



were all butchered in presence of the Nana; the women and children, eighty in number, were sent to join the wretched sufferers in the house near the Nana.

Meanwhile Colonel Neill, commanding the Madras Fusiliers,¹ was pushing up from Calcutta. He was bent on the relief of Cawnpore and Lukhnow, but was delayed on the way by the mutinies at Benares and Allahabad. In July he was joined at Allahabad by a column under General Havelock, who was destined within a few short weeks to win a lasting name in history.

General Havelock was a Queens officer of forty years' standing; but he had seen more service in India than perhaps any other officer in her Majesty's army. He had fought in the first Burma war, the Kabul war, the Gwalior campaign of 1843, and the Punjab campaign of 1845-6. He was a pale, thin, thoughtful man; small in stature, but burning with the aspirations of a puritan hero. Religion was the ruling principle of his life, and military glory was his master passion. He had just returned to India after commanding a division in the Persian war. Abstemious to a fault, he was able, in spite of his advancing years, to bear up against the heat and rain of Hindustan during the deadliest season of the year.

On the 7th of July General Havelock left Allahabad for Cawnpore. The force at his disposal did not exceed two thousand men, Europeans and Sikhs. He had heard of the massacre at Cawnpore on the 27th of June, and burned to avenge it. On the 12th of July he defeated a large force of mutineers and Mahrattas at Futtehpore. On the 15th he inflicted two more defeats on the enemy. Havelock was now within twenty-two miles of Cawnpore, and he halted his men to rest for the night. But news arrived that the women and children were still alive at Cawnpore, and that

¹ The Madras Fusiliers was a European regiment which had been raised by the East India Company for local service. It fought under Clive at Arcot and Plassey. At the amalgamation of the army of the Company with that of the Queen it became the One Hundred and Second Foot.



the Nana had taken the field with a large force to oppose his advance. Accordingly Havelock marched fourteen miles that same night, and on the following morning, within eight miles of Cawnpore, the troops bivouacked beneath some trees.

On that same night, the 15th of July, the crowning atrocity was committed at Cawnpore. The rebels, who had been defeated by Havelock, returned to the Nana with the tidings of their disaster. In revenge the Nana ordered the slaughter of the two hundred women and children. The poor victims were literally hacked to death, or almost to death, with swords, bayonets, knives, and axes. Next morning the bleeding remains of dead and dying were dragged to a neighboring well and thrown in.

At two o'clock in the afternoon after the massacre, the force under Havelock was again upon the march for Cawnpore. The heat was fearful; many of the troops were struck down by the sun, and the cries for water were continuous. But for two miles the column toiled on, and then came in sight of the enemy. Havelock had only one thousand Europeans and three hundred Sikhs; he had no cavalry, and his artillery was inferior. The enemy numbered five thousand men, armed and trained by British officers, strongly intrenched, with two batteries of guns of heavy calibre. Havelock's artillery failed to silence the batteries, and he ordered the Europeans to charge with the bayonet. On they went in the face of a shower of grape, but the bayonet charge was as irresistible at Cawnpore as at Assaye. The enemy fought for a while like men in a death struggle. Nana Sahib was with them, but nothing is known of his exploits. At last they broke and fled, and there was no cavalry to pursue them.

As yet nothing was known of the butchery of the women and children. Havelock halted for the night, and next morning marched his force into the station at Cawnpore. The men beheld the scene of the massacre, and saw the bleeding remains in the well. But the murderers had van-



ished, no one knew whither. Havelock advanced to Bithoor, and destroyed the palace of the Mahratta. Subsequently he was joined by General Neill, with reinforcements from Allahabad; and on the 20th of July he set out for the relief of Lukhnow, leaving Cawnpore in charge of General Neill.

The defence of Lukhnow against fifty thousand rebels was, next to the siege of Delhi, the greatest event in the mutiny. The whole province of Oude was in a blaze of insurrection. The Talukdars were exasperated at the hard measure dealt out to them before the appointment of Sir Henry Lawrence as Chief Commissioner. Disbanded sepoy, returning to their homes in Oude, swelled the tide of disaffection. Bandits that had been suppressed under British administration returned to their old work of robbery and brigandage. All classes took advantage of the anarchy to murder the money-lenders.¹ Meanwhile the country was bristling with the fortresses of the Talukdars; and the cultivators, deprived of the protection of the English, naturally flocked for refuge to the strongholds of their old masters.

The English, who had been lords of Hindustan ever since the beginning of the century, had been closely besieged in the Residency at Lukhnow ever since the final outbreak of the 30th of May. For nearly two months the garrison

¹ Money-lenders in India are a special institution. The masses are in a normal state of debt. They are compelled by custom to incur large expenses at every marriage and festival, and in consequence are driven to borrow of money-lenders. An enormous rate of interest is charged, and a son becomes responsible for the debts of his father.

Under native rule loans were regarded as debts of honor, or rather of piety. They might possibly be recovered in a civil tribunal, but native courts were hopelessly corrupt, and the judge always appropriated a fourth of the claim as his rightful fee. Accordingly the payment was regarded not so much a legal obligation as an act of piety, except in cases of forgery or cheating.

The introduction of British administration put all such debts on a new footing. A money-lender could enforce the payment of a decree in the civil court; and lands and personal property were alike treated as available assets. Accordingly soon after the annexation of Oude the people became very bitter against the English courts. When the courts were closed in consequence of the mutiny, the people wreaked their vengeance upon the money-lenders.

A law against usury would scarcely remedy the evil. The people have been so long accustomed to high rates of interest that they would continue to pay them in spite of the law, from a sense of religious obligation.



had held out with a dauntless intrepidity, while confidently waiting for reinforcements that seemed never to come. "Never surrender" had been from the first the passionate conviction of Sir Henry Lawrence; and the massacre at Cawnpore on the 27th of June impressed every soldier in the garrison with a like resolution. On the 2d of July the Muchi Bawun was abandoned, and the garrison and stores removed to the Residency. On the 4th of July Sir Henry Lawrence was killed by the bursting of a shell in a room where he lay wounded; and his dying counsel to those around him was "Never surrender!"

On the 20th of July the rebel force round Lukhnow heard of the advance of General Havelock to Cawnpore, and attacked the Residency in overwhelming force. They kept up a continual fire of musketry while pounding away with their heavy guns; but the garrison held their ground against shot and shell, and before the day was over the dense masses of assailants were forced to retire from the walls.

Between the 20th and 25th of July General Havelock began to cross the Ganges, and make his way into Oude territory; but he was unable to relieve Lukhnow. His small force was weakened by heat and fever, and reduced by cholera and dysentery; while the enemy occupied strong positions on both flanks. In the middle of August he fell back upon Cawnpore. Meanwhile General Neill was threatened on his right by the Nana, who reoccupied Bithoor in great strength; and on his left by a large force of rebel sepoys; and he could not attack either without leaving his intrenchment exposed to the other.

On the 16th of August Havelock left a detachment at Cawnpore, and advanced toward Bithoor with fifteen hundred men. He found the enemy drawn up in a position which revealed the handiwork of a born general. The infantry were posted in front of an intrenched battery, which was nearly masked with sugar canes, and defended with thick ramparts of mud. This position was flanked on



both sides by intrenched quadrangles filled with sepoy, and sheltered by plantations of sugar cane.¹ Havelock brought up his guns and opened fire; but the infantry had only been posted in front of the enemy's intrenchment to draw the English on. The moment Havelock's guns began to fire, the infantry retreated into their defences, while the batteries poured a storm of shot and shell upon the advancing line of the British army. After twenty minutes Havelock saw that his guns made no impression on the enemy's fire, and ordered a charge with the bayonet. Again the English bayonets prevailed against native batteries, and the enemy fled in all directions. Havelock, however, had no cavalry for the pursuit, and was compelled once more to fall back on Cawnpore. Thus ended Havelock's first campaign for the relief of Lukhnou.

All this while the Mahratta and Rajput princes remained loyal to the British government. They had nothing to do with the sepoy mutiny, for they were evidently taken by surprise and could not understand it; and if some held aloof, and appeared to await events, there were others who made common cause with the British government at the outset. But the sepoy in the subsidiary armies, who were commanded by British officers, were as much terrified and troubled by the greased cartridges as those in the Bengal regiments; and the revolt at Delhi on the 11th of May acted upon them in the same way as it acted upon the sepoy in British territories. The Gwalior Contingent, which was largely composed of Oude soldiery, was more than once inclined to mutiny; but Maharaja Sindia managed to temporize with them; and they did not finally break away from Gwalior until the following October. At Indore the army of Holkar broke out in mutiny and attacked the British Residency, and then went off through Gwalior territory to join the rebels near Agra; but at that time the Gwalior

¹ The only rebel leader who showed a real genius for war throughout the mutinies was a Mahratta Brahman, in the service of the Nana, known as Tantia Topi. No doubt it was Tantia Topi who drew up the rebel army at Bithoor.



soldiery were tolerably stanch, and refused to accompany them.¹

During the four months that followed the revolt at Delhi on the 11th of May, all political interest was centred at the ancient capital of the sovereigns of Hindustan. The public mind was occasionally distracted by the current of events at Cawnpore and Lukhnow, as well as at other stations which need not be particularized; but so long as Delhi remained in the hands of the rebels, the native princes were bewildered and alarmed; and its prompt recapture was deemed of vital importance to the prestige of the British government, and the re-establishment of British sovereignty in Hindustan. The Great Moghul had been little better than a mummy for more than half a century; and Bahadur Shah was a mere tool and puppet in the hands of rebel sepoys; but nevertheless the British government had to deal with the astounding fact that the rebels were fighting under his name and standard, just as Afghans and Mahrattas had done in the days of Ahmad Shah Durani and Mahadaji Sindia. To make matters worse, the roads to Delhi were open from the south and east; and nearly every outbreak in Hindustan was followed by a stampede of mutineers to the old capital of the Moghuls.

Meanwhile, in the absence of railways, there were unfortunate delays in bringing up troops and guns to stamp out the fires of rebellion at the head centre.² The highway from

¹ Major, afterward General, Sir Henry Durand, who had served for eight years as political agent at Bhopal, was residing at Indore at this crisis, as agent to the Governor-General in Central India. The Residency at Indore held out until the safety of the ladies and their families was secured; and the subsequent hospitable reception of the refugees by the late Begum of Bhopal is a touching illustration of the loyalty of a native princess toward the British government.

Sir John Kaye, in the first edition of his history of the sepoy revolt, was unfortunately led to give currency to an untrue statement about Major Durand's conduct at Indore. It is gratifying to know that before he died he publicly retracted the insinuation.

² The deaths of successive Commanders-in-chief led to other delays. The news of the revolt at Delhi brought General Anson down from Simla to undertake the siege of Delhi; but he died at Karnal on the 27th of May. Sir Henry Barnard, who succeeded him as Commander-in-chief, died on the 5th July.



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Calcutta to Delhi was blocked up by mutiny and insurrection; and every European soldier sent up from Calcutta was stopped for the relief of Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, or Lukhnow. But the possession of the Punjab at this crisis proved to be the salvation of the empire. Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, was called upon to perform almost superhuman work—to maintain order in a newly conquered province; to suppress mutiny and disaffection among the very sepoy regiments from Bengal who were supposed to garrison the country; and to send reinforcements of troops and guns, and supplies of all descriptions, to the siege of Delhi. Fortunately the Sikhs had been only a few short years under British administration; they had not forgotten the miseries that prevailed under the native government, and could appreciate the many blessings they enjoyed under British rule. They were staunch to the British government, and eager to be led against the rebels. In some cases terrible punishment was meted out to mutinous Bengal sepoys within the Punjab;¹ but the imperial interests at stake were sufficient to justify every severity, although all must regret the painful necessity that called for such extreme measures.

On the 8th of June, about a month after the revolt at Delhi, Sir Henry Barnard took the field at Alipore, about ten miles from the rebel capital. He defeated an advance division of the enemy; and then marched to the Ridge, and reoccupied the old cantonment which had been abandoned on the 11th of May. So far it was clear that the rebels were unable to do anything in the open field, although they might fight bravely under cover. They numbered about thirty thousand strong; they had a very powerful artillery, and ample stores of ammunition; while there was an abundance of provisions within the city throughout the siege.

General Reed succeeded Barnard, but was compelled by ill health to resign the appointment on the 17th July. General Wilson of the Bengal artillery then took the command, while Colonel Baird Smith was chief engineer.

¹ The wholesale executions in the Twenty-sixth Regiment of native infantry, which were carried out by the late Mr. Cooper, can only be justified by stern necessity.



The defences of Delhi covered an area of three square miles. The walls consisted of a series of bastions, about sixteen feet high, connected by long curtains, with occasional martello towers to aid the flanking fire. Every bastion was mounted with eleven guns; namely, one on the salient, three on each face, and two on each flank. Both bastions and curtains were built of masonry about twelve feet thick. Running round the base of these bastions and curtains was a berm or terrace varying in width from fifteen to thirty feet, having on its exterior edge a wall loop-holed for musketry. The whole was surrounded by a ditch twenty feet deep and twenty-five feet wide.¹ On the eastern side of the city the river Jumna ran past the palace of the king and the old state prison of Selimgurh. The bridge of boats leading to Meerut was in front of Selimgurh.

There were seven gates to the city, namely, Lahore gate, Ajmir gate, Turkoman gate, Delhi gate, Mori gate, Kabul gate, and Kashmir gate. The principal street was the Chandni Chouk, which ran in a direct line from the Delhi gate to the palace of the Moghuls. The great mosque, known as the Juma Musjid, stands on a rocky eminence at the back of the Chandni Chouk.

The British camp on the Ridge presented a picture at once varied and striking; long lines of European tents, thatched hovels of the native servants, rows of horses, parks of artillery, English soldiers in their gray linen coats and trousers, Sikhs with their red and blue turbans, Afghans with their gay headdresses and colored saddle-cloths, and the Ghorkas in Kilmarnock hats and woollen coats. There were but few Hindu sepoy in the British ranks, but the native servants were very numerous. In the rear were the booths of the native bazars; and further out in the plain were thousands of camels, bullocks and baggage horses. Still further to

¹ Meeting of the Bengal Army, London, 1858. Bacon's First Impressions of Hindustan, London, 1837. The loop-holed wall was a continuation of the escarp or inner wall of the ditch. The counterscarp, or outer wall of the ditch, was not of masonry, but was a mere earthen slope of easy incline.



the rear was a small river crossed by two bridges; but the bridges were subsequently blown up. On the extreme right of the camp, on a spot nearest the city walls, was a battery on an eminence, known as the Mound battery, which faced the Mori gate. Hard by was Hindu Rao's house, the headquarters of the army during the siege. From the summit of the Ridge was to be seen the river Jumna winding along to the left of the city: the bridge of boats, the towers of the palace, the minarets of the great mosque of the Juma Masjid, the house roofs and gardens of the doomed city, and the picturesque walls, with batteries here and there sending forth white clouds of smoke among the green foliage that clustered round the ramparts.

To the right of the Mound battery was the old suburb known as the Subzi Mundi. It was the vegetable bazar which figures in the scandalous stories of the later Moghul princes as the scene of their frolics and debaucheries. It was occupied by old houses, gardens with high walls, and narrow streets and lanes; and thus it furnished the very cover which makes Asiatics brave.² Similar suburbs intervened between the actual defences of Delhi and the whole line of the English position.

For many weeks the British army on the Ridge was unable to attempt siege operations. It was, in fact, the besieged rather than the besiegers; for although the bridges in the rear were blown up, the camp was exposed to continual assaults from all the other sides.

On the 23d of June, the hundredth anniversary of the battle of Plassy, the enemy made a greater effort than ever to carry the British position. The attack began on the right

¹ Hindu Rao is one of the forgotten celebrities who flourished about fifty years ago. He was a brother of Baiza Bai, the ambitious widow of Daulat Rao Sindia, who worried Lord William Bentinck. Hindu Rao had a claim to the throne of Gwalior, but was outwitted by his strong-minded sister, and sent to live at Delhi on a lakh of rupees per annum; i.e., ten thousand pounds a year. Like the great Jaswant Rao Holkar, he was a victim to cherry brandy.

² The Subzi Mundi was subsequently cleared from all the rubbish and débris. At the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, on the 1st of January, 1877, it formed the site of part of the Viceregal encampment.



from the Subzi Mundi, its object being to capture the Mound battery. Finding it impossible to carry the battery, the rebels confined themselves to a hand to hand conflict in the Subzi Mundi. The deadly struggle continued for many hours; and as the rebels came up in overwhelming numbers, it was fortunate that the two bridges in the rear had been blown up the night before, or the assault might have had a different termination. It was not until after sunset that the enemy was compelled to retire with the loss of a thousand men. Similar actions were frequent during the month of August; but meanwhile reinforcements were coming up, and the end was drawing nigh.

In the middle of August, Brigadier John Nicholson, one of the most distinguished officers of the time, came up from the Punjab with a brigade and siege train. On the 4th of September a heavy train of artillery was brought in from Ferozepore. The British force on the Ridge now exceeded eight thousand men. Hitherto the artillery had been too weak to attempt to breach the city walls; but now fifty-four heavy guns were brought into position and the siege began in earnest. From the 8th to the 12th of September four batteries poured in a constant storm of shot and shell; number one was directed against the Kashmir bastion, number two against the right flank of the Kashmir bastion, number three against the Water bastion, and number four against the Kashmir and Water gates and bastions. On the 13th of September the breaches were declared to be practicable, and the following morning was fixed for the final assault upon the doomed city.

At three o'clock in the morning of the 14th September, three assaulting columns were formed in the trenches, while a fourth was kept in reserve. The first column was led by Brigadier Nicholson; the second by Brigadier Jones; the third by Colonel Campbell; and the fourth, or reserve, by Brigadier Longfield.

