

indebted to the zealous and active co-operation of Capt. Smith, whose local experience made his professional skill of double value. As I was then in charge of those provinces, it seems my duty to mention this to you, not with a request that you will adopt any specific measure; I know well that a thousand things may exist to make it difficult for you to move in such a matter, but I mention it because I know, if opportunity offers, you will see justice done, for justice it is. Smith is distinguished in the navy from his many namesakes as 'Yardarm' Smith, that being the channel by which he boarded the 'Chesapeake' under Capt. Broke. He took home the flag and got his lieutenancy. In the Burmese war he got his commandship for commanding the light division of gunboats which accompanied the army from Pegu; and it was expected that at the peace he would have been posted, but by some accident he was omitted, and he remains a commander. He fully expected his step on returning, and I grieve to find he does not say he has got it. I am sure I shall be forgiven for mentioning it, making no request, and not intimating to Capt. Smith that I have done so.

At Lahore, singular uncertainty prevails as to the future, that is among the actors themselves. Rajah Goolab Singh was, up to yesterday morning, still a prisoner, though he had been presented at the Durbar. Sometimes the troops spoke of making him minister, sometimes of allowing the Durbar to extract money from him by torture.

The brother and the lover of the Ranee head rival factions of the chiefs, and attend Durbar in arms. Anywhere else a convulsion must have long since happened; but all are so entirely at the mercy of the soldiery, that a movement among the latter causes all differences among the chiefs to be forgotten in the common fear.

An attempt was lately made to assert by force the right of sending troops across the Sutlege from the Punjab without leave. Foreseeing this, I had, with the approbation of the Governor-General, formally warned them of the consequences, and strengthened my escort. They sent over 200 horse as an advanced party one evening lately, and the following morning they were turned out after putting⁵ the commandant into confinement, till he restored his plunder. I then called on the Durbar for explanation, and, after much debating, some bluster, and many artifices, a full apology and promise of good behaviour for the future are before me for transmission to Government.

There are, however, many embarrassing circumstances attending their cis-Sutlege territory. I have got over a good many of them

⁵ Means 'after I had put' &c.



CSL

for the moment, but I see little prospect of any permanent arrangement of a satisfactory kind in the present state of the court and army of Lahore.

Believe me &c.

G. BROADFOOT.

In writing to his sister,⁶ who appears to have seen some paragraphs in a paper abusing his Tenasserim administration, Broadfoot remarked :

You mistook me in thinking I was restrained from newspaper writing by being Commissioner ; it is by being in the Company's service ; and while I am so, I must, like other public men in India, be abused by those who choose to do so, without power of defence. It is unpleasant, but cannot be helped.

I have no author brother at home, like my neighbour Sir C. Napier, to defend me when I cannot defend myself ; and if I had, I doubt if I would enter into controversy. My time and temper would be expended on every unscrupulous rogue my duty makes me an impediment to in his crooked progress. On the whole, I believe the best plan is to hold on my way, and let them pelt on.

In my present situation I may and probably shall be abused, but I cannot help it. It may do me mischief, but nothing like what I fear the mere fact of my being a soldier and not a civil servant will do. So much for the press.

When the Agent's demand for explanation of the recent violation of the frontier, and his consequent action, were made known in Darbar, the generals and others present were very angry ; they predicted that he would change his tone when the troops returned from Jammu, and recommended that the reply be deferred till then. Meantime they referred the Agent's letter to Fakir Azizuddin and Bhai Ram Singh, who declared its contents to be in conformity with justice and with existing treaties, and they advised unqualified submission. This advice was not followed, and a reply appears to have been sent couched in language very different from the usual style.

The increasing probability of ultimate rupture with the Sikhs, occasioned by some act of violence on their part, brought the question of our relations with the protected Sikh states into prominence. The Agent remarked that from Ochterlony's⁷ time to the Kabul disasters the protected chiefs were governed

⁶ Letter dated April 21, 1845.

lony, Bart., G.C.B. A name greatly respected in the Punjab. He was

⁷ Major-Gen. Sir David Ochter-

with a firm hand; those disasters shook the belief in our invincibility, and the chiefs began to think that their relative position with us was changed. Other events, discussion in the press regarding them, and a spirit of concession from timidity which they thought they saw in our dealings with themselves and with Lahore, strengthened the impression. Disorder at Lahore removed all fear from that quarter, and the British power was regarded rather as an irksome restraint than a welcome protection. There were also embarrassments which attended the double allegiance of certain chiefs, likely to become more serious as disorder in the Punjab increased; and the complication was not lessened by the position of the Maharaja himself—an independent sovereign on one side of the river, a subject on the other.

