side of his Chief, whom he refused to leave when wounded by a shot from the Sikh tents, fell the gallant and accomplished Broadfoot; here the chivalrous Somerset sank mortally wounded; the young and promising Munro was lost to his country; here the brave Saunders Abbott received his wounds, and lay uncomplaining by the side of the Governor-General, during the remainder of the night. The staff of the Commander-in-Chief almost equally suffered; his Adjutant General, his Quarter-Master General, and most of his Aides-de-Camp being wounded either here or at Múdkí. Providentially the two noble Chiefs remained unharmed.

In his speech already referred to, Sir Robert Peel happily notices the night's events. We cannot do better than quote his words: —

"The night of the 21st December was one of the most memorable in the military annals of the British empire. The enemy were well defended within strongly fortified entrenchments—their guns were served with the greatest precision, and told on our advancing columns with great effect. The right of the British army was led by the Commander-in-Chief, whilst the left centre was headed by Sir H. Hardinge. Our forces made an attack on the enemy's camp during the three hours which as yet remained of daylight; but they had not sufficient time to complete that victory, which was gloriously achieved on the following day. The British army, however, made good their attack, and occupied a part of the enemy's camp. In the middle of the night the camp took fire, and further conflict was for a time suspended in consequence; but as soon as it had ceased the army of Lahore rought forward their heavy artillery, and poured a most destructive fire upon our troops. The details of those occurrences have been given with admirable clearness in the despatches of both commanders; but there have been private letters received which speak of them with less of formality, and perhaps give truer and more faithful accounts of these actions than the official documents. Perhaps the House will excuse me if I read an extract from a private letter from the Governor-General to a member of his own family. The right hon. Baronet then read as follows:—

"The night of the 21st was the most extraordinary of my life. I bivouacked with

the men, without food or covering, and our nights are bitter cold. A burning camp in our front, our brave fellows lying down under a heavy cannonade, which continued during the whole night, mixed with the wild cries of the Sikhs, our English hurrah' the tramp of men, and the groans of the dying. In this state, with a handful of men who had carried the batteries the night before, I remained till morning, taking very short intervals of rest by lying down with various regiments in succession, to ascertain their temper and revive their spirits."

My gallant Friend, as you see, spent that eventful night passing from regiment to regiment, cheering the men by his own example of constancy and courage—doing all that human means could do to ensure victory to our arms. "I found," my gallant Friend goes on to say—"I found myself again with my old friends of the 29th, 31st, 50th, and 9th, all in good heart" —regiments with which he had served in the Peninsula, and with them that regiment which has earned immortal fame in the annals of the British army —Her Majesty's 80th Regiment—

"My answer to all and every man was, that we must fight it out, attack the enemy vigorously at daybreak, beat him, or die honourably in the field. The gallant old general, kind-hearted and heroically brave, entirely coincided with me."

Let the House observe how anxious my gallant Friend is to do justice to his companions in arms:

"During the night I occasionally called on our brave English soldiers to punish the Sikhs when they came too close and were impudent; and when morning broke we went at it in true English style. Gough was on the right. I placed myself, and dear little Arthur [his son] by my side, in the centre, about thirty yards in front of the men, to prevent their firing, and we drove the enemy without a halt from one extremity of the camp to the other, capturing thirty or forty guns as we went along, which fired at twenty paces from us, and were served obstinately. The brave men drew up in an excellent line, and cheered Gough and myself as we rode up the line, the regimental colours lowering to me as on parade. The mournful part is the heavy loss I have sustained in my officers. I have had ten aides-de-camp *hors de combat*, five killed and five wounded. The fire of grape was very heavy from 100 pieces of cannon; the Sikh army, drilled by French officers, and the men the most warlike in India."

From my affectionate regard for this gallant man, I am proud to be enabled to exhibit him on such a night as that of the 21st of December—going through the camp—passing from regiment to regiment—keeping up the spirits of the men—encouraging them—animating their ardour—and having lost ten aides-de-camp out of twelve—placing his young son, a boy of seventeen or eighteen years of age, in the front of the line, in order that the British troops might be induced not to fire on the enemy, but drive them back by the force of the British bayonet. It was characteristic of the man to read these details. He had two sons present, one of whom was a civilian,

and the other in the army. On the afternoon of the 21st, he sent the civilian to the rear of the army, saying that his presence disturbed him, and that, if he refused to retire, he would send him away in arrest as a prisoner; but the presence, he said, of his younger son, an officer, whose duty called him to the field, only made the father more desperately resolute in the discharge of his duty. On the 22nd, after the battle was over, he took his eldest son when visiting the sepoys and the wounded; and he showed them a Governor-General of India who had lost his hand, and the son of a Governor-General who had lost his foot, and endeavoured to console them in their sufferings by proving to them that men in the highest rank were exposed to the same casualties as themselves."

The event of the night, that long—long night, was doubtless the capture and spiking of the great gun which, within 300 yards, had been pouring death on our harassed and recumbent ranks. But Her Majesty's 80th, supported by the 1st Europeans, at the Governor-General's word, were in a moment up, and spiked it; and for the rest of the night the enemy was silent. In this attack Sir Henry Hardinge's nephew and Aide-de-Camp, Col. Wood, advancing with his own regiment, H. M's 80th, was severely wounded. It is pleasing even still to listen to the stories current regarding those eventful hours, "and sure he talked to us, as to Ladies in a drawing-room, so quiet and polite," is a frequent remark of the Soldiers of the Artillery, of H. M.'s 29th, 31st, 50th, 9th, and of the 1st Europeans, who, lying around the Governor-General, witnessed his composure during the night. It must be remembered that Lord Hardinge, during these perilous hours, not only personated the Soldier and the General, but the Father and the Viceroy. His thoughts then were not simply for the army, but for the mighty empire in his keeping—for his brave boys by his side; and yet the rude men around him could perceive no symptom of anxiety on his brow—nay more, their own stout hearts were encouraged and inspirited by his calm and cheerful bearing.

The *Quarterly Review* has disseminated much error regarding the events of this momentous period. No officer carried messages of retreat between the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, though some few did take upon themselves to advise

that course, and one officer, by his enquiries for the road to Ferozepore, shewed what was passing in his own mind. The statement bears absurdity on its face: the two chiefs lay within a hundred yards of each other, and once or twice, during the night, consulted together. There is not indeed a doubt that neither for one moment hesitated what should be done, "to die at their posts rather than yield an inch to the enemy." It is not however to be denied that this *was a night of danger—of great danger.* Darkness had covered our ranks, while the scarcely thinned foe, driven from his foremost entrenchments, and with his formidable artillery still almost intact, fell behind his second line, and strengthened it for the morning's fight: and where were our Battalions? Nearly two whole divisions were absent. Sir John Littler had been repulsed, and Sir Harry Smith, in the darkness and confusion, after having actually occupied a portion of the village of Ferozshah in the heart of the Sikh entrenchment, retired two miles from the field; so that of 17,500 men, not more than 7,000 can have lain that night before a foe still numbering 40,000 men and 60 guns;—a situation such as might have daunted a Roman heart. Sir Henry Hardinge calmly prepared for the worst; he sent orders to his Secretary, Mr. Currie, at Múdkí to destroy his papers, in case of accident to himself; he positively ordered his wounded nephew into Ferozepore, as well as the gallant Prince Waldemar and his suite, who with equal reluctance left the field.

By daylight of the 22nd all arrangements for renewing the attack were made; Colonel Benson, accompanied by Captain A. Hardinge, the Governor-General's youngest son, had been despatched before dawn to bring up Sir John Littler, but before they could reach, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief had advanced at the head of their line. On hearing the first shot Captain Hardinge spurred on to his father, saying that as his Aide-de-Camp, he must be in his place. Indeed this young Soldier was the only member of the Governor-General's Staff that remained unharmed. Col. Birch, Col. Parsons and the Hon'ble Captain West now officiated as Aides, and taking

them with him, Lord H. advanced at the head of the left as Lord Gough did of the right of the line, keeping 30 yards in front to prevent the troops from firing, and desiring the Staff to tell them, that if they fired they fired on him. The opposition was slight, most of the guns were taken in reverse, and now wheeling to the right, past the village of Ferozshah, the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General swept down the whole left and rear of the enemy's position, halting when they had cleared the works at the opposite extremity.

Not till now did Smith's and Littler's Division rejoin; but there still remained work to do. Sirdar Tej Singh had at length been roused to action, perhaps by some of the early fugitives from the combat of the night; and scarcely had the tired troops united, before his fresh Battalions and Squadrons, amounting to scarcely less than 30,000 men and 60 guns, came in view,—showing how needful had been the dawn's attack, and how dangerous would have been a single hour's delay. Whether daunted by the defeat of the night, or suspicious of a stratagem, in the flank movement of the cavalry and part of the artillery on Ferozepore, Tej Singh, after little more than several demonstrations and a distant though destructive cannonade, withdrew.

Thus was the Sikh invasion repelled. The Búrchas had found themselves overmatched; accompanied even as they were, by thousands of their brothers, and of wild Akalís, eager for war, and to wet their swords in Feringi blood,—for the savage soldiery and their kinsmen ruled not only the Durbar of Lahore and the villages whence they came, but sought to have a share in the supposed certain plunder of Delhi. Few of these Amateurs, however, were seen after Ferozshah; nor were they much heard of again, until, after the terrific rout of Sobraon, when they lay in wait for their discomfited comrades, ready to cut down and rob all stragglers who might escape to the right bank of the Sutlej. Thousands of the Sikh Soldiers are understood to have fallen by their hands.

But now that the first roll of the tide of invasion had been resisted, how did Sir Henry Hardinge occupy himself? His

exertions seem to have redoubled. Night and day his active mind was at work. Collecting information, getting up supplies, urging on the indolent, encouraging and cheering the active and willing, now suggesting plans to the Commander-in-Chief and his Lieutenants, now writing to Calcutta, to England, to Delhi, Umballa and Kurnaul, and now riding out to Army Head-Quarters to consult with the Commander-in-Chief in person.

On the death of Major Broadfoot, Major Lawrence was sent for from Nepal, although there were aspirants to the vacant office on the spot; and he proved his zeal by joining within a fortnight. In the interim Mr. Currie carried on the duties of the Frontier; while Major Mackeson was entrusted with the charge of the Cis-Sutlej states.

A brief return to disputed points may be here excused. It is not easy within the limits of a single article even to refer to all that has been said and written regarding Lord Hardinge's acts. Lord Hardinge is blamed for the "*defenceless state*" of the Frontier; but we have shown by figures that he doubled and trebled the strength of posts. We may now add that shortly after his arrival in India he seriously contemplated altogether withdrawing the posts of Ludiana and Ferozepore, and was only prevented from doing so by the knowledge that the act would be misinterpreted. Retrogression is at all times difficult; never more so than in the face of a powerful and insolent enemy. No one at all acquainted with Lord Hardinge can doubt that he is the last man in the world who would have taken up those positions. No one knows better than himself, that he who tries to defend every thing, defends nothing, and that, in Major Broadfoot's admirable words, "the defence of the frontier against aggression is the power of Government to punish the aggressive nation; and towards the exercise of that power the frontier force will contribute best by securing, against all comers, those important stations" viz. Lúdiana and Ferozepore.

If it had originally devolved upon Lord Hardinge to have made provision for the defence of the Frontier, he would doubtless have simply watched the fords, and kept in hand, in the

neighbourhood of Sirhind, a strong field force ready to meet any enemy that might cross. It was idle to expect that two isolated posts could defend a hundred and fifty miles of river, fordable at twenty different points, and crowded with boats. Our readers may rely upon it that Major Broadfoot only expressed Lord Hardinge's conviction, when he said that the Ferozepore force was meant for the protection of Ferozepore and the Frontier *in peace*, and not for general wâr purposes.

On another point much discussion has arisen. On one side it is asked why Lord Hardinge fought the battle of Ferozshah *so late* on the 21st December, and on the other why he fought *at all* on that day. But the fact must not be forgotten, viz. that on the 19th Lord Hardinge had asked for and accepted the office of second in command of the army. We must express our entire approval of the arrangement under all the circumstances of the case. There are seasons when all secondary considerations must be waived, when the post must be abandoned, the detachment sacrificed, for the safety of the Army. Once in the field *in this capacity*, though the Governor-General could suggest his wishes, he could not without going to extremities issue or enforce orders. It belongs not then necessarily to the province of Lord Hardinge's biographer to enter into the details of the different actions of the war, but we must remind those who would have counselled a halt at Ferozshah that it could not have been made, neither supplies nor water being procurable. Strategy is good, excellent in its way; but *water* more than ground directs military movements in India, where no General can succeed who does not look minutely to this important point. The wells near Ferozshah were at intervals of miles, *and by them* were the movements of the British Army influenced.

The writer in the *Quarterly Review*, however, reversing the real state of affairs, gives Lord Hardinge no credit for what he really did do in cases where he acted with energy, and leaves him, at least by implication, to bear the blame of defects in operations over which he had virtually little or no control. That writer's remarks, and the strictures of others on the order of bat-

tle on the three different occasions, and on the want of information of the enemy's movements, are examples of the latter; while with regard to the former, the Reviewer, apparently ignorant that in India not a man or a gun can move without the sanction of the Governor-General, emphatically claims for the Commander-in-Chief alone all credit for the bringing up of troops and stores for the combinations which preceded Aliwal; and yet it was at Lord Hardinge's suggestion and by his orders that the troops engaged there were assembled from the four quarters and combined at Lúdiana. Brigade after Brigade was pushed on from Army Head-Quarters: Wheeler went after Smith, Taylor after Wheeler; Lawrence at the last moment to help on Taylor; all at the Governor-General's suggestion; while the Shekawatti Brigade westward, and H. M.'s 53d from the southward, were brought up by his direct orders. All this was known, or should have been known, by the Historiographer of the war.

During the war *precise* information was seldom procurable. Many able and good men were employed in procuring intelligence, but the Indian Army, possessing no establishment trained in time of peace to procure the information required in war, can never be more than partially successful in this respect. The thing is not to be done in a day—a Quarter-Master General or a Political Officer may in himself be all energy and ability, but, unaided, must inevitably fail to secure accurate and precise information. All this requires *known* and tried Native Agency—men who have a stake in the state. Serving against Asiatics we can never have our Colquhoun Grants, who will enter the enemy's lines and ascertain their state and preparation; but there is no possible reason why we should not have imitators of him in our Native Army. To pay men, teach them, trust them in peace, and thus to have them ready for war, is the true policy. We shall then have men whom we can rely on, instead of chance-comers, who *may* be honest, but if energetic and able are too often rather serving the enemy than us. Thus has it ever been since Hyder Ali sent his shoals of hurkaras to deceive and mis-

lead our Generals, down to the late war, when, as in all previous campaigns, the intelligence arrangements had to be made *after* hostilities had commenced. Lord Hardinge in a measure has provided the nucleus of a remedy, and, in the small guide corps raised on the N. W. Frontier under Col. Lawrence's supervision, has given the means of acquiring information, and has prepared a body of men to meet future contingencies. We would have had him act on a larger scale, and even in peace time attach several officers to the corps to learn their duty and acquire information of roads and rivers, wells and tanks, supplies, means of carriage and other Milito-Statistical details, so much required, so little attended to in India. The very formation, however, of this corps is a sufficient answer to those who charge Lord Hardinge with neglecting, during the war, so important a point as that of procuring intelligence of the enemy: while it proves equally that His Lordship felt during the campaign the necessity of some such permanent establishment.

We entirely deny that during the Sikh Campaign there was any thing like *general ignorance* of the enemy's movements, or that the authorities were not kept at least as well informed of what went on around them as during any other war that was ever conducted in India. But supposing the fact to be otherwise, is it not too much to blame the head of a Government, whose whole tenure of office has been 3½ years, and who was called into the field within less than half that time after his arrival, for evils which arise only from the defective institutions of an Asiatic system that has prevailed over our European notions —a system that has existed from the days of Clive and Hastings, and through every administration down to the present day? If the Governor-General denied either the Quarter-Master General or the Political Agent the means of supplying information, then indeed is he to blame; but because, with a thousand pressing matters before him, he did not, even before he could look around, reform and remodel an important branch of the public service, he is forsooth to be made the scape-goat for many ima-

ginary and some* real defects in the system bequeathed to him by his predecessors!

But we digress—and should here rather detail how, personally, the Governor-General at this time exerted himself in all departments; how he urged the reinforcing of Sir Harry Smith, how he sent Lieut. Lake of the Engineers, Lieut. Clifford of the Artillery, and finally Major Lawrence, one after another to *see* to the munitions and reinforcements in support of the Lúdiana movement. Nothing escaped his attention, not even the minutest Commissariat or Ordnance details. He thought of the brandy and beef for the European soldiers, as much as of the grape shot for the Artillery, and the small arm ammunition for the Infantry. All this time the heavy train was winding its weary way by the Bussean road from Delhi. The Governor-General was therefore intensely anxious that the seat of war should not be moved from the Ferozepore side eastward, and consequently strained every nerve to crush Runjore Singh, and prevent even his light troops moving southward. To effect this object the force before Sobraon was greatly weakened, but the Commander-in-Chief, as well as the Governor-General, saw the advisability of the measure. An excellent Brigade under Colonel Taylor of H. M.'s 29th, which was detached to reinforce Sir Harry Smith, had reached Dhurmkote within 20 miles, and would have been up next day, when on the repeated and urgent suggestions of the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief to attack, Sir H. Smith on the 28th January fought the battle of Aliwal. This action secured the communications, and the authorities could now await without anxiety the arrival of the siege train. Lord Hardinge had visited the Army Head-Quar-

* Our approval of the scheme of training a guide corps, such as is here indicated and strongly recommended, may appear to be at variance with the opinions, elsewhere expressed in this Article, against Natives of India proving useful in a double capacity. In a measure it is so: but the low castes of the N. W. Frontier are a bolder, and altogether a different race from those of Hindustan. In India Sowars are notoriously blind Guides, and we never heard that a Sepoy was expected to know his way any where: if then Col. Lawrence can obtain faithful Guides of ordinary courage he will do good service. One or two hundred would have been invaluable to have carried despatches between the different posts of the Army during the war. Col. (General Sir George) Schovell's Guides, though many of them French deserters, were often thus employed during the Peninsular war.

ter Camp on the 28th January, and, riding back, his horse fell under him and so severely bruised his leg that he was a cripple during the rest of the campaign. Suffering great pain, and for a month scarcely able to sit on horseback, he yet did not forego his labors, nor did he fail to sit out the whole action of Sobraon, though he went to the field in his carriage, and only mounted his horse when the batteries opened on both sides.

On the 8th February Sir H. Smith's division rejoined Head-Quarters; on the 9th the Train reached camp. On the 10th the Sikhs were driven across the Sutlej. As far back as the middle of January the Governor-General had, in his home despatch, contemplated the probability of coming to action by that day. We do not purpose again to fight the battle of Sobraon, but will offer a few brief words on some hitherto unexplained points. The question has been often asked why were not the entrenchments at Sobraon and Ferozshah turned; why attacked in the face of the formidable Sikh Artillery? The same question might be asked of almost every Indian battle. The Duke of Wellington wisely *counselled* taking an Asiatic Army in motion, but he himself with half his numbers attacked them at Assaye, in position and by a forward movement. At Mehidpúr, where perhaps the next most formidable display of cannon was encountered by an Anglo-Indian Army, Hyslop and Malcolm,—the latter at least accustomed to Indian warfare, and trained in the school of Wellington,—not only attacked the long array in front but crossed a deep river under fire. But the fact is that Ferozshah was not to be outflanked, its oblong figure was nearly equally formidable in every direction, and had Sir Hugh Gough attacked on the Northward face, he might have subjected himself to the double fire of Tej Singh in his rear and the works in his front; besides having abandoned the line of communication with his wounded and baggage at Múdkí.

As matters *turned out* at Sobraon, perhaps the Cavalry and Grey's Division, with some Horse Artillery might have crossed the Sutlej simultaneously with the attack, and completed the destruction of the panic-striken Sikhs. We say, *perhaps*, for

even now we are not satisfied that the move would have been a safe one. The Nugger and Uttari fords are deep and uncertain, our troops on the other side must have been for at least two days without any certain supplies; and above all with the experience of Ferozshah before us we did not know that every man's services might not be required on our own bank of the river. No man in camp, not even the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General (and there were no two more sanguine of victory) expected such complete success as crowned our efforts on the 10th February.*

Here again the Governor-General was attended by both his sons, and his nephew; and the same calm collected demeanour was on this occasion observable by those around him, as under more trying circumstances at Ferozshah. The Artillery fire did much execution, and cleared the whole area except the immediate breastworks in their front; but as the Sikh gunners stood manfully to their guns, and rather than otherwise increased their fire, there was some hesitation whether the column of attack should be brought forward. About 9 o'clock the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General held a few words of converse. Councils of war do not usually fight; but theirs was not of such sort. The gallant Gough was all fire and confidence; and the equally gallant Hardinge bade him by all means proceed to the assault if he felt satisfied of success. He told him that loss

* Major General Sir Robert Dick's Column, as one powerful wedge, was alone intended to attack; but by some mistake it was left weaker by a full Brigade than was contemplated. Smith's and Gilbert's feints were converted into real attacks on Dick's repulse, and thus it was that a larger front was exposed and more loss incurred than otherwise would have been the case. This is to be lamented. Too much, however, has been said of the casualties during these battles, and we have only to look to the returns of the Peninsular War or to those of Assaye, Argaum, Laswari, Delhi, Mehidpúr, and Maharajpúr, to find that the loss in former campaigns averaged at least as much as that of the Sikh battles, and generally, indeed in India always, from the same cause, the enemy's Artillery. It must ever be so. Assaults are not to be made on positions, bristling with heavy guns, without loss; and if more cautious measures, involving delay might in the first instance save some lives, it must also be borne in mind that such delays tend to give confidence to the enemy, who on the other hand promptly confronted and well beaten in a hand to hand fight seldom renews the conflict. We are far from advocating bull-dog measures or the neglect of science, but we would impress on our Readers that we hold India *at least* as much by the conviction of our prowess and our pluck as by our civil institutions, and therefore that deeds which at first sight may appear brutal and sanguinary, in the end may actually save life.

must be expected, but should not prevent attack if it was likely to prove successful. It is well known how both chiefs simultaneously ordered up Smith's and Gilberts' Divisions, how those Generals as well as Dick, reeling before the shock of the Sikh batteries, retired, but only to re-form and again on all sides to renew the attack;—the best proof of discipline that soldiers could give, and one which the Portuguese, to whom Sir Henry Hardinge was often accustomed to liken the sepoys, seldom evinced. At the very commencement of the attack, the Governor-General had three Troops of Horse Artillery brought up by their drivers and kept in reserve at Rodawala, until their Gunners, employed with the heavy guns, had fired away all their ammunition and could retire to bring these field pieces up to complete the destruction of the Sikh Army. This may seem a small matter, but is in keeping with all Lord Hardinge's military conduct. Though an Infantry officer himself he saw at once what no artillery man appears to have perceived, and evinced his sense of its importance by despatching three several officers to bring them up. In this manner with a view of ensuring the execution of his orders, he detached the officers of his Staff so rapidly one after the other, that he was repeatedly left almost alone during the heat of the action.

Our tale is of the Governor-General and our narrative must keep him constantly in sight; but we would not for a moment imply that the Commander-in-Chief did not throughout the day do all that a soldier could do. Never indeed, on India's fertile field of glory, fought a braver spirit than Lord Gough; and we believe that no British General in the East has ever won so many battles.

By 1 P. M. the battle and the campaign were over, and not a Sikh in arms remained south of the Sutlej. The moment was a proud one for both the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General, but we doubt whether, in the mind of either, there was elation, and whether the first and saddest thought was not the heavy cost of victory: recollections of the noble soldiers who had fallen, the brave who had suffered, the widows and the or-

phans who survived. Such men as Lords Hardinge and Gough *can* appreciate peace, can separate the tinsel from the gold, and in the parade and panopoly of war picture also to their minds its horrors, with a force and vividness which can hardly be appreciated by an amateur soldier.

By half past one Colonel Wood, the ever active Aide-de-Camp, now Military Secretary, of the Governor-General, scarcely recovered from his wound received at Ferozshah, was off with the tidings of victory to Ferozepore, which though twenty-five miles distant he reached in an hour and a half, and returned half way to meet the Governor-General at 5 P. M. That night the passage across the river commenced, and by the incredible exertions of Colonel Abbott and the engineers, the whole army was at Kussúr one march in the enemy's territory, and thirty-five miles from the scene of action on the 13th, the third day after the battle!

We *now* know that the Sikh power was completely broken by the repeated heavy blows of Múdkí, Ferozshah, Aliwal and Sobraon, *but such was not then the general opinion;* and there were not wanting many, even in high places, to solemnly warn the Governor-General against crossing the Sutlej, as some of them said, "only to be driven back with disgrace." Better men declared, that we had not the means to lay siege to both Gobindgurh and Lahore, and that without such means it would be injudicious to cross. While thus pressed on the spot, there had been for some time *as* impressive suggestions from irresponsible persons elsewhere to advance and to hazard all in the Punjab *before* the enemy were broken and *before* our train and ammunition had come up. The Governor-General's practical common sense steered him safely between these extremes. He waited not an hour beyond the arrival of the siege train: he felt that all now depended on time, on closing the war before the hot season could set in on our European troops, entailing death in a hundred shapes on all ranks, and the expenses of another campaign on the Government.

Some have blamed Lord Hardinge for the partition of the

Punjab, and above all for raising Raja Golab Singh to a throne and independent principality. It was out of the question to annex the Punjab. The lateness of the season, the weakness of our army, especially in what constitutes its pith and essence, the Europeans,—who after four pitched battles and the skirmish at Búddawal, were reduced to barely 3,000 men, forbade it. In this view the Governor-General was supported by the opinion of the best soldiers in India, among whom was Sir C. Napier. Our occupation of the country, even if successful, would have been expensive and dangerous. It would, for years and years, have interfered with useful projects in India, perhaps like Sindh have entailed another debt. Under any circumstances, it would have brought us into renewed contact with Affghanistan and its difficulties—our Sepoys, into collision with the fierce and hardy mountaineers of the north, with whom a struggle which can bring neither glory nor gain could not fail to be unpopular. This is the matter of fact view of the case.

The exaltation of Golab Singh is a part of the same question. Those most hostile to this act of the Governor-General, have founded their chief objections on the badness of his character. He is represented as a monster, as an unholy ruffian who delights only in mischief. We admit that he is a bad man: we fear however that there are few Princes in India who are much better,—few, who, with his provocation, have not committed equal atrocities. And let it not be forgotten by those who justly execrate his worst act, that the victims of his barbarity were also the victims of their own. They had not merely rebelled against his authority, but had cut in pieces his police officers and thrown their fragments to the dogs. We go as far as any of our readers in execrating Golab Singh's conduct even on such provocation, we but ask that it *be* remembered.

From this chief let us turn not only to almost any leading member of the Lahore Durbar, but to any independent chief at present alive in India, or to any that have passed away during the last hundred years; and then let us decide if Golab Singh is

a worse man than they were. Is he worse than his rival Sheikh Imam-úd-dín, who with no personal animosity, but simply out of zeal to the powers of the day, cut up and removed in pots, the late Treasurer of Lahore and his brother? Is he more vile than Raja Lal Singh, another rival, who was one of the chief parties to the murder of Híra Singh, of Kashmera Singh, and of many others? Compare him to the Raja or Ex-Raja of Nepal and the present Minister of that country, with their hands dyed deep with blood! If we go back to the Nawabs of Oude and to the Nizams of Hyderabad, to Tippoo or his Father Hyder Ali, or to the deeds of our protegé Amír Khan; is there a man among them all at whose hands not only blood, but innocent blood, could not be required, or who taking him all in all is morally preferable to Golab Singh? It is not so much what he *formerly* was, as what he has been *during the last eighteen months*, that ought, in fairness, to be considered. Has his new career been cruel and tyrannical or otherwise? He certainly has not gained the ear of the Press, and especially of the Lahore scribes. Watched as he is, by a hundred Argus-eyed enemies, what single atrocity has been brought home to him? The general tenor of the reports of the score of English travellers who have visited his country during the years 1846 and 1847, is, that though grasping and mercenary, he is mild, conciliatory and even merciful: that he indulges in no sort of sensuality, and that he has permitted himself to be guided by the advice of the British Political officers employed with him.

Golab Singh then, is morally no whit inferior to other native Princes, and in intellect vastly the superior of all. We may therefore conclude that if a Sovereign was to be set up, it would not have been possible to have found a better; certainly not among the Princes and Ex-Rajas of the Hills, than whom a more dissolute and despicable race it would be difficult to lay hands on. Besides the re-enthroning them would have been returning to the system which took us to Affghanistan, and it must be always borne in mind that we gave, or rather confirmed, to Golab Singh *little that he did not either possess at the time,*

or over which he had not some authority. The Blue Book proves that even Sheikh Imam-úd-dín and his father had been creatures of Golab Singh, and had held Kashmír by his influence. The Raja's power and means, it is true, were overrated, but that again was not the fault of Lord Hardinge; who could but judge from the information before him. It was not then sufficiently understood how much Rajah Dhyan Singh's death, the exactions of the Sikhs during the past two years, and perhaps his own penuriousness had weakened his military power. Had terms been refused to Golab Singh, and he had proved an Abdul Kadir, where would have been the end of the vituperations levelled against Lord Hardinge? Insurrection, however incurred, would have excited instant attention, while measures which ensure tranquillity, are received with silence or treated with indifference and contempt.

One very inconsistent portion of the clamour against Lord Hardinge has been that he has given up a native population to a Ruler alien to their own faith. The charge is an unreasonable one. As a tolerant Rajpút, Golab Singh must be more acceptable to his subjects than can be intolerant Sikhs. A large proportion of them are Rajpúts: there are few or no Sikhs in the hills, and even of the majority who are Mahommedans, most are of Hindu lineage, men whose ancestors in the proselytising days of Mahommedan power were *forced* to change their religion. Such races of Mahommedans are very different from those of pure descent.* They retain many of the feelings, prejudices, habits and even superstitions of their Hindu forefathers, and to them a

* At one time there was something like an accusation of treachery put forth in reference to the promotion of Golab Singh; but the fact is that Lord Hardinge's dealings with him may with advantage be contrasted with those of all and any Indian officials towards hostile Princes and their dependents, from the days of Clive and Jaffer Alli down to those of Marquis Hastings and Ummir Singh Thappa, or even with the more recent cases of Hají Khan Kakur in Affghanistan, and Morad Ali, in Sindh. Golab Singh, of his own accord, held aloof and was virtually an enemy to the Sikhs during the war:—he obtained them a favorable peace, the terms of which, if there had been any honesty or patriotism among the Chiefs, they could have fulfilled in a week and thus have deprived *him* of Kashmir. His redemption of *their* bond corrected the only mistake that was made in the whole transaction; for after all that had passed it would have been cruel to have left him to be Vizier of Lahore, —to avenge the plunder of Jummú—the murder of his sons and brothers.

Hindu, a Rajpút and a mountaineer could not be objectionable simply on the score of faith. One of the first acts of Golab Singh was to proclaim freedom of worship through his dominions; while even to this day in the face of Colonel Lawrence and the British officers, the Mahommedan cry to prayer has been suffered rather than sanctioned at Lahore. But those who are loudest on this question appear to forget that this is not the first or the tenth time that a chief of one creed has been placed over a people of another. They forget the transfer of Khyragurh and the Nepal Terai to Oude, of Tonk to Ameer Khan: they are oblivious or unmindful of the partition treaty of Mysore, or of the offer, so late as the year 1842, of the Affghan province of Julallabad to the Sikhs. These are some of the instances in proof that Lord Hardinge acted in this matter, in conformity with the practice of some of his ablest predecessors. We are far from presuming that the errors of one administration palliate those of another, but it will be acknowledged by all practical men that, provided honesty and good faith are preserved intact, a wider latitude must of necessity be admitted in political measures than would be admissible in domestic matters. Public men have something more to do than simply to gratify their feelings. Lord Hardinge needed not to seek for the best or the most amiable man in private or in public life: what he wanted was the best ruler, the man who could best secure tranquillity in a hitherto troubled tract, the chief who would have the ability and the courage to manage tribes which, in the memory of man, had never been managed. The task was not an easy one. Lord Minto and other Governor-Generals gave away many petty principalities, but as in the instances of Hansi, Kurnaul, &c., they were soon surrendered as uncontrollable.* When all these points are considered, it will, we doubt not, be conceded that, in this branch of the arrangement, Lord Hardinge acted wisely and well.

If then the Punjab could not become English, what should have become of it? Some—not many—would have given it

* Few Chiefs of India would have refused the sovereignty of the Hill country, but we know no individual among them, except Golab Singh, who, circumstanced as it then was, could have managed it.

back to Dhulíp Singh, or rather to the Búrchas, and thus allowed them another opportunity to try their arms against us. Strange as it may seem, we have heard respectable and intelligent men advocate such a course. Others would have had a Punjab, as well as a Cis-Sutlej protectorate,—perhaps the wildest of all schemes. Surely we have by this time had enough of such a system, to forbid again voluntarily shackling ourselves with such arrangements. A native principality is always more or less a source of care, the more so indeed the more that it is interfered with, unless managed altogether by our officers. But when we come to a hundred petty chiefships, each with its owner possessing full internal authority, we have all the vices, the absurdities and inconveniences of the native system of Government on a large scale, without its advantages. Incapable of resisting foreign aggression or of preserving domestic peace, and at feud with their surrounding neighbours regarding every village boundary, the paramount power has all the odium of being the protector of such petty Rulers, and therefore the aider and abettor of their misrule. It has been our fortune for the last forty years to have borne with this system on the W. Frontier, and it would have been insanity had we enlarged it. We should have had all the expenses of defending these Chieflings from foreign powers, from internal commotion, from mutual violence, and when the day of danger and trial arrived, many would have acted as the Ludwa Raja did during the late campaign.

In a word, Lord Hardinge had not the means for annexation, had he desired it. It was necessary to punish and weaken the invader without, if possible, destroying his political vitality. To lessen his power for mischief by dividing his territory was the only alternative; nor, in doing so, would it have been practicable to have annexed the Hill Provinces, adding the upper half of it to the British dominions. A position so isolated and difficult of access could only have been held by means of a chain of strong military posts. The ruinous expense of such a measure is the most conclusive argument against it. Would those again who

clamour against handing over the Hill Territory to Golab Singh have approved of annexing the Lower Provinces to the British dominions, thus fastening the more cruel and distasteful rule of the Sikhs upon the Mountain Tribes: or would those who urge the danger of the neighbourhood of the Sikhs, even now that their army is dispersed, have listened with complacency to a proposition which would have given them so advantageous a position of annoyance as the possession of the Mountain Ranges which bound the Plains of the Punjab? It was necessary to provide for the management of the Hill portion of the Sikh Territory, and now, nearly two years after the event, we deny that politically or morally, a better practical arrangement could have been made.

We have perhaps said enough to prove that those on the spot and best qualified to judge, were not of opinion that we were at the time in a condition to seize and annex the Punjab, had the Governor-General been so disposed. It is very easy to judge now of what should have been done twenty months ago. The Sikhs *have* come to terms, and *have* settled down, because they have been well treated *by us*, and protected from their own Army and Chiefs *by us;* because scarcely a single jagír in the country has been resumed, and because the rights and even prejudices of all classes have been respected. It is however by no means so certain that had the country been occupied, all jagírs summarily resumed as has been done elsewhere in India, and held until it might be the pleasure or convenience of Government to examine into the tenures; and had our system, even in its most moderate form, but with its necessary vexations to a loose wild people, been introduced, it is by no means so certain that the Sikh population would have sat down quietly under the yoke. They have lost little that they held under Runjít Singh; they are therefore patient and submissive, if not contented and happy, but had they been reduced to the level of our revenue-paying population, there cannot be a doubt that ere now there would have been a strike for freedom. The Sikhs perhaps care as little for their Government as do other natives of India; but

like others they care for themselves, their jagírs, their patrimonial wells, gardens and fields, their immunities and their honor. And in all these respects, the Sikh and Jat population had much to lose. The Sikh position must not be mistaken. They are a privileged race, a large proportion have jagírs and rent-free lands; all hold their fields on more favorable terms than the Mussulmen around them.

A Guerilla war; the Sikh horsemen plundering the plain; Golab Singh acting the part of Abdul Kader in the Hills,—would have given us at least one long year's warm work. Its expense may be calculated. Then let any one conversant with such matters estimate the expense of holding any equal extent of territory in India—of the N. W. Provinces, of Bombay, or Madras. Let him calculate the cost of the Military and Civil Establishments, and then consider how much of the single crore of rupees that comes into the Punjab treasury would reach the General Exchequer of British India. We fear that for some years at least the deficit would be considerable. Besides the British Garrison of Lahore costing thirty Lakhs per annum, twenty-five Infantry Regiments, 12,000 Cavalry, and eighteen or twenty Batteries, are now kept up, irrespective of numerous Irregulars. For a long period not a man less could we maintain; with more than the usual proportion of Europeans, with batta to the Sepoys, with a hundred et ceteras that always start up after an arrangement has been closed.*

These are substantial reasons for the Governor-General's moderation, and many others even as cogent might be found; but he acted on higher and nobler grounds than mere expediency. He desired to punish a gross violation of Treaties; he did not desire to destroy an old and long faithful Ally. No one more than the Governor-General saw the chances of a breakdown in the ar-

* When it is considered that the pay of the Officers of a Regiment of Native Infantry of 800 men exceeds that of the Native Officers and Soldiers, while the Sikh rates of pay are lower than those of our ranks, some idea may be formed of the expense that would be incurred by the substitution of British Battalions and batteries for the Sikh Troops now employed in the Punjab.

rangement of March, 1846; but it is as idle as it is malicious therefore to blame him for its consequences. The question rested entirely on the honesty and patriotism of the Sikh Cabinet. Were they or were they not disposed to sacrifice their own selfish desires to the hope of rescuing their country from internal anarchy and foreign domination. Because one good, one able man was not to be found in a whole people,—was that a just reason for condemning the Governor-General's acts. He at least did his duty, nobly, wisely and honestly. Carefully abstaining from such interference as would weaken the executive, he authorized remonstrance of the most decided kind to the Durbar in behalf of the disbanded soldiery: as decidedly he supported the constituted authorities against the assumptions of Dewan Múlraj of Múltan; he forbore on the strong provocation given at Kangra, and forgave the offence of Cashmere, punishing in the latter case one individual, where a very slight stretch of privilege would have authorized a disseverance of the whole Treaty.

The candid reader will remember how some of the bravest of the land, how Sir Charles Napier himself, expressed alarm at the first occupation of Lahore, how the cry of Kabul was in every man's mouth; and disaster was loudly predicated. We have heard that Sir Charles Napier so fully considered there was danger in the arrangement, that he volunteered to take command of the Lahore garrison. To hold the post of honor, as brave a man was found in Sir John Littler; and near two years have now passed over with less of outrage, less of crime in the hitherto blood-stained Punjab than in our most favored provinces. Daily the newspapers have told of improvements or of contemplated ones: of favors and kindnesses showered on chiefs, people or soldiers so as to give all well-disposed among them reason to approve our Rule.

The idle attempt or rather thought of a half-crazed Brahman supported by a score of as wretched and worthless creatures as himself last February has been, for their own purposes, trumpeted into something by designing Europeans, but silence and contempt is a sufficient answer for their malice. They would de-

sire to mar, they would rejoice to break, the peace—the calm, that they hate—which they prophesied would never be.

The effects of this honest policy of Lord Hardinge have extended far beyond the limits of the Five waters. The Princes of Central Asia have looked with wonder upon such acts of moderation; upon the twice-emancipated Punjab; on the twice-surrendered Cashmere. Dost Mahommed Khan has been quieted, the chiefs beyond his limits cease to look for the coming English Squadrons. The Princes of India too have evidence that we do not seize all that is fairly within our reach. Oude, Hydrabad and Gwalior may still hope for prolonged existence.

It would be no unpleasant theme to dilate on the Cashmír Campaign, on the extraordinary fact, never before witnessed, of half a dozen foreigners taking up a lately subdued mutinous army through as difficult a country as is in the world, to put the chief, formerly their commander, now in their minds rebel, in possession of the brightest gem of their land. Roman History tells no such tales—shews no such instantaneous fellowship of the vanquished with the victors. A still pleasanter tale would be that of the voice of a suppliant people, a unanimous nation, calling on their conquerors to remain for their protection, calling as the Britons of old, to their masters not to abandon them; to remain and to protect their Infant Sovereign and to save them one and all from themselves—from their mutual animosities. The best part of the Continental Press, while giving Lord Hardinge credit for his moderation, could not credit that Mr. Currie and Colonel Lawrence had not brought about this happy event,—this combination, in their opinions, so fortunate for both parties.

How it *was* brought about cannot be better explained than in Lord Hardinge's own despatches; and though our article has already exceeded the usual limits, we give nearly in full Nos. 2 and 9 of the Blue Book Papers; the first of which clearly lays down the principles of the Governor-General's policy; and the second tells how his agents carried out the preliminary arrangements after the deposition of Lal Singh. Little comment is required

on either. They speak for themselves, and are as honorable to the head as to the heart of the writer.

In despatch, No. 2, dated "Simla, September 10, 1846, the Governor-General commences by informing the Secret Committee," that the Political Agent had reported that, in conformity with his intructions, he had repeatedly declared to the Durbar that the British Garrison of Lahore would, in fulfilment of the agreement of 11th March, be withdrawn during the month of December. As directed, the agent separately informed each member of the Durbar of this determination, in order that there might be no misunderstanding. With the exception of Dewan Dína Nath, they unanimously declared that the administration could not stand if the British troops were withdrawn. Six months respite was asked, but the agent, instructed of the Governor-General's strong objections to the subsidiary system, distinctly refused. We must however give his Lordship's own words:—

"The avowal of the Vizier and his colleagues, on the 10th of September, has not been elicited by any suggestions offered to him by the Officiating Agent. That officer has treated the Vizier uniformly with respect, and his declarations have not originated in any attempt to excite his fears; but they appear to be the voluntary impressions of his own judgment, as shown in former conversations shortly after the Officiating Agent's arrival, when he expressed the danger, to which he was daily exposed, of being assassinated.

I have no doubt the Vizier and the Durbar are convinced of the sincerity of the British Government's purpose to promote the establishment of a permanent Hindoo Government in the Punjab, and that the British Government has no desire to interfere in their internal affairs.

The Durbar has profited by our advice and mediation in settling their differences with the Dewan of Mooltan. They know that the Political Agent has abstained from enforcing the Article of the Treaty for the payment of the arrears to the disbanded soldiery, in order that the British authorities might not appear to court popularity at the expense of the Vizier's Government; that the greatest pains have been taken, and most successfully, to maintain a strict discipline amongst our troops; that the inhabitants of their great city can, for the first time during many years, sleep in safety that the insolence and rapine of the Khalsa soldier have been repressed; and that, upon the whole, a most favourable change has been effected in the feelings of the Sikh people, and even soldiery, towards the British authorities, since the occupation of the capital in March last.

There can be no doubt of the great improvement of our relations with the people of the Punjab, in this short space of time, which is corroborated by the satisfaction which has followed the assessment of lands made in the Julunder and the ceded territories.

I notice this state of popular feeling, as far as it can be correctly ascertained, not only because its existence is a satisfactory proof that the occupation has been followed by desirable results, but because this disposition, on the part of the people, to confide in our justice and lenity, will be an essential means of carrying on a Government through a British Minister, if such an expedient should be adopted. At any rate you will be enabled to form a correct judgment of the present state of our relations with the Punjab.

In my despatch of the 3rd instant, I stated my impression that no permanent advantage to the Maharajah's interests, or to our own, would be derived by the continued presence, under existing circumstances, of our troops at Lahore. That opinion remains unaltered.

I do not think that the British Government would be justified in supporting a native Government in the Punjab, merely because it may conduce to the safety of a Regent, and a Minister obnoxious to the Chiefs and people, and to whom the British Government owes no obligations. These are the very individuals who, for personal interests of their own, excited the Sikh soldiery to invade the British frontier; and considerations of humanity to individuals would be no plea for employing British bayonets in perpetuating the misrule of a native State, by enabling such a Government to oppress the people.

*Our interference, if it should ever be called in, must be founded on the broad principle of preserving the people from anarchy and ruin, and our own frontier from the inconvenience and insecurity of such a state of things as that which, it is assumed, will follow when the British troops retire.**

To continue to hold Lahore, without reforming the evils so clearly existing under the Vizier's Government, would not only, if that Government is to remain as it is now constituted, be an infraction of the Agreement entered into on the 11th of March, but would, in all probability, be an unsuccessful attempt. If the various classes who now justly complain of the misrule of the Regent and the Vizier, find that a British force, in opposition to the terms of the Treaty, continues to occupy Lahore in support of a bad Government, the confidence which we have inspired up to the present time, will be changed into mistrust of our intentions; the Sikh troops remaining unpaid would refuse to serve at the distant stations; and, with a British garrison at Lahore, the whole of the country beyond the Ravee would not fail to be a scene of disorder and bloodshed. I, therefore, adhere to the opinions expressed in my last dispatch, that the British garrison ought not to

* The Italics are ours.—Ed.

remain beyond the stipulated period, if a Native Government continues to administer the affairs of the Punjab.

I have, since my arrival in India, constantly felt and expressed my aversion to what is termed the subsidiary system, and, although it was probably most useful and politic in the earlier period of British conquest in India, I have no doubt of its impolicy at the present time, but more especially on this, the most vulnerable, frontier of our empire.

The period of the occupation of Lahore was expressly limited to the end of this year, for the purposes specified in the Agreement of the 11th of March, namely, that the Sikh army having been disbanded by the VIth Article of the Treaty, a British force should be left to protect the person of the Maharajah and the inhabitants of the city, during the reorganization of the Sikh army. By the XVth Article of the Treaty it was stipulated that the British Government would not exercise any interference in the internal affairs of the Lahore State.

At that time, the entreaties of the Regent for our assistance appeared to me not only reasonable, but as imposing upon me a moral duty, exacting, as I was at that very time, from the Lahore Government, the disbandment of their mutinous army. It is true this assistance, and the whole measure of occupation, was no part of the original policy in framing the Treaty, for you are aware that the application for our troops was made after the Treaty had been signed. But it was evident I had no alternative, if I felt confident, as I then did, that the British garrison would be able to effect its declared objects without compromising the safety of the troops. I, therefore, did not hesitate to afford the aid solicited, although I did so with reluctance.

On every occasion, the Lahore Government has been assured that the British Government deprecates interference in their affairs : they have been informed that our troops were ready to retire at any moment, if the reorganization of the Sikh army, and the improved state of the country, would admit of their being withdrawn.

It may be further observed, that the occupation of Lahore could not be considered in the light of a subsidiary arrangement, because the instructions given to the General officer and to the Political Agent, were, that the garrison was placed there to preserve the peace of the town, but was not to be employed in any expedition, even between the Ravee and the Sutlej.

The force was expressly given as a loan of troops for a peculiar emergency, and to aid the Lahore Government in carrying out an essential Article of the Treaty, which required the disbandment of their army. No payment was demanded, except for certain extra allowances granted to the native troops, whilst serving beyond the Sutlej.

If, therefore, the proposals of the Regent and the Durbar are merely

confined to a further loan of British troops for six months, on the plea that a Hindoo Government cannot be carried on, unless supported by British bayonets, I am of opinion that the application must be refused.

There has been ample time for the reorganization of the Sikh army, and by proper management the Durbar could have fulfilled the limited objects for which the British force was left at Lahore. The means of effecting these objects have been invariably neglected, in opposition to the friendly admonitions of the British Government. I have not failed to exhort the Vizier to pay the troops with regularity, as the only mode by which the Government and the army can be on good terms, and without which no efficient service, or correct discipline, can be expected. Two regiments have been recently driven into mutiny for want of pay—such a course being their only means of obtaining their just dues,—whilst estates of large value have been given to the brother of the Maharanee, as well as to the relations of the Vizier. It is surprising that, after the experience of the last five years, of a mutinous army controlling its own Government at Lahore, the Durbar cannot understand, or will not practise, so simple a system to ensure obedience.

It is not necessary that I should recapitulate the acts of impolicy and injustice which have marked the conduct of the Durbar during the last five months. Having a right to interfere, by the terms of the Treaty, in matters relating to the payment of the disbanded soldiery, I have frequently urged the Durbar to do their duty; and this advice, given with moderation, has led the Sikh Government to make the confession of its own weakness, and to implore the Governor-General to prolong the period of occupation.

It is impossible to place any confidence in the professions of the Maharanee or the Vizier, that the advice of a British Agent would be followed, if the garrison were to be permitted to remain: the British Government would, in such case, be a party to the oppression of all classes of the people. Again, if the troops are withdrawn, we are warned that the country will be plunged into a state of anarchy, and the destruction of all Government will ensue. Neither of these results would be consistent with the humanity, or the sincerity, of our policy, and they would be equally opposed to our best interests.

The other course—which it may be open to the British Government to take, and which has constantly occupied my attention since the 3rd of September—would be, to carry on the Government at Lahore in the name of the Maharajah during his minority (a period of about eight years,) or for a more limited time, placing a British Minister at the head of the Government, assisted by a Native Council, composed of the ablest and most influential Chiefs.

This course, however, could not be adopted, even if the offer to surrender, the Regency were to be made by the Maharanee, unless Her Highness' solicitations were cordially and publicly assented to by the great majority of the Chiefs.

If, therefore, the Chiefs should not join the Regent and the Durbar in calling upon the British Government to act as the guardian of the young Prince during his minority, and to conduct the administration, no attempt would be made to carry such a measure into execution. I should, in that case, scrupulously adhere to the terms of the Agreement. Those terms could not be suspended, even temporarily, without some such public act as that of assembling all the Chiefs who have an interest in the State, through the lands they hold from the Maharajah ; and in any such proceeding, the proposal must originate with the Lahore, and not with the British authorities.

The marked difference between the system of having a British Minister residing at Lahore, and conducting the Government through native agency and that which now prevails of a native Government administering the affairs of the State, without any interference, foreign or domestic, excepting from the Regent, would amount to this, that, in the one case, our troops are made the instrument for supporting misrule, and giving countenance and strength to oppression ; in the other, by British interposition, justice and moderation are secured by an administration conducted by native executive agency, in accordance with the customs and feelings, and even prejudices, of the people. An efficient administration, working satisfactorily, being fairly established, the British interposition might be withdrawn ; or, if necessary, it might continue till the coming of age of the Maharajah, when, as may be hoped, his country would be made over to him in a much improved and prosperous condition.

The principal means of ensuring a successful government would consist in the strict administration of justice between the Government and the people, in the regular payment of the troops, and the guarantee to the Chiefs, of the unmolested enjoyment of their estates, which should only be liable to forfeiture on a strong case of misconduct clearly proved.

The native officers of the army would remain, as at present, Generals and Colonels at the head of their troops ; and innovations, unless required for important purposes of government, would not be introduced.

Such a system of British rule might not answer as a permanent one, but it might be adopted, if the Durbar and Chiefs are convinced that the Government, without such an alternative, would fall to pieces on the retirement of the British garrison.

If, therefore, the proposal of the Regent and Durbar should lead to an offer to carry on the Lahore Government by a British Minister, during the

minority of the Maharajah, and the proposal should be confirmed by the influential Chiefs, publicly convoked for the deliberation of such a measure, I should be disposed to give to the experiment a favourable consideration.

* * * * * *

If no such proposal leading to modifications of the Treaty should be made, it is my intention to withdraw the British force from Lahore the latter end of December, in accordance with the Agreement. I shall, in this case, have afforded the Lahore Durbar every facility in my power, to avert the misfortune which the Vizier and his colleagues anticipate on the retirement of the troops ; and you may be assured that, in the transactions now pending, the conduct of the British Government shall be strictly regulated by principles of justice and good faith.

