are the chief landowners, and monopolise nearly all offices under the Sirkar, to none of which is a Shanar, however intelligent, ever admitted. As a body, although there may be a few praiseworthy exceptions, the Sudras are proud, oppressive, corrupt, and cowardly; ignorant in the extreme; scarcely ever leaving their own district, and treating the lower castes with great insolence and tyranny. On the other hand, the Shanars have been for years increasing in intelligence, wealth, and general respectability. Many have availed themselves of the education offered them; and many also have put themselves under regular Christian instruction.

In former times, when caste prejudices were in their full vigour in Travancore, the man or woman who had the misfortune to be of an inferior order in regard of birth, was scarcely recognised, by the proud and exclusive Nairs, as forming part of the human species; and to such a height did their arrogance extend, as to declare it a serious offence for females of the Shanar caste to appear in public with any covering above the waist, having the whole of the upper part of the body perfectly nude, as a mark of their inferiority. The practice had, however, under the moralising influence of Christianity, gradually fallen into disuse; and the Shanar people awakening to a sense of the decencies of life, and especially such of them as came under the spiritual direction of the English missionaries, were led to assume an attire consistent with feminine delicacy. This improved state of things continued for some time, and gradually extended to females who were not members of the Christian church, but yet had the modesty of their sex. At length some of the higher class of native society began to look with jealousy upon the change, which they deemed an insolent invasion of their exclusive privileges; and the proclamation of the Queen being construed as restoring to them the full possession of all caste privileges, they at once fell back upon the restrictions with regard to dress above alluded to, and insisted that the Shanar women should revert to their original semi-nakedness, as the degrading distinction of their caste. The dewan of Travancore adopted the views of the Nairs generally in this respect, and issued an order for reviving the obsolete practice, and compelling Christian wives and mothers, as well as others, to expose their persons to the gaze of the public. This outrage to decency was no longer unheeded by the women in question, the Christian portion of whom appealed to the missionaries, who very properly encouraged them to disobey the order, and refused to allow their congregation to submit to an observance so repugnant to delicacy. The result of this opposition to the authority of the dewan and the rigid prejudices of caste, was a terrible riot, in the course of which the resident's bungalow and the protestant church were burnt down, and the houses of the missionaries (Messrs. Russell and Baylis) were materially injured. All the persons connected with the mission fled for safety to Travandrum, the chief town of the district (about fifty miles N.N.W. of Cape Comorin), and threw themselves upon the protection of General Cullen, the British resident at Travancore. From this officer they received but small consolation; as, in reply to the complaints of the Shanars, that their women had been beaten, and the clothes torn from them, the general told them, "that as their Christian women had violated the Shanar custom of exposing the upper part of their bodies, and had so far

central and *southern* divisions. Notwithstanding the accession of Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans, the great mass of the population of Malabar are still Hindoos. And, as already remarked, the distinctions of caste amongst them are kept up with the utmost strictness. The distances—so many steps or paces—within which an individual of an inferior may not approach one of a superior caste, are defined with the most scrupulous nicety. The distinctive names of the castes are:—1. Namboories, or Brahmans; 2. Nairs, or Sudras; 3. Tiars, who are free cultivators of the land; 4. Malears, who are musicians and conjurors, or jugglers, and also free men; 5. Poliars, or Shanars—slaves, mostly attached to the soil, and considered as below all caste. And there is an out-cast tribe, inferior even to these, called Niadis, who are considered so very impure, that even a slave of caste will not touch them. "They generally wander about in companies of ten or twelve, keeping a little distance from roads; and when they see any passenger, they set up a howl like dogs that are hungry. They who are moved by compassion, lay down what they are inclined to bestow, and go away; the Niadis afterwards approach, and take up what has been left. They have no marriage ceremony; but one man and one woman always associate together. They are said to kill tortoises, and sometimes alligators, both of which they eat, and consider excellent food." There are several divisions of the first three castes. The Poliars are bought and sold like cattle, either with or separate from the land, one of them being generally considered equal in value to two buffaloes. They are of a miserable appearance, squalid and diminutive, and are often treated with much severity—a natural consequence of their abject servility to their superiors.

unjustifiably adopted the Sudra costume, they had only themselves to blame, and must take the consequences." He, however, ordered a detachment of the Nair brigade to escort them back to their homes, or to the ruins of them; and the dewan, Madhava Row, also left to enforce measures for the re-establishment of order—a result which he finally accomplished.

The volcanic element that had seared and scarred some of the finest districts of India, yet smouldered beneath the surface, and seemed to require but a trifling impulse, to transform it once more into a glowing mass of flame. At Rawul Pindee (a fortified town of the Punjab, forty-seven miles E.S.E. of Attock), in which were cantonments for the British and native troops, the subahdar-major of the disarmed 58th regiment of native infantry, received a letter by dâk, purporting to be from the native officers of the 18th irregular cavalry, urging him to get his regiment to mutiny, promising the aid of the 18th, and also of the 2nd irregular cavalry, which was passing at the time through the district. The subahdar at once took the letter to the officer in command at the station, who ordered the 18th regiment to be immediately paraded; and the letter being read to them, it of course was indignantly repudiated by all. The native officers of the regiment, moreover, offered a reward of a thousand rupees for the discovery of the writer; and within two hours of the notification of this offer, a trooper of the regiment shot himself. On searching his hut, a *fac simile* of the letter was found, also the seal that had been used, and a number of letters addressed to various native officers yet in the service, instigating them to prevail upon their regiments to rise against the British. Whether the suicide had acted in this matter upon his own impulse, or was but the secret agent of other parties, remained doubtful; as, in consequence of his sudden death, no clue to the origin of the affair could be distinctly traced.

Looking back once more to Oude, where, by this time, the last embers of revolt had been nearly trodden out, through the effective measures adopted for the disarming of the people—up to the middle of January, the official returns showed a seizure of 173 cannons, 79,729 muskets, 279,930 swords, 14,365 spears, and 177,126 offensive weapons of other descriptions. To the same date, 483 forts, of various degrees of strength and military importance, had been destroyed or utterly dismantled; and about 1,800 sepoys had surrendered upon the faith of the amnesty. Such, in short, was the favourable aspect of affairs in Oude, that the whole of the Sikh regiments which had rendered important service in the progressive tranquillisation of the country, were ordered back to the Punjab; and the Oude stationary army was diminished, as already stated, by more than one-third its effective strength. To better ensure the peace of the city, an order was issued in Lucknow, commanding every Affghan affecting to be a trader, to sell his goods within a certain time, and then to return home—the unusual swarm of Affghans who had flocked into the city upon pretence of being merchants, having excited the suspicion of the authorities.

The number of sepoys who manifested a desire to throw themselves upon the mercy of the government, upon the terms prescribed by the royal proclamation, continued to increase materially, and, towards the end of January, became uninterrupted. Most of them admitted that they had felt the hopelessness of the struggle for months previous; they knew their position was desperate; but they could not have faith in the conciliatory offers made to them for submission. Among those men, the case of many officers and old soldiers belonging to disarmed and disbanded regiments, was in some instances pitiable. They had, by their mutiny and desertion in pursuit of a shadow, hazarded all, and lost all: their pay was of course stopped; their pensions were forfeited; and they had nothing before them but starvation, or a wretched state of existence dependent upon the charity of their countrymen. Such, even after the bullet, the sword, and the hangman's cord had done their work, was the probable future of a great portion of the existing remnant of that once noble army which, in the unclouded season of its loyalty, had been worthy co-rivals in martial glory with the bravest of its European compeers.

The chiefs, also, now generally felt that there was nothing left for them but unconditional submission, although, in many breasts, there yet lingered a secret expectation that a day would arrive for the exhumation of buried guns, and the renovation of dismantled forts. Much uneasiness was also naturally felt among the chiefs—the more intense as the rank

ascended—with respect to the future intentions of the government. "They can never forgive us!", was an exclamation frequently heard even amongst those assured of pardon. They had not yet learned to understand the difference between their Christian conquerors, and the Moslem and Hindoo tyrants of their own races.

With regard to the atrocities perpetrated by the mutinous troops and budmashes of the various towns in revolt at the early stages of the insurrection, much contradictory evidence, or rather allegation (partly founded upon actual occurrences, and partly upon rumour), had occupied the attention of people in all parts of the world, as well as upon the scenes of the terrible realities. That, in the early days of tumult and revolt, the terror inspired by the sudden and unlooked-for visitation, led to much exaggeration as to the atrocity and extent of the outrages by which the innocent and the defenceless—weak women and tender children, feeble age, and helpless unoffending infancy—were offered up as the first victims to revenge and brutal lust, there is now little room to doubt; but that cruelties and enormities were perpetrated of the most terrible description, there is also ample and incontestable proof; and in the case of the massacre at Cawnpore, the more clearly the transactions connected with it are investigated, the more hateful appears to be the deliberate cruelty, cowardice, and malignity of its perpetrators. It has been shown, in the progress of this work, that massacres were perpetrated at many stations in British India. There was one at Delhi, within the king's palace; but it was in some degree relieved by the conduct of natives, who protected Europeans, and assisted them to escape. There was a massacre at Futteghur; but it was afterwards found to have been the work of the vile population of budmashes, and of some few sepoys in a state of frenzied excitement, and wild with license, lust of blood, and plunder. From that place some Europeans were suffered to escape; and two women were received into the nawab's palace, where they were, for a time at least, protected; while others were sheltered by Hurdeo Bux. At Shahjehanpore, also, there was a massacre; but there, again, Europeans got away; and others were equally fortunate at Bareilly. There was also a massacre at Lucknow; but it appeared not to be the work of the authorities or of the sepoys, but of an assassin who had been favoured by the family of one of the victims. Even at Jhansie, it afterwards appeared that some degree of extenuation might be found: but for Cawnpore alone there was not a plea to be urged—that incomparable atrocity was deliberate and complete: its guilt was divided into two parts—the one characterised by superhuman treachery; the other by relentless cruelty, and by every circumstance that could intensify guilt. As the number of the murdered exceeded that of the victims in any other place, so did the greatness of the crime excel, in all its incidents, the magnitude of the offences which marked the mutiny of the Bengal army, and the subsequent revolt. There were, indeed, some survivors of the first Cawnpore massacre; but the second and the worst—that of the women and children in the house and compound—was dreadful, and, in its full accomplishment, unexampled.

And just in proportion to the magnitude of the horrors presented in that city, was the scepticism as to their reality and extent; for persons were found who, either from ignorance or design, affected to believe, in the face of reiterated proof, that the statements put before the world in reference to the Cawnpore murders, were little other than exaggerated fictions. Gradually, however, evidence living and unassailable appeared upon the scene, to testify in person as to the general accuracy of the details that had pictured the fiend-like inflictions of the Nana Sahib at Cawnpore. One of these living witnesses, a survivor from the first massacre, was the daughter of an Eurasian clerk; who, snatched from the uplifted sword of an assassin by a sowar of the Nana, was afterwards compelled to travel about with him, and, to escape persecution, became a Mohammedan; and subsequently making her escape to an English camp, was sent down to Calcutta, where the memory of her sufferings and compulsory degradation was gradually soothed to calmness, by the assiduity and sympathising kindness of strangers. Another, who escaped the savage fury of the reckless murderers of her whole family, was a girl of thirteen, named Georgiana Anderson, whose parents resided at Humerpore. All her relatives were massacred in her sight, herself receiving a desperate cut from a tulwar on the shoulder in the course of the murderous outrage. No other injury was inflicted upon the child personally; and a native

doctor took compassion upon her, and, extricating her from the dying and the dead of her house, took care of her, and afterwards sent her in safety to the English commander, by whom she was restored to some friends at Monghyr. Some further details of the actual proceedings of the Nana in Cawnpore, were also furnished at a later period by a half-caste Christian band-boy, named Joseph Fitchett, who stated to the commissioners appointed to investigate the charges of massacre and violation preferred against Nana Sahib and his ruffian adherents, that when the mutiny broke out, he was a musician in the band of one of the native infantry regiments at Cawnpore, and, in the general massacre, he saved his life by declaring that he would become a Mohammedan, which he did by an easy process almost on the spot. He remained in Cawnpore, and was enrolled in the Nana's force, with which he did duty. On the afternoon of the 15th of June, 1857, when it became known that the British were advancing from Pandoo Nuddee, a council was held by the Nana, at which it was resolved, that the women and children at the Beebeeghur, about 205 in number, should be murdered. The news went rapidly through the town, and some men of the 6th native infantry, entering the enclosure, proceeded to take from the unfortunate captives such articles of value, or trinkets, as they retained on their persons. When the Nana heard of this plunder, he was very much displeased, and sent down a body of sowars, with strict orders to surround the house, and permit no one to enter but the executioners. By the statement of this band-boy, it appeared that four English gentlemen were at the time confined with the women and children in the enclosure; namely, Mr. Thornhill, magistrate and collector of Futteghur; Colonel Smith, 10th native infantry; Brigadier Goldie, of the clothing department; and a fourth, not clearly identified, but supposed to be one of the Greenaway family. Shortly before half-past four o'clock, a message was brought to those gentlemen, that Brigadier Jeekin, a native officer of the mutineers, desired to see them; and they left the house to repair to his quarters. They walked quietly along the road, in the direction indicated to them, suspecting nothing; but when they had got as far as the assembly-rooms, they were suddenly attacked from behind, cut down, and murdered on the spot. Meantime, preparations were being made for the execution of the orders of the Nana and his council, with respect to the women and children;* but there was some difficulty in getting instruments for the meditated horrible butchery. The sowars wished to save themselves from the defilement of blood, and the infantry were equally averse to the task; but at length, some soldiers of the 6th native infantry were sent in, and ordered to fire upon the terrified and helpless crowd before them. These men, not yet dead to human instincts, fired in the air; and were so dilatory with their work, that it became evident the purpose of the Nana would not be accomplished by their hands. Sowars were therefore dispatched into the town for some of the common butchers of the bazaar; and two Bhooreas and a Velaitee, who were armed with hatchets and tulwars, were brought, and ordered to go in and kill every one within the house and enclosure, all egress from which was prevented by the sowars outside. It was a long and dreadful sacrifice; Fitchett, who was on duty near the place, declaring that the assassins entered the enclosure about 5.30 P.M., and that it was 10 P.M. before they came out to announce that the terrible butchery was accomplished! Once during that interval of four hours and a-half, a ruffian appeared at the gate, with his sword broken in two; but on obtaining a sabre from one of the sowars, he returned to continue his infernal labour. The Nana was in the hotel close at hand during this horrible tragedy; and when informed that all were dead, he gave orders that the doors should be closed for the night, and guards put over the place. That night the Nana gave a nautch ball to his friends in Cawnpore.

Early in the morning of the 16th, the Nana gave orders that the doors should be opened, and that all the bodies inside should be flung into a well within the compound; but as it was far too small to contain so many bodies, Fitchett considered it was probable that some were dragged away to other places, or were thrown into the Ganges.

* In the earlier accounts of this horrible transaction (see vol. i., p. 376), the massacre of the women and children took place *after* the defeat of the Nana's troops on the 16th; whereas, by the statement of Fitchett, the act was perpetrated the previous evening, and while General Havelock's force was still on its triumphant march from the Pandoo Nuddee: but whatever the date, the fact of the murder remains.

So far, the testimony of one near to, and almost an eye-witness of the act of slaughter, corroborates the account first received in its material parts. Of the hellish outrages perpetrated within the walls of that terrible compound, no living tongue was spared to tell; and in the returns that have appeared in reference to the punishment of the mutinous sepoys found in the city, and of the miscreant through whom the orders of the Nana were conveyed to the butchers employed in the wholesale slaughter of 205 helpless women and children,* there is no clue to the fact (if, indeed, it is one), that more than one of the three ferocious instruments of the Nana's malignity—*i. e.*, the butchers and the Velaitee—were, either at the recapture of the city, or at any other time or place, identified and punished.

Upon the defeat of the Nana's troops on the 16th, Fitchett fled, with his new friends the sepoys, to Futteghur; and during his stay there, it would appear, by the account he has rendered, he frequently saw a lady whom he recognised as the daughter of a late superior officer at Cawnpore, but who was then under the protection of a sowar, who had fled with her from Cawnpore after the first massacre. The lad affirmed that he was repeatedly shown into the room in which the lady sat, where he was ordered to read extracts from English newspapers which the rebels received from Calcutta, he being employed by them for the purpose of translating the news, in which they took great interest, and more especially so in that which related to the war in China. He said further, that the lady had a horse with an English side-saddle, which the sowar had procured for her, and that she rode close beside him along the line of march, with her face veiled. When the British troops approached Futteghur, orders were sent to the sowar to give the lady up; but he again escaped with her, and, it was supposed, went to Calpee.

The fatigues of the campaign, and the effect of the accident before Mujidiah on the 26th of December, had seriously impaired the health of Lord Clyde, who, after his return to Lucknow, was compelled to restrain his desire for active service, and to facilitate a return to convalescence by an interval of repose.