In Lahore, Raja Lal Singh and Sardar Jawahir Singh, forgetting that Gulab Singh was a prisoner in the hands of the army, and that consequently they had no power over him, ordered him to appear at their Darbar. Gulab Singh, with great readiness, turned the circumstance to immediate account; he told the messenger that he could give no answer, and sending for the guard placed over him, explained what had happened; 'and begged, as he was the servant of the army and not of the Darbar, that the panchayats of the troops would instruct him what answer to give.' The panchayats rebuked the Darbar and declared Gulab Singh to be the chief personage, after the Maharaja, in the State; they further said that, as far as Sardar Jawahir Singh was concerned, he need not attend the Darbar, but that he should wait on the Maharaja and Rani at their convenience. It is said that on promising to pay 27,00,000 rs. (which at par is 270,000*l.*) Gulab Singh was formally set at liberty.

appointed to the E.I.C.S. in 1777, and served in the war with Haidar Ali, 1781. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Cuddalore, 1783, when the French regiments were repulsed by the 24th N.I. He next served throughout the Marátha war, 1803, and was afterwards appointed Resident at the Court of Delhi. In 1804 he defended that city against Holkar's army, till relieved by Lord Lake. In 1808 he commanded

against Ranjít Singh in the cis-Sutlej states, and in 1809 occupied Ludhiána as Political Agent.

His services in the Nepál war (1814-16) were very eminent, and greatly conduced to its successful issue; for these he was created a baronet, received a pension of 1,000*l.* a year, and was made G.C.B.

In 1822 he was Resident in Málwá and Rájputána, and he died in 1825.



In the following letter from Lord Ellenborough two points will be noticed : first, that if war should break out he trusted the command of our forces would be given to Sir C. Napier ; and second, the advice he gave Broadfoot as to preparation and attention to detail.

London : May 7, 1845.

My dear Broadfoot,—A great many thanks for your letter of March 19, which I received to-day. Our friends on the other side of the Sutlej have been doing apparently all we could desire, or nearly so ; but still, I fear, they will be alarmed by the close neighbourhood of so many of our troops, and make up their quarrels if they can. The movement of the body guard is portentous, and it was unnecessary.

I do not think your force safely placed if there were reason to apprehend an attack from Lahore well directed ; but an attack is become very improbable. I do trust Sir C. Napier will be brought up to you if there should be a forward movement at any time. How beautifully he has managed the campaign in the hills !

I conclude you have ascertained what force the several protected Sikh states can really furnish, and made, in your own mind, arrangements for the safety of the communications of the army from the Sutlej to the Jumna, in the event of a forward movement. Sir C. Napier is very anxious to have established a regular baggage train. I had intended to have this. If you do not turn over in your mind *all* the detail, depend upon it no one will. You are the only person on the frontier to whom the Governor-General can safely look ; and you should not hesitate to give him your opinion upon all points of service. I trust your health is re-established.

Yours &c.

ELLENBOROUGH.

In May, Broadfoot went up to Simla ; his health had suffered much from anxiety and overwork, and at Lahore matters were quieter than they had been.

The house he took was called ' The Crag ; ' it is well situated on Jacko, the highest of the Simla hills, and from it there is a most magnificent view of the snowy range. Here he remained during the summer and early autumn, with a house full of guests. He was treated for congestion of the liver by Dr. John Campbell Brown, but did not cease from work. Naturally, Havelock was much at the house, as were Edward Lake and Herbert Edwardes, who lived in the smaller house



just below, and who both owed to Broadfoot their selection for civil employment. Lake became one of his Assistants; Edwardes was not appointed till after the first Sikh war, as there was no vacancy before. Mr. R. N. Cust, who was Broadfoot's Personal Assistant and lived in the house with him, has remarked: 'Nain Sukh, the faithful servant, was major-domo; all his friends and guests are dead except Saunders Abbott and me.'⁸

The news from Lahore towards the end of May is interesting to a student of Asiatic methods of intrigue. The Rani, having apparently begun to tire of Raja Lal Singh, appeared disposed to favour her brother Sardar Jawahir Singh's pretensions to guide the policy of the State. Raja Gulab Singh sided first with one, and then with the other; on which Lal Singh, becoming discontented, absented himself from Darbar for some days, and held meetings in his own house with others who were similarly dissatisfied. Gulab Singh availed himself of this defection with much adroitness, and turned the circumstance to his own account.

About the same time there was a severe outbreak of cholera in the Punjab, and it spread by degrees to our provinces. It is open to question whether we are now much better informed as to the nature of this disease, or more able to treat it successfully, than we were then. The Governor-General, in expressing his anxiety lest it might spread, based his hope for its arrest on 'atmospheric influences which seem, under Providence, to affect this mysterious disease.'

One result of the outbreak was to do that which the Darbar could not effect; namely, to restrain the turbulence of the army. As a native correspondent graphically described it to Broadfoot, 'the soldiers have become as sheep, and the fear of God is before their eyes; on account of the cholera they now commit no violence.'

The Darbar wished to destroy Peshora Singh, and went as a body to the troops to make the proposal. The panchayats told them that the matter was one for the Khalsa to deal with, and wholly beyond their province. Jawahir Singh,

⁸ Memorandum by Mr. Cust. Most of the guests are now (1887) dead, but not all; Sir J. C. Brown, for example.

Col. H. Yule, C.B., also was an occasional guest, and there may be others.



anxious for the measure, entreated, argued, and expostulated; but in vain. They said that they would be treated as infamous for the murder; as Court's brigade, known as the Gurumar, were for slaying Baba Bir Singh, the punishment for which was now manifest in the special severity of their losses from cholera.



CHAPTER XIII.

1845.