With regard to the apprehended failure of the Vizier to establish a Sikh Government, I am satisfied it will not have been caused by any difficulties which might not have been obviated by a firmer Minister. At the same time, it must be admitted, that he has been placed in a position of great difficulty, which might have baffled the skill of an abler and better man. It is due, however, to the Rajah, and must be admitted, that he has on all occasions cheerfully assented to every proposal for the comfort and accommodation of the British troops.

If the hope, which I have expressed since last March, that a permanent Sikh Government might be formed, should be disappointed, the result will not prove that the measure could have been dispensed with at the time it was adopted.

The force was left expressly for the purpose of protecting the inhabitants of a large city from spoliation by a disbanded army. The occupation has fulfilled that object, and has given to the Sikh Government the time to reorganize their army ; it has given to the Lahore Government the opportunity of performing its duty to the State ; and if, from causes beyond the control of the Governor-General, the attempt to establish a Sikh Government should fail, that result can in no respect reflect unfavourably on the policy of the attempt. It has not impaired the British character ; on the contrary, it has caused it to be respected, not only by force of arms, but by the removal of national prejudices. At the time I consented to the occupation, the question then raised by the opponents of the measure, was, not whether a Sikh Government would succeed or fail, but whether the British garrison could maintain its position in Lahore.

The risk of occupying the capital, in my judgment, was not commensurate with the moral obligations imposed upon me, and the political advantages which have followed that act ; and, at this moment, it will not be forgotten by reflecting men, that a great military object has been obtained, of giving to this admirable Indian army a salutary lesson, that, under the firm ma-

nagement of an able commander, there are no difficulties in occupying a large town, the capital of a foreign nation, which cannot by good discipline be overcome. I, therefore, never can regret a measure which, up to this hour, has secured the capital of a neighbouring State from ruin, and has maintained unimpaired the reputation of the British power throughout our Eastern Empire."

The above masterly document tells how honestly the Governor-General endeavoured to prop up the State that had been struck down by the hands of its own children:—it does more, it emphatically lays down the somewhat novel though happily growing doctrine, that British protection when accorded is not merely a shield for the Native Sovereign and his myrmidons, but that it covers the people also, that the country of an ally may be defended, but may not be harried by British bayonets.

The other despatch with which we enrich our pages states that the culprit Vizièr of Lahore was tried in open court in the presence of sixty-five of his Peers; *not by them, because they were his enemies,* but by five British officers every individual of whom was more or less his friend and well-wisher. It then tells of the terms on which Lord Hardinge consented to carry on the administration of Lahore for eight years. Even Lal Singh, though anxious for a Resident and a Contingent, on the old system, preferred this scheme to being left to the mercies of the Sikhs and the fate of his predecessors. But without further preface we offer the extract nearly in full as published in the Blue Book:—

No. 9.

"*The Governor-General to the Secret Committee.*

Camp, Bhyrowal Ghat,

(Extract.) *December* 21, 1846. (No. 59.)

In my last dispatch, of the 5th instant, I informed you of the arrangements which had been made at Lahore, for conducting the inquiry into the allegations of Sheik Imamooddeen, relative to his proceedings in Cashmere.

The collection of papers which accompanies this dispatch will bring before you all the circumstances that have since occurred, and will show, that the course contemplated by me, in my communication to you of the 19th of September, in the event of the Lahore Government desiring the continuance of the British troops, has been acted upon.

I have to request your attention to Mr. Currie's letter of the 5th of De-

cember, forwarding the minutes of evidence and abstract of the proceedings taken in the investigation of the Cashmere insurrection.

You will observe that the inquiry was conducted in the most open and public manner. All the leading Chiefs of the most influential families, sixty-five in number, attended to witness the proceedings."

The Governor-General then enters into some details of the trial of Rajah Lal Singh; acknowledges the services of Mr. Currie and his colleagues, and thus proceeds:—

"In the subsequent transactions to which I am now about to draw your attention, and which refer to the terms on which alone I could consent to the continued occupation of Lahore by a British garrison, you will find that all the anticipations of my confidence in this valuable officer's ability have been realized.

In the same letter (of the 7th of December) in which I confirmed Mr. Currie's proceedings, I instructed him to address the Maharajah, expressing the deep interest I took in His Highness' welfare, and stating that, as the time had nearly arrived when the British troops would, in observance of the Agreement of the 11th March, withdraw from Lahore, I was anxious, after the Vizier's deposition, that the Government should be so reconstructed as to afford the best prospect of preserving the Raj; that I was anxious the British Government should remain on terms of peace and amity with the Government of Lahore; but that I was determined, after the experience of the last nine months, and the recent misconduct of the Vizier, not to leave a British force in the city, beyond the stipulated period, for the sake of supporting a Native Government which can give no assurance of its power to govern justly, as regards its people, and no guarantee for the performance of its obligations to its neighbours.

I stated, that it was the duty of His Highness' Government and the Chiefs, to decide upon the course which they might deem to be most expedient; but that in these arrangements I could exercise no interference, further than in giving to His Highness' Government the aid of my advice and good offices in promoting the interests of the State.

These sentiments were conveyed to His Highness in Mr. Currie's letter of the 9th of December, and the answer is contained in a recapitulation of each paragraph by the Durbar, concluding with the request that I would leave two regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and a field-battery, at Lahore, with Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence as the Resident, for some months longer.

Mr. Currie, in his reply to this letter of the Maharajah's informed His Highness, that the application for the continuance of a British force at Lahore involved a departure from the conditions of the Articles of Agreement concluded on the 11th of March, and stated that it would, therefore, be ad-

visable that the members of the Durbar and the principal Sirdars should assemble, in order that Mr. Currie might declare, in their presence, the only terms on which the Governor-General would consent to a modification of the arrangements, and to the continuance of a British force at Lahore, after the expiration of the stipulated period.

The paper containing these conditions was carefully translated into Persian and Hindoostanee, and delivered by Mr. Currie to the chiefs, when they met on the 15th December. For the purpose of avoiding all misunderstanding, the different articles, were explained—the Sirdars retired for consultation, and, after some discussion relating to the amount of the contribution for the expense of the British garrison, the terms were agreed to.

In order to afford full time for further deliberation, it was resolved that the Sirdars and Chiefs should re-assemble on the following day, when certain individuals should be selected by themselves to draw up Articles of Agreement, in conjunction with Mr. Currie and Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence. The Chiefs accordingly re-assembled at Mr. Currie's Durbar tent, at 3 o'clock of the 16th instant. Each article was discussed separately; the contribution was fixed at twenty-two lakhs; and every Sirdar present signed and sealed the paper. All the Chiefs, in number fifty-two, on the conclusion of the meeting expressed their satisfaction that the Maharajah would be under the protection of the British Government during his minority, which will continue until the 4th of September, 1854.

At these meetings the Chiefs unanimously concurred that a State necessity existed for excluding the Maharanee from exercising any authority in the administration of affairs, and the Durbar and the Chiefs have come to the decision that Her Highness shall receive an annuity of one lakh and a half.

You will observe, that a British officer appointed by the Governor-General in Council, with an efficient establishment of subordinates, will remain at Lahore, to direct and control every department of the State.

The feelings of the people, and the just rights of all classes, will be respected.

A Council of Regency, composed of leading Chiefs, will act under the control and guidance of the British Resident.

The Council will consist of eight Sirdars, and the members will not be changed without the consent of the British Resident, acting under the orders of the Governor-General.

The power of the Resident extends over every department, and to any extent.

A military force may be placed in such forts and posts, and of such strength, within the Lahore territories, as the Governor-General may determine.

These terms give the British Resident unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration, and external relations, during the Maharajah's minority.

The concession of these powers will enable the British Government to secure the peace and good order of the country—the authority will be exercised for the most beneficial purposes: these terms are more extensive than have been heretofore required, when Native States have received the protection of a British contingent force. My motive in requiring such large powers has arisen from the experience of its necessity during the last nine months; and my reluctance, on general principles, to revert to the subsidiary system of using British troops to support a Native Government, while we have no means of correcting the abuses of the civil administration of a country ostensibly under British protection. A British force, acting as the instrument of a corrupt Native Agency, is a system leading to mischievous consequences, and which ought, when it is possible, to be avoided.

The occupation of Lahore will afford the means of counteracting much of the disorder and anarchy which have disturbed the Punjab for the last five years, chiefly owing to a numerous Sikh army, kept up in the vicinity of the capital, in numbers greatly disproportioned to the revenues of the country, and by whose republican system of discipline, the soldiery had usurped all the functions of the State.

The control which a British garrison can exercise in enforcing order amongst the disbanded soldiery, will, in conjunction with a British system of administration, protect all classes of the community. The immediate effect of depriving a numerous body of military adventurers of employment (there being still many to be disbanded to reduce the numbers to the limits of the Treaty of Lahore,) may be troublesome, and a source of some uneasiness.* No policy can at once get rid of an evil which has been the growth of years. But the operation of a system of order introduced into the Pun-

* NOTE BY SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

In some quarters we understand that Lord Hardinge is reproached with allowing the arrears of a thousand or two of Sikh Sowars to remain unpaid. The following facts therefore will be instructive:—The Sikh Army has during the last twelve months been reduced not less than 20,000 men; and the finances thereby relieved by 30 lakhs. Not only have *all* these men been paid their arrears, but the Army still kept up, which was found in arrears of from nine to sixteen months is now paid nearly as regularly as our own. The infantry are two months in arrears, and the majority of the cavalry only five; and their not being paid up as well as the infantry is for the excellent reason that there is no money. When these facts have been digested, we would beg attention to the contrast afforded by the following. The Gwalior cavalry, remodelled and taken under our protection in January 1844, was still owed in June 1847 (3½ years after the treaty) the monstrous sum of 25 lakhs of Rupees. If 10 lakhs of the marriage gift of the Bazee Bhaie have been appropriated to the payment of those arrears, as was suggested, we understand, by the local agents, there will *still* remain four years after the treaty a larger arrear to the Gwalior cavalry, than is owed to the whole Sikh Army nine months after the treaty that transferred it with the rest of the Lahore State to British care. We attribute no sort of blame in this matter to Col. Sleeman, or Sir R. Shakspeare. The treaty of Gwalior did not give them the authority to act; that of Lahore *did* give Col. Lawrence. We only add one more example to the many on record of the evils of the *old* Subsidiary system, and the advantages of the *new*.

jab, will subdue the habits of this class, as has been the case in our own provinces since the Pindarree war, and, by gradually mitigating the turbulent spirit of the Sikh population, encourage the people to cultivate the arts of industry and peace.

A strict adherence to the letter of the Treaty, by the withdrawal of the British garrison at this moment from the Punjab, after the avowals made by the Durbar, that the Government could not stand, would probably have led to measures of aggrandizement, and the extension of our territory, after scenes of confusion and anarchy. This danger was felt by the most able of the Sirdars, and it reconciled them to the sacrifices which the terms inevitably required for the interest of the Lahore State. By the course which has been adopted, the modification of the terms of the Agreement of last March, has been made with the free consent of the Sirdars, publicly assembled, who were made fully aware of the extent of the power which, by the new articles, was to be transferred to the British Government.

The confidence which the Sikh Chiefs have reposed in British good faith, must tend, by the unanimity of their decision, which partakes, as far as it is possible in an eastern country, of a national sanction, to promote the success of this measure.

I have deemed it expedient, that the ratification of the new terms of Agreement entered into for protecting the Maharajah during his minority, should be made as public as possible. It has, therefore, been determined, in communication with the Sirdars, that his Highness shall come to my camp on this side of the Beas on the 26th instant ; and I propose afterwards, when the Agreement will be formally ratified, to pay His Highness a friendly return visit at Lahore."

Compliments to Mr. Currie and Colonel Lawrence here follow, and the despatch thus concludes:—

"In every part of India the most perfect tranquillity prevails.

No efforts on my part will be omitted to preserve this desirable state of things. My views and measures have been uniformly directed to maintain a system of peace, by consolidating the British power in India, and not by objects of aggrandizement, and I trust that the arrangements now about to be ratified will tend to this effect, and that the course which I have adopted will be found by you to be consistent with true policy, and conducive to the interests of British India."

The Treaty of March 1846 was no sooner signed than arrangements were made for the management of the valuable acquisitions obtained. Mr. John Lawrence, one of the most experienced officers in the Civil Service, was sent for from Delhi, in which neighbourhood he had served for many years with great

credit. To his care as commissioner was entrusted the Jullunder, with half a dozen assistants, while Major Mackeson, with a similar staff, superintended the Cis-Sutlej states, both acting under the Agent of the Governor-General. The arrangement answered so well that within the year almost all the complicated questions caused by the war were decided, and the Sikh Chiefs put on a new and improved footing. Major Broadfoot had truly observed that these chiefs had long ceased to be the *protected*, and might latterly rather be called the *restrained*. They had ceased to *fear* the Punjab Ruler: they now only feared our preventions from plunder. The police powers of many of these were withdrawn: the customs of all commuted or abolished. The disorderly and untrustworthy contingents on both sides the river were commuted for a money payment sufficient to pay several good regiments; the jagírs of all examined, and possession allowed until so done; and above all a very light summary assessment was completed within three months in the Jullunder, and during the year elsewhere. The Governor-General's only instructions to the commissioners were to be moderate in their demands, and not to distress the people. Thus has order been brought out of anarchy, and a most fruitful and lovely district, already yielding fifty lakhs, been added to British India.

Simultaneously with these arrangements, retrenchments in a small way were commenced, but it was not until the treaty of December 1846 was signed, that the Governor-General felt justified in reducing the Military Force. Now however that affairs were put on a more promising footing, the strength of every infantry corps in the service was reduced as also of all the irregulars; the Police Battalions were one by one disbanded, and already, without any apparent effort, more than 30,000 have been reduced from the Bengal army alone. There is no denying that while this bold measure has saved much to the state, it has curtailed establishments with less injury to public credit than ever was before accomplished.

There is one feature of this question which the future Historian will dwell on with special satisfaction. Scarcely was the

Punjab war over than the party in the British Senate, with which the Governor-General had always acted, were ejected from power. They had honored and rewarded him, and he might now have retired, or when remaining at the request of his Political adversaries—who seem to have treated him with as much consideration as if one of themselves,—he might not unreasonably be expected to forward no financial arrangements that would affect his popularity during the brief remainder of his stay in India. An ordinary man would certainly thus have acted; but far otherwise has been Lord Hardinge's practice. In the face of the clamour of a portion of the press, he has as honestly and unflinchingly used the shears as Lord Wm. Bentinck could have done—as effectively as if he himself were to be the gainer. He had submitted his resignation to the Home Authorities. He had expressed his desire to be relieved in the winter of 1847; so that without any apparent dereliction of duty, he might have left every invidious measure to be carried out—every reduction to be enforced by his successor.

We shall enter somewhat fully—we trust not tediously—into these reductions, premising that, since the year 1837, the Indian Army has been increased by no less, in round numbers, than 120,000 men. More than half of these levies have been discharged, and yet all vulnerable points are as well guarded as they ever were; and the N. W. Frontier is placed on a footing of strength sufficient to silence the most clamorous alarmist.

With the exception of the Cavalry, every branch of the Indian Army has been increased since 1837; the officers by no less than 834, in the proportion of 656 to the Infantry, 146 to the Artillery, and 32 to the Engineers. Above 50,000 men have already been reduced, leaving the army still stronger by more than that number than it was in 1837. None of the officers, Native or European, have been touched. Certain local corps have been disbanded; while other "Irregulars," more urgently required, have been raised. Among these are the Sindh and Sikh Levies. The chief reduction has been caused by bringing

down the strength of corps from 1000 and 1100 to 800 men.* This was effected by giving a bonus of from three to twelve months' pay to every man willing to take his discharge; and by permitting men to invalid in 1847, who in usual course would not have been passed till 1848. No soldier, however, of the regulars has been discharged against his will, and none of the irregular horse who have served seven years; while every individual of the latter, however short his service, discharged on the reduction, has received a gratuity of twelve months' pay, being no less than £24 for a private horseman,—a noble sum, a fortune to many.

Eight regiments of Cavalry were raised during the war; and all of them for very good reasons were irregulars. First because a corps can be formed in a month or two and costs only £19,000 per annum, while one of regulars, costs £39,000; 2dly, because they are more easily moved and provided for, requiring (including officers) only thirty-seven doolie bearers and twenty-two camels, while a corps of regular cavalry requires sixty and 200 respectively; lastly and above all, because, during the Sikh campaign, after every exertion, we never had 4,500 sabres in the field opposed to not less than 30,000. We were deficient in *numbers*, not material. When Punjab affairs were settled, the strength of corps of irregular horse was reduced to 500, and we believe it is the intention to bring them down to 420, the strength of the regular cavalry; but, as in the infantry, the full number of corps as also their constitution has been kept up, so as to enable officers on the shortest notice to fill up their ranks. The gratuity of twelve months' pay to the discharged men was a humane measure, because many had incurred debt to enable them to enter the service, but it must now be clearly a man's own fault if he is unable to make a fresh start in life with a trifle in his pocket: it was a politic act, because it will induce volunteers, when required, to crowd to our ranks.

Thus the reduction in the native army has been effected, with the least possible detriment to efficiency. The cavalry, the arm

* They are to be permitted gradually to fall to 750.

in which we were most deficient, has been increased by eight regiments; and the number of sabres, even after reductions, by some hundreds. For the police battalions the more efficient Sindh and Sikh Levies have been substituted. The police corps did not give satisfaction. No man who has much worked with natives could have expected otherwise. The theory of a military police is excellent; but as a general rule natives of India will not take to a double trade. They will not both fight and write; they will not do menial work and head work. There are of course exceptions to this as to every other rule; but with some personal experience in these matters we are decidedly of opinion that the native of India who has been in the habit of doing one work well will fail in a double duty. There are a dozen reasons for what we aver. Listlessness, cowardice, vanity and the prejudices of the caste to which they belong, all interfere with such combination of duties. He who reckons on orientals by European rules, will assuredly reap repentance. The Sikh and Sindh Levies are more decidedly military bodies than the police battalions, and bring into our ranks men who have fought against us, and might, if not employed, do so again. This indeed, is another reason for encouraging irregular cavalry, as it is chiefly formed of the most military portion of the Mahommedan population.

Though several European regiments have been sent home since the war, it is quite a mistake to suppose that the European force in India has been decreased below the usual average. On the contrary it very far exceeds what was considered sufficient to defend India during any period of the China, Gwalior, Sindh and Affghanistan Campaigns,—the fact being that though between the years 1837 and 1842 the force in Bengal was increased by no less than one dragoon and seven infantry regiments, an equal number were generally absent beyond the limits of India. During the years 1843-44 and '45 this branch of the army counted three regiments of dragoons, and fourteen of infantry, being one of the former, and five of the latter, in excess of the establishment of 1837. In the year 1838, while the whole European

force in the Bengal presidency, was only two regiments of cavalry and nine of infantry, one of the first and two of the last were in Affghanistan; and in 1840 when the infantry establishment was increased to twelve regiments not less than six were absent, viz. three in China and three in Affghanistan. In the year 1846 the infantry regiments were again increased to sixteen by orders from home, but before the reinforcements could arrive, peace was declared.* It is now, we understand, intended to keep three regiments of dragoons and eleven of infantry on the Bengal establishment, being *one* of cavalry, and *two* of infantry in excess of the establishment of 1837 before Gwalior or the Punjab was subdued!

At Madras in the year 1841, there were eight European regiments, but of these three were absent; viz. one in China, one at Aden, and one at Moulmein; leaving five. The establishment is now to be eight!

At Bombay, the European force was

In 1837 ..... 4½ regiments (a wing being at Aden).
„ 1838 ..... 2½ „
„ 1839 ..... 3 „
„ 1840 ..... 4 „
„ 1841 ..... 4 „

One has now gone home, leaving seven, but a wing being at Aden and two Regiments in Scinde, 4½, the same as in 1837, remain for the duties of the presidency.

Thus we have shewn that the European force actually within the limits of India is considerably stronger than at any former period—though now for the first time since our Sovereignty commenced there is no organized army (Nepal excepted, which

* This was a very natural and proper caution on the part of the home authorities, but it has been unadvisedly made a handle for the report that Lord Hardinge wrote to England, after Ferozshah, for 12,000 troops. The fact, however, is he did not write for a man. Lord Hardinge is not the person to wait till the middle of a war before he indents on England for all he considers necessary. No—his reinforcements were much nearer; Sir Charles Napier was in Sindh with 23,000 men. When the war ended in February 1846, Napier was at hand with 16,000 men and fifty guns; while supports from England could hardly have reached before the spring of 1847; unless by Egypt, and there in April and May the soldiers would have suffered from heat.

has no Cavalry) in India, but our own. To make the matter still plainer to unprofessional readers, we may remark that now, during profound peace, the European force in India, though 5,000 men less than the War Establishment of 1846, is 10,000 in excess of that of the year 1835 and 9,000 stronger than that of 1837 when the hostile Army of Gwalior was on our flank, the Sikhs in our front, and the expedition to Affghanistan was already on the tapis!

The increase to the Army since 1837, in Bengal alone, exceeded 50,000 men; the reductions, including Queen's Regiments sent home, exceed 30,000 men at a saving of £700,000, in Bombay, including a European Regiment 7,000 men at a saving of £300,000, and in Madras 10,000 at a saving of £160,000.

Thus the total reductions already completed are £1,160,000, while with the Lahore subsidy of £220,000, and the Jullunder and Cis-Sutlej proceeds (after deducting expences) of £500,000 more, we have a total improvement of the Revenue during the year 1847 of £1,880,000 sterling;—so that with reductions in progress at Bombay and Madras, the relief to the finances of India may be expected to be two millions of money; giving us for the first time since 1838 a prospect of escape from bankruptcy.

The advocates of annexation, those who think the Indus or the Solemane Range should be our border, may with advantage reflect on the above facts. Annexation that tends to insolvency can never be beneficial. Hitherto our debt has increased with our frontier; and we are satisfied that the Punjab would be no exception to the rule. Its revenues are *not* four millions as influential journals in England consider; they are scarcely one-third of that sum, and of it nearly half is expended in jageers and the British subsidy. Could we with our present establishments safely hold the four Western Doabs, or the other half? We think not; and had we tried to do it, where would have been the reductions above displayed? Would those who feared to occupy Lahore, with 10,000 men, *at the earnest prayer* of the Sikh nation, have had no misgivings, when again in front of the formidable Khybur—when again confronted with the Murrís, the Bogtís

and the Vizeris, while the irritated Sikh population was in their rear? Each river of the Punjab would have been as dangerous, or at least as dreaded, as a Khúrd Kabul or a Khybur, and we must literally have kept up an Army in each Doab, or India and Europe would have rung with forebodings of disaster—instead of a reduction of the Army, then, there must have been an increase and especially in the most expensive branches—the Europeans, the artillery and the cavalry. Above all, instead of sending home Queen's Regiments, we must have indented for six or eight more, and for years at least the country would have been a loss to us. The balance sheet is the best answer against annexation!

In proof that the reductions we have noticed have not unduly affected our Military strength, we proceed briefly to contrast our present and past posture, in the most vulnerable quarters.

A European Regiment has been withdrawn from Moulmein—wisely we think. The force there was not strong enough to make, though it might tempt, War; our Steamers would now enable us to reinforce the Tenasserim Coast, or to destroy Rangoon at a few hours' notice. The small fortified posts of Petoragurh and Lohú Ghat on the western Nepal Frontier, inviting attack, have been dismantled, and their garrisons withdrawn. The regiment of Native Infantry has been recalled from Almorah, where it should never have been stationed, and the fort at that station is being strengthened, and made tenable against all comers until it can be relieved. An Irregular Cavalry Corps is now stationed at Gorukpúr, in communication with that at Segowlie—the best possible arm to employ in watching the Goorkhas. By Lord Ellenborough's arrangements, Gwalior is now an armed friend, occupied by a British force more than double that which won "Meanee."

There remains only the N. W. Frontier. We have already shewn, but may repeat, that in July 1844, when the Sikh Army was in force at Lahore, the British troops at and above Meerut, amounted to 24,000 men and 66 guns, but were increased by Lord Hardinge by 1st December 1845 to 45,000 men and 98

guns. Now, however, while there are not three thousand Sikh soldiers in the whole country around Lahore and Umritsur, and those under our orders, we shall have, *by the present relief*, 54,000 *men and* 120 *field guns as well as a battering train of equal strength at and above Meerut!*

A comparison of these numbers should satisfy the most apprehensive mind, that in making his well considered reductions, Lord Hardinge has not hazarded the safety of the empire. Not only during the whole of the year 1846, were moveable Brigades, complete in carriage and equipment, kept up at Lahore, Ferozepore and Jullunder, but are now, in the midst of profound peace, retained. Each consists of one European Regiment and three of native infantry, one of cavalry and twelve guns. The former has also two companies of sappers and a second regiment of cavalry. These brigades are under two distinguished Brigadiers, Campbell and Wheeler, both Aides-de-Camp to the Queen, and the whole commanded by Sir John Littler. These three brigades can be reinforced in ten days by four regiments of British infantry; while there are three of cavalry, with seventy guns and 20,000 Native Infantry in reserve. Lord Hardinge's Ordnance arrangements ought alone to satisfy men's minds that, in all that concerns military matters, he is thoroughly at home. Not a man or gun from the war establishment has been reduced; 60 nine-pounder guns before drawn by bullocks have been horsed, and there is now Siege and Field Artillery on and near the Frontier sufficient to meet any contingency, and it will not be His Lordship's fault if the Horse Artillery ammunition ever again runs short in action, or if the siege train is ill supplied.*

* The old system did not allow sufficient ammunition to the field artillery. Lord Hardinge has rectified the error. We would, however, correct an impression that prevails in some quarters, that, because the Governor-General expressed himself warmly regarding the deficiency of ammunition at the beginning of the campaign, he, therefore, thinks ill of the Bengal Artillery. Far otherwise. He thinks them, as all who have seen their practice must do, as good artillery as any in the world. Indeed, his Lordship has often been heard to expatiate on the excellencies of the men and of the Captains, and we believe it to be his opinion that the *chief want* of the artillery, as of the Bengal Army, in all its branches, is a senior list. We may here mention what is little known,—we are not sure that it is so to Lord Hardinge,—that the chief reason for the ammunition having run out at Ferozshah, was the extraordinary number of waggons that blew up. Of eighteen that went into action under Lieut. Col. Geddes, no fewer than seven exploded.

We have entered at such length, into the origin, conduct and results of the war with the Sikhs, the great episode of Lord Hardinge's Administration, that we have space only to glance at some of the civil measures to which the restoration of peace enabled him to turn his attention.

The question of the great Ganges Canal had met with cool advocacy and warm opposition. Mr. Thomason's views were opposed, Major Cautley, the able projector was in England, and the war called away his excellent successor, Captain Baker and his assistants. Doubts were raised as to the advisability of opening a new canal, when those on a much smaller scale now running past Delhi and Kurnaul, had rendered these towns and cantonments unhealthy. A sanatory committee was appointed and ordered to proceed to the canals, there to investigate the amount of sickness usually caused by them, and draw up a full report embodying their own suggestions. The committee prepared a very curious table demonstrating most clearly that the size of the spleens of children in the tract irrigated by the Delhi Canals, increased in proportion to their vicinity to the inundation. The fact was not ascertained from examination of bed-ridden patients, but from scores of boys and girls who were running about the villages. It was, however, also ascertained that these symptoms of diseases were little thought of by the people themselves, and that sufferers from intermittent fever preferred to be subject to such trials rather than to lose the fertilizing waters of the canals. It was also shewn that the course of the Jumna canals being through a low line of country, difficult of drainage, caused swamps and stagnant pools, at the most unhealthy season of the year, as around Kurnaul—much if not all of this may be remedied, and it is believed that Delhi and Kurnaul may yet be restored to comparative salubrity.

By a judicious system of drainage, it is expected that malaria can be prevented, and with this view it is intended that the Ganges canal shall follow the highest ridge of the Doab, at a prescribed safe distance from towns and cantonments. Thus irrigation will be prevented in the vicinity of masses of people,

and it may be hoped that care and attention will mitigate the present canal evils to the rural population; indeed we do not see why irrigation might not be prohibited within prescribed distances of village sites; but as already remarked, the cultivators prefer good crops with miasma and visceral disease to dearth, hunger and starvation. Malaria doubtless does shorten life, but it is unquestionable that for hundreds whom it has destroyed in India famine has carried off its tens of thousands. Who can estimate the misery and mortality of the famine of 1837; the loss and expense of which alone, in a single year, cost the Government a million of money—much what the Ganges canal is estimated at. Only four years previously, in 1833, that of Guntoor cost sixty lakhs and the lives of a quarter of a million of people.

Another danger was prognosticated. It was feared that to diverge from the Ganges ⅞ths (seven-eighths) of the main stream, would endanger its navigation. As the proposed canal is to be navigable for boats, and as the river is now scarcely so throughout the year,* this objection seems to us unimportant. After a rigid calculation of the advantages to be gained and the risks to be encountered, the Governor-General in March 1846 visited the head of the canal and its most important feature—the Solani aqueduct, and then authorized the vigorous prosecution of the work. We understand that the annual expenditure of a quarter of a million sterling has since been sanctioned from home. Six years will probably open a canal of not less than 600 miles in length, to spread its fertilizing waters over 1,200,000 acres, to secure from famine several millions of people, and to remain a lasting monument of British architecture and of British benevolence in India.

That Mr. Stephenson and his staff are now in Calcutta prepared to commence the grand Northern railway, is mainly attributable to Lord Hardinge's sound advice and practical good sense. It must ever redound to his credit that when his colleagues, men supposed to be more cognizant of India's wants, dol-

* We have ourselves, in an English wherry, been a dozen times aground in the month of March, between Furruckabad and Allahabad.

ed out such small modicum of Government assistance as would have smothered the project for ever, the Governor-General, taking an enlarged and statesman-like view of the question, declared, "I am of opinion that the assistance to be given ought not to be limited merely to the land," and further on, "the 'value of the land is not commensurate with the advantages 'which the state would derive from rapid and daily communica-'tions between Calcutta and Delhi," and again, "the calculation 'of the contribution to be given, should be based on the political, 'military and commercial advantages which would be derived from 'the completion and full operation of such a line." His Lordship's task was a peculiarly hard one. He had, at a time of great financial pressure, in the face of the combined opinion of his civil counsellors, to advocate a large outlay. He has had his reward in seeing the foundation of that noble work laid, which we hope it will be Lord Dalhousie's privilege to complete. In his Lordship's character and previous career, we have an earnest that he will not be found wanting in works of improvement: indeed in his speech at the dinner given to him by the Court of Directors, on the 4th November, his Lordship told us that he will do all that prudence permits in opening out the communications of the Land. We trust that the present depression of the money market will prove only a temporary obstacle in the way of this great national work. The guarantee of five per cent. for twenty-five years, makes the investment an excellent one as a private speculation, while to Government the advantages of railroads will be incalculable. With the means of rapidly transporting our munitions, our batteries, and our battalions from one end of the empire to the other, we may confidently defy all danger, and the strength of British India will be more than doubled. Famine can no more stalk in one quarter, while plenty smiles in others. The trains that convey provisions for our English soldiers to the foot of the Himalayas, will return with the products of those mountains, whose dyes, herbs and minerals will now find a market.

Lord Hardinge has added another to the number of Sana-

taria, and has, we hope, prepared the way for all Europeans, henceforward invalided for India, to be sent to the mountains. We are satisfied that it is only misapprehension of the advantages to be gained that prevents the veterans of Chunar, now to a man volunteering for the Hills. And who can deny, when masses of men can be transported from the sea to the frontier and back again within the week, that *every* European regiment in the service should have its chief hospital in the Hills, where at least half the period of service of every English soldier should be spent.*

While anxious to further the introduction of railroads, Lord Hardinge has far from neglected those communications to which we must still, for so many years, be indebted. On his arrival finding the works on the Great Trunk Road languishing, and the roads scarcely passable for want of bridges, &c. he gave every encouragement to the Executive Officers, and placed the means of completing the whole line of road in three seasons in their hands. The war impeded this as well as many other measures, but more than fifty bridges have been built on this road during 2½ years, no less than fifteen of them being in one march of 14 miles. Many drain bridges have also been prepared and much metalling work completed. In short, except the bridges over seven Rivers, it is expected that ere June 1848, the whole line of road from Calcutta to Meerut, will be quite ready. As it is, travellers in carriages now go up and down for eight months of the year, easily reaching Delhi and Meerut from Calcutta in a fortnight.

During Lord Hardinge's Administration there has been much discussion especially in the south of India, regarding interference with the religion of the natives. At an early date the Governor-General made his stand. By his own example encouraging the observance of the Christian Religion, he not only discountenanced interference with the rites of the natives, but prohibited

* A few months ago, ice was sanctioned for European Hospitals, and we hear that it is now determined to allow Punkahs, both day and night, in the Barracks in the plains. This is indeed doing as we would be done by—the measure will save many lives.

Government officials from involving themselves directly in schemes of conversion. By all legitimate means, without interfering with the labor of the missionary, he encouraged general education and the enlightenment of the native mind; the rest he appears to have left to God and to His appointed time.

The Notification of October 1846 prohibiting Sunday labor, is evidence of Lord Hardinge's sincerity, and will be long remembered to his honor. Viewed merely as a secular measure the good will be great. It will be a check to many who, having little to do during the week, from mere listlessness and carelessness were wont to desecrate the Sabbath, or permit it to be desecrated by their subordinates. The Moslem and the Hindu, who worship after their own fashion, have now some proof that the Christian respects the faith he professes.

We have now great pleasure in recording Lord Hardinge's efforts to put down Infanticide and Human Sacrifice, as well as Suttee and Man-stealing. During the past year scarcely a month has failed to record some act of prohibition of one or other of these crimes in the territories of protected chiefs, in Central or Northern India. Several Princes having come forward and reported their desire to put an end to these atrocities, it now rests with the Paramount Power to see that these edicts be not infringed by present Rulers, themselves or by their heirs. Where a Prince reports an edict of his own to the British Government, he virtually calls on it to witness the act, and where he swerves from such attested deed, the least punishment that is his due is an expression of the severe displeasure of the Governor-General, which in most cases will have the desired effect. The great gain to humanity of recent measures will be better understood, when it is considered that at the death of a petty chief, such as the Raja of Mundí near Simla, who holds a country yielding scarcely £40,000 a-year, as many as a dozen women have been incremated;* and that throughout the Hindu States, up to the period of the recent prohibitions, the point of honor has been for every widow to im-

* We have heard an officer assert, who counted the figures on the sepulchres at Mundí of the last ten Rajas, that the average number of victims was 45!

molate herself. The murder of Raja Hira Singh at Lahore, involved the Suttee of no less than twenty-four helpless women, of whom two were his own wives, and eight his slaves.*

The suppression of Infanticide will be much more difficult than that of Suttee. In different quarters of protected India, whole villages and tribes confess that they have no daughters—declaring that such is the will of God; but even in our own oldest provinces, it is by no means certain that child-murder does not largely prevail. The right course seems now being pursued to eradicate this horrid system:—not by sweeping penalties (carelessly or not all carried out) but by watching events, by instructing the people and by discountenancing all who, having local influence, do not lend it in support of humanity. In the Jullunder Doab, the Bedís descendants from Gúrú Nanuk, permitted no female child to live, and throughout the Punjab they shed blood, almost with impunity. One of them, however, was recently hanged at Lahore, for murdering his mother and brothers, and from the day of the introduction of our rule into the Jullunder, the Bedís have been given to understand that they are subject to the law like other people. When the Bedí of Oona, the head of their "tribe of Levi," was told by the Commissioner that he must forbid the crime within his extensive jageer, he replied he could not, but that he would himself, by a life of celibacy, support British views. Mr. Lawrence told him that he must take his choice of obeying or of surrendering his lands: he appears to have preferred the latter alternative.

Child-stealing and the selling of men, women and children, for purposes of slavery or prostitution, are crimes,—though still practised in British India and most common throughout native states,—not sufficiently considered in their frightful consequences. By recent notifications we observe that Child-stealing has been

* In Major Broadfoot's despatch dated 26th September 1845, published in the Punjab Blue Book, reporting the death of Sirdar Jowahir Singh and the burning of his four widows, it is stated—"Suttees are sacred, and receive worship; their last "words are considered prophetic, their blessing eagerly sought for and their curses "dreaded. Dewan Dinanath, the Rani, the Maharaja and others, prostrated themselves before them and obtained their blessing. * * * The Suttees blessed them, but "cursed the Sikh Punt."

made penal in the Punjab, and that the very name of slave has been prohibited in the Gwalior territory. These are wholesome effects of interference, most holy fruits of protection. Attention thus excited towards Suttee, Infanticide, and Child-stealing, very slight efforts on the part of Government and its officials will surely tend to eradicate the crimes throughout the limits of Hindustan. Some few Hindus may pervert, or disregard, their own shasters; but the more sacred and authoritative of these writings in no way sanction Suttee. We never heard a Hindu pretend to prove that they did, and not many months since a good brahman emphatically told the writer that in prohibiting Infanticide, we had compensated for permitting the crime of cow-killing. Be it remembered that the majority of Hindus consider a cow's life more sacred than that of a man.

During the last three administrations much anxiety has been displayed to put an end to the sacrifice of human beings by the Khonds and other wild Tribes South-west of Calcutta. Among other recorded atrocities, as many as twenty-five full grown persons have been sacrificed at a single festival by the Khonds: a caterer for such impious rites had pledged and actually delivered up his own two daughters, for want of purchased offerings; and in some of the Khond districts, those who could not procure other victims gave up "their old and helpless fathers and mothers to be sacrificed."

The measures lately undertaken have been carried out under the orders of the Deputy-Governor of Bengal, under the general supervision of the Governor-General. In all his communications on the subject, Lord Hardinge has advocated the combination of energy with forbearance. It has been demonstrated that mere advice, or earnest remonstrances, or partial tokens of favour, will not alone effect the humane purposes of Government; but it does not therefore follow that we advocate hanging and destroying, or that we would carry our measures at the point of the sword. This would, in our opinion, rather retard civilization, would drive the wild tribes

into their wildest fastnesses, and sooner extirpate the offenders than eradicate the offence. Of the nature and extent of Captain Macpherson, the Khond Agent's success, chiefly through his administration of justice, we must speak highly. But, Lord Hardinge, perceiving the utter impossibility of a single Agent, however zealous and able, effecting much over 60,000 square miles of wild mountain country, suggested giving him six European officers as coadjutors, each armed with full powers to act, and each supported by three efficient native assistants. Thus at a stroke was the machinery to be increased eighteen fold. These European and native agents were to go among the Khonds as friends and benefactors. They were to be authorised to make them small presents, to advise and to consult with them, to administer justice, and to explain that a merciful God does not smile on murder, and that the blood of human victims does not fertilize their fields, but that valleys, happier and richer than their own, as free from famine and disease, are witnesses of no such detestable rites. Failing by such means, we understand it to have been Lord Hardinge's intention to have sanctioned all possible measures short of devastation and spoliation; and we have little doubt that when mild measures, such as those which have already been shewn to have proved so far successful, are thus energetically enforced, there will be little need of recourse to the sword. But the evils of centuries cannot be eradicated in a day, especially in a country whose climate is so deadly, that for half the year few Indians much less Europeans can live.

If we have not yet obtained Post Office reform, it is assuredly not Lord Hardinge's fault. All his acts prove him to be quite alive to the advantages of rapid and cheap communication and exchange of opinion. We understand that during the spring of 1847, he sent home the Post Office Papers with a strong recommendation that the suggestions of Mr. Riddell, the Agra Post Master General, should be sanctioned. On the present system, there are two rates of postage for Newspapers; two annas and three annas according to distance. Letters all pay according to distance and weight; a quarter tola or

one-fourth of a Rupee being considered a single letter. These rules largely affect the prices of the presidency Newspapers in the Mofussil, and enable all who wish to send small letters to club together, and thus transmit a dozen advices or letters by a single postage. It was soon ascertained that natives did so, and that merchants employed collectors of these scraps of letters in different quarters, who on salaries of five or six pounds a year, collected and transmitted letters at decimal rates, and in the same way received packets containing bundles, the contents of which they delivered according to their directions.

The rules now proposed will meet these difficulties. A one-anna stamp will pass Newspapers from one end of India to the other, and, though lightly taxing Calcutta, Bombay and Madras readers, will largely benefit all Mofussil ones. Proprietors must benefit, as the reduction will now induce many Mofussilites to take daily papers. In regard to letters one rate of half an anna or three farthings is suggested for all distances, one-eighth of a tola (Rupee) being however the weight of a single letter, so that there will be little if any advantage in an agency between the Government and letter-writers and receivers. At present the North Western Provinces alone pay any postal revenue to Government. The present income, we believe, is about £10,000, but double that amount is swamped in the expenses of the other presidencies, leaving a deficit of a Lakh of Rupees on all India, which is expected to increase to five as the first effects of the new scheme. The Post Office revenue has however lately increased ten per cent. per annum, and under such an impulse as is proposed, letters and newspapers will vastly increase, so that it is not too much to expect that eventually a gain will be obtained instead of a loss incurred, by the new arrangement, independent of Government packets being carried free. Should, however, this hope be disappointed, it will still be the interest as well as the duty of Government to remodel the Post Office Establishment. The whole system, especially in Bengal, is discreditable to an enlightened Government.

There is now little or no check on the delivery of letters, and while the Post runs at the rate of ten miles an hour westward of Benares, the letter bags are still carried around Calcutta on men's shoulders.

The inhabitants of Calcutta have reason long to remember Lord Hardinge's warm approval in August 1846 of the measures for the improvement of the Calcutta conservancy. All such reforms have every where obtained his support. But to a commercial people perhaps his removal of all restrictions on trade is his best recommendation. Throughout British India, trade is now free, and even in almost every Native State the worst restrictions have been removed. The town duties not only of such places as Lúdiana and Umballa, have been abolished, but those of Surat yielding eleven Lakhs of rupees have been released.*

No sooner was the Jullunder Doab annexed than all transit and town duties were annulled, and those of the Cis-Sutlej States soon followed. In Central India the example has been followed, so that with exceptions, so few as to be scarce worth mentioning, trade in India is now taxed at single points on the great Customs Line or on the Seaboard. In the North Western Provinces the said Customs Line has been reduced from a double to a single one; would that the state of the Exchequer permitted its being altogether removed. The Sutlej and the Indus are now, *in reality*, free of imposts, to the sea; and, under British influence, considerable reformation in customs arrangements has been effected in the Punjab. Cotton cultivation has not been neglected, and we understand that a full report on this important staple is now before Government. Lord Hardinge took great interest in the endeavours for the cultivation of tea, and authorized its enthusiastic promoter, Dr. Jameson, to commence plantations in different quarters of the lower Himalayas. The present price that Indian Tea fetches is an earnest that England

* It is only fair to say that the Salt Tax was simultaneously increased at Surat, but the loss to Government in that town alone by the new arrangement was estimated at four Lakhs; the duty levied on Salt being seven, while the town duties removed were eleven.

will be independent of China for this essential of English life, at least as soon as the Chinese can grow their own opium.

Thus much has been done or laid in train during Lord Hardinge's administration of forty-two months. His benefits to the Services have not been less real, though not so apparent as those to the state.

In the first place, by reducing the expenditure within the income, no retrenchment of salaries has been made. And no rational man can, for a moment, suppose that England could continue to hold India at an annual loss of a million and a half. As then it is not likely to part with its brightest gem, sooner or later all servants of the State must pay the penalty of undue expenditure, be it on visionary schemes of war or of peace. In this then Lord Hardinge deserves gratitude, that he has never wilfully allowed a rupee of public cash to be unnecessarily expended: he has closely scanned and jealously scrutinized all attempts, however plausible, on the public pocket; and when he has rewarded liberally, and freely abandoned present profits, it has been because he has sense and far-sightedness enough to perceive that there is no reaping without sowing, and that in the end it is cheaper and better to pay well and to act liberally, than by stinted measures to cramp zeal and retard improvement.

But far more than in mere pecuniary matters are we indebted to his Lordship. The spirit of consideration and kindliness that has prevailed throughout his administration, not only to those around him and enjoying his personal society, but to all officers of the state with whom he has had occasion to communicate, has been marked. Under Lord Hardinge there has been no black-balling of classes nor undue encouragement of others. Men have been judged by their merits,—due consideration being paid to just recommendations, especially in favor of sons of meritorious officers. Himself a thorough soldier, the Governor-General has always upheld the civil authority as necessarily supreme, but he has discouraged all jealousies between Civilians and Soldiers, and has taught that each is most honored in best fulfilling his duties.

All branches of the army, European and native, are indebted to him for distinct acts of favor. To his advocacy when Secretary at War, seven Company's officers are now indebted for being Aides-de-Camp to the Queen. And at this moment it is believed that he is striving to obtain for the Army a senior list. The Company's regiments in the three presidencies are indebted to his voice for their extra captains. Additional pensions have, at his recommendation, been allowed to widows of officers killed in action and also to the heirs of native officers.* Free quarters have been allowed to all ranks at Lahore, the families of European soldiers have been allowed to join them both in Sindh and the Punjab, a measure that, considering Lord Hardinge's precise notions on military questions, can only have been caused by his strong desire to make the soldier as comfortable as possible, since none more than himself saw the objections to crowding Kurachí and Lahore with European women and children.

On the close of the war of sixty days, while the Treasury was still empty, a gratuity of twelve months' batta was granted not only to those who had been actually under fire, but to all who had arrived at and above Bussean, by a certain day. For months of exposure in Affghanistan and Burmah half this amount of Batta was granted. The European soldier's kit by a General Order of February 1846, is now carried at the public expense: the Sanatarium of Dugshae and the Barracks for European Artillery at Subathú, are the work of Lord Hardinge in continuation of the best act of Lord Ellenborough's Administration.

The boons peculiarly affecting the Native Soldier are not fewer. The pension of Sepoys disabled by wounds in action has been largely increased, in some cases from one rupee eleven annas to four rupees, in others from four to seven rupees per mensem. By an order of 12th February 1846 the benefit of

* We presume that the gallant Lord Gough referred to this boon, when, in a parting speech at his own hospitable table the night before Lord Hardinge left Simla, he observed,—"The noble Lord (Hardinge) had done much for the army, both for the living and the dead—he had made *both* more comfortable!"

these pensions was extended to Sepoys of local corps.* By Government orders of 15th August 1845 the long-vexed and dangerous question of Sindh Pay was decided, and troops in that province were put on a footing with those in Arracan. In February 1846 the same rates were granted in the Punjab. Hutting money was allowed to the whole Native Army by Government orders of August 15, 1845, and on the same date an order was issued authorizing sepoys to put in plaints in all the Civil Courts on unstamped paper.† Sepoys wounded in the battles of the Sutlej received rations gratis while in hospital, and when scurvy broke out among the wounded Europeans, the Governor-General's own State tents were instantly pitched for the accommodation of a portion, and he constantly visited both Europeans and natives, talking to the former and expressing his commiseration of the sufferings of all.

These are some among the many benefits conferred by Lord Hardinge on the Army of India. As already observed Sir Robert Peel gave testimony in Parliament that he was regarded by the Army of England as its friend, "*because he was the friend of justice to all ranks of that Army.*" He has at least equal claims on the Army of India. Here he has equally been the friend of the Sentinel, the Subaltern, and the Veteran. He has equally sought the welfare, the happiness of all. Before he had put foot in the East, he had advocated the interests of its exiles, and now that he has shared in their dangers, and partaken of their honors; now that his name is for ever connected with the glories of Múdkí, Ferozshah, and Sobraon, history will designate him like his illustrious Captain, a "Sepoy General." His interests and theirs are

* Pity it is that these Corps which, as in the cases of the Nussrí and Sirmúr Battalion were present at Bhurtpúr and during the Sikh Campaign, are not called "Irregulars," instead of being misnamed "Locals," and accordingly underpaid. They would to a man volunteer for general service, and having little fellow-feeling with our sepoys and few prejudices, would be invaluable light troops. We feel satisfied that their case could never have been rightly brought before Lord Hardinge, or that he would have put them on a proper footing. We have heard that on an occasion of reviewing one of the Gúrkha Corps, Lord Hardinge asked a zealous Hibernian officer how it was the men were so small. "They get such small pay," was the answer. We presume he meant to say that higher rates would obtain finer men.

† We should have preferred to have seen the Sepoys hutted or rather Barracked by Government. The present system of hutting is injurious to discipline, and might, without difficulty, be improved.

now one, his honors have been won by the Indian Army, and on a hundred occasions he has already borne testimony to the merits of that Army, and he will doubtless always be found among its warmest friends. We may venture to remind him that much is expected at his hands, and first and foremost it is confidently hoped that his voice will advocate the Furlough memorial, if indeed he has not yet satisfied the Home Government, that, much as it is the interest of their servants to be permitted to visit England, it is immeasurably more that of their masters to induce them periodically to go there.

Though thoroughly a utilitarian, Lord Hardinge is possessed of a fine taste, and is fully alive to the beauties of Art. When in Paris he refused to touch a Picture from among the masterpieces in St. Cloud, as he would not set an example of spoliation; but he now carries to England purchased specimens of Art and Nature from every corner of India. During his residence, he encouraged the preservation and repair of the magnificent works of Eastern Architecture around him. On the occasion of his visit to Agra in October 1845 he frequently visited the Taj Mahal, the Fort and the Palace. Finding that some of the large slabs of stone from the Palace had been removed, and that the marble railing was lying ruined and unfixed, and the whole place much out of repair, he reprehended such desecration, ordered the pavement to be restored, and the injuries to be repaired. After causing every enquiry to be made to ascertain the original design of the Kútub Minar at Delhi, and finding that neither descriptions nor old drawings gave any authority for the grotesque ornament placed on its summit by Colonel Smith, Lord Hardinge directed its removal. To the Archæological Society of Delhi, instituted mainly for the purpose of exploring the various ruins of India, Lord Hardinge has afforded his encouragement and assistance, and has placed at their disposal the services of an officer distinguished for his skill as a draughtsman.

The Revenue Survey of the Jullunder and Cis-Sutlej States has already been nearly completed; others in Rajpútana and

Central India are being set on foot; and no sooner did Mr. Thomason, the able Lieutenant-Governor of Agra, project a College of instruction for Civil Engineers at Rúrkí near the head of the Ganges Canal, than the scheme was sanctioned, and an excellent officer of the Engineer Corps, Lieutenant MacLagan, placed at his disposal as its Principal. As sanctioned by the Governor-General, the Grand Trigonometrical Survey will also soon be extending its operations into Kashmír and to the banks of the Indus. Thus in no department are we aware that Lord Hardinge has been found wanting to the extent of his opportunities and the means at his disposal. He carried on war in all its details, like a thorough Soldier, and has since in all points encouraged the Arts of peace like a practised and far-sighted Statesman.

His last public movement was a Vice-regal visit to Lucknow. The public had been for months on tip-toe at the prospect of annexation, though the whole tenor of Lord Hardinge's career might have satisfied people, not only that he would not at the last stage of his career open a new and wide field of diplomacy, but that under *any* circumstances and at *any* time, he would *not* annex Oude to India in the manner many desire to do. Indian officials cannot be too careful to read treaties in their spirit as well as in their letter, lest it be thought that like the Romans of old we diplomatize only to deceive,—that our pacifications are only truces. We should not only disdain such practices, but prove to the world that we do so.

Premising this much, we would ask those honest and able men who advocate the annexation of Oude if, in their opinion, the Treaties with either Oude or Hyderabad contemplated our ever obtaining another rupee from those countries. If such be the case, on what possible plea can we take to ourselves territories, because they are mismanaged, more especially when there is no concealing from ourselves that much, if not all, of this mismanagement, has been caused by our own measures. No, if mistakes have been made, let them be honestly amended, as they would be with Burdwan or with Betteah, or with any other private estate. *Appropriation* is no more the remedy for the

mischiefs of a Principality than of a Zemindarí. We must abide by our treaties, public as well as private, whatever be the inconvenience. If Oude and Hyderabad affairs are really as disordered as they are declared to be, let us by all means temporarily, or if need be. *permanently* assume the management of part or all, but justice and the faith of treaties forbid the appropriation of a rupee of their revenue to the general purposes of the Indian Government. It will be a reward, ample and sufficient, to recover large tracts from anarchy, and to bring under our influence a numerous population with whom our only connexion can be that of paternal protection. Twenty or fifty lakhs of revenue will not increase our strength so much as may the love and gratitude of people thus rescued from oppression. Above all we shall have preserved our reputation for justice and good faith—we shall still be recognized as the reverer of treaties.