A very perplexing difficulty arose to the government, in consequence of the view taken of the outrages at Nagarcoil by the British resident at Travancore, who appeared to justify the Nairs of that district in their preposterous notion, that, by the royal proclamation, they were reinstated in the full enjoyment of every obsolete right or privilege in connection with their peculiar religious customs, or the exclusive usages of their caste. To encourage them, and others also of the various creeds of India, to imagine they might again revert to practices it had been the object of the government for years past to repress and discountenance, would simply have led to the utter disruption of all rule whatever, except that of the sword; since, if the letter of the proclamation was to be rigidly interpreted, and held to, in the sense assumed, it would be impossible to maintain the salutary enactments which had abolished, among the natives of India, the grossest and most revolting of their superstitions. The Pariahs, for instance, as of old, might be compelled to wear bells; and *Nairs* might once more shoot the *Nayadi*, whose shadow is projected on their persons: the Todars might perpetuate the custom of killing their female children, and indulge in the enjoyment of a plurality of husbands: fanatics might again claim the privilege to swing on hooks at their festival of the Churrockpoojah; and the rite of Suttee would again belch forth its unholy and consuming fires, in defiance of humanity and reason. But it was quite clear, that whatever ambiguity might exist in the rendering of an English state document into the vernacular dialects of India, such never for a moment was intended to be its effect; and it was therefore important that it should be announced to the people of India, that the rites and customs protected by the proclamation were not those which civilisation rejected, and which the laws had for years strenuously endeavoured to repress. It was absurd to suppose that the public highways of a city must necessarily be closed because of some imaginary defilement to the neighbourhood of a pagoda, by the funeral of a low-caste native passing it; or that it could be permitted, that females who had covered their breasts from womanly delicacy, should be maltreated and stripped in the streets, because women of a higher caste chose to consider that mode of dress the distinctive and exclusive badge of their own superiority. Thus it became necessary at once to enforce, without any qualification whatever, the operation of a clause

* See vol. i., p. 391.

in the royal proclamation, which directly affected the point in dispute, but which the fanatics of high-caste desired to ignore—namely, the paragraph which called upon "all the Queen's subjects" to submit themselves to the authority of those whom her majesty had appointed to administer the government of her Indian empire. It was also important that it should be dictinctly understood by the people, that the government was determined to repress, with a strong hand, all indignities and provocations offered to the natives of any race, upon the plea of caste privileges, however lowly might be their rank in the native populations. A new element of dissatisfaction had thus been engendered by the partial misinterpretations of the royal document; which it became essential to check in its earliest phase, by supplying a correct key to the native reading of the proclamation—the want of which had been mischievously demonstrated by the outrages at Tinnevelly and Travancore, as well as by the difficulty suddenly presented to the governments of Bombay and the Punjab, by a perplexing question as to the positive sense in which the terms "British subjects" were to be taken, as distinguished from the expression "our subjects;" both of which were used in the proclamation, and the doubtful application of which had been seized as an authority for the display of most objectionable feeling on the part of the native races of high-caste. The definition of those particular terms, in the sense in which it was desired they should be understood, afforded occasion for a vast amount of correspondence between the viceroy and his lieutenant-governors, which ended rather in evading the point mooted, than in a lucid exposition of it; and the real interpretation was left to the practical teaching of the civil and military authorities, as occasion arose for their interposition.

The rebellion had now, as a national movement, died out; and the few-and-far-between rumours which reached the seat of government towards the end of March, possessed but a faint degree of interest, as well from their uncertain truthfulness as from the unimportance of the operations to which they referred. It was reported, for instance, on the 22nd of the month, that the Nana, with a considerable force, was encamped at Someysur, a short distance beyond the Tirhoot frontier; that a body of rebels were marching upon Goruckpore; and that two companies of H.M.'s 34th regiment had been cut up in a night attack: but these rumours, which at one period would have occasioned both alarm and inconvenience, now scarcely inflicted a moment's uneasiness. The mighty evil of a popular rebellion had been so entirely crushed, that these isolated cases of petty annoyance were almost unnoticed, and certainly were uncared for; although the force still adhering to the begum in the Nepaul territory was sufficiently numerous to render great vigilance necessary on the part of the column of observation, under Brigadier Horsford, at Beyram Ghât. A movement of these rebels was notified in the following telegram from the secretary to the government of India, at Calcutta, to the home government, on the 23rd of March:—

"Since the date of my last message, the rebels, under the begum and Ram Sing, have recrossed the river Gunduk, and have marched westward through the Nepaul Terai. On the 16th of March, about 200 rebels, supposed to be an advanced party, entered the Toolseypore territory. The main body, with the chiefs, were said to be at Bhootwal, about twenty-five miles east of the Toolseypore boundary. They are believed to number about 5,000, including women and children. Brigadier Kelly was to have been at Lotun, thirty-six miles from Bhootwal, on the 18th instant. The province of Oude continues tranquil; the disarming of the country, and the demolition of the forts, progress satisfactorily.

"Information has been received from Chundeyree, that the Rao Sahib, with 2,000 cavalry, arrived in the Chundeyree district on the 13th instant; and arrangements were made for pursuing him. Overtures of surrender had been received both from the Rao and Feroze Shah, who are both said to be anxious to come in. Tantia Topee, when last heard of, was threading the jungles on the Chumbul, under the assumed name of Rao Sing."

The only results, for some time, known of the movements above reported, were, that the force with Rao Sahib occupied itself in plundering and harassing the district in which it had become located; and that, in accordance with the usual practice of the chief, he fled with his troops as soon as he learned that detachments of the Queen's troops were on the march towards him.

Among other subjects by which the European mind, in India, was kept on the

qui vive during a part of the month of March, the revival of an old Sikh prophecy, referring to the year 1863 of our era, was not the least exciting. By the author of this (a Sikh of Jubbulpore), it was declared, that in the year mentioned, the Sikhs should arise in their strength as a race of mighty warriors—exterminate the Christian Kaffirs, keep Englishwomen as their slaves, and restore the supreme power of the Khalsa. This prognostication came to light under the following circumstances:—An old officer, of superior rank in the Sikh force stationed at Lahore, named Cheytee Sing, was suspected of treasonable practices in conjunction with a fakir, named Bhood Sing, who, in the course of his pilgrimage, had found his way to the before-named city. The house of the Sikh officer was searched, and papers were found connected with the prophecy mentioned, copies of which had been secretly but very extensively distributed among the people. The prediction was, doubtless, agreeable enough to the parties expectant; but it was woefully disastrous in its immediate and unanticipated consequences to those concerned in its promulgation, as the Sikh and his confederate were seized, tried, convicted, condemned to five years' penal servitude at the Andamans, and were on their way thither in chains within forty-eight hours of the discovery—an example of promptitude which, although it somewhat disturbed the English idea of the grave deliberation of justice, was of infinite service in repressing any inconvenient display of native belief in the promised downfall of English authority in 1863; and as the first duty of all governments is to prevent anarchy by repressing it at its source, the vigour manifested in the treatment of this affair was most commendable and effective.

The transmission of the nawab of Furruckabad from the commander-in-chief's camp on the Raptee, to Cawnpore, *en route* for Futteghur, has been already noticed. During the first portion of the journey, the prisoner was in the safe keeping of the 80th regiment, then on its way also to Cawnpore, and no incident occurred to interrupt the regular order of the march; but similar good fortune did not attend the second portion of the journey. The native officer in command of the escort appointed to conduct the prisoner from Cawnpore to Futteghur, had, for meritorious services rendered during the siege at Lucknow, been promoted to an adjutancy in the mounted police, and it happened that the custody of the nawab was entrusted to a detachment of that corps of which the adjutant had the command. During the journey, the nawab, who by this time had began to feel the peril into which he had fallen by his voluntary surrender, and was naturally desirous to avert it if possible, made overtures to the commander of the escort, through his servant, with a view to escape, which, although the officer rejected, and ultimately delivered his prisoner in safety, he did not report to his superiors. The circumstance, by some means, became known to the authorities, and the adjutant was in turn put under arrest and sent to Agra for trial by court-martial, and the charge of corresponding with the prisoner upon the subject of a bribe for his escape, being established by documentary evidence in the possession of the adjutant, he was thereupon sentenced to degradation from his rank, and to six months' imprisonment. Three men of the escort were also sentenced to a like period of imprisonment, for complicity in the error of their commander.

In due course the nawab was put upon his trial for treason, and for the aggravated outrages perpetrated upon Europeans at Futteghur in the early days of the revolt.* The evidence on both points was incontrovertible, and he was adjudged guilty of all the crimes alleged against him, and sentenced to death. On the day the judgment of the court was delivered, the principal hall of his palace, in which the trial took place, was crowded by an anxious multitude of the native inhabitants of Furruckabad, who were deeply impressed with the scene around them, as were also many of the civil and military officers and other residents of the station. Upon the president taking his seat, the prisoner was placed at the bar; his countenance exhibiting calm but haughty indifference. After a few moments, during which profound silence reigned over the crowded assemblage, the president proceeded to deliver the judgment of the court in the following terms:—

"Prisoner at the bar,—Your trial has lasted one month, and the fullest investigation that was possible has been made as to your guilt or innocence. You have been defended by an able English gentleman, who, relying on your own statements, has taken the greatest pains to prove you innocent

* See vol. i., p. 350.

of the heinous crimes with the commission of which you were charged; and he has also endeavoured to procure your release by every argument of a legal and technical nature which he thought would assist your cause. Nevertheless, we three judges, sitting calmly and deliberately to hear the case for and against you, have unanimously decided that you are guilty. In arriving at this judgment, do not for an instant believe that we have given implicit belief to every word uttered by every witness for the prosecution, or that we have not allowed all the weight that it was worth to the evidence for the defence.

"You yourself have never attempted to deny the facts—*i.e.*, the occurrence of those dreadful crimes which have conferred an historical infamy on Futteghur and Furruckabad, and which have led to your being brought to the bar of justice. And now, prisoner at the bar, consider what are the crimes with the commission of which we, your judges, have convicted you. For what crimes, I repeat, is it, that, as far as we are concerned, we have condemned you to suffer death?

"Her majesty the Queen's gracious amnesty has saved you from that extreme punishment for the crime of being a principal leader and instigator in treason and rebellion which you so ungratefully committed. But if you had committed only that offence, you would have to pass the remainder of your life in a miserable exile. But you stand at that bar, convicted first of being accessory after the fact to a wholesale massacre of English gentlemen, ladies and children, with most of whom you had been living on terms of intimacy—that is, in the language of the law, you received, comforted, and assisted the perpetrators of this massacre; and not only that, but honoured and rewarded some amongst them.

"Secondly, you stand convicted of being both accessory before and after the fact, to the cold-blooded slaughter of twenty-two Christians, including amongst them women and children, who were killed for no other cause than that they were Christians—that is, you not only received, comforted, and assisted the perpetrators of this crime, but you previously procured, counselled, commanded, and abetted those who took away those unhappy victims from your own door. And, as if this were not enough, you have been convicted of this same double crime in regard to three poor natives (and there is reason to believe that others perished in a similar manner), whose only fault was, that one was faithful to his salt, and that the others were carrying English letters.

"And what is your excuse for all these crimes?—what? but that you were afraid of losing your wretched life (which, after all, has been forfeited) at the hands of the mutinous soldiery, and that you were a puppet in the hands of their leaders, some of whom were of your own kith and lineage. Even if it were true that you occupied this position, what a degrading one it was; how much of cowardice it showed in the descendant and representative of a family and race, hitherto well known in Hindostan for courage and manly qualities! But it is quite impossible to believe that this plea of duress is true, even if there had not been produced ample and trustworthy evidence to refute it.

"You were able to save the lives of Christians, and you twice did save such—once to appease the anger of Heaven, when you were sick and thought yourself dying, and once to gratify your own feelings and inclinations. You were not a close prisoner, and you did exercise all the powers of a ruler in this territory; and in their exercise you committed the awful crimes which I have enumerated. If for the innocent blood that is crying to us from this river and this land we did not sentence you to suffer death—which is mercy itself to the cruel death inflicted under your sanction on so many victims—we should fail in our duty both to God and man.

"It is for the government which is our master, and your master, to decide finally on your fate. You may rely on the whole of your pleas of defence being submitted to that authority. In the meanwhile, I implore you to repent of your crimes, and to make your peace with that God whose laws you have so ruthlessly violated."

During this solemn address, the prisoner was not able wholly to maintain his unconcerned demeanour; and just as the enumeration of the fearful crimes of which the court had adjudged him guilty approached to a close, a change passed over his countenance, and his look became downcast. Soon, however, he controlled his features, and his face resumed its usual expression, except that he now continued to cast down his eyes. The sentence of death by hanging did not produce any further outward and visible sign of feeling,

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and no emotions of remorse were manifested by him at any period of the investigation. As soon as the president had concluded, the prisoner was led from the court, and placed under a strong European guard in an apartment of the fort at Futteghur, where he awaited the confirmation of his sentence by the governor-general. It was generally believed that, although the justice of the extreme penalty was universally admitted, it would, for reasons of policy, be commuted to transportation for life.

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as will be seen, was developed in a higher grade of society, and at a later period; but the work of treachery had recommenced. All confidence between the rebel hosts and their leaders was shaken; and it became likely that the emulation among them would now be in striving to obtain pardon by being first in denouncing each other. The neck of the rebellion was broken; for the link in the vertebral pillar which had hitherto supported it, was rent asunder; and the energies of the government of India were henceforth to be directed to the restoration of order, rather than to the punishment of crime.

The capture of Tantia Topee, the most dangerous, persevering, and elusive of the rebel leaders, was immediately preceded by one or two successful skirmishes with the troops under his command; and the outline of these operations may be described as follows. It has already been stated that several of the chiefs had surrendered to the English commanders in different localities; and the exigencies of the struggle had at length become so desperate in every direction, that it was confidently expected despair and regret would quickly compel most of the other leaders to give themselves up. With this idea, Sir R. Napier was occupied in watching the jungles of Seronge, in the heart of Central India, and about 213 miles directly south of Agra. At the same moment, the Rao Sahib and Feroze Shah were at Mungrowlee, some thirty miles distant, on their way to Chundeyree; while General Wheeler, who had marched from Saugor on the 4th of March, to shut the outlets of escape on the east, moved first to Ratghur, then to Bagrode, and thence to Korrai, where, on the 13th, he gave up the chase.

The rebels had now reached Chundeyree, and were within twenty miles of Brigadier Little's column at Lullutpore; but this officer, in ignorance of the position of the enemy, moved, on the 13th, from the last-named place to Pahlee, without encountering even a straggler from the flying camps of the rebels. General Napier, wearied by inaction, now determined upon entering the Seronge jungles, that he might, if possible, beat up the enemy's quarters; and a force under Colonel Rich, another under Colonel Meade, a wing of the 92nd highlanders, and the brigade of Colonel De Salis, moved into the jungles, taking different directions. The disposition of the troops was admirable—Colonel De Salis patrolling the Trunk road north to Budrunghur; Colonel Rich going through the jungles to his right, at a distance of five or six miles; the 92nd to the right of Colonel Rich; and cavalry on the right of the 92nd;—these parallel lines all joining at Budrunghur. On the 25th of the month, the 92nd arrived at that place, and immediately went on to Goonah, where the cavalry arrived in the morning, and the infantry in the afternoon, the patrols of Colonel De Salis retiring to Ragoghur: but, during these movements hitherto, not a single rebel was seen or heard of; the villagers, who appeared profoundly ignorant of all useful intelligence,

conversation of the same stamp. The naik returned, and duly reported all he had seen and heard; and he was certain there were others in the conspiracy. From the difficulty of seizing and securing the rebels in a large city, it was determined not to allow the havildar-major (whom they were most anxious to meet) to go there, being fully convinced that if he did not go to see them, they would eventually be induced to come to him, which would ensure a better chance of securing them. The plot went on ripening for days, the naik duly reporting everything that occurred; until one day the naik and private met, by appointment in a house in the city, the before-mentioned two rebels, and also a chief conspirator named Khannoo, and a pundit named Govind Row, who showed and read to them the above purwana from the Peishwa. At length, after great difficulty, on Sunday, the 29th (August), the naik made an appointment for the Mahratta chief and pundit, Govind Row, to meet the havildar-major under a large tree, a little way from camp, the next day, and they were to bring the purwana with them. The officers, viz., commanding officer, adjutant, and quartermaster, were told of the appointment; and it was arranged, when the havildar-major went to meet them, these officers should go quietly on horseback as if riding for pleasure, get near the tree, and seize the parties. The rebels did not come up on Monday, as it rained; but on Tuesday, the 31st, they came, were seized, and the purwana found on them—thus two were captured on the spot. Two officers and the naik immediately proceeded to the city, and with the assistance of the political agent, Major M'Pherson, seized the Brahmin, Ball Kissen Baba, in the house the naik pointed out; and to make everything successful, the Brahmin pundit, Wamun Bhut, was seized in the lines on Wednesday morning by the havildar-major." Later intelligence, communicated in a letter dated the 8th of September, says—"The four gentlemen Pandies detected tampering with the 25th regiment of native infantry, were blown from the guns on the 7th instant. The papers taken from these would-be traitors, have yielded some very valuable information, which has led to the apprehension of sixty prisoners, who are now under trial, and probably we shall be compelled to waste a little more powder. This place is at least half as large as Bombay, and seems a regular hotbed of sedition."

only knew that they had been there ten days or a fortnight previous, and either could not, or would not, give any further information: the jungle was almost impenetrable, and the columns met with immense difficulty in the attempt to pass through it. One officer (Captain Mayne) repeatedly climbed trees, to discover, if possible, some opening by which the cavalry might advance; and Colonel Rich was compelled to cut down a considerable extent of forest, to open a road for his infantry on camels. Colonel De Salis's patrols lost their way, and one of them came upon Colonel Rich's camp. Colonel Lockhart's commissariat arrived at Ragoghur, instead of Goonah, having taken a route south-westward, instead of due north. The day after the troops reached Goonah, an order from General Napier directed a movement upon Arone, some twenty miles distant.

On the 30th of March, Sir R. Napier still lay at Seronge, and De Salis's brigade at Ragoghur; the rebels being still undiscovered, but supposed to have separated into small parties—the bulk of them being on the Parbuttee river, south-west of Nursinghur. Whilst thus unsuccessful in this part of Central India, somewhat of better fortune crowned the operations in the districts lying eastward. The rebels Ronmast Sing, of Rewah, and Furzund Ali, who had ordered the attack and murder of the railway engineers at Etawah,* were pursued by Captain Venables with a portion of the 97th regiment, and Captain Rushton with some Madras rifles, into the territory of the rajah of Singrowlee, where, in their panic, they separated. The pursuit, however, continued, and a portion of the fugitives were caught at Saleia, in the neighbourhood of Punnah, where they were severely cut up. Another body of them made their way from Doodee, westward, along the Soane, and got into the Rholas hills—some of them even finding their way into the Sonthal territory, where they were roughly used by the inhabitants, who refused to harbour them; others, driven from this cheerless shelter, crossed the Ganges by means of the Sangna, or Jhoola, or such expedients as came to hand, carefully avoiding the Ghauts, and so managed to get away into the hills of the Nepaul territory; thus for a time escaping from the retributive sword which flashed behind them.