Sir H. Hardinge to Lord Ellenborough : Punjab news—Complimentary letter from the Governor-General—Governor-General's presence on the Frontier—Letter to Sir H. Hardinge; review of the situation—Sir H. Hardinge to Lord Ellenborough—Disorganisation in Lahore—Precautionary arrangements—Sikh warlike preparations—Peshora Singh seizes Attock—Disturbance at Anandpur Makhwal—Mr. Clerk's memorandum referred to Agent—His reply—Sir H. Hardinge to Lord Ellenborough—Forbearance carried to the verge of danger—Gulab Singh's proposals: rejected.

THE following extract from Sir H. Hardinge's letter to Lord Ellenborough contains an epitome of Punjab news up to the end of May. It will be observed that Sir Henry then seemed to consider Gulab Singh as concerned in the murder of his nephew Hira Singh; and his conduct at the Darbar appeared to justify this view. Yet it must be recollected that such a scene in an Oriental Court would not, unsupported by other and much more trustworthy evidence than letters, be held to establish the charge.

If it were shown, for example, that Hira Singh had been seriously plotting to murder or plunder Gulab Singh; or that he was in any way more a hindrance than an advantage to his uncle's schemes, and at all likely to be dangerous; then Gulab Singh would have compassed his destruction without remorse.

In the absence of a strong motive of this kind, it may perhaps be safe not to assume his participation in the crime.

Amongst the papers describing the events of the time, in allusion to the accusation by the Rani, there is a note by Broadfoot to the effect that he considered there was no truth in it. The news brought one day might favour the presumption of the Raja's innocence, whilst that of the next day might appear conclusive of his guilt.



Calcutta : June 3, 1845.

My dear Lord Ellenborough,—At Lahore, Jowahir Singh, the drunkard, has been proclaimed Wuzzeer; Golab Singh in alliance with him, and against his rival, Lal Singh. The Ranee has recently taken a younger lover into favour; and the army and the Khalsa, not choosing to be governed by a Rajpoot whom they fear, have preferred the brutal Sirdar to the able Rajpoot; but he, Golab Singh, is steeped in crime. The other day, in Durbar, the Ranee told him to his face that he had advised the death of his nephew, Heera Singh. He wished to qualify the statement, when she stopped him by saying, 'I have the correspondence, and will produce it if you deny the fact.' He at once gave in.

The fords are impassable, and these intrigues will be confined to the Punjab. The brigades from Peshawur and Cashmeer have marched on Lahore, stating that they have not been relieved in their proper turn; and the troops at Lahore seem disposed to adopt two different parties; the majority [support] Maharaja Duleep Singh, and the smaller portion Peshora Singh, against whom a brigade was about to advance, but would not move without money. It appears by Broadfoot's reports to be true, that at one moment the plan of the Ranee was to have urged the troops to move against the English, to force our interference, to disavow the act of the troops, and to trust that we should restore their Government, after we had destroyed their army, on the basis of Lord Auckland's subsidiary arrangement of 1841.

H. HARDINGE.

From Capt. Nicolson's diary it appears that cholera crossed the river, and appeared in the town of Firozpur, on June 5.

On the 7th it is recorded that Broadfoot had a bad fall from his horse. This would very probably complicate the illness from which he was suffering. Yet, though he does not appear to have written much officially at this time, he was in constant private correspondence with Mr. Currie, the Foreign Secretary; extracts from his letters have been published in the papers presented to Parliament. They are mainly illustrative of the riot and debauchery which prevailed at the Lahore Darbar, the details of which are unfit for publication.

When Sir Henry Hardinge heard of Broadfoot's fall from his horse, he wrote the following letter. It is valuable as showing the estimation in which Broadfoot's services were



held by the person best qualified to judge of them; and also as a record of Sir Henry's great kindness. The receipt of such a letter at such a time was probably more likely to contribute to recovery, than were the numerous leeches which were applied, and which no doubt performed their duty to their own satisfaction.

(Private.)

Calcutta: June 14, 1845.

My dear Broadfoot,—I have just now your note of the 4th, giving an account of your fall. I shall be on the stretch of anxiety till I hear from you.

The fact is, I could not replace you. You have shown on every occasion since your appointment great energy and promptitude of decision; a true and steady judgment; ready and effective with your pen; and with such singleness of purpose and thorough sense of duty, that I feel I can rely upon a man who, come what may, at any time and in any position, makes his sense of duty his ruling principle.

The able manner in which you have conducted yourself is recognised at home as well as here; and I am confident you will acquire as much reputation by your success in preventing a rupture, as if you were under more stirring times on the other side the Punjab.

I waited till your first political campaign was over to express my satisfaction; and I now cordially inform you that you have surpassed my expectation. Pray take care of yourself.

Every despatch from England inculcates a pacific policy; and we must show that military men in the conduct of affairs usually transacted by civil officers, on which peace or war hangs by a slender thread, can be trusted for their prudence as safely as those who, in the event of war, would have no military reputation to gratify.

A strong Sikh Government as our advanced guard, occupying the five rivers between the Sutlege and the Indus, is a sound military and political arrangement. The advantage is evident, and British India, already overgrown, requires no addition by the appropriation of territory so long possessed by an ally whose interests have always been opposed to those of the British Government's enemies.