As the time for delivering over his charge drew near, Lord Hardinge became restless and impatient. We have heard him likened to a school-boy on the approach of holidays. He now counted the days till his release. And can it be wondered that, at his age, after an absence from his family approaching to four years, and borne down with such labor as at any period of life is scarcely endurable, his heart should now bound at the prospect of release, of return to domestic happiness.

The bare perusal of our faint description of Lord Hardinge's Indian career may enable the reader to judge of a Governor-General's labours. Petitions and appeals, every measure, Military, Political, or Civil; every arrangement, medical, scientific, police, or revenue, with the hundred miscellaneous matters of the three presidencies, are all liable to be referred for his decision. The responsibility and anxious thought, the amount of business and of office work which it entails, are almost beyond belief, and are to be surmounted only by ability, method, punctuality, and great industry.

In these attributes, and in sound good sense, in quick perception, in judgment, in resource, and in calm prompt courage, we

believe Lord Hardinge to be excelled by few living men. His memory is good, though not exact, vividly remembering facts and general circumstances though not particular words. He seldom forgets faces, even though names escape his recollection. Among other qualities, eminently useful, in his high station, by which the Governor-General was distinguished, one of the most marked was his tact and management of men's minds, in soothing animosities, reconciling adverse spirits; and when differences proved irreconcileable, in conciliating to himself the goodwill of both the contending parties. Contrary to a practice too common in India, Lord Hardinge may be said to have been on excellent terms with almost every individual with whom he had to transact business. He expected every man to do his duty conscientiously, yet in marking his disapprobation of neglect or slackness, his manner was so kindly, gentleman-like and consistent, as seldom to give offence. Many difficult questions were offered for his solution; and his arbitration was demanded even in personal quarrels.

Nor was Lord Hardinge's career less marked by moderation, we might almost say, by *modesty*, in his public as well as in his private capacity. The unassuming General Order directing the proud march of the captured Sikh Ordnance to Calcutta, when contrasted with the "Song of Triumph," which heralded the return of the Gates of Somnath to Hindustan, might be adduced in illustration of the former; and the latter was most conspicuous in the quiet and unpretending style in which he travelled, and which marked his daily rides. Lord W. Bentinck himself was not more unostentatious: and often, even when in the neighbourhood of the enemy, Lord H. might have been observed riding about with a single attendant.

His habits were abstemious and regular. He was liberal in his hospitality; no days passed in which visitors did not sit at his excellent board, and twice or thrice a week large parties were given, to which all strangers were invited. He was at first surprised at the independence of the Indian service, but freedom of opinion when allied to due subordination was too congenial

to his nature to win disapproval. We have said that Lord Hardinge was considerate and kind, and we repeat that he was so to all whether distant or around him. His letters and orders were always courteous and gentleman-like; never betraying anger or forgetfulness that those addressed were gentlemen, and that even if wrong in particular cases their motives may have been right, or that their previous services may have deserved well of the Head of the Government. All this is undeniable, but we fear it is equally true, that many who have partaken of Lord Hardinge's hospitality have left his house annoyed, rather than pleased. They have considered themselves intentionally slighted, because the Governor-General had not separately addressed his conversation to them. Wounded vanity is hard to deal with, and we believe that had Lord Hardinge been able more frequently to divert his mind from cares of state to the frivolities around him, he would have been what is called a more popular man. On our own experience we can testify to his desire to be affable and attentive to his visitors. He was always indignant if his staff appeared to fail in their duty to guests; but it was not always easy for an elderly man worn down with labor from early dawn, to remember the especial case of every pompous Field Officer or self-complacent Civilian. To take wine and say a civil nothing was seldom omitted, but the special remembrance of each individual's peculiar case, was often wanting. This, we know, gave offence, especially to those, who, having applied for private audiences, were refused them but invited to dinner.

This refusal of audiences has also offended many. Lord Auckland gave them, but regretted it, and recommended Lord Ellenborough not to do so, but His Lordship was more ready of speech and more at home at a Levee or an Evening Party than was Lord Hardinge. We are, however, of opinion that both were quite right. Audiences waste much time: they give advantages only to the forward and presuming and to parasites of the Presidency and Simla. Every man can tell his story

by letter or vivâ voce to the Private Secretary. If there is much in him, it will not require an audience to elicit it; his name, character, and particular merits are better known at Army and Government Head-quarters than in any other service in the world, and Lord Hardinge was the last man in the world to intentionally neglect an individual, high or low, who had in any manner, by courage or by ability, distinguished himself; indeed by his hearty and cordial converse he soon won his way to such men's hearts.*

In Europe, Lord Hardinge's duties required the smallest modicum of official correspondence, and up to his sixtieth year he had little or no practice in writing; but restricting himself in his minutes, memoranda, and letters, as in his speeches to facts, and attempting no sort of display, the products of his pen may be placed without disparagement, by the side of those of any Statesman of his day. Clear and distinct in his perceptions, he has always desired to master every subject before him, and would never be satisfied with slurring over questions imposing even the necessity of perusing voluminous papers on matters often affecting only the particular interests of an humble individual, but which he perceived did involve *a principle.*

This was a notable and a valuable feature in his character. He took large views of all questions. He saw them as Governor-General; looked on them from the arena of Europe, as affecting England as well as India, and not as referring to a particular class. Such men are needed for this country, and it is on this account we consider, that, as a general question, India can be best supplied with Governors-General from the British senate. Large and enlightened views, influenced but *not warped* by local experience, with ability, is what is wanted in India. The

* What we have stated relates more especially to all cases of application for private interview, with reference to the obtainment of personal favours, connected with any of the services. As regards individuals, who have worthy objects to promote, unconnected with any of the regular services, a relaxation of the rule, under proper restrictions, might be at once politic and beneficial.

due admixture of European and Native talent is one great secret of good Government; a no less one is the introduction of fresh minds and fresh talent in all places from the mother country.

Because Lord Hardinge was always cordial and kind to his Secretaries, some have jumped at the conclusion that he was unduly influenced by them. Far otherwise. He was ready to hear the opinion of every man who had a right to give one. But no Governor-General ever more decidedly took his own line and chalked out his own course than did Lord Hardinge. He is understood to have usually draughted most of his own official letters of importance, as indeed seems to have been the practice with Lord Ellenborough and many of his predecessors. Lord Hardinge's quick perception at sixty enabled him readily to master matters to which his previous habits had been alien, and to which he had before paid little attention; moreover his experience on the stage of Europe enabled him often to throw new lights on the most abstruse Indian subjects.

Accustomed, as a constant attendant, for twenty years, of Parliament, to turn night into day, he found no difficulty in reconciling himself to our Indian habits, and not only to be stirring with the dawn, but as an almost general rule to be at work one, two, and three hours before day light: it was this practice that enabled him to get through so much business and to appear more or less at leisure during the day. On an average however he could not have worked less than ten hours a day. He was regular in his rides and walks and took much exercise; pacing his room or verandah he would discuss questions of interest with his advisers and Secretaries, and often with chance visitors, or those he met on the road. Many of the younger as well as older members of the service, in no way connected with his own staff, have thus been honored with his cordial and even familiar conversation on the most interesting European as well as Asiatic questions, and it was thus he elicited opinions on Indian subjects, and obtained an insight into the characters and merits of individuals.

On such occasions, it was no uncommon speech for him to make. —"So and so must be a fine fellow, every one speaks well of him," or, "it must be true, or some one would say a word in his favor."

Much has been said and even written of Lord Hardinge's dispensation of patronage. We are among those who believe that the four last Governors-General all dispensed theirs with scrupulous honesty, none more so than the late one. Like other mortals he has erred, but his nominations have been made carefully and with perfect good faith. As in duty bound he has considered recommendations from the Court of Directors where they were in behalf of deserving individuals, in the same way that he has recognized the superior claims of the sons of distinguished officers; but in the whole circuit of his appointments we know scarcely an instance of his putting a man into a wrong place, and not one of his wilfully doing so.

We happen to be able to narrate the real circumstances of four of his most important nominations, two of which were at one time unreasonably arraigned. Lord Hardinge may have originally thought that there was one other officer in the Army who would have made a better Adjutant-General than Colonel Grant, but he considered his strong claims, his long departmental experience, his excellent business habits, his recent gallant services in the field, his severe wound, and last perhaps not least,—but by no means *the* ground of the appointment as some would say—his connexion with the brave Lord Gough, and confirmed him in the appointment in which he had officiated throughout the war. We know that he is now perfectly satisfied with the choice he made, and we are not sure that if he had to choose again he would not give the *first* instead of the second place to Grant.

Mr. John Lawrence was known throughout the Bengal Presidency as a practical, clear-headed, and energetic officer, who had for years as Magistrate of the turbulent city of Delhi, enjoyed the confidence of all ranks. When passing through Delhi,

the Governor-General admired his bold, frank manner, and was pleased with his activity in forwarding supplies, carriage and stores to the army, as well as with the cheerful, manly tone of his conversation and correspondence. Before Colonel Lawrence's arrival on the frontier, Mr. J. Lawrence was accordingly sent for to be employed in a judicial capacity in the Cis-Sutlej states, but the Lieutenant-Governor, remarking that he could not be spared at such a time from Delhi, sent up another civilian, who was considered a good judicial officer. Some disappointment and even disapprobation was expressed at what Mr. Thomason had done; and when at the expiration of the war, a Commissioner was required for the Jullunder Doab, Lord Hardinge again selected him, and has assuredly had no reason to regret his choice; nor has a single voice ever pretended to assert that he has failed in his duties, while those who know him say there are few better civil administrators in India. No man is more satisfied of this than Mr. Thomason.

Colonel Gouldie is our third instance. We doubt if the Governor-General had seen him twice when he made him Auditor-General of the Bengal Army. Colonel G. had been for many years a pension Paymaster, and had acquired a high character as a man of business. He joined the Army, and was found to be a good soldier, a shrewd, sensible man, however employed. This Lord Hardinge ascertained from various sources. We have it from an honourable man that he was casually asked by Lord Hardinge what was Colonel Gouldie's character, and that when he answered favourably, his Lordship replied "that is much what Colonel ——— and Major —— said," mentioning persons equally disconnected as our informant with Colonel Gouldie. At the time we refer to, Lord Hardinge had recommended Gouldie to the Court of Directors for the appointment; though some months later when he was sent for to be told of his selection, he had not the slightest idea of the purpose for which his presence was required.

In the same manner Mr. H. M. Elliot was selected as Secre-

tary to Government in the foreign department. For a whole year preceding the vacancy, Lord Hardinge would ask, in conversation, all sorts and degrees of persons as to Mr. Elliot's character and ability. Thus without, as far as we are aware, ever having seen him, he selected the man whom the voice of the services voted the best qualified for this important ministerial office. We might adduce a dozen other instances equally to the point. Every man cannot have his wishes nor perhaps all his deserts, but it may be fairly asked, where was the high influence, or what is called the interest, of Littler, Currie, Elliot, the three Lawrences, Thoresby, Wheeler, Campbell, Mackeson, McGregor, Birch, Colvin, Sage, Benson, Gouldie, Edwardes, the four Abbotts, the Bechers, Lumsden, Holmes, Napier, MacLagan, Taylor, Beadon, and a host of others whose names Lord Hardinge probably never heard of before he reached India, before they approached him officially, or were presented to his notice as suited to certain offices.

We must not altogether omit mention of the cordial reception given to Lord Hardinge by all ranks of the community of Calcutta on his Lordship's return from the North West Provinces. Commendatory and congratulatory addresses poured in on him, and the warm expressions of the commercial, civil, clerical and military community of the metropolis of India, will be found not only to bear out the anticipations with which we opened, but our own statements may possibly appear cold and heartless when contrasted with the glowing and affectionate terms in which they have recorded their sentiments. At the meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta at the Town Hall on the 24th December, a letter from the Bishop was read by the Chairman, regretting that indisposition prevented him attending the meeting, and in warm and energetic terms proposing that a statue be voted to the retiring Governor-General, towards the expense of which the writer expressed himself ready to subscribe £200. Several natives took the opportunity, at this meeting, in enthusiastic terms, to express their

gratitude to Lord Hardinge for the benefits he had conferred on India.

Before his departure Lord Hardinge must also have received the reports of the speeches made at the parting dinner given by the Court of Directors to Lord Dalhousie, and in them had an earnest of the greeting that awaits him in England. On the occasion referred to, the Premier of England, addressing the Governor-General elect, expressed his conviction "that he will 'show, as his immediate predecessor, Lord Hardinge, has shown, 'that resolution in administering justice, forbearance towards 'all neighbours and foreign Powers, attention to the arts of 'peace, and sedulous care for the improvement of the internal 'condition of India, which are compatible with the utmost spirit, 'the utmost courage in repelling any aggression that may be 'made—meeting and conquering those who choose to constitute 'themselves the foes of the British empire in India." The Chairman of the Court of Directors, himself a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, at the same dinner, when proposing the health of Lord Hardinge, eulogized him no less than Lord John Russell had done. Thus, amid the plaudits of the people whom he had ruled and already stamped by the approbation of the home authorities, has closed the administration of Lord Hardinge.

We bid adieu to his Lordship with every hearty good wish. He found India held by a discontented Army, threatened by invasion, and almost bankrupt. He has, in all senses, righted the vessel, restored confidence to our Ranks, to our Allies and our Dependants, replenished the public purse, tranquillized the Frontier, and brought peace and security to the long distracted Punjab. He has already been rewarded; but a Viscounty and a Pension is a small portion of his recompense. His best reward is in the conviction of his own noble heart that he has honestly and bravely done his duty; that he leaves behind him more than a hundred millions whom he has largely blessed by enlightened and just measures; and that, returning to his Native

land, he is regretted by those he leaves behind, and warmly welcomed by men of every shade of opinion, as the pacific Warrior, the happy Statesman, the man who in reality "brought Peace to Asia."

THE INDIAN ARMY.

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RECENT discussions and events have proved, to the dullest understanding, the necessity of military reform throughout the British Army. The evidence before the East India Committee, the Report of the Promotion Commissioners, and finally Roebuck's Crimea Report, have laid bare deficiencies, and shewn that, with the best physical and moral materials in the world, with the bravest and the strongest men, the most chivalrous officers, and the largest resources of any nation, ancient or modern, Great Britain is wanting in almost all the requisites of an efficient Army. Our meaning is well expressed by a friendly critic, Baron Bazancourt, in his "Five months in the Camp before Sebastopol."

"The English, those soldiers whom it is impossible to disturb in the midst of the battle, those human walls which may be pierced by the heavy fire of the enemy, but never beaten down, experienced a great misfortune at the commencement of the expedition. A defective internal administration decimated their forces more effectually than war. There was amongst them an amount of demoralisation of which I cannot give the terrible account. The soldiers lay down before their huts looking sad, sullen, and exhausted. The horses died by hundreds. Inkerman had decapitated the head of the army. The vice of an improvident organisation devoured the rest. It is the war in Africa which has preserved us. We owe our safety to our habits of encamping, and to our expeditions into the interior of countries. The necessity thus incurred of making provision for the smallest details, has been of the greatest utility to us in the Crimea."

India is England's Africa, if she knew how to avail herself of its opportunities. But such is not the case. Here we have our

camp life and our expeditions; how many benefit thereby? Hundreds of officers, especially of the Royal Army in India, with every opportunity, go through their career, live and die, in the most child-like helplessness. They have no object, or at least the very smallest, to a worldly mind, for exertion. They are accustomed to have everything done for them, to be fed, clothed, barracked, encamped, all without a thought on their part; when, therefore, a necessity for using their senses arises, they are like babes. All goes wrong. European soldiers are exposed in long useless marches in the hottest months, are paraded and sometimes even made to march during those months in full dress cloth clothes. Sepoys, in their line, are equally ill dealt with. Much hardship, and even many deaths are the result. A good deal has been done to remedy the most glaring evils. Reform is afoot: but, after a hundred years' experience of Indian warfare, we are still nearer the A B C than the Z of a sound, practical, military administration. We neither clothe nor arm our troops according to common sense. They are not even rationally fed. The sepoy is perhaps the best paid soldier in the world, and the large majority of them the worst fed. The European is at times too highly fed. Eating and drinking, rather than heat or cold, send him to his grave. In the matter of finance, thousands are spent uselessly to-day, lives are sacrificed to-morrow to save a few rupees. We might interminably run on and offer scores of examples—mortality-bills, and bills of expenditure. At present we can only glance at the bare facts. These notorieties need no examples for Indian Readers.

The startling disclosures of *The Times'* Reporter, and of the Crimea Commission, for a time turned attention to India; and the Press, usually little prone to do justice to the Indian Army, all at once found a panacea for all Crimean and home shortcomings in Indian officers and Indian arrangements. East India Company's servants at once rose to as undue a premium as they had shortly before been, and are already again, at an unfair discount. A Bengal civilian was offered the post of Commis-

sioner in the Crimea Commissariat enquiry, and the same able and energetic gentleman might have been the Superintendent of the Smyrna Hospital. Indian contingents were called for Certain leaders of public opinion would have sent elderly subadars and sepoys to the Caucasus or the Crimea; and some would have done still worse, and have transferred bodily many of our European Battalions from India to the seat of war. Even our hitherto very worst department, the commissariat, was suddenly and for the nonce trumpeted into fame, and it required Sir Charles Trevelyan's personal knowledge and matter of fact evidence to convince the British public, that they would not gain by superseding Mr. Filder by one of Jotee Pershad's protegés. The names of some excellent soldiers were introduced into the discussions. Cheape, Steel, Stalker, Edwardes, Mayne and Chamberlain obtained due praise; some others more than due. But the hot fit passed; India is again forgotten. Another Cabul or another Sebastopol is required to remind England of India's existence. In the interim out of the 6215 officers of the Indian Army, two or three dozen, some good and many bad, have been permitted to take part in the great European struggle, although there are scores, nay hundreds, of the best who would gladly join, and who might, under proper arrangements, be temporarily spared. We fear that the chief permanent result will be a considerable increase to our present stock of self-conceit. We forget that, on a small scale, we have had our own Balaklava and our own Scutari a dozen times over, and that from the days of Hyder Ally down to those of Akbar Khan, Providence only has saved our armies from destruction by hunger and thirst as well as by the sword. The exposures by the Press of incompetency, neglect, and cruelty in the Crimea, have done good, the eyes of England being on the hospitals, the harbours, the tents and the bivouacs of the army. It will hardly again be exposed to the scenes of 1854 and 1855, that struck so much horror into every British heart. To have got rid of the fine gentlemen who do not like real soldiering, is itself a gain. To

have obtained a commander possessed of physical strength, is a greater.

We are by no means so certain of the good effect of English discussions on Indian affairs. The gross ignorance with which everything Indian is discussed in England, is well exemplified in the mention, during these discussions, of Brigadier Mayne. Few Indian officers have been more before the public, during the last fifteen years, than Mayne. Yet the Press, while lauding his military qualities, must needs dilate on his experience with wild tribes, and in raising irregular levies; the fact being that he never raised a single troop or company, and that all his experience has been with as civilized soldiers as any in India.

We profess now to offer few new facts on the Indian Army; but, with the aid of the mass of evidence before us, to correct some errors and to sketch its present and past condition, and also to note many points in which its efficiency may be improved without increasing its expense. Costing now eleven millions a year, or little short of half the revenue of the country, the Army cannot be increased without risk of bankruptcy. Reform and adaptation, not numerical increase, then, are required—reform in the French rather than in the English fashion, not in pipe clay details, but in arms, accoutrements and drill, above all in tone and *morale*, in putting not only the right sort of soldier of *all ranks* and *creeds* in the right place, and giving him an object and a motive for simple duty, but offering him inducements to zeal and exertion; in short, to substitute to a certain extent, rewards *for merit* in lieu of for *old age*. Our remarks must necessarily be desultory, and will touch the prejudices and even the interests of many. They will therefore not be popular; we trust they may be useful.

We have vainly sought for exact detailed statistics, at different periods, of the Indian Army, in Blue Books, in Histories, in Army Lists, as also from private sources. Captain Rafter* quite

* In his work "The Anglo-Indian Army." 1855.

misleads his reader. He gives two European regiments, instead of *three*, at each Presidency, though a third was raised a twelvemonth before his book was published. He calls all the Engineers "Royal Corps." What he means by "twelve Regiments of Irregular Infantry" and "sixteen of Local Militia" in Bengal, we are at a loss to imagine. The expression—"Militia"—smacks of his book being a "get up" in Paternoster Row. Unfortunately we have no Militia in India. All are mercenaries, the most faithful in the world, but still mercenaries. The men who fought against us under Mahratta and Sikh banners are now our trusty soldiers. They are ours to the death, so long as we keep covenant with them. Their salt is their country and their banner. We cannot expect and do not deserve more: we have done little to induce *personal* attachment in sepoys or in any other class. The time, we hope, is coming, when both will have greater reason than at present, to fight for love of our supremacy.

The evidence before Parliament has scarcely assisted us more than Captain Rafter has done; we have puzzled ourselves for very many hours over the Blue Book figures and tables, but have not succeeded in reconciling the statements of the different authorities or even the evidence of the same individual at different times. We have therefore concocted a table for ourselves.

Tabular Statement of the Army of India in January 1856, *in-*
the Contingents and Irregular Corps officered from the

Presidency.	East India Company's Commissioned Officers.	Regiments of Her Majesty's Cavalry.	Her Majesty's Infantry.	European Troops Horse Artillery.	Native Troops Horse Artillery.	European Battalions Foo Artillery.	Native Battalions Foot Artillery.	Irregular Artillery Men.	Gun Lascars and Gun Drivers.	Engineers and Sappers.
Bengal, ...	2,907	1	14	9	4	6	3			1,200
Madras, ...	2,019	„	4	6	„	4	2			1,369
Bombay, ...	1,289	1	4	4	„	2	2			
Total Corps, &c. &c.	„	2	22	19	4	12	7			
At an average of		700	1.100	140	110	337	640			
Tl. strength,	6,215	1400	24,200	2660	440	4,044	4,480	1,530	7,490	2,569

Grand Total,

Of the 6215 officers, 782 are medical. Invalid officers are not included, Horse are not included, but only Corps included in Army lists. The one weak as a total of three average Corps. In the same way two and three Corps or De- European officers and soldiers, and 275,304 Natives, 516 Field Guns, as also a Mortars might be brought into the field within a month.

cluding all Her Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's Troops; all Line; also the Field Regular and Irregular Guns attached.

East India Company's Regiments European Infantry.	Regular Regiments Native Infantry.	Irregular Regts. Infantry.	Regular Cavalry.	Irregular Horse.	Veterans.		Ordnance and Commissariat, &c., Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers.	Subordinate Medical.		Guns.	
					European.	Native.		European.	Native.	Regular.	Irregular.
3	74	41	10	31	368	„	Europeans.	„	320	198	78
3	52	6	8	4	304	2,941		„	17	138	24
3	29	8	3	6	28	483		„	235	78	0
9	155	55	21	41						516	
1,000	1,100	930	450	580							
9,000	1,70,000	51,150	9,450	23,780	700	3,424	300	339	652	„	„
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...			3,23,823

but simply those on the strength of Regiments. Police Battalions and Police Corps of Cutch Horse is counted with the two *strong* Regiments of Sinde Horse tachments are occasionally clubbed. The grand total 323,823 includes 48,519 small Mountain Train, are attached. Three hundred Battering Guns and as many

We submit this account to our readers with much confidence, as containing a nearer approximation to the total strength of the Army, and even of its details, than any other published document.

In preparing the above table we have derived assistance from Mr. Philip Melvill's evidence, but have not always been able to ascertain his meaning, nor are we satisfied that his figures are always correct. Most of ours are taken from the Army Lists. Mr. Melvill gives no details of the Contingents, but clubs them at 32,000 men, which is above their strength.* We have entered them in our table, with other Irregulars, under their several heads, Artillery, Cavalry, and Infantry. It will be observed that we estimate the army at 323,823, which though differing in detail, closely agrees with Mr. P. Melvill's total of 2,89,529, added to 32,000 Contingents. Our total strength includes 1400 Dragoons, 24,200 Royal Infantry, 2660 Horse Artillery, 4044 Foot Artillery, 6215 Officers of the Company's Army, 9000 Company's Infantry, 700 Veterans and 300 Ordnance, Warrant, and N. C. Staff, making a total of 48,519 European officers and soldiers. The 275,304 natives include 2569 Sappers; 4480 Foot and 440 Horse Artillery; 9450 Regular and 23,780 Irregular Cavalry; also 170,000 Regular and 51,150, quasi local or Irregular Infantry,† and 516 Guns are attached, 138 being Horse Artillery.

This vast Army occupies about 1,350,000 square miles of country, and protects and overawes about 150 millions of people. There is therefore about one soldier to 465 of the population, but so unequally divided, that in the Punjab the proportion is one to 200, whereas in Bengal it is one to 3000. Intermediately

* Since writing the above we have observed that Mr. Melvill reckons the Guicowar and Mysore Contingents as part of his 32,000, and as being on the same footing with the Gwalior and Hyderabad Contingents; but such is not the case. The two latter are disciplined bodies, officered by English gentlemen; the others, especially the Guicowar's, are neither officered nor disciplined.

† They are more Regular than the Regular Battalions of Clive's time, and indeed differ little from the Regulars except in having only three officers instead of twenty-four. Few of them can correctly be called local.

and in the south, it varies according to the circumstances of the country, a single Regiment being here and there stationed at long intervals, but more frequently a Brigade with Cavalry and guns being located together.

The Army, as above detailed, does not include the Punjab Police Battalions, the Sinde and other organised Police, altogether numbering at least 16,000 drilled and well armed soldiers, most of them quite equal to average Irregulars.* To these may be added about one hundred thousand *ordinary* Police and Revenue peons, the "Idlers" of Sir Charles Napier. He estimated the number in the Bengal and Agra Presidencies at 158,000; but the correct number is 59,000, and in the Punjab 11,000. In somewhat similar proportion 30,000 will be the number for Bombay and Madras. If to this hundred thousand, we add the village police throughout the country, an array of numbers equal to the whole strength of the Army might be made. And if we count, as our predecessors the Moguls would have done, or as any European Government but our own would do, the armies of native states situated *within* our limits, we may nearly complete the full million, and rival Xerxes of old or the Czar of to-day. That we allow the village police of Bengal to be breakers, instead of conservators of the peace, is surely our own fault. If they commit dacoitees and overawe landholders and planters, and act energetically *against* the law, *for a motive*, they *can* also, for a motive, fight dacoits to maintain the law. Whole districts in the N. W. Provinces filled with the brethren of the fighting classes of Oude have never, during the last seventy years, seen a British sepoy. Sir George Clerk, no mean conservator of the peace, in his evidence before Parliment, considered it quite feasible to make use of the 30 to 40,000, hereditary village police of Bombay, now set aside, though still enjoying service lands.

In regard to native armies, when we were comparatively weak they fought on our side. The Nizam helped cordially at

* We have taken no account of the projected Oude Contingent and Bengal Police Battalion.

Seringapatam. Less cordially different Mahratta chiefs have at times done so. The Rajpoots were more true to us than we were to ourselves, during Monson's retreat. Sikh Contingents served at Bhurtpore and in the Nepal hills. The Sikh army, in its worst days, helped us to force the Khyber, and a portion even accompanied us to Cabul. The Goorkhas periodically offer their services, and Golab Singh's regiments have, on two occasions, fought valiantly by our side in Hazara. Above all, the Bhauwalpore Nawab fought our battle, when the weather was thought too hot for us to fight it ourselves. Bearing these facts in mind, we would steer a mean course between those who would have made over Delhi and Agra to the Rajpoots during the Sikh war, and Sir Charles Napier's alarm of the Goorkhas, of Hyderabad, Golab Singh and the Burmese. Indeed, we are of opinion, that all but the last might without difficulty be induced to aid in the conservation of the public peace.

The expense of the Army, including the dead-weight, is eleven millions a year, or nearly one-half the revenue of India. To increase it, as many suggest, would be to risk bankruptcy. It already exceeds by 158,000 the strength when Lahore and Gwalior had large hostile armies at our very doors, and is 30,000 in excess of the highest numbers during the Burmah and Sikh wars. Allowing, then, the police in all its branches to do ordinary police work, as in good hands it is amply able to do, we have the Army to support it and to watch a sea-girt frontier, whence nothing can touch us, the Nepal and N. W. borders where we are scarcely less safe, and to overawe the rabble portions of the Hyderabad army, and deal with Sonthal and other half armed savages, and even less formidable discontented chiefs.

For these purposes our means are most ample, if we are true to ourselves. In the words of the first Punjab Report,—

"It is not open War that is to be guarded against (at Lahore,) but secret intrigue, and outbursts of small bands of desperate men: against the first, the best remedy is a mixture of the different arms, with a large sprinkling of Europeans; for the other, Irregular horse, and such Infantry as, unencumbered with baggage, can be under arms and in movement at an hour's notice."

"One thousand (1,000) men (half Cavalry, half Infantry,) and two guns, put in motion within two hours of the news of a disturbance reaching any of our stations, and able to traverse the country at the rate of twenty or thirty miles a day, will do more to secure the peace of the Punjab than the tardy assemblage of armies. Indeed, we do not hesitate to state, that our anxiety is rather on account of the number of troops, and the system on which we understand they are to be located, than of any deficiency of force."

The above passages entirely express our opinion. There is nothing in the length or breadth of the plains of India that could for an hour stand against such a force. Had such a one been put in motion at the outset of the Sonthal insurrection, the whole affair would not have lasted as many weeks as it has months. Had the ten thousand men that had been told off on the N. W. Frontier to meet disturbance, promptly marched on Mooltan in 1848, there would probably have been no siege, or at least the affair would have been as insignificant as it proved momentous. Decisive and energetic measures have never yet failed, though contrary courses have often brought us very near destruction. Arcot, Plassey, Buxar, Assaye, and Laswaree, tell their own tales, as do Baillie, Monson and Elphinstone theirs. With less means than Monson, Goddard successfully performed twice his task. By a bold front Goddard marched across the continent of India, and carried every thing before him. Monson, by distrusting his troops, by retreating when he ought to have advanced, drew Holkar after him and lost his army. A few hours' stand, or a single march in the right direction, would have saved Baillie. A three mile movement would have preserved Elphinstone, even after months of insane delusion. The very first day he taught the Affghans their game. Instead of attacking the rabble, who had murdered Burnes in the city, he called in his detachments and kept close within his intrenchments, letting nothing but hunger move him. A single Regiment would have dispersed the mob on the first day. For three days the very men who afterwards destroyed our army, supported Mackenzie in the city, and eventually aided their retreat. Thus it will always be. Providence helps those who help themselves. Those who

do not, need not look for friends any where, especially in the East. Lords Hardinge and Gough won Ferozeshah by holding their ground during the night. Lord Gough lost the fruits of Chilianwalla, by *not* following the same course.

Rome conquered the world by never yielding a foot, by never confessing herself beaten, by rising with renewed courage from every defeat. We require such fortitude more than Rome did. As yet our tents are only pitched in the land. We have a numerous and a noble Army, but six-sevenths of it are of the soil. We have *one* fortress in all India. We offer no inducement to extraordinary fidelity, even while we place our magazines, our treasuries, and our very throats, at the mercy of any desperado. While we English are thus reckless, we, both at home and in India, are more easily panic-stricken than perhaps any brave people in the world. Not only does a Cabul, or a Chilianwalla, strike terror from one end of the country to the other, but a simple murder, a Sonthal or a Moplah outbreak, has scarcely less effect. With few exceptions *there is no preparation to meet sudden danger. There is the most helpless alarm when it does occur.*

Russia did not wait until she was attacked to fortify Sebastopol, Bomarsund, and a hundred other points. She *will now* lose character if, at the *present* juncture, she fortify St. Petersburgh and Moscow. Let us profit by experience. Let us put our house in order. We know not how soon a coalition may press Britain, as Russia is now pressed. While the war lasts, there will be no undue economy; but should peace occur to-morrow, we run the risk of reverting to the old apathy, that left the whole coast of England undefended, and only thirty guns in the Isles available for Field service at the very time we were expecting war with France.

Let us not be misunderstood; we are no alarmists. We only testify to what we have witnessed during the last twenty years. Our disgust was often great at what we did so witness. History testifies to the preceding eight years. We have vividly before our eyes the terror of Madras, when Hyder Ally's horsemen

swept its suburbs. The alarms caused by the failures of the first Nepal campaign; also those by supposed Mahratta combinations, and by Pindaree incursions, by Murray's and by Monson's retreats, by the occupation of Furruckabad, and the beleaguerment of Delhi, and lastly by our four failures at Bhurtpore. Even greater, though utterly without reason, was the panic at Calcutta at the outset of the first Burmah war. Chittagong was reported in flames. Bankers asked to be allowed to send their cash to Fort William, and Burmah war-boats were reported on the salt-waterlake; and all this because the Calcutta militia ran away at Ramoo! These are historical facts. Nor were the whisperings of alarm less loud on the occasions of the murders in 1848, or when, in the ensuing year, six Malay-like Sikhs sold their lives in an onslaught on a whole European Regiment at Lahore; or, on each Moplah affair, though the number of fanatics concerned was scarcely more numerous than in that of Lahore. Finally, our readers will remember how the murders of Mackeson and Connolly and the attack on Mackenzie were received. The first was supposed to be connected with a simultaneous rise at Peshawur and invasion from the Khyber; the others as the forerunners of the assassination of all Europeans.

It must be pleasant to our enemies, and amusing to others who watch our arrogance and insolence in ordinary times, to observe the dastard fear with which many of our numbers receive such events, the loud talk, even in mess-rooms, of general insurrection, the loading of pistols and the doubling of sentinels. Such acts are all wrong. They tend to produce the very danger that is feared. It is right *always* to bear in mind that we are but encamped in the land. We are dwelling "in the tents of Shem." We have yet to prove the permanence of the encampment, whether it is to be rudely broken up in blood; whether to be a Mogul "Oordoo" a Mahratta or a Sikh "Lushkur," or "Chaonee;" or whether, after a fertilizing and blessed rule of centuries, we are voluntarily to hand over regenerated India to her own educated and enlightened sons. But whatever be our and India's destinies, our obvious duty is to avoid all *unnecessary*

occasion of danger, at the same time *always* calmly and unostentatiously stand to our arms. The spirit of Wellington's and Cromwell's words should be our motto, and always in our hearts, "Trust in God," "Keep your Treaties"—and "Keep your Powder Dry."

To such of our readers as are disposed to tax us with exaggeration in the above rough sketch, we recommend a glance at recent newspaper statements regarding Connolly, Mackenzie, and the Sonthal disturbances. Above all, let them read Sir William Napier's pamphlet of 1854, on the Dalhousie and Napier controversy. They may then blush for British officers. It is difficult to know whether William Napier believed those incendiary and dastardly reports. If he did, he was as credulous as his gallant brother when the latter perceived danger from Hyderabad, Burmah and Cashmere. Such records of our shame, however, abound in the newspaper correspondence of the Affghan, Scinde and Sikh wars. Wellington and Raglan were equally molested by scare-crows, and according to the accounts from our own ranks Spain should have been lost, and the army before Sebastopol destroyed. The public enunciation of such opinions is by few, the talkings and murmurings are by many. Even brave men—men ready to lead the storming party or to die at their posts, consider themselves privileged to talk in strains they would never permit in the ranks under them, strains that must weaken their own influence and might even endanger their own lives.

We freely admit that, with the march of civil improvement, much has been done, during the last few years, to improve our military position. But, in the words of Napoleon, moral is to physical force as three to one, and moral strength is not *altogether* at the bidding of Governors General, Commanders-in-Chief, or subordinate leaders. But to a great extent it is. The Army at Candahar *never* lost heart, because Nott kept his. MacLaren's Brigade, intended for Ghuznee, failed even to reach Khelat-i-Ghilzie, because MacLaren never *expected* to carry out his orders. It did not require a Xenophon to do so. Havelock, Mon-

teith, Richmond, Mayne, MacGregor, Broadfoot, Pottinger, MacKenzie or Backhouse, with many others engaged in Affghanistan, would have saved not only Ghuznee but Cabul. The futile attempt of MacLaren did mischief. It added to the previous discouragement of our own people, it gave courage to the Affghans. The fact is notorious. Mahomed Akbar had failed in an attack on the citadel of Cabul held by Shah Soojah; but the same night, hearing of MacLaren's retreat, he renewed the assault, and succeeded. With Cabul also fell Ghuznee, and Khelat-i-Ghilzie was left to its fate, for Craigie to make a defence not often surpassed. The counsel of a few brave hearts saved Jellalabad after their own Government had abandoned them.

It was the moral depression of Wilde's brigade added to the shameful manner in which it, a body of four sepoy battalions with a hap-hazard Brigadier and Brigade Major taken from their own ranks, without a single other Staff officer, without carriage, commissariat, guns, or cavalry, was sent to Peshawur, that not only prevented its reaching Jellalabad, but nearly caused its own destruction in the Khyber. The Blue Book records Sir Jasper Nicholl's opinion—"I have yet to learn the use of guns in a pass." On this wondrous conclusion, a General, who four and twenty years earlier had himself done good service in a mountain country, or rather, we suspect, on the preconceived opinion that Jellalabad *must* be lost, acted. It would have been more honest, sensible, and humane, to have boldly refused to permit a man to cross the Sutlej. *That* chapter of Indian military history has yet to be written. Kaye's work, admirable as it generally is, has not done justice to those concerned, but has done very much more than justice to the Commander-in-Chief. Few officers have been worse treated than the gallant and unfortunate Wilde. As brave a soul as ever breathed, he was driven broken hearted to his grave.

We might adduce scores of such examples, bad and good, from past Indian history, of the effect of prestige and of leading; of good and of bad conduct, by the very same men, all induced by

individual example, or by the moral effect of circumstances. No soldier is more open to the influence of all the above causes than the sepoy. He has a wonderful opinion of the "Ikbal" of the Company. He has also a keen perception of the merits or demerits of his officers. He loves the memory of the commander who has led him successfully; and, in extreme old age, will talk of the subaltern who was kind to him and shared his dangers.*

In the track of Monson's retreat, we have repeatedly heard an old Subadar recount the doings of his own corps, going over not only the names of his own officers, but of others with whom he was not immediately connected, telling how nobly Lucan died in covering the retreat through the Mokundra Pass; how the 12th N. I. was destroyed in covering the passage of the Bunnas River. History corroborates the old man's tale, and tells how the sepoys bade their officers keep heart; "we will take you safe to Agra." Captain Rafter records that "out of twelve thousand men, scarcely one thousand entered Agra, without cannon, baggage or ammunition." The guns dragged by bullocks were, *of course*, lost in a country which in the rains is a quagmire; but our author *has*, unintentionally no doubt, exaggerated the tale of misery and disaster. Never was more devotion shewn by a mercenary army. With Holkar at their heels, slaying them like sheep, or sending them in noseless and otherwise maimed, to terrify their comrades, and on the other hand, offering them service with the prospect of high command in his own ranks, there were scarcely more desertions from the sepoys battalions than there have been from the British ranks at Sebastopol.

Monson's affair was one *entirely* of trust and of prestige. Affairs were ill-managed, but the sepoys stood by him as by

* Malcolm's anecdote of the old native officers, always taking their sons to salaam to the pictures of Coote and Medowes in the Town Hall of Madras, but of their making a distinction in favor of the former, is an example of the advantage of long intimacy with sepoys. Sir William Medowes was an admirable soldier. On the breaking out of the American war, being transferred from a corps he had long commanded, he called for volunteers to accompany him, and every man stepped out. Such an officer must everywhere be loved, but probably he could not talk to natives, and therefore lost one important engine of influence. Sir Eyre Coote was perhaps as badly off in regard to the languages, but he had more knowledge of the habits of sepoys. Let us not be told that Hastings and Clive could not converse with natives. They were giants: rules are not for such.

Matthews and Baillie, because they looked to the Company's star; because in all points they trusted and respected the Government. In those days it was not unusual for the pay of the troops to be six, twelve and even twenty months in arrears. The Army was then numerically not half its present strength; but our character as soldiers was superior to what it is at present. Strange, that after we have conquered all around, we should have lost weight with our own people. Monson was a brave man and somewhat retrieved his own *personal* character at Bhurtpore; but the effect of his retreat nearly negatived all Lord Lake's victories.

Hector Monroe, Coote, Ochterlony, Adams, Malcolm and Munro were men of a different stamp. With them there was confidence on both sides. In full reliance on his troops, Ochterlony, with sepoys alone, succeeded where royal officers and royal troops had failed. Gillespie's prompt gallantry rescued Vellore, though the same General, by impetuosity at Kalunga, sacrificed his own life and virtually lost the campaign. It would be a pleasant task to tell of Arcot, Onore, Masulipatam, Korigam and Setabuldee. We point to them simply as illustrations of the happy effects of mutual trustfulness. We might also with advantage glance at other and more recent affairs of opposite complexions. We shall however not, on this occasion, do so.

The moral of our dissertation is to take advantage of the present crisis in Europe, and, while we have no *present* cause of alarm in India, to take warning from the past. Much, we repeat, has been done. Much rottenness has been swept away. Many departments have been reformed. Some portions of the Empire have been put in a good state of defence. Less expensive but equally efficient bodies of troops have been raised, thus combining economy with efficiency. Above all, some steps have been taken to give us Commanders-in-Chief, having the use of their limbs and with their senses about them. We are not henceforward to have the dregs of the lives of gallant veterans who, during health and strength, were never entrusted with important command; nor are we to have as Generals of division and brigade, men whose only guarantee of efficiency is old age, whose very existence is often

a token of their never having earned command, who have kept themselves in clover during the legitimate years of working life, and thus, while generous souls have sunk in the struggle, survive to win the prizes.

Another and more urgent step is wanted. There must be a bar against the command of regiments being the reward of thirty and forty years of incompetence. We can even do better with bad Generals than with bad regimental officers. Inkerman was won by the individual action of Regiments, not by the strategy or tactics of Generals. Most of our Indian battles have been so won. The appointments of Generals Anson and Grant are auguries of good. There may be abler and more experienced commanders, but both have common sense, the use of their limbs and of all their faculties. Let them see that their subordinates enjoy similar advantages. Neither Wellingtons nor Washingtons are expected, but it is not therefore necessary we should wait till the quantity of sense and strength that officers have been endowed with, has evaporated, before they are employed in command. No such absurdity is perpetuated in ordinary life. No brewer or baker waits till his workman is superannuated before he promotes him to the post of foreman; a pension is the fitting reward for old age. Some officers now in command, to the injury of the service, were good men and true twenty years ago, others were never fit for a corporal's charge; and only in a seniority service could have escaped from the subaltern ranks. Chief Judges, Residents and Commissioners, are not the oldest men in the service. Metcalfe, Jenkins, Elphinstone, Clerk and Munro performed good service when under thirty years of age. On the bench, if any where, age is wanted, or at least is not an encumbrance. We reverse the order, we have young Judges and old divisional and even regimental commanders. We have boys on magisterial benches, hoary age commanding Light Horse.

We implore the attention of all the authorities at home and in India, to these glaring inconsistencies. Lord Hardinge, Sir Charles Napier, Lord Gough, all testify to the necessity of a

change. *No one denies it.* Honor will be to him who, notwithstanding the outcry that will follow, will change the system that has brought Irregular troops into fashion, to the disparagement of Regulars, thus averring that three selected and comparatively young officers are preferable to a dozen or sixteen haphazard ones, commanded by such men as are generally found at the head of Regiments of the line. Some system must be devised, by having the whole Army in one general list, or by having Regiments of two, three or four Battalions, or by striking off inefficients, and by admitting the transfer of officers from one Corps to another, to *secure* the command of Regiments to those, between the ages of thirty and fifty, who have, at least not given *proofs* of incompetency. There are men now commanding Regiments *known* to have greatly injured, if not ruined, more than one Corps, and who are working hard to destroy the credit of their present charges. We have heard the new Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army regret the *necessity* of putting such men in command. We confess never to have been able to perceive the *necessity.* It has been a custom rather than an obligation, and the sooner it is abrogated the better for the Indian Army.

Let officers rise to rank much as at present by seniority, but drive inefficients to resignation by positively refusing them command. Let there be tests for every grade of authority. Let no Officer obtain the command even of a company until he has *proved* his qualification. The present tests are altogether insufficient. The examination should be systematic and not dependent on the whims of Commanding Officers or Examiners. Graduated for each rank, it should *oblige* each Officer to evince *moderate* ability and *moderate* application. All men are not intended by nature for soldiers. The sooner incapables find out the mistake of their parents in having put them into the wrong line, the better for themselves and for the service. In no Army are higher qualifications required. Is it good that *one* single individual Officer should be a laughing-stock to his men? They are nearly

fifty to one of us. Our staff should be good, the best *procurable*, or it must be more than useless—mischievous, nay dangerous.

On this, the most important question concerning the Army, we desire to suggest no specific rules, but simply, though most earnestly, to recommend those of common sense. Let a mixed Committee of Officers from the three Presidencies be appointed to consult and report on this and other matters, and let their report be published, and, after discussion, be acted on, as far as possible; but unhappily there is less lack of information than of desire or ability to act on it. Some twenty years ago such a Committee did report on artillery matters and made many excellent suggestions, few of which have to this day been carried out.* General Patrick Grant tells us in his evidence before Parliament, that Cavalry matters were also, though less formally, reported on many years ago, but still the strife goes on between Regulars and Irregulars, as to straight swords, sabres, spears, carbines, pistols, bits and saddles. All this is bad. There is a good and a bad way for every thing, and what is good for one Presidency is good for another. Shafts and poles, Bengal system and Royal system, are *not all* best. The best ought to be insisted on for all. And so with Cavalry. If an Irregular is, as Sir Charles Napier and others insist, the most efficient soldier, it is foolery to pay double the money for an inferior article.

But, whether by a Committee or any other authority, let the vital questions be settled. Respect as far as possible present incumbents, by giving them time to meet examinations, &c.; but, at *any cost*, rid the service of notorious incompetents, and prevent incapables from obtaining command. If the cry be, "vested interests," and "men will not enter the service on insecure terms," we answer that able and energetic men are most likely to enter a service that encourages ability and energy. We don't want the mass that join the Army simply as an easy provision. For England's glory and India's safety we are better *without such*. We would not deprive Directors of patronage,

* The present Emperor of the French, then the exile Louis Napoleon, in his Treatise on Artillery, called attention to the labors of that Committee.

but the tests at Home should be much higher, and, as already suggested, should be continued up to the rank of Field officer, as the rule now obtains in H. M.'s Service.

There must be a Staff Corps; whatever may be its inconveniences, they will be less than those that now obtain. The French "Etat-Major" might, to a certain extent, be our model. The rewards of the staff should not be on such a scale as to prevent good Officers desiring to stay with their corps. When commands are open to them after fifteen or twenty years, instead of after thirty and thirty-five, there will be more content in the Regimental Ranks; without contentment there can hardly be efficiency. In proof of the present prevailing spirit we annex, verbatim, an extract from a recently received letter, from an Officer of ability who has done good service to the State, and who obtained command of his Regiment after about twenty-five years' service.

"As to the service, I have long since ceased to take any interest in it; for however hard I may work, or however much I may know or do, I find myself not one bit better off than the fool who knows and does nothing; therefore, beyond doing exactly as I am told, I do nothing."

"You will I dare say laugh when I tell you I never mount one (a horse) but to go to parade, and this I consider a great bore, and never go out of a walk."

The above, if not a favorable specimen of the spirit of the writer, is at least the honest opinion of an able Officer who has been more than usually fortunate. We could match with it a similar letter received, within the month, from a Captain of a different Presidency, of nearly equal standing, who is yet several years from a command. Ten or fifteen years ago, both these Officers were full of zeal and energy. They were of the Chamberlain and Jacob school rather than of the race of incapables Chamberlain and Jacob would be as they are, after thirty years of subordinate Regimental duty.

The Native Officer question is only second to that of the European. With efficient Commanders there would soon be efficient subordinates, but to expedite matters and to prevent tyran

ny perhaps convulsions, extraneous help and Government authority are required. In this, as in other matters, perfectly different systems obtain, not only at different Presidencies, but in different Regiments of the same Presidency. In Bombay and Madras, the merit-fostering rule is followed; in Bengal all sorts of rules and systems obtain. There *is* authority, though not very explicit, for promotion by merit, and provision is made, by increase of pay after terms of seven years, for the superseded, but recent orders have directed differently. The consequence is that Commanding Officers do much as they like. One finds reason for promoting all the old, another all the young. One pesters and persecutes the Veterans, another objects to the smart fellows who "can drill the Regiment as well as any officer, and who wear trowsers as neat as the Adjutant's." These are the extremes. Discipline suffers, and deserving Native Soldiers of all ranks suffer, and are often driven with disgust from the service.

We confess to a decided preference, notwithstanding all the objections of Lord Hardinge, Sir Charles Napier, and other high authorities, for the Madras and Bombay systems. We allow it to be dangerous to bring forward young energetic Native Soldiers to the rank of Subadar and there to stop, and that it would be, *on the present system*, safer to have Subadars of sixty rather than of thirty years of age. But it is the danger of the power-loom over the fire-side wheel, the danger of the steam carriage over the pony chair. Where is to be the end of our fears if we shirk efficiency in dread of our own tools turning on us? It is our obvious duty to put the right man in the right place *and to keep him there by self-interest.* We desire no such radical change as to put armies, or even very important posts or detachments, under Native Officers. We desire not the Carthaginian, or the Mogul, or the later Roman systems, but to a certain extent, that which influences the autocratic Governments of Russia, France and Austria. Surely we can afford as much license as they can. If Asiatics and Africans can obtain honorable position in the Armies of Russia and France, surely Indians, after tried service of a century under England's banner, are entitled to

the same boon—nay justice. We desire no extremes. We would not, as Austria did in the Hungarian war, place our magazines in the enemy's hands. We would avoid risking them in questionable ones. We would not, as in our own early times, by undue temptation, turn honest soldiers into traitors* but we would not drive them from our service or, worse still, permit them to remain in it in sullen discontent. If among the 6000 European Officers such feelings prevail as we have shewn in the preceding extract, have we any right to expect that among the 275,000 Natives of the Army, they do not exist to a much greater extent?

This subject is too much pooh-poohed or altogether blinked. If the correspondence of Native Soldiers was as patent to us as that of our European comrades, we should better understand their feelings. Those who do associate with them can testify to the disgust of the very best at their present position. The Bengal Baboos of Calcutta, and the Parsees of Bombay, are among our best treated and most contented subjects. The latter highly enlightened class is a loyal and useful section of the community; and some of its legal members have recently been appointed to high office, as have also some of the Bengal Baboos. These latter however are not contented. They complain that the highest salary allowed to their class is 1,200 rupees a month, and that very few positions of 1000 rupees, 800 rupees and 600 rupees, though many of 250 rupees a month, are open to them. Native Civil officers of the higher grades, are remunerated throughout the Provinces at somewhat the above rates. In every District are to be found half a dozen, whose salaries average 250 rupees, with two or three on 400 or 500 rupees a month. Exceptional cases run up to 800 and 1000. The latter are still too few to command honest devotion. More prizes, and some of them of greater value than any yet conceded, are wanted.

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*Mahommed Issoof's is a case in point. He was more useful than most of the European Officers in the early wars of the Carnatic. Faithful, gallant, and enterprizing, he conducted sieges, defended posts, and earned supplies and reinforcements, at critical times, through the enemy's country. But he was tempted beyond his strength. He was put in possession of a Fort, and made a renter of the surrounding district. In such times what Native could have stood such a test? Some Europeans could not.