The powder bags were laid at the Kashmir gate by Lieutenants Home and Salkeld. The explosion followed, and the



third column rushed in, and pushed toward the Juma Masjid. Meanwhile the first column under Nicholson escalated the breaches near the Kashmir gate, and pushed along the ramparts toward the Kabul gate, carrying the several bastions in the way. Here it was met by the second column under Brigadier Jones, who had escalated the breach at the Water bastion. The advancing columns were met by a ceaseless fire from terraced houses, mosques, and other buildings; and John Nicholson, the hero of the day, while attempting to storm a narrow street near the Kabul gate, was struck down by a shot and mortally wounded. Then followed six days of desperate warfare. No quarter was given to men with arms in their hands; but women and children were spared, and only a few of the peaceable inhabitants were sacrificed during the storm.

On the 20th of September the gates of the old fortified palace of the Moghuls were broken open, but the royal inmates had fled. No one was left but a few wounded sepoys and fugitive fanatics. The old king, Bahadur Shah, had gone off to the great mausoleum without the city, known as the tomb of Humayun. It was a vast quadrangle raised on terraces and enclosed with walls. It contained towers, buildings, and monumental marbles, in memory of different members of the once distinguished family; as well as extensive gardens, surrounded with cloistered cells for the accommodation of pilgrims.

On the 21st of September Captain Hodson rode to the tomb, arrested the king, and brought him back to Delhi with other members of the family, and lodged them in the palace. The next day he went again with a hundred horsemen, and arrested two sons of the king in the midst of a crowd of armed retainers, and brought them away in a native carriage. Near the city the carriage was surrounded by a tumultuous crowd; and Hodson, who was afraid of a rescue, shot both princes with his pistol, and placed their bodies in a public place on the walls for all men to see.

Thus fell the imperial city; captured by the army under



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Brigadier Wilson before the arrival of any of the reinforcements from England. The losses were heavy. From the beginning of the siege to the close the British army at Delhi had nearly four thousand killed and wounded. The casualties on the side of the rebels were never estimated. Two bodies of sepoys broke away from the city, and fled down the valleys of the Jumna and Ganges, followed by two flying columns under Brigadiers Greathed and Showers. But the great mutiny and revolt at Delhi had been stamped out; and the flag of England waved triumphantly over the capital of Hindustan.

The capture of Delhi, in September, 1857, was the turning-point in the sepoy mutinies. The revolt was crushed beyond redemption; the rebels were deprived of their head centre; and the Moghul king was a prisoner at the mercy of the power whom he had defied. But there were still troubles in India. Lukhnow was still beleaguered by a rebel army, and insurrection still ran riot in Oude and Rohilkund.

In the middle of August General Havelock had fallen back on Cawnpore, after the failure of his first campaign for the relief of Lukhnow. Five weeks afterward Havelock made a second attempt under better auspices. Sir Colin Campbell had arrived at Calcutta as Commander-in-chief. Sir James Outram had come up to Allahabad. On the 16th of September, while the British troops were storming the streets of Delhi, Outram joined Havelock and Neill at Cawnpore with one thousand four hundred men. As senior officer he might have assumed the command; but with generous chivalry, the "Bayard of India" waived his rank in honor of Havelock.

On the 20th of September General Havelock crossed the Ganges into Oude at the head of two thousand five hundred men. The next day he defeated a rebel army; and put it to flight, while four of the enemy's guns were captured by Outram at the head of a body of volunteer cavalry. On the 23d Havelock routed a still larger rebel force which was



strongly posted at a garden in the suburbs of Lukhnow, known as the Alumbagh. He then halted to give his soldiers a day's rest. On the 25th he was cutting his way through the streets and lanes of the city of Lukhnow; running the gantlet of a deadly and unrelenting fire from the houses on both sides of the streets, and also from guns which commanded them. On the evening of the same day he entered the British intrenchments; but in the moment of victory a chance shot carried off the gallant Neill.

The defence of the British Residency at Lukhnow is a glorious episode in the national annals. The fortitude of the beleaguered garrison was the admiration of the world. The ladies nursed the wounded, and performed every womanly duty, with self-sacrificing heroism; and when the fight was over they received the well-merited thanks of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

During four long months the garrison had known nothing of what was going on in the outer world. They were aware of the advance and retreat of Havelock, and that was all. At last, on the 23d of September, they heard the booming of the guns at the Alumbagh. On the morning of the 25th they could see something of the growing excitement in the city; the people abandoning their houses and flying across the river. Still the guns of the rebels kept up a heavy cannonade upon the Residency, and volleys of musketry continued to pour upon the besieged from the loopholes of the besiegers. But soon the firing was heard from the city; the welcome sounds came nearer and nearer. The excitement of the garrison grew beyond control. Presently the relieving force was seen fighting its way toward the Residency. Then the pent-up feelings of the garrison burst forth in deafening cheers; and wounded men in hospital crawled out to join in the chorus of welcome. Then followed personal greetings as officers and men came pouring in. Hands were frantically shaken on all sides. Rough bearded soldiers took the children from their mothers' arms, kissed them with tears rolling down their cheeks, and thanked



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God that they had come in time to save them from the fate that had befallen the sufferers at Cawnpore.

Thus after a siege of nearly four months Havelock succeeded in relieving Lukhnow. But it was a reinforcement rather than a relief, and was confined to the British Residency. The siege was not raised; and the city of Lukhnow remained two months longer in the hands of the rebels. Sir James Outram assumed the command, but was compelled to keep on the defensive. Meanwhile reinforcements were arriving from England. In November Sir Colin Campbell reached Cawnpore at the head of a considerable army. He left General Windham with two thousand men to take charge of the intrenchment at Cawnpore; and then advanced against Lukhnow with five thousand men and thirty guns. He carried several of the enemy's positions, cut his way to the Residency, and at last brought away the beleaguered garrison, with all the ladies and children. But not even then could he disperse the rebels and reoccupy the city. Accordingly he left Outram at the head of four thousand men in the neighborhood of Lukhnow, and then returned to Cawnpore.

On the 24th of November, the day after leaving Lukhnow, General Havelock was carried off by dysentery and buried in the Alumbagh. His death spread a gloom over India, but by this time his name had become a household word wherever the English language was spoken. In the hour of surprise and panic, as successive stories of mutiny and rebellion reached England, and culminated in the revolt at Delhi and massacre at Cawnpore, the victories of Havelock revived the drooping spirits of the British nation, and stirred up all hearts to glorify the hero who had stemmed the tide of disaffection and disaster. The death of Havelock, following the story of the capture of Delhi, and told with the same breath that proclaimed the deliverance at Lukhnow, was received in England with a universal sorrow that will never be forgotten, so long as men are living who can recall the memory of the mutinies of Fifty-seven.



Sir Colin Campbell was approaching Cawnpore, when he heard the roll of a distant cannonade. There was another surprise, and unfortunately another disaster. Tantia Topi had come once more to the front. That wonderful Mahratta Brahman had made his way from the side of Nana Sahib to the capital of Sindia; and had persuaded the Gwalior Contingent to break out in open revolt and march against Cawnpore. General Windham was an officer of distinction. He had earned his laurels in the Crimean campaign, but he was unfamiliar with Asiatic warfare. He went out to meet the rebels, and routed the advanced body; but he was outwitted by the consummate genius of Tantia Topi. He found himself outflanked, and took alarm, and fell back upon the intrenchment; leaving not only his camp equipage and stores, but the whole city of Cawnpore in the hands of the rebel sepoys.¹ To crown all, the bridge of boats over the Ganges, by which Sir Colin Campbell was expected to cross the river on his way to Cawnpore, was in imminent danger of being destroyed by the rebels.

Fortunately the bridge escaped the vigilance of Tantia Topi, and Sir Colin Campbell reached the intrenchment in safety. His first act was to despatch the garrison from Lukhnow, together with his sick and wounded, down the river to Allahabad. He then took the field and routed the Gwalior rebels that repulsed General Windham, and drove them out of Cawnpore. The naval brigade under Sir William Peel gained great renown during these operations, handling their 24-pounders like playthings; while Generals Little and Mansfield and Brigadier Hope Grant distinguished themselves in the pursuit of the rebels.

In January, 1858, the ex-king Bahadur Shah was tried

¹ Major Adye of the Royal Artillery was present at the engagement and lost two of his guns. In sheer desperation he went out at night with a small party, and succeeded in finding his guns and bringing them back in triumph. It thus appeared that not even Tantia Topi could persuade Asiatics to keep on guard against a night attack; and had Windham beaten up the enemy's quarters at midnight he might possibly have retrieved his disaster. Major Adye is now General Sir John Adye, Governor of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich.



by a military commission at Delhi, and found guilty of ordering the massacre of Christians, and of waging war against the British government. Sentence of death was recorded against him; but ultimately he was sent to Rangoon, with his favorite wife and her son, and kept under surveillance as a state prisoner until his death five years afterward.

The subsequent history of the sepoy revolt is little more than a detail of the military operations of British troops for the dispersion of the rebels and restoration of order and law. Sir Colin Campbell, now Lord Clyde, undertook a general campaign against the rebels in Oude and Rohilkund, and restored order and law throughout those disaffected provinces; while Sir James Outram drove the rebels out of Lukhnow, and re-established British sovereignty in the capital of Oude.

At the same time a column from Bombay under Sir Hugh Rose, and another from Madras under General Whitlock, carried out a similar work in Central India and Bundelkund. History has scarcely done justice to the brilliant campaign of Sir Hugh Rose in Central India from the borders of the Bombay Presidency to the banks of the Jumna. The military operations of Lord Clyde were on a far larger scale, but they were conducted in an open and well-peopled country. The campaign of Sir Hugh Rose was carried out amid the jungles, ravines, and broken ground of the Vindhya mountains; and the equally secluded region of Bundelkund, which for centuries had set the Muhammadan power at defiance. With a small but well-appointed force, a tithe of that under Lord Clyde's command, Sir Hugh Rose captured fortresses and walled towns, fought battles against enormous odds, and never for a moment gave the enemy time to breathe. He besieged and captured the rebel fortress of Jhansi, where Tantia Topi had come to the help of the Rani. The bloody-minded Rani fled to the jungles; and Tantia Topi escaped to the northeast, and concentrated a rebel army of twenty



thousand men near Kalpi on the Jumna. After some desperate actions, Sir Hugh Rose utterly routed Tantia Topi, and scattered his forces in all directions. Sir Hugh Rose considered that he had now brought his campaign in Central India to a glorious close; and he congratulated the troops under his command at having marched a thousand miles and captured a hundred guns.

But Sir Hugh Rose had reckoned without his host. At this very time the irrepressible Mahratta Brahman, Tantia Topi, had secretly proceeded to Gwalior, the capital of Maharaja Sindia. He had made Gwalior the rallying-point for all the scattered troops of the rebel army; and organized a conspiracy against Sindia to be supported by the rebels as fast as they arrived. The plot was discovered in time by the Maharaja and his minister, Dinkur Rao; and it was plain that neither the one nor the other could have felt the slightest sympathy in a movement for upsetting the British government and restoring a dynasty of Peishwas.

Dinkur Rao counselled the Maharaja to adopt a defensive policy until a British force arrived from Agra. But Sindia was young and enthusiastic, and anxious to show his loyalty to the British government. Accordingly he marched out with eight thousand men and twenty-five guns to attack the rebel army. The result was one of those surprises and disasters which characterized different epochs of the mutiny. Sindia's army deserted him, and either joined the rebels or returned to Gwalior. His own bodyguard remained with him, and fought against the rebels with the old Mahratta spirit, but they suffered heavily in the action. Sindia was thus compelled to fly to Dholepore on the road to Agra, where he was joined by Dinkur Rao.

The city of Gwalior, with all its guns, stores, and treasure, was thus abandoned to the rebels. Nana Sahib was proclaimed Peishwa; and a revolution was beginning of which no one at Gwalior could see the ending. In the beginning of June, 1858, in the height of the hot weather, a new rebel army, numbering eighteen thousand men, had



sprung into existence in Central India under the command of Tantia Topi, with all the famous artillery of Sindia at his disposal.

This astounding state of affairs soon called Sir Hugh Rose to the front. On the 16th of June he defeated a rebel force which was posted in the cantonment at Morar. The next day he was joined by a column under Brigadier Smith; and on the 18th all the rebel intrenchments and positions were stormed and captured. During these operations the Rani of Jhansi fought on the side of the rebels in male attire. She was killed by a trooper before her sex was discovered; and is said to have courted her fate to escape the punishment of her crimes.

Tantia Topi, however, was a born general, and his genius never deserted him. He made good his retreat from Gwalior with six thousand men, and carried away thirty field-pieces. But his case was hopeless. Two days afterward, Brigadier Robert Napier, the present Lord Napier of Magdala, dashed among the retreating force with six hundred horsemen and six field-guns, and put them to flight, while recovering nearly all the artillery they had carried away. This successful action was regarded as one of the most brilliant exploits in the campaign.

In spite of these crushing defeats, Tantia Topi evaded all pursuit for ten months longer. Different columns strove to hem him in; but the active Mahratta, with all the spirit and pertinacity of his race, made his way to the banks of the Nerbudda with a large body of fugitives, mounted on the small hardy ponies of India. With all the pertinacity of a Mahratta, he still clung to the wild hope of reaching the western Dekhan, and creating a new Mahratta empire in the dominions of the ex-Peishwa, which had been British territory for more than forty years. Whether it was possible for him to have raised a Mahratta insurrection is a problem he was never destined to solve.

Tantia Topi was driven back by the Bombay troops, and never crossed the Nerbudda. From that time Tantia Topi



and the British troops appeared to be playing at hunting the hare all over Central India. He and his men rode incredible distances, and often appeared to be in several places at once. At last a cordon of hunters surrounded him. He was driven into the western deserts of Rajputana, but compelled, from want of supplies, to double back on Bundelkund. In April, 1859, his hiding-place in the jungles was betrayed by one of his own rebel generals; and he was arrested by Major Meade, and tried, convicted, and hanged, to the general satisfaction of all concerned.

Tantia Topi was a cruel and crafty villain, with a cleverness that calls to mind the genius and audacity of the old Mahratta Peishwas. He was no doubt the originator of the rebellion of the Nana Sahib, and the prime mover in the massacres at Cawnpore; while the Nana was a mere tool and puppet in his hands, like Maharaja Sahu in the hands of the Peishwas. Could the Nana have succeeded in gaining a throne, he would most probably have been imprisoned or murdered by Tantia Topi; and Tantia Topi would have founded one of those dynasties of ministerial sovereigns which so often sprung into existence in the palmy days of Brahmanical rule.¹

¹ The death of Tantia Topi has carried the reader beyond the mutinies into the year 1859. In the next chapter it will be necessary to revert to the close of the mutinies in 1858.



CHAPTER XXVI

IMPERIAL RULE: CANNING, ELGIN, LAWRENCE,
MAYO, NORTHBROOK AND LYTTON

A.D. 1858 TO 1880

ON the 1st of November, 1858, the proclamation of her Majesty Queen Victoria brought the sepoy revolt to a close. It was the Magna Charta of India, and was translated into all the languages of the country. It announced the transfer of the direct government of India from the Company to the Crown. It confirmed all existing dignities, rights, usages, and treaties.¹ It assured the people of India that the British government had neither the right nor the desire to tamper with their religion or caste. It granted a general amnesty to all mutineers and rebels, excepting only those who had been directly implicated in the murders.

In January, 1859, Lord Canning published a despatch from Lord Clyde, declaring that rebellion no longer existed in Oude.² The campaign was at an end, for no organized armies of rebels remained in the field; but hordes of armed men, of whom Tantia Topi was a type, were still fighting

¹ The administrative results of the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown may be summed up in a few words. The Governor-General became a Viceroy. Non-officials, natives and Europeans, were introduced into the so-called legislative councils at the different Presidencies, and into the legislative council of the Viceroy. The Company's army was amalgamated with the Queen's army. The Company's Courts of Appeal at the different Presidencies, known as the Sudder Courts, in which the judges were selected from the Civil Service, were amalgamated with the Supreme Courts, in which the judges were sent out from England under the nomination of the Crown. The new Courts are now known as High Courts.

² Oude was disarmed after the rebellion, just as the Punjab had been disarmed after the annexation. The number of arms collected was very large; there were 684 cannon, 186,000 firearms, 560,000 swords, 50,000 spears, and more than 600,000 weapons of other descriptions; while more than 1,500 fortresses, great and small, were demolished or dismantled.



as it were with halters round their necks. But brigades and detachments were in motion from the Nerbudda river to the northeast frontier of Oude; and the work of trampling out the last embers of the great conflagration was gradually brought to a close.

During the cold weather of 1859 Lord Canning left Calcutta for a tour in the upper provinces. In November he held a grand durbar at Agra, at which his dignified presence created an impression among the native princes which was never forgotten. He acknowledged the services rendered to the British government during the mutinies by Maharaja Sindia, the Raja of Jaipur, and others. At the same time, as the representative of her Majesty, he publicly announced the concession to native rulers of the right of adopting a son, who should succeed to the government of their several principalities in the event of a failure of natural heirs.

In March, 1862, Lord Canning left India forever. The leading event of his administration was the sepoy revolt; but it was followed by measures of economy and reform which proved him to be one of the most conscientious and hard-working statesmen that ever governed India. Unfortunately his career was rapidly brought to a close. He died the following June, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Lord Elgin succeeded Lord Canning as Viceroy of India. His administration was short, but was marked by two events which will always find a place in history; namely, a little mountain expedition on the northwest frontier which led to an expensive campaign, and a mission to Bhutan which led to a still more disastrous war.