But if the indispensable condition of our forbearance be a Sikh Government; and if that, after a patient trial, be an impossibility, then the question resolves itself into a very narrow compass.

If the ruling power in the Punjab cannot be Sikh, it must not be Mahommedan—in fact it must be Sikh or British.

The more we exercise our power to maintain peace—if the last



alternative be war—the more honourably we shall stand justified in the judgment of our countrymen, by the proof that we have omitted no pains to prevent our ally's catastrophe.

Currie is unwell from a bilious attack. Again, pray take care of yourself.

Yours &c.

H. HARDINGE.

The Governor-General had felt for some time that the rapidity with which the scenes changed at Lahore, and the gravity of the issues involved, rendered his presence on the frontier desirable. He therefore, on June 16, drew out a minute for the consideration of his Council; in this, after reference to the pacific policy which had been followed in spite of inconvenience and risk, he pointed out the danger enhanced by his absence from the frontier, and consequent incapacity to issue orders with sufficient promptitude.

It appeared to him, 'therefore, to be expedient, as a means of averting risk, and of carrying our policy more securely into effect, that the Governor-General should, in the month of October next, proceed to the Upper Provinces,'¹ a proposal in which the Council concurred.

In a letter home, dated June 23, Broadfoot thus described the fall from his horse already mentioned.

In case the newspapers should copy from the Indian papers any accounts of an accident which lately befell me, I may mention that a horse lately fell with and on me. It was a bad fall, but I am recovering, or indeed recovered, from the worst effects of it.

Otherwise I get on well. The work is very hard, and the responsibility great; but I have the satisfaction of finding Sir H. Hardinge's government as kind as Lord Ellenborough's. Now, as I write I have received a letter from Sir Henry, so kind that but for its being marked private, I would have sent it to you, knowing the pleasure it would give you. He tells me the authorities in England are also pleased.

Broadfoot had apparently recommended some of his Assistants for promotion and increase of pay; it was as much part of his nature to recognise and express his obligation for able assistance and good work, as to condemn unsparingly idleness or incapacity. Conduct which he considered to be in any way mean or contemptible, he could scarcely forgive.

¹ *Papers &c.* printed February 26, 1846, p. 1.



Mr. Currie wrote on the subject as follows :

June 28, 1845.

Sir H. Hardinge has every disposition to increase Mill's salary, and I think it will be done ; but we must try and keep all according to rule. I have written to-day to Thomason about Abbott, and when I get his answer I will write to you again.

Cust will have to wait a little while, I suspect ; I have sent to the Bengal Government for a note of the salaries of his contemporaries. Sir H. Hardinge is personally very well disposed to do anything for Cust, but the Council did not seem favourable yesterday to an immediate increase to his allowances. He will, in the end—I mean in the course of a very few years, which I sincerely hope will not be the end of his career—give all his contemporaries the go-by.²

On the same date Broadfoot wrote to Mr. Hardinge, the Governor-General's private secretary, to say that he would reply to the very kind letter of the 14th as soon as he possibly could ; and asked him to explain, in case of delay, that it was caused by the necessity for investigating and remedying disorders of some standing, which were now becoming serious 'at Anundpore Makhawal, on the Upper Sutlege, a sort of Holy City, where our relations with Lahore are ill settled and very unsatisfactory. They are fighting among themselves, and every Sikh from the Jumna to the Jhelum is becoming excited about it, so it must be stopped at once.'

I have nearly recovered from the outward effects of the fall Lhad ; the inward effects are also gone, except the worst, that of the head ;

² Mr. Robert Needham Cust, late B.C.S., LL.D. &c., son of the Hon. and Rev. H. C. Cust, Canon of Windsor, was educated at Eton and Haileybury. He went out to India in 1843 and returned in 1867, during which period he held, to the public advantage, many most important appointments. He first greatly distinguished himself as a linguist in Calcutta ; was appointed Assistant Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier, 1844 ; Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 1846 ; Deputy Commissioner, Hoshiarpur, 1846 ; Ambála, 1849 ; Joint

Magistrate of Benares, 1852 ; Commissioner of Lahore, 1858 ; Financial Commissioner, Punjab, 1861 ; Judicial Commissioner, 1862 ; Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, 1864 ; Acting Secretary to Government of India in the Home Department, 1865 ; and in the same year was appointed Member of the Board of Revenue, North-West Provinces. For his services during the first Sikh war he was twice mentioned by the Governor-General ; see despatch to the Secret Committee, dated December 31, 1845, and General Order, dated February 14, 1846. *Papers &c.* pp. 28 and 74.



but that is daily diminishing; and will, I hope, soon disappear. I am not, however, quite out of the wood yet.

Cholera, I grieve to say, has reached Loodeeana. It is very bad in our Malwa.³ All we can do is done, and the Agra Government is helping manfully. I hope the rains will stop it, for it has come in and been most violent with the heat, which has been unusually great.

That day Broadfoot wrote the following letter to the Governor-General :

Simla : June 29, 1845.

My dear Sir,—The rains of the last week and mistakes of the dawk have delayed the arrival of your letter of the 14th.