Such, however, as they are, they greatly exceed those of the native army. The largest pay obtainable in an army of 275,000 soldiers of the soil is 300 rupees a month, and we do not know more than three men enjoying such pay. The Hyderabad pay of a Ressaldar, which is the title, in that Province, of a native Cavalry Commandant, used to be 413 rupees, but it has recently been reduced to 300. Jemadars of Troops, (virtual Ressaldars) have also been lowered from 165 to 150, the rate of Ressaldars throughout the Bengal Irregular Cavalry. The pay of a Subadar in the regular army is 67 rupees a month, with 25 rupees additional, making 92 rupees, to *one* Subadar in every Regiment, as Subadar Major. *This is the highest bonâ-fide pay enjoyable by an Infantry soldier.* When *marching*, he receives fifteen rupees batta, which seldom covers his extra expenses. The *Moniteur* constantly recounts the rewards of bravery in all ranks of the French Army. To one private soldier, "for keeping his place in the ranks when badly wounded." To another "for being the first in the breach;" to a third "for saving his Captain's at the loss of his own legs, by throwing aside a live shell"; to a fourth, "for helping to extinguish the flames around the magazine." Such matters, if not wholly overlooked in the British Army, are not so noticed as to excite emulation or create any hearty desire to do likewise. What rewards have been given to the Subaltern's party which for half an hour, last November, stood on the top of the magazine of the Light Division, covering it with saturated tarpaulins, while all around was on fire, and while shells and rockets were falling thick on every side? But, nearer to ourselves, what reward has been given to the Serjeant of the Pegu magazine who, last year, heroically performed a similar feat? Such men are the real heroes of an Army. Any fellow can charge *with* a crowd, or can stand between his comrades, to be mowed down or ridden over. He seldom can help himself. Many, in such positions, would run away if they could: they cannot, and they come out of the fray, heroes. But the soldier who, with no excitement before him, courts death in the path of duty, deserves more especial honor,

indeed all the honor, and all the reward, that can be bestowed. It is true that in the British Army after every battle, strings of names are submitted for brevet rank and honors. There is seldom a response in any man's heart to the accuracy of those lists. Lord Gough got brevet rank for one officer for carrying, "orders through the hottest of the fight," though he was not in the battle at all, for another for "leading a Brigade," though he was in bed. Some of our readers will also remember his Lordship's favorable mention of the gallant Brigadier who he said "manœuvred skilfully in the rear." Sir Charles Napier was the first of our Generals who mentioned a Private Soldier in his despatches. How rarely has the good example been followed, even in the Crimea. Napier's and a very few other cases excepted, we do not remember ever seeing a Native Soldier *in orders*, though we could narrate scores of instances of individual valour,—of a Naik and six swimming the Buri Gunga in the face of the enemy; of a single trooper carrying a despatch through the enemy's lines at Setabuldee; of two troopers in open day fathoming the ditch at Bhurtpore; of a Ressaldar leading his single Troop through Shere Singh's Cavalry at Mooltan; of another, on the frontier, carrying his into the midst of twenty times their number, though covered by a bank. None of those men were held up to the admiration of their comrades. Descending to the ridiculous, we recollect a lady telling us that she had parted with her husband, going to Affghanistan, with some comfort "as Ram Singh, the pay Havildar, has promised to cover him in action, and Ram Singh is a big man." The Captain came back safe, whether by Ram Singh's "*ikbal*" we cannot say.

The nearest approach to the French system, in the Indian Army, is "the Order of Merit." It is open to all ranks of the native Army for "individual gallantry," in the field or in the attack or defence of a fortress. But, though its numbers are not *positively* limited, there are so many restrictions to its obtainment, that "the decorated" are so few as to be hardly discoverable. The order is divided into three grades. The first is

only obtainable by those who have *already* won by *individual gallantry* and step by step the second and third grades. The badge of the first grade is a gold star with inscription—"The reward of valour." The decoration of the others is of silver, with a similar motto. All are pendant from a dark blue ribbon with red edges. With a very large acquaintance with the Native Army, we do not recollect having seen a dozen silver stars. We cannot recollect seeing *a single golden one.* Double pay is attached to the first grade, two-thirds' increase to the second, and one-third to the third. These are substantial advantages to the clod of a sabreur, to the sentinel whose sinews would never have earned him a front place in the Akhara (gymnasium); but what reward are they to the adventurer whose sword, under a different regime, would have carved out for himself a principality? None. They are a mockery, ending as they do, at utmost, in extreme cases, in double pay; that is, to a Ressaldar, in three hundred rupees a month,—or if he have *also* obtained the first class "Order of India" in sixty rupees additional, at fifty or sixty years of age. But *how* the first class "Order of Merit" and *double pay* is to be obtained we are at a loss to imagine. He is a lucky fellow who has *one* chance "of individual valour" that is accepted by his surviving comrades, that then satisfies the reporting Committee, that afterwards passes the ordeal of the Military Auditor General, whose duty is, *not* to reward valour, but to watch the public purse at all hazards; and, finally, that is sanctioned by Government. Three times has this full process of proof to be gone through, before the Subadar Major can obtain 92 rupees a month, added to his original ninety-two, or the Ressaldar 150 plus 150 = 300.

The Order of Merit, moreover, gives no handle to a man's name. The brave man is still the simple Havildar, Ressaldar or Subadar. In a country where words and looks are even more valued than rupees, though a hero, he is not a Bahadoor. On the other hand the title, though a Military one, is freely conferred on native civilians and traders, of no better blood, and is arrogated by black and white of all ranks.

But there *is* an order that *does* confer rank and title—"The

Order of British India." It is divided into two classes, each of a hundred members, the first restricted to Subadars and Ressaldars and giving the title Sirdar Bahadoor with two Rupees a day increase of pay; the second to Native Officers generally, with the title of Bahadoor and one rupee a day. The decoration is a gold star, pendant from a blue ribbon. Though awarded only for good service, it is virtually the reward of old age; indeed the wearers are mostly invalids at their homes.

The pay, including batta of a Jemadar of Regular Infantry (Lieutenant) is 24½ rupees a month, Havildar, (Serjeant) fourteen; Naik, (Corporal) twelve, Sepoy, seven. The pay of the Sappers and Native Artillery is the same as Infantry; both should be higher; that of the Regular Cavalry is considerably so.* Sepoys after sixteen years' service, with good conduct, get one rupee extra, and after twenty years' two rupees, or nine a month.

Such are the temptations we offer the Military population of India, and to the northern adventurers who still occasionally find their way through the passes, and who would do so in numbers, were there moderate inducement. The mistake is in treating all alike; in attempting to have one dead level and still expecting active zeal and fidelity. The astonishment is that, under the present system, we should have so much of both. Present rules cannot last. They are against nature. Ninety in a hundred sepoys have every reason to be delighted with the service. Several of the remaining ten are satisfied. One, two or three *are thoroughly, and dangerously discontented.* The reason is plain. They feel they have that in them which elsewhere would raise them to distinction. Our system presses them down. The throne of Hyderabad is held by the descendant of one such adventurer. That of Oude is, or rather was, by another Hyder Ally, Ameer Khan.

				Irregular Cavalry.			
* Subadar Major, ...	...	Rs.	105	Ressaldar,	...	...	Rs. 150
Subadar, ...	...	„	80	Ressaidar,	...	...	„ 80
Jemadar, ...	...	„	32	Naibs,	...	...	„ 50
Havildar, ...	...	„	20	Jemadars,	...	...	„ 45
Naik, ...	...	„	16	Kote Duffadars,	...	...	„ 33
Trooper, ...	...	„	9	Duffadar,	...	...	„ 28
				Sowar,	...	...	„ 20

Troops have a Ressaldar and a Ressaidar, alternately.

The first Holkar and the first Scindiah, were such fellows as are now in our ranks, if indeed the Koorme slipper-bearer, and the goat-herd would have been received into high caste ranks! Golab Singh, and Runjeet Singh's grand-father, were military adventurers. Several of the Generals in the Sikh service, as also some of the most powerful Amils in Oude, were, originally, Sepoys in our ranks. Those outlets FOR RESTLESSNESS AND ABILITY ARE GONE; OTHERS ARE CLOSING. It behoves us, therefore, now more than ever, to give legitimate rewards, and as far as practicable, employment to the energetic few, to that leaven that is in every lump; the leaven that may secure our empire or may disturb, nay even destroy it.

In early days, when Europeans *fancied* themselves more dependent on natives than at present, they were not only more courteous, kindly, and considerate to them than they are now; but posts were then open to them that, of late years, have been closed. Mahomed Issoof's case, already mentioned, was an extreme one. In those times, Native Civilians were over-paid, English Civilians were denied honest wages. With few exceptions, all were accordingly dishonest. There was no check, no restraint. The tables were suddenly turned. Europeans were made honest by *honest treatment;* Natives were driven to worse roguery than before, for bread. During the last twenty years, our eyes have been gradually opening in regard to Native Civil establishments. If all have not been made honest, the right measures have been taken to make them so. The service is already greatly reformed. It is because the authorities seem still in the dark, regarding the *necessity* of improving the condition of the higher soldiery, that these remarks are offered. Let the Sepoy Soldier be treated as the Civilian is; that is, let there be openings for the gentleman—for the hero. The ordinary Sepoy *is amply paid.* He has even been pampered and petted. The extra battas and the donatives that he has received, have done him harm, and induced greed. We have been running fast on the shoal of the Sikh Army, of the Legionaries, the Janissaries, and the Mamelukes. The many are usefully provided for, but honors and rewards present and

future are still wanted for the few. In what has been done to raise the condition of Native Civilians, Government has been influenced by the best motive, the good of the country, the purity of the judgment seat. In what we advocate there is even a nearer interest, one that swallows up all others.

It is not easy to suggest the details of our proposed scheme; but there are points of it open to every understanding. In the Punjab are six Battalions of Police, commanded by Native Officers. Excellent soldiers all. Some of these Corps were in the Sikh service, served with Pollock's Army and again under Edwardes. Two or three of them are doing frontier work; all are fully equal to average Irregular Battalions. Their Commandants, with most of the responsibilities of command, receive only 200 rupees a month, or one-fourth the pay of a European officer in a similar position. The latter too rises to be a General, may find himself successor to Morrison, Casement, Nott, Pollock, Littler, Gilbert and Low at the Council Board. The old Native Officer lives and dies a Commandant on Rupees 200,* or retires on half the amount. "Lives and *rots* without hope" is the expression we once heard a comparatively young Ressaldar use regarding himself. The sons of the Commandant have *no opening*. They would have entered the Sikh service as Subadars, or even in their fathers' rank; if they enter ours, it must be as privates. We say, give such Commandants about *half* the pay that Europeans get, and let their sons, if qualified, enter the service as Jemadars, and let those of other Native Officers have *some* advantages above the ordinary recruit.

Let also the Officers of a certain number, say one, of the Irregular Corps be *entirely* Natives. A European Brigadier Commanding every two or three such, looking to the *pay*, discipline, tone, &c., doing, in short, much the same duty, and having the same military authority as Captains of Police in the Punjab have, though interfering less with details than they do. Give in *all* Irregular Corps, half the Company's allowances to the Subadars

* Present incumbents, some of them Colonels in the Sikh service, receive their old rates of pay 400 or 500 Rupees a month.

commanding Companies, who should do all the duty of Captains *except* paying the men. This important duty should always be performed by a European Officer *in the presence* of the Commanding Officer, or Second in Command. No room should be left for scandal or discontent. Raise also the pay of Subadars from 67 rupees a month to 140, or about one-third that of Captains *doing the same work.* Raise proportionally the pay of Jemadars. In all Corps of the line let there be no *Native Officers.* Their position is anomalous and absurd. In the Bombay Army there are seldom Serjeant Majors or Quarter Master Serjeants, because they clash with the Native Officers. The Bomby authorities are quite right. It is absurd, and might prove worse than absurd, giving twenty men, "all good drills" and all "wearing tight pantaloons," commissions, and then allowing them to be bullied by vulgar uneducated Europeans, *without commissions.* The anomaly, and the heart-burnings, will be removed by having the European officers and Serjeants with the stricter discipline, or rather with the more English practices, in one set of regiments; the Native Officers with the looser, *the French system,* in others. By removing Native Officers from Corps professedly commanded and officered by Europeans, though too often *really managed* by Havildar Majors, opportunity would be given to the European Officer to look into the interior economy of his Regiment or Company. Seldom is any thing of the kind done at present. So long as all is smooth and quiet on the surface, few enquiries are made. All may be rotten below, the jog-trot is followed—a mine may be ready to be sprung, for all that nine-tenths of officers would know. *Many do not know the very names of the men of their own Company.*

No great expense need be incurred in carrying out the proposed arrangement. There are plenty of regiments, an excess of men, scarcely a deficiency of officers. We repeat that organization and adaptation, mainly, are wanted. Let the one hundred and five Infantry Corps of the line be *gradually* converted into a hundred and twenty-five Service, and thirty Veteran Corps. Let 18 of the present 24 Officers be removed from each of the 30 Veteran

Regiments and be divided among the 125 Service ones, leaving the three Field Officers with one *selected* Captain and two *selected* Subalterns, in all six European officers. Omitting two Field Officers as generally absent, four Officers will thus remain, *all being selections.* This would leave 540 Officers available for Service Corps, which number, increased by 85, would provide five additional Officers for each, and thus increase their strength to twenty-nine. Allowing then nine for Field Officers, and for absentees on private and medical leave, twenty Officers, or two for each Company, would be present with each Service Regiment.

The scheme involves the disposal of all staff Officers in a staff Corps, also eighty-five additional Officers, and one hundred promotions to rank of Captain. The proportions of the relative ranks we would thus suggest for the 125 Regiments, would be three Field Officers, as at present, eight Captains, twelve Lieutenants, and six Ensigns, instead of six, ten and five, as now. And attached to each of the thirty Veteran Corps, three Field Officers, (one only to be present,) one *selected* Captain and five *selected* Subalterns.

To make this or any other scheme work, the Service, not individuals, must be considered. Incompetent Field and other senior Officers *must be rigorously* set aside. None incapable should be at the head of *any* Corps, Regular or Irregular, Service or Veteran. There is no knowing where exigencies may arise. The Calcutta Militia and the Ramgurh Battalion should have as good Officers and as *good arms* as the frontier Regiments. There is at least no excuse for their being badly armed. It is very bad economy to send a soldier into action with any but the very best muskets in his hand. Incapables may be shelved as Seconds in Command, but they had better be sent home, even with a brevet step. The title of Major or Lieutenant Colonel will do no harm as long as it be not accompanied by authority. Old men, with their senses about them, and with the use of their legs, may command Veterans, but there should be a limit to the age even of such incumbents. The now pending orders as to vacation of staff commands are anomalous, and, if they be decided against brevet officers, will be absurd. To

replace a man of fifty by one of sixty is indeed a novel mode of regenerating an army, wanting, above all wants, new blood, life and energy. Commands of *all* Corps should be given to the *very best* Officers available. Their staff should be strictly selections.

These should be posts *of high honor* and of considerable emolument. The Veterans should have all the advantages of other Corps of the line, the men being older and the Company's Officers being Natives. Such Corps will be available for *all* home service, that is service within the Provinces, and will be specially valuable, if *treated with honor and consideration*, for guards on forts, magazines and treasuries. Majors and Captains should obtain brevet rank for three years' command of Regiments. Subalterns of ten years' service and Captains of twenty should receive one-fourth increased pay. Half batta should be abolished. It is an injustice and an inconvenience, and costs on the one hand as much as it saves on the other.

A large proportion of the expense thus suggested may be covered by a reduction in the strength of Companies throughout the service, and by department clippings, but supposing the balance of expense to be half a million a year, which would be its utmost limit, we hold that such a sum would be well expended in making a more contented and a more efficient army. It is not a *very numerous army*, but *a really efficient and a contented one*, that is wanted. Much of the duty still performed at Bombay and some that is done elsewhere by the Army, might with advantage be made over to the Police, so as greatly to relieve the ranks. Indeed the Military might be entirely relieved of escorts, jail guards, &c.

Officers should serve five years in the Line before being eligible for the staff, the examinations for which, *in every department*, should be strict. Those for Civil and Political employ should involve the tests in the languages, required of interpreters. At Madras, Tamul should be a requisite.* Exchanges should be permitted between Regiments, even of different Presidencies, also

* Mr. P. Melvill shews that 2500 Madras Seppys cannot express their wants in Hindustani.

between Cavalry and Infantry up to the rank of Captain. It is ridiculous to keep a man who cannot ride in a mounted Corps. Good may be derived from exchanges, harm cannot. The armies of the Presidencies should, as at present, be kept separate with separate Commanders of the forces, but with one Commander-in-Chief, relieved from the Bengal Command, for all. Proper emulation, and some check, is caused by these separations. Rates of pay have already been almost entirely assimilated. For future incumbents there should be no differences. The great question of simplifying and making plain to all ranks what is their pay under all circumstances, has yet to be resolved. Whoever effects the measure will save much discontent, if not some mutinies.

The arrangement for the supply of Native Officers will be the most difficult part of our proposed arrangements. From the hundred and twenty five Service Corps of the line, let old Havildars be transferred for promotion to Veteran Battalions for home duties, and the younger to Service Corps for frontier and *Sonthal* like work. The Veterans, we repeat, should be Corps of honor, manned by Sepoys of good character above forty years of age, or of weak and worn constitutions, from all other Corps, and officered by Subadars and Jemadars of similar stamp from the same quarters. The Native Officers of Irregular Corps should be partly from their own ranks, partly young picked men from the Line. Unless they are so selected, and unless they are unmistakeably good men, Commanding Officers of Irregulars will often pester their lives out. Their berths will not be worth holding. The utmost honest care will be required in making selections for transfer. We repeat that to all these Corps, Veteran and Irregular, *first-rate* European Officers must be attached; four to the first, five to the others, their names to be borne on the strength of the Staff Corps.

As a *general* rule we would require every Sepoy to serve a certain period in the ranks. Consideration should also be paid to seniority, to cleanliness, smartness and soldierly bearing, rather *than to literary acquirements.* Too much stress is now laid on reading and writing; we ought to remember that the military

class, as a body, despise study. Time, at least, should be given them to get over their prejudices. Recent orders on this subject are very unpalatable to many of our best soldiers. Indeed very few of our worthiest old warriors would be now Ressaldars and Subadars if they had had to pass present tests. They should not be educated *above* their positions. To add literary attainments to Pathan and Brahmin pride of birth, and still to keep Brahmins and Pathans under Sergeant Majors, is a grievous mistake. There are Sepoys in the Bombay Army who translate treatises on drill and tactics. This is hardly safe. Havildars, unqualified for promotion to either of the above classes of Corps, should on retirement, after certain terms of good service, receive a step of rank. The present system of invaliding is defective. The Madras and Bombay armies invalid eight and ten years earlier than is the practice in Bengal. With them almost any man is passed after fifty years of age, and so it generally should be. Few Native Soldiers are fit for *Field* service after that age, though many are up to all Garrison duties at sixty. In Bengal the term for invaliding should be shortened, but at the same time there should be more check on malingering for pension after fifteen years. Veteran Battalions would be a check. They exist already in Madras and Bombay ; but Bengal, which most wants them, has none.

The higher prizes for the very select have now to be considered. They should as of old, be commands of Hill Forts and Jagheers ; also, as at present, titles of honor and pensions &c. but on increased scales, commensurate with the present British position. Where we gave hundreds when subordinate to the Nabobs of Arcot and Bengal, we should now, as successors of the Mogul, give thousands. The practice, however, has been rather reversed. Jagheers that were once perhaps too freely dispensed are now *entirely* withheld. An able and deserving public servant, ambitious to possess what, above all else, a native desires, viz., a bit of land of his own, has now hardly a road to its obtainment but by plotting to subvert our rule. At least so it may easily seem to him. Why oblige such conduct? The labourer is worthy of his hire, —the faithful servant of his reward. Why make him, at least in

heart, a rebel, because he thinks Government an ingrate? We, intentionally, personify Government. Every native does so. The General, Colonel, Commissioner or Collector is to him the Government. He perceives the great powers for mischief in the hands of such an official, he cannot credit that he has no power to reward. He accordingly thinks him ungrateful. Much good service is thus lost; much bad feeling engendered. It matters little in the calm, it might matter much in the storm. Are calms so lasting, storms so rare? The objections to giving estates appear to us of no weight. Under the present settlement of estates there is protection to the cultivator. At worst the old Soldier would not be harder on the ryot, than are the *Jotee Pershads* who are fast buying up villages throughout the Provinces. Or if Jagheers be denied, let some of the zemindaries be purchased by Government and reserved either in fee simple, or as zemindaries, as the great rewards to the faithfnl Soldiers of the higher ranks. Such grants need not, as a rule, be in perpetuity. Two or three lives will be a long vista to the old Trooper or Sepoy. *Five hundred rupees in such form,* will go further than a thousand in any other. We beg attention to the fact; we write of what we know.

In the same spirit we could name a hundred forts or other posts, which could, with perfect safety, be entrusted to Native Officers, and would be prized by them as honorable retiring berths. Titles and honors are cheap; they cost nothing and are greatly valued. Medals to the mass should be abolished. Decorations are brought into contempt, when worn by individuals or by whole Regiments known to have run away, or even when largely distributed to those who were not under fire. The "Order of Merit" and that of "British India" should be largely extended, and should be open to Europeans and Natives of all ranks. There should be two branches of each, one Civil the other Military. Titles should be attached to the higher grades, pecuniary grants to, at least, all the lower. There would be difficulties in the way. In what scheme are there not difficulties? The first Napoleon found no insuperable difficulties in his selections for the Legion of Honor. We doubt if Napoleon

ever decorated a notorious coward, that is one who had given proof of cowardice. So it might be with us. The Army itself can sufficiently judge such questions. After each action let a hundred or thousand decorations be adjudged. No difficulty will be found in ascertaining who are best entitled to them. There may be heart-burnings and dissatisfaction. There cannot be more than at present. Half the value of a decoration is lost to A. B. and C., when it is also worn by D. E. and F.

We have much to say on many other points, but must reserve most of our remarks for another occasion. The great, the vital question, is the officering the army. We have roughly sketched our scheme—roughly but, we hope, sufficiently to explain our meaning. Sir Charles Napier, a General of decided ability and of large experience, who had led both Bengal and Bombay troops into action, has declared that the present system is canvassed in every Guard-room. To a certain extent this assertion is correct, and the fact bodes no good. Sir Charles advocated the introduction of Natives into the covenanted ranks of the Army, but he would have found it difficult to carry out his scheme; caste, food, a hundred causes, will for half a century at least, prevent such amalgamation. The difficulties far exceed those of entrance into the Civil and Medical services, and in them they are not small. But, if all that ought to be done cannot be done, there is no reason why we should sit still and wait until obvious rights are clamoured for; until, in a voice somewhat louder than that of the European Officers in the days of Clive, the "excellent drills" and the "tight pantalooned" combine to assert their claims. What the European Officers *have* repeatedly done, may surely be expected from Natives. We shall be unwise to wait for such occasion. *Come it will, unless anticipated.* A Clive may not be then at hand.

Those who have watched events, or have studied Indian Military History, can distinctly trace almost all past murmurs and mutinies, we might indeed say *every one*, to some error or omission, trivial or great, of our own. Pay has been the great stumbling block. Whether in Bombay, Madras or Bengal, doubts as

to the intentions of Government in regard to pay, have been at the bottom of most mutinies. In Bengal such affairs have generally been exaggerated, while in Madras and Bombay they are kept quiet, if not hushed up. We confess to preferring the quiet system—washing dirty linen at home: the linen should, however, always *be* washed, somewhere and somehow, quietly but fully.

This motive to mischief should be disposed of *at once*. It should not be in the power of any stupid Commander or Paymaster to refuse what Government had conceded. The Bombay rule of auditing *all* bills before payment is good, and preventing retrenchments shuts one door of dissatisfaction. But even at Bombay, a plain unmistakeable Code is wanted in addition even to "Jameson's." One has repeatedly been attempted, but has always failed of accomplishment. Amusement might be derived from the narrative of the failures, if the results were less grave. We look anxiously for the very long promised Bengal Code, but fear disappointment. An Officer who had scarcely done any Regimental duty with a Regular Corps for twenty years, aided by two young Artillery Officers however clever, was not the fitting President, and they were not the fitting Members of a Committee to prepare a Code for all branches of the Bengal Army. We strongly recommend that the new Code, with all others extant of the three Presidencies, be made over to a Committee of mixed Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry Officers, and that a Code for *India* be prepared, in which *every* question, involving the rights of individuals of all branches of the three Armies, should be distinctly and unmistakeably laid down in the briefest way consistent with clearness. Such a Code would be more valuable than three more European Regiments, or than five hundred miles of rail.

The other chief cause of mutiny is religion—fanaticism. Hitherto it has been restricted to Mahommedans. Hindoos are content to be let alone. The faithful not only desire to proselytize, but go out of their way to annoy their neighbours with their ceremonies. On two or three occasions we have witnessed Mohurrum processions ostentatiously drawn up opposite a Christian church during Divine service, and there drumming lustily. The

late Bolarum affair, like most Indian questions, has been taken up with party spirit. Brigadier Mackenzie possesses much of the Covenanter spirit, and Mrs. Mackenzie's book is unpopular, (we hope *not* Mrs. Mackenzie, objectionable as are many parts of her work;) therefore, we fear the attack upon him was accepted in some quarters in a controversial spirit. But having read much on the subject, we cannot discover what legitimate offence was given; and fully approve the order which sentences all directly connected with the murderous attack on Mackenzie, to condign punishment, and all responsible to be dismissed the service. The Hyderabad Contingent, of all classes, is a distinguished body, but the Deccan Mahommedans pretty generally are fanatical and insubordinately disposed, beyond any thing to be found elsewhere in India, except perhaps at Patna, and on the Peshawur border. Witness Colonel Davies' murder in 1827, and the more recent mutiny of the 4th Madras Cavalry. Davies, like Mackenzie, was a fearless, chivalrous, fellow. Their cases were even more alike than their characters. On the impulse of the moment, the comrades of the murderers avenged Colonel Davies' death, but the murder was approved of by the Mahommedans of that day and neighbourhood, and the ringleader's grave shortly became a place of pilgrimage and a resort for Mussalman devotees. The attack on Mackenzie was also by fanatics, and was perhaps more premeditated. Mackenzie issued a perfectly legitimate order; it was disobeyed. His mistake was in *personally* interfering. The error nearly cost his life, and may yet do so. His wounds were frightful, few men could have survived them. His dauntless spirit sustained him. However, this and other matters of the kind, should make us more than ever cautious against real offence. A cap, a beard, a moustache, a strap, all in their time, have given offence—*all on pretence of religion.* But by a little management, by leading instead of drawing, almost any thing may be done. The man who would not touch leather a few years ago, is now, in the words of a fine old Subadar, "*up to the chin in it.*" But the same old fellow begged that the leather might stop there, and that leather caps

might not *be tried.* In the Corps of which that old gentleman was a worthy member, leather cap-straps had been accepted *gratis* in preference to paying an anna or two for cloth ones. We mention the fact as shewing what may be done with men who have all but mutinied because the Grenadiers were told to occupy the Light Company huts; and at another time, because they *thought* they had been prohibited taking their bedding to the guard-room. Tact, management, *not Brahminism,* in officers, are wanted. Hindoos and Mahommedans can respect real Christianity. They certainly do *not* respect Anglo-Hindooism.

Sir William Gomm's farewell order tells how much has recently been done for the European portion of the Army. Barracks are improved; Gardens, Libraries and other sources of amusement will soon be as plentiful as they used to be scarce. Little more is wanted than to *prevent* individual Commanding Officers nullifying the good intentions of Government, by keeping sickly men in the plains, and sending bad characters in their places to the Hills; bullying the men, torturing them with stocks, cloth coats and hot weather drills, in short making what are called *smart* regiments at the expense of the men's very lives. Railroads, waggon trains, and steamers should now prevent Europeans being moved between April and November. Too much is heard of the sun *(not from them)* when they are wanted for Field service, but when there is no such necessity they are too frequently exposed, even in April and May. Brigadiers and Generals of Divisions as well as Regimental Officers, should be held responsible for such cruel follies. The European soldier is, after all, our stand by. We are delighted at every unattached commission that we observe given to a Company's European Soldier. Like his Officer he has more *average* emolument than his comrade in the Royal ranks, but like him is debarred great reward. Until lately commissions were not open to the Soldiers; yearly we hope they will become more common. With such rewards, and with rational pursuits open to the men, the tone of the barracks will rise. Drunkenness

we trust will yet be the exception rather than the rule. Chunar should be abolished; it is a discredit to us.

We will no further enter on the vexed question of Cavalry than to remark that we generally support Captain Nolan's views. We mis-arm and mis-dress the Trooper, bit and saddle his horse as if the object were not to hold and ride him; and then we wonder that the same Trooper is no match for a comparatively feeble and ill-mounted Asiatic horseman. The complaint made in India is equally rife in Africa and in the Caucasus. A recent French writer observes that one Arab is good for three French Dragoons. We ourselves have witnessd one Indian horseman dealing with three English Dragoons. The annexed extract from Spencer's Crimea shews that to repulse Circassian Cavalry, the Russians are obliged to bring guns to bear on them.

"In other situations, on the banks of rivers or open places, they are equally dangerous, provided their inimitable Cavalry can act, for should they unexpectedly surprise a Russian Army, a charge from these terrible horsemen is a most disastrous affair. They then sweep down upon them like a living avalanche, and invariably throw the front and rear into confusion, cut them in pieces and disappear *before the* Artillery can be brought to play upon them." Page 327.

There can be little doubt that the Regulars have been overabused and Irregulars unduly bespattered with praise. The comrades of the men who rode at Laswaree, Delhi, Seetabuldee and Meanee, only want good leading and good management to ride through any Indian Cavalry. The disappearance of "the small speck of French grey" at Seetabuldee amid the host of Arabs, rivals Unitt and the 3rd Dragoons at Chilianwallah, Ouvrey at Subraon, and the Light Brigade at Balaclava. Why is it that one British Regiment, the 3rd Dragoons for instance, always covers itself with glory, while others go through campaigns unheard of? The men, materials, all but the leading, is the same! To talk of all the Irregular Cavalry as heroes, is as absurd as to call all the Regulars cowards. We *personally* know many brave men who ran at Purwandurrah. The story also has yet to be told. The leaders were brave men, but they

were not good Native Cavalry Officers. *No man can manage well or lead successfully men whom he dislikes.*

We would not convert a man of Regular Cavalry into Irregulars, but we would have three Regiments of Company's Dragoons in lieu of six of Regular Cavalry. All others should stand, but they should be dealt with much as we have proposed for the Infantry. The Native Officers should be collected in three or four out of the twenty-one Regiments with bonâ fide power and pay, as Troop Officers; but to those Corps four *selected* officers should be attached. Every Trooper should be permitted to fit his own saddle and adapt his bit to his own horse. Lancers should be abolished, and the tulwar, the weapon of the Indian horseman, should be allowed, as also a carbine and one pistol to each Trooper. It must be borne in mind that they are Light Horsemen *not* Heavy Dragoons.

Most of the Irregulars are good of their kind. Some very good, some bad. Some of the Officers cannot ride, some cannot talk to their men: others do so only to abuse them. Some of the Regiments are overwhelmed with debt, and yet burthened with bankers and with all sorts of tomfoolery in dress. In short, there is little system and no uniformity in the service. One Regiment wear kettles on their heads, others wear cocked hats. Few wear their own sensible turbans that will stop a sword cut and keep their faces cool. An Inspector is wanted; not an old Royal Dragoon Officer, but a first rate Irregular Officer, a Jacob, a Chamberlain, an Anderson, a Daly or a Malcolm, a man, in short, who will go on common sense principles, keep the men out of debt, insist on rational uniform and rational treatment. Such as the Irregulars are, there are very few instances of their misconduct, and then only when greatly over-matched; indeed unfairly tried. They are a most valuable arm and deserve every consideration. With such an arrangement as above proposed, and five Rupees added to the pay of the men, a noble body of horsemen might be secured to the Government; and fitting employment offered to the numerous broken down families, now muttering curses against us, in the streets of every large city in

Upper India. Lord Gough, Sir Charles Napier, and almost all Irregular Cavalry Officers recommend the increase, even on the terms of reduction of strength of Regiments. If thirty rupees is necessary for the Scinde Horse, and for the Hyderabad (in the Deccan*) Cavalry, twenty-five is surely so for the whole body. In scarce times the Irregulars have not bread. In war time, they *must* plunder for subsistence. Sir Charles Napier thought they must do so in peace. What more need be said? If more be required, let us add that each of these horsemen is a soldier gained from the enemy's ranks.

* Until lately the Hyderabad Cavalry received thirty-three Company's Rupees a month.

INDIAN ARMY REFORM.

[*First Published in September* 1856.]

AFTER nearly five years' gestation the *Bengal Code* has been recently published. It has one decided advantage over all other Codes in being briefer and more compact. Its size and weight are nearly half those of Jameson's Bombay Code. We cannot however honestly say that it is half as valuable. It is complete in nothing. Our recently expressed fears have been more than fulfilled: a Bengal Code has yet to be prepared; and for Departments, detailed Abstracts in the form of Colonel Boileau's excellent compilation,* are required.†

Lieut. Jervis' Manual is avowedly a compilation, founded on Jacquinot de Presle's "*Cours d'Art et d'Histoire Militaire*" in use at the Cavalry School of Saumur. Keeping *De Presle* in view as a ground-work, Lieut. Jervis has given his volume a more comprehensive character, and adapted it to the general requirements of the British officer. The work ought to be in every young soldier's hands, and will afford useful information to the oldest. The illustrations generally are good, those based on warfare in India the least so. We like the Cavalry chapter best; the Artillery least. Lieut. Jervis, tells his readers, what has a hundred times before been told, that "it is only in time of peace, and with infinite care, that Cavalry can be organized;" that "before entering on a campaign, Cavalry is (should be) perfectly instructed in the care necessary for the preservation of the horses." Were such the practice as well as the theory of

* Standing Orders of the Department of Public Works. By Lieut. Col. Boileau. 1852.

† Manual of Field Operations. By Lieut. Jervis, Royal Artillery. 1852.

the British Cavalry, there would have been no Balaclava slaughter, no headlong charge on heavily flanked batteries and masses, nor would there have been the dying by inches of noble animals at their pickets. Had Lords Lucan or Cardigan understood their duty, five hundred human lives would have been saved. Had one officer per Regiment possessed the sense and the humanity to exert himself for the horses, and the address and management to persuade the Commanders, or the courage to push his views and measures past them, half the horses in the Cavalry Division might also have been saved. Let it not be said that canvass is unfit for cover, or was unprocurable; that trenches could not be dug. The contrary in both cases has been proved: slight shelter is better that none. What was *easily* done for several hundreds of mules, could have been done for the noble war-horses. What the sensible and indefatigable Lushington did for the Naval Brigade, and what some few Regiments did for themselves, could have been done to a greater or less extent for every man and beast. A slight slope, a narrow ditch, with the earth thrown up as a bank,—all which one man could have done for each horse in a day,—would alone have saved many horses. A thick blanket round the loins,—and there were heaps a mile and a half off at Balaclava,—would also have saved many. But nothing was done. There the generous animals, knee-deep in mire, their scanty grain thrown into the liquid mud before them, rotted and starved at their posts, *all in regular line.* Yes, we doubt not the line was well preserved; and that buttons, buckles and pipe-clay were as far as possible maintained to the last, while common sense and humanity were spurned. And yet there were officers with the Crimean Cavalry Division who knew better; some even who had been through the Affghan campaign, who had seen Affghan horses plump and hearty though exposed in all weathers to a more than Crimean winter. But common sense has little chance under a martinet system; it damps all energy, cowes all spirit; it permits all to do mischief, but affords few opportunities of good. Where a Colonel can be threatened with arrest for giving an opinion, few

subalterns will have the hardihood to oppose authority, however good their cause. But how wretched is all this! how deplorable that the finest Cavalry in the world should be sacrificed to the whim or the ignorance, or, worse still, the apathy of an individual!

Lieut. Jervis, echoing the dicta of the best soldiers of all ages, tells us,—

"Of all the branches of the service, Cavalry appears to be the one most difficult to manage. Incapable of defending a position by itself, unable even to engage on many kinds of ground, easily disunited, almost totally dependant on their horses, no corps so much requires the discrimination and zeal of talented leaders. And the experience of all ages proves that men able to make successful use of Cavalry in masses, have been but few. This art requires in fact a thorough knowledge of this branch of the service, and a quickness of eye which can seize rapidly the whole of a movement, and understand all its consequences. As this eagle glance must be accompanied by great energy, it is not surprising that there are so few good Cavalry Generals, and that this service so seldom fulfils the part for which it is intended."

And yet England's Cavalry is filled with idle men of fashion, younger sons of peers, or elder sons of stockbrokers, all ready enough for a Balaclava charge, all averse to Balaclava stable-duty. In India, if possible, the case is worse. England's Cavalry is officered by *volunteers*, by men who select their line; but India's sable horsemen are led by the boys who fail at Haileybury, and the lads whose parents have most interest at the India House. Whether they be half blind, whether they can or cannot ride, or whether they like or dislike their profession, there they remain, Cavalry-Officers for the period of their service. There is no escape. Can any thing be more absurd?

"*The Minor Operations of War*"* is a translation of part of Lallemand's valuable work by Major St. Vincent Troubridge, of the 7th Royal Fusiliers. The volume with his "*Tabular arrangement of Battalion Drill*," shows that the Major is worthy of his name. We imagine the author to be the gallant Baronet who lost both legs at Inkerman. We recommend the two works to the Indian Army.

* Published in 1853.

"*Jacob's Rifle Practice*," and "*Douglas' Naval Gunnery*,"* are both excellent books, though in some points the opinions of the two gallant authors differ as much as does the appearance of the tiny pamphlet of the one, from the portly octavo of the other. This revised and enlarged edition of Douglas, is full of scientific information, valuable to all branches of the Army; but the author appears to us,—we write with all deference,—to cling somewhat to old opinions. On the other hand the dashing light horseman and profound Artillery-man, has swept away the cobwebs of much antiquated prejudice. Not less scientific than the scientific and able veteran to whom the Navy is so much indebted for opening the eyes of the country forty years ago, to the necessity of Artillery, and especially of Naval Artillery reform, Jacob has done much to prove that we are only at the beginning of Artillery doings; that the monster guns yet constructed, may in all points be surpassed by the application of the Rifle principle. We go far with him even in the following opinion, which may appear to many an idle speculation:—

"Judging from experiments made as an old Artillery Officer as well as a Rifleman and practical Mechanic, I am deliberately of opinion that a four-grooved Rifled iron gun of a bore of four inches in diameter, weight not less than twenty-four hundred weight, could be made to throw shot to a distance of ten miles and more, with force and accuracy."

Jacob's improved rifle has—however tardily—had a fair trial, which has conclusively proved that Field Batteries as now constituted, could not stand before a corps of riflemen, that every gunner would be instantly picked off. After describing his weapon and its effects, he observes,

"It seems evident that if the arms above described be supplied to our soldiers, their power would be increased at least fourfold. The army which should first adopt these weapons, would thereby obtain an advantage equal to that of the exclusive possession of fire-arms a century ago. One effect of these would be that the whole of our Field Artillery must becoms totally useless."

We do not wonder that the late Sir Charles Napier should have controverted such theories when put forward in a far

* Both published in 1855.

feebler voice than at present, for his prejudices were all against rifles, all for "Brown Bess." Moreover he knew little of Artillery. His pamphlet on "National Defence" published in 1852, contained much that was valuable, as might have been expected from so good and so experienced a soldier, but surely he was as much behind the age, when he penned the following passages, as was Sir George Brown, when he maintained leather stocks and other martinetisms during the Crimean expedition, or as is the old lady who persists in travelling post in an antiquated chaise, when she might take her ease in a Railway Carriage.

"I do not altogether enter into the new inventions. I fought in "the Bush" in America; so thick it was, that we could hardly pierce its denseness; my regiment was opposed to Kentucky *riflemen*. We had *muskets*, and we beat them. We had *red coats*—they had brown coats; yet we slew more of them than they did of us. We are told that at the Cape, the Kaffirs lie hidden till our soldiers come within a *few feet!* Then what do we want with a *rifle?* The Cape Corps were armed with short carbines, *not* with rifles, and are said to have done better service than any other corps, while the men were faithful."

"I heard of a man being killed at the distance of a mile by a musket shot in the lines at Torres Vedras. The old spirit of the British soldiers was to *close with their enemy*, not to keep at the distance of two miles from him! 'The bayonet! the bayonet!' was their cry, and the strong hearts and strong arms of Britons bore down in close array upon the enemy! But now that system seems changed."

Alma and Inkerman told a different tale. *There* was proved, that improved weapons had not emasculated British soldiers. The system *is* changed, but for the better. The Russians felt and acknowledged the fact. The bayonet was at least as effective at Inkerman as in any battle on record, and yet there the Enfield Rifle was in the hands of the British Infantry. The Yankees too, to their cost, felt the difference the other day in Central America, between the Minie Rifle and the old musket. "There must have been English and German Riflemen present" was their cry. Sir Charles was a genius, but the public has been too long misled by great names. Even his name must not delude us into the notion that "red coats" are better than "brown coats" in the *bush*, or that it is any advantage to an army to

have its officers and leading files picked off, before they can close with the enemy. No, to have confidence in their leaders, soldiers must have fair play, must not be *needlessly* exposed. British soldiers may be trusted for the rest. With good leading and good weapons,* they will never be slow to apply the bayonet. The danger is rather the other way; that they will be too ready.

But whatever were the opinions of so eccentric a genius as Sir Charles Napier, we are surprised that a calm dispassionate Savant, such as Sir Howard Douglas, should propose to disperse riflemen with Shrapnel; as if such fellows were in the habit of collecting in clumps to afford practice to Artillery. No, the ranges of Field Guns must be increased proportionally with those of rifles, before, in future warfare, there will be any safety for field gunners. Sir Howard's Argument is that

"Shrapnel Shells will undoubtedly still prove an over-powering antagonist of infantry acting in swarms, *en tirailleur*, in the manner in which it is proposed to employ infantry armed with long ranged rifled muskets."

Sir Howard here assumes two points. First that rifles will not be effective at 1000 yards, and that field artillery employed against riflemen will be so at greater distances. In both points we believe that he is wrong. His words are

"Field artillery, 9 and 12 pounder guns in particular, placed far beyond the reach of even the *most random range of these rifles*, may, by means of Shrapnel Shells, pour upon swarms of skirmishers, musket bullets, &c."

The italics are ours. Now Jacob has made "excellent practice (with his rifles) at a range of 2000 yards, the balls at that distance penetrating about 4 inches into very hard dry sunburnt brick." We have ourselves seen good rifle practice at 1200 yards, but although Sir Howard proposes to bring "menaces and charges of cavalry" to compel the "tirailleurs" to rally into "masses," we cannot agree with him that his "spherical" case shot from field guns would at such distances be effective. The

* The mischief entailed by bad arms has often been recorded. Macaulay tells how Killikrankie was lost and won by the fumbling for two or three minutes of Mackay's men at their bayonets. Those minutes decided the day: the whole flood of the Clans was on them.

question is of rifles versus field artillery; if the one arm is to be supported by Cavalry, so should be the other. But even on occasional clumps caused by Cavalry "menaces," we rather doubt the effect of spherical case, as suggested by Sir Howard. At best, friends and foes would suffer. No; immense improvement has been made in small arms, and in Jacob's words, where elite infantry armed with his improved rifles are in the field, "Artillery must be abolished or *improved*."—

"*Kaye's Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe*" ought to be in every Indian library, as should "*Napoleon's Correspondence with his brother Joseph.*"* We do not agree in all Lord Metcalfe's dicta; but his military maxims and opinions are among his best. We do not retire at night as he did, with the expectation of finding, on awakening, that India has slipped from Britain's grasp. But Metcalfe's advice for caution and preparation is both practical and wise—for looking in peace for the probability of war; and for not undertaking war with peace means, and sacrificing soldiers' lives to save magazine stores. He truly says

"Economy in this department is ruinous. We ought to be lavish of the contents of our Arsenals, and saving of the lives of our men."

India's best soldiers, the Ochterlonys, Malcolms, and Munros, past and present, give like advice. Metcalfe was in heart a soldier, of the school of William Fraser, Jenkins, George Clerk, and John Lawrence. Such are the Civilians for India.

Napoleon's letters will raise the opinion of his ability, if not of his heart. He reads Indian officials many lessons. Englishmen in India are situated, much as Frenchmen were in Naples, and now are in Algeria. Those who argue that good governments may trust to the love of the people, would do well to bear in mind his emphatic words; "What a nation most hates, is another nation." The remark specially applies to England's position in India. Justice, humanity, and kindly consideration must be ever displayed, but be closely backed by *bayonets and cannon*, or else the very mildness of British rule will ensure its own destruction. Duly execrating Napoleon's lying practi-

* Both published in 1855.

ces,* his military executions, and much of his Military system, we would nevertheless gladly see many of his maxims instilled into English Oriental authorities. He did not urge on his brother the necessity of a large army, but of a *safe, contented one*, led by able and trusty leaders. There was practical wisdom in the proportions he laid down. "You should have in your service 3000 Corsicans, 6000 Swiss and 6000 Neapolitans." In the selection of officers he was equally judicious.

"Jourdan is much more fit to command troops in the interior than Massena, who on the other hand is more fit for a coup-de-main ; in war as in literature, each man has his own style."

Again,

"Jourdan is fully reliable."

Farther on

"Jourdan and Regnier are the men whose services you should secure."

He continues. "The Brigadiers and Generals of Division should be all tried soldiers and men of vigour." These few words should be printed in letters of gold on the hearts of all in authority. *The Brigadiers and Generals of Division should be all tried soldiers and men of vigour.* Would that our feeble voice could impress them in high places. The Indian Government reverses Napoleon's maxims. It trusts almost every thing to a particular class of the Natives of the country. It superannuates tried soldiers of many fields of *fifty years* of age, and replaces them by untried men, and even by proved incompetents of *sixty.*† Judged by its practice Government would appear rather to look for Wurmsers and Whitelocks, than for Jourdans and Massenas.

Napoleon tells his brother

"In all your calculations, assume that a fortnight sooner or later, you will have an insurrection. Force of opinion will not help ; have mortars on the Forts, and troops ready. Disarm and do it quickly. I

* See Alison's History of Europe, page 237, Vol. V. for the gross fraud through which the Battle of Rivoli was won. The great Military writer "Jomini" either was ignorant of the deceit, or considered all stratagems lawful in war.

† Several Major Generals of about fifty years of age have lately been ejected from Brigades, while there are many Brigadiers bordering on sixty; some above that age. One Major General is not less than seventy !

presume you have cannon in your palaces. Disarm,—Disarm. Keep your Artillery in positions where the mob cannot seize them. Reckon on a riot or a small insurrection."

This advice, *to disarm, to be ready, to keep his troops together, and to have artillery at hand,* is constantly and emphatically enjoined. It holds good for every country, for the latitudes of Paris and London, as well as for those of Calcutta and Lucknow.

On many other points good lessons in war are to be derived from Napoleon's letters.

"You cannot have too many staff officers. I do not see that you have chosen any Aide-de-camp of unquestionable ability; and have one Engineer, and one Artillery officer."

Our late enemies, the Russians, teach us a lesson in the same department. The Czar gives every General Officer the selection of half his own personal staff, and himself appoints the rest. But who ever heard of an Artillery, Engineer, or other scientific officer, *selected as such,* for the General or Personal staff, in India; and yet where are such men more wanted? If the Generals must be old gentlemen, whose military qualities are for the first time discovered at fifty, sixty, and even seventy; then indeed does it behove Government to surround them with qualified nurses.

But to our task. We propose now to continue our rough notes on the most urgent wants of the army, especially on those which most easily admit of remedy: to tell of all its wants would require a goodly volume. It is however consolatory to think that the most glaring defects are not only on the surface, but can be removed without difficulty. Their remedy only requires the exercise of ordinary common sense, *in the appliance of materials ready at hand,* and a very slight pull at the purse-strings; indeed *proportionately* a less pull than would be required to insure the life of a healthy soldier. An expenditure of three or four per cent. on the present eleven millions, and placing the right man in the right place, would do all that is required, would convert a discontented into a contented army, an immoveable into a moveable one; would put it beyond the power of any section of

the Military community to beard the Government, perhaps to destroy it.

We pretend to no panacea for all military evils, to chalk out no military Utopia, but simply to bring before the public, in very brief form, the experience of all ages in all departments; to show that men of like creeds, influenced by like motives, and moving under like conditions, *will* combine; that they have always done so, in every clime. Further that creed and colour are to be greatly nullified by slightly varied conditions. Above all, that every man, whatever be his country, creed, or color, has his particular ambition, and that such ambition varies, not only with general creed, color and country, but with individual temperament, constitution and circumstances. That the ambition of very few European Soldiers is limited, in their old age, to abundance of cheap grog at Chunar, Cuddalore, or Dapoolee. That, though many sepoys would delight to retire and smoke their hubble-bubbles under the shade of their village trees, yet their ranks contain many fit for higher destinies, panting for them, and sullen at their non-obtainment. Such are the objects of our past and present essays. To help the Government by helping its servants; to induce the former to effect the usual insurance on its property, and prepare the fire engines before the house is on fire; to urge on each individual his own particular duty. Some of our readers will doubtless remark, that we are propounding mere truisms which everybody knows. Everybody *does* know, but what authority *does* act on the knowledge of the foregoing facts? *Are* the right men every where in the right places? Is the army as efficient as it might be? Is it in any rank contented? A dozen more such questions might be answered by all honest men, in the negative. We are quite aware that they are loosely, perhaps illogically arranged. Our facts, however, are beyond question; and we feel that our inferences are not strained. We accordingly propose to hammer both facts and inferences into the public, in our own rough way, until they have at least a trial.

In Military matters the Government of India starts on wrong

principles. *Strict* seniority never secured efficiency in any department, in any country. It has only been by superseding the seniors, after the first bungling campaign of each war, that the British army has escaped great disaster. To a less extent the example has been followed in India, where the remedy was much more wanted. Why not prevent war by preparations? *Si vis pacem, para bellum.* Muskets and accoutrements, cannon and munitions are all prepared during peace. It would be considered a crying shame for arms to be kept unpolished, belts uncleaned, lines, barracks and magazines to be slovenly and dirty; but what is all this to having at the heads of armies, divisions, brigades and regiments, men less efficient than nine-tenths of those under them—to have age and comparative inefficiency in all posts of authority—to drive the Cromwells and Washingtons from our ranks, and in lieu of them, to place the Whitelockes, Englands and Elphinstones in command!

That this parallel is not exaggerated, every man with an eye to see and an ear to hear can ascertain for himself. He may discover as we have done, a corps of *Light horse* in which nearly every trooper is close on fifty years of age. The old gentlemen paint and dye to such an extent, and are so well set up, that casual observers might easily mistake a "*boodha*" for a "*pukha juwan.*" He may talk to Subadars and Jemadars, sixty and even seventy years old. He may perhaps have served under a Commander-in-Chief who could not mount or sit upon a horse; perhaps his own Commanding officer can do neither. When he has thus cast his eye around, he may contemplate the Jacobs, Chamberlaines, Maynes, Malcolms, Taylors, Edwardeses, Lumsdens, Cokes, Nicholsons and others, who, however favored *above* those of their own standing, still chafe at their positions, still feel that they have not their fitting places, and that a seniority service is not the service for them. With regard to the many Singhs, and Khans, Syuds, Begs and Tewaries, who with even more reason,—because their attainable position is much more subordinate—pine in the ranks of the army, such men, one after another leave its service. A Lieutenant-Colonelcy would have retained

Washington in the British service. An accident detained Cromwell in England. Men of kindred spirit are not so easily obtained, that when found, they should be scorned, or lightly set aside. Clive conquered and saved India. Individuals have, probably several times since preserved the country.* An individual may also any day bring it to the verge of ruin; nevertheless scores of individuals, not one of whom would have been intrusted in his youth, health and strength with the charge of a mill, by a sensible cotton-spinner, during a disturbance, are now placed in commands, where their incompetence may any day blow a spark into a flame that may cost hundreds of lives and millions of money. We might go even further, and shew that some of these men have, at every stage of their career, *proved their incompetence.* That as young or middle-aged men, they have been set aside or superseded, to have in their old age commands thrust upon them, and to be pushed into authority, even on the frontier, to the hinderance of distinguished officers. Such men also are frequently supported by Commandants of Regiments of kindred spirit and physique. The latter, *of course*, recommend, for promotion to commissions, the *oldest* native soldiers, the grounds of election being, that old men are *the most inoffensive, the least dangerous.* What would the Cotton-spinner, or the Mill-master, say to such a system? Why, that the Indian Government deserve to have an inefficient army.