The frontier of British India westward of the river Indus was formed in 1849 by a chain of mountains which ran southward from the Hindu Kush into Sinde, and served as a natural wall between the Punjab and Afghanistan.¹ These moun-

¹ The wall is not continuous. It is pierced by the Khaiber Pass which leads to Kabul, and the Bolan Pass which leads to Quetta and Kandahar. Other passes were discovered during the campaigns of 1878-79.



tains are known as the Sulaiman range. They are inhabited by tribes who are closely akin to the Afghans; equally blood-thirsty and treacherous, and still more ignorant and barbarous. They have no government, but each tribe has its own council of elders, known as the Jirgah. They are Muhammadans of the worst type; intolerant and priest-ridden. They always carry arms, such as matchlocks and short swords, whether grazing cattle, tilling the soil, or driving beasts of burden; for every tribe has its internecine war, every family its hereditary blood feud, and every man his personal enemy. At the same time, whenever they are exposed to the assaults of an invader, they forget all their feuds and quarrels, and make common cause against the foreigner.¹

In the old days of Runjeet Singh and his successors, the mountain tribes were always ready to carry fire and sword into the bordering villages of Sikhs and Hindus, on the side of the Punjab. They plundered homesteads, slaughtered all who opposed them, and carried off women, children, and cattle. Since the British conquest of the Punjab there has been a vast improvement in the state of affairs on the frontier; and the mountain tribes have been kept out of the plains by the Punjab Irregular Force organized by Lord Dalhousie.

The most important British district on the line of frontier is that of Peshawar. It is the key of the whole position. It extends from the fort of Attock, at the junction of the Kabul and Indus rivers, westward as far as the mouth of the Khaiber Pass, which leads to Kabul. Accordingly the British cantonment at Peshawar has always been held by a large force of the regular army.

Forty miles to the north of Attock is a village, or group of villages, called Sitana. The settlement is situated outside the frontier, on the eastern face of a square mass of rock,

¹ The data respecting the population of the Sulaiman range is condensed from a Report on the independent tribes of the northwest frontier, drawn up many years ago by Sir Richard Temple. The original extract will be found in page 27 of the Blue Book on Afghanistan, published in 1878.



Eight thousand feet high, known as the Mahabun mountain. It had been occupied ever since 1831, or thereabout, by a colony of Hindustani fanatics from Bengal. These men are a sect of Muhammadan puritans, known as Wahabis, who affect a strict and ascetic way of life, such as prevailed in the time of the Prophet, and denounce all commentaries on the Koran, and all such modern innovations as the worship of relics. The Hindustani fanatics at Sitana were dangerous neighbors. They were brigands as well as bigots, like the zealots described by Josephus. They committed frequent raids on British territory, being inspired by religious hatred as well as love of plunder; and, strange to say, they were recruited from time to time with men and money from disaffected Muhammadans in Patna and other localities in Bengal, at least twelve hundred miles off. In 1858 they were driven out of Sitana by General Sir Sydney Cotton, who commanded at Peshawar; but they only retired to Mulka, on the further slope of the Mahabun mountain; and in 1862 they returned to Sitana and renewed their depredations.

In 1863 a British force of five thousand men, under General Sir Neville Chamberlain, was sent to root out the Hindustani fanatics from Mulka as well as Sitana. It would, however, have proved a difficult operation to march a column up the side of a steep mountain in the face of swarms of mountaineers and fanatics; and then, after capturing Sitana, to march over a crest eight thousand feet high, in order to attack a strong force at Mulka on the further slope. Accordingly it was resolved to reach the slope in question by a narrow gorge that ran along the western face of the Mahabun mountain, and was known as the Umbeyla pass; and thus to take Mulka, as it were, in the rear.²

¹ The whole region is classic ground, the scene of Alexander's invasion of India. The Mahabun mountain has been identified with the natural fortress of Aornos, which was captured by the Macedonians. Attock has been identified with Taxila, the first city entered by the great conqueror after the passage of the Indus.

² See Sitana; a Mountain Campaign on the Borders of Afghanistan, by Colonel John Adye, R.A. The author is largely indebted to this valuable con-



While, however, one side of the Umbeyla pass was formed by the Mahabun mountain, the other side was formed by another steep height, known as the Guru mountain; and beyond the Guru mountain were many strong tribes, known as Bonairs and Swatis; and above all there was a certain warrior priest, known as the Akhoond of Swat, who exercised a powerful influence as prince and pontiff over many of the tribes far and wide. Then again the Umbeyla pass was outside the British frontier, and really belonged to the Bonairs. It was, however, imagined that the Afghan mountaineers could have no sympathy with the Hindustani fanatics; especially as the Akhoond of Swat had fulminated his spiritual thunder against the Hindustani fanatics at Mulka and Sitana in a way which betokened a deadly sectarian hostility. Moreover, as the Umbeyla pass was only nine miles long, it was possible to reach Mulka and destroy the village before Bonairs or Swatis could know what was going on.

Unfortunately the Hindustani fanatics were too sharp for the British authorities. They got an inkling of the coming expedition, and sent out letters to all the neighboring tribes. They declared that the English infidels were coming to devastate the mountains and subvert the religion of the tribes. It was cunningly added that in the first instance the infidels would say that they only came to destroy the Hindustanis; but if once they got into the mountain, every one of the tribes would share the fate of the Hindustanis.

Unconsciously General Chamberlain played into the hands of the Hindustanis. He told the neighboring tribes that he was going to destroy Mulka, but that he had no intention whatever of interfering with any one but the Hindustanis. He entered the Umbeyla pass before he could receive any

tribution to military history. Colonel, now General, Sir John Acland, maintains that the Hindu Kush and not the Sulaiman range is the true frontier of our British Indian empire. The author would add that if we accept the Hindu Kush as our mountain fortress, then, to use a technical phrase, Afghan-Turkistan is our barm and the Oxus our ditch. Russia already holds the glacis as represented by Bokhara and Khiva.



reply; but, on getting three parts of the way, he was compelled to halt for the baggage. He sent on a party to reconnoitre the Chumla valley, which intervened between the pass and Mulka, and then it was found that the Guru mountain was swarming with armed men. Accordingly the reconnoitring party had much difficulty in returning to the camp; and it was soon evident that the British force had been drawn into a defile; and that it would be impossible to advance without reinforcements, and almost equally impossible to return to British territory.

The movements of the British force had excited the suspicions of the tribes by confirming all that the Hindustanis had said. The Bonairs were exasperated at the violation of their territory, without any previous reference to their council of elders. Fear and alarm spread far and wide, and the tribes flocked to the Guru mountain from all quarters. The Akhoond of Swat came in person with fifteen thousand men. The mountain tribes on the Mahabun made common cause with the Hindustanis in resisting the invaders. In a word, General Chamberlain was threatened by swarms of matchlock men on his two flanks, while his rear was blocked up by mules, camels, and other impedimenta. Under such circumstances he was compelled to keep off the enemy as he best could, and wait for reinforcements, or for orders to retire. To make matters worse, he himself was wounded; while Lord Elgin was dying at Dhurmsala in the Himalayas.

At this crisis Sir Hugh Rose, who had succeeded Lord Clyde as Commander-in-chief, solved the difficulty. He protested against any retirement, as it would only necessitate an expensive campaign in the following spring; and he ordered up reinforcements with all speed from Lahore.

Lord Elgin died in November, 1863. Sir William Denison, Governor of Madras, came up to Calcutta to act as his successor until a Viceroy could be appointed by the home government; and he at once sanctioned the steps taken by Sir Hugh Rose. General Garvock assumed the command in the room of General Chamberlain, and found himself at



the head of nearly nine thousand men all eager for the fray. The mountain tribes were soon brought to reason; and a brilliant campaign ended in a political triumph. The Bonairs were so satisfied of the good faith of the British authorities that they went themselves to Mulka and burned down the village; and for a while nothing more was heard of the Hindustanis.¹

The idea of a Muhammadan conspiracy, running along a line of one thousand two hundred miles between Patna and Sitana, created undue alarm in England. The result was that Sir John Lawrence, whose administration of the Punjab during the sepoy mutinies had excited general admiration, was appointed to succeed Lord Elgin as Viceroy of India. The appointment was contrary to established usage, for it had been ruled in the case of Sir Charles Metcalfe that no servant of the Company could fill the substantive post of Governor-General. The elevation of Sir John Lawrence, however, was regarded with universal satisfaction. He arrived at Calcutta in January, 1864; but by this time the Sitana campaign had been brought to a close.

Shortly after Sir John Lawrence had taken over the government of India, a mission which had been sent to Bhutan by Lord Elgin was brought to an unfortunate close. Before, however, describing the progress of events, it will be necessary to glance at the country and people of Bhutan, and review the circumstances which led to the despatch of the mission.

Bhutan is a mountain region in the Himalayas, having Thibet on the north and Bengal and Assam on the south. It also lies between Nipal on the west and another portion of Thibet on the east.² Like Nipal, it forms a fringe of

¹ In 1863 an expedition under the command of General Wylde was sent against the Afghan tribes on the Black Mountain, immediately to the north of the Mahabun. The military operations were successful, and sufficed for the suppression of disturbances and restoration of peace.

² Bhutan is separated from Nipal by the little principality of Sikhim and the hill station of Darjeeling.



mountain territory to the south of the great Thibetan table land. Originally it belonged to Thibet, but became independent from the inability of the Thibetan government to keep the mountaineers in subjection.

The people of Bhutan are rude, robust, and dirty; with flat faces of the Tartar type, and high cheekbones narrowing down to the chin. They have ruddy brown complexions; black hair cut close to the head; small black almond-shaped eyes; very thin eyelashes; and little or no eyebrows or beards. They are coarse and filthy in their manners, and leave all the field work to the women, who are as coarse as the men.

This repulsive barbarism is the outcome of a corrupt form of Buddhism. Thousands of Buddhist monks lead lives of religion and laziness in their secluded monasteries; leaving the laity to grovel away their existence in gross and undisguised debaucheries.

The government of Bhutan is half clerical and half secular; including a pontiff as well as a prince. The pontiff is known as the Dharma Raja; he is supposed to be an incarnation, not of deity, but of that exalted virtue and goodness which are summed up by Buddhists in the single term—Dharma;¹ and the Bhutanese believe that the Dharma Raja has the power of raising evil spirits, or demons, for the destruction of their enemies. The temporal prince is known as the Deb or Deva Raja, and is subordinate to the Dharma Raja. He represents the hero Rajas—the Devas or Devatas of Hindu traditions—who figured as heroes and were worshipped as gods until the old mythology was submerged in the metaphysical atheism of Buddhism.²

Bhutan is separated into three provinces, each of which is in charge of a governor known as a Penlow. The governor of western Bhutan is called the Paro Penlow; that of

¹ Dharma was the religion of the edicts of Asoka. See ante, p. 70.

² In the ancient Sanskrit religion, Indra was the hero of the Aryan race and the Vaidik god of the firmament; as such he was worshipped as the king of the Devas or Devatas. See ante, p. 81.



central Bhutan is the Daka Penlow; and that of eastern Bhutan is the Tongso Penlow. Subordinate to the three Penlows are the commandants of fortresses, known as Jungpens. Below these is an inferior class of officials, who serve as messengers, and are known as Zingaffs.

There is, however, a constitutional element in the Bhutan government. The Dharma and Deva Rajas are assisted by a council composed of the chief secretary to the Dharma Raja, the prime minister, the chief justice, the three Penlows when present at the capital, and three of the principal Jungpens.

The disputes between the British government and the tribes and states beyond the border are of the same mixed character along the whole line of frontier from Afghanistan to Arakan. Sometimes British villages are harried by mountain tribes; sometimes they have been silently and systematically annexed, as in the case of Nipal. Bhutan was guilty of both offences. Abortive attempts were made by the British government to keep the peace by paying yearly rent for disputed tracts; but nothing would stop the raids and kidnapping; and at last Lord Elgin sanctioned a proposition of the Bengal government to send an English mission to Punakha, the capital of Bhutan, to lay the complaints of the British authorities before the Bhutanese government.

The story of the mission to Bhutan is only historical so far as it brings out the national characteristics of the Bhutanese. In the first instance a native messenger was sent to the Deva Raja to announce the coming of the mission. The Deva Raja replied that the complaints were too trivial to be referred to the Dharma Raja, and that the British government ought not to have listened to them; but he promised to send some of the lowest officials, known as Zingaffs, to settle all disputes. The Zingaffs never came, and at last the English mission left Darjeeling for Punakha.

At this very moment there was a revolution in Bhutan. The Deva Raja lost his throne and retired to a monastery; but civil war was still at work in western Bhutan, the very country through which the mission was about to pass on



its way to Punakha. The Paro Penlow was stanch to the ex-Deva Raja; but his subordinate, the Jungpen of the frontier fortress of Dhalinkote, had joined the revolutionary party. The troops of the Paro Penlow were besieging the fortress of Dhalinkote, but retired on the approach of the English mission.

Under such circumstances the Jungpen of Dhalinkote welcomed the approach of the English mission with warm professions of attachment to the British government. But the selfish craft of the Bhutanese barbarian was soon manifest. He sent musicians and ponies to conduct the Envoy to Dhalinkote; but he charged exorbitant prices for every article he supplied; and paid long complimentary visits to the different members of the mission, during which he drank spirits until he was permitted to retire, or, properly speaking, was turned out. Meanwhile the Envoy received a letter from the new Deva Raja, telling him to acquaint the Jungpen with the object of his mission. The Envoy replied that he could only negotiate with the head of the Bhutanese government. Accordingly, after many delays, he at last set out for Punakha.

It was obviously unwise to send a mission into a barbarous country like Bhutan without some knowledge of the state of parties. It was still more unwise for the British government to appear to side with either party. Yet Sir William Denison, the provisional Governor-General from Madras, ordered the mission to proceed on the ground that as the revolutionary party had got the uppermost, it would be politic to secure the help of the Jungpen who had espoused its cause. Thus a mission was sent to a new ruler, whose predecessor had only just been ousted from the throne, not with a formal recognition of his usurpation, but to complain of cattle lifting and kidnapping, and to settle all disputes respecting the border territory.

In reality the Bhutanese authorities did not want to receive a mission at all; or to conclude a treaty which would only tie their hands. Accordingly they threw every obsta-



cle in the way of the Envoy, and exhausted every possible means of inducing him to return short of main force. Of course it would have been more dignified to retire; but the Envoy was naturally anxious to carry out the instructions of his own government, and to lose no opportunity which would enable him to realize the object of his mission; and he would probably have been open to as much blame for a premature return to British territory as for a rash advance to the capital of Bhutan.

After leaving Dhalimkote, an incident occurred which brings out the peculiar temper of the Bhutanese. Some messengers appeared carrying two letters to the Jungpen of Dhalimkote. They took upon themselves to tell the Envoy that the letters contained the orders of the new Deva Raja for the return of the mission; and then, as the Envoy was the party concerned, they made over to him the letters which were intended for the Jungpen. Accordingly the letters were opened and read. In one the new Deva Raja expressed a warm attachment to the British government, and directed the Jungpen to satisfy the Envoy on every point, and to settle every dispute. The other letter ought certainly to have been marked "private." It threatened the Jungpen with death for having permitted the mission to cross the frontier, and ordered him to make every effort to induce the Envoy to go back. Should, however, the Envoy still persist in going to Punakha, he was to be sent by another road, and to be furnished with all necessary supplies.

Such were the unpromising circumstances under which the Envoy pushed on to the capital. At Punakha the barbarian government gave vent to its coarseness. The Envoy was treated with rudeness and insult, and forced to sign a treaty "under compulsion," engaging to restore the territory in dispute to Bhutan.¹ No redress was offered for the out-

¹ The real offender on this occasion was the Tongso Penlow, the governor of eastern Bhutan, and prime head of the revolutionary party, who was trying



rages committed on British subjects, and none of the kidnapped persons were surrendered. On the contrary, the Bhutanese authorities set the British government at defiance; and the great Dharma Raja, the living incarnation of goodness, threatened to raise a score of demons of enormous magnitude for the destruction of the British empire, unless the territories signed away by the Envoy were promptly made over.

Under these circumstances the treaty was nullified by a declaration of war. A campaign was begun in a difficult country of passes and precipices, reeking with a deadly malaria, and defended by a contemptible enemy, armed with matchlocks and poisoned arrows. It is needless to dwell upon military operations which reflect no glory on British arms or diplomacy. In the end the Bhutanese were brought to their senses, and compelled to restore the British subjects that had been carried away into slavery, and to make other restitutions which were necessary to satisfy the insulted honor of the British government. Arrangements were subsequently concluded as regards the disputed territory, and the payment of a yearly rent, which have proved satisfactory. Since then the Bhutanese authorities have profited by the lessons of 1864-65, and have proved better neighbors than at any previous period.

Meanwhile the progress of events in Central Asia was forced upon the attention of the British government. Russia had reached the Jaxartes, and was supposed to be threatening the Usbeg states between the Jaxartes and the Oxus. Great Britain still maintained the Sulaiman range as her frontier against Afghanistan; but could not shut her eyes to the approaches of Russia toward the Oxus. At this crisis Dost Muhammad Khan was gathered to his fathers, and Afghanistan was distracted by a war between his sons for the succession to the throne. Dost Muhammad Khan died in

to usurp the government. The Deva Raja, and other members of the council, attempted to apologize for the rudeness of the Tongso Penlow, by pretending that it was all done in the way of friendly jocularities.

June, 1863. Ever since the treaties of 1855 and 1857 he had proved staunch to the English alliance. His anxiety to recover Peshawar was as strong as in the days of Runjeet Singh; but he held out against the temptations offered by the sepoy mutinies of 1857-58, and continued to respect the British frontier. Meanwhile, however, he established his suzerainty over Afghan-Turkistan,¹ as well as over Kabul and Kandahar; and shortly before his death he wrested Herat from the government of a disaffected son-in-law, and thus became the undisputed sovereign of a united Afghan empire.