For its great kindness I am wholly unable to express my gratitude, and I shall not therefore make the attempt, trusting you will not on that account think that I feel it the less deeply. It will be an additional incentive to exertion on my part, and I only wish I could hope to make my future services more worthy than they have hitherto been, of the indulgence and encouragement with which you have received them. 1

I have recovered from the worst effects of the fall more rapidly and perfectly than the doctors predicted; and am in hopes that every trace of them will have disappeared by the cold season, especially if the state of affairs should allow me to remain in the hills a month or two after the rains.

If I may be excused the presumption of saying so, I entirely concur in your view of our relations with Lahore. A strong Sikh Government such as that of Runjeet Singh, truly independent, yet bound to us by community of interest and mutual confidence, is the best of all frontiers for us, towards the great ocean of Mahomedanism between India and Europe; but it must be Sikh and it must be strong, or we must be in the Punjab ourselves. I can see no safe middle course. Yet in former days I have heard two such middle courses indicated by men for whose opinions I have great respect—a Dogra Government, or a subsidiary Government controlled by the Governor-General's Agent as Envoy or Resident at Lahore. But no Dogra Government could stand unless supported by us or by the Mahomedans of the West and North. In the former case it would be virtually subsidiary, in the latter its sympathies and interests would be opposed to ours. In a subsidiary Government, again, we should have in reality ourselves to maintain the frontier now defended by the Sikhs, with the additional burden of a Government to uphold against its subjects, while we should not have the resources of the country to

³ Malwa, the country between the Sutlej and Jumna is referred to. The term included the cis-Sutlej Protected States.



work with, and above all, instead of the strength arising from our good government, placed side by side with Mahomedan anarchy, we should appear as the authors and supporters of the most degrading and unpopular of all the forms of Asiatic misrule.

I do not say that circumstances may not arise forcing such a course on us as the least evil at the moment: what has been, may be again; but still it would, I think, be an evil, and one to be by every proper means avoided.

I wish I could say I see any good prospect of a strong Sikh Government being formed. The despatches, which I hope to forward this week, will show improvement, both in the internal state of the Punjab and in their relations with us, but it would be a delusion to say that I look for any such change as would restore the prosperity and security of both sides of the frontier, and render it safe to lay aside our present state of armed observation.

In Lahore there is little change worth reporting. A detachment sent against the widow of Soochet Singh has, it is believed, expelled her from her fort and property. She went towards Jummoo on the night of the 20th inst., but this will be referred to in an early official despatch.

Allow me, my dear sir, to repeat that I feel most sensibly all your kindness, and to subscribe myself,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,

G. BROADFOOT.

The next letter from which extracts are made, refers, as is shown by the date, to the Lahore news of June.

Calcutta: July 2, 1845.

My dear Lord Ellenborough, . . . As usual, I have to report that affairs are as unsettled as ever in the Punjab. Intrigues and dissensions amongst the chiefs, and amongst the troops the same mutinous success in controlling the Government. The punchayet system, by its well-organised power, founded upon the customs of the people in their villages, will endure longer than the Government, and offers so complete an obstacle to any amelioration in the state of the Government that it is hopeless to expect improvement.

The Ranee is profligate and promiscuous as ever in her amours, which in a late instance gave rise to the scandal of her being robbed of jewels to the value of a lac,¹ which the fortunate youth succeeded in escaping with. On the occasion of the reconciliation of her brother the drunkard with her friend Lal Singh, she marked her satisfaction by sending a slave girl to each, bidding them do honour

¹ A lakh of rupees is, at par, equal to 10,000.



to her present! The Wuzzeer is frequently so drunk that he cannot attend the Durbar, and Golab Singh as a Rajpoot is so mistrusted by the Sikhs that his influence will never be equal to Heera Singh's, whose assassination it is now proved he had recommended.

We are to be pressed to relinquish the treasure at Ferozpoor; but Socchet Singh's widow will not give her consent, and no demand has yet been made.

The army under Matub⁵ Singh was bribed to move to Sealkote against Peshora Singh, who had revived his pretensions to the Guddee.⁶ After four assaults they took the town, Peshora Singh being shut up in the castle. The punchayets of the army at Lahore met on June 4 and prohibited the general or the troops from molesting Peshora Singh. He showed great personal courage, and is a favourite with the troops, who wish to preserve him to play him off against Duleep Singh. The general was obliged to obey, and to report to the punchayets that he had done so.

The next day (the 5th) the punchayets proceeded to the Durbar to remonstrate against so incapable and *profligate* a minister as Jowahir Singh. He was too drunk to appear, and after threatening the Ranee to substitute Peshora Singh for her son, they retired. These are the scenes which are of daily occurrence.

The cholera has destroyed about 5,000 of the Sikh army, and rather a larger proportion of the town of Lahore.⁷ At Ferozpoor it has subsided in the town, where few cases of death had occurred. On June 20 it attacked the 62nd Queen's, and six men had died. The thermometer was then ranging from 98° to 105° in the officers' bungalows. However, the rains had begun to set in, and we trust our cantonments will escape. The native troops had not suffered.