But to return to details. We find that the cost of Irregulars and Regulars in the Cavalry is about three to seven against the latter. We have not the means of estimating the proportion of pensions, but are satisfied that the differences would make the ratio fully equal to three to one. That is fifteen hundred *more efficient* horsemen, *for light horse duty*, could be obtained for what now maintains five hundred. What possible reason then is there for delaying a day, to commence modifying the Cavalry. No individual, black or white, need be injured;

* Forty years ago Metcalfe wrote "Often has the fate of India depended on a single army; often again may the fate of a great part of India depend on a single army." He lived to verify his words.

whilst the Government and the army, and many individuals would greatly benefit. A few words of warning however. Let not *half* our scheme be taken. Let not a mongrel system be introduced, or rather continued. Every man, high or low, cognizant of the whole system, allows that the pay of the majority of Irregulars is now too low. Lord Dalhousie allowed it. Sir Charles Napier not only recorded the fact, but fixed thirty, instead of twenty, rupees a month for the Sowars he himself raised. He paid native officers proportionally. Let then twenty-five or at the least twenty-four rupees be the horseman's pay, and, what is equally important, let pensions be raised to the footing of the line. With such increases, the expenses of *reformed* Irregulars, will hardly exceed half that of the present Regulars.

We beg those who object to our proposition, to consider what it costs themselves, throughout the year, to keep a horse with gear, accoutrements, &c. Let them then bear in mind that the Sowar has to provide for bad as well as for good seasons, and for dear as well as for cheap localities; for Candahar, with grain at a seer the rupee; as well as for grain countries where thirty and forty seers may be obtained. Government allow mounted officers thirty rupees a month for each horse; few gain materially by such contract, and yet twenty is given to the Trooper, who ought not to be materially worse mounted! Of this twenty, after deductions for the remount-fund, clothing, gear, washing, watermen, barber, &c. there is not, we firmly believe, a Sowar in the service who receives more than seventeen, to feed himself, his family, and his horse, and to provide arms, a tent and a hut! Fix then twenty as the sum to *be actually paid to each man*, every month. Let the balance, whether four or five rupees, be retained in the Commandant's hands for remounts, clothing, &c., and be accounted for every six months. If Commanding officers are fit for their berths, they should be able to arm, mount and equip their regiments better than individuals can. One hundred and fifty rupees is now the usual price of a remount. Where such sum is insufficient,—which in some parts of the country is

occasionally the case,—the unfortunate Sowar, already perhaps burdened with debt, has to give the difference, possibly thirty or fifty rupees, from his seventeen rupees monthly pay. He is thus swamped for life. The proposed scheme would prevent the *necessity* of debt, and would enable every Sowar to ride a three hundred rupee horse.

"Bargeers," as now constituted, should be entirely abolished. No respectable man will take service as a bargeer, who when away from head-quarters is little better than a servant to the owner of the horse. Nine bargeers out of ten, of this class, are disreputable fellows. Let the head of a respectable family have as "bargeers," whatever number, within moderation, of his relations, that he may wish to bring with him. There is no danger of *their* being made servants of, or of their chief making money out of them. He will neither be willing nor able to do so. Each man will receive his full Government pay; the chief being contented that they, being his Assamees, are dependent on and look up to him as their head. He is thus able to control his young relations, to keep them from being extravagant and to restrain their debaucheries, &c. If it be objected that we advocate the old system of *brotherhoods*, and throw undue power into the hands of native officers, we deny the imputation. Limit the number of "Bargeers" as at present, but encourage *good* men to introduce their kinsmen into the ranks. Government is thus strengthened, the enemy weakened.

No native banker should on any account be allowed. Many regiments do without them; there is no reason why all should not: they only encourage extravagance and debt.

Our scheme then for the mounted branch of the army, is, for Bengal, two regiments of European Dragoons, and six of Regular Cavalry, *all fully officered;* with similar proportions for the other presidencies. The rest of the Cavalry, under whatever names, Irregulars, Contingents, Legionaries, &c. to be designated "Hindustani Horse," on not less than twenty-four rupees a month; three-fourths of the regiments to have each three or four European officers; the others to be commanded by natives, and

to have a Brigadier* over every two or three regiments. An Inspector is part, and not the least important part, of this scheme. He should be an officer of experience, temper and discretion, answering, as far as possible, the description given in a preceding page by Lieut. Jervis, of an efficient Cavalry-commander. Indeed such men only should command cavalry regiments, and from the best of them, Brigadiers (Bukshees) should be selected. A Wellington makes an army ; one man *can make or mar* a regiment or a brigade.

If there have been repetitions in the above remarks, the importance of the subject demands them all. The question involved is, whether by reforms, consonant not only to the spirit of the age, but to the genius of the Hindustani horseman, increased contentment and increased efficiency are to be given to the whole mounted branch of the Indian army ; the expense required to meet the required change, being only about twelve lakhs or £120,000 a year.

We are quite aware of the financial necessities of the State, and therefore would not throw away a rupee. But bad Cavalry are worse than none. If then, there be not means to meet reforms, let the strength of regiments be reduced sufficiently to provide the necessary funds. Four hundred efficient and contented troopers would, in war or in peace, be very preferable to five hundred discontented, badly equipped, and badly horsed Sowars.

Regiments though weak in numbers would be efficient and safe. Hundreds of expectants, all prepared for Jacob's ordeal of " a stiff leap on a bare backed horse," would always be ready for the ranks of a popular service. In a month, under the proposed system, the Hindustani horse might be increased by a sixth, and in three months be doubled. Such a service would give bread in comfort to the poor soldier of fortune, and would afford a chance of honor and competence to the native gentleman. The system would at least, not drive them from our

* The Brigadier to be Pay Master, that is *Bukshee* and Deputy Inspector.

ranks, to Cabul or to any native service; there to introduce our discipline, and, as has often been the case, to turn our own weapons against ourselves.

Let it not be said that the writer of these remarks has a personal interest in Regulars or Irregulars. He has just the interest, and no more, in the Cavalry question, and in army reform generally, that has every loyal British subject in India. It is his interest that the army in all its branches, should be both safe and efficient. Every man is not born a soldier, much less a trooper, nor are horses to be had for the asking Care, selection, and timely arrangement are scarcely less requisite for organizing Cavalry than Artillery. We lift our voice loudly *in the calm; that it may not be needed in the storm.*

One word more on this point. We have already furnished ample facts and ample theories. Let Government make selections and lay them before three of their best, and *least prejudiced* Cavalry Officers, with orders to carry out details, to fix the arms and accoutrements for both Regular and Irregular Cavalry, and once for all to set at rest all controverted questions. We are quite convinced that this scheme carried out *in its full spirit,* would give the Indian Government the *best light horse in the world for Indian purposes;* we might indeed add for Asiatic purposes.

Regarding both Cavalry and Infantry, we have another suggestion to offer, viz., that the recruiting-fields should be extended. Oude should no longer supply the mass of our Infantry and Regular Cavalry; indeed twenty years hence it will be unable to do so. The Punjab, Nepaul, and the Delhi territory should be more largely indented on; as should the whole North West Provinces, and the military classes of Bombay and Madras. Hardy men, of fair average height, not giants, are wanted for light horsemen. The Zouaves and Goorkhas prove that the biggest Light Infantry are not the bravest. We have too long tilled the same fields.

If proof were wanted that abundance of Sikhs are ready to enter the ranks, Capt. Rattray has settled the point. When

Sikhs volunteer for Bengal on policepay, they will assuredly accept better service in better climes. Already have they fought on the Irrawaddy, and volunteered for the Crimea. But assuredly the right plan has not yet been followed, for getting the best Sikhs. As usual, extremes have been tried. On annexation, of the 40,000 or 50,000 Sikhs thrown out of employ scarcely a tenth was taken into British pay. The Punjaub Irregular Corps were even restricted to ten Sikhs a company. All of a sudden, within two years of the issue of the above restriction, the enlistment of two hundred Sikhs in every Regiment of the Line was authorized. This was indeed going to the other extreme. Fortunately the measure failed, or the Sikh *punchayut* system would probably have been introduced into the British ranks. Some few Native Infantry Regiments, stationed in the Punjaub, did boast of having enlisted "a hundred or more" fine Sikhs, "who had fought against us in every battle of both campaigns." This was just what might have been expected, but what ought to have been avoided. The older Sikh soldiers should have been sent to their homes, and encouraged to expend their energies at the plough. Their young kinsmen should have been enrolled in *Irregular* Regiments *throughout India*, and should thus have been gradually introduced to British discipline. There was too much of the leaven of insubordination in the Sikh army, to make the sepoy ranks fitting places for the old Khalsa or even for their sons. Time, new scenes and strict discipline under officers acquainted with their virtues and their vices, were wanted. The ship has, however, righted itself. The *Hindoo* prejudices of Commanding Officers have kept the Sikhs aloof from many regular Corps, and driven them out of others. Some gentlemen wished to cut their hair, forgetting that the very essence of Sikhism lies in its locks. Other officers found Sikhs dirty and troublesome; others, probably unable to get young recruits, hesitated to enlist the veterans of Sher Singh's army. The result is, that the Bombay army has ceased to enlist Sikhs, and that in the seventy-four Bengal Infantry regiments, there are scarcely three

thousand of that faith. We believe we should be nearer the mark, were we to say half that number, for some Sikhs have abjured Sikhism, others have been driven out of it, and not a shadow of encouragement has been given to counteract the quiet but persistent opposition of the Oude and Behar men.

That such opposition is no small obstacle to the introduction of new classes into the army, all experienced officers know full well. Even the determination of the present Commander-in-Chief at Madras, when commanding the Hurriana Light Infantry, eighteen years ago, did not enable him to carry such a measure. He tried to introduce into its ranks the hardy "Aheers" and "Ranghurs" of the Province, but failed: we have it from his own lips, the Rajpoots and Brahmins bullied the new levies out of the Corps.

We are tempted to give another anecdote. A Corps of the Line, within our observation, that has about four score Sikhs in its ranks, possesses only one Sikh non-commissioned officer, and him of the lowest rank. We asked the reason why the Sikhs had not their proportion of officers. The reply was "why the Naick is the luckiest soldier in the Bengal army." Be it remembered that this luckiest fellow in the Bengal army has served the period which entitles a Civilian to a seat in Council. This is luck indeed, to be a Corporal on about a pound sterling a month, after ten years' service. He is a *remarkable* man, has attracted the special attention of his officers; otherwise he would to his day have been a sentinel. Had he similarly outstripped all his compeers in the Punjaub service, or in any native service, he would now have been *at least* a Commandant, perhaps a Colonel, possibly a Sirdar or even a Rajah. In the Russian, Austrian, or French service he would most likely be a decorated Captain or Field Officer. In the Sepoy army he is a Corporal! To complete the story, the officer commanding the company in which was *one* of the batch of Sikhs to which we refer, begged that *this one* too might be made a Naick. The reply was "what has he done that he should be put over the heads of the whole Bengal army." If that man be lucky, he will be a Corporal ten

years hence! Such is the inducement to the finest Infantry soldier in India to enter the British ranks.

The whole system is wrong. In a few years the survivors of those Sikhs will be simply low caste Hindoos; they will have learnt to object to mess together, and in all points will be as helpless and as subservient as Brahmins or Rajpoots. The plan to be followed, to get and to keep the best soldiers throughout India, and to *quietly* oppose class against class and tribe against tribe, is to have separate regiments of each creed or class, filling up half, three-fourths, or even more of the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks from their own numbers. Thus there might be Brahmin. Rajpoot, Aheer, Goojur, Meena, Ranghur, Patan, Mogul, Malay, Goorkah and Sikh Regiments, as also Chumar and Sweeper ones. Each to have a sprinkling of other castes or tribes, stout fellows, with *more* than their proportion of promotion, and therefore able to hold their own. Say, in a corps of Brahmins, a hundred Rajpoots and as many Mahommedans. In one of Sweepers a couple of hundred Mahommedans. Similarly with Sikhs and Goorkhas, a sprinkling of hill Rajpoots and Moslems. Such dilutions will be sufficient to prevent, or at least to bring to light, internal disaffection; while it not only cuts off sectarian influence, but unostentatiously opposes class to class and party to party. We have not a doubt that, thus organized, the low caste man who, under present influences, is the mere creature of the Brahmin, would as readily meet him with the bayonet, as he would a Mahommedan. There might still be many Regiments composed much as at present, only keeping the very high and very low castes more apart.

Some people will say that Brahmins will not act with low caste men. We happen to know better. In the Bombay army, Sweeper Subadars command Brahmin sepoys. We ourselves, have seen Bheels and Meenas, Grassias and Patans, Aheers and Rajpoots, all shoulder to shoulder, all working well and amicably together, notwithstanding that the two first tribes eat carrion, and are classed little, if at all, above Mehturs. We are aware that such arrangements are only to be carried out by tact and de-

termination. In a certain Bheel corps, the Grassias and others combined to refuse to salute the first Bheel who was promoted to the rank of Subadar. The Commanding officer, having seated the Bheel on a chair by his side, called in the whole company, asked each individual his intentions, ordered him to salute the Bheel and pass on. The Hindustanis did so; *three* Grassias refused. On the instant they were discharged. There was no more hesitation, the Bheel Subadar ever afterwards was duly obeyed.

It is however well known that low caste men give most trouble about caste; that the sweepers of the Bombay and Madras armies are more fanciful than the Brahmins and Rajpoots. Religionists too, whether Hindoo or Mahommedan, whether Syuds, or Brahmins or Swamees, influence only the mob, they do not touch each other. They should therefore have their energies, as far as possible, confined to their own classes.

Under somewhat such arrangements as above suggested, there would be no scarcity of Sikhs or Goorkhas in the ranks, nor indeed if desirable, of Malays, Moplas, and Arabs. At present few *original* Goorkhas enter the British service, simply because it is not worth their while. A thousand Goorkhas have been enlisted in a week. Let a popular officer be sent to raise a corps of Goorkhas, in communication with the Resident at Khatmandoo. Let three-fourths of the Native commissions, &c. be given to Goorkhas, and there will be no scarcity of recruits. There must, of course be good management; but the ice once broken, there will always be a fair proportion of Goorkhas in the British ranks.

In Oude, the Punjaub mistake has been reversed. Oude has long been the Alsatia of India. In that province were to be met, even more than at Hyderabad or at Lahore, the Afreedee and Durukzye of the Khyber, the Belooch of Khelat, and the Wazeree of the Sulimani range. There also congregated the idle, the dissipated, and the disaffected of every Native State in India. Added to these were many deserters from the British ranks. Yet the Contingent of twelve thousand men has been almost wholly filled from the old Oude army. 'The reason assigned for

the different line of conduct is, that the Punjaub was conquered, but that Oude fell in peace. In this there is a fallacy, little understood, but not the less a fallacy. Proportionally few of the instigators of opposition at Lahore, and in the Sikh army, were Sikhs. They were British subjects, many of them British deserters. The general feeling of the Sikhs was hardly hostile; many of the Sikhs were friendly, decidedly so, compared with the Hindustanis in the Punjaub service.

The king of Oude employed fifty-nine thousand soldiers; his chiefs and officials at least as many more. Of these vast numbers, one-fifth at the utmost have found employment in the police and irregular corps. Yet these levies, with half a dozen regular corps, form the whole army of occupation. This seems a grave mistake. Why not at least make a change? Why not move some of the Punjaub regiments that have been keeping constant watch and ward on the Indus for seven years, to Oude, and send some of the king's people to the North West? The king had some eight thousand Artillery; of these about five hundred may have obtained employment, the rest, old and young, are on the world. Surely if there was danger in employing Sikhs in 1849, it would be well to remove some portion of the Oude levies from Oude, where such materials for mischief still remain. In the province are 246 forts, besides innumerable smaller strongholds, many of them sheltered within thick jungles. In these forts are 476 guns. Forts and guns should all be in the hands of Government, or the forts should be razed. Many a foolish fellow has been urged on to his own ruin by the possession of a paltry fort; and many a paltry mud fort has repulsed British troops. Forts and intrenched posts moreover, notwithstanding all Sir Charles Napier and other great authorities have said, are the bridles and the main safeguards of all, especially of conquered, countries. Spain confirms, indeed all Europe and all history confirm, this opinion, Gibbon imputes the downfal of the Roman Empire, among other causes, to the facts that,

"In the vast extent of the Roman Empire, there were few fortified cities capable of protecting a routed army, nor was there any person, or

family, or order of men, whose natural interest, unsupported by the powers of Government, was capable of restoring the cause of a sinking party."

The latter portion of the passage hits the British Government. Hitherto it has made no interest with the people; it therefore the more needs an efficient and contented army.

The eighty or ninety thousand disbanded Oude soldiers are the brethren of the British sepoys. In one sense this makes them more dangerous, in another more safe. *All* will expect much from Government, most too much. Future tranquillity will greatly depend on the manner in which justice, firmness, and kindly consideration are combined in Oude arrangements. We simply recommend forethought, moderation, and common sense for Oude, for all new countries, indeed for India generally.

No troops, regular or irregular, should remain for ever in one province. They should move every three or four years; not at one step from Peshawur to Calcutta, as is sometimes the order; but step by step, from one end of the country to the other. All these are very obvious truths; they are, however, not the less disregarded. While on this topic we commend to the attention of Oude, Punjaub and Nagpore administrators, Gibbon's XLIII. Chapter, on the rebellions of Africa when, among other events,

"Two-thirds of the Army were involved in the guilt of treason; and eight thousand insurgents, assembling on the field of Bulla, elected Stoza for their chief, a *private soldier*, (the italics are ours,) who possessed in a superior degree, the virtues of a rebel."

We need here only cursorily refer to the Bengal Artillery. Except at Guzerat, the Indian army has always been greatly overmatched in guns; and as British Commanders have ordinarily delighted to attack in front, the loss of life has been proportionally great. By reversing the rule at Guzerat, the enemy was smashed at little cost. With very few exceptions our proceedings have been similar in the conduct of sieges. In 1825-26 at Bhurtpoor, close to the Agra magazine, and with the result of the first siege before our eyes; the army nearly ran

out of ammunition, and was not oversupplied with guns. The tardy and insufficient supplies on the Sutledge, will be in the memory of many, even though Lahore and Umritsur were expected to resist. Indeed Hatras is the only fortress against which the army went altogether prepared. The result was, success after a few hours' shelling. Those were the days when Lord Metcalfe lifted his voice, to urge the authorities to expend shot and shells rather than human lives. European lives at least are more expensive than ordnance ammunition.

We recently showed that five hundred and six field guns are attached to the Indian army of 323,823 men, being one gun to 630 fighting men, instead of to 500 as, *at the lowest calculation*, should be the equipment. Jomini and other eminent writers give *three* guns to a thousand men as the needful proportion. It is true, as Jomini remarks, that Napoleon conquered Italy with fifty guns, while he failed in Russia with twelve hundred. It is not the less true that his batteries of 50 and 100 guns won him several battles. There is really no excuse for insufficient or inefficient Artillery in India, and yet the proportions here are below the standards of all armies. Moreover of the 506 existing field guns, one hundred and two are what is called irregular, that is have, at the utmost, one officer to six guns. To some few no officer is attached. Such guns can never be as efficient as other batteries. Two officers, at least are absolutely required to each battery; we are glad to perceive that a second officer has recently been appointed to each Punjaub one. In other quarters seconds are equally required. An Irregular battery is an absurdity. It is truly childish hazarding the efficiency of six guns, on the life and energy of a single officer. Horses should be given to all remaining bullock batteries. What are called "post guns" are as liable to move as any others within the Provinces; their being unable to do so, might on occasion be disastrous.

We quite agree with the late Sir Charles Napier that the Foot Artillery is sacrificed to the Horse; we do not agree as to his remedy. Horse Artillery are as requisite to act with Caval-

ry, as Foot Artillery with Infantry. The whole of the Artillery should always be kept up on the amplest scale, and on the most efficient footing. Notwithstanding all the idle talk of Sikh guns and Sikh practice during the Punjaub war, the Indian Artillery is unmistakeably superior to all that can be brought against it. All the field batteries should be nine-pounders, as all but one, and "the Mountain train," are in Bengal. Indeed we would have half the Horse Artillery of that calibre, and keep a nine-pounder equipment for *every* troop ready at the nearest magazine. The change from sixes to nines of the Royal Artillery just previous to Waterloo, may have saved that glorious day; the nine-pounders did at least greatly help to win it. Two or three elephant field batteries should be kept up at points on the trunk or rail road, whence they could be made most generally available.

In a former Essay, we remarked that 300 battering guns with as many mortars, might be turned out of the Indian magazines in a month; we should like to think that every magazine could move a second class train in a fortnight. We are aware that the present Inspector General is quite alive to the subject. We desire to strengthen his hands. Why are there not Inspectors of Ordnance at Madras and Bombay? And why is not the school of instruction at Meerut put on a really efficient footing? Half the object in moving the Bengal Artillery Head Quarters to Meerut, has been lost by petty savings. The Artillery is one of the last legitimate fields for retrenchment.

The next increase in Artillery-men, may, with advantage, be partly Golundauze. They are admirable soldiers, die at their guns, never join in disaffection, scarcely ever in discontent. Regarding Golundauze, there has been at all the Presidencies, more than the usual see-saw of the Indian Army.* In Calcutta, a hundred years ago, *Foreigners*, *Papists* and natives were prohibited entering the arsenal. Half a century later the Bengal Artillery were stronger in natives than in Europeans. A few

* See Broome's, Buckle's and Begbie's volumes.

years afterwards, as the tide of suspicion again rose, whole battalions of these fine fellows were discharged, and driven for bread into the enemy's ranks. Again, the Golundauze were increased, and again reduced; sometimes mixed up with Europeans, at other times placed on their old formation. Then again Lascars were largely employed, good fellows in their way, but not to be put on a par with, still less in the place of, Golundauze. These unnecessary changes, and above all, the reduction of pay to the level of Infantry, have affected the confidence and the efficiency of the Golundauze. The same style of men are not now enlisted in any Presidency as formerly; and should Golundauze be again required in a hurry, they will not be as easily recruited as of old. In all native armies the Artillery are the best and trustiest men. They are always true to their guns; they worship them. But Artillery-men are not made in a day, nor is it either prudent or economical to teach sepoys to work guns, in substitution for short numbers of Golundauze. The latter can better and more safely do Infantry duty, than Infantry theirs. Serving the vent, sponging and ramming are only the A. B. C. of an Artillery-man's work. But under any circumstances, when Golundauze and Sepoys are paid at exactly the same rates, why put extra temptation in the way of the larger body. A thousand Golundauze cost no more than as many Sepoys. The more is the pity. They should be taught to consider themselves a separate and selected body. No Sepoy should touch a gun. The Golundauze should be in numbers amply sufficient for all post guns; with large reserves to take their share in siege operations.* Their number should not exceed the European Artillery, but whatever the number and proportions, let the Golundauze receive *the one extra* rupee. It would be good economy. We repeat that our arrangements are for the storm, as well as the sunshine; for the possibility of a Russian army at Herat

* The reserve Artillery-men are altogether insufficient. At every siege from Seringapatam to Mooltan, the Artillery-men were in battery two nights out of three, often many successive nights. At Sobraon the men of three Troops worked the heavy ordnance until their ammunition was expended, and then joined their own six-pounders.

simultaneously with an American fleet off Bombay. But whether in peace or in war, the more the several arms are kept apart, the better. Perpetual *ordinary caution* in this matter, as on other points, prevents occasional spasmodic alarms, which alarms again put mischief into men's minds.

The fame of the Indian Artillery is world-wide; there is no finer. The Bombay men are not behind their Bengal and Madras fellows in esprit-de-corps, or soldierly qualities: why does not some Bombay Artillery-man follow the example set by Capt. Buckle and Major Begbie, and record the services of his Regiment? Such compilations are valuable. Indeed every corps should have its history. What better stimulus to the young soldier than to read the record of his brethren's services? Such memorials too, would tend to draw together officers and sepoys. In the Regimental "*Tuwareekh*," they would have something in common: the honor of the corps would then be more palpably in the keeping of each individual. No deed of personal bravery of the youngest sepoy or drummer boy, would pass unrecorded. Each might hope to live in history.

The Bengal army is largely indebted to Major Broome for his excellent history. Its tone is admirable, and its painstaking research most praiseworthy. We sincerely hope the Major is at work on its continuation, and that the three Armies will at least take as many copies as will cover his expenses. It is not creditable to any regiment to be without his first volume; nor could any person desiring to acquaint himself with early British Indian history, have a better or more impartial guide.

Engineers and Sappers even more than Artillery, ought to be kept in full strength. Sappers are not used in public works to the extent they might be. The men should not have the disbursement of public money, but should be liberally rewarded according to their zeal and abilities, as Sappers are, when employed in England on the Trigonometrical Survey, &c. By such peace duties, Engineer Officers, Sergeants, and Native Sappers are kept in training; and while largely aiding the works of peace are preparing themselves for war.

A few words on the calling of military Engineers at the three Presidencies. In war their duties are important, and in sieges they are the virtual commanders. It was the joke of the camp, how Cheape kept the nominal Commander at Mooltan informed from day to day of the work he intended should be performed. Irvine's, Abbott's, Waddington's, Smith's, Napier's, Baker's, Tremenhere's, Scott's, Durand's and Thomson's services during recent campaigns, are in the memory of our readers. Still more valuable are the services of such men during peace. A Cotton, a Boileau, a Napier or a Cautley is worth a Brigade. This is the only portion of the army that *pays* at all seasons. So few Civil Engineers of ability consider it worth their while to come to India, that all civil engineering is virtually in the hands of the Military. We are not quite clear that this is the best arrangement, but under improved management it may be made very much more effective than at present.

Promotion has recently been good in the Engineers. In the higher ranks they are nearly ten years a head of their sister corps, the Artillery; but they are still numerically weak for the work required at their hands. The consequence is that there is more poaching on their domain than on any other. The Artillery, with reason, scream when people even talk of posting Infantry officers to field batteries; but the Engineers obtain little sympathy when some of their best berths are monopolized by outsiders. Nor indeed should we pity them were better men put over their heads; were Cautleys, Maxwells, Prices, Balfours and Longdens to be had for the asking; but such is not the case. By all means let the best man be selected for every berth in every department; but be sure he is the best, before trained and able men are superseded. Far be it from us, to join the cuckoo-cry in favor of individuals. There are plenty without our aid, to advocate the cause of the incompetent; our voice is for 'the right man in the right place.'

Engineer officers are the elite of the service. They are the *selections*, and generally very fair selections from the mass of Addiscombe. The energies of many are, however, damped by

the treatment they meet in India. They win the race, but obtain not the prizes. The latter are too often reserved for the sluggard and the incompetent. Few Engineer officers would select the Engineers for their own sons.

Great pains are taken at home to qualify the young Engineer officers for the important and arduous duties which they are called upon to perform in India. The great error, however, is in so calling on them at too early a period after arrival. This may, in a measure, account for cracked and broken bridges, for unfinished and ill-made roads, and for high rates. While yet apprentices, and while ignorant of the rudiments of the language and of civil routine, they have heavy responsibilities thrown on them, and are put to deal with the veriest rogues in India.

Every young Engineer officer, on arrival in India, should be sent to the head-quarters of the Sappers and Miners, now also the head quarters of the Corps; and he should not be withdrawn on any grounds or pretence, until he had passed at least one year of probation with the Corps, had attended the schools regularly, and been well instructed in the technical language and practice of Sapper-Engineering duties as conducted in India. Most young officers could, during this year of probation, pass the P. H. examination, and this should be made a sine qua non for their employment in any independent substantive charge. The rule is enforced with regard to officers of other branches of the services appointed to the staff, and it is only fair and proper that the same rule should be extended to the alumni of the Engineer department. Few young officers when they have once quitted the Sappers, after their few months' sojourn with the corps, ever rejoin it, unless perhaps on active service in the field. Thus unless grounded in the vernacular phraseology of their craft, and instructed on their first arrival in the various processes of their duties, as conducted in India, it is perfectly certain that they will not acquire these very important and necessary qualifications in after-life; while as builders and civil engineers, their talents will remain hidden, or lose half their value, until a

competent knowledge of the vernacular language shall enable them to communicate their knowledge in language intelligible to the people of the country. Our advice is thus to instruct them well, then to trust them largely, and pay them liberally.

The abolition of the Bengal and Bombay Military Boards was a grand measure. But the rubbish has not yet been all cleared away. Commissary Generals, Inspector-Generals of Ordnance and Chief Engineers must have more authority; must each respectively be put into a position assimilating more to that of the old Boards, than each now fills, before the new system can be expected to work smoothly. Chief Engineers must not be made mere Postmen and Clerks to local Governors. They are the most scientific and among the ablest and most zealous officers in the service. Their positions should be of high honor, considerable authority and great comfort. At present this is far from the case. The sooner the matter is righted the better. We commend the subject, as also the following anecdote, to the attention of the Secretary in the Public Works Department. We might tell many such tales.

Some three years back, a sanatory measure urgently recommended by a medical officer, involving an expense of six hundred rupees, was reported. The immediate superior, a person of high rank, authorized the measure, and the local officer carried it out. Sanction was quickly obtained from the Supreme Government; but a greater than Lord Dalhousie, the Auditor General, had not been consulted. A few words in red ink negatived his Lordship's order, and the bill was made over to the Military Board. After many months the Board passed and sent it to the Military Accountant for adjustment. In due course the cash was paid. After a considerable interval, however, the Military Auditor General *again* interfered and retrenched the full amount. *Again* was the matter referred to the Supreme Government which passed it on to the Local Government, and after six months more it was finally sanctioned, and the retrenchment recovered through the local Chief Engineer. Thus during more than two years, some forty official letters had been written, and innumerable

copies been made for one authority or another, and during all this time the zealous officer who had expended his private means in the cause of humanity, was out of pocket £60. Such delay could not now occur, but six months or more of the delay in this very case, did take place during the present order of things, and we believe that with a less energetic officer than the local chief Engineer, twelve months more might have passed before the cash had been recovered.

Much reform is still required in the Commissariat. As yet, in some quarters at least, confusion and expense seem rather to have increased than diminished, by recent changes. In the cattle department for instance, the new arrangements were inaugurated by the sale of the greater part of the public stock. Under such circumstances, only nominal prices were, of course, obtainable; but scarcely were the elephants, camels and bullocks sold, than out came an order to re-purchase. The fortunes of some rising "Jotee Pursads" were accordingly made at Government expense. We know not whose was this see-saw move, but such was the fact. We refer specially to sales at a certain large station, and we have reason to believe that throughout the Bengal Presidency, sales, re-purchases, discharges and re-enlistments followed each other quickly. Such has always been the East India Government's fate in war time. This was a peace measure.

Half the Commissariat expenses during war is attributable to such doings; to alternate haste and delay; above all to untrustworthy agency. War is expected or a movement is to be made in any quarter, whether within or without our limits. At once the market is up, *not* for the contractors, but for the Government. The former *practically* have the benefit of the earliest intelligence. They buy at twenty seers for the rupee, sell at ten; and again after a few weeks or months, re-purchase the accumulated stores, perhaps at fifty. Jotee Pursad's trial proved how cattle contracts were managed. But reform has now commenced. The great contractor has himself arranged for a small retaining fee, to hold some thousand cattle available for the public service. This is a good move. On this principle, contracts for

all Commissariat necessaries should be made. In our opinion, they can be most cheaply effected by civil officers; the Commissariat officers looking only to quantity and quality. Let local Governments through their most efficient Civil officers, contract with monied men, to supply at fixed points, within given periods, certain quantities of grain, cattle, &c. and let a given proportion be always kept available, under special restrictions, for the contractor's own purposes.

We propose that these arrangements be made by civil officers because *they* ought to have most influence in the country; ought to know the soundest traders; and to be able to make the cheapest bargains. The Commissariat should look to the terms of contracts being kept, and should manage all details: a few *well paid* Inspecting officers, men not above their work, and accustomed to such matters, with *well paid* natives under them, will suffice for all the suggested duties. A single active officer could ordinarily supervise a Province. *No Serjeants,* and very little inferior European agency, should be employed in the department The temptation is too great. If the officer does his duty, little subordinate supervision is required. The *legitimate* work of Serjeants, can be better done by natives. The *legitimate* work of gentlemen should be done by gentlemen trained to the work. Some of them, at least, might be mercantile men from England. Indeed we are disposed to think that the Commissariat might advantageously be altogether a civil establishment, as is now the case in the Royal army; but our Indian "Mr. Filder" should be at least a K. C. B., and so be hoisted well above the vulgar depreciation of the Commissariat service, so general through the Peninsular and Crimean wars.

The Commissariat must be a well paid and respectable body; every responsible official having the status and pay of a military officer. But there should be no irresponsible agency, contractors strictly kept to contract work, and not permitted, by their money-influence, to overshadow and bully even the chief Commissariat officers.

By our scheme *very small* annual payments will give Go-

vernment the command of markets at all times; instead of, as at present, leaving it in every difficulty at the mercy of its own *nominal* servants. Retaining fees may, in many cases, be almost nominal. Monied firms gain so much in credit by Government contracts, that they can afford to deal for small profits. Their stores will be laid in at harvest-time, and by sale of half or three-fourths at sowing time, they will at least cover their own expenses, having their full retaining fee as profit. Similarly, by being permitted, within limits, to work the cattle they keep up, they can afford to charge the merest trifle. Such a scheme would involve clashing, some must necessarily occur at first; but Lieut. Governors and the Commissary General could *easily* stop all that. A few severe examples would suffice. And as long as Inspectors and Receivers, European and Native, are paid sufficiently well to make it *worth their while* to be independent of contractors, but at the same time to do their duty to them, as well as to Government, all else will work well. Officers enough are now in the department to do the needful. Numbers might even be reduced; but pay and position should be raised. Zeal and ability should be the sole passports to promotion in all ranks. Let also venality be promptly and severely punished, and all will soon be smooth. We repeat that much has been done in this department. To simplify accounts and insist on their being promptly rendered, would be immense points.

A Transport train should be established; one combining the virtues of Sir Charles Napier's Baggage-Corps, and of those recently employed by the allied armies in the Crimea. Hints may also be taken from the Russians; from their wonderful organization and application of resources. Organization and Military discipline in this department, are as requisite as in any other branch of the army. Economy and efficiency will both be thus best secured. An Indian army can never move like a European one; but still there is very much that can be effected, *if officers will set the example.* There was no more necessity, as *was* the case, for a Lieut. Colonel to take three elephants

and double-poled tents, and glass doors, to Candahar, than for him to have taken the Crystal Palace. Neither was it necessary for subalterns to take dressing-boys and deputy dressing-boys, and butlers, with their assistants, &c. throughout those campaigns.

Mr. Kaye has recorded that Sir John Keene's army was accompanied by five non-combatants for every soldier. In such a country *every* man should have been armed, and the camp-followers should not have exceeded the fighting men. It is all nonsense to say that the present system is necessary. It is not. General Pollock had not half General Nott's number of followers; nor were such proportions found necessary during either the first or second Burmah war. Three or four servants will suffice, for a time, for each officer. They and indeed all ranks should have as good cover over their heads, *as circumstances admit of;* but it is nonsense to expect to carry all *peace-luxuries* into war. Indeed the attempt to do so, too often leads to the abandonment or failure of *necessaries.* There should be a Director General of baggage, with deputies, and assistants for divisions and brigades, as in continental armies. They should be stern men, of somewhat Napierean views, with authority to burn all extra baggage, and all burthens of overloaded cattle. Those who remember Burmah, or who bear in mind the passes of Affghanistan, *crammed* with cattle and human beings even as poppy heads; who remember grain at a rupee a seer, and water nearly as scarce as beer, will feel with us that the very existence of Armies should not be risked to give Cleopatra sofas and fresh bread to gentlemen whose services, at best, are ill worth such price.

With a Staff Corps would, of course, come more efficient staff establishments in all departments. Good Regimental officers who had studied their profession in all its arms, would then, as in the Continental armies, be attached to the *Etat Major* and according to their more special qualifications be distributed into the Adjutant and Quarter Major General's and other departments. No one will pretend that the best man is now selected

for either of those important branches. We cannot indeed be said to have a Quarter Master General's department at all. We never had. The present heads are striving to make up for departmental deficiencies, but the whole department requires regeneration and extension; in short radical reform. Assistant Quarter-Master-Generals should be the eyes of Divisional Commanders, not merely their Aide-de-Camps; still less should they be gentlemen at large, occasionally, in fine weather, marching with large perambulators along high roads.

We have suggested the formation of a Staff Corps. A word as to details. The French *Etat Major* is a distinct Corps, admission to which is only obtained, as in the Engineers and Artillery, by a special education, and when this has been completed and the requisite examination passed, by a fixed period of Regimental duty with each of the three arms of the service, in the grade of Subaltern. Adverting to local peculiarities, we would require an officer to serve from two to four years with his original corps, when, armed with a certificate that he thoroughly understood his regimental duty, was physically active, zealous, and intelligent, he should, after passing the Interpreter's examination in the languages, be admitted into the Staff Corps. No man is thoroughly fit for staff duties without such qualifications. He should, in addition, pass for a particular department.

First. Adjutant General's, Military Secretariat, and Judge Advocate General's Department.

Second. Quarter Master General's and Survey.

Third. Civil and Political employment.

Fourth. Army Finance Departments, as Pay, Audit, Commissariat.

Fifth. Miscellaneous, as Military Police, Baggage, &c. &c. Government to fix tests for each department. High proficiency in other branches, might permit the P. H. to be substituted for the Interpreter's test in individual cases, but we look on a thorough colloquial knowledge of the languages, next to good judgment, as the very first qualification for a staff officer. Half the contre-temps and violences that occur between Europeans

and natives, are occasioned by mutual ignorance of language. Book learning is less required, but ability to read accounts and Sepoy's letters, is important. Many Civilians never acquire the power, and are accordingly much at the mercy of their own Moonshees. Good colloquial knowledge, acquired by free association with all ranks, will render other lingual attainments comparatively easy. By such processes the Staff Corps would possess soldierly officers, qualified by study for every branch of duty, whether civil or military. After passing the Interpreter's examination, and being furnished with a certificate of proficiency in his regimental duties, the staff candidate should then be sent to do duty for one year with each of the other branches of the service, his name being struck off his original regiment and enrolled in the staff corps. A staff man would thus have done from five to seven years' regimental duty, and be about twenty-four years of age, before being eligible for staff duty. He would have fairly won his spurs, and would then be available, according to qualification and the test he had passed, for any department.

It will be observed that we have thrown the whole civil as well as military staff into the Staff Corps. We have done so deliberately, and after much consideration, as agreeing with Lord Hardinge,* that it is useful to have officers qualified for both civil and military duties on the strength of the army.

Such is the Oriental system, which is too much overlooked or even despised. Orientals put a man of energy and ability to the front, whatever be his antecedents, whether he were a slipper-bearer or a pipe-bearer, a slave or a son of a slave, a Pasha or a son of a Pasha. In troubled times and places, at least, they put such a man in authority with *full power*. On the other hand, Englishmen judging by English rules, split up and separate offices, thereby puzzling Natives where to look for justice, and often obliging officials to waste half their time in forms and squabbles. England has no need of Rome's fears. The most

* Evidence before the Lords.

popular Governor General would not be followed in rebellion by a single regiment. Yet Rome won and held the world under Consuls and Proconsuls. Even the jealous Augustus armed his Governors

"with the full powers of the Sovereign himself. It was reserved for Constantine by divided administration to relax the vigors of the state."*

We do not altogether advocate Roman powers for British officials, although there cannot be a doubt that half Sir Charles Napier's success in Sinde is attributable to his despotic powers. A fool so armed will get into a mess; but a man of ordinary judgment will consult others, where he is himself deficient, and by prompt action will cover a multitude of defects. For the next fifty or a hundred years, there must be non-regulation provinces and military Civilians. Indeed we would always have them, and uncovenanted officers also, were it only for a stimulus to Civilians, and a fillip to routine practices.

Thus, according to qualification, men would be posted to civil and political berths, to the Adjutant General's, Quarter Master General's, Finance, Supply, Baggage, Law and other departments.

They might rise regimentally, as vacancies occur, in the Staff Corps, or being originally appointed in that corps, according to army standing, they might be promoted at fixed periods, so as to reach Lieut. Colonelcies in twenty-five years. Or present incumbents might be promoted on the day on which each would have obtained *each* step had he remained with his original regiment. The regimental rank being secured, each departmental step would only be *won* by efficiency, by hard work, and by keeping pace with the times. The regimental pay might be as that of the Engineers; separate staff allowances being allotted as at present for each office, *and a fresh test required on each departmental step up to certain periods.* If men became lazy or apathetic, they might be restricted to small inoffensive berths, or if physically or mentally qualified, be sent as juniors of their

* *Gibbon, Book xvii.*

rank to do duty with a corps of the line. After two reports, at intervals of six months, of continued apathy, they should be discharged, pensioned, or invalided according to the circumstances of each case. There would be no more difficulty in disposing of each cases, than of that of the late Colonel Davidson of the Engineers. To place incompetents of the shelf, and to employ men in positions according to their talents, is following common sense rules. Thus a Captain might be Commissary General, a field officer his Deputy. Other posts would be similarly filled.

It strikes us that some such arrangements provide, as fairly as is practicable, for all circumstances, and would not be difficult to work. They would effectually *check* if not altogether prevent jobbery, would give all young *working* officers an object to work for, and still would not altogether shut the staff doors to regiments. The scheme would, at least, put down the present cry of favoritism and thus induce comparative contentment. If it did no more than allay present restlessness, much good would be effected.

The Corps would be large or small, according to the necessities of the service, and would, like other regiments, annually receive drafts to fill up vacancies. Our scheme will be called incomplete, because it does not shut the staff door *entirely* to regimental officers. This is intentional. All men do not ripen early. A very efficient regimental officer may be idle during the first three or four years of his service, or his education may have been neglected. Such a man, if of commanding talent or energy, should not be lost to the *Etat Major.* Ochterlony, Barry Close, and other eminent staff officers, would have been excluded from high employment by such a rule. The arrangement would, however, lessen the necessity of drafts from the line. After its formation, one Captain and two Subalterns from each regiment should be the utmost allowed on the staff. Most of these would probably go to irregular corps. They should, however, be available for all staff posts, remaining on the strength of their original corps. In fixing the strength of Regiments and Battalions,

allowance should be made for these three absentees, and for one in four absent on furlough, &c.

Calculating then the staff to eventually require six officers for each of the 219 Regiments and Battalions in the service, and 657 or half the number to be attached to the Staff Corps, the expense will be in round numbers a quarter of a million sterling. At least half of this would however be civil charges, as pay of men *ready on emergency for military duty.*

A delicate point remains. Are the staff to be eligible for command? The recent order, making the command of a regiment and certain posts the only roads to a full Colonelcy, implies that such is the present intention. The rule does not work well, and has already put bad juniors over good seniors. Its tendency is to exclude from eventual command many of the very best officers in the service, men who have risen by their military merits. We feel that we can argue this point without prejudice. In discussing it we have no purpose to answer but the good of the state. The question is not, what is best or even fairest for this or for that individual, but what is best and fairest for the service. Whether in a great calamity,—and Government should always be ready for one,—the public, and, above all, those immediately concerned, would place most confidence in soldiers like Broadfoot, Jacob, and Edwardes, or in hap-hazard seniority commanders. Whoever would have preferred Xenophon to Menon, or Pottinger to Elphinstone, must vote with us. It is doubtful whether Xenophon was a soldier* at all, when he was raised to command on the shields of the soldiery. Herat proved Pottinger to have been a thorough soldier, though he was far from being what is called a clever man. Washington was a Militia man and a Surveyor, Cromwell a country gentleman. *They* were all *born* soldiers.

The Staff Corps must then correspond with the *Etat Major.* Its Colonels must come on the general gradation list, it being always optional with Government to keep men to their gram

* Rollin calls him a young Athenian ; Plutarch says Cyrus gave him a commission.

bags, law books, &c. or to put them in command of brigades. General Huyshe, one of the most efficient officers in the Bengal army, rose to his majority in the Commissariat; and General Lumley one of its best Adjutant Generals, was transferred from the head of the Commissariat to be Adjutant General. The command of European Regiments is given to the smartest officers. Huyshe commanded one, and Colonel Swatman, who also rose in the Commissariat, now commands another: we mention these names and dwell on the question because we daily hear it said "So-and-so can know nothing of his duty, he was all his life in the Commissariat, &c." We particularize the Commissariat, as being a department perhaps less soldierly in its character than others. The Quarter-Master-General's, and Survey Departments, are among the best schools for war, as are many of the duties of the Military Collector and Magistrate. They are akin to Wellington's hunting parties; they improve the *coup d'œil*, sharpen the perceptions and give opportunities of display of courage, hardihood and resource. Five to seven years of mixed military duties in early life, would instil into soldierly Civilians, all requisite details. It is not by three times a day seeing soldiers eat their rations, or horses twice a day eat their gram, or is it even by, year after year, driving fusees and portfires, or by marching round barrack squares, that officers learn to be soldiers, much less to be Generals. Such avocations are rather the necessary drudgeries of the profession; with hasty spirits they cramp rather than foster eminent attainments. The soldier in heart will keep up his military knowledge wherever or however he may be placed. He will also avail himself of opportunities to take part in battery practice and in field exercise, nor will his steps be unfrequently turned towards the regimental parades, hospitals, and target practice. *He* will enjoy such avocations, while many Regimental men expend their energies in execrating them.

In short we altogether deny that the officer who has passed his life in small regimental details, and in performing Dundas' eighteen manœuvres, or any one else's twenty-eight, is likely to

prove a better Commander in field or in garrison, than the one who, with from five to seven years' practical military education, has early distinguished himself above his fellows as a soldier ; and, in later years, has been knocking about the country as a Quarter. Master-General, a Surveyor, a Magistrate, or a Collector. We even question whether the individual of like antecedents, whose wits have been sharpened by the duties of a military Lawyer or Commissariat officer, will not, as a rule, be as efficient as the man of regimental details. We argue on the rule, *not* the exception. There are undoubtedly excellent regimental officers and very bad staff men. Facts however bear out our argument. Among the highest names in European warfare, are those of men who performed little regimental duty. In the Indian ranks also, the Pollocks, the Notts, the Gilberts and the Cheapes of the present day, did as little battalion drill as did the Malcolms, the Munros, and the Clives of old.

We are very far from decrying the school that produced Colin Campbell, Henry Havelock, Markham, Franks, and hosts of good soldiers in the Company's ranks. We simply aver with all confidence, that there is nothing erudite, nothing difficult in Dundas, nor in more modern books of manœuvres; on the contrary, that any dolt may learn his Battalion drill, and even the Light Infantry manœuvres in a few weeks; that many do so, and are little the wiser ; that they are practically as great dolts as ever, and that not one out of a dozen of them could get a Brigade out of Hyde Park, much less manœuvre it before an enemy. No; it is not elementary knowledge, such as barrack life, or regimental parades can give, that is most essential to a commander. It is *good sense*, energy, thoughtfulness, and familiarity with independent action. Above all, it is that coolness under all circumstances, that enables a man to apply the full resources of his mind, and without *fear of responsibility*, to act upon his own judgment. Few will deny these obvious truths. Then, in all common sense let not at least working men be *excluded* from command, and those hoisted over their shoulders who have neither studied their profession as these have done, nor had their

opportunities. Such practice would deprive Government, perhaps in its necessity, of the military services of its *best*, or at least of its most accomplished soldiers.

In all we have propounded, we are borne out, not only by Asiatic practice, but by the practice and theory of the Continental masters of war. We have already more than once referred to Jomini; we do so again, as his words are very apposite to our argument. He tells us that a chief commander of artillery should be a good strategist and tactician, a man who could consult with the Commander-in-Chief, and bring into play, at the most effective moment, not only the reserve artillery, but half the guns attached to divisions. This is common sense, but is not what is learned at Dum-Dum, Meerut, the Mount, or Ahmednugger. Those head-quarters turn out excellent practical artillerists, but few strategists or tacticians. We quote in more detail Jomini's views as to the requisite qualifications of a Commander-in-Chief, also his opinion as the arm whence he may be best drawn. The translation, or rather paraphrase, is our own.*

"A General must be a man of great mind, of a moral courage which leads to great resolutions, of sang-froid or physical courage which overcomes dangers. Knowledge is only a third-rank requisite, but is a powerful auxiliary. Vast erudition is not here meant. It is necessary to know little, but to know that little well, and to be well grounded in principles." * * * * * *

"The question has often been agitated whether command should be given to the General long habituated to the management of troops, or to Generals who have risen in the *Etat Major*, and though learned in war, have been little habituated to handle troops. It is indisputable that a General may be able to combine operations, and carry on war on a large scale, who never led a regiment against the enemy. The great Condé, Frederic and Napoleon are examples."

Jomini proceeds. "It cannot be denied that a man from the *Etat Major, as well as any other*, may become a great Captain, but it will not be from having grown old in the functions of Quarter Master† but *because he*

* Precis de l'art de la guerre par le Baron de Jomini. Paris 1837, pages 604 and 605.

† In the Russian army for which Jomini wrote, the Quarter Master's Department combines the General Staff.

possesses the natural genius for war. A General of like character from the Cavalry or Infantry, will be equally fit for supreme command. *Individual qualities* will be every thing."

"In coming to a decision, all points must be considered, and a medium taken. A General from the Etat Major, from the Artillery, or from the Engineers, who has held the command of a division or corps d'armee, will have, other points being equal, a *superiority* over the General who understands the conduct of only one arm, or of a special corps."

"In brief a General who has *thought much on war*, that is, has studied war, will be qualified for command. A great and comprehensive mind *is, above every other quality,* necessary for a Commander-in-Chief. Lastly, the union of a wise theory with a great mind will constitute the great Captain."*

Such are the dicta of one of the ablest and most practical military writers of the present age, of one who was the chief of Ney's staff, and who is supposed to have inspired his genius, of one who, even as a traitor to the side on which he had so long fought, was so much respected as a soldier, by the Emperor Alexander, that he made him an Aide-de-Camp, and put him at the head of an army. Jomini advocates all we urge. Genius is heaven-born. Strategy, tactics, and all else must give way on occasion. A General must *understand* rules and principles, but not be the slave of them. Neither rules nor principles require the term of a life to learn. He must have moral and physical courage, and ready aptitude to apply his resources. These qualifications are somewhat akin to genius. They *are* to be cultivated, though not to best advantage under dry routine. The Indian Government has seldom the power of selection from Generals who have commanded divisions. It is limited to select between Commanders of Regiments and men who, like Generals Patrick Grant and Cheape, and Colonels Tucker and Birch, though of known ability, not only never led a Regiment into action, but never commanded one for a day.† Or the selection may be extended to a third class, to men distinguished in youth as soldiers, but afterwards employed as Civilians; to the Broadfoots, Edwardes, Lakes, Bechers, and Nicholsons of India; to

* Jomini, Part I. pages 110, 111, and 112.