Dost Muhammad Khan had fallen into the patriarchal error of nominating Sher Ali Khan, a younger son by a favorite wife, to be his successor to the throne, to the exclusion of Muhammad Afzal Khan, his eldest son by a more elderly partner. Accordingly a fratricidal war seemed inevitable. Afzal Khan was governor of Afghan-Turkistan; a post which he had held for many years during the lifetime of his father; and he began to prepare for a deadly struggle with his younger brother. Under such circumstances Sher Ali Khan was anxious for the recognition of the British government to his succession to the throne; and after some delay this was formally granted in December, 1863, by Sir William Denison, the provisional Viceroy.

The bare recognition of Sher Ali Khan by the British government could not avert the fratricidal war. In June, 1864, there was an indecisive battle between Sher Ali Khan and his elder brother, which was followed by a sham reconciliation. Each in turn swore on the Koran to abandon all designs against the other; and then, with the customary faithlessness of an Afghan, Sher Ali Khan suddenly ordered the arrest of Muhammad Afzal Khan, bound him with chains, and kept him in close confinement until the iron entered his soul.

This act of treachery was followed by a fearful retribu-

¹ Afghan-Turkistan is the geographical term for the region northward of Kabul, lying between the Hindu Kush and the river Oxus. It comprises the districts of Maemana, Andkui, Saripul, Shibrghan, Balkh, Khulm, Kunduz and Badakhshan.



tion in the Amir's own family. Sher Ali Khan was warmly attached to his eldest son, and had appointed him heir-apparent. The son was killed by an uncle in a fit of jealousy; and the uncle was in his turn cut to pieces by the soldiery. The murder of his eldest son drove Sher Ali Khan into a state of temporary insanity; and to the end of his days he was often morose, melancholy and mad, like another Saul.

All this while Afzal Khan was in prison at Kabul; but his brother, Azim Khan, and his son, Abdul Rahman Khan, remained in possession of Afghan-Turkistan, and prepared for a renewal of the war. In May, 1866, the uncle and nephew marched an army toward Kabul. A battle was fought in Afghan fashion. There was a brisk cannonade which did no execution, and then the bulk of Sher Ali Khan's troops suddenly deserted him and went over to the rebel army. The result was that Sher Ali Khan fled with a few horsemen to Kandahar, while Muhammad Afzal Khan was released from prison and proclaimed Amir amid general illuminations and a salute of a hundred guns.

In June, 1866, Afghanistan was distributed as follows: Kabul and Afghan-Turkistan were in the possession of Muhammad Afzal Khan. Kandahar remained in the hands of Sher Ali Khan; while his son Yakub Khan held the government of Herat, and retained it throughout the war.

The British government was in a dilemma. It had recognized Sher Ali as Amir of Afghanistan, on the plea that he was *de facto* Amir; but it was not prepared to give the Amir material help in the contest with his eldest brother. The fortunes of war, however, had placed Muhammad Afzal Khan in the position of *de facto* Amir. Sir John Lawrence tried to solve the problem by recognizing Afzal Khan as ruler of Kabul and Afghan-Turkistan, and Sher Ali Khan as ruler of Kandahar.

Imprisonment, however, had exercised an evil influence on Afzal Khan, and he was no longer fitted to rule. He left the administration of affairs in the hands of his brother Azim Khan, and took to hard drinking. The government

of Azim Khan was fearfully oppressive, owing to the pressing want of money. Caravans were stopped and plundered until all trade was at a standstill. Loans and contributions were mercilessly exacted from the people. Every sign of disaffection was stamped out by murder and confiscation; while the women and children of the offenders were condemned to beggary or starvation.

In January, 1867, Sher Ali Khan made an effort for the recovery of his throne. He raised an army at Kandahar and then marched toward Kabul. Azim Khan tempted him to a premature advance by feigning to retreat; and then suddenly opened a fire from his guns, which cut up the army from Kandahar. Sher Ali Khan managed to escape with a small body of horsemen to his son, Yakub Khan, at Herat; but by so doing he left Kandahar in the hands of his brothers. To all appearance he had been deprived of his kingdom forever, and was condemned to pass the remainder of his days in exile.

In October, 1867, Muhammad Afzal Khan perished of intemperance and disease. His death was followed by a fierce contest between his brother Azim Khan and his son, Abdul Rahman Khan. But the widow of Afzal Khan forced Abdul Rahman Khan to submit to his uncle, by pointing out that any rivalry between them would only serve to strengthen the hands of Sher Ali Khan.

Azim Khan reigned as Amir of Afghanistan from October, 1867, until August, 1868, when another revolution drove him from the throne. Yakub Khan marched an army from Herat to Kandahar, and began an unexpected career of victory which ended in the restoration of his father, Sher Ali Khan, to the throne of Afghanistan. Azim Khan and his nephew, Abdul Rahman Khan, flew away to the northward, into Afghan-Turkistan; but were driven out the following year, and compelled to seek a refuge in Persian territory.¹

During the fratricidal war in Afghanistan, the advances

¹ The writer was of opinion at the time, and freely ventilated it in an Indian journal, that the progress of the fratricidal war ought to have been stopped by



of Russia toward the Usbeg states of Khokand and Bokhara continued to excite attention. Sir John Lawrence, however, was of opinion that all difficulties might be removed by a friendly understanding with Russia. He was averse to any change of frontier, or to any interference whatever in the affairs of Afghanistan. But Sher Ali Khan was complaining, and with some show of reason, that while he had shown his attachment to the British government in a variety of ways, he had received but few tokens of friendship or kindness in return. Accordingly it was proposed to strengthen the friendship between Great Britain and Afghanistan by a free gift of money and arms to the restored Amir.¹

Early in 1869 Sir John Lawrence was succeeded by Lord Mayo as Viceroy of India. He returned to England, and was raised to the peerage; and lived ten years longer, doing all the good work that fell in his way. He died in 1879 and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Few men of modern times have approached him in energy and capacity, and none has rendered greater services to the empire of British India.

Lord Mayo was a Viceroy of a different stamp from the famous Indian civilian. He was naturally wanting in a thorough familiarity with the details of Indian administration, but he had a wider knowledge of humanity, and a larger experience in European statesmanship. Courtly as well as dignified and imposing, there was a charm in his manner which insured him a larger share of personal pop-

the partition of Afghanistan between two or more chiefs; while the British government assumed the paramount power, and threatened to interfere unless the rival parties kept the peace. Later events have not induced him to change that opinion.

¹ The policy of recognizing a *de facto* ruler, and refusing to help him in times of difficulty and danger, may appear to be wise and prudent from an English point of view, but must seem cold and selfish to Oriental eyes. When Sher Ali Khan was in danger of his throne and life, the English not only refused to help him, but recognized Muhammad Afzal Khan as Amir of Kabul and Afghanistan. When, however, Sher Ali Khan recovered his territory and throne, the British government was willing to help him with money and arms. Such friendship, so easily transferred from one prince to another (with perhaps for decency's sake an expression of pity for the prince who has been worsted), may be the outcome of masterly inactivity, but it has the disadvantage of appearing hollow and insincere.



ularity than often falls to the lot of a Governor-General of India.

Shortly after the arrival of Lord Mayo at Calcutta, preparations were made for a meeting between the new Viceroy and Sher Ali Khan. In March, 1869, the conference took place at Umballa, about a hundred and twenty miles to the northwest of Delhi. It was attended with the best possible results. Sher Ali Khan had been chilled by the icy friendship of Sir John Lawrence, but he threw off all reserve and suspicion in the presence of Lord Mayo. The English nobleman won the heart of the Afghan, and established a personal influence which brightened for a while the political relations between the British government and the Amir.

But difficulties always crop up between a civilized power like Great Britain and a semi-barbarous government like that of Afghanistan, whenever attempts are made on either side to place political relations on a footing of equality. Sher Ali Khan naturally scrutinized the existing treaty with a jealous and jaundiced eye. It had been negotiated in 1855 by Sir John Lawrence with Dost Muhammad Khan.¹ It bound the Amir to consider the friends and enemies of the British government as his friends and enemies; but it did not bind the British government to like conditions as regards the friends and enemies of the Amir. Sher Ali Khan declared that this was a one-sided arrangement, and so in truth it was; but the British government was the protecting power, and had the right to insist on its conditions; and this was still more emphatically the case when it appeared as the giver of arms and money. Moreover, if the British government committed itself to the obligations proposed, it might have found itself compelled to interfere in civil broils, or take a part in foreign wars, in which it had no concern, and in which Sher Ali Khan might have been obviously in the wrong.

Accordingly Lord Mayo tried to reassure the Amir by

¹ The subsequent treaty of 1857 was also concluded by Sir John Lawrence, but was confined to arrangements consequent on the war which had broken out between Great Britain and Persia, and in no way superseded the treaty of 1855.



telling him that the British government regarded him as the rightful as well as the *de facto* ruler of Afghanistan; and would view with severe displeasure any attempt on the part of his rivals to oust him from his throne. He added that the British government would not interfere with the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and would not, under any circumstances, employ its troops beyond the frontier to quell civil dissensions or family broils. The home government subsequently directed that Sher Ali Khan should be further informed that the British government would still be free to withhold the promised help should his government become notoriously cruel and oppressive. This, however, never seems to have been done.¹

Lord Mayo was the first Indian Viceroy since Lord Dalhousie who took a special interest in the affairs of British Burma. In 1862 Sir Arthur Phayre had been appointed Chief Commissioner of the united provinces of Arakan, Pegu and Tenasserim; and had proceeded to Mandalay the same year, and concluded a friendly treaty with the king of Burma. In 1867 his successor, General Fyche, proceeded in like manner to Mandalay, and concluded a second treaty, which led to a large extension of trade with Upper Burma, and the establishment of a line of steamers to Mandalay and Bhamo. No Viceroy, however, had landed at Burma since the visit of Lord Dalhousie in 1852. Accordingly, when it was known in 1871 that Lord Mayo proposed making a trip to the province, the susceptible Burmese population were thrown into excitement by his expected arrival.

The career of Lord Mayo was, however, destined to end in a tragedy. He landed at Rangoon in February, 1872, with his personal staff and a brilliant party of guests, and

¹ All conditions as regards cruelty and oppression should be understood rather than expressed in dealing with foreign states. No diplomatic language can prevent its being regarded as a direct insult by any ruler, European or Asiatic. Moreover, it is wholly unnecessary. It is always competent for a state to threaten to break off all political relations in the case of notorious cruelty and oppression, or to carry its threats into execution in the event of a persistence in such a line of conduct. Similar conditions are understood in all societies, whenever a gross outrage is committed by any one of its members.



was welcomed with the acclamations of thousands. Crowds of native ladies, a sight unknown in India, were present at the wharf to welcome Lord and Lady Mayo with offerings of flowers. Nearly an entire week was spent by Lord Mayo in receiving deputations from all classes of the community, and in surveying the vast strides which western civilization had made in that remote territory during the brief period of twenty years. From Rangoon he paid a flying visit to Maulmain, and then steamed to the Andaman Islands to inspect the penal settlement at Port Blair. There in the dusk of the evening he was suddenly stabbed to death by an Afghan, who had been condemned to penal servitude for life on account of a murder he had committed on the British side of the northwest frontier, and who had taken the opportunity of wreaking his blind vengeance on the most popular of modern Viceroys.

With the death of Lord Mayo in 1872 the modern history of India is brought to a natural close. Lord Northbrook succeeded Lord Mayo as Viceroy, but resigned the post in 1876, and was succeeded in his turn by Lord Lytton. The details of their respective administrations are as yet too recent to be brought under review as matters of history. Two events, however, have occurred since 1872 which may be mentioned in the present place as likely to become landmarks in Indian annals.

On the 1st of January, 1877, her Majesty Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in the old imperial capital at Delhi. The visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to India in 1869, and the subsequent visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in 1875-76, had prepared the way for a closer association of the princes and people of India with the British Crown; and the celebration of an Imperial Assemblage at Delhi for the proclamation of the Empress will prove to all future ages an epoch in the annals of British India. It swept away the memory of the sepoy revolt of 1857, and associated Delhi with the might and majesty of the sovereign of the British empire. At the



same time it brought all the princes and chiefs of India into personal intercourse in the same camp under the shadow of the British sovereignty. Old feuds were forgotten; new friendships were formed; and for the first time in history the Queen of the British Isles was publicly and formally installed in the presence of the princes and people as the Empress of India.

Meanwhile, at the very moment that Delhi was the scene of festivity and rejoicing, black clouds were gathering beyond the northwestern frontier. Sher Ali Khan had become estranged from the British government. He had placed his eldest son, Yakub Khan, in close confinement on charges of disloyalty and rebellion; and he resented an attempt made by the British government to bring about a reconciliation. He considered himself ill-used in the settlement of his frontier on the side of Seistan with the Persian government. He was also mortified at the refusal of the British government to conclude a defensive alliance on equal terms, which had proved so disastrous in our dealings with Hyder Ali a century before.¹ In an evil hour he refused to receive a British mission at Kabul; while he made overtures to Russia, and received a Russian mission at his capital, at a time when British relations with Russia were known to be unsatisfactory.

Under such circumstances Sher Ali Khan was doomed to share the fate which befell his father, Dost Muhammad Khan, in 1839-40. In 1878 the British government made a final effort to save him by sending a mission to his court; but it was driven back with threats and contumely. Accordingly the British government declared war, and a British force entered Afghanistan. Sher Ali Khan made a futile attempt at resistance, and then fled northward into Russian territory, where he died shortly afterward.

Yakub Khan came to terms with the British government. He was accepted as successor to his deceased father on the throne of Afghanistan; and he agreed to receive a British

¹ See ante, p. 399.



Resident, who should permanently remain at his capital. The treacherous attack on the Residency in September, 1879, and massacre of Sir Louis Cavagnari and other officers, has led to the abdication of Yakub Khan and British occupation of Afghanistan. What the result will be is one of the political problems of the day.¹

¹ The probable destiny of the Afghan people may possibly be gathered from a historical parallel in Jewish history, which the controverted question of Afghan ethnology renders none the less striking. The parallel is helped out by the fact which is beyond controversy; namely, that in physical characteristics and national instincts the Afghans closely resemble, if they are not akin to, the Jews (see ante, p. 149). The old Assyrian kings tried hard to maintain Palestine as a buffer against Egypt; but they were ultimately compelled to transplant the Ten Tribes of Israel to the cities of the Medes; while the only king of Judah who was actively loyal to the Crown of Assyria was the unfortunate Josiah, who was slain by Pharaoh Necho in the battle of Megiddo. Four centuries later the Greek kings of Syria endeavored to convert Palestine into a similar buffer; but after trying in vain to crush out the spirit of the nation by military despotism and massacre, they were compelled to succumb to the revolt of the Maccabees. Two centuries later the Romans made every effort to maintain order and law among the turbulent populations of Palestine; but after the death of Herod the Great—a Dost Muhammad in his way—the princes of his family dared not govern mildly lest their subjects should rebel, nor severely lest they should be deposed by Caesar. Their régime proved a failure. No rulers, except Roman procurators of the stamp of Pilate and Festus, could succeed in keeping the peace. In the end, the grinding tyranny and rapacity of procurators of the stamp of Florus drove the nation frantic; and the struggle ended in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus and final scattering of the Jewish nation.

From the sixteenth century to the nineteenth the political situation of Afghanistan has tallied with that of Palestine. The Moghuls tried to make Kabul a buffer against Persia, and Persia tried to make Kandahar a buffer against the Moghul. In the eighteenth century the Afghans rose against their conquerors; those of Kandahar overran Persia, and those of Kabul and Kandahar overran Hindustan. A new Afghan empire was subsequently founded by Ahmad Shah Durrani, who bears a strange resemblance to King David; for in spite of his predatory wars and conquests, he gave utterance to strains of psalmody of which the following lines are a specimen:

"I cry unto thee, O God! for I am of my sins and wickedness ashamed;
But hopeless of thy mercy, no one hath ever from thy threshold departed.
Thy goodness and mercy are boundless, and I am of my evil acts ashamed;
'Tis hopeless that any good deeds of mine will avail, but thy name I'll every
refuge make.
O Ahmad! seek thou help from the Almighty, but not from pomp and grand-
eur's aid."

It will also be seen that the reign of his grandson Zaman Shah bears some resemblances to that of Rehoboam; while the revolt of the Barukzais, the viziers of the Duranis, is not unlike the revolt of Jeroboam; the minister of Solomon. How far Afghanistan is likely to prove a buffer between British India and Russia, with or without British procurators, remains to be seen.



SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER

LORD RIPON—AFGHANISTAN—THE MARCH FROM KABUL TO KANDAHAR—LORD DUFFERIN AND KING THEEBAW—THE ANNEXATION OF UPPER BURMA—THE MARCH OF EMPIRE—LORD CURZON INSTALLED

A D 1879 TO 1899

IN 1880 Lord Lytton retired from India and Lord Ripon was appointed Viceroy. Meanwhile Lord Beaconsfield had resigned office and Gladstone had returned to power. This was the first time in history that a change of Ministers in England was followed in India by a change of Viceroys and a change of policy. Lord Ripon was bent on peace. But Roberts had yet to march from Kabul to Kandahar. The Afghan war had not been fought.

Afghanistan is India's natural barrier, consisting mainly of bleak and rugged tablelands that are girdled by stupendous mountain ranges and intersected by precipitous ravines, it is the only road by which an invading army can reach the banks of the Indus. The people, fanatical Muhammadans, are as turbulent as the country, and so averse to any kind of control that a chief once cried to a traveller: "We are content with discord, we are content with blood, but we will never be content with a master."