* See *ante*, p. 584.

Up to the end of March, therefore, the several detachments employed in tracing the rebel bands to their lair, were fairly baffled, and wearied by their unprofitable exertions. But this unsatisfactory state of things was about to terminate; and, on the 2nd of April, a portion of the force, under the command of General Napier, came up with a body of the enemy near the Serouge jungles, and signally defeated them; Maun Sing, rajah of Powrie (a fortress near Jhansie), who was with the rebels, surrendering himself to Colonel Meade immediately after the action; and by the instrumentality of this defeated traitor, the capture of his chief, the redoubtable Tantia Topee, was eventually accomplished.

Immediately after the successful *rencontre* of the 2nd of April, the columns under Colonels De Salis and Rich, and Captain Bolton, made a combined movement in the jungles, and, on the 3rd, succeeded in discovering a strong body of the rebels under the Rao Sahib, Feroze Shah, and Tantia Topee, whom they attacked and dispersed with great loss.

The circumstances attending this fortunate occurrence were as follows:—On the 3rd of April, Captain Bolton, the assistant-quartermaster-general, assisted by his spies, discovered the lurking-place of the rebels. They were amongst the hills, at a place called Goonjaree, about twelve miles from De Salis's camp, and it was therefore resolved to attack them. Captain Bolton discovered a path through the jungle practicable for men and horses, and by this route the main body of the brigade marched upon the enemy; the remainder, with the baggage, proceeding by the direct road. About nine o'clock it was discovered that the enemy were doubling round the right of the main body, and on the other side of the hill. The force accordingly counter-marched for some distance; and, upon ascertaining the position of the enemy, the column was formed in skirmishing order, the 8th hussars keeping to the right, which was the only ground where cavalry could act. After advancing for nearly a mile through thick jungle, the enemy were seen under a large tope of trees at the foot of the hills. This, however, was only for a moment. They disappeared, and all traces of them were lost for several hours, until a body of 300 cavalry, well mounted and equipped, suddenly dashed out of some deep nullah, upon a part of the baggage, then only

protected by a few soldiers of the 95th and some men of the 10th native infantry, whose combined strength did not amount to more than ten or twelve men. Few as they were in numbers they were in no ways daunted, but presented a bold front to the enemy, and by their rapid fire prevented the whole of the baggage from being carried off. They were, however, unable to save the band-master of the 10th native infantry, who was hacked to pieces by the murderous sepoys. While engaged in their work of pillage, the Gwalior guardsmen are stated to have indulged in a good deal of boasting at the expense of the brigade in front. They were continually demanding to know where the brigade was, so that they might have an opportunity of cutting up the whole force. They disdained, they said, to fight with a few scattered soldiers and camp-followers, and would infinitely prefer cutting up our troops *en masse*. While indulging in such empty gasconading, and helping themselves to whatever they could lay their hands upon, they suddenly perceived the rear-guard of the 10th native infantry pouring through the trees, and a squadron of the 8th hussars debouching upon the open. The sowars were in their saddles in a moment, and were far in the dense of the jungles before the reinforcement could reach the baggage. Captain Bolton having discovered the place where they had concealed themselves, a column was detached on the evening of the 6th inst. to attack them. It consisted of detachments of her majesty's 8th hussars, 95th foot, and 10th native infantry, partly on foot, and partly on camels. After a march of twenty-four miles the rebels were surprised, and at once attacked. Our troops committed fearful havoc amongst them, remembering their cowardly and brutal conduct the previous day. They were shot down and bayoneted in heaps, and no quarter was either asked or given. A considerable number managed to effect their escape, but it was only to fall into the hands of Rich's column, which was advancing from the opposite direction. A number took refuge in a village, which they resolved to defend to the last. It was surrounded; but, driven to desperation, they resisted every effort to drive them from the houses in which they took shelter. To prevent an unnecessary sacrifice of our soldiers' lives, it was resolved to fire the village, and in a short time the place was enveloped in flames. Those who tried to escape were either sabred by the dragoons, or bayoneted by the infantry. Many, however, preferred remaining in the houses until they were consumed, and met death with a stoicism worthy of a better cause. Those who had sought refuge round the village were soon hunted up and cut down by the cavalry. In the two actions of the morning and the afternoon, upwards of six hundred of the rebels perished, including many officers and men of rank amongst them. A subahdar of the Gwalior contingent was recognised amongst the slain; and the appearance of many others showed that they were above the ordinary standard of those the troops had hitherto been in the habit of engaging. The rebel body-guard of Scindia were conspicuous for the splendour of their appearance, and the brilliancy of their equipments. Their belts and pouches shone with polish, and their buckles and silver ornaments sparkled in the morning sun. They were all magnificently mounted; and both riders and horses seemed perfect, both as regarded equipment and caparison.

Some particulars of the action of the 5th of April, are supplied by the following letter from Mhow:—

"An express has just reached Mhow, with the good news that part of Smith's brigade, consisting of 80 of the 8th hussars, 150 of the 95th, and 130 of the 10th N.I., the two latter mounted on Samni camels, after marching all night on the 4th (twenty-three miles), came upon and surprised 800 rebels at daylight the next morning, at a village called Tinsia, in the heart of the dense belt of jungles west of Seronge. Tinsia is about thirty miles due west of Seronge, and about ten north-east of Muxoodeen-nuggur fort, and near Jookur. Smith's brigade started after them on the 3rd; but the rebel party under the Rao, hearing of their approach, soon horsed, and made direct for the Trunk road, where they fell in with a portion of the baggage-train of the brigade, two gharries of which they plundered, and killed some of the men, one of whom was a European band-master of the 10th N.I. They then appeared to have turned north, and united with Tantia Topee and Feroze Shah, who thought themselves securely encamped in the thickest part of the jungles. The prisoners taken—some of whom were Bengal sepoys, and others men of Scindia's body-guard—reported that Tantia, Feroze Shah, and Govind were all

present. One man of some distinction among them, and supposed to be the last-named, was cut down by an 8th hussar. Of the 800 rebels at the beginning of the encounter, 350 at least were killed; while our casualties are but trifling, having only ten wounded, and not one killed; but many of our men are reported missing, having doubtless lost themselves in the jungle. A large quantity of baggage, and some camels, horses, and ponies fell into our hands."

After the fight, Tantia Topee separated from the Rao and Feroze Shah, and again ran to cover; but his haunt was known to his late confederate and friend, Maun Sing of Powrie; and, upon his treacherous information, the chief was captured by Colonel Meade's force on the 7th of April. The following telegram, from Colonel Meade to Lord Elphinstone, officially announced the event:—

"From Mahoodra, *viâ* Sepree, 8th April, half-past six P.M.—Tantia Topee captured by this detachment, with Maun Sing's assistance, last night. He is now a prisoner in camp, awaiting orders for his disposal."

After the defeat and dispersion of the rebels on the 5th and 6th of April, both Feroze Shah and the Rao Sahib were lost sight of for some time, although supposed to be still lurking in the jungle. In the meantime the double traitor, Maun Sing, was busied negotiating with the English commander for the betrayal of Tantia Topee, as the price of his own safety; but having surrendered to Colonel Meade, as stated, immediately after the action of the 2nd of April, he took up his quarters in the English camp at Sepree. About midnight on the 3rd, he sent word to the colonel, that Agret Sing, with other rebels, were in the Parone jungles, ten miles off, and might be surprised. Meade at once started with a detachment to effect this; but it turned out that the party was sixteen miles distant, and the detachment did not reach their neighbourhood till the sun was up. The consequence was that they escaped, leaving their clothes, pugries, &c., on the ground; and Maun Sing, affecting reluctance, would not speak out about Tantia Topee till the afternoon of the 7th, when at length, after much discussion, he agreed to make the attempt to seize the chief. At his request, a small party of native infantry was placed under his orders, and sent quietly to Parone that evening, Maun Sing having previously gone there himself in the afternoon. The men were placed in ambush by his people; and about 2 A.M. he took them himself to the spot where Tantia Topee was sleeping, with two pundits. Maun Sing seized his arms, and Tantia Topee was at once secured. The pundits escaped. He had got twenty-five miles off on his way to join the Rao, when Maun Sing's men deceived him, and induced him to return. He would have been quite out of reach in two hours more. He was at once conveyed into Sepree in a dhooly, where the party arrived on the morning of the 13th instant. Every precaution was taken to prevent escape or rescue; and at first, it appears, some indecision was exhibited at head-quarters as to his disposal. No natives were allowed to approach the prisoner; and, on the 14th, an escort was told-off to convey him to Gwalior, where the members of his family were already confined in the fort. During the day, however, in consequence of a telegraphic communication, the order for his removal was cancelled, and it was determined he should be tried by a court-martial on the spot. While imprisoned in the camp, although heavily fettered, the demeanour of the betrayed chief was dignified and consistent. On the 15th he was brought before the military judges, the charges on which he was arraigned being confined to rebellion, and opposition to the British government by force of arms. The proceedings occupied the whole day; and the decision of the court was at length announced, that he should perish on a scaffold. When the officer told him, the previous day, to prepare for his trial, Tantia said that he knew, for fighting against the British government, his punishment would be death; he wanted no court, and he therefore wished to be dispatched (holding up his manacles) from this misery, either from a gun or by the noose, as quickly as possible. He did not wish to see his relatives; but the only thing he asked the government was, that they would not punish his family for transactions in which they had no concern. The charge on which he was tried was read to him on the previous day; in answer to which he made a statement, which was committed to writing, and afterwards read to him by a moonshee, to whom he listened attentively, occasionally correcting the statement, which he ultimately signed in good English characters—"Tantia Topee."

The following personal description of the

doomed chief, is from a letter dated "Sepree, April 14th:"—"Tantia Topee is forty-nine years of age; stands about five feet six; is stout and well made; has a pretty large head, of great breadth from ear to ear. It is covered bountifully with strong grey hair, with beard, moustache, and whiskers to match. His cheek-bones are slightly elevated; and his black eye, under sharply-arched eyebrows, is clear and piercing. Altogether, his features are intelligent and expressive, denoting decision, energy, and ability. Tantia is a Brahmin; and the Brahminical cord is always very religiously placed over the ear when he goes out of his tent to prepare his meals, &c. He performs his ablutions, goes through his genuflexions, and prepares and devours his *khanna* once a day, with all the strictness and religious ceremonies of his caste, having members of the Brahmin caste there to attend him. His execution was announced to take place at 4 P.M. on the 18th; so I proceeded to where the scaffold was erected. The ground was kept by some men of the 24th and 9th native infantry, and some of Meade's horse. Tantia was brought from his tent in the fort by an escort of the 3rd Bengal Europeans; and then a considerable square was formed, with the gallows in the centre. The companies of the 24th and 9th native infantry formed one side; the men of the 14th dragoons and 17th lancers, who had come into the station that morning and the previous day, were drawn up on another side; the detachment of 3rd Bengals and Meade's horse, in considerable strength, formed the two remaining sides. A considerable number of natives were scattered all over the plain; and any little elevation commanding a view of the scaffold, was thickly studded with white-clad spectators. Tantia had expressed some anxiety to know his fate, and to have it expeditiously executed.

"'On the brink of the grave he did not wish to keep hovering,
Nor his thread wish to spin o'er again.'

Consequently, at twelve (noon), it was intimated to him that he was to be executed that evening. He again feelingly expressed a wish that, as they were about to take his life, the government would see to his family in Gwalior. Major Reade read the charge—that he, being a resident at Bithoor, in British territory, was guilty of rebellion in waging war against the British government. The finding of the court was 'guilty;' and the sentence, that he be hanged by the neck until he was dead. The *mistree* then knocked off the leg-irons; he mounted the rickety ladder with as much firmness as handcuffs would allow him; was then pinioned and his legs tied, he remarking that there was no necessity for these operations; and he then deliberately put his head into the noose, which being drawn tight by the executioner, the fatal bolt was drawn. He struggled very slightly, and the *mehters* were called to drag him straight. A sergeant of the 3rd Bengals acted as hangman. Thus finished the career of the rebel chief, Tantia Topee, with all the due solemnities of British military routine. When the suspended body became motionless, the troops were all marched off, and the body remained hanging for the remainder of the evening. After the troops left, a great scramble was made by officers and others to get a lock of his hair, &c."

Tantia Topee was a Brahmin of the Deccan, having been born in the zillah of Ahmednuggur. He attached himself, at an early age, to the court of the late Peishwa, Bajee Rao, and was, from his boyhood, the constant companion of Dhoondia Punt, of Bithoor, commonly called the Nana Sahib. He was well skilled in military tactics, and had made the old predatory system of Mahratta warfare his study. From the hour of his capture to that of his death, he exhibited no symptoms of either trepidation or despondency. He seemed to feel that the end was come; and it was easy to perceive, in his general demeanour, that he was quite prepared to yield up the life he had hazarded upon the cast of the die. Revolting as were his crimes, he attempted neither palliation nor extenuation. He gave no mercy, and he sued for none; stern and relentless to the last, he yielded up his life without a murmur or a struggle, betraying as little symptoms of nature or humanity on the scaffold at Sepree, as he must have done by the well at Cawnpore. He denied having taken any part in the massacre; but it is known that he commanded, at the time, one of the divisions of the Nana Sahib's army; and his exploits were more numerous and dashing than those of any of the other rebel leaders. He led the Gwalior contingent in person when Wyndham's camp was burnt, in November, 1857. Sustaining, however, a severe repulse at the hands

of Sir Colin Campbell, and losing sixteen of his guns, he crossed the Jumna, and fell back upon Calpee. But here he did not remain long. Intelligence of the victorious entry of Sir Hugh Rose into Central India, the relief of Saugor, the fall of Garrakota, and the perilous position of the ranee of Jhansie, induced him to evacuate Calpee, and march southward. On the 1st of April, 1858, he first crossed swords with Sir H. Rose on the banks of the Betwa, and his troops were driven in disorder, by only a handful of the Central India field force, from under the very battlements of the beleaguered city. He also commanded at Agra, and sustained a severe repulse at the hands of Brigadier-general Greathed. In the course of twelve months he fought twenty pitched battles, viz.:—The Betwa, Koonch, engagements before Calpee, Gwalior, Kote-ke-Serai, Sanganeer, Budwarra, Kotarra, Incor Gowlie, Sindwa, Kurrai, Rajpore, Oodeypore, Pertamburgh, Dhoosa, Burrachie, Zeerapore, Koorhana, and Seronge. In every one of these engagements he was defeated, with the loss of guns innumerable, and hundreds of his followers. During the whole period he had only two successes—one at Gwalior and one at Esangurgh; and, on both occasions, they were over native troops, who, instead of opposing him, ranged themselves under his banners. Setting aside his skirmishes, he encountered, in successive engagements, more than a dozen of our best British general officers and brigadiers. His first vanquisher was Greathed; and he was succeeded by Rose, Napier, Michel, Roberts, Smith, Parke, De Salis, Showers, Benson, Somerset, Horner, and Rich, who worsted the Pindarree leader wherever they encountered him. His success lay in the celerity of his marches, his knowledge of the country, and the freebooting manner he adopted to obtain supplies. He carried along with him neither baggage nor commissariat, compelling the countries through which he passed to provide him with everything that his army required.

A notice of this remarkable man appeared in a Calcutta paper,* from which the following passages are extracted:—

"Tantia Topee, according to the official account, is a Brahmin, from the neighbourhood of Calpee. Up to the period of the mutinies he is said to have been a money-changer, and probably never saw a shot fired in anger in his life. The mutinies, however, so full of possible careers, and so deficient in men to pursue them, seem to have woke him up to a new ambition. Where or how he became connected with the Nana, or whether he was connected with him at all, seems to be one of the endless uncertainties attending his biography. It is doubtful, even, whether the strange name by which he is known among Europeans is an invention, a nickname ('the weaver artillerist'), or a corruption of his real title as commandant of the Peishwa's artillery. His first appearance as a recognised leader was at the battle of the Jumna, where he appeared as commander-in-chief of the army of the Peishwa—so called, we imagine, not because it obeyed the Nana, but because its nucleus was formed from the Gwalior contingent. These men—Scindia, their immediate sovereign, being openly hostile to them—had no resource but to fall back upon the ancient authority of the Peishwa, just as the sepoys of the Mussulman states, passing over the king of Oude, fell back upon the emperor of Delhi. It is curious, by the way, to observe how little the theory of legitimacy, in the European sense, entered into their ideas. They looked only to the powers who immediately preceded the British raj. The true head of the Mahrattas, for instance, is the heir, whoever he may be, of the Sattara family, the descendants of Sevajee. The only legitimate Hindoo monarch in Northern India, the rana of Oodeypore, was defied and insulted by his own troops.

"At the battle of the Jumna, Tantia planned the most formidable attack with which Sir Hugh Rose had to contend. He was not, however, present—retiring, then and ever afterwards, at the very beginning of the fray. His career is a strange one for a coward; but either personal timidity, or a mistaken policy, has made this habit the weak point of his proceedings. Thoroughly acquainted with his countrymen, their prejudices, and their credulity, Tantia has repeatedly raised armies from the ground. He seizes some admirable position, posts his force with a skill which leads English generals to anticipate a severe contest, and then flies on ahead to plot again, leaving the web he has already spun to be torn to pieces. Immediately after the fall of Calpee, his influence was felt in one of the heaviest blows dealt us in the war. He had contrived to secrete himself in Gwalior,

* *The Friend of India.*

where, screened by a small section of the durbar, who longed for the old days of plunder, he opened communications with Scindia's remaining troops. He secured them all. Scindia, aware as he was of the character of his countrymen, finding he could not obtain Europeans, met the rebels advancing on Gwalior with his own forces. They all fled or deserted, except a few of his body-guard, and Tantia Topee gained a kingdom at a stroke. He had possession of the city, the richest remaining to the Mahrattas; of its fortress, one of the strongest in India; stores to equip a great army for the field; artillery in abundance, and a treasure estimated at from £1,500,000 to £5,000,000. He had at least 22,000 soldiers; and a single victory, a successful skirmish against the Europeans, would have brought him 100,000 men. The blow was felt by every Englishman in India; though the natives, who have an instinctive perception of the vital points of the empire, considered the march of a few hundred men into the Delta infinitely more important. With an enemy less persevering than the British, Tantia might have founded a great state, rebuilt the Mahratta power, and reigned as Peishwa—an office not originally hereditary. Sir Hugh Rose, however, approached; the old terrors fell fast on Tantia and his followers, and Gwalior was evacuated without the contest it deserved.