I have made arrangements for going up the country the latter end of September. Maddock delighted to be President, and resident in the Government House. You know both A and B and C, and are well aware, when any great emergency arises, of the value of the aid I shall receive. In health I am better than last year, and the business, though very heavy, has become more familiar.

We have horsed 6 field batteries of 9-pounders with 130 horses instead of 90; and by means of elephants on the line of march, and horses or bullocks in action, we shall be able to convert the iron 12-pounders into field guns. Twenty-four pieces of heavy ordnance will be drawn by elephants, and we shall have 600 elephants beyond Agra before October, with very little additional expense; 50 at Barrackpore were really doing nothing, and so on at various

⁵ Mahtab Singh.

⁶ *Gaddi*, a cushion, a seat, a throne.

⁷ Amongst others attacked by this

disease were Sardar Sham Singh, Atariwala, and Raja Lal Singh: both recovered.



stations. The whole of the cavalry and artillery are now complete in horses, with 700 spare horses from the Gulf taken from the Bombay and Madras remounts; we shall have 1,200 from the studs in reserve, and 1,000 from Australia; but these 2,200 horses can be of little use till the autumn of 1846. We have no difficulty in procuring supplies of grain, having always twenty days in advance at the frontier stations; and in the event of a forward movement, Lieut-Col. Parsons pledges himself that there shall be no deficiency. The roads have been repaired, and as far as preparations can go unattended with expense, we are in a very good state.

H. HARDINGE.

The plots and intrigues at Lahore continued in full force. Raja Lal Singh and Sardar Jawahir Singh arranged to assassinate Raja Gulab Singh; but the latter, suspicious of their design, discovered it by means of some of his most trusted followers, who, by his orders, pretended treachery and obtained admission to the plot. Next, Jawahir Singh found out that his sister the Rani had all but consented to his assassination in order that her lover, again in favour, might be made Wazir. The only gainer in all these transactions was Gulab Singh; he lost nothing, and the course of his counterplot, too long to be here detailed, whereby he ruined two bitter and formidable enemies by the agency of a third, was considered to raise his reputation for wisdom and good fortune, and to entitle him to the public confidence.

On their part the Sikhs were not idle regarding warlike preparations. The Agent reported that by the next cold weather their army would be, as regarded material, more efficient than it had been for years. He also stated that these preparations were 'undoubtedly made with reference to possible collision with us;' but at the same time the reports showed that the Darbar's suspicion of the British was somewhat allayed.

Soon, however, Jawahir Singh, whose animosity appeared to be inflamed by his intemperance, showed a disposition to quarrel. He encouraged the protected chiefs to oppose the Agent's efforts to preserve or restore tranquillity in disturbed districts. He accused the Vakils of treachery, and ordered the confiscation of their jagirs and their recall, without appointing successors.

The imminent danger with which this was fraught made even the Vakils' enemies and rivals join in entreating the Sardar to suspend the execution of his order; but before it could be carried into effect, another change occurred.

The troops which had recently arrived from Kashmir, Hazara, and Peshawar, combined to refuse their pay, and declined to avail themselves of leave to disperse to their homes. The Sardar, who was so drunk that the threats of the troops were disregarded, was sobered and plunged into terror by news which arrived that day.

'Peshora Singh, proceeding towards the Sutlej, and there depositing his family, went secretly across the Punjab to the Indus, and, on the night of July 14, came with seven followers to the gate of the fort of Attock.' On the wicket being opened he and his men, having killed the sentry, surprised and destroyed the gate guard, which consisted of thirty-two men under two officers; he then went straight to the upper fort, and found 'the garrison so panic-stricken that they consented to lay down their arms, and quit the fort on the instant.

'No sooner were they outside than Peshora Singh called on the people of the town and neighbourhood to join him; and early next day he was at the head of a thousand men.' He increased the number of his followers, and issued orders to the chiefs and village communities from the Jhelum to the Khairbar, in which he declared his accession to the throne of Ranjit Singh, and required their allegiance.

Sardar Jawahir Singh wrote to every neighbouring governor to move at once against Peshora Singh. He wholly changed his tone towards the British, and abstained from interference with the affairs of the Protected States. The troops expressed unbounded admiration of Peshora Singh's gallant enterprise, and said that he must, in truth, be a son of Ranjit Singh. Gulab Singh took advantage of the terror prevailing at the Darbar to obtain permission to return to Jammu.

When the report of these events was received in England, the Government anticipated much advantage from Sir Henry Hardinge's contemplated visit to the frontier, as he would then be in a position to act with promptitude should the necessity arise. They further remarked that if the Sikh Government could take a sound view of matters and discern their true



interests, they could not fail to see that the best, if not the only, chance of maintaining the unity of their dominions was 'the cessation of their own miserable feuds, and a perfect reliance upon the honour, good faith, and power of the British Government.'