With reference to their fighting qualities an able officer wrote: "An Afghan never thinks of asking quarter, but fights with the ferocity of a tiger, and clings to life till his eyes glaze and his hands refuse to pull a pistol trigger, or use a knife in a dying effort to kill or maim his enemy. The stern realities of war were more pronounced on the battlefields of Afghanistan than perhaps they have ever been in India, if we except the retribution days of the Mutiny. To spare a wounded man for a minute was proba-



ly to cause the death of the next soldier who unsuspectingly walked past him. . . . One thing our men certainly learned in Afghanistan, and that was to keep their wits about them when pursuing an enemy or passing over a hard-won field. There might be danger lurking in each seemingly inanimate form studding the ground, and unless care and caution were exercised, the wounded Afghan would steep his soul in bliss by killing a Kafir just when life was at its last ebb. This stubborn love of fighting *in extremis* is promoted, doubtless, by fanaticism, and we saw so much of it that our men at close quarters always drove their bayonets well home, so that there should be no mistake as to the deadliness of the wound. The physical courage which distinguished the untrained mobs who fought so resolutely against us was worthy of all admiration; the temerity with which men, badly armed, and lacking skilled leaders, clung to their positions, was remarkable, to say nothing of the sullen doggedness they so often showed when retiring. But when the tide of the fight set in fully against them, and they saw that further resistance would involve them more deeply, there was so sudden a change always apparent that one could scarcely believe that the fugitives hurrying over the hills were the same men who had resisted so desperately but a few minutes before. They acted wisely; they knew their powers in scaling steep hills, or making their escape by fleetness of foot; and the host generally dissolved with a rapidity which no one but an eye-witness can appreciate. If cavalry overtook them, they turned like wolves, and fought with desperation, selling their lives as dearly as ever men sold them; but there was no rally in the true sense of the word, and but faint attempts at aiding each other. Their regular troops were but little amenable to discipline, by reason of deficient training, and they resorted to the tactics they had pursued as tribesmen when once they were forced to retire."

In 1877 the Amir, Sher Ali, refused to receive a British Resident at his court. His reasons were threefold: First, the persons of British subjects would not be safe—as the



event proved; secondly, they might make demands that would occasion quarrels; thirdly, if British agents were admitted, Russia would demand the same privilege.

Prior to all this, in 1872, an arrangement had been entered into between Lord Granville and Prince Gortschakoff, by which Afghanistan was declared to be "outside the sphere within which Russia should be called upon to exercise her influence." The Oxus was laid down as the boundary of the territories of the Amirs of Bokhara and Afghanistan, and of the legitimate influence of Russia and Great Britain. But this did not prevent Russia in 1878—the period when the two empires were "diplomatically at war"—from sending the fatal Stoletoff Mission to Kabul. "We have thus," says Geddie, "to thank Russia for the cost and trouble of the Afghan war; and the unfortunate Sher Ali, who died near the Oxus while fleeing for refuge to his faithful 'friend,' " also owed to her the loss of his kingdom.

It was in the summer of 1878 that Russia sent an embassy on a grand scale, accompanied by a military escort, from Samarcand, a city of Bokhara which Russia had seized about ten years before, and thus thought she had opened the avenue that would eventually lead to British India!

A little later the Amir instructed the commandant of the fort in the Khaiber Pass to refuse permission to the British Special Mission to proceed to Kabul. Now, in view of the fact already noted that the Amir had received a Russian envoy in his capital, and had treated him with marked consideration, Lord Lytton, as we saw in the last chapter, issued a formal declaration of war and four columns were formed for invasion.

Of these columns one was placed under the command of Major-General Frederick Roberts, V. C.—now Lord Roberts of Kandahar—another under Sir Samuel Browne, the third under Lieutenant-General Donald Stewart, and the fourth, known as the Thal-Chotiali Field Force, under Major-General Sir Michael Biddulph.

The chief laurels of the Afghan war were, however, car-



ried off by Roberts, who, little known at its beginning, earned a world-wide fame at its end. His first object was to dislodge the enemy from the strong position which it had assumed in the Peiwar Kotul, an almost impregnable pass. In this he was brilliantly successful, but meanwhile the government having decided to defer further advance till the spring, and subsequently a treaty having been signed, hostilities were apparently terminated. But in the East nothing is so certain as the unforeseen. In accordance with the terms of the treaty, Yakub Khan, the son and successor of Sher Ali—who in the interim had died—agreed to receive a British officer as Resident at Kabul. Sir Louis Cavagnari was appointed to the post and was welcomed there with every appearance of cordiality. Within two months the Residency was environed by an army of Afghans and, as related in the last chapter, Cavagnari and his officers were massacred.

Roberts was at Simla when this occurred. On the morrow, at the head of about six thousand men, he started for Ali Kheyl. Pushing on thence to Kabul, he encountered the Afghan army, strongly intrenched at Charasia.

"Their position," as he has described it, "was so strong, and could only have been carried with such loss, that I determined the real attack should be made by an outflanking movement upon the right of the enemy, while their left continued to be occupied by a feint from our right." Dividing his force into two parts, he intrusted to Brigadier-General Baker the difficult task of dislodging the enemy from the heights above the Chardah valley, which formed their extreme right, placing at his disposal a force of about two thousand men, while a second column, under Major White, of the Ninety-second Highlanders, was directed to proceed toward the Sang-i-Nawishta defile, where the enemy had concentrated all their guns in the belief that the main British attack would be on that point.

According to Mr. C. R. Low,¹ from whose account of the

¹ Battles of the British Army.



expedition the following details are derived, Roberts, owing to his numerical weakness, could only retain in camp a small force, and as Macpherson's brigade was advancing from the rear, he determined to incur the risk of an attack on his camp, and left for its defence only seven hundred infantry and four hundred and fifty cavalry.

Having secured his base in the wooded enclosures of Charasia, a collection of detached villages, Baker advanced over some bare, undulating hills—forming a position easily defensible, and flanked by steep, rocky crags, varying in height from one thousand to one thousand eight hundred feet above the sloping plains which the troops had to cross—against the main position of the enemy, about four hundred feet higher, which commanded his entire front, and was only accessible in a few places. A portion of the Ninety-second Highlanders and Fifth Ghorkas advanced to crown the heights on the left, while the remainder of these regiments and two hundred men of the Fifth Punjaubees made the direct attack, and, after some spirited fighting, about two o'clock the British troops succeeded in seizing the ridge on the left of the position, when the general advance was sounded. The Afghans retreated to a position about six hundred yards in the rear, but from this they were driven by the troops advancing in rushes, supported by the fire of the mountain guns. By a quarter to four the entire ridge was gained, thus exposing the enemy's line of defence to being taken in reverse, which caused them to retire precipitately from their position on the Sang-i-Nawishta, in which quarter the operations were conducted by Major White with a judgment and skill that fully justified the trust reposed in him by Roberts. When the enemy, perceiving that the real attack was on the right of their position, weakened their left resting on the defile, Major White attacked with spirit, himself leading his men with characteristic gallantry. The Afghans gave way, leaving some guns in his hands, on which he pursued them through the pass and effected a junction with General Baker in the rear of the enemy's position.



The Afghan loss in killed was estimated at upward of three hundred, and all their guns, twenty in number, brought out from Kabul to assist in defence of the position, were captured. Roberts calculated that thirteen regiments of regular infantry were opposed to him, and the enemy were aided by contingents from the city and neighboring villages, and by a large number of tribesmen, chiefly Ghilzais, from the hills which lay to the east and west of the camp. Macpherson's advance from Zahidabad was opposed, but he easily drove off his assailants, and, after his arrival in camp, all anxiety on the score of its safety ceased. The British loss in the action of Charasia was sixteen killed, and three officers and fifty-nine men wounded.

Roberts marched early on the following morning through the Sang-i-Nawishta defile to Beni Hissar, on the Kabul road, and on October 8 the great cantonment of Sherpur was occupied by the cavalry brigade, under Brigadier-General Massy, who captured seventy-three guns. Some troops occupied the Bala Hissar, or citadel-palace of Kabul, through the streets of which the British army marched, and those concerned in the massacre of the mission were brought to justice and executed. Meanwhile the Ghilzais and other tribes had attacked the troops left at the Shutargardan pass, under Colonel Money, but Roberts sent Brigadier-General Hugh Gough with a force to his assistance, and the tribesmen were defeated with considerable loss. As the winter season forbade the pass from being used as a line of communication with India, which in future would have to be carried on by the Khaiber route, General Gough and Colonel Money evacuated the Shutargardan and arrived at Sherpur on November 4 with their troops.

On October 16 there were terrific explosions of gunpowder, cartridges, and shells in the Bala Hissar, and Captain Shafto, R.A., and some soldiers and many natives were killed, and the British troops were all marched into the Sherpur cantonments, where was ample barrack accommodation. The general had learned the wisdom of concen-



training his troops by the sad lessons taught by the events of the first Afghan war, in which his father, Sir Abraham Roberts, had been employed. With a people so fierce and independent as the Afghans, nothing was more probable than an attempt to repeat the scenes of that terrible winter, when the infuriated Kabulees besieged the small British army in the cantonment partially situated on the site of that occupied thirty-eight years later by another British force. But the commander of 1879 was of a different mold from General Elphinstone, and the troops also were animated by a sense of superiority and not cowed by repeated defeats, the result of incapacity and vacillation. The events that happened throughout the first Afghan war, including the massacre of a British Envoy, and the destruction of a British force, were faithfully repeated in 1879, even to the investment of the British cantonment; but as the disasters of 1842 were wiped out by British triumphs, so the leaguer of Sherpur ended, not in disgrace, but in a crushing defeat for the besiegers.

It was in December, some two months after his arrival at Kabul, that the people and tribes of this portion of Afghanistan—instigated by an aged fanatic Moollah, Mooskh-i-Alum (literally “scent of the world”), Sultan Jan, from the Maidan and Ghuznee districts, Meer Butcha, from the mountainous Kohistan country to the north of the city, and other rebel leaders—rose to the number of about one hundred thousand combatants to expel the invaders from the soil of their country. Roberts was at first unaware of the strength of the coalition, but took immediate steps to disperse the large bodies of tribesmen before they could effect a junction, and, on December 8, sent Macpherson with a brigade toward the west, *via* Urghandeh, in order to engage the enemy coming from Maidan, and Baker with a column, *via* Charasia, also toward Maidan, with the object of placing himself across the line by which the enemy would retire. The troops at Sherpur were thus reduced to a point of dangerous weakness, notwithstanding that they were reinforced by the ar-



arrival of the Guides Corps from Jugdulluck; and had it not been for Roberts' promptitude and military skill, after the check received on December 11 by the cavalry, it is certain that a great disaster must have ensued. This was the only miscalculation Roberts made throughout the war, and we know, from the dictum of the great Napoleon, who was himself guilty of strategic mistakes, that the greatest general is he who makes the fewest blunders, hence implying that the military commander must not be expected to be exempt from the failures that await the action of all human agency.

Acting under orders, Macpherson changed his line of advance, and marched to disperse the Kohistanees; and, in order to cut the enemy's line of retreat, the cavalry and horse artillery, under Brigadier-General Massy, were despatched from Sherpur to his assistance. Without waiting for orders from Macpherson, Massy attacked a force of about ten thousand infantry, in a position in which his cavalry could not act with advantage, and the result was that he lost two guns, and the cavalry were forced to retreat after delivering two charges, in which they lost twenty-seven killed, including four officers, and twenty-five wounded, the Ninth Lancers being the chief sufferers. Roberts immediately proceeded from Sherpur with the Seventy-second Highlanders to secure the Deh Mazung defile, barring the road to the city of Kabul, and was barely in time to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. Here he was joined by Macpherson, and on the following morning recalled Baker's brigade, the guns lost having been recovered by Colonel C. Macgregor, chief of the staff. On the morning of the 12th, Macpherson, advancing from the Bala Hissar and Deh Mazung, sent Colonel Money with a portion of his force to attack the enemy on the crest of the Takt-i-Shah. The fighting lasted all day without result, and on the following morning Baker, who had returned to Sherpur, acted in concert with Macpherson's brigade, and after some desperate fighting, the Ninety-second and Guides, led by Major



White, reached the summit, where the Seventy-second, Third Sikhs and Fifth Ghorkas, under Major Sym, had arrived a few minutes before. Meanwhile large bodies of the enemy, issuing from the city, collected on the Siah Sung heights and the villages toward Beni Hissar. From the latter they were driven out by Baker's brigade, when returning from Takt-i-Shah, and the masses collected at Siah Sung were dispersed by dashing cavalry charges made by the Guides, Fifth Punjab Cavalry and Ninth Lancers, which lost Captain Butson and four men killed, and two officers and eight men wounded. The Afghans, nothing daunted by their reverses, and reinforced by great masses of men, now occupied the Asmai heights. Baker was sent to dislodge them from this position and cut off their communications with the north. Colonel Jenkins, of the Guides, was successful in driving them from a conical hill, and the Asmai heights were gained; but the enemy were largely reinforced, and after a stubborn defence of the conical hill, Jenkins's column was compelled to retreat with the loss of two guns. At this time, a dashing cavalry charge was made by twelve men of the Fifth Punjab Cavalry, led by Captain Vousden, who killed five Afghans with his own hand, for which he received the V.C.

As it was evident that the enemy were in overwhelming force, General Roberts abandoned the Bala Hissar and Asmai heights, which were occupied by the enemy, and by the night of December 14 concentrated his troops in Sherpur, where, with considerable foresight, he had collected some months' stores in preparation for all eventualities. While waiting for the reinforcements for which he had applied to the government of India, he employed his troops in strengthening the defences of Sherpur.

The losses during the operations between December 10 and 14 were eight officers and seventy-five men killed, and twelve officers and one hundred and eighty-five wounded. Two of the officers, Colonel Cleland, Ninth Lancers, and Major Cook, Fifth Ghorkas, who had gained the V.C. for gallantry at the Peiwar Kotul, died of their wounds.



There was desultory fighting with the enemy between December 14 and 21, and on the 23d, the anniversary of the murder of Sir William Macnaghten at this spot in 1841, they delivered their long-prepared attack, but were repulsed with great slaughter. The fighting lasted between day-break and nightfall, and the Afghans brought scaling-ladders to enter the works; but they were never able to plant them, and so rapidly did they disperse that by night not a trace of them could be seen by the cavalry, which sallied out in pursuit during a heavy snowstorm. The casualties during the investment of Sherpur were two officers and eight men killed, and five officers, including Brigadier-General Hugh Gough, and forty-one rank and file wounded. On the 24th reinforcements arrived, under Colonel Hudson, from Lutterbund, and from Gundamuck under Brigadier-General Charles Gough, who now occupied the Bala Hissar, while a column was despatched, under General Baker, to punish the Kohistanes.

Some months later Roberts sent a force under Major-General John Ross to Shekabad, in the neighborhood of which they had successful encounters with the enemy on April 25, 1880, and two succeeding days. A severe action was fought on the 25th, on the old battlefield of Charasia, by a small force of eight hundred and eighty-three officers and men, under Colonel Jenkins, who was reinforced from Sherpur during the action by General Macpherson's brigade. The enemy, about four thousand or five thousand strong, attacked Jenkins, who remained on the defensive until the arrival of Macpherson, when the gallant officers made a combined movement in advance, and the enemy were defeated with great loss, after which the whole force returned to Sherpur. The loss incurred during the day was four killed and thirty-four wounded.

On May 2, General Donald Stewart arrived from Kandahar with a strong column, including the Fifty-ninth Regiment and Second Battalion Sixtieth Rifles, with three batteries of artillery. He left at Kandahar a division of his



troops, under General Primrose, the object of his march being to break up any hostile combination at Ghuznee, and open communications with Kabul. As Stewart was senior to Roberts, he assumed the chief command. His march was remarkable for a severe action fought at Ahmed Khel. The route from Kandahar was through a country deserted by its inhabitants, where supplies were scarce; and though the advance was not so striking in its rapidity and results as the famous march made a few months later by Roberts, it deserves greater commendation than it has received. For several days previous to the approach of the troops to Ghuznee, a hostile gathering marched about eight miles on the right flank, and, on April 19, the enemy were observed in position at Ahmed Khel, three miles in advance of the head of the column, which covered in the order of march no less than six miles. When the leading brigades, under Generals Palliser and Hughes, were about two thousand five hundred yards from the enemy's line, the guns came into action, but scarcely had they opened fire, and before the intended attack of the position was developed, the crest of the range occupied by the enemy was observed to be swarming with men along a front of nearly two miles, a body of horsemen on the right outflanking the left of the British line. In an incredibly short space of time, an enormous mass of men, with standards, formed on the hilltop, a considerable number of horsemen riding along the ridge, with the intention of sweeping to the rear of the British line to attack the baggage. From the central mass out rushed successive waves of swordsmen on foot, stretching out right and left, and seeming to envelop the position. The horsemen turned the British left, forcing back the native cavalry, and the right of the line of infantry, then hotly pressed, gave way. The onslaught of between three thousand and four thousand fanatic swordsmen was at this time so rapid, and was pushed with such desperation, that it became necessary to place every man of the reserve in the firing line. The enemy, however, continued to push on, and approached



within a few yards of the guns, when, the whole of their case-shot being expended, both batteries were withdrawn a distance of two hundred yards, and the infantry of the right also took up a fresh position. But the attack had spent itself, and time being given for the guns to check the forward movement of the enemy's horsemen round the left flank, General Barter came up with the rearguard and reinforced the right centre. The action was over at ten o'clock, within one hour of its commencement, and the enemy, who numbered between twelve thousand and fifteen thousand infantry and one thousand horsemen, broke up and dispersed over the country, their loss being estimated at from two thousand to three thousand, while that of the victors was seventeen killed and one hundred and twenty-four wounded, including nine officers. After a halt of two hours, the army continued its march, with the baggage in close formation, over the enemy's position, completing a distance of seventeen miles.

On the following day Ghuznee was entered, and as the Afghans had taken up a position at some villages about sixteen miles from camp, on the 23d General Stewart marched to dislodge them, and the enemy were driven off with the loss of four hundred men.

No important military operations were undertaken by the large army now assembled at and near Kabul, amounting to some eighteen thousand men, under these two distinguished Indian generals. On July 1, the cavalry brigade of General Hills' division, numbering five hundred and seventy-seven sabres, under Brigadier-General Palliser, encountered and routed, in the Logar valley, a body of one thousand five hundred tribesmen belonging to Zermut, of whom two hundred were killed during the pursuit, the British loss being only three killed and twenty-nine wounded.