"And then commenced that marvellous series of retreats which, continued for ten months, seemed to mock at defeat, and made Tantia Topee's name more familiar to Europe than that of most of our Anglo-Indian generals. His reputation, though exaggerated by the fact that all other resistance had ceased, was by no means undeserved. The problem before him was not an easy one. He had to keep together an army of beaten Asiatics, bound by no tie to his person, and bound to each other only by one common hate and one common fear—hate of the British name, and fear of the British gallows. He had to keep this ill-assorted army in constant motion, at a pace which should baffle not only the enemies who pursued him, but the enemies who streamed down at right angles to his line of march. He had, while thus urging his half-disciplined host to mad flight, to take some dozen cities, obtain fresh stores, collect new cannon, and, above all, induce recruits to join voluntarily a service which promised only incessant flight at sixty miles a-day. That he accomplished these ends with the means at his disposal, indicates ability of no mean kind. Slightly as we may hold the marauding leader, he was of the class to which Hyder Ali belonged; and had he carried out the plan attributed to him, and penetrated through Nagpore to Madras, he might have been as formidable as his prototype. As it was, the Nerbudda proved to him what the Channel was to Napoleon. He could accomplish anything, except cross the stream. His original idea, if we may judge from his marches, was to collect a great army from the little states bordering on the Nerbudda valley, fly down towards Bombay at a pace which should baffle pursuit, cross into the Deccan, and raise the true Mahratta provinces, and perhaps a large section of the Bombay army. He was disappointed by movements which form one of the most remarkable features of the struggle. The government of Bombay could find no troops to catch, or even seriously to threaten him with capture. But they could and did find a succession of movable columns who presented themselves at the shortest notice at every menaced point. From the moment he quitted Gwalior to the moment he surrendered at Seronge, Tantia Topee found but one great place at once rich in munitions and undefended. These columns, which moved at first as slowly as British columns are accustomed to move, learnt to march at last; and some of the later marches of Brigadier Parke and Colonel Napier were equal to half of Tantia's average rate. Still he escaped; and through the hot weather, and the rains, and the cold weather, and the hot weather again, he was still flying, sometimes with 2,000 'dispirited' followers, and sometimes with 15,000 men. His last experiment was to penetrate into Bikaneer; but it failed, and he was compelled to double back on Bundelcund, where all hope of further retreat seems to have left him. He took, as Koer Sing did, to the jungle—was caught, and died. His betrayer, Maun Sing, is not held in very high estimation, although he carries himself with a lofty air enough at Sepree, his capital city. He is described as being a fine-looking man, standing upwards of six feet high. When he reached the camp he appeared to have undergone a great deal of hardship, his habiliments looking rather worn. He has a long black beard, with a very sharp black eye. He had on his head a red pugrie; on his back, one of those thick padded coats,

all ornamented with sewing in gold thread; and, on his legs, a pair of silk pantaloons the worse for wear. His arms consisted of a fine brace of pistols, gold-mounted; a double-barrelled rifle, with one of those country-made swords. He had 200 followers, but twenty only came in along with him; all of them fine, big, strapping fellows, to all appearance likely men for anything. He has his tent and his guard under some trees, close by the encampment of the European detachment, and is the lion of Sepree at present. Maun rides out on his prancing charger or smart-going elephant, driving the latter himself, iron spike in hand, followed by his limited retinue and the tag-rag-and-bobtail of the station. The fellow is reported to have met Tantia in an adjacent village, where he left him under the pretext of going to collect his men. Instead, however, of doing so, he rode straight to the British camp, and gave the necessary information. He then returned to the village, and lay down with the man he had betrayed, to have a little sleep. At a given signal, the sepoys of the 9th native infantry rushed in and seized Tantia almost before he was thoroughly awake. No resistance was offered, and the Pindarree leader was carried in irons into Sepree. The rest is known."

While, by the successful operations of the British troops, the last fires of rebellion in Central India were being trampled out, the borders of Nepaul still continued the scene of a desultory mountainous warfare, of which an idea may be gathered from the following glance at the movements of the respective forces opposed to each other.

We have already seen that the outlets from the Nepaul territory, on the Gunduk, were to be carefully watched, to prevent the possibility of any portion of the rebels, with the begum, crossing back into Oude. The river Gunduk, as traced upon the map, falls into the plains at Soopoor, north-east of Goruckpore; and, amidst the hills west of Soopoor, at a place called Betaul or Bhootwal, the forces of the begum were encamped. From this position they might either advance into the plains, directly south from Betaul, or by a pass to the eastward, through which the Gunduk ran. It was therefore highly important that these two outlets should be effectually closed before an attempt could be made to use them. Accordingly, Colonel Kelly placed himself on the east bank of the river at Boggah; whilst Colonel Simpson, on the west bank, took a position at Nichnowl, from whence he could watch the two passes leading from Betaul into the plains. Such, it appears, were the relative positions of the several forces on the 13th of March. Somewhat later, it was ascertained that there was nothing to be feared on the east bank of the Gunduk; and both Kelly's and Simpson's forces advanced towards Betaul, where, on the 25th, Colonel Kelly attacked the rebels, drove them back into the jungles, and inflicted severe loss upon them, at the same time capturing four of their guns. Again, on the 28th, Kelly encountered the enemy, and defeated them, capturing, upon this occasion, six elephants, 30 camels, and more than 300 horses, with a large quantity of baggage. In this affair about 400 of the begum's troops were left dead upon the field, and many prisoners were taken. The mass of the rebels were then driven over the first line of hills on the Nepaul territory; the begum, Bala Rao, and the Nana, seeking safety beyond the second line. A chief, named Mirza Nadir, with fifty followers, surrendered immediately after the action, and several other leaders also applied for permission to come in under the terms of the amnesty. In the extremity to which the begum and her principal adherents were now reduced, Jung Bahadoor again chivalrously offered that princess, and the Rance Chunda of Lahore, an asylum within his territories; but he accompanied the offer with a declaration, that if the Nana, or other leaders of the rebel troops who had trespassed upon the frontier of Nepaul, should fall into his hands, he would assuredly deliver them over to the British government.

The almost monotonous calm that prevailed in Oude for some time after the commander-in-chief published his announcement that the war was at an end, was at length disturbed by some stirring events in that quarter. The defeats inflicted on the Oude rebels on the 25th and 28th of March, have been recently noticed; and the surrender of several personages of distinction in the rebel army, which followed those disasters, for a time encouraged the belief of a general intention on the part of the enemy to give up the hopeless struggle. Such, however, was not the case; and, on the 31st of March, a sharp engagement between a party of the 1st Ferozepore Sikhs and a strong body of the

rebels, which at first promised a favourable result to the latter, showed that the sword was not yet destined to rest useless in the scabbard. The circumstances of this affair were described as follows:—

The 1st Ferozepore Sikhs, who had marched from Toolseypore for the Jirwee Pass, ten miles off, were attacked *en route* by a greatly superior rebel force. The regiment was soon completely surrounded, and formed square, their baggage being in the enemy's possession for some time. Lieutenant Grant, the adjutant, was killed; Lieutenant Beckett most dangerously wounded; and another officer (Anderson) less severely. According to the *Standard*, Major Gordon also fell. Thirty-five Sikhs, and ten of Hodson's horse, were killed; several camp-followers, and a great number of men and horses, were wounded. The rebels retreated at last from the fire of the square; and a battery, with some men of the 53rd regiment on the carriages, got up just too late to be of service.

According to the latest intelligence, the Rao Sahib and the Nana, with perhaps 10,000 men, are between the first and second range of hills. The Gonda rajah and Nusseerabad brigade had gone westward—a large body turning south, and scattering themselves over the districts of Nanpara, Bhinga, Gonda, and Bareitch. A second encounter now ensued. While Brigadier Horsford was pursuing the rebels who had fought in the above action from the direction of Toolseypore, they appeared near Chandanpore, due north of Bhinga. Here Major Ramsay attacked them with the Kumaon battalion and a squadron of the 1st Punjab cavalry, and drove them back with loss into the jungle near Toolseypore. They seem to have dispersed—part, on the 6th of April, crossing the Raptee near Bhinga; and part going to the jungles east of Toolseypore, where Colonel Brasyer, with part of the Dakharea force, was pursuing them. About 1,000 of the enemy attacked Akonah, a fortified village near Bareitch, and plundered and burnt it.

On the 13th of April, a numerous body of rebels were utterly beaten and dispersed eight miles from Gonda, on the Fyzabad road, by a force under Lieutenant-colonel Cormick, consisting of a wing of H.M.'s 20th, 200 of the 1st Sikh cavalry, and a squadron of Hodson's horse. The rebels were chiefly men of the 1st, 53rd, and 56th regiments—infamous for having been engaged in the massacre at Cawnpore: 300 or 400 of the rebels were killed. Captain Jones, of the Sikh cavalry, was slightly wounded, and two troopers were killed.

The commander-in-chief arrived at Delhi, on his way to Simla, on the 22nd of March, and was received under a salute of seventeen guns. The Belooch regiment, which formed his escort thus far, marched on the 6th of April, *viâ* Sirsa, for Hyderabad (Scinde), where they were to be quartered. His lordship minutely inspected the troops, and looked well into their quarters; saw the magazine, the ruins of the Moree bastion, Cashmere gate, &c. After inspecting the troops, he addressed them, and paid a just tribute to the personal appearance and good conduct of the 2nd fusiliers. The natives, it was said, had a curious idea about the visit of the commander-in-chief. They evidently thought it was somehow or other connected with the punishment so many felt that they richly deserved; and for some days a report prevailed in the city, that the chief was to have a *morah* placed on the steps of the Jumma Musjid, and, *à la* Nadir Shah, superintend a general massacre of the native population. It was a great relief to them when they saw that the great conqueror had left Delhi as he found it, though they could hardly believe that he had been and gone without the *Salamee* due to his exalted rank. Several improvements were ordered in the city, the most important being the erection of two bastions—one at the Lahore gate of the palace, the other at the Delhi gate: each bastion to mount sixteen heavy guns; sufficient to lay the city in ruins if necessary. During Lord Clyde's stay, many of the servants of the ex-king of Delhi were released from confinement, there being no specific charge against them; and the begum, Taj Mahal, had a pension of fifty rupees a-month granted to her for her support. The discovery of some intrigue led to a report that all Mohammedans were to be sent out of the city on the 1st of April. A party of police who had got scent of some treasure buried in a Moofsid's house, thinking they had the best right to it, dug it up, and divided the proceeds. As usual, they quarrelled over the division, and the aggrieved party gave information to some of the civil officers, which led to still further discoveries of appropriated treasure. The commander-in-chief and staff left Delhi, *en route* for Simla, on the 9th of April.

CHAPTER XX.

ERROR IN THE MILITARY CODE OF BENGAL; MATERIEL OF THE NATIVE ARMY; PREFERENCE FOR MEN OF HIGH-CASTE, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES; LIST OF MUTINOUS REGIMENTS; CONSIDERATIONS AS TO THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE INDIAN ARMY; REPORT OF MILITARY COMMISSION; THE DELHI PRIZE-MONEY; MEDALS AND CLASPS FOR DELHI AND LUCKNOW; CIVILIANS ENTITLED TO HONORARY DISTINCTIONS; THE VICTORIA CROSS; ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN LAWRENCE; SQUARING ACCOUNTS IN THE DELHI DIVISION; NATIVE FEROCITY; EXPLOSION AT KURRACHEE; RESTORATION OF ARMS TO THE 33RD N.I. AT JULLUNDER; COURTS-MARTIAL; RETURN OF THE VICEROY TO CALCUTTA; CONFISCATION AND COMPENSATION; THE PEARL NAVAL BRIGADE AND 1ST MADRAS FUSILIERS; THE NEW CUSTOMS TARIFF; RENEWED UNPOPULARITY OF LORD CANNING; THE INDIAN PRESS; MISSIONARY GRANTS OBJECTED TO; REORGANISATION AND DECENTRALISATION; LORD CLYDE AT DELHI.

THE seventeenth chapter of the present work closed with a record of the loyal manifestations that spread over the empire of Great Britain in the East Indies, upon the assumption of direct sovereignty by Queen Victoria, over the varied races that were henceforth to owe fealty and service to her throne. The last and crowning act in India of that great corporation under whose auspices the mighty empire had been built up, until its stability became endangered by its vastness, was also referred to;* and we have now to resume such continuous details of events in connection with the new government, as may be necessary to conclude, upon the soil of Hindostan, the history of the mutinies of 1857.

One of the earliest and most important measures of the government of the viceroy of India, was associated with the military service, by a bill introduced into the legislative council, to amend the law under which the discipline of the native regular army, consisting of men of all tribes, religions, and castes, had been carried on until the outbreak of the revolt. By the existing law (Act 19, of 1847), no non-commissioned officer or soldier could be discharged as a punishment, except by the sentence of a court-martial, or by order of the commander-in-chief at the presidency to which he might belong; neither could any non-commissioned officer be reduced to the ranks but by sentence of a court-martial, or by order of the commander-in-chief of the presidency; nor could any commanding officer inflict a punishment drill, or restrict to barrack limits for a period exceeding fifteen days, without the intervention of a court-martial. The effect of this restraint upon the authority of the commanding officer of a regiment, had been gradually to undermine and destroy that wholesome fear and respect on the part of the men, which constituted the best security for their good behaviour; and, in fact, had rendered the authority which remained to enforce discipline, little more than a subject for barrack-room contempt. It was now proposed, after the dear-bought experience of the mutiny of the whole native army, to repeal such portions of the military code as so mischievously affected the discipline of the native troops; and, in order to maintain that, and to make the soldier fear, if he would not respect his officer, it was enacted by articles 2 and 3 of the proposed act, that the commanding officer of a regiment should have it in his power, without the sentence of a court-martial, to dismiss or reduce to the ranks any soldier or native officer in his corps—such dismissal involving forfeiture of pension. In cases of light offences, it was also provided that he should have power, without the intervention of a court-martial, to award such extra drill, or the performance of such other extra military duty as he might think fit, provided he did not contravene any order of the commander-in-chief by such judgment.

The discipline of the native army of India had formerly been maintained by the same safeguards and penalties as were applied for its protection in the European element of the Anglo-Indian force; and there is no doubt that the highest state of efficiency of that army, may be traced to the period when the European system, with all its faults, was applied indiscriminately to both arms of the service. The first error committed was that of tampering with the authority of the commanding officer, and consequently weakening that of every subordinate authority; and next, by the abolition of corporal punishment, which experience, up to the present day, proves is an extreme penalty possibly necessary for example, and

* See *ante*, pp. 519; 527.

therefore, in flagrant cases of aggravated crime, perfectly and humanely justifiable. This terrible agent of repression was abolished in the native army by Lord William Bentinck, in 1834, against the advice of an immense majority of the military committee then appointed to report and give their opinions on the subject. Colonel Morrison, and sixteen military officers, decided against the abolition of flogging; while two civilian members of council, and the governor-general himself, were in its favour. It was, consequently, in defiance of military experience of its necessity, abolished; but the new system worked so badly, that, in the time of Sir Henry Hardinge (1844 to 1848), who exerted himself in improving the condition of the army, corporal punishment became again part of the military code. Most unfortunately, a short time afterwards, instructions were given from the highest authority, "never to inflict the punishment;" and thus the threat implied by its restoration, became nothing better than an idle mockery and a mischievous insult.

Owing partly to the disuse of this powerful regulation, and to the diminished authority of the European officers of the native regiments from the colonel downwards, as well as to the system by which the ranks of the army were recruited, by inducements of superior pay and pension to the private soldier, and to the suicidal desire of commanding officers to obtain men of "good caste" only for their regiments—the ranks of the Bengal army were filled by a haughty and arrogant soldiery, who were untamable by the ordinary means resorted to for maintaining discipline, and could only be kept true to their colours by the excitement of active service. Such men were not slow to find out grievances when the excitement was wanting; and having no cohesion of principle or feeling with their European officers, they fell into a state of mutiny as a thing of course, when the external relations of the state reached that point from whence a prospect of a long-continued peace was apparent.

This fact became too clearly demonstrated by the occurrences of 1857-'8 to be longer doubted; and at length it was proposed to seek, in the North-West and Upper Provinces of Bengal, a nucleus for the native element of the future Anglo-Indian army, by enlisting men of the lowest caste, or even of no caste at all, with whom, previous to the revolt, the Bengal sepoy would have disdained to stand in the ranks, and would have considered himself contaminated by compulsory association with, as a fellow-soldier.