† General Grant is the exception, but the corps was Irregular.

the Hardinges, Raglans and Cathcarts of the Royal Army. The importance of the subject tempts us again to quote Jomini;

"A General instructed in theory, but destitute of coup d'œil, of sang-froid and of skill, may make a fine strategic plan, but fail in every law of tactics, *when he finds himself in presence of an enemy.* His projects will then vanish, his defeat become probable. If he has force of character, he may diminish the bad results of his check; *if he loses his head, he will lose his army.*"

Few soldiers in India have witnessed much strategy; but many have witnessed the failure of tactics *in the presence of the enemy*, aye, and every day witness it on their own parade grounds, when "Adjutants' Regiments" in the hands of routine Lieutenant Colonels and Majors, even though they may "have never been on leave for a day for thirty years," are clubbed up and tortured in every conceivable way. [The men who never go on leave are not the best officers. All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy.] The card system fails. The man who *never reflected* in his life cannot be expected to reflect on an emergency. An inequality or contraction of ground puts him out, the unexpected appearance of a crabbed Brigadier flusters him; the whirlwind rush of a Sir Charles Napier down the line, frightens him out of his senses; cards, manuals, catechisms, and all other helps are forgotten, and the unhappy Field officer is like 'a babe in a wood.' He loses his senses, and is alike the laughing stock of his sable soldiers, and of his younger countrymen. Is such a man,—and there are scores of them,—the fitting leader of a brigade through the Bolan or the Khybur; up the Persian gulf, or to China or Burmah? Yet they are the men so sent, daily so selected. Can such men be expected to preserve their senses in the presence of the enemy? That such men have not lost armies is no fault of the present system, but is attributable to the courage and skill of subordinates, and to the *Ikbal* of the company. But let not Providence be too long tempted. Rome lost her Legions when commanded by Generals who were soldiers only in name. Napoleon's words to his brother Louis at Toulon apply to our argument. Standing in midst of the

corpses of 200 Grenadiers slain through the ignorance of their Commander, at the assault of an impregnable side of Fort Phuron, he observed

"If I had commanded here, all these brave men would be still alive. Learn Louis, from this example, how absolutely necessary instruction is to those who aspire to command others."

We have dwelt so much on the mischiefs of routine and strict seniority, and on the evils of having decrepit or incapable officers at the head of Troops, that it behoves us to offer some remedy for present evils. We know that the seniority system cannot be uprooted altogether, nor indeed do we desire to uproot it. Seniority must be the basis of Indian promotion, but seniority may be, and must be, helped over the stile.

In the first place then let us earnestly deprecate the threatened closing of the Invalid establishment. As Sir George Pollock deposed before the Lords, it has often been grossly abused, but so have other establishments. Army Head Quarters and the doctors between them, ought to be able to prevent gross abuses. Invalid officers ought to be employed, as they usually have been at Madras and Bombay, in duties commensurate with their powers. It is by leaving them as gentlemen at large that malingering is encouraged. Our objection to the abrogation of the establishment is on the double ground that present incumbents have a sort of right to its advantages, and that it is a safe outlet for incapables. This latter is surely a substantial reason for its maintenance. What matter whether a man be unwilling or unable, so that he *do not perform* his duty. His disease may be real, though not apparent. It is indeed a grievous disease to prefer idleness and inaction to moderate work. It is surely then better to shelve such diseased gentlemen in *small* civil posts requiring only an hour or two's daily work,* than to have them at the head of Companies or Regiments. In garrison duty with veterans, commanded by good officers, they may also earn their

* Few such sinecures exist in India, but our argument is that there *are* quasi-civil posts, which indifferent soldiers may creditably fill. Pay and Pension and Post offices are among them.

bread. We pray then the authorities to let the Invalids stand, but to employ them as above suggested. The alternative is to allow Invalid Officers to cumber the regular ranks. Commanding officers are men with bowels, and such men will not drive respectable incompetents, with families, out of their corps to starvation. The pension establishment, in lieu of the Invalids, would be starvation to many.

But we have a more substantive proposal to make. A scheme for an Unattached List for the armies of India, prepared with a view to relieve the service from the weight of seniority, now lies before us, and *as far as it goes*, it seems well suited to effect the object. We therefore notice it at length.

First, let us glance at the measures which have been adopted by the Court of Directors during the last twenty-five years, to improve the condition of their officers.—In 1832 the Court expressed themselves desirous of remedying the then stagnant state of promotion, and of providing for the comfort of their officers on retirement. They intimated their willingness cordially to encourage the institution of retiring funds, and informed Government that they were prepared to bear the increased charge of retired pay that would be consequent upon the establishment of funds at the three Presidencies. They sanctioned the remittance of the retired officers' annuities through their Treasury, at the rate of two shillings the Sicca Rupee, and the grant of six per cent. per annum, on the balances of the several funds. The number of retirements, however, was limited to 24 per annum for the three presidencies, and the amount of the annuities to be given in each year was fixed at £7750.

Schemes for retiring funds were prepared, but none were approved of. After waiting a reasonable period, the Court resolved themselves to provide for the object contemplated, by enlarging the retiring regulations. This was effected in 1836. Officers were then, for the first time, permitted to retire after certain fixed periods of service instead of, as formerly, according to their rank. In 1837 these new regulations were still further enlarged, and a Colonel's pension was sanctioned for all officers,

whatever might be their rank, after 32 years of actual service in India; Lieutenant Colonel's pension after 28 years, Major's pension after 24 years, and Captain's pension after 20 years. This enlargement of the retiring regulations was not productive of any real advantage to the service. Mr. Philip Melvill, in his evidence before the Lords in 1852, says—

"The first and great effect (of the new system of retirement) has been to soothe the feelings of the officers with regard to the rate of their retiring pension; they know that however unfortunate they may be as compared with others in regimental rise, a fixed rate of pension is secured to them; the healing effect of this change has been most beneficial."

He further says,

"The number of retirements is increasing as a necessary consequence of the additions made from time to time to the number of European officers, but the per centage is much the same; it is less than two per cent. from all causes, whether retiring on full or half pay, or resigning without any pay, and it has been much the same for the last thirty years."

He gives the number of officers who are entitled to retire on full pay at 1098, of whom 557 are entitled to retire on the pay of a rank superior to that which they had actually attained. The aggregate establishment of European officers in 1834 he states to have been 4084, and 5142 in 1852.

We give below an abstract* return showing the number of officers who have retired from the Bengal Army for the twenty

* Abstract Return of retirements in the Bengal army from 1834 to 1853, showing the branch of the service to which the retired officers belonged.

	Colonels.	Lieutenant Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.
Artillery, ...	0	10	12	21
Engineers, ...	0	4	3	1
Cavalry, ...	0	3	6	27
Infantry, ...	0	33	60	169
Invalids, ...	0	4	21	32
Irregular Cavalry unattached, ...	0	0	0	1
Ordnance Commissariat Department, ...	0	0	0	1
	0	54	102	252

years commencing with 1834 and ending with 1853. The retirements in the Artillery and Engineers and in the Medical service are more numerous in proportion, than those in the Cavalry and Infantry. This is caused, no doubt, by the existence of retiring funds in those branches of the service. In 1849 a fund called "the Majors' Bonus Fund" was established in the Infantry of the Bengal Army, and existed until the end of 1851. It offered no fixed bonus on retirement to Lieutenant Colonels, nor was there any certainty that a bonus would be available at all to a Lieutenant Colonel wishing to retire It therefore fell to the ground.

The "Unattached Senior List" scheme now before us, is more of the nature of a superannuation fund than of one of mere purchase. Unlike the superannuation funds of the Civil and Medical Services it does not propose to remove the Annuitants from the service altogether, but simply raises them as it were a step, to make way for others; leaving their services available to the Government, if they have any physique remaining. But we must let the proposal speak for itself.

It sets out by showing the average length of service on promotion of the Infantry officers of the armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, in October, 1853, which are as follows:—

	Colonels.	Lieut.-Cols.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.
Bengal,	43.76	32	28.03	13.42	4.74
Madras,	39.39	31.32	26.53	12.80	4.33
Bombay,	39.29	31.23	27.78	12.24	4.60

The average ages, therefore, of officers, assuming that they entered the army at 17, must be, Colonels on promotion to that grade, 58 years; Lieutenant Colonels, 48 years; Majors, 44 years; Captains, 29 years; and Lieutenants, 21 years. The length of service of the junior officers on promotion varies very considerably. In the Bengal army there were in 1853, Majors who, on promotion, had served but 18 years, and Majors of 35 years' service. In Madras the most fortunate Major of Infantry was promoted in 14 years, and in Bombay in 13 years. The most unfortunate officers of that grade, in those presidencies, were

of 34, and 33 years' service respectively. Amongst the Captains of the three armies, last promoted, the most fortunate were of 7, 8, and 9 years' standing, those who were most unfortunate, had been subalterns 26, 20 and 17 years. In Bengal, the average rate of promotion from grade to grade, is given as follows:—

	Years.	Months.
Ensign to Lieutenant, ...	... 4	10
Lieutenant to Captain, ...	... 9	10
Captain to Major, ...	...11	9
Major to Lieut. Colonel, ...	... 5	10
Lieut. Colonel to Colonel, ...	... 10	2
Total years, ...	...42	5

which corresponds very nearly with the average length of service of the Colonels of the Bengal army as given before.

In order to better this wretched state of promotion, it is proposed "that a certain number of the senior Colonels of each branch, be placed yearly on an unattached list, and promotions made in their room, as in the case of death vacancies."

To carry out this proposal it is suggested that a fund be formed somewhat similar to the Annuity Fund of the Civil Service or to the Medical Retiring Fund. The chief difference is that the army retirements would be by strict seniority, and not by voluntary withdrawal, as in the services above named. To exhibit the working of the fund, it is explained with special reference to the Bengal Infantry.

It is proposed, *First*,—That the number of Colonels to be placed yearly on the Unattached senior list shall not exceed nine, or such number as the Court of Directors may sanction.*

Secondly. That the pay proper or British pay, and the Colonel's allowance of the unattached officers, shall be paid as at present by Government, and that promotion to the ranks of Major General, &c. and to the honors of the Bath shall be open to

* For the whole Indian army the number of officers to be placed yearly on the Unattached List would be—

all officers on the Senior list, as in the case of unattached officers in the Royal army.

Thirdly. That the cost of the Senior Unattached List be borne partly by the Government and partly by the Army. The former to defray the amount of British pay of the unattached officers, and the latter to provide annuities for them, equal to their Colonel's allowances.

Fourthly. That the terms of payment of the annuities, payable at the India House to be solicited from Government, be similar to those now granted to the Civil and Medical Services, namely, an exchange of two shillings for the Company's rupee, and interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum on all appropriated capital.

The value of an annuity of £650, (Colonel's allowance) at 6 per cent. is calculated for the various ages from 60 to 76. For the former age, the cost would be Rs. 53,293, and for the latter Rs. 30,914. To provide these annuities it is proposed to levy contributions from the several grades of the service, the chief payments being made by the senior ranks as they gain most by promotion. In the grades of Lieutenant Colonel and Major, a fixed sum is required for each step. The maximum subscription of a Lieutenant Colonel is limited to two months' difference of pay between that grade and the grade of Colonel, that is, to Rs. 500, and the minimum is fixed at $\frac{1}{80}$th of the above sum, or Co.'s Rs. 6-4. All other subscriptions in the grade of Lieutenant Colonel, are in arithmetical proportion to the above sums.

Bengal,	Infantry,	9.	
	Cavalry,	1.153	
	Engineers,	0.461	
	Artillery,	1.384	11.998
Madras,	Infantry,	6.333	
	Cavalry,	0.923	
	Engineers,	0.230	
	Artillery,	0.807	7.293
Bombay,	Infantry,	3.807	
	Cavalry,	0.346	
	Engineers,	0.230	
	Artillery,	0.576	4.959
	Total per annum,		24,250

and according to the standing of the subscriber. The maximum subscription of a Major is limited to one and a half month's difference of pay, viz. to Rs. 300, and the minimum to Rs. 3-12. All junior grades to pay a donation on promotion. Captains on promotion to Major, 8 months' difference of pay, or Rs. 2500. Lieutenants on promotion to Captains, 4 months' difference of pay, or Rs. 500; and Ensigns on promotion to Lieutenant, 2 months' difference of pay, or Rs. 100. These contributions are expected to yield as follows:—

	Rs. As.
Lieut. Colonels, ...	500 + 6—4 × 40 = 20,250
Majors, ...	300 + 3–12 × 40 = 12,150
	For each step, Rs. 32,400
	9
	For nine steps, Rs. 291,600
25 Captains promoted at 2500 is	62,500
40 Lieutenants promoted at 500 is	20,000
50 Ensigns promoted at 100 is	5,000
Yearly Income, Co's. Rs.	3,79,100

This sum will insure nine annuities yearly, to Colonels above the age of 69 years, or seven annuities, should the ages of the annuitants be below 69, but not under 60. The total payments that would be required from any one officer, in passing from Ensign to Colonel, would be

As Lieutenant on promotion, ...	100
As Captain on promotion, ...	500
As Major on promotion, ...	2,500
While passing through the grade of Major, ...	4,404
While passing through the grade of Lieut. Colonel,...	10,125
Total Co.'s Rs. ...	17,629

Under the present system, the average period of service in the grade of Lieutenant Colonel, is 10 years and 2 months, which

gives $7\frac{3}{4}$ steps a year as the rate of promotion: by adding 8 steps to the above, a Lieutenant Colonel would pass through that grade in 5 years. Majors are at present 5 years and 10 months in passing from Major to Lieutenant Colonel: eight additional steps per annum, would push them through the grade of Major in 3 years and 7 months. Ensigns are on an average, 25 years 5 months in attaining the rank of Major regimentally. Eight additional line steps per annum, would be equal to one regimental step in ten years. The regimental officer would therefore gain two regimental steps by the line promotion in his run to Major, more than he does at present, and for his greatly accelerated promotion would pay but Rs. 3,100.

Such is the scheme before us. Its promised advantages are so great that we cannot imagine any officer refusing it his support. It appears to be free from the objections which have being urged against purchase in Her Majesty's service. No unnecessary supersession of old officers by young and inexperienced boys, whose only recommendation for promotion is their ability to pay for it, would occur. The cost to individuals would not be out of proportion to the increased income that would follow the several payments. The rise would be equally felt by all, and Government would derive even greater benefit than the officers themselves, by having at their disposal in the higher grades, men physically fit for service. The average age of Colonels would not in the course of time, exceed 47 years. Lieut. Colonels would be placed in command of corps at 42, and the lower grades would feel the benefit of a senior list in equal proportion.

During the first years of its existence, the cost of a Senior list to Government would be trifling. The financial result ought not, however, to prevent its adoption, if it offer, as we believe it does, the means of making the armies of India, as regards their European Commissioned officers, really efficient. Supposing the mean duration of the lives of the officers removed to the senior list to be nine years. This will give $9 \times 24 = 216$ annuitants, as the maximum of the senior unattached list for the three Pre-

sidencies. The ultimate cost, therefore, to Government would be

$456\frac{1}{4} \times 216 =$ £98,550

To which add the difference between 4 and 6 per cent. as the donation interest on £9,08,712 the value of 216 annuities, ... £18,174

Making a total of £116,724

or eleven lakhs of rupees a year for the whole Indian army, that is, one hundredth part of the cost of the Military Establishment of India as at present constituted.

We are given to understand that the scheme is before Government. We beg their support. It received the cordial concurrence of the late Commander-in-Chief, and has met with the concurrence of many experienced officers, the letters of several of whom lie before us. We trust that it will receive that consideration from General Anson which the subject deserves.

Let a mixed commission be appointed to enquire into the state of promotion. That now sitting in England will not benefit the Indian army. The system of promotion in India being by seniority alone, requires a separate investigation, and without some such special enquiry we despair of effectual improvement. We fear we have been tedious, perhaps unintelligible. The great importance of the subject demands the time and attention of our readers.

From general, let us return to special necessities. Among the burdens of the army, indeed of the Indian services, are paper forms and returns. They weigh down men's souls. The Medical Department, which has always been a step-child, peculiarly suffers. The Doctor must often neglect his patients, to enable him to send in his papers, and prove why he gave No. 1 three eggs and a chop; and No. 2, a pint of ale and two ounces of brandy. Such things at least are managed better in the Royal army. There a Surgeon enjoys the reasonable confidence due to his position and profession. The East India Company's Doc-

tor is treated as a quasi-peculator. All this must, in a great measure, be imputed to the fact of the service having few influential friends. The Boards have no proper influence, they can retard or prevent ameliorations, but can seldom further good measures. How can a Board of the oldest of the old Surgeons be otherwise? Age is the practical, though not the ostensible qualification. A change in *names*, and nothing more, has been recently effected. Senior and junior members of an effete Board, were converted into a Physician General, a Surgeon General, and an Inspector General, of the *same* Board, with identically the *same* duties. The Inspector General inspects no one! In the Royal army the titles and duties are more appropriate; one Director General supervises all, and a right good supervisor Dr. Andrew Smith seems to have been, notwithstanding the abuse heaped on him last year. If others had evinced half his forethought, and had done their duty as he did his, many of the dreadful tales of 1854-55 would have been spared. Inspectors General are as Indian Superintending Surgeons. Deputy Inspectors are Superintending Surgeons of Divisions, a rank and office much wanted in India, in the field, if not in quarters. All these appointments go by age, indeed almost by incompetency. The *form* of selection has, in two cases only, been gone through. Men like Kennedy, Dempster and James McRae are selected for *war service*. They evince indomitable energy, cool courage, and great skill. Their operations are carried on under fire. They stand fast when crowds of fighting men break through their doolies, and over their amputating tables. They endeavour to make up for the misconduct of others. What is their reward? A bare mention in the Gazette, with the crowd who have, as above hinted, roughly interfered with their duties; no honors, no rewards await them on return of peace; they sink to regimental charges. We are wrong. Jemmy Thompson was, in his old age, knighted, and three or four Surgeons, for past services, were made Companions of the Bath. These inaugurations were somewhat akin to the recent creation of Field Marshals in honor of Sebastopol. All this is very bad. The man who works, who hazards his own life

to preserve others, whatever be his position or department, should be honored, and otherwise rewarded, and that *promptly*. There ought to be special professional rewards. Men like McRae and Dempster ought to be Knights of the Bath, and be placed in positions putting them above pecuniary care. The former good man and good Surgeon has several sons, and cannot get one of them into the Service in which he has behaved so well and ably!! True, he was specially thanked after the second Punjab campaign, and told that *no* man in the whole army of twenty-five thousand men had done the State better or more useful service; but for years he remained unrewarded. The fact is, that, as in the Royal service, there is little if any professional stimulus or reward for the practical Surgeon. Lord Dalhousie, just previous to departure, as far as lay in his power, did McRae tardy justice in placing him at the head of the Calcutta Medical College.

We might name many Surgeons, far down in the list, who merit special reward, and yet are unrewarded. Dr. John Murray of Agra can hardly be said to be unrewarded, but his reward and position are the private fruits of his public and private ability and energy. The late cholera crisis at Agra bears witness to all. His case at Aliwal so peculiarly exemplifies our argument that we must narrate the circumstances. Murray was then Assistant Surgeon attached to the Troop of Horse Artillery. Heaps of wounded lay around, but there was no Field Surgeon, neither were there sufficient amputating instruments. Several large boxes, however, full of all requisites, were lying at the Post Office, addressed to the Superintending Surgeon at Ferozepore eighty miles distant. No one dared open them. The Post Master probably objected to such *felony*. Murray unable to inspirit his seniors, went at the boxes like a man; no, like a woman, like Miss Nightingale at the Balaclava store room. Hatchet in hand, he got out saws, knives, plasters, lint and tourniquets; told his brethren to help themselves, each giving a receipt for what he took: (the Canny Scot here peeps out.) He then went to Sir Harry Smith and got him to name a Field

Surgeon; but the nominee refused the responsibility. Murray then accepted it himself, worked hard, got the wounded under cover, and doubtless saved many lives. What was his reward? Why that the Auditor General deducted his Horse Artillery pay, and refused to pass his Field Surgeoncy allowance, on account of some informality,—perhaps, because he was an Assistant Surgeon. The essential part of the story we know to be correct. He did the work, and was thereby out of pocket.

We have also a story of a different sort to tell. About that same period, an old Surgeon arrived within a few miles of where lay nearly a thousand sick and wounded soldiers, belonging to a Brigade to which only a single Surgeon or Assistant was present for each regiment. He came to be Superintending Surgeon, but could not take up his new office, pending some arrangement. How did he pass the interval? Why, in entire idleness, a march or more from the sufferers, although he was urged to lend a hand! We can vouch for this fact. It occurred under our own eyes. Yet Murray lost his pay by his exertions, and is now simply a Civil Surgeon; while his senior who thus acted, never suffered in pocket more than in feeling by his cruel apathy, and is now comfortably out of the service.

The Medical Staff of the army is altogether insufficient, and hitherto it has not been well supported by the recently appointed class of Sub-Assistant Surgeons. The move in their favour was a good one, but has not yet ripened to good fruit. We are well pleased that assistant surgeoncies are now open to natives of India; but for some years, it will be moral, not mental, capability that will be found most deficient. In no profession are conscientiousness and high moral worth more required, than in the Physician and Surgeon. More native Doctors are greatly wanted, and those in the service have insufficient motives for exertion. Some of them are most deserving men. A few can operate for cataract, extract calculi, &c. We strongly recommend grades being established, rising on strict examination, from present rates of 25 and 30 Rs. to 50, 70, and 80 Rs. a

month. Also that schools for the professional education of such persons, be established at Bangalore, Poonah and Lahore, as already exist at Agra and Hyderabad.

Pay should also be proportioned to work and responsibility with the higher classes. Every Assistant Surgeon has, on arrival, to do duty on Subaltern's pay, with an European Regiment or at the Presidency General Hospital. His aim is accordingly to move as soon as possible. Some stay hardly a month, and are then comfortably settled in Civil stations or in the Hills. Others are knocked about from regiment to regiment. We have known an instance of a young Assistant Surgeon, being eighteen times moved within as many months, ending with having to take a wing of a European regiment two hundred miles in the months of May and June, after having just brought a similar detachment, a similar march in April. We recollect another young Medico dying of heat and exposure, when similarly employed. The Assistant Surgeon with a European regiment, has exactly the same duty to perform as the Surgeon, the same responsibility *for his portion* of the Corps. He is not like a Subaltern under minute orders. He acts every hour in matters of life and death on his own responsibility. He should receive, at least, the same staff pay as if in charge of a native Corps, and thus have a motive for remaining at his more responsible post. At an apparent first expense, money would thus be saved, inasmuch as valuable lives, now sacrificed by changes and by inexperience, would be preserved. Constant changes do no one good; they damp all zeal and vitally hinder all efficiency.

Medical officers in charge of corps should have full authority, however, to *draw* for all necessaries for the sick. Thus trusted and sufficiently supplied with European medicines, which is not always the case at present, they would endeavour to keep down expense by using indigenous drugs, many of which are valuable and all of which are cheap, and procurable in every bazar. Surgeons should be assisted by efficient well-paid Stewards, as is the case in the Bombay Army. They should not be teased

with mere business details about bread, sago, saucepans, and flannel gowns. It should be quite sufficient in such matters for them to satisfy the Superintending Surgeon that they have not wasted the public money. Dooly-bearers and other hospital servants should all be enrolled, well-paid, and eligible for pensions; their not being so has cost many a wounded man his life. The scum of the earth will go under fire when there is a pension for heirs. Non-combatants can hardly be expected to expose themselves without such provision. Mulelitters, Horse Ambulances are much required on service. Every corps should have *two* educated medical officers, European corps *four*. We remember an officer proposing to *prosecute* Government for putting his precious limbs into the charge of a very worthy and deserving man who, however, was only an Apothecary. On the other hand we knew another who preferred the Apothecary to the Doctor.

Our remarks on this division of our subject have been somewhat full, because we deeply feel its importance both to humanity and to the Government's good name. Every European and Anglicised Native in India, is a Missionary. Each individual has the opportunity, within his sphere, of doing great good or great evil; of setting a good or a bad example. He is a light on a hill. Surgeons are specially so. The Subaltern deals with a hundred men, the Doctor with a thousand, and if he have a spark of philanthropy, will minister extra-officially to hundreds of others. Some do to thousands. Such men are ministers of mercy to the most wretched; give light to the blind; relieve the leper, heal the sick, and greatly smooth the path of the aged to the grave. They should be cordially assisted by Government. Every medical man should have a carte-blanche to open dispensaries for the poor, under check, as to medicines, *only* of their immediate professional superiors.

The truth of our sentiments as to the prospects of Indian army doctors, is demonstrated by the fact that the candidates for employ at all the recent examinations in London, have been hardly as numerous, as the vacancies awaiting them. The well

educated young doctors of England have discovered the East India Company's Service *not* to be the best field for talent and energy.

Did space permit, we should have much to say on the morality of the Indian army. The native portion gives no trouble. No Soldier ever existed more patient, more sober, more obedient than the Hindoo sepoy.

The Hindustani Mahommedan has more energy but is scarcely less tractable under a firm but considerate Commandant; both classes offer examples for any army. A petty theft, an occasional religious brawl, and a less frequent murder, originating in revenge, form the full catalogue of serious crime. In some regiments years glide by without a necessity for severe punishment.

The European soldier is a different creature, and requires a stricter discipline. The day of great severity has happily passed away; the day when the remedy for every error was the lash. The law of kindness has however yet to be tried. Let British soldiers be dealt with as reasonable beings. Relieve them from espionage, keep them strictly to their duty, but let them have all reasonable indulgence when off duty. Let Jacob's scheme be tried with European soldiers, as with native horsemen, with rifles, and with cannon. We are glad again to quote Jacob's words:—

"The attempt to govern English soldiers by fear of bodily pain, is as wise as is the cramping of our men's bodies by absurd clothing and accoutrements. * * * * Appeal to the highest and noblest faculties of man."

Jacob thinks that fifty thousand *elite* English peasantry and yeomen in the ranks, treated, and trained, and armed on rational principles, "would be a match for a world in arms." Again we go very far with Colonel Jacob, and heartily wish he were "the Lord Panmure" of India.*

* Since the first part of this Essay was in type we have fallen upon the following extract from the *Times* relative to the efficiency of the Enfield Rifle and its advantages over Artillery. This experiment goes far to support Colonel Jacob's views on

Barrack married life is one of the greatest Military difficulties. The expense of keeping and moving large numbers of women, must always be a bar to the positive encouragement of matrimony. On the other hand, the improved health and steadiness of married men, should be considered in all calculations of expense, and should at least modify its discouragement. We agree cordially with a recent Bombay reviewer,* that "the percentage system of indecency, and the rejection of all beyond the percentage (six, on embarkation,) should at once be knocked on the head."

With him we urge that whatever be the number of women allowed, they should be cared for and dealt with as *Christian females.* At present, they are hardly allowed to be respectable; they are not treated as if they were. A shawl, a bit of cloth, separates families. Obscene language ever rings in their ears, obscene sights are constantly before their eyes. The result is too often what might be expected, and then the cry is "the nasty creatures, the hypocrites, the liars." That some respectable women do *live and die* in the barracks *is* a standing miracle. Great should be their reward!

On board-ship and at depots, where most attention is required,

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this subject, more especially when it is considered that Jacob's Rifle is a more deadly and larger ranging piece than the Enfield Rifle.

"An interesting experiment took place lately at the School of Musketry at Hythe. Some condemned tumbrils and gun limbers having been lately procured from Woolwich, on Monday morning last one of each of these was taken to the target practice ground. To the tumbril were attached six horses with riders made of framework, covered with canvas, and stuffed with straw; the whole the size of life. About the gun-carriages were stuffed figures representing men unlimbering and bringing the gun into action. At a distance somewhat beyond 600 yards from them, about 60 of the men under instruction at the School of Musketry, were drawn up in two divisions, the one extended in skirmishing order, the other supporting. One round was first fired by the front rank only of the skirmishing party which may have consisted of about 20 men, and the result was that a bullet had passed through almost every horse, as also through many of the riders and men employed at the gun. The support was then ordered up to reinforce skirmishers, and the whole fired three or four rounds in skirmishing order, which completely riddled horses, riders and footmen. The party was then closed on its centre and retired to a distance of above 800 yards, when volleys were fired at the supposed artillery, first by sections, then by sub-divisions, and finally by divisions, the whole with an accuracy perfectly wonderful. The experiment clearly proved that in the hands of well-skilled soldiers—men who, having been taught the principles of rifle-shooting theoretically and practically, have obtained a perfect confidence in their weapon—the Enfield rifle must prove more than a match for any field-guns of the present day."

* Bombay Quarterly, No. vi. Article. Military men and their dress.

least is often given. We have known women sent in open Pattemars, from Scinde to Bombay, in company with bachelor soldiers, without the slightest arrangements for privacy. The hourly scenes at most Depots are too disgusting for description.

The principle of the *Patcherry*, or cottage system, for married soldiers, obtaining in the Bombay Presidency, is good, but is badly carried out. Many of the buildings are altogether unfit to be occupied by Europeans, when the thermometer is 100° and even 110° as is often the case during several months of the year. But the principle is good. Indeed we see not why the *Patcherry* system should not be extended to bachelors of good characters. Let two, four, ten or more friends, under joint responsibility for good conduct, mess and live together, whether in detached cottages, or in partitioned off compartments of present barracks. The sober and the pious man might then, at least, live unmolested by the jeers and ribaldry of his dissipated comrades. We throw out the hint to the Authorities. A distinguished officer who advocates the measure, has told us that in Sinde he has often, in his rides in the jungle, come upon threes and fours of the 78th Highlanders at prayers, or reading their Bible.

Considering their circumstances and temptations, the early age at which they leave home, and the little check on irregularities by regimental authorities, the morality of the officers of the Indian army is good. It is at least on a par with that of corresponding classes in England. It is superior to that of the Colonies. In many quarters there is much earnestness of purpose, much that is thoroughly good. Gross and open immorality is now most rare, as rare as forty years ago it was common. While, however, in many corps there is an excellent tone, while in such the Commandant considers and treats the subalterns as his wards, and while the elder officers set an example of sobriety and gentlemanly conduct to the younger; in others, the whole atmosphere of the Regiment is clouded by opposite influences. The proceedings of Courts Martial, as occasionally published,

let the public behind the scenes in such matters. And what more uncertain and even whimsical, than the fiats of such Courts? A Lieutenant Barnes at Bombay is acquitted of blame for virtually declining to do duty. A Major O'Grady at Madras, is "severely reprimanded" for denouncing his Commanding Officer before the young officers of the Mess, as "an old fool" and "a d—d Jackass." Within a few weeks of these two awards, Lieutenant Patterson, a young officer of previously unstained reputation, is dismissed the service for an act of gross violence certainly, but perpetrated on the impulse of the moment, under gross provocation. We are of opinion that two of these sentences might, with advantage, have been reversed, and that the award on Lieutenant Barnes was erroneous. He was undoubtedly guilty of the crime of which he was charged, however he may have been provoked to it, and doubtless he was grievously provoked.

Although then the army is not so bad as Sir Charles Napier and some recent writers depict it, there is, in many quarters, much that needs reform. H. M. 46th Regiment prove that full messes are neither the most moral, nor the most gentlemanly; but in India, as a rule, the largest messes are the most respectable. Major O'Grady set a bad example to his younger brethren, but it is where a number of idle young fellows get together, without the restraining voice of their seniors, that vulgar quarrels and immoralities mostly occur.

The remedy, *again*, is efficient Commanders to regiments. At whatever cost to the State, and at whatever pain to individuals, let there be a *soldierly* man of *good sense* at the head of every Corps, and let his authority be supported. Better that his authority be in excess, than that he should lack power. For the rest, and from the higher authorities, a medium course between that of Sir William Gomm and Sir Charles Napier, is needed. The violent tirades, the hollow and insincere compliments, the biting and damning invectives of Sir Charles, are not wanted. Neither Europeans nor Natives require *severity*, they *do* require *firmness*. The soft showers, the kindly and well

meant platitudes of Sir William, are therefore as little to the purpose as were the thunder torrents of Sir Charles.*

Judicious without afflictive discipline is required, such as, while reminding officers that they must always be gentlemen, will equally impress on gentlemen, that they are and must be soldiers. In Bengal the latter reminder is most necessary. We will not assume the invidious task of deciding where the other is most wanted; in what quarter Mr. Arnold's and Mrs. Mackenzie's caps best fit.

Such discipline and such surveillance as we advocate, will be approved by most good officers. Throughout the services the materials are excellent. Some of the best working blood of England is in India. The sons of the middle classes that have won and raised England's Oriental empire, will maintain it against all comers and all odds. The task may be easy or hard, according as each individual performs his part.

As one example is at all times more effective than many homilies, we commend to our readers the "Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, H. M. 97th Regiment" who, after a short but brilliant career, died a hero's death in the trenches before Sebastopol. Stern soldiers wept at his death: many recorded their lamentations. One sentinel wrote "as our Adjutant, he was loved by every one in the regiment, and as Captain of No. 4 Company, he was more so by his Company."

Officers of all grades and arms from Lords Panmure and Raglan downwards, lamented his fall. One, a kindred soul,† who at the age of twenty was Adjutant of the 97th regiment, and twice fought his way into the Redan on the fatal 8th of September, and was there found, "far advanced on that red ground lying by a cannon, in the sleep of death," thus wrote of Vicars the day after the death of the latter in a private letter to his *own* mother.

* Each General, in his parting address, well epitomized his own administration. Each evidently wrote his own farewell greeting.

† Lieut. Douglas MacGregor, H M. 97th Regiment, Nephew of General Paul MacGregor, and Cousin of Lieut. Colonel George MacGregor, Bengal army.

"Such a death became such a life,—and such a soldier. The most gallant, the most cheerful, the happiest, the most universally respected officer, and the most consistent Christian soldier, has been taken from us by that bullet." * * * * "I had fondly hoped that we should live to go home, and that I might bring my dear departed friend to you, and proudly show him as a specimen of what a model soldier should be." * * * "Noble fellow! he rushed in front of his men, and his powerful arm made more than one Russian fall." * * * "How he fearlessly visited and spoke to the men in the worst times of the cholera; but as he told me, he got his reward, for the soldier's dying lips besought blessings on his head." * * * "Our men got great praise for the fight last night, but *who would not go any where* with such a leader?"

Yes, we can vouch to all who will "go and do likewise," that such a man, the soldier's friend, the brave in battle, the gentle in peace, will be followed to the death by every British soldier and by every Sepoy. Sympathy, kindness and gallantry are no where more appreciated than in the Indian army.

We are happy to perceive that, for once, peace has not thrown the home authorities off their guard. There can be no lasting peace. The time has not come. The war of principles has yet to be fought. Russia *must* have her revenge and America *must* try her strength, her gigantic frigates, and her ten inch guns: we are accordingly delighted to observe that the *peace* establishment is to be 140,000 men, on a footing admitting of speedy increase: above all that twenty thousand Artillery-men are to be maintained.

We regret, however, that nothing was done on the treaty of peace, to control Russia in Asia. We are aware that there were difficulties; but the right of having a Consul at Meshed and trading vessels on the Caspian, might have been obtained. Information on Central Asian matters is greatly wanted. Insensibly and almost by coup-de-main, the Russian empire has been extended for *thirteen thousand miles* across the whole Continent of Europe and Asia, and for twenty degrees over America. Curbed to the south and west, Russia has not waited an hour to push forward her soldiers, her sailors, her savants, her engineers and her labourers to the Caspian, to the Aral, and even to

the mighty Amoor. Her old policy will now, more vigorously than ever, be pursued, and though the dream of a century will never be realized, her position in Persia will speedily be strengthened, and posts will be established in Central Asia and even in China. Bomarsunds, if not Sebastopols, will arise at Orenburgh, Astrakan and Astrabad, perhaps even at Balkh and Herat. The wave has receded, to return with redoubled force, though at a different angle.

Such has ever been and will be Russia's policy. There will be no Russian invasion of India, nor probably will the tribes be impelled on us. The latter now understand our strength; Russia has long understood both our strength and our weakness. There will be no foolish raid *as long as India is united, in tranquillity and contentment,* under British rule. Russia well knows that such an attempt would only end in the entire destruction of the invaders. India *has been* invaded some forty times, but always by small armies, acting in communication with domestic parties. A small Russian army could not make good its way through Affghanistan; a large Army would be starved there in a week. The largest Army that could come with Affghanistan and Persia in its train, would be met at the outlets of the only two practicable passes, and while attempting to debouche would be knocked to pieces. A hundred thousand Anglo-Indian troops might, with the help of railroads, be collected at each pass in as few days, as it would take an *unopposed* Russian Army weeks to traverse them. Hundreds of eight inch guns would there be opposed to their Field pieces. The danger then is imaginary. Herat is no more the key to India than is Tabreez, or Khiva, or Kokan, or Meshed. The chain of almost impenetrable mountains is the real key to India. England's own experience in the western passes, and in the Crimea, have proved the absurdity of the tale of Russian invasion. No, the dream is idle: England's dangers are in India, not without; and we trust that it will be *in India* they will be met, and that there will be no *third* Affghan campaign. Such a move would be playing Russia's game. We are safe while we hold our ground and do our duty. Russia may

teaze, annoy and frighten us by her money and by emissaries. She may even do us mischief, but she will never put foot in Hindostan.

What America may venture, sixty years hence, when her population numbers a hundred millions, and when vessels of ten thousand tons ply the ocean, is another, and may possibly be considered a wilder question. But that America *will* strive for Oriental Sovereignty is certain. She is welcome; there will be room for centuries, for the whole Saxon race. Let England work out her destiny, let her govern India for the people and, as far as possible, by the people, and neither England nor India need fear Russia or America, or both combined.

To recapitulate. Our object is to direct attention to Wellington's dying legacy, and to our greatest living warrior's equally solemn enunciation,

"Woe to the nation that forgets the military art! Woe to that nation, —woe to that nation which heaps up riches, but which does not take the precaution to defend them,"

Such were the impressive and truthful words of the hero of Kars, on the day he landed in England; such the warning addressed by him to the thousands who hailed his return. And the lesson his words inculcate, based as it is on a mournful experience, cannot be too often or too earnestly urged upon the minds of those who truly and unselfishly love their country. Let us not for ever learn *only* from disaster. Let us use our opportunities.

To conclude: Our recommendations are to have one strong fortress in every province, and a redoubt in *every* cantonment. All may be of mud, at very moderate expense. No man, black or white, to be permitted merely to cumber a muster roll, a cantonment, or a battle field. Only the young and middle aged to be in the *service* ranks. Elderly men to be in garrison, and in veteran corps, *commanded by hale and efficient soldiers.* Old men to retire to their homes. Similar rules for European officers and soldiers, as for natives, without favor or affection. It is sheer madness, on the plea of economy, mercy, or aught else, to

keep inefficients, from whatever cause, in the *service* ranks. It is worse, it is a crime to keep such men in authority, high or low. Their fitting places are the Invalids, the pension list, the clubs, their English hearths.

Legitimate outlets for military energy and ability in all ranks, and among all classes, *must* be given. The minds of Subadars and Resseldars, Sepoys and Sowars, can no more with safety, be for ever cramped, trammelled, and restricted as at present, than can a twenty foot embankment restrain the Atlantic. It is simply a question of time. The question is only whether justice is to be gracefully conceded or violently seized. Ten or twenty years *must* settle the point.

Our view is also that regiments *professedly* officered by Europeans should be *really* so, that officers should *really* do the duty they profess to do, that the work should not be left to Havildar Majors and Pay Orderlies. We accordingly propose that at least two European officers per company, be posted to each of such regiments; that there be no native officers, unless indeed one Anglicised Jemadar (as Ensign) be attached to each company, to learn his duty as a Captain, (Subadar) when he may be transferred as such to a regiment officered by natives.

We further propose that certain Cavalry and Infantry regiments be wholly, and others partially, officered by natives.

That the veteran service be made one of honour and comparative ease.

That honorary rewards be increased, and that pensions be given earlier, and in particular cases, on a more liberal scale. Whether pensions be by deferred annuities, or, as at present, there can be no better safety valve to the service than the pension establishment. Comparatively few attain it; all look to it. The vista is long, and the cottage in the distance *very* small; it is nevertheless the day and the night dream of thousands. To the native soldiers, *home* is not, as with Europeans, a simple resting place after life's task is done; it is the return to, and union with, the relatives and friends of earlier years. The whole domestic existence of the sepoy is limited to the few years of

pensioned and furlough life. His peculiar customs deprive him of such happiness while in the ranks.

The scientific branches of the service to be kept complete on the most liberal scale. This is the best economy. Sappers and Artillery-men, will, on an emergency, make fair Infantry, but Sepoys cannot reciprocate the obligation, nor is it perhaps expedient that they should be taught.

The numerical strength of the European troops should never be less than one-fourth of the Regular Native Army. One-third would be a better proportion. Year by year, the proportions have decreased, though the contrary would have been the wiser policy. Familiarity nowhere engenders reverence. A hundred years ago a company was looked on by the enemy, as a regiment is now, and yet at Seringapatam, the proportion of Europeans was very much greater than it has been during more recent wars.

The arms and accoutrements of all, but especially of the Europeans should be of the very best description. Our Infantry arms at Sebastopol were better than those of the Russians. The minie rifle probably saved Inkerman, as the change from six to nine-pounders may have saved Waterloo.

A staff corps to be formed of officers who have served from two to four years with their own arm, and for at least *one* with every other. The staff not to be *exclusively* drawn from this corps. Examinations to be required for *every post*, and for *every grade*, up to given points. Staff corps men, as others, to undergo such examinations. Literary attainments to be slightly considered; *Military science, rather than mathematics* to be the desideratum. In short, strictly *practical and professional* knowledge with soldierly bearing, and good characters to be the main points. We are quite sensible of the difficulty; the public service, not the welfare of individuals, is the point at issue.

Another of our suggestions is quietly and unostentatiously to oppose class to class, creed to creed, and interest to inter We have also argued that this can be best done in t not as at present, by a mixture of sects in each Re

by separate Regiments each consisting chiefly, though *not entirely*, of a single sect.

Annual "Chobhams," and "Aldershotts" to be established at each Presidency, where officers, soldiers and sepoys, should be taught to work, *as before an enemy;* to make gabions and fascines; to dig and delve; to throw up works; to attack and defend them. In short for two or three months of every year, soldiers should have the opportunity, as far as practicable, of learning what war is, and should also learn to take care of themselves in the field in all weather.

On somewhat the principles above enunciated, and with one *unmistakeable Pay Code* for all India, the army* might be made doubly efficient for war or for peace, at an expense hardly exceeding half a million in excess of present expenditure. Officers would no longer doubt their own men,† the men would have less reason to complain of their officers. The latter would do what they hardly now profess to do, they would look into the details of their regiments and companies, not leave them to native officers whom they despise, or to non-commissioned natives who have no legitimate authority. Each man high or low, in each class of regiments, would have his place and his duty. Each man would accordingly have more contentment. The staff appointments from corps being few, and regimental commands being earlier obtainable, and *given by merit* as much as by seniority, there would be fewer and less loud aspirations for Staff employ. The contentment of the officers would alone go far to content the sepoys. Pleasure and pain are catching. The murmurs of messes quickly reach the Quarter Guard, as do contrary feelings. We conclude with our oft repeated remark, that it is not a numerically strong army, but a contented one with efficient officers, that

* We have purposely left untouched the question of *one* army or *three* armies, or of a general amalgamation with the Royal army. But in whatever hands the Indian the remains, its officers should be available for service *throughout the world.* All resting arguments that apply to the necessity of a *large* field for selections for Indian union with apply equally to the Royal troops. Free employment *for all,* and liberty between the Queen's and Company's troops, should be the rule.

domestic *especially to such times as those of the Madras Mutiny.*

is wanted. Our duty is now done, let others do theirs, and a reproach, possibly a danger, will have been removed.

The announcement that the Oude authorities are disposed to dispense with the service of the regular regiments for Lucknow, tempts a few further words of caution. The earliest days of annexation are not the safest. Be liberal, considerate and merciful, but be prompt, watchful and even, *quietly* suspicious. Let not the loose characters floating on the surface of society, especially such society as Lucknow, be too far tempted or trusted. Wellington's maxim of "keeping the troops out of sight," answered for England; it will *not* answer for India. There must be *trusty* bayonets, within sight of the *understandings* if not of the *eyes* of Indian subjects, before they will pay willing obedience, or any revenue. Of late years the wheels of Government have been moving very fast. Many native prejudices have been shocked. Natives are now threatened with the abolition of polygamy. It would not be difficult to twist this into an attack on Hinduism. At any rate the faster the vessel glides, the more need of caution, of watching the weather, the rocks, and the shoals.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

THE KINGDOM OF OUDE.

[*First Published in* 1845.]

No portion of India has been more discussed in England than Oude. Affghanistan and the Punjab are modern questions, but for half a century, country gentlemen have been possessed of a vague idea of a province of India, nominally independent in its home relations, but periodically used as a wet nurse to relieve the difficulties of the East India Company's finances.* The several attacks that were made on Warren Hastings, Lord Wellesley, and the Marquis of Hastings, have all served to keep up the interest of the Oude question. Scarcely had the case of the plundered Begums and flagellated eunuchs been decided, and the folios of evidence elicited by Warren Hastings' trial been laid before the public, than proceedings scarcely less voluminous appeared regarding the territorial cessions extorted by Lord Wellesley. These were followed in turn by attacks on Lord Hastings' loan measures, with the several vindications of his Lordship's policy. We are among those unfashionable people who consider that politics and morals can never be safely separated; that an honest private individual must necessarily be an honest official, and *vice versâ;* but we confess that we have been staggered by a study of Oude transactions. Most assuredly Warren Hastings, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, Lord Hastings, and Lord Auckland would never have acted in private life, as they did in the capacity of Governors towards prostrate Oude. Lord W. Bentinck, and Lords Cornwallis, Minto, and Ellenborough, appear to have been the only Governors-General who did not take advantage of the weakness of that country to dismember it or increase its burthens.

* "The King of Oude's Sauce," has found its way into London shops, and even Charles O'Malley's "Man for Galway" tells us that "The King of Oude is mighty proud."

The earliest offender against Oude was Warren Hastings. Mr. Gleig undertakes to give a true and correct picture of Mr. Hastings' private character and public administration. With the former we have here nothing to do, beyond remarking that the very lax morality of the clerical biographer, when treating of domestic life, vitiates his testimony, and renders his judgment on questions of public justice valueless. Mr. Gleig's theory, moreover, that the wrong which is done for the public good is a justifiable wrong, tends to upset the whole doctrine of right. When he vindicates his hero by asserting that, "if Mr. Hastings was corrupt, it was to advance the interests of England that he practised his corruption," and proceeds in a similar strain of what he seems to consider exculpation, he asperses the illustrious person he would defend, far more than do Mr. Hastings' worst enemies. We have *a higher* opinion of Hastings than his biographer appears to have had, but we have *a very different* opinion from that of Mr. Gleig regarding the duty of a Governor-General. Thorough-going vindication such as Mr. Gleig's does far more injury to the memory of a sagacious and far-seeing, though unscrupulous, ruler like Warren Hastings, than all the vehement denunciations of Mill the historian. Oude affords but a discreditable chapter in our Indian annals, and furnishes a fearful warning of the lengths to which a statesman may be carried, when once he substitutes expediency and his own view of public advantage, for the simple rule of right and wrong. The facts furnished by every writer on Oude affairs, all testify to the same point, that British interference with that Province has been as prejudicial to its Court and people as it has been disgraceful to the British name. To quote the words of Colonel Sutherland, an able and temperate writer, "there is no State in India with whose Government we have interfered so systematically and so uselessly as with that of Oude." He most justly adds, "this interference has been more in favour of men than of measures;" a remark, by the way, applicable to almost every case in which our Government has intermeddled with Native States. It is through such measures that Moorshedabad, Tan-

jore, and Arcot, have perished beneath our hands. Nagpoor we were obliged to nurse for a time; Hyderabad is again "in articulo mortis," and Mysore is under strict medical treatment. At Sattara, we are obliged to put down the puppet we had put up. Kholapore, another principality of our fostering, has, for nearly a twelvemonth, given employment for more troops than its revenues will pay in twenty years. Already, and almost before the ink of the subsidiary treaty is dry, the regular troops at Gwalior have been employed in police duties. The Minister of our selection has had his life threatened; and we are again in the predicament of being pledged to support a Government, whose misdeeds we cannot effectually control. In short, wherever we turn, we see written in distinct characters the blighting influences of our interference.

The only unmixed advantage of despotism is its energy, arising from its indivisibility. An able and virtuous despot may dispense happiness; the same ruler, saddled not only with a Minister but with a Resident, can only diffuse wretchedness. He has no possible motive for exertion. He gets no credit for his good acts, and he is not master in his own country. Much casuistry was expended some years ago, on the defence of the Dewani and double government system, which was at best but one of the poor cloaks of expediency, and was gradually thrown off as our strength increased. The subsidiary and protected system is, if possible, worse. If ever there was a device for insuring mal-government, it is that of a Native Ruler and Minister, both relying on foreign bayonets, and directed by a British Resident. Even if all three were able, virtuous, and considerate, still the wheels of Government could hardly move smoothly. If it be difficult to select one man, European or Native, with all the requisites for a just administrator, where are three who can and will work together to be found? Each of the three may work incalculable mischief, but no one of them *can* do good if thwarted by the others. It is almost impossible for the Minister to be faithful and submissive to his Prince, and at the same time honest to the British Government; and how rarely is the European officer to be found

who, with ability to guide a Native State, has the discretion and good feeling to keep himself in the back-ground—to prompt and sustain every salutary measure within his reach, while he encourages the Ruler and Minister by giving them all the credit—to be the adviser and not the master—to forget self in the good of the people and of the protected Sovereign! Human nature affords few such men, and therefore, were there no other reason, we should be chary of our interference. From Tanjore to Gwalior the system has been tried, and every where has equally failed. In Oude each new reign has required a new treaty to patch up the system. Having little legitimate scope for ambition, the sovereigns have alternately employed themselves in amassing and in squandering treasure. The hoards of Saadut Ally were divided among fiddlers and buffoons: the penurious savings of the late King have been little more creditably employed by his successor: and the Government of Oude, like that of the Deccan, is now as bankrupt in purse as in character. And yet there are men who advocate interference with Native States! Satisfied as we are of the evils of the system, and desirous by a record of the past to offer a beacon for the future, we shall present a brief sketch of Oude affairs, and will then venture to suggest the policy which under existing circumstances, appears fittest for our Government to adopt.

We will first briefly set before our readers a sketch of the kingdom of Oude, as it was and as it is.

Ajoodhya, or Oude, is celebrated in Hindoo legends as the kingdom of Dasaratha, the father of Rama, who extended his conquests to Ceylon and subdued that Island. The Mahomedan invaders at an early period conquered Oude, and it remained, with fewer changes than almost any other province of India, an integral portion of the Mogul empire, until the dissolution of that unwieldy Government. Under the Delhi Kings, the Soubadaree, including what are now the British districts of Goruckpore and Azimghur, comprehended an area about one-fourth greater than the limits of the present kingdom. Abul-fazel states, that "the length, from Sircar Goruckpore to Kinoje, in-

cludes 135 coss; and the breadth, from the northern mountains of Seddehpore to the Soobah of Allahabad, comprises 115 coss."