Everything now portended a speedy return of the Expeditionary force to India. Since March, Roberts and (on his arrival at Kabul) Sir Donald Stewart, and Mr. Lepel Griffin, the political officer sent from India by the Viceroy, had been



Negotiating with Abdurrahman Khan—son of Afzul Khan, elder brother of Sher Ali, and grandson of Dost Muhammad Khan, the great Amir of Afghanistan during the former war—who, for ten years, had been resident in Russian Turkestan as a pensioner of the Czar. Incensed at his exclusion, Ayub Khan, a younger brother of Yakub Khan, now a prisoner in India, quitted Herat on June 27, resolved to strike a blow for power, and moved upon Kandahar, with the intention of seizing the southern capital of Afghanistan. At this time an Afghan force was stationed at Giriskh, on the Helmund, under the Wali, or governor of Kandahar; and to check the advance of Ayub Khan, who was known to have left Herat with a force of six thousand men and thirty guns, a British brigade left Kandahar, on July 3, under Brigadier-General Burrows, and joined the Wali at Giriskh.

On the 14th the Wali's troops mutinied and deserted to Ayub Khan, and as this increased the difficulties of his position, and the river Helmund was fordable, Burrows, on the following day, marched from Giriskh to Khuski-Nakud. The strength of his column was one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight bayonets, including five hundred and sixteen of the Sixty-sixth Foot, five hundred and fifty-six sabres (Sinde Horse and Bombay Cavalry), a detachment of forty-four sappers, and a battery of horse artillery, manned by one hundred and forty-six officers and men. In addition, there was a battery of six-pounders taken from the mutinous troops and manned by forty-two men of the Sixty-sixth Foot. On the 26th, Burrows, who had received imperative instructions that Ayub was to be intercepted if he attempted to slip past Kandahar toward Ghuznee, learned that two thousand of the enemy's cavalry and a large number of Ghazis had arrived near Maiwand, and that Ayub was about to follow with the main body of his army.

Accordingly, at half-past six on the morning of July 27, Burrows marched with his brigade for Maiwand, twelve miles distant, encumbered by an enormous train of stores



and baggage, which, owing to the hostile state of the country, he could not leave behind without weakening his already small force. After proceeding about eight miles, large masses of the enemy, estimated at twenty-five thousand men, were discovered about four miles distant, moving in a diagonal direction across his right front. As it was evident that a collision with Ayub Khan must take place before he reached his destination, Burrows placed his baggage in the village under a guard, and on the higher ground beyond deployed his infantry into line, with guns in the centre, and the cavalry on the left, covering the movement with two horse artillery guns, escorted by a troop of cavalry.

About noon the engagement commenced by the advanced guns coming into action on the left, followed shortly by two more guns and the smooth-bore battery in the centre. The remaining two nine-pounders were soon after brought up from the rearguard. In about half an hour the enemy began to reply from their right, gradually extending along their front, and concentrating their fire on the British position. The infantry were ordered to lie down, and the wing of the Thirtieth N. I., which had been in reserve, was brought up on the flanks, which were threatened on the right by Ghazis and on the left by the enemy's regular cavalry. Thus the brigade remained for nearly three hours, the artillery making excellent practice, the cavalry holding the enemy's cavalry in check, but losing heavily in horses under the accurate artillery fire, and the infantry keeping up a steady fusillade on the Ghazis on the right. A large body of the enemy's regular infantry were on the British left front, and about the middle of the day they advanced in line, but were checked by well-directed volleys.

Between two and three o'clock the fire of the enemy's guns slackened, and swarms of Ghazis advanced rapidly toward the British centre. "Up to this time," says General Burrows, "the casualties among the infantry had not been heavy, and as the men were firing steadily and the guns were sweeping the ground with case-shot, full confidence



was felt by the little army as to the result." But a rapid change came over the scene. The chief lesson inculcated by our Indian military history is that a British force should act on the offensive. It has ever been so—at Plassy, Assaye, Meanee, and in all the battles where a determined charge, even by a handful of British infantry, has turned the day. Encouraged by their foe remaining on the defensive for so many hours—a tacit acknowledgment of weakness—the Ghazis, regardless of the British fire, came on in overwhelming numbers, and, making good their rush, seized the two advanced horse artillery guns. With the exception of two companies of the Thirtieth N. I., which had displayed unsteadiness early in the day, the conduct of the troops had been splendid up to this point; but now, at a critical moment, when a firm resistance might have achieved a victory, these companies, which had lost their European officers, gave way, and soon the remainder of the Native Infantry fell back on the Sixty-sixth, which maintained a steady front. General Burrows in vain used every effort, assisted by his staff, to rally the troops, who, he says, "commencing from the left, rolled up like a wave to the right." As a last resort, he called upon his cavalry to charge across the front, and thus give the infantry a chance of re-forming; but the terrible artillery fire to which they had been exposed, and from which they had suffered severely, had so demoralized them that only the officers and a few men responded to General Nuttall's order.

All was now over, and the gallant Sixty-sixth Regiment, and a portion of the First Bombay N. I., retreating across the nullah and the gardens near the village, reached a small walled enclosure, where about one hundred and fifty men with several officers made a stand and checked the enemy for a time. Seeing, however, that they were rapidly being outflanked, and that their line of retreat would presently be cut off, the general gave the order to retire. A scene of disorder ensued, but a remnant of the infantry succeeded in joining the guns and cavalry in rear of the

baggage, which was by this time stretching for miles over the country toward Kandahar, over forty miles distant. Fortunately, no vigorous pursuit was made by the enemy, though after daylight the fugitives were fired on from every village they passed, until they met a small force under Brigadier-General Brooke, which cleared the way for them into Kandahar. Of the horse artillery and smooth-bore guns taken into action, four of the former and one of the latter were brought safely into Kandahar, the five other smooth-bore guns had, one by one, to be abandoned during the retreat, the horses being unable to bring them on. Nothing could exceed the determined valor of the European portion of the force, the soldiers of the Sixty-sixth, who died fighting, like the Twenty-fourth at Isandhlwana, and the gunners of the artillery. "Exposed," says Burrows, "to a heavy fire, the artillerymen served their guns coolly and steadily as on parade, and when the guns were rushed, they fought the Ghazis with handspikes and sponge-rods. There fell at Maiwand twenty-six officers (including Colonel Galbraith of the Sixty-sixth, and Major Blackwood, commanding the artillery), two hundred and ninety-seven European soldiers and seven hundred and one sepoys, and three hundred and thirty-one camp followers. Fourteen officers, forty-two European and one hundred and thirty-nine native soldiers were wounded. As soon as the shattered remnants of General Burrows' force arrived at Kandahar, General Primrose hastily evacuated the cantonment outside the city, and concentrated his force—consisting of two batteries of artillery, the Seventh Fusiliers, and two regiments and a wing of N. I.—in the citadel, in expectation of an attack by Ayub Khan, who, advancing leisurely, took up a position for beleaguering the British garrison. General Primrose made a sortie, but it was mismanaged, and Brigadier-General Brooke and a large number of officers and men of the Seventh Fusiliers and Native Infantry were killed and wounded. After this the garrison remained inactive until relieved.



It was on July 29, as Sir Donald Stewart and Roberts were engaged concerting measures for withdrawing the army from Kabul to India by way of the Khaiber pass and Kurram valley, that the startling news of the disaster at Maiwand, like "a bolt out of the blue," was received at the British headquarters. Roberts immediately offered to assume command of a force of ten thousand men to relieve Kandahar and rehabilitate British honor, and the offer was accepted by the Indian government. An arrangement having been already concluded with Abdurrahman Khan for taking over the government of the country, on August 8 the troops selected marched out of Sherpur into camp, and Roberts issued a characteristic order before commencing one of the most famous marches recorded in British history.

The strength of the Kabul-Kandahar Field Force—which included three batteries of artillery, the Ninth Lancers, the Seventy-second and Ninety-second Highlanders, and the Second Battalion Sixtieth Rifles—was ten thousand one hundred and forty-eight combatants, two hundred and twenty-three medical staff, and eight thousand one hundred and thirty-four camp followers. As wheeled artillery was unsuitable for the country to be traversed, a battery of seven-pounders (jointed guns) was carried on mules.

The army set out on its adventurous march of nearly three hundred miles on August 9. On the 15th, Ghuznee, ninety-seven and a half miles distant, was reached, and on the following day the army passed over the battlefield of Ahmed Khel. The strong fort of Khelat-i-Ghilzye, held by a small column, under Colonel Tanner, was reached on August 23, the distance traversed in eight days being one hundred and thirty-six miles, or sixteen and three-quarter miles per day. The division halted here on August 24, and on the following day, accompanied by the garrison of that fortress, continued the march to Kandahar, eighty-eight miles distant, by the Turnuk valley route. Communication was opened with General Primrose by the cavalry on August 27 at Robat, and the Field Force moved to Momund



on August 31, and on the following day arrived before Kandahar.

Though suffering from fever, Roberts quitted his doolie, and, mounting his horse, reconnoitred the enemy's position, when he determined to turn the Baba Wali pass, where they had posted heavy guns, instead of carry it by direct assault, which would entail heavy loss. A reconnoissance in force was made the same day by the cavalry under General Hugh Gough, and on the following morning, September 1, the two brigades of the Kabul Field Force, with the Third in reserve, advanced against the enemy's position at Gundigan and Pir Paimal, while the cavalry brigade was posted so as to cut off the enemy's line of retreat to Giriskh, and the Kandahar garrison were directed to hold the city and precincts, and make a feint on the Baba Wali pass.

The village of Gundi Mulla Sahibdad was stormed by the Ninety-second Highlanders and Second Ghorkas, supported by the Second Brigade, and it was while engaged clearing some enclosures that the gallant Colonel Brownlow, commanding the Seventy-second Highlanders, who had faced death so often since the capture of the Peiwar Kotul, met his end. Soon after noon the village of Pir Paimal was carried at the point of the bayonet, and, pushing on, the First and Second Brigades, at 1 P.M., entered the enemy's camp. In this advance, Major White, of the Ninety-second Highlanders, "gallant and ever foremost," as Roberts said of him in his despatch, greatly distinguished himself.

The rout of Ayub Khan was complete, among the trophies being thirty-two pieces of ordnance, including five in position at Baba Wali Kotul, abandoned by the enemy, and the two horse artillery guns captured at Maiwand. Leaving one thousand dead on the field, he fled toward Herat with a handful of infantry and cavalry, the remnants of a force of thirteen thousand men. The British loss was three officers and forty men killed, and two hundred and twenty-eight wounded, including eleven officers. Not another shot was fired during the remainder of the stay of the British



force at Kandahar, which was evacuated in accordance with the promise of the British government and the advice of many officers of distinction, including Lord Wolseley and General Gordon, though others equally qualified to give an opinion, as Sir Donald Stewart and Roberts, were opposed to the measure. As a result of the war, the districts of Pishin, Sibi and Thal Chotiali were annexed, and more recently the Kakar country and Khetrai valley became subject to British administration. But the sacrifice in lives and treasure was immeasurably greater than the value of the results attained, and for the second time in history Afghanistan was a synonym for disaster. The time may not be far distant when this difficult country will again be the theatre of military operations. When the Russian and the English soldier, the Cossack and the Sepoy, are locked in deadly struggle on the banks of the Oxus and the Helmund, let us hope the name of Afghanistan may be an augury for victory, and the warlike races within its borders, oblivious of the memories of the invasions of 1839 and 1879, may be rallied under our banners as allies, and not assembled under those of our enemies, eager to pay off old scores.

The British army returned from Afghanistan in 1881, and thenceforth the administration of Lord Ripon was one of peace. During the interval he abolished the import duties, especially those on cotton goods, enlarged the principle of local self-government, extended the criminal jurisdiction of native civil servants, and initiated other domestic measures which raised grave questions of policy, and of which the value is undetermined still.

Lord Ripon was in 1884 succeeded by Lord Dufferin, under whose Viceroyalty the annexation of Upper Burma and the final expansion of British India occurred.

Burma is situated in the region beyond the mountains which form the eastern frontier of Bengal, and until Lord Dufferin's administration had been divided into independent Burma, of which Mandalay is the capital, and British Burma,



of which the capital is Rangoon. The latter is on the coast, the former in the interior.

Rangoon has existed as a town for over two thousand years, but it was long known only as a stopping place for pilgrims on their way to the great Shway Dagohn pagoda, which is the Mecca of the Indu-Chinese Buddhists. Later it was the residence of the regent of Pegu, as being the guard station on the most accessible mouth of the Irrawadi, on which Mandalay is situated. At the beginning of the present century the town stretched along the bank for about a mile, and did not extend more than five hundred yards from the river. The official town was surrounded by a log stockade, fortified by an indifferent kind of fosse, spanned by a wooden bridge. Swine and dogs roamed at will over the town, as they were allowed to do in Mandalay, and acted as efficient scavengers. The principal building was the custom house, and this was just tottering into ruins, and there was a rickety erection known as the King's Wharf. Jungle grew close up to the palisading on the north, and southward the rice-fields extended from the doors of the suburban houses right away to the mouth of the river.

The town came into the hands of the English in 1852. The morasses were filled up with earth from the higher ground inland, the stockade was pulled down, and at the present time it is impossible to realize the old dismal descriptions of the place. Now there are broad smooth roads, well laid out public gardens and parks, abundant street lamps, spacious mercantile offices, schools, mills, hospitals, jails, law courts, halls, and club-houses. Railways connect it with the interior, and large sea-going steamers visit it in ever-increasing numbers. The population, from a paltry ten thousand, has grown to two hundred thousand, and the central town threatens soon to swallow up the neighboring villages of Poozoondoung and Kemmendine and Kokhine, just as London has engulfed the Highgates and Kensingtons and Chelseas of last century. Rangoon claims the title of



Queen of the East, and, with the new openings for trade offered by the annexation of Upper Burma, there is little doubt that she will justify the claim and outstrip Calcutta. Hitherto the progress made will compare with the most vaunted of American city successes.

Three hundred miles to the north is Mandalay. Like all Indu-Chinese official towns it is divided into two, the walled city and the suburbs. The latter extend two miles down to the river, and straggle for about the same distance in all directions over the level plain. The city proper is a huge walled square, each face a mile and an eighth long. The mud-mortar built walls are twenty-six feet high, machicolated at the top; they are three feet thick, backed with a heavy mass of earth, and along the ramparts are wooden lookout towers of an ornate style of architecture suggestive of China. There are twelve gates to the city, three on each side, but only one bridge over the moat to each three, except on the west, where there are two. The moat is about sixty feet from the walls, and considerably more than that wide, covered in many places with the lotus-plant that the Buddhist loves. Here and there upon it float royal craft, state barges, and despatch-boats, gilt from stem to stern and manned by sometimes as many as sixty paddlers. The city is well and regularly laid out. From the gates roughly macadamized roads a hundred feet wide run parallel to the walls. They are lined with young trees (Mandalay only exists since 1857), and down the sides of most of them run little streams of water. Between these main streets, and parallel to them, are others, narrower, but still very orderly. There is no attempt at a drainage system, but the town is essentially clean and airy, thanks to the unmolested, or, rather, cherished pigs and dogs that act as highly efficient scavengers, and the constant open spaces insuring ventilation.

Forming a species of redoubt in the centre of the city is the palace, which has two successive enclosures—the outer, a log stockade, with elaborate turreted gateways; the inner,

a brick wall, with a broad esplanade between the two. In the exact centre of the palace and of the city rises the seven-roofed spire, emblematic of royalty and religion, which the Burmese look upon as the centre of Burma, and, therefore, of creation. Apart from the supreme court and hall of audience, the royal dwelling consists mainly of a rambling succession of gardens, and pleasure or residential houses. The higher officials live within the palace stockade, and there also are the mint, arsenal, treasury, powder-magazines, and other public buildings.

In the walled city live the lower officials and the soldiery, and in the suburbs outside the traders and general population. This is estimated all around at something over a hundred thousand. There was a good deal of wealth in the commercial town, but it was in the hands of Chinese and Moghuls, with whom the king was afraid to meddle. No Burman could get rich with safety.

Scattered about over the outer town are great numbers of pagodas and monasteries and religious buildings. The monastic population is especially great. It has been estimated as high as thirty thousand. Chief among them is the royal monastery. This is a mass of gilding from the roof to the side-posts, inside and out. The eaves and the top of the side walls are covered with the bold open carving in which the Burmese show so much artistic skill, and this is as richly gilt as everything else. The boxes in which the palm-leaf manuscripts are kept are as elaborate in decoration as the commentaries themselves, and are valuable to students of Buddhist literature. Among the pagodas the most interesting is the so-called "Incomparable Pagoda." Round about the main shrine, which in itself is a marvel of decoration, there are many rows of other smaller ones, each sheltering a series of marble slabs in shape and appearance not unlike large gravestones. On these are engraved the "Tripitaka" the "Three Baskets of the Law," the Buddhist scriptures.

In figure the people are short and thickset, with high



cheek-bones and slightly projecting jaw, and the flat face which is undoubtedly Mongolian. There is but very little of the Chinese tilt of the eye. In color they vary from the tint of a wax-candle to that of a dead oak-leaf, according as they belong to the leisured town-classes or the workers in the rice-fields. Both men and women have long black hair, not unseldom three or four feet in length, and they are very proud of it. The men wear it in a knot on the top of the head, encircled by a turban; the women, in a chignon at the back. Both sexes are fond of bulking out this knot with false tresses. The men tattoo breeches on themselves from the waist to below the knee with sessamum-seed, sool. The figures traced are ogres, tigers, monkeys, spirits; and each is surrounded by a border of mysterious cabalistic letters, while magic squares and lucky marks are also commonly introduced. Vermilion figures are also tattooed on the chest and arms and back.