The actual extent of the defection of the Bengal army is shown by the following summary, from a return presented to parliament (session 1859), of "the names or numbers of each regiment and corps in India, which has mutinied, or manifested a disposition to mutiny against its lawful commanders, since the 1st of January, 1857." In this list the mutinous regiments included the following corps:—In the presidency of Bengal division—the 19th, 32nd, 34th, 63rd, and 73rd native infantry, the 11th irregular cavalry, and the 1st Assam light infantry battalions; in the Dinapore division—the 7th, 8th, 17th, 37th, and 40th native infantry, the 5th irregular cavalry, the Loodiana regiment, and the Ramghur light infantry battalions; in the Meerut division—the 3rd and 6th companies of the 8th battalion of artillery, the 9th, 44th, 54th, and 67th native infantry; in the Saugor district—both wings of the 1st light cavalry, the 23rd and 31st, 50th and 52nd native infantry, the 42nd light infantry, and the 3rd irregular cavalry; in the Sirhind division—the 6th light cavalry, the 3rd, 5th, 33rd, 36th, 60th, and 61st native infantry, the Hurreana light infantry battalion, and the 4th irregular cavalry; in the Lahore division—the 8th, 9th, and 10th light cavalry, and the 46th, 16th, 26th, 45th, 49th, 57th, and 69th native infantry; in the Peshawur division—the 5th light cavalry, the 14th, 24th, 27th, 39th, 51st, 55th, 58th, 64th native infantry, and the 9th and 10th irregular cavalry; at Nusseerabad—the 2nd company 7th battalion of artillery, the 15th and 30th native infantry; and at Neemuch, the 72nd native infantry. In the Benares district, the 17th regiment of native infantry at Azimgurh is specially stigmatised. The 37th regiment is also included in the return from this district. Other mutinous regiments were the 3rd and 6th companies of the 8th battalion of artillery, the 9th native infantry, No. 8 company of the 44th native infantry, the 50th, 67th, 3rd, 33rd, 61st, and 36th native infantry, the 4th Bengal irregular cavalry, the 8th light cavalry, the 16th native infantry grenadiers, the 5th and 9th light cavalry; and other regiments of native infantry.—The return relative to the Bombay army, states that the mutinous regiments of that presidency were the 3rd and 5th

companies 4th battalion artillery (Golundauze), the 2nd regiment light cavalry, the 2nd regiment native infantry grenadiers, a detachment of the 12th native infantry, and the 21st and 27th native infantry. The Guzerat irregular horse also mutinied, but the rising was speedily suppressed.

This return enumerates eighty-six regiments as having thrown off their allegiance to the government of India; but other regiments also, whose numbers are not included, were affected by the mutiny.

Upon the important subject of the reorganisation of an army for the protection of British India, it was observed, that while there were but few persons in the country who held the extreme opinion that a native army should be dispensed with altogether, there were undoubtedly many who, recalling the events of the preceding eighteen months, might question the propriety of ever placing the rifle in the hands of the sepoy, or of longer maintaining the establishment of the Golundauze, or native artillery. Gunpowder, it was remarked, was a great leveller; and its discovery did more to destroy the feudal system and the powers of the privileged classes in Europe, than any other event of the period. The superiority of their arms had made the chivalry of Christendom despise the burgomaster and the villain; but gunpowder placed the knight and the peasant upon an equality in the field. Had the revolted army of Bengal held the Minié rifle in their hands, Delhi might still have belonged to the Mogul; and, in place of a wretched charpoy in a prison-chamber, the descendant of Timur might even now have been sitting upon the crystal throne in the palace of his ancestors. It is impossible to say where the revolt would have stopped had the sepoy been armed with the rifle; and the proposal to place this weapon in the hands of a new levy of 80,000 Sikhs, embodied by Sir John Lawrence for service in the Punjab, was looked upon as bordering upon an insane temerity. The necessity for maintaining a native army to some extent in the country, was admitted; but an adherence to a few leading cautionary principles in its reorganisation, was also insisted upon, which, while they might render it efficient for all purposes for which it could be required, would free the state from any danger through its existence. First, it was suggested that the artillery arm of the service should be exclusively European—a measure perfectly unobjectionable in itself, and one that would tear up by the roots the chief source of danger in revolutionary times; since, in following out this principle, every arsenal in the country would necessarily be garrisoned by European soldiers: and without artillery, and destitute of military stores, the finest army the world could produce would be at the mercy of one-tenth part of its number. The whole of the existing arsenals throughout India, it was alleged, could be garrisoned effectually by 15,000 Europeans, who should be all trained artillerymen; and of the 100,000 men proposed to form the future European force, at least 35,000 ought to belong to this arm of the service.

The next important principle to be attended to in the reconstruction of the army, was expressed by the single word DISCIPLINE. A great authority has long since affirmed that mutiny is impossible in any army which is effectively disciplined; and it would be presumptuous to question the dictum: but it is a notorious fact, that this truism was lamentably disregarded in the management of the native army of Bengal. It now became an imperative necessity, therefore, that whatever might be the numerical strength of the future native levies, they should be disciplined with the same sternness and inflexibility that prevails in the English army; and that the difference between drill and discipline should be better understood, and acted upon, by those to whom the efficiency and control of the men was entrusted. The mutiny of the Bengal army was mainly attributable to the indulgence of a tone of insolent insubordination, which had been tolerated in its ranks for years; and that fact ought necessarily to be borne in mind when contemplating its reconstruction. Instant, unreasoning obedience, or death, is the only alternative presented to the soldier's mind in every well-disciplined army; and how strong its instinctive perception should be made with mercenary troops, common sense might easily understand. In India, it was now evident, such a principle could not be maintained without entrusting all but despotic power to the commanding officer; and that such power might be delegated without fear of its abuse, it was necessary that each officer should be selected carefully, and judged strictly. In this respect there ought to be no excuse for failure.

A third point was urged as a guiding principle of importance—namely, the indiscriminate enlistment of all castes in the ranks. The raising of 80,000 Sikhs in the Punjab by Sir John Lawrence, was looked upon by many as a standing menace to the future stability of the empire, as they were no sooner collected together, than they had to be watched; a regiment of Sikhs being, in its way, as much influenced by caste as a regiment of Poorbeahs; while, from its natural and characteristic superiority, it is considerably more dangerous. The experiment had succeeded for the time; but it was followed by much anxiety, and some degree of embarrassment. Such levies, it was held, must be broken up, or, if retained, so mingled with the general native army, as to lose their individuality. So long as they remained exclusively Sikh or Bengalese battalions, so long they were dangerous to the state in their isolation.

It was also recommended, with respect to the weapons of the native troops, that they should be armed with the old musket only, and that upon no account should the rifle be entrusted to them, until the distinctions of caste had been rendered thoroughly and practically subservient to the paramount requirements of discipline.

A commission was at length appointed by royal warrant, to consider the entire subject of the reconstruction and management of the Indian army, which had now become a question of importance in connection with the Eastern possessions of the British empire; and the result of the inquiry was, after some time, presented to parliament in a report, of which the following is a brief analysis:—

With reference to the first point suggested in her majesty's warrant, viz., "The terms on which the army of the East India Company is to be transferred to the crown," the commissioners observed, that the 56th clause of the act for the better government of India, assures to the forces which now belong to her majesty's Indian army, "the like pay, pension, allowances, and privileges, and like advantages as regards promotion and otherwise, as if they had continued in the service of the said Company."

The second question—viz., the "permanent force necessary to be maintained in the Indian provinces respectively, after the restoration of tranquillity," did not appear to the commissioners to admit of a reply in a definite numerical form, as the amount of force must depend on the probability of either internal disturbances or external aggression; and they observe—"The estimates of force given in the evidence are most conflicting, ranging from 50,000 to 100,000 Europeans; and there can be no doubt that it will be necessary to maintain, for the future defence of India, a European force of much greater strength than that which existed previous to the outbreak of 1857." The amount of such force should, in the opinion of the commissioners, be about 80,000; of which 50,000 would be required for Bengal, 15,000 for Madras, and 15,000 for Bombay.

As regarded the third question—the proportion "which European should bear to native corps in cavalry, infantry, and artillery respectively," the commissioners were of opinion that the amount of native force should not, under present circumstances, bear a greater proportion to the European in cavalry and infantry, than two to one for Bengal, and three to one for Madras and Bombay respectively; the evidence before the commissioners being unanimous that the artillery should be mainly a European force: and they agreed in the opinion thus expressed, exceptions being made for such stations as were peculiarly detrimental to the European constitution. In connection with this question, the commissioners observe, that "military police corps have been formed, or are in course of formation, throughout India. They see in this force, in its numerical strength and military organisation, differing as it does in no essential respect from the regular sepoy army, the elements of future danger. They therefore recommend that great caution be used in not giving to this force a stricter military training than may be required for the maintenance of discipline, lest a new native force be formed, which may hereafter become a source of embarrassment to the government."

On the fourth question—as to "how far the European portion of the army should be composed of troops of the line, taking India as part of the regular tour of service, and how far of troops raised for service in India only?" the commissioners were unable to arrive at any unanimity of opinion.

On the fifth question—"The best means of providing for the periodical relief of the former portion, and securing the efficiency of the latter," the commissioners observe,

that "if it be determined that the European force be partly of the line and partly local, the periodical relief of the former portion may be effected as has hitherto been done; but they strongly recommend that the tour of service in India should not exceed twelve years. The establishment of a convalescent station at the Cape of Good Hope, for the invalids belonging to European regiments serving in India, is worthy of consideration."

With reference to the sixth question—"Whether it be possible to consolidate the European forces, so as to allow of exchange from one branch of the service to the other; and what regulations would be necessary and practicable to effect this object with perfect justice to the claims of all officers now in the service of the East India Company?" the commissioners were of opinion that, although there are many difficulties in so amalgamating the local European forces with those of the line, such an arrangement would be advantageous, if it could be effected without prejudice to existing rights.

On the seventh question—viz., "Whether there should be any admixture of European and native forces, either regimentally or by brigade?" the preponderance of evidence showed, that any admixture of the two forces, regimentally, would be detrimental to the efficiency and discipline of both; but that the admixture, by brigade, would be most advantageous; and the commissioners concurred in this opinion.

On the eighth point—"Whether the local European force should be kept up by drafts and volunteers from the line, or should be, as at present, separately recruited for in Great Britain?" the commissioners were of opinion that the European force, if local, might be partially kept up by volunteers from regiments of the line returning to England; and that the recruiting in England should be carried on under the same authority and regulations as for regiments of the line, officers of the local force being employed on that service.

As regarded the ninth question, the commissioners considered that it would not be advisable to raise any regiments in the colonies, composed of men of colour, either for temporary or permanent service in India.

With regard to the tenth point—"Whether the native force should be regular or irregular, or both; and if so, in what proportions?" the commissioners were of opinion that the irregular system was the best adapted for native cavalry in India; and recommended that it be adopted.

The commissioners were of opinion, with regard to the point—"Whether cadets, sent out for service with native troops, should in the first instance be attached to European regiments, to secure uniformity of drill and discipline?" that such officers should be thoroughly drilled, and instructed in their military duties in this country, as recommended in the reply to question 5, before they are sent to India.

The commissioners having disposed of the questions specially referred for their inquiry, submitted the following recommendations on certain important points which, in the course of examination of evidence, came under their notice:—1. That the native army should be composed of different nationalities and castes, and, as a general rule, mixed promiscuously through each regiment. 2. That all men in the regular native army, in her majesty's eastern possessions, should be enlisted for general service. 3. That a modification should be made in the uniform of the native troops, assimilating it more to the dress of the country, and making it more suitable to the climate. 4. That Europeans should, as far as possible, be employed in the scientific branches of the service, but that corps of pioneers be formed, for the purpose of relieving the European sappers from those duties which entail exposure to the climate. 5. That the articles of war which govern the native army be revised, and that the power of commanding officers be increased. 6. That the promotion of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers be regulated on the principle of efficiency, rather than of seniority, and that commanding officers of regiments have the same power to promote non-commissioned officers as is vested in officers commanding regiments of the line. 7. That whereas the pay and allowances of officers and men are now issued under various heads, the attention of her majesty's government be drawn to the expediency of simplifying the pay codes, and of adopting, if practicable, fixed scales of allowances for the troops in garrison or cantonments, and in the field. 8. That the commander-in-chief in Bengal be styled "the commander-in-chief in India," and that the general officers commanding the armies of the minor presidencies be commanders of the forces, with the power and advantages

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which they have hitherto enjoyed. 9. The commissioners observed, that the efficiency of the Indian army had hitherto been injuriously affected by the small number of officers usually doing duty with the regiments to which they belong; which evil had arisen from the number withdrawn for staff and other duties, and civil employment. All the evidence before the commissioners pointed out the necessity of improving the position of officers serving regimentally. For the attainment of this object, and for the remedy of the evil complained of, various schemes have been suggested, viz.—1. The formation of a staff corps. 2. The system of "seconding" officers who are on detached employ, which exists to a certain extent in the line army. 3. Placing the European officers of each presidency on general lists of promotion.

The commissioners not being prepared to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion on this point, without further reference to India, recommended that the subject should be submitted, without delay, for the report of the governors and commanders-in-chief at the several presidencies, with a view to the framing of regulations which might ensure the greater efficiency of regiments.

While referring to military affairs, it may be noticed, that the sum available as prize-money for Delhi, amounted to about twenty-eight lacs of rupees, or £280,000, which, it was decided, should be borrowed by the government of India, and bear interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, the whole or any part to be reclaimable after three months' notice, given either by government or by the prize-agent. It was also notified by the governor-general, that the Queen had been pleased to command that a medal should be granted to the troops in her majesty's service, and in that of the deposed Company, who had been, or should be, employed in the suppression of the mutiny; with clasps to those engaged in the capture of Delhi, and in the defence and relief of Lucknow: and further, that all civilians, whether or not in her majesty's service, who had been actively engaged in the field, or otherwise before the enemy during the recent operations, should participate in the same honorary distinctions.

It was further announced, by a government notification, that her majesty had been pleased to determine that non-military persons who, during the progress of the operations in India, had borne arms as volunteers against the mutineers, and had performed deeds of gallantry, should be considered eligible to receive the high distinction of the Victoria Cross, under the same rules and regulations as were applicable to officers and men of her majesty's army and navy, and Indian army and navy, upon the fact being established in each case that the person was serving for the time being under the orders of a general or other officer in command of troops in the field; the latter condition invidiously shutting out all isolated cases of individual bravery, such as those of Boyle and Wake at Arrah, and Venables at Azimgurh; whose valour, and services rendered to the state, were second to none recorded in the history of the revolt.

As descriptive of the progressive advance to order in one portion at least of the vast territory that had been shaken to its centre by rebel force, the following statement, from the *Mofussilite*, will be read with interest:—"The Delhi division, which last year (1857) was the focus of rebellion, has, under the administration of Sir John Lawrence, been reduced, in the short space of six months, to perfect order; affording a marked contrast to the proceedings of government in every other division of the empire—Lucknow, perhaps, only excepted. Sir John Lawrence, from the first, had opposed all projects for the destruction of Delhi as childish and impolitic;* but he had no intention of allowing the citizens to escape the just punishment of crime. One of the first acts of his administration, therefore, was to establish a system of penal fines. No property was confiscated, except after trial by the commission, and proof of active assistance in the rebellion; but all the Mussulman inhabitants who had heartily assisted the mutineers, and submitted willingly to the king, were subjected to a property-tax for one year, of twenty-five per cent. The Hindoos who, while less hostile, had still failed in their duty as subjects, were assessed ten per cent.; the whole being payable within the year, under penalty of Act 10, of 1858—the Norman and Saxon law.†

* See vol. i., p. 526.

† In Sir John Lawrence's report of his administration of the Punjab, special reference is made to his proceedings at Delhi, in the 131st, 132nd, and 133rd paragraphs, which are as follows:—

"For some time the city of Delhi was placed

"The money was paid; and the citizens, as sensitive to taxation as Italians, will not speedily forget the lesson of rebellion. The next step was to compel the inhabitants of the division, generally, to repair the losses of the sufferers. Every community was compelled to pay up instantly the amount of the damage done. If the loss were public, the buildings were restored at the expense of the surrounding villages: if private, they paid the ascertained amount, which was at once handed over to the sufferers. A strict debtor and creditor account was kept; and as the fines were irrespective of any punishment incurred by the rebellion, the balance was decidedly on the side of order. There is, perhaps, no argument more readily comprehensible by a native: execution is nothing—he can risk that; but to be deprived inexorably of his plunder, of the very reward for which he steeped himself to the lips in crime, is bitterness indeed.

"The same principle has been carried out in the Gogaira. The tribes inhabiting that region rose in September, 1857; the revolt was trodden down, but not till infinite mischief had been accomplished. The rebels, even when defeated, exulted in their gains; but they did not comprehend the man with whom they had to deal. A commission quietly examined all claims sent in by the sufferers, and then ordered compensation. The expenses incurred, it was found were—

	Rupees.		
Plundered property . .	5,22,104	3	6
Expense of sales	3,616	4	1
Money given back to punished rebels	10,919	2	4
Extra police in Gogaira . . .	7,403	11	3
„ Mooltan . . .	1,922	15	5
Damage to public property . .	850	8	0
To salt-mine stores . . .	495	14	0
Damage in Jhung	597	12	8
Cost of fortifying buildings in Gogaira	2,825	11	0
Ditto in Mooltan	1,071	2	3
Total . . .	5,51,807	4	6

"That is all to the rebels' credit; but there is a small per contra:—

	Rupees.		
Property recovered and restored .	1,18,643	12	9
Compensation in cash . . .	1,35,114	0	6
Compensation in property . .	1,57,969	6	6
Realised by fines, &c. . . .	78,194	13	8
Balance of fines (coming in) . .	30,325	0	0
Property sold at Mooltan . .	11,019	1	9
Jhung	18,997	1	11
Total . . .	5,50,263	4	6

"Balance, to be realised from rebels, 1,544 rupees; which little sum will be realised without fail. Moreover, the people of Gogaira, when they have leisure to reflect on the rebellion, will find, that not only did they gain nothing, but their leaders had a somewhat heavy account. It is true only thirty were hung; but twenty-seven more were transported for life, eighty-five

under a military governor, but by the commencement of 1858, the civil authorities resumed their functions. As might have been expected, the number of persons who suffered death for crimes connected with the rebellion was very considerable. It is difficult to analyse all that may have been done during that period of excitement. Towards the end of February, 1858, however, when the chief commissioner visited Delhi, he found that 1,400 political prisoners were awaiting trial. He immediately organised a judicial commission, composed of three officers, two civil and one military, and invested them with the requisite powers (including those of life and death) to dispose of these cases. By May, 1858, no less than 851 persons were disposed of by this commission, of whom 41 were punished capitally, 173 imprisoned, 104 flogged and fined, 533 released on security or unconditionally. But as fresh arrests have been made from time to time, there were still 200 and upwards to be tried, and the commission is still sitting. Commissions of two officers each were appointed for the other districts also, but their work has been less onerous.