During the decadence of the Delhi empire, the Vizeers Saadut Khan and Sufder Jung, each employed his power, as minister of the pageant King, to increase the bounds of the Oude viceroyalty. Both cast greedy glances on Rohilcund, and Sufder Jung made many attempts at its acquisition; but it was not till the time of Soojah-oo-doulah that it became subject to Oude. The dominions of that prince, when he first came in contact with the British Government, extended over the greatest portion of Soobah Allahabad, including the districts of Benares and Ghazeepoor. While our troops defended Allahabad and Oude proper, he took advantage of the absence of the Mahrattahs in the Deccan to seize and occupy the middle Doab, or districts of Futtehpoor, Cawnpoor, Etawah, and Mynpooree, close up to Agra. During the ensuing year, Colonel Champion's brigade, by the decisive battle of Kutterah near Bareilly, placed the province of Rohilcund at his feet, and enabled him to seize Furruckabad as a fief. Thus Soojah-oo-doulah not only owed his existence as a sovereign to the clemency, or perhaps to the fears, of his conquerors after the battle of Buxar, but his subsequent accessions of territory were the fruits of British prowess. He left his successor a territory paying annually not less than three millions of money, and capable of yielding double that sum. On the conquest of Rohilcund, in 1774, he at first rented that province at two millions; but it yearly deteriorated, so that not a quarter of that amount was obtained from it when ceded to the British in 1801. The cessions then made were estimated at 1,35,23,474 Rs. or, in round numbers, at one and a third million of money, being above half the Oude possessions; but, by improvement and good management, the ceded districts can scarcely yield, at the present time, less than two and a half millions. The area of the Oude reserved dominions is estimated to contain 23,923 square miles. They are bounded on the North and N. E. by the Nepal mountains; South and S. W. by the River Ganges; East and S. E. by the British districts

of Goruckpore, Azimghur, Juanpoor, and Allahabad; and West by Rohilcund. The kingdom is very compact, averaging about two hundred miles in length by one hundred and twenty in breadth. Lucknow, the capital, in N. Latitude 26° 51′ and Longitude 80° 50′, is admirably situated on the navigable river Goomtee, nearly in the centre of the kingdom. The Oude dominions form an almost unbroken plain. The general flow of the rivers is towards the South East. The Ganges, the Gogra, the Sai, and the Goomtee, are all navigable throughout their respective courses within the Oude territory, but owing to the long unsettled state of the country, and the impositions practised on traders, the three last are little used, and even on the Ganges few boatmen like to frequent the Oude bank, for fear of being plundered in one shape or other. The population is estimated at three millions, four-fifths of whom, perhaps, are Hindoos, and they furnish the best disciplined Infantry in India. Three-fourths of the Bengal Native Infantry come from Oude, and recruiting parties from Bombay are sometimes seen to the East of the Ganges.

A few remarks on the past and present capital of Oude, the only part of their dominions which Indian rulers much regard, will not be out of place here.

The ancient city of Ajoodhya, which either receives its name from the province, or gives its own name to it, must, even from present appearances, have been a place of prodigious extent, though we do not pledge ourselves to the *precise* accuracy of the dimensions given by Abul-fazel, who states its length at 148 coss, and its breadth at 36 coss. Ajoodhya is a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, and is situated on the south side of the river Gogra, in N. Latitude 26° 48′, and E. Longitude 82° 4′. Its ruins still extend along the banks of the stream, till they meet the modern, but already decayed, city of Fyzabad. This last town Soojah-oo-doulah made his capital, and adorned with some fine buildings, but it was abandoned by his successor, *Asoph-oo-doulah, and has consequently fallen into decay, and* bears little trace of any former magnificence. Lucknow, the

present capital, consists of an old and a new city adjoining each other; the former, like other native towns, is filthy, ill-drained, and ill-ventilated. The modern city, situated along the south bank of the river Goomtee, is strikingly different, consisting of broad and airy streets, and containing the Royal Palaces and gardens; the principal Mussulman religious buildings; the British Residency, and the houses of the various English Officers connected with the Court. This part of Lucknow is both curious and splendid, and altogether unlike the other great towns of India, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan. There is a strange dash of European architecture among its oriental buildings. Travellers have compared the place to Moscow and to Constantinople, and can easily fancy the resemblance. Gilded domes, surmounted by the crescent; tall, slender pillars; lofty colonnades; houses that look as if they had been transplanted from Regent Street; iron railings and balustrades; cages, some containing wild beasts, others filled with "strange, bright birds;" gardens, fountains and cypress trees; elephants, camels and horses; gilt litters and English barouches; all these form a dazzling picture. We once observed at Lucknow a royal carriage drawn by eight elephants, and another with twelve horses. Yet, brilliant and picturesque as Lucknow is, still there is a puerility and want of stability about it, characteristic enough of its monarchs. The Shah Nujeef or royal Imam-bara, forms a striking feature in the group of buildings, half Frank, half Asiatic, that meets the eye, after passing through the Room-i-durwaza,* a gateway said to be built on the model of one at Constantinople. The Imam-bara is a lofty and well proportioned building. Hamilton gives the dimensions of the centre room as 167 feet long, by 52 wide, but its contents resemble those of a huge auction room or toy-shop, where the only object is to stop away as much incongruous splendour as possible. Mirrors, chandiliers, gigantic candlesticks, banners, manuscripts, brocades, weapons of all sorts, models of buildings, gaudy pictures, and a thousand other things, all bespeak a ruler who possesses wealth, without know-

* Gate of *Room* or Constantinople.

ing how to employ it. That this is no mere vague assertion our readers will believe, from the fact that Asoph-oo-doulah expended £150,000 sterling on double barrelled guns, a million of money on mirrors and chandeliers, and 160,000 gold mohurs, or £320,000, on a single taziah.*

The Fureed Buksh palace is a place of some interest. In 1837, it was the scene of the only insurrection which has occurred during our connexion with Oude. The event, though recent, is comparatively forgotten, for the tumult was promptly crushed. With less energetic measures there might have been a rehearsal of the Cabul tragedy. On the night of the 7th July, 1837, when Nusseer-oo-deen expired, the Badshahi Begum forcibly placed on the throne the boy, Moona Jan. During the twelve hours' tumult that ensued, the Resident, his suite and the rightful heir to the throne, were all in the hands of an infuriated mob. Armed soldiers with lighted torches and lighted matchlocks in their hands, held possession of the palace, stalked throughout its premises, and spared no threats against the British authorities, if they did not assent to the installation of their creature, Moona Jan. The nearest succour had to come five miles from the cantonment. Five companies of Sepoys, with four guns, however, soon arrived. The Resident managed to join his friends. He then gave the insurgents one quarter of an hour's grace. When that had expired, the guns opened,—a few rounds of grape were thrown into the disorderly mass, who thronged the palace and its enclosures. Morning dawned on an altered scene; the rioters had succumbed or dispersed; the dead were removed; the palace was cleared out; and, by ten o'clock in the forenoon, the aged, infirm, and trembling heir to the crown was seated on the throne that, at midnight, had been occupied by the usurper. The Resident placed the crown on the new King's head, and the event was announced to the people of Lucknow by the very guns which a few hours before had carried death and consternation among the Oude soldiery.

The Fureed Buksh palace is built close to the Goomtee, and

* Model of the Tomb of the Martyr Hoosscin.

viewed from the opposite side of that river, has a very pleasing effect. But within there is nothing to satisfy the eye or the mind. Enormous sums have been expended in decorating the rooms, but all these luxuries give the idea of having been collected from the love of possessing not from the desire of using them. The apartments are so crammed that there is no judging of their height or proportion. The room containing the throne is long and has a dismal appearance. It is laid out after the European fashion, with glass widows and scarlet cloth curtains, but these are dirty, musty and moth eaten. The throne itself must be of great value; it is a large, square seat, raised several steps from the ground. The sides are, if we remember right, of silver, richly chased, and gilt, set with a profusion of precious stones. Of these, many were plundered during the insurrection mentioned above, as they have not been replaced, the throne, with all its splendours, partakes of the prevailing air of incompleteness.

The neighbourhood of Lucknow, still more than its interior, differs from other cities of Hindoostan. At Delhi, Agra, and elsewhere, one is struck with the bleak, desolate aspect of the country up to the very walls. Lucknow, on the contrary, is surrounded by gardens, parks and villas belonging to the King and his nobles. Besides these, there is the fine park and house of Constantia, the property of the late General Martine. The life and death of this soldier of fortune, are illustrative of Indian, and especially of Oude politics. He bequeathed £100,000 to found a school at Calcutta to be called La Martiniere, and a sum nearly equal in amount for a like institution at Lucknow. Martine's will shews his estimate of Saadut Ali's conscience. He dreaded lest his estate of Constantia, where he intended the school to be built, should be seized by the Nawab after his death. A Mussulman might violate property, and even frustrate charitable intentions, but he would reverence a grave. The General, therefore, ordered that his own body should be interred in one of the underground apartments of his house, thus consecrating the whole building as a tomb. The buildings

intended for the Lucknow charitable institution are now, after the lapse of nearly half a century, in progress of erection; and we hope ere long to see the Lucknow Martiniere diffusing the blessings of education through the Oude territory.

The soil of Oude is generally fertile, though light; when properly cultivated and watered, it is capable of producing all crops. Not only are rice, wheat, barley, with the many kinds of vetches and oil plants grown, but opium, sugar-cane, and indigo are produced. From the numerous large rivers and numberless small streams as well as the proximity of water in wells, irrigation, that first necessary to the Indian farmer, is easy and cheap. Indeed, in no division of India has nature done more for the people; in none has man done less. Elsewhere, famine, cholera, and the invader's swords have reduced gardens to wastes; but to no such causes can the progressive deterioration of Oude be attributed. For eighty years the country has not known foreign war; the fertility of the soil and its facilities of irrigation have usually averted from this province the famines that have desolated other parts of the country; and its general salubrity is not to be surpassed by any portion of India. What then has laid waste whole districts, driven the inhabitants to emigration, or, still worse, compelled them, like beasts of prey, to take refuge in the forests, and abandon their habitations to the stranger and to the licensed plunderer? The answer is easily given. A double Government. An irresponsible ruler, ridden by a powerless Proconsul.

It may seem that we are exaggerating the evils of the system. Theoretically, it might be argued that a King, freed from all fear of foreign aggression, secured from domestic insurrection, and commanding a large, and what might be, an unencumbered revenue, would have leisure for the duties of a good ruler, and would make it his ambition to leave some record of himself in the grateful remembrance of his people. Experience, however, proves that slavery, even though its fetters may be concealed or gilded, works the same mischievous effects on nations as on individuals. Independent freedom of action is as necessary to develop the powers of the mind as those of the body. The Ro-

man system very much resembled that which has hitherto prevailed in British India. The Roman Provinces were gradually broken into the yoke. The subject Kings, shorn of their independence, and bereft of all means of good government, were continued for a time, until each voluntarily surrendered his load of care, or until the outraged people called aloud for absorption. That which was the result of a systematic plan with Rome, has arisen chiefly from a fortuitous combination of circumstances with Great Britain. During our weakness, we made treaties that have been a dead weight on our strength. These original arrangements have often dishonoured us, and have generally proved grievous to our protegés. Human nature is much the same in the East as in the West. The same principle holds good with nations as with individuals. The man, whether King or servant, who has no fears, has no hopes. The man who is not called on for exertion must be almost more than mortal if he bestir himself. We see the principle daily exemplified: the child born to competence seldom distinguishes himself in life, while the beggar stripling often reaches the top of the ladder. Subject states and guaranteed rulers, now as of old, verify the same remark; and no better example can be offered than that of Oude. It has had men of more than average ability, and of at least average worth, as rulers and ministers, who, if left to themselves, would have been compelled in self-defence to shew some consideration for the people they governed. Failing to do so, their exactions would have called into play the rectifying principle of Asiatic monarchies, and the dynasty of Saadut Khan would long since have become extinct. But, protected by British bayonets, the degenerate rulers have felt secure to indulge in all the vices generated by their condition; sacrificing alike the welfare of their subjects and the character of the lord paramount.

Our arrangements, in Oude as elsewhere, have been the more mischievous because they have been invariably incomplete. Lord Wellesley's great measure was a most arbitrary one, but, if thoroughly carried out in the spirit in which it was conceived,

would only have injured one individual. Saadut Ali, alone, would have suffered; his subjects would have gained by it. But unhappily in Oude, as in other parts of India, one Governor-General and one Agent decrees and others carry out, or rather fail to carry out, their views. Not only does no systematic plan of action prevail, but no such thing as a general system of policy is recognized. The only portion of Lord Wellesley's treaty that was thoroughly carried out, was that of increasing the subsidy to 135 lakhs, and seizing territory to cover this enormously increased subsidy. In all other points, we played fast and loose, going on the usual see-saw practice which depends so much on the digestion of the local Resident and the policy of the Governor-General of the day. Saadut Ali, according to all report, was an extremely able, and naturally by no means an ill-disposed, man. Learned, intelligent, and studious, he was one of the few rulers of Oude who have been personally capable of managing their country, and yet, practically, he was more meddled with than even his silly predecessor, and very much more so than the silliest of his successors.

The British Government came to the reformation of Saadut Ali's administration with dirty hands. They commenced by depriving him of half his dominions, and could therefore hardly expect that their advice regarding the remainder should be kindly taken. Nor was it so; Saadut Ali's talents were henceforth employed in obtaining all the advantage he could from the Resident's presence, and in procuring from him the use of British troops to collect his revenues, while at the same time, he treated him and his advice with all the neglect and dislike that he dared to shew. The consequence was, that the British Government and its Agent were wearied out, and failed to enforce the very provision of the treaty which, at all hazards, should have been primarily attended to. In the acquisition of one-half the Oude territory we seemed to forget that we had become responsible for the good management of the other half. Having secured our subsidy, we not only abandoned the people of the reserved Oude dominion, but lent our bayonets to fleece them; and Saadut Ali

who, under a different system, might have consecrated his energies to the improvement of his country, lived merely to extract every possible Rupee from his rack-rented people. It is hardly a stretch of imagination to conceive him deliberately blackening the British character by the use he made of their name in revenge for his wrongs, real and supposed. Mr. Maddock has recorded, that "his temper was soured by the perpetual opposition (thus) engendered, and his rule, though vigorous and efficient, was disfigured by cruelty and rapacity."

Such is the present misrule of Oude that, odious as was the revenue system of Saadut Ali, it is now remembered with considerable respect. Doctor Butter repeatedly refers to his reign as the period when there was some law in the land, "but since 'his death, no court of justice has been held by the Nawabs, 'and the Chackledars attend to nothing but finance." Further on he says, "during the reign of Saadut Ali, a single cannon-'shot could not be fired by a Chackledar without being follow-'ed by immediate enquiry from Lucknow as to its cause: now 'a Chackledar' may continue firing for a month without ques-'tion." Again, "since the death of Nawab Saadut Ali, in 1814, 'no lease has been granted for more than one year." Thus the period which, not only the Resident of the day but the Military Officers employed in Oude designated as a reign of terror, is now remembered as one of comparative mercy and tranquillity. Saadut Ali, being a man of ability, plundered for himself; his imbecile successors suffer their minions to devastate the land. Under Saadut Ali there was one tyrant; now there are at least as many as there are local officers. Saadut Ali left his dungeons full of his ex-amils, and fourteen millions of money and jewels in his coffers.

Sir John Malcolm somewhere remarks that the quality of a Native Government may be estimated by the character of its district officers, and the infrequency of change among them. He might have offered a more brief and even a better criterion in "the revenue system." Throughout India, the land is the source of Revenue. Under almost every Native Government the col-

lections are farmed, and in no part of India are these vicious arrangements so viciously carried out as in Oude. On one occasion we were personally witness to a defaulting village being carried by storm; seven or eight of the inhabitants were killed and wounded, and all the rest were taken captive by the amil. Such occurrences are frequent.* While we write we observe in the daily papers, a detailed account of the death in battle of the amil of Buraileh, and of the victorious Talookdar having, in consequence, taken to the bush, to be a felon probably for life, or at least until he pay the blood-money at Court. Year by year several of the largest landholders are thus temporarily outlawed. No man owning a fortalice thinks of paying the public revenue, until a force, large or small, is brought against him. Barely indeed is the sum demanded conformable to the agreement made. The demand almost invariably depends on the nature of the crop, and on the Zemindar's means, real or supposed, to pay or to withhold payment.

The present income of Oude may be estimated at a million and a half sterling, and it arises almost entirely from the land revenue. The fiscal divisions are arbitrary. Mr. Maddock in 1831 shewed twenty-four. Doctor Butter in 1837, twelve; and we have before us a list of twenty-five, large and small districts, obtaining during the present year. The charge of each chukla, or district, is generally sold by the Minister and his favourites to the highest bidder, or is given to a creature of his own. Lucknow bankers sometimes engage for large districts and appoint their own agents. These are by no means the worst cases, for low persons, who have risen to notice by the vilest arts, are often appointed amils. They have not only their own fortune to make, but to pay the Court bribes, while their friends

* The injury done to British border districts by these affrays may be estimated from the fact that, on the occasion alluded to, seeing a number of armed British subjects flocking around the village, after the amil's *army* had retired, we taxed them with participation in the fight. This they at first denied, but, on taking a matchlock from one of the men, we observed that it had been just discharged. The parties then allowed that they had come to join in the defence of the village, but were too late, it having been surrounded during the night and the assault made at daylight. Thus are our subjects taught club and matchlock law.

remain in office; a change of Ministry turns the majority of them adrift.

The Revenue contractors have all the powers of Judge and Magistrate; they are, in short, unshackled, unchecked governors of their chuklas. Five of the present twenty-five divisions are under what is called amaunee management; that is, of salaried officers, who collect the Government rents; but this system only obtains in districts so deteriorated that no one will bid for farming them, and in such cases the Ameens are under so little check that the cultivators are at their mercy nearly as much as under the farming system. Mr. (now Sir Herbert) Maddock, in an able memorandum, shews the modes by which the situations of amils are procured, and the sort of people who in his time filled the office, including for instance, "Nawab Ameer-ood-dowlah," who has been raised to the dignity of an amil from the "very hum-'ble duties of a fiddler. His sister, formerly a concubine, or 'nauch girl, having gained the royal favour, is now one of the 'King's wives, designated by the title of "Tauj Muhul," and 'receives a Jageer, for the support of her dignity, of which her 'brother, the "Nawab Ameer-ood-Dowlah," is the manager. 'In like manner, the individual placed in charge of Annow, &c. 'was formerly the humble attendant upon nauch girls, but has 'lately been advanced to the title of "Nawab Allee Bux," 'through female influence in the palace." Sir Herbert Maddock furnishes a detailed list of nuzerana received by one Minister (Mohumud-ood-dowlah) amounting to more than seventeen lakhs of rupees, and estimated that the amils share among them nearly fifty lakhs of rupees yearly.

Matters are far from improved since Sir Herbert Maddock wrote. The weak are still squeezed, while those who "are se-'cured by forts and backed by troops" continue to pay pretty much as they choose. The picture drawn by Sir Herbert of the career of an amil in the year 1830, stands good for the same official of to-day. Rules and rates, justice and mercy, are disregarded now, as they were then, and in his words it may still be truly said that, "a few seasons of extortion such as this lays

'waste the fields and throws a multitude upon the world, now 'almost deprived of honest means to gain subsistence. These, 'driven from their homes, betake themselves to crime, and goad-'ed by poverty, become thieves and robbers, infesting the coun-'try on every side." "The amil or his officers, finding a year-'ly decrease of revenue, are naturally urged to further exac-'tions, until, at length, the kingdom has arrived at such a crisis 'that hundreds of villages have gone to ruin, the former culti-'vation is now a waste, and the hamlets once occupied are now 'deserted." The foregoing brief quotation is as applicable to the state of the police and of the revenue at the present day, as it was when Sir H. Maddock wrote. In the year 1806 when several gentlemen were examined before Parliament on the Oude question, Major Ouseley, an Aide-de-Camp and personal friend of the reigning Nawab, Saadut Ali, testified to the infamous state of the police. The evidence of all others was to the same effect.

Sir H. Maddock, Dr. Butter, and all modern writers, shew that the condition of the police is now, to the full, as bad as it was half a century ago. The latter gentleman states "that nothing is said about a murder or a robbery; and, consequently, crime of all kinds has become much more frequent, especially within the last sixteen years, and in the smaller towns and villages. Gang-robbery of both houses and travellers, by bands of 200 and 300 men, has become very common. In most parts of Oude, disputes about land, and murders thence originating, are of very frequent occurrence; feuds are thus kept up, and all opportunities of vengeance laid hold of." Again, "Pipar, five 'miles N. N. E. of Gonda in Amethi, contains a population of '4000 ch'hatris who are robbers by profession and inheritance: 'every bullock and horse stolen in this part of Oude finds its 'way to Pipar." Also, "Sarangpur, ten miles South of Tanda, 'has a population of 9000 Hindu thieves, dakoits, (gang-rob-'bers,) and t'hugs, whose depredations extend as far as Lak'hnau, 'Gorak'hpur, and Benares." in the same page, it is stated that "in November 1834, Tanda, and its neighbourhood were

'plundered by the notorious freebooter Fatteh Bahadoor of 'Doarka, who surprised and defeated the Faujdar, and a toman of '100 men stationed there, and carried off about 100 of the prin-'cipal inhabitants, who on pain of death, were compelled to pro-'cure their own ransom, at sums varying from 50 to 400 Rupees. 'Of this outrage no notice was taken by the Government."

The Army is in much the same condition as it was when Sir James Craig declared that it would be useful only to the enemy. It is dangerous to the well-being of the state, utterly useless for war, most mischievous during peace. In round numbers the Army may now be estimated at fifty-two thousaud men, and its expense at thirty-two lakhs of Rupees yearly.* Doctor Butter's account, written in 1837, describes its present condition with sufficient accuracy.

"The Army of Oude, excluding the brigade raised by Local 'Colonel Roberts, is an ill-paid, undisciplined rabble, employed 'generally coercing, under the Chackledar's orders, the "refrac-'tory" Zemindars of his districts; in conveying to Lak'hnau, 'under the exclusively military orders of their own officers, the 'revenue when levied; and occasionally, in opposing the armies 'of plunderers, who harass the eastern districts of Oude." And, again, "The nominal pay of the Sipahi is four rupees, but he 'receives only three, issued once in every three or four months, 'and kept much in arrears; he has also to find his own arms 'and ammunition. He gets no regular leave to his home, but 'takes it occasionally for ten or fifteen days at a time; and lit-'tle notice is taken of his delinquency by the tumandar. There 'is a muster, once in every five or six months; and the man, 'who is absent from it, gets no pay."

"This army has no fixed cantonments, no parades, no drill, 'and no tactical arrangement: when one pultan is fighting, 'another may be cooking. Encounters hand to hand are thought 'disreputable, and distant cannonading preferred, or a desultory 'match-lock fire, when no artillery is available. There is no

* There are, also, not less than a hundred thousand armed men, employed by the Talookdars and Zemindars, to defend their forts and fight *against* the Government.

'pension or other provision for the severely wounded who, *de* '*facto*, are out of the service, and return to their homes as they 'can." * * * * "They have no tents; but when they make a 'halt, if only for two days, they build huts for themselves, co- 'vering them with roofs torn from the next villages." We refer to Colonel Sleeman's little volume "On the Spirit of Military Discipline," pages 10 and 11, for a very striking anecdote, exemplifying at once the Oude Revenue System and the value of its present military force.

Having thus, from sources sufficiently independent, set forth the past and present condition of the finance, police, and military system of Oude, we shall now offer a brief historical sketch of the progressive causes of this condition.

Saadut Khan, the founder of the Oude dynasty, was one of the many bold spirits that came from the Westward to seek their fortunes in Hindostan. He combined with the usual qualities of a good Soldier, the rarer talents required for an able administrator. Mr. Elphinstone has fallen into the error of earlier historians in calling him a Merchant: he was, in reality, of noble birth, and his original name was Mahommed Ameen. In the year 1705, while still but a lad, he arrived at Patna, to join his father and elder brother who had preceded him thither. On his arrival, finding the former dead, he and his brother proceeded to push their fortunes at Delhi. His first service was with Nawab Sirbulund Khan, whom, however, he soon quitted, resenting a taunt uttered by his Master on occasion of some trifling neglect. The youth took his way to Court, where he soon acquired favour; and having materially assisted his imbecile Sovereign in getting rid of Hosein Ali, (the younger of the Syuds of Bara, who were at that time dragooning the King,) Mahommed Ameen was rapidly promoted to the Viceroyalty of Oude, with the title of Saadut Khan. He found the province in great disorder, but soon reduced the refractory spirits and greatly increased the revenue. He protected the husbandmen, but crushed the petty Chiefs who aimed at independence.

Modern historians question the fact of Saadut Khan having,

in concert with Nizam-ool-Moolk, invited Nadir Shah's invasion. We have not room to detail the evidence on which our opinion rests, but a careful comparison of authorities leads us to believe that he was guilty of this treacherous deed. The atrocities committed by Nadir are familiar matters of history. The traitor Chiefs did not escape, and Nizam-ool-Moolk and Saadut Khan were especially vexed with requisitions. They were not only themselves plundered, but were made the instruments of extorting treasure from the distant Provinces. Nizam-ool-Moolk, jealous of the power and ability of Saadut, took advantage of the persecutions of Nadir Shah to execute a plan for getting rid of his rival. He affected to confide to him his own determination of suicide, and agreed with Saadut Khan that each should take poison. The latter drank his cupfull, and left the hoary schemer without a rival in the Empire.*

Saadut Khan, who had but a few years before been a needy adventurer and had now been plundered by Nadir Shah, was still enabled to leave his successor a large treasure, estimated by some at nine millions of money. Though he accumulated so much wealth, he has not left behind him the character of an oppressor. On the contrary, he seems rather to have respected the poor, and to have restricted his exactions to the rich. He overthrew many lordings, and established in their stead one stronger, and therefore better, rule. No qualms of conscience stood in his way. The aggrandizement of his own family was his one object, in furtherance of which he was regardless alike of gratitude, loyalty or patriotism. So long as his own territory escaped, he cared not that Persian or Mahratta should ravage the empire, and humble the monarch in whose weakness he found his own strength. He reaped much as he had sown; his ability and management established a sovereignty; his faithlessness brought him to a premature and ignominious end. He proved no

* Mr. Elphinstone, noticing the current story of Saadut Khan's death, and of his and Asoph Jah's (Nizam-ool-Moolk) having called in Nadir, observes, "these fictions, like many others which are believed in times of agitation, disappear when full light is thrown on the period." We regret to say that this "full light" has yet to appear.

exception to the rule, that they who are busiest in entrapping others are themselves the easiest deluded.

On the death of Saadut Khan, his two nephews, Sher Jung and Sufder Jung, each applied to the all-powerful Nadir Shah for the investiture of Oude; the petition of the latter, who had married Saadut Khan's daughter, being backed by the Hindoo Vakeel of the late Viceroy, with an offer of a Nuzzur of two millions sterling, he was of course invested with the Government.* Nawab Sufder Jung was accounted an able ruler; for a time he sustained the tottering authority of the King of Delhi. In the year 1743 his son, Shoojah-ul-dowlah, was married to the Bhow Begum, who, in after days became so conspicuous in Anglo-Oude annals. On Nadir Shah's death, Ahmed Shah Abdallee seized the throne of Affghanistan, invaded India, and killed the Vizier Kumer-ood-deen Khan at Sirhind. At this juncture Sufder Jung distinguished himself by his zeal and ability. Mahomed Shah the Emperor of Delhi dying shortly after, his son Ahmed Shah appointed Sufder Jung to the post of Vizier; that nobleman also retaining his Viceroyalty of Oude. The first design of the new Vizier was, in 1746, against the Rohillahs, who were troublesome neighbours to his Oude Viceroyalty. The period was favourable to his views; for Ali Mahommed, the founder of the Rohillah family, was dead, and Sufder Jung induced Kaim Khan† Bungush, the Affghan Chief of Furrukhabad, to conduct the war against his countrymen. Kaim Khan fell in the cause of his ally, who, in return, plundered his widow and seized the family jagheer, giving a pension to Ahmed Khan, the brother of the deceased chief. The Vizier made over his new acquisition, with the province of Oude, to his Deputy Rajah Newul Roy, and himself proceeded to Delhi.

It was not long before Sufder Jung tasted the bitter fruits of his own tyranny and ingratitude: the train of disaffection was laid, and a spark soon kindled it.

* Indian Historians generally call these two millions cash taken from Saadut Khan, but, after comparing many authorities, we believe ours to be the correct version.

† The fine village, or rather town, of Kaimgunje in Furrukhabad, is called after the old Chief.

An Affghan woman of the Afredi tribe, who gained her livelihood by spinning thread, was maltreated by a Hindoo soldier of Newul Roy. She went direct to Ahmed Khan, the Vizier's pensioner, and crying for justice, exclaimed, "Cursed be thy turban, Ahmed Khan, who permittest an Afredi woman to be thus treated by a Kaffir. It had been better that God had given thy father a daughter than such a son as thou." Ahmed Khan was roused; in concert with bolder spirits, he plundered a rich merchant, and with the funds thus procured, raised an army, killed the Kotwal of Furrukhabad, seized the city, and, within a month, was in possession of that whole district. Rajah Newul Roy, who was a brave man, came to the rescue from Lucknow, was met near the Kalinuddy by the Affghan army, defeated, and slain. The victors crossed the Ganges and were soon in possession of the whole Viceroyalty of Oude. Sufder Jung, on hearing of the disaster that had befallen his Lieutenant, assembled a large army, estimated in the chronicles of the day at 250,000 men, and, accompanied by Sooruj Mul, the Jaut Chief of Bhurtpoor, moved against Ahmed Khan, who came out to meet him at the head of a very inferior force, but, by a sudden attack on the wing of the army commanded by the Vizier himself, wounded him and drove him from the field. His troops, observing that their Commander's elephant had left the field, fled in confusion, and left Ahmed Khan undisputed master of the provinces of Oude and Allahabad. The Affghans had fought bravely, but they could not agree among themselves. Dissensions arose in Oude, and, after a brief struggle, the late conquerors were expelled the country.

Sufder Jung, as unscrupulous as the other leaders of the day, called in the Mahrattas to his support, and with an immense force again marched against Ahmed Khan, who alarmed at the formidable aspect of affairs, forgave the Rohilla chiefs the death of his brother, and entered into a treaty of mutual defence with them. Unable to meet the Vizier in the field, Ahmed Khan crossed the Ganges, and fell back on his Rohillah confederates, who, giving way to their fears, abandoned the open country, and allow-

ed themselves to be hemmed in under the Kumaon mountains. There they were reduced to such straits that a pound of flesh was sold for a pound sterling. Terms were at length granted, and the Mahrattas returned to their country loaded with the plunder of Rohilcund, and their leaders enriched by two and a half millions of subsidy. Sufder Jung was so far a gainer that he not only humbled, but crippled his Affghan opponents.

Factions soon arose at Delhi, and the Vizier was often sore pressed and put to many shifts to retain his authority. The Queen mother was enamoured of a eunuch, of the name of Jawid, who, supported by the King as well as his mother, sought to supplant the Vizier during his absence in Rohilcund. Sufder Jung on his return to Delhi, settled the dispute by inviting the eunuch to a feast, and there causing him to be assassinated. The King was enraged at this act, and employed Ghazee-ood-deen, to avenge it. This youth was the grandson of Nizam-ool-Moolk, and had been brought forward by the Vizier himself. After some intriguing and bullying with varied result, the Vizier withdrew to his Viceroyalty, and his rival assumed the functions of the Vizarut. No sooner had Sufder Jung retired, than the pageant King found that in his new Minister Ghazee-ood-deen, he had saddled himself with a hard master. Hoping to escape from this yoke, he wrote to recal his late Vizier; but the letter found Sufder Jung dying; and Ghazee-ood deen, on hearing of the effort thus made to supplant him, caused both the King and his mother to be blinded, and raised one of the Princes of the blood to the throne under the title of Alumgeer the Second.

Shoojah-oo-dowlah, the son of Sufder Jung, had been brought forward during his father's life time, and on his death, was placed on the musnud of Oude, now become hereditary in the family of Saadut Khan. A rival to Shoojah-oo-dowlah, however, arose in the person of his cousin, Mahommed Kooli Khan, the Governor of Allahabad, whose pretensions were unsuccessfully supported by Ishmael Khan Kaboolee, the chief military adherent of the late Viceroy.

Ahmed Shah Abdallee, on his third invasion of India in 1756,

after capturing Delhi, sent Ghazee-ood-deen, the Vizier of the so-called Great Mogul, to raise a contribution on Oude. No sooner had the Abdallee retired than the Vizier called in the Mahrattas, upset all the arrangements made by Ahmed Shah, and, in concert with his new allies, who had not only captured the Imperial City of Delhi but had overrun a great portion of the Punjab, planned the reduction of Oude. Alarmed at the threatened danger, Shooja-oo-dowlah entered into a confederacy with the hereditary enemies of his family, the Rohillahs, and when the Mahrattas invaded Rohilcund, carrying desolation in their path and destroying thirteen hundred villages in little more than a month, Shoojah-oo-dowlah came to the rescue, surprised the camp of Sindea, the Mahratta Commander, and drove him across the Ganges. Ahmed Shah was at this time making his fourth descent on Hindostan, and called on the Mahommedan Chiefs to join his standard against the Mahrattas. The Rohillahs did so, but Shoojah-oo-dowlah hesitated between the two evils of Affghan and Mahratta enmity. A move on Anopshuhur on the Oude frontier, made by the Abdallee, determined the choice of Shoojah, who, however, while he professedly joined the Affghan, kept up close communication with the Mahrattas. Throughout the battle of Panneput, which took place in January 1761, the Oude Ruler continued to temporize, holding his ground but taking as little part in the action as possible. The entire success of either party was contrary to his views. He desired a balance of power, which would check a universal monarchy either Hindoo or Affghan.

We must here retrace our steps. In the year 1758, when the wretched Emperor, Alumgeer Second, was in daily danger of death from his own Vizier, Ghazee-ood-deen, he connived at the escape from Delhi of his heir, Prince Alee-gohur (afterwards Shah Alum,) who, after seeking an asylum in various quarters, was honorably received by Shoojah-oo-dowlah and by the kinsman of the latter, Mahommed Kooli Khan, the Governor of Allahabad. Thus supported, and having received from his own father the investiture of the Government of Bengal, Behar and

Orissa, Prince Alee-gohur crossed the Caramnassa River, with a design of expelling the English and their puppet, Nawab Jaffier Ali. At the head of a motley band of adventurers, the Prince appeared before Patna; and, so ill was that place supplied, that he might have taken it, had not his principal officer, Mahommed Kooli Khan, suddenly left him, in the hope of recovering the Fort of Allahabad, which had been treacherously seized by his kinsman Shoojah. Alee-gohur was now obliged to relinquish his attempt; but, two years after, (in 1760) though driven in the interval to the greatest distress for the very necessaries of life, he was again contemplating an attempt on Bengal, when his father was put to death,—another victim to the sanguinary Ghazee-ood-deen. The Prince, assuming the vacant title of Emperor, appointed Shooja-oo-dowlah his Vizier, with a view of securing the support of that Noble; and now appeared again as Shah Alum before Patna, cut off a small British detachment, and might have got possession of that city, had he acted vigorously. It would be foreign to our subject to detail the circumstances by which the English were victorious, and Shah Alum was compelled to confirm their creature Cossim Ali, in his *viceroyalty* of Bengal. The crest-fallen Emperor prepared, as soon as possible, for his return to Delhi, on the guarantee of his new Vizier, of Nujeeb-oo-dowlah and other Chiefs. He was anxious also to obtain the protection of a British escort, but though there was much desire to grant one he was only escorted by Major Carnac to the border of Behar.

In 1763, Cossim Ali was driven by the oppressions of the English, and their disregard of all decency in the matter of the inland trade, to abolish all duties on the internal commerce of the country. This measure, which should have been warmly encouraged by the British authorities, was the main cause of the hostilities that followed. One outrage brought on another. Mr. Ellis, the most violent and injudicious of the many violent men then in authority, precipitated matters at Patna. The result was that Cossim Ali was removed, and Jaffier Ali restored to the musnud. Cossim Ali could still muster some troops, with

which he met the British, was defeated, and on his flight perpetrated that massacre of his English prisoners which will brand his name as long as it is remembered. After this act of butchery, he fled for refuge to Soojah-oo-dowlah, taking with him three hundred and eighty-five elephants loaded with treasure. The exile offered Soojah a lakh of Rs. for every day's march, and half that sum for every halt, as long as the war might last, with three millions sterling, and the cession of the Patna district on the recovery of Bengal, if he would join him against the English. But Cossim Ali, desiring to have two strings to his bow, offered at the same time, a large bribe to the Emperor for his own appointment to the Viceroyship of Oude, in supercession of Soojah-oo-dowlah. The latter intercepted Cossim Ali's letter and forthwith placed him under restraint, after gaining over Sumroo and other Military Officers with their troops. A mutiny in the English Camp cramped, for a time, the British Commander, but on the 22nd October 1764 the battle of Buxar decided the fate not only of Bengal and Behar, but of Oude.

The immediate result of the battle was the surrender of the unhappy Emperor, who, instead of having been reinstated at Delhi, had been detained prisoner by his Vizier. The latter also begged for terms, and offered fifty-eight lakhs to the English Government and Army. The victors refused to make any terms until Cossim Ali and Sumroo had been surrendered. The Vizier had plundered and arrested the former, but hesitated to surrender him: he offered, however, to connive at his escape, and to cause the assassination of Sumroo. As the British Commander would not accede to this proposal, the negociation with the Vizier failed; and arrangements were made with the Emperor, stipulating that he should be placed in possession of Shoojah-oo-dowlah's dominions, including Allahabad, and should in return grant Benares and Ghazeepoor to the British. Hostilities were accordingly recommenced against the Vizier; the British Troops entered Oude, and took possession of Lucknow, the capital; while Shoojah-oo-dowlah, sending his family for refuge to Bareilly, sought for allies in every quarter. But when

the news of the proposed arrangements reached England, the Court of Directors were exceedingly alarmed. They sent out positive orders against any such *demented* scheme of enlarging the British territory, and forbade all meddling with Delhi politics. The despatch arrived just in time to save the Vizier, who had been defeated in a skirmish at Korah on the 3rd May 1765. Deserted by his Rohillah and Mahratta allies, he came into General Carnac's Camp on the 19th of the same month, and threw himself on British mercy. Not being behind the scenes, the Vizier was astonished and delighted at the moderation of the terms granted to him, which were that he should pay fifty lakhs of Rupees to the British: that he should pledge himself not to molest Bulwunt Singh, the Zemindar of Benares, and that he should cede Allahabad and Korah to the Emperor. It is a curious feature in this case, and a damning proof how iniquitous had been our proceedings in Bengal, that the Vizier, now at the mercy of his conquerors and ready to cede all or any portion of his territory, yet demurred against admitting the English to trade, free of all duties. Government probably felt the justice of his apprehensions, for in the words of Mills, "Clive agreed, in the terms of the treaty, to omit the very names of trade and factories."

Next year, (1766) Lord Clive had an interview with the Emperor and the Vizier at Chupra. The latter again expressed his satisfaction at the terms of peace, and paid up the fifty lakhs of Rupees; and the Emperor again, vainly, requested an escort to Delhi. This first treaty did not involve any right of internal interference on the part of the British; yet little time elapsed before very stringent terms were dictated. They relinquished Oude because they would not, or it was supposed in England, *could* not, keep it. They did not give it to the Emperor, because they considered that such a gift would imply future protection, and involve them in the wars of Upper India, a dilemma from which Government believed itself to have escaped by restoring the Vizier. On the conclusion of these arrangements, a Brigade of British troops remained in the Allahabad district for the

support of the King and the Vizier against the Mahrattas, without any provision for the payment of the Brigade by those who benefited by its services. In the year 1766, however, the Court of Directors wrote, "as all our views and expectations are confined within the Caramnassa, we are impatient to hear that our troops are recalled from Allahabad." During the same year the Bengal Government became alarmed at the military schemes of the Vizier, at his "amazing improvement in making small arms," and at the large levies of troops entertained by him. In consequence of these suspicions, a deputation was sent to meet the Vizier at Benares, towards the end of 1768, when, after a warm discussion and much opposition on his part, he agreed to reduce his Army to 35,000 men, of whom 10,000 were to be cavalry and only ten battalions were to be trained sepahis.

About this time Shoojah seized one of his principal officers, Rajah Benee Bahadoor, and caused his eyes to be put out. An attempt was made to procure British interference in his favor, but the reply given was, "that the Vizier was master within his own dominions." The occasion was an ill chosen one for announcing the fact; but it would have been well had the law continued. In the year 1769, three of the Oude Battalions mutinied; they were promptly put down, but their conduct somewhat reconciled the Vizier to the late compulsory reduction of his troops. In 1771, the Emperor left Allahabad and threw himself into the arms of the Mahrattas, after having made some secret terms with the Vizier for the cession of Allahabad. The next year the Mahrattas threatened Rohilcund and thereby Oude. Upon this the Vizier entered into terms with the Rohillah Chiefs, and induced the Calcutta Council to allow Sir Robert Barker to accompany him with a British Brigade. The combined force, however, did not prevent the Mahrattas from penetrating to the very heart of Rohilcund and even threatening Oude. It was during this campagin that the Vizier made the arrangement with the Rohillah Chiefs, to relieve them of their Mahratta scourge, in return for which they were to pay him a subsidy of forty lakhs of Rupees. The failure of payment was

the excuse for the famous, or rather infamous, Rohillah War. In the year 1773 the district of Korah was included within the line of British defensive operations; but Colonel Champion, the Commander of the advanced Brigade, was enjoined that, "not a single sepoy was to pass the frontiers of the Vizier's territories." The measure was induced by the forced grant of Korah and Allahabad by the Emperor to his jailors, the Mahrattas, which cession the British authorities determined to oppose, and to reserve its ultimate destination to themselves.

Up to this time, the diplomatic relations between the two Governments appear to have been conducted by a Captain Harper, who commanded a Regiment of Sepoys in attendance on the Vizier. Mr. Hastings however desired to have a person in his own confidence at Lucknow, and therefore recalled Captain Harper. The order was opposed by Sir Robert Barker, the Commander-in-Chief, who, on his own authority, sent the Captain back to the Vizier. The Governor-General was not a man to be so bearded; he carried his point after some angry correspondence, the commencement of that acrimony which prevailed in the discussion of Oude affairs during Mr. Hastings' administration, and which has been so prominent a feature in most of the discussions that have since occurred regarding that Province. In September 1773, Mr. Hastings met Shoojah-oo-dowlah with a view of revising the treaty, "as the latter might call upon the Company for assistance, and yet was under no defined obligation to defray the additional charge thrown upon them by affording such assistance." On the 19th of the same month the new treaty was concluded, making over the districts of Allahabad and Korah to the Vizier, on condition of his paying to the Company the sum of fifty lakhs of Rupees, and stipulating that he should defray the charges of such portion of the British troops as he might require; which were fixed at two lakhs and ten thousand Rupees per month for each Brigade. At this meeting the Vizier felt the Governor-General's pulse as to the support he was likely to receive in his project, already contemplated, against the Rohillahs.

Mr. Hastings took the opportunity to arrange for the reception of a permanent British Resident at Lucknow, telling the Vizier at a private conference that, "he desired it himself; but unless 'it was equally the Vizier's wish, he would neither propose nor 'consent to it." Shoojah declared he would be delighted, and Mr. Middleton was accordingly appointed. Scarcely had the Governor joined his Council when the Vizier wrote that he understood Hafiz Ruhmut and the other Rohillah Sirdars were about to take possession of Etawah and the rest of the middle Doab, which he would never allow, especially "as they had not 'made good a daum of the forty lakhs of Rupees, according to 'their agreement." The Vizier added, "on condition of the 'entire expulsion of the Rohillahs, I will pay to the Company 'the sum of forty lakhs of Rupees in ready money, whenever I 'shall discharge the English troops; and until the expulsion of 'the Rohillahs shall be effected, I will pay the expenses of the 'English troops; that is to say, I will pay the sum of Rupees '2,10,000 monthly." The Council affected some squeamishness about the Doab, which however they did not prevent the Vizier from seizing. Respecting the operations against Rohilcund, they gave a half-and-half sort of answer, *but held* a Brigade in readiness to await the requisition of the Vizier.

The tale of the Rohilcund campaign has been often told; we shall not add to the number of narratives. Suffice it to say that the brunt of the battle of Kuttera fell on the British Detachment, Colonel Champion reporting that the Vizier had evinced the most "shameful pusillanimity." The English Commander was however not an unprejudiced judge. Shoojah-oo-dowlah, whatever were his faults, was never before accused of cowardice, and on several occasions, especially at Buxar, evinced great courage. It is to the credit of Colonel Champion that he did not like the work in which he was employed; and looking with abhorrence at the desolation caused by the Oude Troops, who had ill supported him in the fight, he was not chary of his remarks on them or on their Prince. But it is no proof that a Native Chief is a coward because he does not fight. He often

looks on to await the result of the day. The British Brigade were Shoojah's mercenaries; they were hired to fight his battles. He let them do so, and we are by no means certain, if the battle of Kuttera had gone against the British, and Colonel Champion had fallen instead of Hafiz Ruhmut, that the isolated English Brigade would not have found a foe instead of friend in Shoojah-oo-dowlah. This campaign, with all its concomitant circumstances, forms the darkest spot in Indo-British History. Little can be said in behalf of the Vizier, and no sophistry can extenuate the conduct of a Governor and his Council, who hired out their troops for butcher work, openly avowing that they did so because they required the offered subsidy to meet the pressure on the local finances, and to answer the demands of the home Government. Having given this unqualified opinion, it is just to add that report greatly exaggerated the virtues of the Rohillahs as well as the atrocities of their destroyers. Warren Hastings' conduct was made a party question both in India and England, and his deeds were accordingly misrepresented by enemies and slurred over by friends.

The Rohillah War was scarcely concluded, when the new arrangements for the Government of India gave Mr. Hastings' opponents a majority in Council. They lost no time in pronouncing their disapproval of his measures; they recalled Mr. Middleton, the Resident he had placed at Lucknow, and gave the appointment to a Mr. Bristow, notwithstanding his being personally obnoxious to the Governor-General. The men, however, who thus stigmatized Hastings' measures, carried their zeal for reform no further than words. They scrupled not to receive the wages of iniquity. They not only pressed the Vizier for payment of the subsidy, but took advantage of the critical state of his affairs to raise their demand on him. The earthly career, however, of Shoojah-oo-dowlah drew near its close. He obtained Mr. Hastings' sanction for his return to Fyzabad, that he might make arrangements for liquidating his engagements to Government. On reaching his capital, he was seized with a violent illness which terminated his life. He expired on the 26th

January 1775, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mirza Amanee, who assumed the name of Asoph-ood-dowla.

No public man, not Cromwell himself, has ever been painted in more opposite colours than Shoojah-oo-dowlah. Taking Colonel Duff's version, the Vizier was "the infamous son of a 'still more infamous Persian pedlar," * * "cruel, treacherous, 'unprincipled, deceitful; possessing not one virtue except per-'sonal courage." Yet the same writer shews that when danger gathered round, Shoojah had sufficient resolution to relinquish the pleasures of the Harem, and the field sports to which he was addicted, that he might set himself to reform the discipline of his troops, and retrieve the embarrassments of his finance. On the other hand, Francklin describes the Vizier as "an excellent Ma-'gistrate, a lover of justice, and anxiously desirous of the pros-'perity of his country." Still stronger is the praise bestowed by Jonathan Scott. He says of Shoojah-oo-dowlah that, "as a 'prince he was wise and dignified in character, as a private man, 'affable, humane, and generous." * * * "Sincerely beloved 'by his own subjects, even the sons of Hafiz Ruhmut wept at 'his death." From these discordant materials, and the fact that after having virtually lost his sovereignty at Buxar, he not only recovered his position, but left to his son an inheritance nearly double what he had received from his own father; it may be inferred that Shoojah-oo-dowlah was an able, energetic and intelligent prince, and that he possessed at least the ordinary virtues of Eastern Rulers.

Asoph-ood-dowla lost no time in sending a peshcush, or offering, to the Emperor, with five thousand men; they arrived just in time to relieve the unfortunate Monarch from the hands of Zabita Khan, and the opportune aid secured for their sender the post of Vizier, in succession to his father. The province of Oude had now descended to the fourth generation, and the office of Vizier to the third. On the accession of Asoph-ood-dowla, the Calcutta Council affected to consider that the treaty with his father died with his death. After much discussion the new Resident, Mr. Bristow, negociated fresh terms, on the 21st May

1775, the chief clauses of which were, that the Vizier should cede Benares and Ghazeepoor, worth 23 lakhs annually, to the Company; raise the monthly subsidy from Rupees 2,10,000 to 2,60,000 for the service of a British Brigade, and agree to dismiss all foreigners from his service, and to deliver up Cossim Ali and Sumroo, if they should ever fall into his hands. He further consented to pay up all arrears due by his father. In return for these advantages, the English undertook to defend Oude, including Korah and Allahabad, as also the late conquests in Rohilcund and the Doab. The services of a second Brigade, entitled "the temporary Brigade" were, at the same time, placed at the disposal of the Vizier.

Another affair was now transacted, important at the time, and pregnant with future evil. The British Agent, supported by the anti-Hastings' majority at the Council table, made over the treasures of the late Vizier to his widow, the Baho (Bhow) Begum, who was likewise put in possession of a princely Jagheer. To her this wealth proved a fatal possession, leading to the atrocities afterwards practised on herself and her servants. On the part of our Government the bestowal of it was both unreasonable and unprecedented. Shoojah had died, largely their debtor, and the sum now made over to his widow effectually barred the settlement of their claims. The Begum, it is true, claimed the money as a legacy from her husband: but it is almost needless to say that under no native Government would such a bequest, even if actually made, have been carried into effect. Uninterfered with, Asoph-ood-dowla would have assumed possession of his father's wealth as naturally as of his place, and his mother would have been satisfied with whatever Jagheer or pension he assigned her. But party spirit in Calcutta divided the house of Oude against itself, and involved the ruler in difficulties which issued in crimes perpetrated by him against his mother, at the instigation of a British Governor-General.

The first year of the new Nawab's authority had not passed before he was surrounded by perplexities. The arrears of subsidy not coming in, tunkhwas or orders on the Revenue, were

obtained for four lakhs per annum, and the Baho Begum was induced, at the intercession of the Resident, to assist the necessities of the state with fifty-six lakhs of Rupees, on condition however of Mr. Bristow's ratifying her son's engagement not to molest her with further demands. The Nawab had at length leisure to attend to the state of his army. Desiring to introduce discipline among his troops, he applied for, and obtained, the services of several European Officers. They were not ill received by the soldiery, but soon after, on the discharge of some Irregulars, a mutiny broke out. An engagement took place between the Regulars and the Matchlockmen; 2,500 of the latter supported an engagement for some time with great spirit against 15,000 regulars, repeatedly repulsing them. The fight was only brought to an end by the explosion of a tumbrel. The mutineers lost six hundred men and the Nawab's Sepahis three hundred.

While such was the condition of the Army, the Nawab gave himself up to drunkenness and dissipation. All authority fell into the hands of the Minister, Moortaza Khan, whose rule was, however, brief. Kwajah Busunt, a eunuch, but the bravest soldier in the service, took advantage of the general dissatisfaction to encourage a party in favour of Saadut Ali, the second and favourite son of the late Vizier. Kwajah Busunt invited the minister to a banquet. In the midst of the feast, making some excuse for quitting the guest chamber, he gave the signal for the slaughter of the unwary Moortaza Khan in the midst of the nautch girls and singers. Asoph-ood-dowlah himself had been invited to the entertainment, probably that he too might be got rid of; the murderer however, reeling from the effects of the debauch in which he had participated, came boldly into the presence, and boasted of the deed he had performed. The Nawab ordered him to be executed on the spot. Saadut Ali hearing of what had occurred, and alarmed for his own safety, immediately took horse and fled beyond the frontier. Thus, in one day, the Vizier lost his Minister, his General, and his Brother.

The troops were still in a very unsettled state, and discontent

regarding the new arrangements and the introduction of British officers daily increased. Some of the European officers were so maltreated by their own men that they fled to the nearest English camp; others braved the storm, but it was only by the timely arrival of two of the Company's Battalions that the mutineers were reduced or disbanded.

Such was the state of the army. The finances were in scarcely less disorder. The regular subsidy was originally $25\frac{1}{5}$ lakhs, the Francis junto raised it to $31\frac{2}{5}$, but what with the expense of the temporary Brigade, extra troops, and numerous officers employed with the Oude Army, as well as various miscellaneous accounts, the demands during seven years of Mr. Hastings' administration averaged 100 lakhs annually, while, in spite of constant screwing, the receipts only averaged seventy lakhs; leaving in 1781 a deficit of $2\frac{1}{10}$* crores of Rupees. To meet this frightful item, there was a materially decreased revenue.