The streets are a curious study. There is an extraordinary variety of nationalities to be seen constantly in Mandalay. Every here and there one comes across a band of Shans; tall, stalwart men, very Chinese in feature, wearing usually nothing but baggy blue trousers and tattooed from the waist down to the ankles. Occasionally, too, though much more rarely of late years, one comes across a Kachyen hill-chieftain, with his train of ragged followers, slight, but wiry in figure, with aquiline noses, and shifty, fierce eyes, as different as possible from the thickset, open-faced Burman. Then there are parties of Arakanese, come over the hills to worship at the most holy "Arakian Pagoda," with its famous brass Gantama, said to have been cast from a model of the great Master himself, and to have been inspired with life by him for a day in response to ardent prayers.

Some one with a taste for comparisons has called the Burmese "the Irish of the East." In their love of fun and rollicking they certainly resemble "the finest peasantry in the world," and they are quite as ready to break one another's heads for the mere joke of the thing; but they are



much too easy-going to bother themselves with demands for home rule, or the organization of land or any other leagues. A Burman is always ready to welcome a joke, and not unseldom is ready to cap it, while nothing is so remarkable about the natives of India as their utter incapacity to recognize wit.

During Lord Lytton's administration the king of these people was a mild and gentle prince. So long as he lived there was little or no bloodshed, and peaceful relations between the British government and Upper Burma were secured by the presence of a Resident at Mandalay.

Theebaw, his successor, was a monster of cruelty. His reign opened with a horrible massacre which included women and children, the remains being carried off in cartloads from the palace and thrown into the river. There was no one to restrain or control, no one with a shadow of power, save officials dependent on his will and who trembled for their lives. Some fugitives escaped to British territory, and their surrender was demanded by Theebaw. The British government refused to give up the refugees to certain death and torture, and then he manifested a spite which no consideration could mitigate. He treated the British Resident with such contumely that the latter was obliged to retire to Rangoon.

Theebaw then sent envoys to France and other European powers to secure their support. The British government tried to bring him to reason, but without success. He proposed to levy an exorbitant tax on all British ships entering the Upper Irawadi, and he called on the government to grant a free passage through its territory to all arms and ammunition that he might import from Europe. At last, as a State necessity, he was told that for the future he must admit a British Resident at Mandalay, and be guided by his advice in all dealings with foreign powers. By way of reply he issued proclamations calling on his subjects to prepare for war. The result added to the British dominions a country larger than any European state except Russia,

and made its boundaries conterminous with those of China and Siam.

General Prendergast, V.C., of the Royal (Madras) Engineers, who served with distinction in the mutiny under Sir Hugh Rose, and in Abyssinia, under Lord Napier, commanded the expedition, which, in consequence of Theebaw's proclamations, then proceeded up the Irawadi, and no opposition was experienced until the troops arrived near Pagan. It was on November 24, 1885, that, after the Naval Brigade had dispersed a body of the enemy, the Second Hampshire Regiment (Sixty-seventh Foot) and Madras Sappers were landed and scaled the works of Pagan. King Theebaw's soldiers fled to the jungle without firing a shot, and on the same day the Naval Brigade and flotilla shelled the enemy out of their earthworks at the important town of Myingyan. Mandalay was occupied on the 28th, and the deposition was decreed of the "Golden-footed Monarch, Lord of the Sea and Land," as he arrogantly styled himself, who had treated the demands of the British government for justice to its subjects with an insolent defiance that could only have been justified by his power to brave their resentment. Theebaw quitted Mandalay on November 29 for India, and was at first detained at Arcot, near Madras, the scene of Clive's historic defence. Significantly enough, the so-called "White Elephant" died on the same day the kingdom ceased to exist, but whether from poison or natural causes is unknown. Like the Emperor Caligula's horse, the royal beast lived in great pomp, and ate and drank out of huge silver buckets.

But no sooner was the conquest of the ancient kingdom of Burma achieved, with an ease almost unexampled, than the British were compelled to undertake, as in Pegu, in 1853, the difficult task of pacifying the country and extirpating dacoity. A general disarmament took place, and troops were poured into Upper Burma, until, in November of the following year, besides eight thousand military police, there were no less than thirty-two thousand soldiers in the country—including ten battalions and nine batteries of Eu-



Europeans—under Roberts, who was engaged in succession to Sir Herbert Macpherson, until his departure on the following February 6th, in carrying into execution a plan for crushing the dacoits, who were led by Boshway and other noted chiefs. An expedition took possession of Bnamo, on the extreme northern frontier, bordering on the possessions of China, and the district containing the famous ruby mines was occupied by a column under General Stewart. The Shan country, extending from Bhamo to the southward of Mandalay and as far east as the Chinese and Siamese frontiers, comprising one-third of Theebaw's dominions, was reduced to subjection, and the Looshai-Chin Expeditionary Force in 1889-90 had an arduous task in traversing the intermediate countries, when the eastern column suffered heavily from fever. Under General Symons it advanced from Burma, and the second, or Looshai column, under General Tregear, pushed on from the Chittagong frontier, in the west, and joined hands, when the country was pacified and a route for a trunk road between Upper Burma and Lower Bengal was explored.

In the task of reducing Upper Burma to subjection and putting down dacoity, Sir Frederick Roberts was assisted by his Afghan associates, Sir George White and Sir Robert Low; and on his return to India, his successors, Generals White and Gordon, carried through the task indicated by him, though many valuable lives were lost in the effort. These able commanders, besides reducing the Shan states and the wild Chin tribes inhabiting the Yau country, subjugated the large district of Chindwin, extending from the Irawadi to Muni-pore, on the frontier of Assam, the Sagaing division to the northward, and the Montsobo district (the birthplace of Alompra, founder of the Burmese dynasty), further to the north, whence extends to Bhamo the Kachyen country.

Meanwhile Lord Dufferin had in 1888 been succeeded by Lord Lansdowne, and a peaceful settlement of misunderstandings with Russia in connection with differences occur-



ring beyond the northwest frontier was attained. At this juncture, for the first time in the history of British rule, native princes stepped forward with offers of money, of jewels even, of transport and men, to repulse what was feared might be the prelude to a Cossack invasion. The invasion did not occur and the offers were declined, but it was recommended that the character of the forces at the disposal of these princes be raised and fitted to combine with the British for purposes of national defence.

The administration of Lord Lansdowne was further marked by the annexation of the districts now known as British Beluchistan, the occupation in 1890 of the Zhob valley, and the opening up for traffic of the Guinal pass.

In 1893 Lord Lansdowne was succeeded by Lord Elgin, who, this year (1899), was replaced by Lord Curzon. The chief events which occurred during Lord Elgin's tenure of office were, apart from an appalling famine and plague, the international arrangements whereby the northwest and southeast frontiers of India have been brought almost in touch with the advancing soldiers of Russia and France.

Thus has the empire been built. The imagination is stimulated by the mere contemplation of the extent and potentialities of this vast realm which in little more than a century has been consolidated by the enterprise and valor of the English race. To it nothing in ancient or modern history offers a parallel, for the empire of Alexander broke to pieces on his death, as did the conquests of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, while ancient Rome, whose dominion extended from Hadrian's Wall to the "pillars of Hercules," held sway over semi-civilized or barbarous states, and the modern empire of Russia in Asia is composed of countries which, though once the seats of opulent dynasties, are now poor and backward in civilization.

Of Lord Curzon's administration it is yet too early to speak. But in view of the fact that Lady Curzon (formerly Miss Leiter of Chicago) is an American lady, an account of the installation may without impropriety be appended.

There are, an eye-witness of it noted, few spectacles more interesting than the reception of a new Viceroy at the magnificent flight of steps that lead to the palace which the great Marquis, who first attempted to carry out the daring policy of Hastings, built for the rulers of the realm. He told his mercantile masters that India should be governed not from a counting house, but from a palace, not with the ideas of a shopkeeper, but with those of a prince.

The palace which resulted cost one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, and the furniture fifty thousand pounds. The merchants of the East India Company expressed their strong disapproval, but it was built. The Hon. Emily Eden, who first revealed to an incredulous world that India was not hopelessly dull, describes it "as an enormous building looking more like a real palace, a palace in the 'Arabian Nights,' than anything I have been able to dream on the subject. It is something like I expected, and yet not the least, at present as far as externals go; it seems to me that we are acting a long opera." The spectacle on January 3, 1899, might well have been a scene in an opera. At the top of the steps stands Lord Elgin, and on it are clustered high officials in blue and gold, soldiers in scarlet uniforms, naval officers, and native chiefs one blaze of diamonds. Facing the steps on the green turf is drawn up a red line of British soldiers; and flitting to and fro in the grounds are turbaned attendants in their scarlet dresses. Beyond the girdle of palms, plantains, and feathery bamboo that encircles the grounds of Government House rises the lofty row of houses which the Italian architects built in the days of old. They are gay with flags and bunting, and the spacious verandas are enlivened by the costumes of the fair dames who have come to see the procession. The roofs are a mass of color, for they are crowded with natives draped in their clothes of dark red, bright orange, and rich green. A boom is heard—it is the first gun of the salute; then a hum of voices; then a loud English cheer. A clatter of hoofs, and through the lofty gateway come at a fair trot the troopers of the body-



guard in scarlet uniforms—magnificent men on splendid horses; a carriage, with four horses and Eastern postilions in dresses of red, black, and gold, containing the future Viceroy and Vice-Queen, follows. Then, as she alights amid the saluting of the troops, there comes across the memory Burke's most famous purple patch. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal meets Lord Curzon at the lowest step and leads him up the tall flight. Lord Elgin advances to the edge of the landing to receive him, and as soon as the introduction to the members of Council is over, the Viceregal party enters the Marble Hall.

In the old days it was the custom for all to proceed at once to the Council Chamber, where the commission was read and the new Viceroy took the oaths and was invested with the charge of the government. "George (Lord Auckland) was sworn in ten minutes after he arrived," writes Miss Eden. But of late years it has become the habit to postpone the act of demission to the morning of the departure of the reigning Viceroy. On Friday, January 6, Lord Curzon received charge of the Indian Empire. The Council Chamber is bright with suits of blue and gold, scarlet uniforms, and the rich apparel of native chiefs. Sindia, a short, stout typical Mahratta, is dressed in a pink silk surtout with a row of priceless pearls round his neck. Pattiala is attired in a silken white suit, and diamonds cover his breast. Near him stands a chief from whose turban gleams a magnificent diamond star. There is the Maharajah of Cashmere in the uniform of an English general. Nobles and chiefs from all parts of the vast empire are present to do homage to the new representative of her Imperial Majesty the Empress of India.

May Lord Curzon's future career enable him to take his place among the wisest and best of her great rulers, whose silent faces look down at the scene from the walls! There is Warren Hastings, whose far sight first saw, and whose brave and confident genius realized, the remarkable idea of England founding an empire in the East. By his individual

energy he raised the Company from being a body of merchants and adventurers into the most powerful State in the politics of India. There is the great Marquis, who by magnificent military triumphs enforced peace throughout India, and provided for the permanent security of the British possessions by impressing upon every native State the authoritative security of the British government. There is Lord Hastings, who, by the disarmament and pacification of the military chiefships, completed the work of the Marquis Wellesley, the extension of British supremacy and protectorate over every native State in the interior of India. There is Viscount Hardinge, who first broke the power of the last of its formidable enemies, the Sikhs, and who, "trained in war, sought by the arts of peace to elevate and improve the various nations committed to his charge." Dalhousie, the greatest of the great Indian proconsuls, was only thirty-six when he entered that Council Room and assumed the reins of office. After eight years of splendid rule he left it, having completed the fabric of British rule in India. Now, at the appointed hour, preceded by his staff, there enters once more a young statesman to whom the great and perilous task of governing an empire is about to be assigned. Dressed in plain black, the future ruler takes his position on the dais, and his councillors, in uniforms rich with gold, stand in a semi-circle around him. The Home Secretary reads the Royal Warrant appointing "you the said George Nathaniel Baron Curzon to be Governor-General of India and of all or singular our forts, factories, settlements, lands, territories, countries, places, and provinces, which now are or shall from time to time be subject to or under our government in the East Indies." After the Royal Warrant is read, Lord Curzon bows, the troops outside present arms, and a royal salute announces that the millions of India have passed under the sway of a new ruler.



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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF
INDIAN HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF INDIAN HISTORY.

I. HINDU INDIA.

- 1500 B.C.—1400 B.C. Probable period of the Maha Bharata.
 1000 “ Probable period of the Ramayana.
 500 “ Probable period of Sakya Muni, or Gotama Buddha.
 327 “ Alexander invades the Punjab.
 Passage of the Jhelum.
 Defeat of Porus the Elder.
 Alexander's retreat.
 320 “ Empire of Magadha (Behar).
 Chandra-gupta (Sandrokottos).
 Asoka: Edicts of Asoka.
 280 “ Græko-Baktrian supremacy.
 100 “ Indo-Scythian supremacy.
 56 “ Kanishka (Kanerke).
 78 A.D.—Battle of Kahrhor.
 Gupta supremacy.
 319 “ Vallabhi Rajas.
 Kingdoms of Andhra and Pandya.
 400 “ Pilgrimage of Fah-Hian.
 640 “ Travels of Hiouen-Tsang.
 Empire of Kanouj: Maharaja Siladitya.
 Buddhist-Brahman controversies.
 1001 “ Muhammadan invasion.

II. MUHAMMADAN INDIA.

- 997 A.D.—Mahmud of Ghazni.
 1001 “ Mahmud at Peshawar.
 Turkish conquest of the Punjab.
 Twelve Turkish invasions of Hindustan.
 Battle of Sompath.
 1030 “ Death of Mahmud.
 1180 “ Afghan supremacy at Delhi: Muhammad Ghori (d. 1206).
 1194 “ Mussulman advance to Benares.
 Foundation of principalities in Rajputana.
 1206 “ Dynasty of Afghan Slave-kings: Kutub-ud-din, Sultan of Delhi (d. 1210).
 1290 “ Death of Jelal-ud-din, the last of the Slave-kings.
 Ala-ud-din, Sultan of Delhi (d. 1316).
 Conquest of Guzerat.
 Siege of Chitor.
 1316 “ Tughlak, founder of the Tughlak Sultans of Delhi.
 1325 “ Muhammad Tughlak (d. 1350).
 1350 “ Firuz Shah (d. 1388).
 Bahmani Sultans in the Dekhan.
 1398 “ Timur the Tartar invades Hindustan.
 1400 “ Deva Rai, Maharaja of Narsinga.

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1450 A.D.—	Lodi dynasty of Afghan Sultans at Delhi.	1632 A.D.—	Moghul capture of the Portuguese settlement at Hughli.
1498 “	Portuguese arrival in Malabar.	1639 “	English settlement at Madras.
1500 “	Five Muhammadan kingdoms in the Dekhan.	1640 “	English settlements in Bengal at Hughli, Patna, and Dacca.
	Nanuk Guru founds the Sikh brotherhood in the Punjab.	1658 “	Aurangzeb, Padishah (d. 1707).
1509 “	Albuquerque, Viceroy of Portuguese India (d. 1519).	1664 “	Sivaji the Mahratta captures Surat.
1526 “	Afghan Sultans at Delhi overthrown by Baber the Moghul (d. 1530).	1666 “	War between Mahrattas and Moghuls. Aurangzeb threatened by Persia.
	Foundation of the Moghul empire.		Afghan massacre of Moghuls in the Khaiber Pass.
1530 “	Baber succeeded by Humayun (d. 1556).	1673 “	Travels of Dr. Fryer.
1538 “	Portuguese mission to Bengal.	1674 “	Sivaji, Maharaja of the Mahrattas (d. 1680).
	Turkish attack on the Portuguese at Diu.	1677 “	Mahratta conquest in the Lower Carnatic.
1540 “	Humayun defeated by Sher Khan.	1682 “	Moghul rebuffs in Rajputana.
	Afghan rule in Hindustan.	1685 “	War between the English and Moghuls.
1555 “	Return of Humayun.	1687 “	Moghul conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda.
1556 “	Akbar, Padishah (d. 1605).	1689 “	Foundation of Calcutta.
	Akbar defeats the Afghans.	1701 “	Daud Khan besieges Madras.
1565 “	Battle of Talikota.	1707 “	Bahadur Shah, Padishah (d. 1712).
1567 “	Destruction of Chitor.		Sahu Rao, Maharaja of the Mahrattas (d. 1748).
	Moghul conquest of Ahmadnagar and Berar.		Balaji Visvanath, first Peishwa (d. 1720).
1575 “	Rise of Abul Fazl.	1712 “	Jehandar Shah, Padishah.
	Rebellion of Selim (Jehangir).	1713 “	Farrukh Siyar, Padishah (d. 1719).
1599 “	Formation of the East India Company.	1715 “	English mission from Calcutta to Delhi.
1605 “	Jehangir, Padishah (d. 1627).	1719 “	Muhammad Shah, Padishah (d. 1748).
1608 “	Mission of Captain Hawkins to Agra.	1720 “	Baji Rao, second Peishwa (d. 1740).
1615 “	Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe.	1736 “	Mahratta advance on Agra and Delhi.
1623 “	Travels of Pietro della Valle.		Nizam-ul-mulk, Nizam of the Dekhan; defeated by Baji Rao.
1625 “	Venk-tapa Naik, Raja of Kanara.		
1627 “	Shah Jehan, Padishah (d. 1665).		



- 1738 A.D.—Invasion of Nadir Shah.
 1739 “ Battle of Kurial.
 Nadir Shah enters Delhi.
 1740 “ Balaji Rao, third Peishwa (d. 1761).
 1748 “ Raja Ram, the puppet Maharaja of the Mahrattas, a state prisoner at Satara.
 Afghan invasion of India under Ahmad Shah Abdali.