"As regards the city itself, one European regiment is accommodated in the palace of the Moguls, and one in the government college; the Sikh corps in the great mosque; the European artillery in the Arabic college. The great magazine is of course held by Europeans. The treasury is within the citadel palace. The most important gates of the city are guarded by Europeans. The city walls and fosse are standing. The church is restored for divine worship. The houses of the city have not materially suffered. For some time after the recapture, it was deserted of its inhabitants like a city of the dead. At first the Hindoo inhabitants were gradually and cautiously re-admitted; and in March last, the privilege was extended to Mohammedans also. The Delhi townspeople have in some measure suffered the punishment which their rebellion deserved. The mass of them have lost nearly all their movable property; they had to endure hunger, exposure, and every privation throughout the winter. They are now permitted to return, and the city is being gradually re-peopled. The population may now amount to one-fourth of its former numbers. Many houses of rebels have been confiscated. On all other houses it is proposed to levy a cess. With the proceeds of those confiscations, cesses, and fines, it is proposed to establish a fund for the compensation of the Christian sufferers by the mutiny and outbreak at Delhi. Outside the city the extensive suburbs of native mansions and gardens, and the old British cantonment, are in ruins, and will probably remain so.

"In January, 1858, a general disarming of the people was ordered to be carried out after the same manner as in the Punjab. By April, some 225,000 stand of arms of all kinds were delivered up to the police; and besides these, there were taken at Delhi forty cart-loads of arms, which were not enumerated. There can be but few arms now remaining in the Delhi territory." [For these, a rigid and persevering search continued to be made].

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imprisoned for fourteen years, twenty-two for seven years, thirty-nine for short periods, and 122 were flogged, fined, and dismissed. Gogaira is again at peace, and will remain so; for this generation will scarcely forget how Sir John Lawrence squares his accounts."

An instance of the ferocious hatred that was cherished by some of the native population of India towards anything European, is afforded by the following extract of a letter, dated from Nassick, near the city of Bombay, September 24th. The writer says—"On the 21st instant the following scene was enacted amongst us, in broad daylight, and in one of the principal streets of the town. Privates J. and G. Cameron and Chisholm, 92nd highlanders, at present quartered here, walking quietly through the town, met a fair little English child in the arms of its nurse. The soldiers, glad to see a white face, stopped and spoke to it, little knowing that by so doing they would, under Providence, be the saviours of its life. They had passed on their way but a few yards, when, hearing a noise behind them, they turned and saw the child and nurse in the hands of a desperate fanatic, who, having seized the child by the neck, was using his best endeavours to strangle it: the natives about, instead of rendering assistance to the nurse in rescuing the child, had all fled. It was but the work of a moment for the soldiers to rush to the rescue, strike the would-be cowardly assassin to the ground, and snatch the poor little thing from his felon grasp. I am happy to say the wretch was so handled by the highlanders, that he is still in hospital, and not unlikely to continue there. He is a well-known character in the place, and was very lately discharged from the Poonah hospital, cured of a malady that renders him sacred in the eyes of the miserable natives, but a dangerous pest to all others."

A tremendous explosion occurred at the arsenal at Kurrachee on the 21st of October, by which the greater part of the buildings were destroyed, and every house in the town shaken to its foundation. The affair, which at any other time would have produced a panic, and been attributed to design, appears to have been perfectly accidental, through a rocket exploding when being driven, the flame of which reached some uncovered ammunition boxes. The whole of the ball ammunition, amounting to upwards of a million rounds, was blown up with the portfires and fuzees; but the magazine and a portion of the arsenal were preserved. The left front of the latter was, however, a mass of ruins, the fire being confined to that part of the building. So powerful was the explosion, that the *débris* was scattered several hundred yards from the arsenal, and into the centre of the bazaar. The body of one man was thrown above forty yards from the building; but the list of human casualties extended only to two killed and five wounded.

Amidst all the crash and wreck of the native army of Bengal, the bulk of the 33rd regiment of infantry stood firm in its allegiance, notwithstanding the defection of two of its companies, and that, for precautionary motives, it had been subsequently deprived of its arms. The time had now arrived when it became possible to evince the approval of the government of its loyal and soldier-like conduct, by restoring to the men the arms of which they had been deprived. This gratifying incident took place at Jullunder, on the 17th of January, 1859, when the following characteristic address was delivered to the regiment, in the presence of a brilliant staff, by Major Lake, upon whom the pleasing duty had devolved:—

"Native officers and sepoys of the 33rd regiment,—On the part of Brigadier Milman, I congratulate you and your colonel that the day has come in which the government has recognised your fidelity and devotion. When General Nicholson took away your arms, he promised you that they should be restored if you behaved well. Knowing all that has happened since that day, I can testify that in every respect you have proved true. I therefore rejoice that the day has come in which General Nicholson's promise has been fulfilled. A soldier without arms is like a scabbard without a sword: this reproach is now removed: and, as medals are given to soldiers in token of their bravery, so the restoration of arms will be to you a mark of your fidelity—a proof that you remained loyal when so many others proved traitors. The brigadier, myself, and all of us, have full confidence that the bravery displayed by the 33rd regiment at Bhurtpore, in Cabool, at Ferozeshah, and Sobraon, will always be shown against all traitors and all enemies of her majesty Queen Victoria, and her government. Officers and men of the 33rd, resume your arms, which

I am proud to declare you have never disgraced."

The positive necessity which arose for prompt and decisive action in every department of the government, through the events of the rebellion (which, at times, crowded upon each other with uncontrollable rapidity), had, as the war progressed, and particularly towards the close of operations in the field, been productive of results not strictly accordant with the gravity and decorum of justice, which, although perhaps not really prejudiced by the measures resorted to, was still open to question, when the life or liberty of an individual depended upon the calm investigation and deliberate judgment of a court upon his peculiar case. It had frequently happened, that in disposing of prisoners before courts-martial, persons accused of mutiny and murder, and lesser crimes connected with the outbreak, were arraigned before the courts in batches, and subjected to a general and indiscriminating sentence. This evil at length attracted the notice of the commander-in-chief, who—with a laudable desire to restore to the functions of the military tribunals the reputation for strict, although prompt, justice, which was their peculiar characteristic—on the 15th of January, 1859, issued the following notification for the future guidance of his officers:—

"The commander-in-chief having had before him for review the proceedings of several general courts-martial, held under the Act No. 8, of 1857, before which large bodies of prisoners were brought for trial at one and the same time, his excellency considers it expedient to offer a few remarks upon the subject, for the particular consideration of officers authorised to hold such courts. In Lord Clyde's opinion, the measure above adverted to, is not one well calculated to secure the deliberate administration of justice, or to lead to that dispassionate inquiry into each prisoner's case, which, however culpable he may have been, he is entitled to expect when placed upon his trial before a military tribunal. His lordship does not, however, consider it advisable to issue any definitive instructions that would limit the nur ber of prisoners to be ordinarily tried together under Act No. 8, of 1857, as the effect of such a course might be to inconveniently interfere with the discretion which should remain in the hands of officers who find it necessary to convene courts-martial under that act; but he would earnestly impress upon all officers empowered to carry out the intentions of the legislature, the necessity that exists of carefully considering the ends of justice on all occasions of trial, and the right of the accused to a fair and unimpeachable mode of procedure. This, as a general rule, may be best accomplished by not arraigning the prisoners in large bodies when there is time, and when opportunity offers, to divide and try them in small numbers; and it is only in case of great emergency, when the interests of the state would suffer by delay, that this rule should be departed from."

On the 24th of January, the government gazette contained the following announcement:—

"Fort William, Calcutta, Jan. 24, 1859.

"With reference to the proclamation of the 30th of January, 1858,* it is hereby notified, for general information, that his excellency the Right Hon. Viscount Canning, viceroy and governor-general of India, having returned to the presidency, has this day resumed the seat of president of the council of the governor-general of India."

The question of confiscation was brought before the supreme council at the end of January, by the authorities of the North-Western Provinces, who submitted to government lists of the estates confiscated before the amnesty, requesting it to determine whether it would in such cases confirm the sentence, or waive the right which it conferred upon the state in favour of the offenders, as an act of grace. After classifying the various degrees of guilt into five heads, the decision of the government was as follows:—Class 1.—In cases of mutiny and desertion, the confiscation to hold good. Class 2.—Murder and plunder, accompanied with murder of British subjects. That whenever the persons murdered were not of European blood, a reconsideration of the cases will be admitted. Class 3.—Local rebellion, unconnected with the great political centres of disaffection. The list to be carefully revised by the magistrate, who must submit a recommendation for mercy whenever there may be a reason for doing so. Class 4.—Complicity in the general rebellion. The confiscation to hold good. Class 5.—Cases in which revision is regarded by

* The document referred to, merely notified his lordship's removal to Allahabad, and the appointment of a president of the council during his absence. See *ante*, p. 406.

the board as necessary; that the sentence of confiscation should be remitted in all these cases, except when the magistrates see a sufficient objection to the remission, which should be explained in detail.

The subject of compensation to those who had sustained heavy losses by the rebellion, in many cases extending to the entire amount of their property, was neither so quickly or so satisfactorily disposed of by the government. On the 1st of May, 1858, the government of India, after a delay of ten months (excused by the state of the country), ordered an inquiry into the extent and character of claims for compensation. The information—which embraced losses to the Christian subjects of her majesty, computed at one million and a-half sterling, besides a probable equal amount sustained by loyal Hindoos and Mohammedans—was collected from all accessible quarters, and reported to the proper authorities; and there the affair rested. Some six months after this, the sufferers considered, that though prepared to endure the inevitable delay of official routine, they would like to learn something of the progress that had been made towards a result; and therefore, on the 6th of January, the secretary of the compensation committee was directed to inquire of the secretary to the government, at what stage the consideration of the claims had arrived, and whether the result of that consideration might be communicated to the parties deeply interested in it. To this application the following reply was forwarded:—

"Fort William, Jan. 19th, 1859.

"Sir,—I am directed by the right honourable the governor-general to inform you, that the investigations of claims for losses resulting from the late disturbances, have been finished in the North-West Provinces, the Punjab, Oude, Central India, and Rajpootana; and that reports, for the most part complete, have been submitted to this government. The investigation in Bengal, it is believed, is also finished. A copy of the instructions under which these investigations have been conducted, is inclosed.

"His lordship, I am to observe, does not consider it necessary, in the present state of the case, to communicate to the compensation committee a statement of results, either individually or collectively.

"As regards an opportunity being given to claimants of supporting their claims, I am to state, that no reply can be returned until a decision on the main question is taken by the right honourable the secretary of state for India.

"I am desired to add, that a general report will be sent to her majesty's government, as soon as the local reports are quite complete.—G. R. SIMSON,

"Under-Secretary, &c., &c."

Here, again, the affair rested; and the treatment to which the loyal sufferers by the mutinous and rebellious outrages were subjected by official indifference, was unfavourably contrasted with the consideration shown to the rebels and plunderers by the act of amnesty. It was felt by the sufferers, that the state, in entirely forgiving its enemies, had closed the door of redress against its friends. The claims for compensation upon actual losses, amounted, as computed, to nearly three millions—wrested from the loyal subjects of her majesty, for their fidelity during a crisis of anarchy and ruin, and which they had, morally at least, a clear right to be reimbursed. The government, it was alleged, was without the power of repaying such a sum from the ordinary resources of the state; but the perpetrators or promoters of the wanton destruction that had created these claims, were still in existence; and it was on them, as precedent to the amnesty, that the government should have imposed the *onus* of making good the losses sustained by their act, or encouraged by their sanction—a purpose which might at once have been effected, had a levy been made upon the populations of the whole of the affected districts, of a fine sufficiently serious to cover the amount of the claims for compensation. It was considered that the local government ought not to have wasted time, or shifted its responsibility, by referring to the home government a question it was competent itself to decide upon the spot, and that it ought to have imposed fines upon all the great *foci* of the rebellion; which, with the sums arising from the sale of forfeited lands and the forfeited pensions, would have been sufficient to satisfy the claims of the sufferers.

The magnitude of the sum required to cover the losses sustained, however embarrassing it might be to the government whose want of foresight had permitted them, was now only capable of liquidation by one of two ways. Either the imperial government must grant the sum required from the crippled revenue of the country, or it must be raised by adopting the principle acted

upon in the Delhi and Gogra divisions by Sir John Lawrence, and imposing a fine upon the offending districts, and the cities and towns most prominent in rebellious outrages, such as Benares, Allahabad, Delhi, Cawnpore, Meerut, Bareilly, &c. It was suggested, that the fines imposed upon the cities should be paid at once; the other portion, levied upon the districts, being collected within a given period, as an extra assessment. To this it was objected, that the offences of the inhabitants of these places had since been condoned by the amnesty, and that it would be contrary to good faith to retract the full and free pardon of the sovereign, already offered, and generally accepted. This objection, however, left the question of injustice as it stood; and if it was necessarily to exist at all, it was felt that those who had been in arms, aiding and abetting, if not actually perpetrating, the injuries complained of, were the parties to sustain it, rather than those who had suffered by their conduct. Besides, although the government, by the amnesty, had waived the offence against itself, it had no power or right to waive the wrong against individuals. The public question was over; the private one remained to be settled; and the mussids and budmashes, and their abettors, who had had their revelry, their incendiary fires, their religious war, and puppet king, ought to be made to pay for their amusements. It was quaintly observed—"It will not do to issue tickets for such entertainments at such a low price as to make them popular. Bengal has had its holiday, and has now to settle the bill; and we must take care that the settling of the account shall be remembered for many a year to come."

The subject was one of deep interest to those whose property had been swept away by the ravages of the insurrection; and the indifference with which their applications were treated, added much to the sense of injury already sustained, which was not at all mitigated by the haughty refusal to communicate the results of the government proceedings, "either individually or collectively."

Wearied at last by the tardiness of official movement, and the supercilious *hauteur* of official dignity, the sufferers by the revolt embodied their grievances and their claims in an appeal to the British parliament. The petition to the Lords was entrusted to the Earl of Ellenborough; that to the Commons being placed in the hands of Mr. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield. The dissolution of parliament by Lord Derby, on the 23rd of April, 1859, prevented its attention being called to the subject; and the question of compensation remained open for some session of a new parliament.

The suppression of the revolt was by this time looked upon as a fact accomplished, and the movement of troops from the disturbed provinces to permanent quarters, or *en route* to the presidencies from which they had been collected, commenced from all points. The following farewell order by the commander-in-chief, indicated the regiments first moved from the lately disturbed provinces:—

"GENERAL ORDER.—February 25th, 1859.—The following regiments being under orders to return to England, and the Madras fusiliers to their own presidency, the commander-in-chief bids them a hearty farewell:—9th (Queen's royal) lancers, 14th light dragoons, 2nd battalion military train, the naval brigade H.M.'s ship *Pearl*, 10th regiment of foot, 29th, 32nd, 61st, 78th, 84th, 86th, and 1st Madras fusiliers.

"It has seldom happened that any regiments have been more distinguished than has been the case with all these corps, during the years they have passed in India.

"1. The 9th lancers began their fine career with the Gwalior campaign, including the battle of Punniar, after which they participated in the Sutlej and Punjab campaigns, with the battles of Sobraon, Chillianwallah, and Goojerat. In 1857 and 1858, they were most prominent at the siege of Delhi—having served and driven guns, in addition to their other duties, during that trying time—at the relief of Lucknow, the battle of Cawnpore, the siege of Lucknow, the campaign of Rohilcund, and the campaign of Oude, ending in the reduction of the province.

"2. The 14th light dragoons bore a part in the Punjab campaign, including the battles of Chillianwallah and Goojerat; they were present in the Persian expedition under Sir James Outram; and having been incessantly and most admirably engaged in Central India, till very lately, since the Bombay division first took the field in the autumn of 1847; including more particularly the siege of Jhansie, the actions of the Betwa and Golowlie, and the relief of Gwalior. Their squadrons and troops have also been engaged in very many minor affairs, in which much honour has been won.

"3. The 10th foot were greatly distinguished at the battle of Sobraon, at the siege of Mooltan, and the battle of Goojerat. During 1857 they were employed at Benares and in Behar; and in 1858 they assisted at the siege of Lucknow—having since been frequently engaged in the Azimgurh and Shahabad campaigns.

"4. The 29th foot gained much honour in the Sutlej and Punjab campaigns, including the battles of Ferozeshah, Chillianwallah, and Goojerat.

"5. The 32nd light infantry, as is well known, formed the chief part of the illustrious garrison of Lucknow, under the late Sir Henry Lawrence and

Sir John Inglis; their previous career in India having embraced the siege of Mooltan, the battle of Goojerat, and the operations in the Peshawur Valley. Subsequent to the relief of the Lucknow garrison, the 32nd were at the battle of Cawnpore; and in the autumn of 1858 were engaged in the reduction of the province of Oude.

"6. The 61st foot won great reputation for themselves at Chillianwallah by their extraordinary steadiness at a moment of very great peril. That reputation was well maintained afterwards at the battle of Goojerat, and again at the siege of Delhi.

"7. The 78th foot were in Persia under Sir James Outram: without landing at Bombay, they came round to Calcutta, and were among the first, under the late Sir Henry Havelock, to restore confidence in British arms after the outbreak of the mutiny. Present at the various actions under that lamented officer, and at the first entry into Lucknow for the reinforcement of the original garrison, they completed their service by the siege of Lucknow and the campaign of Rohilcund.

"8. The 84th foot and Madras fusiliers were both sent round from the presidency of Madras when the first note of danger was sounded in 1857. Like their comrades of the 78th, they participated in all the actions of that eventful period. They both took part in the siege of Lucknow—the Madras fusiliers pursuing a campaign in Oude during the subsequent summer; while the 84th foot performed the like arduous duty amid the swamps and jungles of Behar.

"9. The 86th have been engaged in Central India under Sir Hugh Rose, having borne a most prominent part in all the principal actions commanded by that officer; viz., the siege of Jhansie, the battle of the Betwa, the action of Golowlie, the capture of Calpee, and the relief of Gwalior, together with numerous smaller affairs.

"10. Such is a very slender sketch of the services performed by the above corps. The limits of a general order render it impossible to do more than allude to the principal actions in which they have been engaged. But it will be a satisfaction to all these regiments to recollect hereafter how well they have deserved of their Queen and country; and that in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, they have well maintained the reputation which was committed to their charge by those who went before them.