The disturbance at Anandpur Makhwal has already been mentioned. An arrangement for the management of the Sodhis, the proprietors of the town, a family of priests who claim descent from Guru Rám Dás, had been made by Wade in concert with the Darbar. Mr. Clerk had adhered to this, and had, in accordance with it, settled some disputes as to inheritance. This arrangement had been set aside just before Broadfoot was made Agent, with the result that disturbances soon arose. The people were rapidly getting excited, and it became necessary to act. Broadfoot sent an Amin or Commissioner to forbid hostilities, and to desire both parties to disarm till the Darbar, in concert with us, should settle the matter. Jawahir Singh, the wazir, being drunk and quarrelsome, sent an order to his agents at Anandpur to expel the Amin, who, having unfortunately become alarmed, took refuge in Biláspur.⁸ This complicated matters; and, owing to the unfriendly temper of the Darbar, was likely to be considered a triumph. A somewhat similar case having occurred in Mr. Clerk's time, Broadfoot followed closely the course then taken; the difference being that he decided to act with greater mildness for two principal reasons, which he thus recorded:

1st. The season is unfavourable for moving troops to enforce orders. 2nd. The effect of acting as Clerk used to act, and as I used to act, would now be different. Instead of the chances being that it would end the business as in the case of the Sowars, the chances are it would lead to resistance and consequent petty hostilities, ending in war at a time when we might not be exactly ready. The causes of this change are, a persuasion which has arisen at Lahore, and here also, i.e. among natives, that Sir H. Hardinge has not the confidence of the authorities at home; or rather that he has it not to the extent enjoyed by his predecessors, and consequently that he has not their powers. As soon as I began to suspect this was their belief, I acted accordingly. . . .

⁸ Kahlūr, Biláspur; one of the hill states under the political superintendence of the Punjab Government. (Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*.)



Letters from Ventura had 'confirmed their belief that the real power is no longer in Calcutta, and that the Governor-General cannot act as to them till the instructions or Agent from England shall arrive for his guidance.'

You know natives, and how they look if possible beyond the power in immediate control with them to a higher, whom they hope to cajole; and you will not wonder that I have thus acted with double caution in this matter, and that I am far from sanguine that it may not lead at no distant time to grave results. For, though I may spin out time by reference to you, no long period can pass without our asserting our *jurisdiction*: the expulsion of an Ameen never occurred before, unless it may have done so in Richmond's time; and if the processes of our courts, such as they are, are not protected, we must resign the government.

Goolab Singh and the Vakeels, also sharing in the above belief, would gladly see Jowahir Singh ruined by a collision with us, which they think cannot involve the Punjab. Others, as Deewan Deenath, profiting only by the favour of the moment, flatter Jowahir Singh's prejudices against us, seeing that in their opinion they cannot lead to anything serious for the present. One man alone, Fakeer Azeezooddeen, and perhaps also Bhai Ram Singh, will see the danger of not yielding at once and completely, and on their weight will depend the result. A week or ten days will show it.⁹

During the earlier part of August, the reports by the Agent to the Foreign Secretary showed that the Lahore Darbar continued its career of profligacy and debauch.

In reporting to the English Government, the Governor-General remarked that the extracts 'cannot fail to impress upon you the almost hopeless expectation of any immediate or permanent improvement in the condition of a state whose rulers abandon themselves to such open and disgusting debauchery, unredeemed by any of those statesmanlike qualities which distinguished the Government of the Maharaja Runjeet Singh.'

We deem it to be essential for a just understanding of the actual condition of the Lahore Government, that these details should be reported; they tend to show the unsatisfactory nature of that Government, and that our relations with a court thus constituted and an army solely governed by punchayets, must be in a very precarious state.

⁹ Extracts from a letter from Major Broadfoot to Mr. Currie, dated Simla, August 1, 1845.



We are determined to maintain the pacific course of policy which we have hitherto pursued to the utmost extent of conciliation and forbearance.¹

The extracts referred to are printed as inclosures to this letter, and it is unnecessary to reproduce them. Briefly they report Sardar Jawahir Singh as generally drunk and quarrelsome, neglectful of business, and disposed to send the Sikh army against us, in order to divert its attention from himself. The Agent remarked it was essential that the Government should know the exact truth, but that in telling it there would be difficulty in avoiding details unfit for the decency of a despatch. The Rani's mind had become seriously affected by her profligacy; from being clever and lively, she had become stupid and imbecile. One of the Agent's letters of remonstrance arrived before the effects of a debauch were gone; its contents were such as to sober the rioters for the moment, and an answer was promised. But after a day's sobriety, in compensation for so unusual a restraint, the Sardar and his low favourites, each supplied with a bottle of brandy, set out on an excursion. They returned drunk, and in place of replying to the letter, sent for dancing girls; and Jawahir Singh, emulating the worst traditions of Rome in its decline, dressed himself as a dancing girl, and danced with the rest.

Early in August, Sir H. Hardinge referred a memorandum by Mr. Clerk, on various matters connected with our relations to the Lahore State, to the Agent for remarks. The note forwarding it, from which the following extracts are made, is dated August 14, 1845.

I am so excessively pressed by quarrels between Outram and Napier &c. &c. that I have dictated to my son my observations on a memorandum of Mr. Clerk's, which Lord Ripon sent to me. I send you the memorandum *confidentially*, and shall be glad to have your comments upon it addressed to me.

If, unhappily, we cannot bolster up a Sikh Government, we must, by the most frank, loyal, and intelligible conduct, distinctly prove that forbearance had been exhausted.

Let us be accused of erring on the side of moderation, [or even²]

¹ Extract, Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee, No. 70, dated September 6, 1845. *Papers &c.* printed February 26, 1846.