Another point here requires remark. We have said that Mr. Middleton was recalled by the majority in Council, as one of their first measures. Mr. Hastings no sooner recovered his ascendancy by the death of Colonel Monson in 1776, than he removed Bristow and reinstated Middleton. The former was restored in 1780, in obedience to repeated and positive orders from the Court of Directors, which, however, were only obeyed on a compromise with Mr. Francis. Mr. Bristow was displaced a second time in 1781, by the Governor-General, who said that

* On Oude financial questions Mr. Mill is both ambiguous and contradictory. At page 629, volume 2d (quarto edition) he states "the debt with which he (the Nawab) stood charged in 1780 amounted to the sum of £1,400,000," but at page 650 remarks that although when the treaty of Chunar was concluded (in 1781,) "the balance appeared to stand at forty-four lakhs," the demand next year (1782) "by claims of unknown balances" exceeded considerably two crores and a half, that is, were at least equal to twice the annual revenue of the whole country." In the text we have shewn that the current demand having been from 70 to 130 lakhs, and the receipts having averaged only seventy lakhs, there needed no "claims of unknown balances" to swell the amount of deficit. The last portion, moreover, of the quotation making the total revenue to be only one and a quarter crore, dovetails ill with Mr. Mill's own shewing at page 493, volume 3, that the Revenue in 1801 was about Rs. 2,30,12,929. An increase of more than a million of money during twenty years of progressive deterioration! Mr. Mill quotes Middleton for his first statement, and "Papers" for the second, but appears to have overlooked their discrepancy.

he required to have a confidential Agent at Lucknow. To complete the story of the bandying about of Agents, we may here mention that Mr. Bristow was again restored by orders from home in 1782, and, finally, again ousted by Mr. Hastings in 1783. The Governor-General affected to have acted only for the public good in these several transfers. He declared he had no personal dislike for the man he so repeatedly removed, and much respect for his conduct; but, "the creature Bristow" (as on one occasion Mr. Hastings registered him,) was odious in his eyes, inasmuch as that gentleman's appointment to Lucknow was a standing proof of his own discomfiture in Council. The Governor-General hated him accordingly, and few men loved or hated as did Warren Hastings.

This double explanation is requiste as a clue to the proceedings we have next to record. In the year 1780-81, the finances of the Company were in a most disastrous condition. The authorities had reckoned on certain sums from the Vizier, and were disappointed. Mr. Hastings, therefore, determined, himself to proceed to Lucknow. In August 1781, the Governor-General reached Benares when the outbreak occurred, provoked by his arbitrary proceedings against Rajah Cheyt Singh. During these transactions, Mr. Hastings, as usual, evinced great courage, the Nawab great fidelity. The latter joined Mr. Hastings in September at Chunar, when he contrived to convert the Governor- General from a violent and imperious task-master into a warm advocate. For two years the Nawab's remonstrances and entreaties had been treated with contempt or indifference: they were now listened to and complied with, and for a brief space he was treated with respect. An arrangement was effected that led to the withdrawal of the temporary Brigade and three Regiments of Cavalry, leaving only one Brigade and one Regiment to be paid by the Vizier. He was also *allowed* to resume all jagheers, giving cash for certain estates guaranteed by the Company; all British officers were also withdrawn; and sanction was given to *plunder* the two Begums, the wife and mother of Shoojah-oo-dowlah, though, as already observed, one of them had been pre-

viously guaranteed by Mr. Bristow. The result of the several "arrangements was, an immediate supply of fifty-five Lakhs 'of ready money to the Company, and a stipulation for the pay-'ment of an additional twenty lakhs, to complete the liquidation 'of his debt to them."

Approving entirely of the decrease of the Nawab's permanent burthen thus effected, we cannot too strongly reprobate the mode by which he was authorized, and indeed eventually urged, to raise present funds. Mr. Hastings' defenders vindicate his proceedings towards the Begums, on the ground that these ladies abetted Cheyt Singh's rebellion, and that they had no right to the treasure they possessed. The latter statement is true. One wrong, however, does not justify another! What had been granted and guaranteed, even wrongfully, should have been respected. The falsity of the first plea has been frequently shewn. We need not, therefore, here repeat the evidence. If any justification for the Governor-General is to be found in the fact, it is true that he was at this time put to his wits end for cash. As the Court of Directors importuned him, so he pressed the Oude Government. Such was his anxiety on the subject that in May 1782, he deputed his secretary, Major Palmer, to Lucknow, with the express object of realizing the arrears of subsidy. The mission gave such offence to Mr. Middleton that he resigned his appointment; and to add to the Governor-General's difficulties, his own special Agent allowed himself to be talked over and stultified by the Oude officials.

Large as was the balance due, the Major was persuaded into believing that the sheet was clear; and instead of enforcing old claims he listened to offers of a loan. Mr. Hastings was much provoked both at the gullibility of Major Palmer and at Mr. Middleton's abandonment of his post in his (the Governor-General's) difficulty. He wrote to Mr. M. in severe terms; and on the 10th August 1782, addressed Hyder Beg the Oude Minister under his own hand, in a most extraordinary letter, considering it to be addressed to the minister of a sovereign possessing a shadow of independence. After telling Hyder Beg

that he owed his position to him (the Governor-General) and that he had been disappointed in him, he added, "I now plainly tell you that you are answerable for every misfortune and defect of the Nawab Vizier's Government." He then demanded that the balance due to the Company should be liquidated by the end of the year, or threatened that Hyder Beg should be made over to the tender mercies of his master, for the examination of his conduct. Hyder Beg understood full well the process by which the examination of the conduct of disgraced ministers was conducted in Oude as elsewhere. Stringent, however, as were the measures taken, they did not realize the subsidy. They did not effect Mr. Hastings' wishes, but they did much to upset the authority of the Nawab in his own territory.

Mr. Hastings had very correct *abstract* notions on the subject of interference. His practice and theory was, however, sadly at variance. When money was wanted for the Company he stuck at nothing. His two nominees, Middleton and Palmer, had failed him; and he now in despair re-appointed the Company's protegé, Mr. Bristow, arming him with the most extensive authority. The new Agent was informed that "the Resident must be the slave and vassal of the Minister, or the Minister 'at the absolute devotion of the Resident * * * it will be necessary to declare to him (the Minister) in the plainest terms, the 'footing and conditions on which he shall be permitted to retain 'his place; with the alternative of dismission, and a scrutiny in-'to his past conduct, if he refuses." Mr. Bristow was further told that he was to control the appointment of officers, nay, "peremptorily to oppose it" when he (the Resident) considered opposition in any case advisable. In the face, however, of such instructions, Mr. Hastings was not ashamed, in October 1783, to thus characterize the Resident's conduct: "Mr. Bristow, 'after an ineffectual attempt to draw the minister Hyder Beg in-'to a confederacy with him to usurp all the powers of the Go-'vernment, proceeded to an open assumption of them to himself." And, on the strength of this shameless allegation, Mr. Bristow was, for the third time, removed.

Unable to realize his views by proxy, Mr. Hastings, in March 1784, again visited Lucknow, where he remained five months, during which time he effected the liquidation of a further portion of the Vizier's debt, removed another detachment of Troops, restored a portion of the confiscated jagheers, and endeavoured to put the Oude affairs into some sort of order. At Benares, on his return, he addressed the home Government in these prophetic words. "If new demands are raised on the Vizier, and accounts 'overcharged on one side, with a wide latitude taken on the 'other to swell his debts beyond the means of payment, if poli- 'tical dangers are portended on which to ground the plea of 'burthening his country with unnecessary defences and enor- 'mous subsidies, the results would be fatal." Mr. Hastings knew how wide a latitude he had himself taken, "to swell the Nawab's" debts beyond the means of payment, and judging of the future by the past, he concluded that another Governor-General might arise who, portending political dangers, would make them "the plea of burthening his (viz. the Vizier's) country with unnecessary defences and enormous subsidies." In short, Warren Hastings foretold, in 1784, exactly what occurred in 1801.

We have entered somewhat fully into the occurrences of Mr. Hastings' administration, as they gave their colouring to the British connexion with Oude.

When Lord Cornwallis assumed the Government of India, the Oude Minister, Hyder Beg, was sent to wait on His Lordship. The negociations that ensued were concluded on the 21st July 1787, by a treaty, relieving the Vizier from certain balances still due; and declaring him in all respects independent within his own territory. The letter of the Governor-General contained the following remarkable paragraph:—"It is my firm inten- 'tion not to embarrass you with further expense than that in- 'curred by the Company from their connexion with your Ex- 'cellency, and for the protection of your country which, by the 'accounts, I find amounts to fifty lakhs of Fyzabad Rupees per 'year. It is my intention, from the date of this agreement, that

'your Excellency shall not be charged with any excess on this 'sum, and that no further demand shall be made; any addition-'al aid by the Company is to be supplied on a fair estimate."

The abuses of the Oude Government repeatedly attracted the attention of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore. Both were anxious to effect some reform, but were deterred by the difficulty of interfering with any good effect. At length, the Vizier's extravagance and debauchery brought affairs into such terrific disorder that, in the year 1797, Sir John Shore proceeded to Lucknow. His visit, however, had a double purpose. The ostensible, and we hope chief design, was to give the Nawab good advice, but His Highness was also to be supplied with a minister, and another pull was to be made at his purse-strings. The Company had resolved to strengthen their Cavalry, and, in the face of Lord Cornwallis' treaty, it was thought convenient to make the Nawab bear a portion of the increased expenses attendant on this augmentation. The helpless Vizier consented, stipulating that the charge should not exceed five and a half lakhs per annum, to pay the expenses of two Regiments. The Governor-General took some credit to himself, that in this transaction he had talked and not dragooned the Nawab into concession. There was more difficulty in effecting a change of ministry. The Governor-General consented that the eunuch Almas should be appointed, but just as he had given his sanction, he discovered an order by Lord Cornwallis against the employment of that person. The Nawab debarred from the selection of his own favorites, at length consented to receive Tufuzzel Hoosein, a learned, able, and we believe respectable, man who then held the office of Oude Vakeel in Calcutta. It was however a sore trial of the honesty of that minister to be thus brought from Calcutta and forced upon his Sovereign by the Lord Paramount. Had Sir John Shore been as experienced in human nature as he was in revenue details, and in Indian politics, he would not have thus introduced the new minister to the Nawab, directly as the creature of the British Government.

Scarcely had the Governor-General left Lucknow, when the Vizier died, and the disposal of the Viceroyalty of Oude was in the hands of a simple English gentleman. We are bound to record our opinion that Vizier Ali was unjustly treated. The plea of his spurious birth would not, by Mahommedan law, have interfered with his succession; and never would have weighed with the English authorities had he not rendered himself obnoxious to them by desiring to degrade Tufuzzel Hoosein the minister, who was considered "as the representative of the English influence." Tufuzzel Hoosein met Sir John Shore on his way to Lucknow with all sorts of stories about the violence and debauchery of the Lord Vizier Ali, but the Governor-General seemed to forget that this report might be biassed by personal motives; perhaps, too, he was unaware that Tufuzzel Hoosein had been the tutor of Saadut Ali, and even during Asoph-ood-dowla's life was suspected of intriguing in favor of the Vizier's brother. But enough; Vizier Ali was degraded after a few weeks' enjoyment of authority, and Saadut Ali was raised to the musnud. New terms were of course dictated to the new Prince. It was no time for making objections. The treaty was signed; and protected by British bayonets, the new Nawab entered his capital. The ex-ruler, similarly guarded, was removed to Benares.

The treaty thus made was signed on the 21st February 1798. It raised the subsidy from fifty-six to seventy-six lakhs, and provided for the discharge of all arrears. The fortress of Allahabad was ceded, and the sum of eight lakhs of rupees made over for its repairs. Three lakhs were likewise given for the repairs of Futtehghur, and twelve lakhs more were to be paid for the expenses incurred in the late revolution. The Nawab, moreover, agreed to reduce his establishments, and to consult as to the manner of doing so with the British Government. No Europeans were to be allowed to settle in Oude, and no political relations were to exist without the knowledge of the British Government. In return for all this, the British guaranteed Oude, and agreed to maintain for defence not less than ten thousand men. If it

should at any time be necessary to increase the number of troops beyond thirteen thousand, the Nawab was to pay the expense; if they could be reduced below eight thousand, a suitable reduction of the subsidy was to be allowed.

The advantages accruing to the Company from this arrangement are manifest; it not only gave them possession of Allahabad, but it increased the subsidy twenty lakhs, and defined, though not distinctly, to what extent the subsidy might be lightened or increased. Unfortunately it left the time quite undetermined, and on this omission were based the unwarrantable demands made by the next Governor-General in 1801. What will perhaps most strike the English reader of Sir John Shore's treaty is, the entire omission of the slightest provision for the good government of Oude. The people seemed as it were sold to the highest bidder. Vizier Ali was young, dissolute and needy; Saadut Ali was middle-aged, known to be prudent, and believed to be rich. Being of penurious habits, he had, even on his petty allowances as a younger son, amassed several lakhs of rupees; and, in short, was a more promising sponge to squeeze than his nephew. From the general tenor of Sir John Shore's life, we believe that his heart was in the right place, though this his last diplomatic transaction might, if taken alone, lead us to a different conclusion. Wherever his heart was, his head at least must have been wool-gathering. He set a bad precedent. He made the musnud of Oude a mere transferable property in the hands of the British Governor, and he left the people of Oude at the mercy of a shackled and guaranteed Ruler. This may have been liberality, but it was liberality of a very spurious sort. Much as we admire Lord Teignmouth's domestic character, we are obliged entirely to condemn the whole tenor of his Oude negotiations. Historians have hitherto let him down lightly, but his Lordship may be judged by the same standard as other public officers; by the right or by the wrong that he committed, and not by his supposed motives, or his private character.

A Governor-General of far different calibre succeeded. One

of the first objects of the Marquis of Wellesley, on his assumption of the Government of India, was the reformation or rather the reduction of the Oude Army, and the substitution in their stead of a British force. The Nawab set his face against the measure. The Governor-General was not to be thus baffled. Early in 1799 he applied for the services of the Adjutant-General of the army, Colonel Scott, an able and respectable, but austere man. In the first instance he was placed at the service of Mr. Lumsden, the Resident, but the latter gentleman was shortly after recalled, and the appointment bestowed on Colonel Scott. So stringent were the measures now taken, that Saadut Ali threatened to resign the musnud. It was but a threat, and intended to alarm or to mollify his persecutors. The Governor-General however seized upon the words, and putting his own constructions on them, insisted on their literal fulfilment; adding a proviso, which, at any rate, the Nawab had never contemplated, that on his abdication the East India Company should inherit the principality of Oude, to the injury of his own children. Much disgraceful altercation ensued. The Governor-General returned the Nawab's remonstrances with angry and threatening remarks; insisted on the immediate execution of his orders, and finally marched the British troops into Oude without sanction of the nominal ruler. The Resident issued orders to the district officers to receive and provide for the English Battalions, and was obeyed. Saadut Ali now felt himself within the iron grasp of a power that could crush him, and made the most abject appeals for mercy. The Governor-General however, seized this opportunity for carrying out his own views. Referring to the Nawab's previous statements regarding the inefficiency of his army and their danger to himself rather than to an enemy, Lord Wellesley insisted on its reduction, and the reception, in its stead, of a force of twelve Battalions of British Infantry, and four Regiments of Cavalry. A large portion of the Oude troops were accordingly disbanded, and so judiciously was this reduction managed by Colonel Scott, that not a single disturbance ensued.

The Nawab finding himself once more secure on his uneasy throne, had time to reflect how he was to bear the increased burthen laid upon him. His predecessor had been put to continued shifts to discharge the subsidy of fifty lakhs;—he had himself, by better economy, contrived to pay seventy-six lakhs, but how was he now to meet the further demand of fifty-four lakhs, to set against which there was only a diminished expenditure of sixteen and a half lakhs caused by the reduction of a portion of his army? He accordingly declared his entire inability to pay the required sum. The Governor-General wanted just such a declaration. He made it an excuse for the dismemberment of the Principality, and proceeded to carry out the finance arrangements with as little delicacy as had been shewn in effecting the military alterations. Mr. Henry Wellesley was deputed as Commissioner to Lucknow, and in concert with the Resident, dictated the cessions that were to be made, when the former, in virtue of his office as Lieutenant-Governor of the ceded districts, made the primary arrangements for their management. The lands thus extorted were, at the time, estimated to be worth 1,35,23,474 Rupees per annum. We have had occasion, at the commencement of these remarks, to shew that they must now yield double that sum.

Lord Wellesley's conduct in this transaction was most despotic. As a wise statesman he judged rightly that the subsidy to his Government was better secured by a territorial cession, than by a bond for cash payment; but, in extorting the former, literally at the point of the bayonet, and at the same time nearly doubling the subsidy, he shut his eyes to the most obvious rules of justice.

This treaty which was signed on the 10th September, 1801, left the Nawab shorn of the best half of his territory; we may easily judge in what spirit he prepared to introduce "an improved system of administration *with the advice and assistance of the British Government*," into the remainder. Such were the vague terms of the only stipulation contained in the present treaty for the benefit of the people. We need hardly add

that it remained a dead letter. This may have been only a negative evil; but a similar looseness of expression in Sir John Shore's treaty admitted of more positive perversion. We allude to the provision, that when it should be necessary to increase the contingent beyond 13,000 men, the Nawab should pay the expense. Sir John Malcolm more shrewdly than honestly observes, that if there was any meaning in the provision, it left the British Government to judge *when* the necessity should arise, and how long it should continue. The Marquis of Wellesley did not hesitate to consider *that* time to be when Oude had just *escaped* invasion by Zeman Shah, and the period to last *for ever*. There *was* danger from Zeman Shah; no one who reads the history of those times attentively can deny the fact. The state of the Oude army, the position of Sindia, and the advance of Zeman Shah; called for arrangements for the defence of Oude. But the truth is, that almost as soon as the tidings of Shah Zeman's approach reached the British authorities, the danger had passed away. Sir James Craig stated before Parliament: "The first certain accounts we had were, I believe, in 'September or October, I rather think October (1793);" and, again, "The accounts of the Shah returning from Lahore, which 'may be considered as his abandonment of his enterprize, reach-'ed Anopshere in January 1799." Thus the knowledge of the danger lasted, at the farthest, five months. Arrangements were made as quickly as possible to meet the invasion; and extra troops were kept in Oude from November 1798, until November 1799, being *ten months* after the Shah's retirement, and a special charge of more than thirty-eight lakhs of Rupees was made to cover their expenses. This was all fair and proper. It was right that the sum expended should be charged; but surely there is no excuse for adding to the above contingent charge a fixed annual demand of fifty-four lakhs to cover a danger that no longer existed, and which, from that day to the present, now forty-five years, has never arisen. The claim was clearly opposed to the spirit of Sir John Shore's treaty, and to both the spirit and letter of that of Lord Cornwallis.

One of the earliest evils resulting from Lord Wellesley's arbitrary measures was, that the Resident became personally obnoxious to the Nawab. Colonel Scott was a man whose character passed unscathed through an ordeal of the strictest inquiry both in and out of parliament; but Saadut Ali could only be expected to see in him the instrument of disbanding a large portion of his own army—that chief symbol of Oriental sovereignty—the agent who had arranged the forced cession of the best half of his territory. Thus circumstanced, Colonel Scott could hardly be an acceptable ambassador, and in fact was rather deemed a hard task-master. Unfortunately his manner had in it nothing to compensate for the matter of the invidious duties imposed on him. Habituated to military details, and late in life called on to negociate delicate questions of diplomacy and civil administration, Colonel Scott performed his disagreeable task rather with the bluffness of the military martinet, than with the suavity of the accomplished diplomatist. He carried out his orders honestly, but harshly. He effected the views of Government regarding the Oude Army, as well as, perhaps better than, any other officer of the day could have done; but there his services ended. He did nothing for the improvement of the country. He was rather an obstacle in its way. The Nawab having a reduced field of action, secure from personal danger, and hemmed in by British bayonets, screwed his wretched people. The Resident was not only unable to prevent these oppressions, but by the provisions of the treaty was compelled to be the instrument in their execution. Year after year were British troops seen throughout Oude realizing the revenues, enforcing the most obnoxious orders, and rendering nugatory to the oppressed their last refuge, military opposition. Great as was the interference in Asoph-ood-dowla's time, it was now much greater. In former times the pressure of the Resident's authority was occasional and on specific questions, and was chiefly felt at Lucknow; the incubus was now a dead weight bearing down the provinces, as well as the capital. The Nawab was also as much vexed and irritated as ever by the presence and conduct of the Resident, by

his interference in favour of, or in opposition to, persons and things in the very capital.

Such conduct, however, at this time tended less than formerly to weaken the ruler's power. The British army was now believed to be at the beck of the Oude Government to support its revenue arrangements. The Nawab was thus, though degraded in character, strengthened in position. The previous (authorized) interference had told rather *against* the Oude Court; it was now in its favour. The powerful were now supported against the weak. This system went on for years, and under several Residents. It was brought prominently to notice when Colonel Baillie was in office. A long, vexatious, and fruitless correspondence took place between the Nawab and the Government. Colonel Baillie was anxious to promote improvements, the Nawab liked neither the matter nor the manner of the suggestions offered. He cared for his cash, and for nothing else. No person however can read his replies to Colonel Baillie's demands without being satisfied that, under kindlier treatment at the outset, much might have been done with such a prince. We are specially struck at his being in advance of the Bengal Government of the day on Revenue arrangements. Colonel Baillie proposed that Ameens should be sent into the districts to collect statistical information, that they should visit every village, and procure the revenue papers of former years.—"Those papers, 'after the minutest investigation which may be practicable, to 'be transmitted, under the signature of the revenue officers, to 'the presence, when your Excellency and I shall consider them, 'and be enabled to form an accurate judgment of the real 'resources and assets of every district in your dominions."* The Nawab replied;—"I shall issue my orders to the Ameens, 'agreeably to what you have suggested; but I recommend that 'this measure be carried into effect by actual measurement of 'the cultivated and waste lands, and of lands capable of being 'cultivated; in which case the exact measurement of the lands,

* Minutes of Evidence; Appendix No. 26, page 383.

'as well as the amount of the jumma, will be ascertained, and 'the boundaries of villages will also be fixed, so as to preclude 'future claims or disputes among the Zemindars on questions of 'unsettled boundary."* The following reply to another suggestion shews how much better the Nawab understood his people, and how much better he was able to manage Oude than was the Resident.

"You suggest that such ameens as perform their duties properly shall hereafter be appointed tehsildars; but in this case, if the ameens be previously informed, that after ascertaining the jumma of their elakas (districts), and transmitting the revenue papers for ten years with the Wasilbunkee accounts of the revenue, they will be appointed to the office of tehsildar, it is probable that, for their own future advantage, they will knowingly lower the jumma, and state less than the real amount. I therefore think it would be more advisable to separate the two offices entirely; or, at all events, that no ameen should be appointed tehsildar in the Zillah in which he may have acted as ameen. In this latter mode, the ameens who are found to be deserving may still be rewarded, and the opportunity for fraud may be prevented*."

The readers who have accompanied us through this hasty sketch of Saadut Ali's career, will perhaps concur in the opinion that his mal-government was mainly attributable to English interference, to the resentment he felt for his own wrongs, and the bitterness of soul with which he must have received all advice from his oppressors, no less than to the impunity with which they enabled him to play the tyrant. Lord Minto at length checked the Resident's interference against the people; he did not thoroughly understand the nature and extent of that at Court, and therefore disturbed not Colonel Baillie's domestic ascendancy. The Marquis of Hastings looked more into the matter and prohibited it entirely.

Saadut Ali died in July 1816, and was succeeded by his eldest son Rufsat-ood-dowla, under the designation of Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder. His accession delighted Colonel Baillie, and scarcely pleased the Calcutta Government less. The new Nawab, *of course*, agreed to every proposition of the Resident,

* Minutes of Evidence; Appendix No. 26, page 383.

whom he addressed as "My Uncle," and who reported that his advice was not only acceptable to Ghazee-ood-deen, but was urgently requested by him. The very spirit of credulity seems, at this period, to have possessed our countrymen. Not only does Colonel Baillie appear to have swallowed the sugared words of the Nawab, but the authorities in Calcutta adopted his views; and, taking advantage of what was deemed the amiable spirit of the grateful Nawab, authorized the several measures of reform, which, to say the least, Colonel Baillie was little competent to carry through.

A new light however soon broke in on the Governor-General, and he ascertained that Ghazee-ood-deen loved reform as little as his father had done. It was discovered that both Nawab and Resident had been puppets in the hands of the Residency Moonshee, who, by threatening Ghazee-ood-deen with the fate of Vizier Ali, contrived to bend him to what were called British views, while he found his account in allowing the Resident to fancy himself the friend and counsellor of the Nawab. The discovery of these intrigues induced a peremptory order from the Governor-General forbidding all interference, and the affair ended in the removal of Colonel Baillie, who, however, had in the interim negotiated a loan of two crores of Rupees. The friends of Lord Hastings have asserted that these loans were voluntary, but Colonel Baillie has shewn the transaction in a very different light. The money was extorted from the Nawab by the importunity of the Resident, who acted on repeated and urgent instructions from the Governor-General. During the Burmese war, and under another administration, a third crore was borrowed, we know not exactly by what process, but, as the greater part of the interest was settled on the Minister of the day, Motumed-ood-dowla, (more generally known in India as Aga Meer,) and his life, honor and property were guaranteed, it may be inferred that he managed the matter.

Loans of this sort are generally discreditable to the borrowers; in Oude they have been doubly prejudicial. Most of them have been compulsory, and they have been the means of

perpetuating and immeasurably extending the guarantee system. The interest of each loan, whether from Nawab, King or Begum, has been settled on the connexions and servants of the several parties lending the money, with provision in each case that the pensioner was to be protected by the British Government. Thus, for the sake of temporary pecuniary relief have we established and fostered a system which must vitiate any Government, and is doubly destructive to a Native State. At Lucknow for years the residents held public durbars, where the guaranteed attended, and pleaded against their own Sovereign or his servants. Thus were the Monarch and his subjects arrayed against each other: thus was the Sovereign degraded in his own Capital.

This abuse has been checked; but a still greater evil exists to the present day. The guaranteed are hundreds; the *privileged* are thousands. Every British Sepoy from the Oude dominions can, through his Commanding Officer, refer a fiscal or judicial case to the Resident. This at first sight appears a valuable privilege to our Native soldiery, of whom, (as already stated), the greater proportion are raised in Oude; but the plan works badly. Zemindars throughout the country will buy, beg, borrow or steal the name of a British Sepoy, in the hope of thus gaining attention to their petty claims. The consequence is, that the just appeals of real sepoys are frequently neglected, while a false claim is now and then forwarded. We are indeed, of opinion that, much as the Oude Government is molested and degraded by Sepoy's claims, true and false, the men themselves are rarely benefited by the Resident's interference. Litigation is promoted; hopes are excited, and eventually the party who would, if left to his own resources and the practices of the country, have arranged or compromised his quarrel, is led on to his ruin. But we have been drawn from the thread of our narrative.

In the year 1819, the Nawab Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder was encouraged to assume the title of King. Lord Hastings calculated on thus exciting a rivalry between the Oude and Delhi families; the Nawabs having hitherto paid the descendants of the Mogul all outward homage, and affecting still to consider them-

selves only as Lieutenants of the Emperor. This arrangement was somewhat akin to some of the masquerades with which the Company commenced their career. While ruling Bengal and the Carnatic they were entitled Dewans; and now, while lording it over Oude, the puppet Nawab must forsooth be encouraged to assume a royal title, in order to act as a counterpoise to *the Great Mogul!*

Death will not, however, spare a King any more than a Nawab Vizier. Ghazee-ood-deen died, and was succeeded by his son, Nuseer-ood-deen Hyder, who more than perpetuated the worst practices of his predecessors. Engaged in every species of debauchery, and surrounded by wretches, English, Eurasian and Native, of the lowest description, his whole reign was one continued satire upon the subsidiary and protected system. Bred in a palace, nurtured by women and eunuchs, he added the natural fruits of a vicious education to those resulting from his protected position. His Majesty might one hour be seen in a state of drunken nudity with his boon companions; at another he would parade the streets of Lucknow driving one of his own elephants. In his time all decency, all propriety, was banished from the Court. Such was more than once his conduct that Colonel Lowe, the Resident, refused to see him, or to transact business with his minions.

In 1831 Lord William Bentinck visited Oude. He had received a frightful report of its misrule from Mr. Maddock, the Resident; but questioned the reality of the picture laid before him. He now traversed the country and judged for himself; he saw every proof of misgovernment, and was at length convinced that the existing system could not, and ought not to last. He had one hope for Oude. Momtuzim-ood-dowla, better known as Hakeem Mehndy Alee Khan Bahadoor, was then Minister, and his energy and ability might, if unshackled, save the sinking state. To encourage his efforts, Lord William studiously manifested his regard for the Minister, and forbade all further interference of any kind on the part of the Resident, who was prohibited even advising unless his opinion was asked. The Gover-

nor-General warned the King of the consequences of continued misrule; he gave him and his Minister a fair chance of recovering their common country; and resolved that, if it failed, the most stringent measures should be adopted, involving the entire management of Oude by British officers. His Lordship writes on 31st July 1831—"But I am sanguine in my hope of a great 'present amelioration from my belief in the capacity and willing-'ness of the present Minister to effect it; and from the entire 'possession he has of the confidence of the King." * * Sad proof how incompetent is the wisest European to read an Asiatic heart. The Governor-General left Lucknow fully impressed with the opinions above quoted. Hakeem Mehndy *had* effected much good, *had* reduced the public expenses, and *had* brought some order into the management of affairs. The subordinate officials feared him; the Talookdars and village chiefs respected him. Under his strong administration the country at length tasted peace. In August 1834, however, just three years after Lord William Bentinck's visit, the Minister found himself, without the slightest warning deprived of office, and threatened with dishonour, if not with death. The charge brought against him was, disrespect to the Royal relatives and even to the Queen Mother. This was all fudge. At Lucknow, as throughout the East generally, the King is every thing; his nearest relatives are nothing. An affront to the lowest minion about the Court would more probably have been resented than one to a connexion of the King. The pretext, however, was plausible; the Minister was degraded, and nothing but the strong arm of the Resident saved his wealth, life, and honour. His real crimes were his ability, energy, and fidelity; had he been more subservient and less faithful, he might have escaped his exile to Furruckabad, where he lingered for some years, constantly affecting preparations for a pilgrimage to Mecca, but really longing and watching for a return to power. His wishes were at length fulfilled, and under a more virtuous ruler he died as Minister of Oude. But, during the interval, Hakeem Mehndy's head and hand had become feebler, while the flood of

abuse had swelled. Unable to stem the current, he died at the helm in the bold attempt. Often during his exile we have heard the old man dilate upon the evils that ruined Oude, and declare that with fair play and a fair field he could yet recover the country. We then considered his day gone by, and little contemplated his having another opportunity of treading the slippery path of politics. The Hakeem's merits must be judged of by comparison with other Ministers, and he will appear just, firm and sagacious. It is therefore to be lamented that such a man was lost to Oude while his energies were still vigorous. On the accession of Mahommed Ali, Hakeem Mehndy was recalled to power, but his health was then declining and his life was near its close.

His nephew and heir Munowur-ood-dowla Ahmed Ali, a respectable but unenergetic man, has since been twice at the head of affairs: he is a better sportsman than a Cabinet Minister, and is altogether too honest and unpractised in court affairs to cope with the Ameen-ood-dowlas and Shureef-ood-dowlas of the day.

Lord William Bentinck, in his report of 11th July, 1831, entering into many details of past circumstances, and explaining his proposals for the future, added;—"I thought it right to declare 'to his Majesty beforehand, that the opinion I should offer to 'the home authorities would be, that unless a decided reform 'in the administration should take place, there would be no 'remedy left except in the direct assumption of the management 'of the Oude territories by the British Government."* His Lordship with propriety adds;—"I consider it unmanly to look 'for minor facts in justification of this measure, but, if I wanted 'them, the amount of military force kept up by his Majesty 'is a direct infraction of the treaty." The Minute continues in the following honest and disinterested strain:—

"It may be asked of me—and when you have assumed the management how is it to be conducted, and how long retained? I should answer, that acting in the character of guardian and trustee, we ought to frame an adminis-

* Minutes of Evidence: Appendix No. 27, page 404.

tration entirely native; an administration so composed as to individuals, and so established upon the best principles, revenue and judicial, as should best serve for immediate improvement, and as a model for future imitation; the only European part of it should be the functionary by whom it should be superintended, and it should only be retained till a complete reform might be brought about, and a guarantee for its continuance obtained, either in the improved character of the reigning Prince, or, if incorrigible, in the substitution of his immediate heir, or in default of such substitute from nonage or incapacity, by the nomination of one of the family as regent, the whole of the Revenue being paid into the Oude treasury."*

In reply to his suggestions to the home Government, Lord William Bentinck received instructions in the year 1833, at once, to assume charge of Oude, unless in the mean time his advice has been followed, and decided improvement had ensued. Averse to so strong a measure, and ascertaining that affairs *were* slightly amended, his Lordship postponed the measure, again warning his Majesty as to the inevitable result of continued misrule.

Nusser-ood-deen Hyder, however, encouraged by long continued impunity, persevered in his mal-practices. The treasures of his grandfather, Saadut Ali, were now drained to the last Rupee, and every device was invented to recruit the finances of the state, or rather to supply the privy purse of the King. A low menial was his chief confidant; any man who would drink with him was his friend. In 1837 he became ill, and for some weeks was confined to his Palace, but he was not considered in danger, when, suddenly at midnight of the 7th July 1837, the Resident was informed that his Majesty was no more.

When describing the Fureed Buksh Palace, we touched upon the occurrences of which it was the theatre on that eventful night. If space permitted, we should now gladly detail those brilliant operations. It was a sudden crisis, an unforeseen emergency, that tasted the stuff of which our officers were made. Not only Colonel Lowe himself, but his Assistants, Captain Patton and Captain Shakespeare, shewed admirable courage and coolness. A moment's indecision on the part of the Resident, or a failure on the part of either of the Assistants

* Minutes of Evidence: Appendix No. 27, page 404.

in the duties assigned to them, would have deluged the city of Lucknow with blood, and cost the Residency party their lives; as it was, they were in great danger, especially Captain Patton, and were only rescued from the hands of the rebels by the speedy arrival of the 35th Regiment. The conduct of the gallant Noke-ka-pultun that night, was a good augury of the laurels they were so soon to earn in the more trying field of Affghanistan.

The case of the boy Moona Jan was dissimilar from that of Vizier Ali; the latter was acknowledged, the former disowned by his reputed father.

The new King, Mahommed Ali, was a cripple, a respectable old man, who had never dreamt of royalty, and whose very insignificance and previous seclusion saved his life during the emeute of the soldiery on the 7th of July. Grateful for his elevation which he attributed to the British Government he was willing to acquiesce in any reasonable terms that might be dictated to him, consistent with what he deemed his *iuzut*.* He fell into good hands: never was there a Resident more kind and considerate than Colonel Lowe. He understood his own position, and had sense to perceive that he gained more credit in fulfilling its duties than by stepping out of his sphere. Contented with exercising the legitimate authority of his station, he had no ambition to be "Mayor of the Palace" at Lucknow, or to maintain the balance of power between the rival factions around the throne. He was satisfied to look on in small matters, ready to advise in great ones. He was a plain soldierly man, who, having served an apprenticeship to politics under Malcolm, fought at Mehidpoor, and afterwards trod the intricate paths of Indian diplomacy at Jeypore, and with Bajee Rao, was well adapted for the Lucknow Court: doubly so as being in his own character the very antithesis of every thing there—straightforward integrity opposed to crooked chicanery. Colonel Lowe had seen enough of native courts to understand and fathom them, while he had escaped their corruptions. Inaccessible alike

* Honour.

to bribes, threats, and cajoling, he was feared by the vile Nuseer-ood-deen Hyder, and respected by the amiable Mahommed Ali.

The new king had soon a new treaty laid before him; the document bears internal evidence of not being Colonel Lowe's work; indeed some of the clauses were entirely opposed to his views. Its two prominent features were, first, the introduction into Oude of an auxiliary force of two Regiments of Cavalry, five of Infantry, and two Companies of Golundauze, at an annual expense of sixteen lakhs of Rupees, to be defrayed by the local Government. The other was a stipulation for the management by British Officers of such districts of Oude as should be notoriously oppressed by the local agents. Colonel Lowe was, we know, averse to saddling the king with more troops; but his views were overruled, and a portion of the Regiments were raised. The measure was, however, very properly disapproved of by the Court of Directors, and the enrolment of the new levy prohibited, as being an exaction on the Oude State.

Mahommed Ali was evidently so much in earnest in his efforts for the improvement of his kingdom, that Government overlooked the glaring mismanagement still existing in parts of Oude, and did not act on the permission given by the new treaty. The King's intentions were good, and the character of the Court rose very much during his short reign. He was unfortunate in the death of his two able ministers, Moomtuzim-oo-dowla (Mehndy Ali Khan) and Zaheer-oo-dowla. The nephew of the former, as already mentioned, then succeeded, and held office for two years: on his resignation a young nobleman, by name Shurreef-oo-dowla, the nephew of Zaheer-oo-dowla, assumed the reins of Government, and retained them until the old king's death. Shurreef-oo-dowla is a man of good ability, of considerable firmness and activity. His manners are pleasing; he possesses habits of business; on the whole he is considered the ablest and most respectable candidate for the ministry. He is, however, personally disliked by the present King.

On the death of his father in May 1842, Mahommed Amjud

Ali, the present King, ascended the throne. His conduct towards his minister was such as to cause his resignation within two months. He then appointed a personal favorite, one Imdad Hoosein, entitling him Ameen-oo-dowla. After a trial of five months he was found wanting, and removed, and Munowur-oo-dowla having returned from pilgrimage, was reinstated. The new Minister, unable to stem the current of Lucknow intrigue, held the office scarcely seven months, when Ameen-oo-dowla was recalled to his master's councils. The favorite is generally supposed quite incompetent for the duties of his office, and indeed is said to trouble himself very little about them. He takes the profits and leaves the labours to his deputy, Syud-oo-dowla, a low person who has rapidly risen from penury to power by the prostitution of his own sister. Not long since this man was an Omedwar for the office of moonshee to one of Col. Roberts' Regiments; now we understand the gallant Colonel to be a candidate for the command of one of his. So goes round the wheel! The King pays no attention to business, will abide by no warnings, will attend to no advice, and, it is rumoured, has secretly confirmed his imbecile ministers in their places for four years, in spite of the remonstrances of the Resident.

Let us briefly recapitulate. The condition of Oude is yearly becoming worse. The Revenue is yearly lessening. There are not less than 100,000 soldiers in the service of Zemindars. The Revenue is collected by half that number in the king's pay. In more than half the Districts of Oude are strong Forts, most of them surrounded with dense jungle, carefully rendered as inaccessible as possible. Originally the effect of a weak or tyrannical Government, such fortresses perpetuate anarchy. The Amils and other public officers are men of no character, who obtain and retain their position by Court bribery. Only the weak pay their revenue; those who have forts, or who, by combinations, can withstand the Amil, make their own revenue arrangements. Throughout the country nothing exists deserving the name of a judicial or Magisterial Court. The news-

writers are in the pay of the Amils, generally their servants; nevertheless, not less than a hundred Dacoities, or other acts of violence attended with loss of life, are annually reported; how many hundreds then pass unnoticed! Within the last six months, the Government Dawk has been robbed: within the last three, an Amil has been slain. While we write, the British cantonment of Cawnpoor has been insulted; and month after month, the local press tells of new atrocities. In short, the Government of the country is utterly palsied; its constitution is altogether destroyed; no hope remains. Were any vitality left in Oude, the country has, during the last twelve years, had a fair opportunity of recovering. If the system of a King, a Minister, a Resident, and a protecting Army, could subsist without ruin to the country so ruled, it has had a trial. The scheme cannot be said to have failed for lack of good instruments. The Oude rulers have been no worse than monarchs so situated usually are; indeed they have been better than might have been expected. Weak, vicious and dissolute they were, but they have seldom been cruel, and have never been false. In the storms of the last half century, Oude is the one single native state that has invariably been true to the British Government; that has neither intrigued against us nor seemed to desire our injury. It may have been weakness, it may have been apathy, but it is at least fact, that the Oude Government has ever been faithful, and therefore it is that we would not only advocate liberality towards the descendants of Saadut Khan, but the utmost consideration that can be shewn them, *consistent* with the duty we owe to the people of Oude. Among her ministers have been as able individuals as are usually to be found in the East; and there have not been wanting good men and true as Residents. It is the system that is defective, not the tools with which it has been worked. We have tried every variety of interference. We have interfered directly, and we have interfered indirectly, by omission as well as by commission, but it has invariably failed.

One great error has been our interference in trifles, while we

stood aloof when important questions were at issue. Another crying evil has been the want of any recognized system of policy in our negociations with the Lucknow Court. Every thing seems to have been mere guess-work and experiment. One Governor-General or one Resident has adopted one plan; the next has tried something wholly different. The Nawab or the King, the Minister and the Resident, have each had their turn. One or other has alternately been every thing and nothing. If an able Minister was appointed or encouraged by the British Government, he was, as a matter of course, suspected and thwarted by his master; if the King did happen to employ an honest servant, the power of the latter was null unless he had the Resident's support. The Amils neglected him, the Zemindars despised him. There could be no neutrality in the case: the British Agent must be friend or foe; he must be for or against the Minister. Thus could each member of the triumvirate vitiate the exertions of one or both the others; any individual of the three could do incalculable evil; but the three souls must be in one body, to effect any good. Such a phenomenon never occurred; there never was an approach to it, unless perhaps for a few months in Colonel Lowe's time.

On reverting to the past, it will be found that we have interfered in the city, and have held aloof in the country; that at another time, while we spared the palace, we have entered the villages with our tunkhwas (revenue orders). Again, for a time we have left both Court and country unmolested. Such sullen silence was always construed into the most *direct* interference; for, the King being guaranteed, it was believed that he was then at liberty to work his will without fear or consequences, since British bayonets would appease whatever tumult might arise. Our troops have carried the fortresses of the oppressed by storm and put the brave defenders to the sword. On one occasion a terrible example was made, and not a man escaped. Our Cavalry surrounded the fort; the Infantry entered; and of the doomed defenders, not a soul survived.* At that period we not only guaranteed the

* The Fort of Puther Serai, in the year 1808.

Ruler, but were made the executioners of his will. A revulsion came; such acts were shewn in all their naked deformity; and both Court and country were again for a while left to themselves. Fraud was then substituted for force, and occasionally large bands of ill-paid and licentious soldiery were sent to devastate the country they could not subdue. The British troops did their work of destruction speedily, and therefore with comparative mercy. The Royal rabble spread, like locusts, over the land, and killed by famine what they could not destroy by the sword.

From this mass of mischief, who is the gainer? It may be supposed that the Amils at least gain; not they. There may perhaps be twenty families in all Oude, that had profited by Government employ; but all others have been simply sponges. The officials have sucked others to be themselves squeezed in turn. It is to remain thus for ever? Is the fairest province of India always to be harried and rack-rented for the benefit of one family, or rather, to support in idle luxury *one* individual of *one* family? Forbid it justice, forbid it mercy! Had any one of the many Governors General who spoiled Oude, remained a few years longer in office, he might have righted her wrongs. But, unhappily, while several have been in authority long enough to wound, not one has yet had time to bind up and heal. Hastings began the "stand and deliver" system with the Nawabs. More moderate Governors succeeded who felt ashamed to persecute a family that had already been so pillaged. They pitied the Monarch, but they forgot that misdirected mercy to him, was cruelty to his subject millions.

For this culpable indifference, our Government had a standing excuse,—their hands were tied by the treaties of their predecessors, and their interference, even if justifiable, would do more harm than good. Poor casuistry! The truth is, that where a question admits of doubt, there can be little danger if, *with clean hands*, we take the weaker side; if, foregoing all thought of personal or political profit, we arbitrate in favor of the mass. There was no treaty for Warren Hastings' acts or for half the

acts of half his successors. A hole was, however, generally found for creeping out of every dilemma which affected our own interests. At the very worst, when a vacancy occurred on the musnud, a new negociation soon set all to rights. On each occasion we dictated our own terms; on each of these opportunities we might as readily have made arrangements for securing good government as for securing our own subsidy: we were explicit enough on the one point; all else was left indefinite, the stronger party being, of course, the interpreters of the law. The Oude Government therefore suffered by diplomatic quibbles; the Oude subjects by revenue ones. In each case the weakest have gone to the wall. The result is before our eyes; the remedy is also in our hands. No one can deny that we are now authorized by treaty to assume the management of the distracted portions of the kingdom. *All* are more or less distracted and misgoverned. Let the management of all be assumed under some such rules as those which were laid down by Lord W. Bentinck. Let the administration of the country, as far as possible, be native. *Let not a rupee come into the Company's coffers.* Let Oude be at last governed, not for one man—the King, but for him and his people.

We must be brief in the explanation of the plan we would recommend.

The King has made himself a cypher; he has let go the reins of Government; let us take them up. He should be prevented from marring what he cannot or will not manage. In every Eastern Court the Sovereign is *everything* or nothing. Mahommed Amjud Ali has given unequivocal proof that he is of the second class; there can therefore be no sort of injustice in confirming his own decree against himself, and setting him aside. He should be treated with respect, but restricted to his palace and its precincts. The Resident should be Minister, not only in fact, but in name. Let it not be said that he works in the dark; but give him the responsible charge of the country, and make him answerable to the British Government for its good or ill management. While his personal demeanour to the King

must be deferential, he should be no more under his authority than the Commissioner of Delhi is under the Great Mogul. Divide the country into five districts; in each, place a British officer, as Superintendent, who shall receive appeals against the Native officers. Abolish, *in toto*, the farming system. Give as quickly as possible a light assessment for five years, fixed as far as possible by the people themselves; that is, let the one-and-a-quarter million, (or thereabouts,) the country may be supposed able to bear, be subdivided in a great assembly of the people among the five districts; and then let the District, Pergunnah, and Village quotas be similarly told off, under the eye of British Superintendents.

Due consideration must be given to the circumstances of all and to the privileges that may have arisen from long exemption, and it must be remembered that one village may be ruined by paying half what another, in apparently similar circumstances, can easily afford; let the rich and powerful pay as well as the poor and weak. Reference must be had, and some consideration granted, to past payments and past privileges as well as to present condition. Perfect equalization cannot be expected at once.

While the first arrangements are in progress, a strong military force should be at hand, and the first act of recusancy should be severely punished. The dismissal of the rural armies should be effected, and all forts belonging to notorious persons should be dismantled. Where possible, an amnesty should be given for the past. No individual, whom it may be possible to reclaim, should be branded. The motives that had driven men to the bush should be considered, and penalty bonds having been taken, they should be received and treated as reformed members of society. Under firm but liberal treatment, many a supposed desperado would retrieve his reputation. Speedy and severe examples should be made of Amils and others convicted of fraud, extortion, or other oppression; and it should be early and distinctly understood that no position will screen

malefactors or defaulters. The rule will disgust a few, but will delight the many.

The revenue settlement is the first great question in all eastern countries; when it was well effected, all remaining work is comparatively easy. At the risk then of being set down by men who deal in forms rather than in realities, as a very unsound lawgiver we say, first settle the revenue question satisfactorily, and the path of amendment will be smooth. Let men's minds be relieved as to the past and the future, and they will readily settle down for the present. Three months, at the utmost, should suffice to make the summary settlement we propose; no niceties need be entered into. Let the assessment be light, and let every man, high and low, who has to pay, have his quota *distinctly* registered, whether it be in cash or in kind; and let prompt and severe punishment follow the earliest instances of infringement of recorded agreements.

Let a date be fixed, anterior to which no Government claims for revenue shall be advanced. Let it also be at once promulgated that no civil case will be attended to of more than twelve, or at the utmost, of twenty years' date; and no police case of more than three; and that all claims must be filed within one year of the date of the introduction of the British rule. All these cases should be made over to Punchayets, *superintended* by the best men in the land. Brief reasons of decision in each case should be entered in a book, and copies of the same sent weekly to the Superintendent. For ordinary civil, fiscal, and police duties, Courts should be established or old ones confirmed in the several zillahs: punchayets should be encouraged; honest members* of such assemblies, should be honored and favoured, and dishonest ones discountenanced and disgraced.

What a change would such a system, honestly and ably worked out, effect within a single twelvemonth! It is delightful to

* In every community there are individuals whom disputants will readily receive as arbitrators: such men are usually elected *Sur-Punch*, or President by the members chosen.

think of it. We see the difficulties in the way, but difficulties are not impossibilities. No plan is all smooth, no measure of amelioration is without obstacles. Our main difficulty would be to select Superintendents of sufficient experience, possessing at the same time energy and ability, strength of body and of mind, to face the chaos that would at first be presented them. Such men are, however to be found. They must be paid, and liberally too, not in the Sinde and Saugor fashion. It would be the worst of all economy to employ men who would not remain at least five years to work out the primary scheme.

Our plan involves the employment of every present Oude official, *willing to remain, and able to perform the duties* that would be required of him. The majority of the present Amils would resign, as would most of the officers about the Court. All valid tenures of land would of course be upheld, and all superannuated officials having claims to pension, would be considered. It would be desirable to retain the services of one or two respectable men, to assist the Resident and form with him a Court of Appeal from the Superintendent's decrees. When matters were thus put in train, village boundaries should be defined; a Revenue survey, and a settlement for thirty or even fifty years should follow. We do not anticipate the necessity of any permanent increase of establishment. If Mr. Maddock's estimate is correct; half the sum now plundered by the Amils and the Ministers, would amply remunerate all the requisite officials.

The primary arrangements would probably require cash; but as the improvement of the country would be secured, an Oude loan of a crore of rupees might be raised, which the increase of cultivation and general amelioration of the state would enable us easily to pay off in ten or fifteen years. We repeat that the assessment should be light. The people as well as the Court should benefit by improvement, if they are expected to further it. There should be a liberal allowance for the King—twenty, thirty or even fifty lakhs per annum might, as the revenues increased, be allowed. He should be furnished, to his heart's

content, with silver-sticks, but very scantily with matchlocks. The King would be dissatisfied, let him remain so. He is not particularly well pleased just now, and, so long as we act honestly, the state of his temper is not of much consequence. In whatever spirit he might meet our proposed radical reform he would find few to sympathize in his dissatisfaction. His brothers, uncles, and cousins would be delighted with the change. The guaranteed would be in extacies. Almost all others would rejoice at the reformation. The people of Oude—the men who recruit our "beatiful Regiments"—would bless John Company.

The scheme we have here indicated rather than detailed, is not for a day nor for any specific term of years. It is refined cruelty to raise the cup to the lip and then to dash it away. Let us not deal with Oude as we have done with Hyderabad and Nagpore. The kings of Oude, generally, have, as rulers, been weighed and found wanting. His present Majesty has habitually disregarded the spirit and letter of the terms concluded between his father and the British Government. The family must be placed beyond the power of doing further mischief. We have not been guiltless; in repenting of the past, let us look honestly to the future; for once let us remember the people, the gentles, the nobles, the royal family, and not legislate merely for the king.

If the Oude Residency could, with honor, be withdrawn, or if we believed that there was a possibility of the Government of the king holding together for a month, when abandoned by the British Government, we should at once advocate giving his Majesty the opportunity of trying to stand on his own legs; but knowing the thing to be impossible, we have offered the only practicable remedy for the ills that afflict the country, and shall be delighted to see it, or some such scheme, speedily carried out. This scheme is given in the rough. We have not even attempted to round it off; the principle is all we advocate. The details may be indefinitely improved, but whatever outcry or opposition our sentiments may elicit, we sit down satisfied

with the reflection that we have suggested no breach of faith but have promulgated a plan which the most conscientious servant of the State might be proud to work out.