"11. Let the army well reflect on the meaning of a regimental reputation. In it is contained not only the reputation of every man at present in a corps, but also the reputation of those who lived in it in former days; while the future fortunes of a regiment may to a great extent be influenced by it.

"12. Feeling this very strongly, the commander-in-chief considers he can pay no higher or heartier compliment to the regiments of which he is now taking leave, than to assure them, in all sincerity, that they have on all occasions during their Indian career, proved themselves worthy of the reputation won in former days by men wearing the same numbers and badges as themselves.

"13. It remains for the commander-in-chief to notice, with feelings of admiration, the exploits of the military train, and of the naval brigade of the *Pearl*.

"14. The former was converted into a cavalry corps in the midst of war, and learnt to act as cavalry soldiers before the enemy. Their duty has always been done well, and included the relief of Lucknow, various affairs under Sir James Outram, siege of Lucknow, and the campaigns in Azimgurh and Shahabad. The battalion of the military train, now returning to England, will be warmly welcomed by the new corps, of which it may be said to have begun the active career before an enemy.

"15. The naval brigade of the *Pearl*, which for a long time formed the principal European force in Goruckpore district, has been engaged in numerous actions, in all of which the steady gallantry of the officers and men under Captain Sotheby, C.B., rendered a great and enduring service to the state. They have shown themselves in every respect to be worthy comrades of the famous crew of the *Shannon*, which won such renown before Lucknow, under the late gallant and lamented Sir William Peel."

The various troops mentioned in the above general order, shortly afterwards proceeded on their respective routes, receiving, on their way, gratifying testimonials of the admiration to which their valour and endurance had eminently entitled them. A description of the reception given to the naval brigade and to the 1st Madras fusiliers (formerly commanded by the illustrious Neill), may suffice as a specimen of the feeling generally manifested towards the whole force.

The officers and men of the *Pearl* naval brigade, 205 in number, arrived at Calcutta from their glorious campaign on the 2nd of February, and, like their mates of the *Shannon*, were received with much enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who, on the 16th, entertained them at a public dinner in the town-hall. The following is a brief sketch of the military career of this band of naval heroes. Just one year and five months previous they had left their frigate (the *Pearl*) to proceed to the North-West, proceeding by steamer to Buxar, where they remained for a short time guarding the fort there; thence they proceeded to Chuprah and Sewan. At Gai Ghât they built a bridge of boats, over which the Ghoorka force from Nepaul advanced to the aid of the British troops. Subsequently the brigade moved to Almorah, where, on the 5th of March, from 16,000 to 18,000 of the rebels attacked the encampment, in which, besides the *Pearl's* brigade, there were but 80 of the Bengal yeomanry cavalry, and 800 Ghoorkas. In the ranks of the enemy were 3,500 disciplined sepoys, and they had with them ten guns. Notwithstanding this immense disparity of force, the Europeans not only gallantly defended themselves, but assumed the offensive, capturing eight of the rebels'

guns, and pursuing the enemy to their intrenched camp at Rewah, a distance of ten miles. After this encounter, the enemy again took courage, and attacked the British camp about half-a-dozen times, in bodies of from 3,000 to 5,000 men, but on each occasion were repulsed. The *Pearl's* brigade encountered the enemy about twenty times altogether, the first engagement being at Sonepore, in the Goruckpore district, and the last at Toolseypore; but numerous as were its engagements during the campaign, it lost but one man, killed in battle—namely, Second-master Fowler, who fell at Almorah; although, in the course of the struggle, many of them were wounded: at the battle of Almorah, about thirty, all of whom recovered. Several died of disease from the fatigue and heat of the weather; which was not extraordinary, considering the exposure to which they were subject during seventeen months. After deducting for deaths and invalided men during the campaign, 205 men of the original brigade of 250, returned in excellent condition to Calcutta.

The 1st Madras fusilier regiment also arrived at Calcutta, on its homeward route, on the 14th of February, and was received with great demonstrations of welcome. A portion of H.M.'s 3rd and 99th regiments, with the Calcutta volunteer guards, were drawn up in front of Government-house, where the viceroy, with a number of military and civil officers, had assembled. On the arrival of the regiment upon the parade, it was received with military honours, and loudly and repeatedly cheered. When silence was obtained, the governor-general advanced, and addressed the men in the following terms:—

"Colonel Galwey, officers, and soldiers of the Madras fusiliers,—I am glad to have the opportunity of thanking you publicly, in the name of the government of India, for the great services which you have rendered to the state. More than twenty months have passed since you landed in Calcutta. The time has been an eventful one, full of labours and perils, and in these you have largely shared. Yours was the first British regiment which took assistance to the Central Provinces, and gave safety to the important posts of Benares and Allahabad. You were a part of that brave band which first pushed forward to Cawnpore, and forced its way to Lucknow, where so many precious lives and interests were at stake. From that time you have, with little intermission, been in the front of danger.

"You are now returning to your presidency, your ranks thinned by war and sickness; but you return covered with honour, carrying with you the high opinion of every commander who has led you in the field; the respect of your fellow-soldiers in that great English army in which, from the beginning, you have maintained a foremost place; and the gratitude of the whole community of your fellow-countrymen of every class. Further, you have the satisfaction of knowing that you do not leave behind you a single spot of ground upon which you have set your feet, where peace and order have not been restored.

"When you reach Madras, tell your comrades of the Madras army, that the name of the 1st fusiliers will never be forgotten on this side of India. Tell them that the recollection of all that is due to your courage, constancy, and forwardness, will never be effaced from the mind of the government under whose orders you have served. Tell them, especially, that the memory of your late distinguished leader is cherished and honoured by every Englishman amongst us; and that though many heroic spirits have passed away since the day when he fell in front of you in the streets of Lucknow, not one has left a nobler reputation than General Neill.

"I now bid you farewell, fusiliers, and I wish you a speedy and prosperous voyage to your own presidency. You are indeed an honour to it."

It will be recollected that this gallant regiment saved Benares and Allahabad,* and was present in all the actions consequent upon Sir Henry Havelock's efforts for the relief of Lucknow. So greatly was the precision of their fire dreaded by the natives, that the Nana issued a general order, commanding his people "not to meet the 'blue-caps,' who killed without being seen." The regiment had lost, during its service in Bengal, more than three-fifths of its original number, or 600 men.

At the termination of the viceroy's address, the men formed again in marching order, and proceeded to the ghât, where they were to embark for Madras. As they marched along the strand, they were saluted by the guns of the fort and the shipping in the river, and all the vessels in the

* See vol. i., pp. 223—226; 256—264.

harbour were dressed with colours in their honour.

The fusiliers reached Madras harbour on the 21st of February, and landed the following day, under a royal salute; a government notification, to the following effect, being issued for the occasion:—

"Fort St. George, Feb. 15th, 1859.

"Intimation having been received by government, that the Madras fusiliers would leave Calcutta, on their return to their own presidency, on the morning of the 15th instant, in H.M.'s steamer *Sydney*, and transport *Tubal Cain* in tow, they may be expected to arrive here on the 21st instant. Their arrival will be made known to the public by the firing of four guns from the St. George's bastion, at intervals of a minute. Should the vessels be sighted before seven o'clock A.M., the regiment will land at three o'clock P.M. the same day; but if after that hour, they will not be landed till three o'clock P.M. the following day. Should they arrive on Sunday, at whatever hour, they will not land till the following day at three o'clock P.M.

"The whole of the effective troops in garrison, including the body-guard, will parade in full dress on the north beach, at Messrs. Parry and Co.'s office, at half-past two o'clock, on the occasion of the landing of the Madras fusiliers, and will form a street thence to the railway terminus, by opening out files as much as may be necessary. The troops will be under the orders of the senior officer on the parade. The Madras fusiliers will march through the street of troops to the railway terminus, where an entertainment will be prepared to do them honour. After the Madras fusiliers have arrived at the railway terminus, the troops will return to their respective barracks."

The day was observed as a general holiday in all the government offices, and by the community at large. Along the street formed by the military, the veterans marched amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the ladies and gentlemen who crowded the verandahs of the buildings, and of an immense multitude of the native population. As they passed on, the troops presented arms to the colours that had come victorious from so many fields of battle; and upon its arrival at the railway station, congratulatory addresses were read to the regiment from the European and native communities. The men then partook of more substantial refreshment, and, after dinner, stepped into the special train, which conveyed them to Arcot, from whence they proceeded to Bangalore, whither their wives and families had previously been sent, to be in readiness to receive them.

On the 14th of March, a notification in the government gazette, contained the following recognition of the services and meritorious conduct of H.M.'s 10th and 32nd regiments, then *en route* to Calcutta, for embarkation to England:—

"*No.* 360, *of* 1859.—H.M.'s 10th regiment of foot is about to embark for England. His excellency the governor-general in council cannot allow this regiment to pass through Calcutta without thanking the officers and men for all the good service which they have rendered in the last two eventful years; first at the outbreaks of Benares and Dinapore; next as a part of the column under their former commander, Brigadier-general Franks; and more lately in the harassing operations conducted by Brigadier-general Sir E. Lugard, and Brigadier Douglas, on either bank of the Ganges. The governor-general in council desires, in taking leave of the 10th regiment, to place on record his cordial appreciation of their valuable services. The regiment will be saluted by the guns of Fort William on leaving Calcutta.

"*No.* 361, *of* 1859.—The services of H.M.'s 32nd regiment light infantry, which formed a part of the heroic garrison of Lucknow, and which is now about to leave India, claim a special acknowledgment from his excellency the governor-general in council. These services extended through the defence of Cawnpore, and through the final operations of the commander-in-chief in Oude. The governor-general in council thanks the 32nd regiment for all that they have done and endured. His excellency congratulates officers and men on their return home after a long and distinguished career in India, and bids them heartily farewell. A salute will be fired from Fort William before the departure of the regiment."

The popularity of Lord Canning, which, during the progress of the rebellion, had been frequently and rudely assailed, was now destined to receive a shock, in consequence of a financial measure introduced by him to the legislative council of India, in March, 1859. In the extraordinary circumstances of the country, the imposition of new taxes to meet interest of new loans and the increased war expenditure, had become a matter of necessity, about which there was no dispute; but the question how the two millions requisite for the emergency were to be raised, gave occasion for a vast diversity of opinion, which at length concentrated into a general expression of discontent on the part of the commercial and mercantile interests of the three presidencies. The circumstances under which

a perfect hurricane of useless indignation was evoked by the members of these important communities and their organs, were as follows.

At a meeting of the legislative council of India, held on Saturday, March the 12th, at which were present the viceroy and governor-general, the Hon. Sir J. Colville, Sir C. Jackson, Major-general Sir James Outram, H. Ricketts, B. Peacock, H. B. Harrington, H. Forbes, E. Currie, and P. W. Le Geyt, Esqs.—his excellency laid upon the table a "Bill to alter the Duties of Customs on Goods imported or exported by Sea;" the clauses of which, and schedules annexed, were as follows:—

I. From and after the passing of this Act, so much of Schedules A and B annexed to Act 14, of 1836; so much of Schedules A and B annexed to Act 6, of 1844; so much of the Schedule annexed to Act 9, of 1845; so much of Schedules A and B annexed to Act 1, of 1852; and so much of sections 2, 3, and 4, Act 30, of 1854, as prescribe the rates of duty to be charged on goods imported into, or exported from, any port in India by sea—are repealed.

II. From and after the passing of this Act, all the provisions now in force of the above-mentioned Acts which have reference to the duties of customs now charged and leviable on goods imported into, or exported from, any port in India by sea, shall be taken to have reference to the duties of customs prescribed in the schedules annexed to this Act; provided that nothing in this Act shall authorise the levy of duties of sea customs at any free port, or be deemed to affect the provision of Acts 6 and 7, of 1848.

III. Nothing in this Act shall apply to the articles of salt or opium, or to teak timber exported from the Arracan, Pegu, Martaban, and Tenasserim provinces.

IV. And whereas contracts or agreements may have been made for the sale or delivery of goods on which increased or additional duties are imposed by this Act, and which contracts or agreements may have been made without reference to such increased duties, and thereby the several contractors may be materially affected. It is therefore further enacted, that if any person shall, by virtue of any contract entered into before the passing of this Act, be bound to deliver, at any time after the passing of this Act, goods hereby made liable to an increased or additional rate of duty, and shall, upon the importation or exportation of any goods which he may deliver on performance of such contract, pay a rate of duty higher than that which was imposed by law on such goods at the time when the contract was entered into, every such person is hereby authorised and empowered to add to the price of such goods a sum equal to the difference of the duty paid under this Act, and the duty which would have been payable under the laws in force when the contract was entered into, and shall have the same remedy for the recovery of such sum, as if the same had been part of the price agreed upon.

V. This Act shall take effect on and after the 12th day of March, 1859.

Schedule A.—Rates of duty to be charged on the following goods imported by sea into any port of India not being a free port:—Bullion and coin, precious stones and pearls, grain and pulse, horses and other living animals, ice, coal, coke, bricks, chalk, and stones (marbles and wrought stones excepted), cotton wool, books, machinery for the improvement of the communications and for development of the resources of the country—all free. And the collector of customs, subject to the orders of the local executive government, shall decide what articles of machinery come within the above definition, and such decision shall be final in law. Cotton-thread, twist, and yarn—five per cent.; tea, coffee, tobacco and all preparations thereof, spices (including cassia, cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmegs, and mace), haberdashery, millinery, and hosiery, grocery, confectionery, and oilman's stores, provisions, hams, and cheese, perfumery, jewellery, plate, and plated ware—twenty per cent.; porter, ale, beer, cider, and other similar fermented liquors—four annas the imperial gallon; wines and liqueurs—two rupees the imperial gallon; spirits—three rupees ditto. And the duty on spirits shall be rateably increased as the strength exceeds London proof; and when imported in bottles, six quart bottles shall be deemed equal to the imperial gallon. All articles not included in the above enumeration—ten per cent.

Schedule B.—Rates of duty to be charged upon goods exported by sea from any port in India not being a free port:—Bullion and coin, precious stones and pearls, books, maps, and drawings printed in India, horses and other living animals, cotton, wool, sugar and rum, spirits, tobacco and all preparations thereof, raw silk—all free; grain and pulse of all sorts—four annas the bag not exceeding two Indian maunds, or if exported otherwise than in bags—two annas the maund; indigo—three rupees the maund; lac dye and shell lac—four per cent. All country articles not enumerated or named above—three per cent.

His excellency then proceeded to explain the reasons which had led to the introduction of a bill of so much importance, the object of which was to increase the duties on imports. He observed, that the financial position of the government at the end of the year 1856, was good, and full of promise for the future—the previously existing deficit having been reduced from 104 lacs to 18 lacs; but the new financial year was only a few weeks old, when there fell that first spark which kindled the late wide-spread conflagration, of which the embers were but now dying out. Then came, he said, a time when they could no longer talk of balance-sheets; hearts, brains, hands, were alike required to think and act, and fight for their country. Now that its honour was vindicated, now that our character as merciful masters in our power was established, it was time to examine into the state of our financial resources, reduced, some seemed to think, well-nigh to exhaustion. He did not concur in that opinion; and he should shortly state, without going into minute detail, the most

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prominent items of the expenditure of the late war, in order to show that no choice was left to the government, but that it was imperatively necessary for them to seek at once for resources in the taxation of imports into the country. His lordship then proceeded to say, that since May, 1857, when the mutiny commenced, there had arrived at Calcutta, from England, fifty-two regiments of infantry, nine regiments of cavalry, and thirty-eight companies of artillery and engineers. This army, to be kept in a state of readiness for the field, had received reinforcements, from Bengal alone, of 20,000 men; 165 transports, mostly of large size, had arrived at Calcutta; and not less than 5,000 horses had been landed there, besides large arrivals in Bombay. The commissariat expenditure for the year 1857, exceeded two millions sterling: this item had been doubled, and, for the present year, would be largely increased. Of munitions of war, there had been landed 7,000 stand of arms, and 186 rounds of shot and shell; and, of course, every item of that department bore like heavy proportions. It must be borne in mind, he observed, that with all this expenditure, they had to face a general and large rise in cost in every item, from an elephant down to a camp-kettle—ranging, in some cases, as high as 300 per cent. advance: the cost of carriage to the North-West Provinces had risen, in the last year, to £10,000 per mensem to Allahabad alone; and, in like manner, there was increased cost in England to be carried to account. He claimed, then, the admission, that it was no idleness or carelessness that gave rise to their present necessities, but the unavoidable cost of carrying out gigantic operations, that compelled the measure he had laid before them. They would better judge of their position when he stated, that at the close of the year ending 30th of April, 1858, they found themselves with a deficit of 817 lacs of rupees; *i.e.*, 799 lacs worse than at the commencement of that year. Of that excess, 601 lacs were due to expenditure in India; the rest in England. The loss of revenue amounted that year to 350 lacs; loss of treasure, 130 lacs; increase of military expenditure, 382 lacs. To one point he could speak of his own knowledge—that, in the estimate of the expenditure of the current year, there was certainly, as yet, no sign of bettering their position. That statement, at the end of the approaching April (1859), he greatly feared would be found to exceed 1,300 lacs. To meet the enormous expenditure, recourse had to be made to exceptional courses by debentures in England: eight millions sterling had been raised. The proceeds of loans in India, from the 1st of May to that time—say twenty-two months—was 914 lacs. Those two amounts together did not meet the amount of the expenditure; but it would be seen, by making the allowance for the excess in the balance of 1857 over 1858, there was a difference of 414 lacs; and that added to the two items given above, came nearly up to the amount mentioned. His excellency then said—"Whatever may be done by loans—whatever may be the opinion of individuals on the extent to which they should be raised, either in India or in England, one fact remains—we must find means to meet the interest upon them. He could appeal to them (the legislative council) on that ground alone, that it was their duty at once to provide as largely as they could, by all just means, to meet the demands coming upon them; and there was no means which would operate so entirely without injury to the public interest, or with less injury or pressure on individuals, than by raising the customs duty on imports." The present tariff, he observed, was based upon a system which had now passed away in England, and of which but few relics remained: and, adverting to the progressive adoption of free trade in England, and the repeal of the navigation laws, he said that the existing tariff varied from three-and-a-half to five per cent. on English, and from five to seven-and-a-half per cent. on goods of foreign origin. By the measure now submitted for the adoption of the legislative council, every protective or differential duty was cleared away, and the duties proposed would be levied solely for the purposes of public revenue. His lordship then proceeded to enumerate the various items embraced by the bill; and said, in conclusion, that it only remained for the council to decide the time at which the measure should come into operation. In ordinary cases, there would be a delay of three months from its introduction; but it was the intention of the government to propose that day to suspend the standing orders, so as to allow the bill to pass, and its provisions would then at once be put in force. He was aware that the change would interfere with the current operations

of the trading class; but it was better for all classes that there should be no interval between the passing of the bill and its action. He admitted that, in case of contracts to deliver goods at Calcutta at a fixed price (such price being, of course, based upon the existing rates of duty), there would be a difficulty; but, to save all hardship to parties under such contracts, a clause had been introduced into the bill, enabling the contractor to claim the additional duty from the buyer, as if such duties formed part of the original contract. After some further observations, his lordship moved that the bill be read a first time; and it was read accordingly.