III. BRITISH INDIA.

- 1736 A.D.—Civil war in Trichinopoly.
 1739 “ Sarfaraz Khan, Nawab of Bengal (d. 1742).
 1740 “ Mahrattas invade the Carnatic.
 1742 “ Alivardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal.
 Mahratta invasions of Bengal.
 1743 “ English mission to Nizam-ul-mulk at Trichinopoly.
 1745 “ War between England and France.
 1746 “ Labourdonnais captures Madras.
 1747 “ Rise of Ahmad Shah Durani, founder of the Afghan empire (d. 1773); Jemal Khan Barukzai.
 1748 “ Stringer Lawrence fails to take Pondicherry.
 Death of Muhammad Shah: Ahmad Shah, Padishah.
 Death of Nizam-ul-mulk.
 Death of Maharaja Sahu.
 Peishwa sovereignty begins.
 First appearance of Clive.
 1749 “ English aggressions on Tanjore.
 1750 “ Nasir Jung at Arcot; appoints Muhammad Ali Nawab.
 Victories of Dupleix.

- 1750 A.D.—Bussy captures Jingi.
 French capture of Ma-sulipatam.
 Peace between Alivardi Khan and the Mahrattas.
 Alom Phra the hunter founds a dynasty in Burma.
 1751 “ Ascendency of Dupleix.
 Clive's expedition to Arcot.
 Siege of Arcot.
 1752 “ Clive's victories in the Carnatic.
 The French surrender Trichinopoly.
 1753 “ Clive goes to England.
 1754 “ Janoji Bhonsla succeeds Rughoji Bhonsla as Raja of Berar.
 1755 “ Anglo-French treaty at Pondicherry.
 Removal of Dupleix.
 Return of Clive.
 1756 “ Destruction of Gheria by Watson and Clive.
 Suraj-ud-daula, Nawab of Bengal.
 Suraj-ud-daula captures Calcutta.
 The Black Hole.
 1757 “ Clive and Watson recapture Calcutta.
 English capture of Chandernagore.
 Battle of Plassy.
 Mir Jafir, Nawab of Bengal.
 Mahrattas claim chout for Bengal and Behar.
 Ahmad Shah Abdali at Delhi; drives out Ghazi-ud-din.
 Bussy's war against the Hindu Poligars; self-sacrifice of Bobili Rajputs.
 Bussy captures Vizagapatam.
 1758 “ Advance of the Shah-zada, eldest son of Ahmad Shah Padishah, toward Behar; defeated by Clive.
 Lally at Pondicherry.



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| <p>1758 A.D.—Lally captures Fort St. David.
 Forde's successes in the Northern Circars.
 Siege of Madras by Lally.
 Clive governor of the English settlements in Bengal.</p> <p>1759 " Alamghir, Padishah, murdered at Delhi by Ghazi-ud-din.
 Second invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali.
 Lally raises the siege of Madras.</p> <p>1760 " Battle of Wandiwash.
 Coote besieges Pondicherry.
 Clive departs for England; succeeded by Holwell.</p> <p>1761 " Madhu Rao, fourth Mahratta Peishwa (d. 1772).
 Nizam Ali, Nizam of the Dekhan.
 Coote captures Pondicherry.
 Battle of Paniput.
 Ahmad Shah Abdali appoints Jewan Bakh (son of the Shahzada) deputy Padishah.
 Regency of Najib-ud-daula (d. 1770).
 Return of the Shahzada to Behar: proclaimed Padishah under the name of Shah Alam.
 Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oude (d. 1775), appointed Vizier to Shah Alam.
 Vansittart, governor at Calcutta.
 Deposition of Mir Jafir.
 Mir Kasim, Nawab of Bengal; defeats the Nawab Vizier of Oude.
 Installation of the Great Moghul at Patna.</p> <p>1762 " Disputes about private trade.</p> | <p>1762 A.D.—Warren Hastings in the Calcutta council.</p> <p>1763 " General abolition of duties by Mir Kasim.
 Patna captured by the English, and recaptured by the Nawab's troops.
 Capture of Cossimbazar by the Nawab's troops.
 Mir Jafir proclaimed Nawab.
 The English capture Monghyr.
 Massacre of English at Patna.
 English storm Patna.
 Delhi threatened by the Jats.</p> <p>1764 " The Nawab Vizier repulsed by the English at Patna.
 Hector Munro stops a sepoy mutiny.
 Battle of Buxar.
 Rise of Shitab Rai.
 Surrender of the Nawab Vizier.
 Suraj Mal, the Jat hero, slain at Delhi.</p> <p>1765 " Death of Mir Jafir.
 Governor Spencer sells Bengal and Behar to Muhammad Reza Khan.
 Return of Clive to India; foundation of the double government.</p> <p>1766 " English treaty with Nizam Ali.</p> <p>1767 " Final departure of Clive.
 Verelst, governor of Bengal.
 Rise of Hyder Ali of Mysore.
 Hyder Ali and Nizam Ali invade the Carnatic.
 Death of Mulhar Rao Holkar: accession of Ailah Bai (d. 1795), and Tukaji Holkar (d. 1797).
 Last invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali.</p> |
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| 1767 A.D. | Ghorka conquest of Nipal: Prithi Narain, the Ghorka hero (d. 1771). | 1775 A.D. | Treaty between the English at Bombay and Rughonath Rao. |
| 1768 " | Second English treaty with Nizam Ali. Hostile advance of Hyder Ali against the English. | | Rebellion of Cheit Singh, Raja of Benares. |
| 1769 " | English treaty with Hyder Ali at Madras. Cartier, governor of Bengal. | 1776 " | Run Bahadur, Maharaja of Nipal. |
| | Mahratta aggressions in Hindustan. | | Treaty of Purundhur. Tanjore restored to the Raja by Lord Pigot. |
| 1770 " | Famine in Bengal. | 1778 " | Rumbold, governor of Madras. |
| 1771 " | Mahadaji Sindia restores Shah Alam to the throne of Delhi. | | English capture of Pondicherry. |
| 1772 " | Warren Hastings, governor of Bengal. | | Bombay expedition to Poona. |
| | Narain Rao, fifth Peishwa. | 1779 " | Convention of Wur-gaum. |
| 1773 " | Warren Hastings holds a secret conference with Shuja-ud-daula at Benares. | | First Mahratta war. |
| | Narain Rao murdered. | | Bhodau Phra, King of Burma (d. 1819). |
| | Rughonath Rao, sixth Peishwa. | 1780 " | English capture of Gwalior. |
| | Rughjio Bhonsla, Raja of Berar. | | Whitehill, governor of Madras. |
| | Tanjore made over to Muhammad Ali. | | Hyder Ali invades the Carnatic. |
| | Timur Shah on the throne of Kandahar (d. 1793); Payendah Khan Barukzai. | | Battle of Porto Novo. |
| 1774 " | Rohilla war. | | Runjeet Singh, Viceroy of Lahore. |
| | Warren Hastings, first Governor-General. | 1781 " | Lord Macartney, governor of Madras. |
| | The Calcutta Council; Francis, Clavering, Monson, and Barwell. | | War between English and Dutch; capture of Pulicat and Sadras. |
| | Creation of a Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta. | 1782 " | Close of the first Mahratta war. |
| | Revolution at Poona. | | Nana Farnavese ratifies the Treaty of Salbai. |
| 1775 " | Asof-ud-daula, Nawab Vizier of Oude (d. 1797). | | Mahdu Rao II., seventh Peishwa (d. 1795). |
| | Charge of corruption against Warren Hastings. | 1784 " | Death of Hyder Ali. |
| | Execution of Nund-komar. | | Treaty of Mangalore. |
| | | | Mr. Pitt's Bill; the Board of Control. |
| | | 1783 " | Warren Hastings leaves India. |
| | | | Macpherson, Mr., provisional Governor-General. |
| | | 1786 " | Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General. |
| | | 1787 " | Tippu Sultan attacks Travancore. |
| | | 1788 " | Gholam Kadir at Delhi. |



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1790 A.D.—	Mysore war.	1801 A.D.—	Assumption of the government of the Carnatic.
1792 “	Submission of Tippu Sultan.		Risings of the Ghilzais in Kabul, suppressed by Futih Khan.
	Mahadaji Sindia at Poona.	1802 “	Baji Rao and Sindia defeated by Jaswant Rao Holkar.
	Chinese invasion of Nipal.		Treaty of Bassein.
	Ghorka treaty with the English.		Mission of Captain Knox to Khatmandu.
1793 “	Permanent land settlement in Bengal.	1803 “	Baji Rao restored to Poona.
	Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), Governor-General.		Second Mahratta war.
	Zeman Shah succeeds Timur Shah at Kandahar.		Battles of Assaye and Argaum.
1794 “	Mahadaji Sindia succeeded by Daulat Rao Sindia.		Battles of Alighur and Delhi.
1795 “	Battle of Kurdla.		Revolution of Khatmandu.
	Umdut-ul-Umra, Nawab of Arcot (d. 1801).		Moghul kings of Delhi become the pensioners of the British government.
	Baji Rao II., eighth Peishwa (d. 1853).		Shah Shuja, Shah of Afghanistan.
	Revolution at Khatmandu.	1804 “	War between the English and Jaswant Rao Holkar.
	Threatened invasion of Zeman Shah.		Col. Monson's retreat.
1797 “	Saadut Ali, Nawab Vizier of Oude.		Return of Run Bahadur to Khatmandu.
	Rise of Jaswant Rao Holkar.		Downfall of the Pandays.
1798 “	Lord Mornington (Marquis of Wellesley), Governor-General.		Murder of Run Bahadur.
	English alliance with Nizam Ali against Tippu.		Massacre at Khatmandu of the enemies of the Thapas.
1799 “	Last Mysore war.		Ascendency of Bhim Sein Thapa.
	Storming of Seringapatam.	1805 “	Lake defeats Holkar and besieges Bhurt-pore.
	Death of Tippu.		Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General a second time.
	Purnea, minister at Mysore (d. 1811).		Sir George Barlow, Governor-General.
1800 “	Buchanan's travels in Mysore.		Submission of Jaswant Rao Holkar.
	Malcolm's mission to Persia.	1806 “	Mutiny at Vellore.
	Death of Nana Farnavese.	1807 “	Lord Minto, Governor-General.
	Pandey conspiracy at Khatmandu; flight of Run Bahadur.		
	Mahmud, Shah of Afghanistan (died 1829).		



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| <p>1807 A.D.—Runjeet Singh's aggressions on the Cis-Sutlej states.</p> <p>1808 “ Metcalf's mission to Runjeet Singh.</p> <p>1809 “ Restoration of Mahmud Shah to the throne of Kabul by the Barukzais.</p> <p>1810 “ British occupation of the Mauritius and Java.</p> <p>1811 “ Mulhar Rao Holkar succeeds to the throne of Indore. Depredations of Amir Khan and of the Pindharies. Lingaraja, ruler of Coorg (d. 1820). Krishnaraj assumes the government of Mysore.</p> <p>1813 “ Lord Moira (Marquis of Hastings). Governor-General. Ghorka aggressions on British territory. Nipalese occupation of British districts. Ghorka slaughter of British police.</p> <p>1814 “ Nipal war.</p> <p>1815 “ The Gaekwar of Baroda sends Gungadhar Shastri to Poona. Murder of Gungadhar Shastri. Imprisonment of Trimbukji Dainglia.</p> <p>1816 “ Treaty of Segowlie. Pindhari raids on British territories. Quarrels between Persia and Afghanistan respecting Herat. Escape of Trimbukji Dainglia.</p> <p>1817 “ Treaty of Poona. Pindhari war. Baji Rao repulsed by the English at Khirki. Flight of the Peishwa from Poona. Battle of Sitabuldi. Battle of Mehidpore.</p> | <p>1818 A.D.—Defence of Korygaum. Extinction of the Pieshwa. Settlement of the Holkar state. Resuscitation of the Raj of Satara. Early Burmese history. Portuguese adventurers. Byeen-noung conquers Pegu. Siege and capture of Martaban by Byeen-noung.</p> <p>1820 “ Metcalfe, Resident at Hyderabad, condemns the bank of Palmer & Co. Chikka Vira Raja succeeds Lingaraja at Coorg.</p> <p>1823 “ Mr. Adam, provisional Governor-General. Lord Amherst, Governor-General.</p> <p>1824 “ First Burmese war: British expedition to Rangoon. Phagyl-dau, King of Burma.</p> <p>1825 “ British advance to Prome.</p> <p>Outbreak at Bhurtpore.</p> <p>1826 “ Treaty of Yandabo. Crawford's mission to Ava. Capture of Bhurtpore. Dost Muhammad Khan, Amir of Kabul.</p> <p>1827 “ Daulat Rao Sindia succeeded by Jankoji Rao Sindia (d. 1843).</p> <p>1828 “ Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General.</p> <p>1830 “ Rebellion in Mysore: deposition of Krishnaraj by the British government.</p> <p>1832 “ Disturbances in Jaipur.</p> <p>1833 “ Civil wars stopped at Gwalior and Indore by British intervention. Hari Rao Holkar on the throne of Indore.</p> |
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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF

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| 1833 A.D.—Renewal of the East India Company's charter. | 1841 A.D.—Withdrawal of Major Todd, the British Resident, from Herat. |
| 1834 " The Maharaja of Jaipur poisoned. | Insurrection at Kabul: murder of Sir Alexander Burnes. |
| British campaign in Coorg. | General reconciliation at Khatmandu. |
| 1835 " Annexation of Coorg. | Dhian Singh places Sher Singh on the throne of Lahore. |
| Murder of Mr. Blake in Jaipur. | 1842 " Destruction of the British army in the Khaiber Pass. |
| Sir Charles Metcalfe, provisional Governor-General. | Sale's defence of Jellalabad. |
| 1836 " Lord Auckland, Governor-General. | Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General. |
| 1837 " The Shah of Persia marches against Herat. | Pollock's advance to Jellalabad. |
| Siege of Herat. | British advance to Kabul. |
| Revolution at Ava. | Battle of Tazeen. |
| Tharawadi, king of Burma. | Murder of Stoddart and Conolly at Bokhara. |
| The fall of Bhim Sein Thapa at Khatmandu. | Disturbances at Khatmandu. |
| 1838 " The Shah of Persia raises the siege of Herat. | 1843 " Jyaji Rao Sindia, Maharaja of Gwalior. |
| Lord Auckland declares war against Afghanistan. | Disturbances at Gwalior. |
| British advance to Quetta. | Battles of Maharajpore and Punniar. |
| 1839 " British capture of Kandahar, Ghazni and Kabul. | Matabar Singh overthrows the Pandeys at Khatmandu. |
| Russian expedition to Khiva. | Assassination of Dhian and Sher Singh at Lahore: Dhulip Singh, Maharaja. |
| Death of Runjeet Singh. | 1844 " Settlement of Gwalior affairs. |
| Tragedies at Khatmandu. | Irregular installation of Tukaji Rao Holkar at Indore. |
| Death of Bhim Sein Thapa. | Lord Hardinge, Governor-General. |
| Kharak, Maharaja of Lahore (d. 1840). | Crisis at Lahore. |
| Dethronement of the Raja of Satara. | 1845 " Pagan Meng, king of Burma. |
| 1840 " British occupation of Kabul. | Murder of Matabar Singh. |
| The British Residency expelled from Ava. | Sikh army of the Khalsa invades British territory: first Sikh war. |
| Lord Auckland remonstrates with the Maharaja of Nipal. | |
| Nao Nihal Singh, Maharaja of Lahore. | |



- 1845 A.D.—Battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshahar.
1846 “ Massacre at Khattamandu.
Jung Bahadur, prime minister.
Battle of Sobraon.
Close of the first Sikh war.
Jamu and Kashmir sold to Gholab Singh.
Temporary British occupation of the Punjab.
1848 “ Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General.
Disaffection of Mulraj, Viceroy of Multan.
Treachery and murder at Multan.
Successes of Herbert Edwardes.
Second Sikh war.
Revolt of Sher Singh.
The Sikhs joined by Afghans.
Lapse of Satara to the British government.
1849 “ Battle of Chillianwallah
Battle of Guzerat.
Annexation of the Punjab.
1851 “ Mission of Commodore Lambert to Rangoon.
Second Burmese War.
Meng-don Meng, king of Burma.
Annexation of Pegu.
1853 “ Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.
Annexation of Nagpore.
Cession of Berar to the British government.
1855 “ Outbreak of hill-tribes, Koles and Santals.
English alliance with Dost Muhammad Khan.
1856 “ Annexation of Oude.
Lord Canning, Governor-General.
Persian war.
Capture of Bushire and battle of Mohamrah.

- 1857 A.D.—Sepoy mutiny.
Mutiny at Barrackpore.
March 29th Outbreak of Mungul Pandey.
May 3d Explosion at Lukhnow.
“ 10th Mutiny at Meerut.
“ 11th The Rebels at Delhi.
“ 30th Mutiny at Lukhnow.
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“ 6th Siege of Cawnpore by Nana Sahib.
“ 27th The massacre on the Ganges.
July 1st Coronation of Nana Sahib as Peishwa.
“ 7th Advance of Havelock toward Cawnpore.
“ 15th Massacre of women and children at Cawnpore.
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“ 21st Arrest of the king; the two princes shot.
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1859 “	Trial and execution of Tantia Topi. End of the Oude rebellion. Lord Canning's durbar at Agra.	1868 “	Sher Ali recovers the throne of Afghanistan.
1862 “	Lord Elgin, Viceroy. Sir Arthur Phayre, Chief Commissioner of British Burma, concludes a treaty with the king of Burma.	1869 “	Lord Mayo, Viceroy. The Umballa conference. Visit of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh to India.
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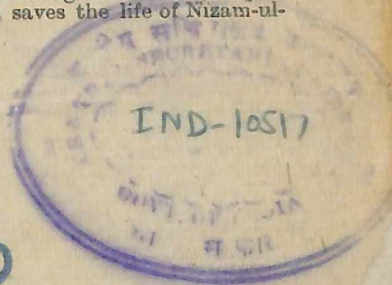
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