On the motion that the standing orders be suspended, in order that the bill might be read a second time, the Hon. E. Currie said he had no idea of the intention of the government to pass the bill that day, and he trusted the council would not be borne upon to pass a bill of the kind, without an opportunity of considering its details. It was scarcely possible, on hearing such a bill read at the table, to follow its details, or to give any consideration to them; and it appeared to him that it was making mere ciphers of members of council, who, till that moment, had no opportunity of knowing the contents of the bill.

To this remark the governor-general replied, that there was assuredly no intention on the part of the government to make ciphers of any members of the council; and that the bill was pressed forward solely on public grounds, for the purpose of avoiding the doubt and uncertainty, and the total paralysis of business which must arise, if such a measure were held open for discussion.

The Hon. James Colville said he also shared in the surprise of the member for Bengal. He had certainly some idea of the suspension of the standing orders, to accelerate the progress of the measure; but he did not expect they would be called upon to pass it *per saltum* in a day.

After some further remarks, *pro* and *con.*, the bill was read a second time, and the governor-general gave notice of motion, that it should go into committee on the following Monday; and retired from the council-chamber.

On Monday, March the 14th, the legislative council again assembled, and went into committee on the bill. Upon arriving at section 4, relating to enforcement of duties from buyers, under contracts for goods to arrive, the Hon. E. Currie said, that, before coming to the council, he had been waited upon by members of the mercantile community, who desired to represent that this clause, which was presumed to be for their relief, would, in reality, be of great injury to them; that there were very heavy contracts running for goods to arrive at fixed prices, to the extent of eighty per cent. of the arrivals for the ensuing two months, which would have to be delivered to the buyers at that fixed price, notwithstanding the provision in the bill; that if the duty was added, the native merchants would refuse to receive the goods; and if the importers attempted to enforce the payment, they would, in many cases, injure their business connection; and, on the other hand, if they did not enforce it, the owner of the goods at home, seeing this clause, would not allow them to claim any deductions from their returns, on account of this increase of duty; and so the loss would in every way fall upon them, the agents or factors in India.

The governor-general, in reply, said he could not understand the force of the objection. The clause did not put any compulsion upon the seller to enforce his contracts; it only empowered him to do so if he thought it desirable. The object was certainly not to oppress the correspondents of English houses in India, but to enable them to protect their interests.

The Hon. Sir J. Colville said his position was one that brought such matters as these very much before him; and he quite realised the difficulties of the position, which would be greatly augmented if the clause was retained.

The Hon. B. Peacock, on the part of the government, declared that it was certainly not prepared to abandon the clause, which was a most equitable one; and, moreover, its operation was entirely a question of choice for the parties interested. After some further remarks, the clause passed as it originally stood.—The Hon. E. Currie said, he saw no reason why articles of pure luxury, namely, precious stones, should be free of duty, whilst jewellery, made up, paid twenty per cent.; and Sir J. Colville said the same anomaly had struck him.—Lord Canning, while allowing the anomaly to exist, explained that it was most impolitic, and against every sound principle of taxation, to impose a tax which was nearly, if not

quite, impossible of collection; and while a king's ransom might be hidden, as he might say, in one's mouth, it was hopeless to impose any duty upon such articles.

After some objections had been urged against the free introduction of machinery, and the difficulty of defining many articles under item No. 15, Schedule A, the bill passed through committee, was reported, read a third time, and passed.

And now, upon the devoted head of the governor-general, burst the storm of indignant remonstrance and invective that had been gathering during the past sixty hours among the mercantile community of Calcutta, and which had even already manifested itself in public meetings hastily convened in Calcutta, and subsequently in Bombay and Madras, and in the more subdued tone of memorials from the Chambers of Commerce of the three presidencies. The Bombay papers were specially earnest and unanimous in their condemnation of the new tariff. "The inability," said the *Bombay Times*, "of Lord Canning's administration to cope with our financial difficulties, has been demonstrated most painfully by a new act of legislative infirmity, which casts the whole burden of the deficit upon the trade of the country. A new tariff has been suddenly imposed upon us without a day's warning; doubling, trebling, and quadrupling the duties upon all imports. We have given this administration a frank and loyal support throughout its difficulties; but its reputation seems destined to split upon the rock where nine-tenths of the administrations of the world suffer shipwreck."—Another paper, of the same presidency, declared, that "Lord Canning seems resolved to alienate from him for ever the respect and esteem of all right-thinking men. He has capped his past financial blunders by the introduction of a new customs tariff, which threatens to sap the existing trade between England and India to its very foundations."

The annexed narrative of events is from the *Bombay Gazette*:—"On the morning of the 14th of March, importers passing goods through the custom-house were surprised by a demand for greatly increased duties. They were informed that these were levied in accordance with instructions received from Calcutta by the electric telegraph; and a government notification subsequently verified this information. Eventually, it appeared that a bill 'to alter the duties of customs' had, on the 12th, been introduced into the legislative council by Lord Canning himself, who desired to have the standing orders suspended, in order that he might pass it through at once. Mr. E. Currie and Sir James Colville, however, objected to the so precipitate passing of a most important measure, with the nature and details of which they had no opportunity of becoming acquainted, except that afforded by the clerk in reading it at the table. So the final sanction was deferred from Saturday to Monday, on which last-named day the bill became law, some hours after it had been put into operation here, and probably elsewhere.

"The excitement created here was great, and extended to all classes of the community. The matter affected the European part of it especially; for the duties on almost every imported article of consumption, from bonnets to beer, were quadrupled—raised from five per cent. to twenty per cent. And this just when the exigencies of the late times of disturbance had run up prices of European supplies to a point previously unheard of.

"The principal sufferers, however, were likely to be those who, having sold goods 'to arrive,' agreeing, as usual, to pay the duties and other charges thereon, found that their perhaps small profit was converted into a heavy loss by the necessity of having to pay double or fourfold the amount of duty which they had, on the faith of a long-existing tariff, taken as an element in their calculations. It was found, indeed, when the act in full was promulgated here, that a clause was inserted, designed to protect such persons, by enabling them to recover the extra duty from the purchaser; but, both here and at Calcutta, it seems thought by the merchants generally, that this only makes matters worse. The British importer will not take the native purchaser into court on such a point; and yet, if he be only an agent, he may, with this clause in existence, be held liable by his principal to make good the amount of extra duty.

"The measure took effect here on Monday, the 14th instant; and on Tuesday, the 15th, a numerously attended meeting was held on the subject. It was therein resolved, first to ask Lord Elphinstone to suspend, if he could, the fulfilment of the instructions which he had received, for a period long enough to enable importers to

avoid the injury consequent upon their immediate enforcement; if not, till the result of a reference to Calcutta, by telegraph, could be ascertained. His lordship could not suspend the measure at all; but he had anticipated the views of the mercantile community, and himself had telegraphed to Calcutta on the subject. The reply thence was, that no suspension could be allowed.

"Then the merchants assembled again, and resolved to memorialise Lord Stanley against the act, denouncing as well the impolicy of such a measure generally, as the injustice of its sudden operation. The memorial, a temperately worded but cogent document, goes home by this mail, and will, we trust, receive due consideration. Our great hope, however, is in the agitation of the manufacturers at home, who are at least as deeply interested in the matter as our Indian merchants and agents."

The absence of notice of the alteration formed the grand point of complaint. The financial necessities of the government formed, of course, their justification. Had the mercantile community received notice of the intended alteration, the revenue would probably have suffered considerably.

A string of resolutions was passed at a meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, convened on the 15th of March, to the following effect:—

"1st. That this meeting records in the strongest manner, the surprise and alarm with which the mercantile community of Bombay has received the government revenue notification of yesterday, and protests against the glaring injustice of the government of India in introducing, without notice, changes so seriously and prejudicially affecting the trade of Bombay."

"2nd. That as mercantile operations now pending were based upon the late tariff, they cannot, in the opinion of this meeting, be subjected, without great injustice, to pay an enhanced rate of duty."

"3rd. That the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce be requested to memorialise the right honourable the governor in council, expressing the feeling of the meeting in regard to the notification, and praying him to suspend the enforcement of the tariff."

A deputation was named to present the memorial, the result of which has been already stated.

The *Bombay Times* was supremely indignant. It remarked—"But to come to the notification that has excited all this uproar. It must, of course, be withdrawn; the Chamber is quite powerful enough to insist upon it. The notification is but another of those blunders which spring from legislating in the dark, and cannot be persisted in, in the face of a proper remonstrance; only let us take care that the remonstrance lays down a principle which will preclude the recurrence of such mistakes in the future. There are two issues involved in this matter, which should be argued separately. The enhancement of the duties is one affair; the mode of introducing the change another: and the two questions should be the subject of separate memorials. It is the mode of introducing these changes against which the strength of the protest should lie; and it should explicitly insist upon the abandonment of the system of secrecy now followed, whether in the negotiating of a new loan, the levy of a new excise, or an alteration of duties. We defy the government to name a single good purpose this secrecy serves; while the mischief that results from it brings the administration into contempt, and sets all classes against it in hostility. Neither the local administration, nor the supreme government, had any intention of doing a wrong to our merchants in this matter. But there is an old lady's notion in the council, that the whole art of successful change in fiscal matters is to keep the government intention a profound secret. Here, again, is one of those fallacies that go unchallenged, because supposed to be self-evident. The only proper and safe way of introducing a change, is to advertise its proposed nature, that you may ascertain how it will affect private interests. The government assumes that it knows all about the matter beforehand, and takes its conscious integrity of purpose as a sufficient substitute for information. The result is confiscation. The notification, as fraught with injustice to many interests, must be withdrawn, and its provisions submitted to the careful examination of the public, before the date of its imposition is fixed. The effect those provisions will have upon the interests of our trade, will be reviewed by us by-and-bye. In the meantime, let there be an uncompromising demand for its recision, and let our merchants conform thereto, only under protest.

"We defy any man to say what the

effects of the notification will be. Changes so sweeping as it inaugurates were never perhaps before introduced so summarily. The only proper and safe way of introducing such a measure, would have been to send it, in the shape of a bill, through the legislative council. The public would then have had the opportunity of carefully weighing its provisions, while all the interests affected thereby would have been heard against it. The present system is that of legislating in the dark. Lord Canning and his advisers hardly know what 'a sail to arrive' means; and that men should be allowed to play football with interests so weighty as those of our Indian commerce, is not to be tolerated. It is time that the imperialism of the Indian government gave place to a frank recognition of the fact, that there is an intelligent community outside, whom it may consult with advantage. We have no hostility to government that is not of its own creating, and would much prefer to be found supporting it in the main, to continual carping at it. The address of the Chamber of Commerce to the local government has appeared in our columns, as well as the governor's reply thereto. It is satisfactory to find that Lord Elphinstone had partly anticipated the prayer of the memorial, by telegraphing a recommendation to Calcutta, 'that goods shipped previous to the receipt of the notification' should be exempted from its operation. His lordship's meaning is not perfectly clear; but if he intend, as we suppose, that all goods in harbour and afloat up to the date of the notification reaching the ports of Europe, should be exempted, it would, perhaps, have been simpler to have recommended that the notification should not take effect until the 1st of October next."

Elsewhere, the same journal remarks—"If there is any sense of justice in the merchants of Bombay, they will protest in fitting terms against the attempt made by this new Customs Act, to divert from themselves its disastrous consequences, and to impose them by legislative violence upon the native dealer."

A meeting of the mercantile community of Madras, to protest against the new tariff, was held on the 25th of March, and resolutions in accordance with the views of the meeting, were forwarded to the lieutenant-governor for transmission to Calcutta.

Amongst the most hostile to the obnoxious measure, those were loudest in their complaints who took the suddenness of its application as the ground for their objection. The bill certainly was introduced into the council on a Saturday; and on the following Monday it became law, and the new duties imposed by it were instantly exacted. There unquestionably appeared an indecent haste in this precipitancy, which, taking the mercantile classes by surprise, was calculated to exasperate them; and there was, *primâ facie*, some reason for their dissatisfaction, since, upon such an occasion, all mercantile calculations must be overthrown; and cases of individual hardship were more than possible: but, upon reflection, it must have been apparent that, under the circumstances, and taking into consideration the object for which the new tariff was imposed, the demand urged, that the operation of the new arrangements should be postponed, and a notice of some months be given, was preposterously absurd. The object of the government was to obtain funds to pay the interest of money borrowed for the pressing exigencies of the state in a protracted season of extreme peril; and with all due recognition of mercantile patriotism and morality, the inevitable result of such procrastination would have been, that the largest possible quantity of commodities would be passed in the interval at the low duties, and the collection of the increased rates so immediately necessary, would have been deferred for a very long period.

While engaged in caring for their temporal concerns, the people of Madras also evinced a due regard to the welfare of their spiritual and educational interests by memorialising the government against any further state encouragement to the missionary movement, which had been largely supported by grants of public money. Their appeal to the governor-general on the subject, concluded as follows:—"Your memorialists earnestly request that the system of grants in aid may be abolished, and the sums at present disbursed through that channel, devoted to the establishment of government provincial schools; by means of which a far better education can be afforded to the people than has been, or can be, in the institutions of the missionary societies, by which the larger portion of the grants is swallowed up, to the intense dissatisfaction of the people; this appropriation having already evinced its natural consequences—as foreseen by the Hon. Mr. P.

Grant, in his minute dated the 12th of October, 1854—in the unhappy events in the North-West Provinces: that the temple property may be secured by legislative enactment; that government officials may be restrained from taking part in missionary proceedings on public anniversaries and meetings; and that the neutrality promised by your lordship, and solemnly confirmed by her majesty the Queen, may be undeviatingly observed and adhered to;—by which course of just and impartial policy, the people of India will most assuredly be won over to prize the English government beyond that of any of its predecessors, and, in due time, will be auspiciously and certainly realised the wise and memorable observation of her majesty at the close of her gracious proclamation—'In the prosperity of the people will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.'"

By the beginning of May, 1859 (some two years after the terrible outburst of the sanguinary war that, in so short a period, had inflicted dire calamity upon thousands), reorganisation, rather than rebellion, became the great difficulty of government. Every department—administrative and executive—had been rudely shaken, and, in some instances, had been shattered into fragments: these had to be reconstructed, and the whole machinery necessary for their healthy action had to be reorganised. This difficulty added not a little to the Herculean labours imposed upon the viceroy and his council; but it was imperative that it should be surmounted. The financial difficulty already referred to, was, as we have seen, a colossal stumblingblock in the way of the government, not easily removable by any expedient likely to be satisfactory to all parties; and although money sufficient to pay the interest on the loans could be obtained, still the existing sources of revenue were far from adequate to the unavoidable permanent expenses of the government, and a recourse to new channels of supply became inevitable. Among the items calculated upon as likely to yield the required funds, it was proposed to extend the succession duty to all personal property, and all real property, not protected by the perpetual settlement. A tax on tobacco was also contemplated, which, with the succession duty, would add a second million to the one calculated from the new customs tariff. The succession duty was not expected to be unpopular; but that on tobacco was likely to be much so, as every human being in India smoked—the wife as well as the husband, the child as well as the wife. A rise in price, therefore, of this article would affect every native; but still the population had never yet resisted indirect taxes. A third impost, in the shape of a marriage licence fee, was also proposed. This tax, levied by the Mussulmans, was in accord with the native ideas, and would be inappreciable in the midst of all the expense on feasts, torches, nautches, tinsel, and gilt cloths, usually equal to two years' income. The money being provided for the loans by which to tide over the years of difficulty, there remained the reduction of expenditure to income. The orders for this end, it was felt, must come from England, for the mass of private interests and inveterate prejudices rendered large reductions by the local government impossible. There was, in truth, but one feasible reduction. The total of civil expenditure could not be reduced; for all saved by cutting down salaries, and more, would be exhausted in the increased establishments imperatively required. The European military expenditure could not be diminished for years, except by cutting off the Indian allowances—a very difficult, and perhaps dangerous expedient. There remained still the three native armies, officially reported to comprise 243,000 men. Even this enormous number did not represent the full truth. The 8,000 military police in Bengal were not included in it, nor the 22,000 military police embodied for Madras. Those men were sepoys as to everything but duties, and were an addition to the regular native army they ought to have superseded. Omitting Bengal Proper, which wanted no troops beyond three regiments of Europeans, there were sixty counties to be protected: 1,000 men for each county would, it was officially reported by the Madras government, suffice to keep internal order. There were no external foes, except one or two native powers—the Nizam, the king of Burmah, and the tribes beyond the Passes. Allowing 60,000 more sepoys for those three objects, there were 120,000 native troops. If that view was correct, the native army was in excess of the permanent requirements by 120,000 men, costing in pay £2,250,000; and in the European force necessary to watch them, keep them faithful, and kill them when they mutiny, as much more. Still no important reduction could be

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