² In the original the word is illegible.



of timid reluctance to draw the sword ; but if we are forced into war, let the rupture be caused by some prominent aggressive act. An offence to our dignity offered by a weaker Power would not be ground broad enough to occupy ; and in order that our moderation may not mislead the Durbar, we must speak and write very plainly.

In his comments on Mr. Clerk's memorandum, the Governor-General mentioned that he was disposed to think it had been written without recent accurate information.

The state of affairs at Lahore was very different in 1845 from what it had been in Maharaja Sher Singh's time, when Mr. Clerk was intimately acquainted with it. Then the army was reasonably obedient, now it was wholly insubordinate, and the existing government was merely nominal. Hence the position of affairs now was more critical than in Mr. Clerk's time.

The Governor-General expressed an opinion adverse to what appeared to be Mr. Clerk's views of the relative rights and power exercised by the Indian and Sikh Governments in the cis-Sutlej estates.

It is unnecessary to reproduce Major Broadfoot's notes on Mr. Clerk's memorandum, but the following is the reply to the Governor-General's letter just quoted :

Simla : August 29, 1845.

My dear Sir,—I have, as directed, answered Mr. Clerk's memorandum, as far as I could when not seeing clearly the object and drift of the document to be answered ; but I shall not be able to copy out the paper for transmission by this post.

The principles laid down in your note for our dealings with Lahore are entirely those by which I have most anxiously endeavoured to guide my course. That in every detail I have succeeded, it would be presumptuous to hope ; nay, I must not be surprised if you, on reviewing the whole undisturbed, as I have necessarily been, by the bewildering whirl of intrigue and ever varying cabal with which I am in constant contact, should find my failures far outnumber my successes. Still I am not without hope that you will see at the bottom of all I have done, or forborne to do, the very principles you have laid down, however defective or erroneous judgment may have prevented the details from conforming to them.

The next letter from the Durbar, whatever its tenor, will enable me to report fully on all our late discussions and the present state of the Durbar. If the letter be satisfactory, the long and dangerous delay will prevent my merely reporting that there have been

differences now arranged. If unsatisfactory, I mean to inform the Durbar that, not being empowered to acknowledge anything short of the subordination on this side of the Sutlej in force throughout Runjeet Singh's reign, and, indeed, up to the present Maharaja's accession, I must submit the whole to you.

I had, with this view, roughly sketched a report on our relations, of which I had lately resolved to suppress the greater part as superfluous. I shall now, however, complete and enlarge it, on the very ill-understood points on which Mr. Clerk's unprecise language may raise doubts, which I cannot conceive he shares, though I admit his paper has much surprised me; for though Mr. Currie once pointed out to me some strange language in one of Mr. Clerk's letters to Mr. Thomas Metcalfe, yet I ascribed it to the heat of controversy between men whose personal interests and feelings had jostled, and not to the possibility of Mr. Clerk holding an opinion I cannot but look on as preposterous in anyone conversant with the facts of our connection with Lahore.

From Mr. Hardinge's letter I gather that a despatch may be expected from England on the subject of our *cis-Sutlej* relations with Lahore. I do not think you will find it difficult to clear up any obscurity attending them; but I shall in the mean time look more and more to the subject, lest I should be called on by you for an opinion.

In all the existing discussions there is not one, I think, which can be called a case of offence to our dignity. The Durbar would not answer your letter, though merely complimentary, for a long time; nor at all till foolishly solicited, nay entreated to do so, by our native agent. This indiscretion of his put into such jeopardy the quiet settlement of other matters, by confirming their belief in your being restricted in power, that to remedy the error became indispensable. At the same time I wished to avoid this matter being made a subject of contest. I reprimanded our agent, therefore, for his folly, and gave a copy of the reprimand to the Lahore Vakeel.

At the same time I told him that an answer so given might be fairly declined, but that, as its terms were friendly, I would keep it back for a time, to see if the Durbar would explain the improper conduct of its servants, so that I might not have to report in forwarding it that the acts of the Durbar contradicted their language. This gave one more argument to the moderate party. The Durbar has finally made partial reparation in one case, but without abandoning the implication of non-subjection. . . .

I took advantage of some inaccuracies, real or apparent, and an unusual mode of transmission, to submit their letter a second time



for their consideration, warning them that I could only act on the rules in force in Runjeet Singh's time ; and I told the Vakeel that reference to you now alone remained. Their answer will arrive by the first or second proximo if it comes at all, and then I shall send down the whole correspondence.

The acts of which I have complained are only parts of a system, and I have dwelt only on one or two glaring cases, where the Maharaja's orders have either been openly alleged, or are well known to exist, and where the actors have been men of some mark, though not of the highest rank.

The points in dispute are two : 1st, the right to cross the Sutlej without permission—i.e. the question settled when the Sowars crossed, and never doubted before that ; and 2nd, exemption is claimed, or rather assumed, from the jurisdiction of my court, and consequently from that of the Government of India, for the Maharaja's cis-Sutlej subjects and estates ; an exemption which has never existed up to this date, and which was never claimed till Pundit Julla, with partial success, did so in Col. Richmond's time.

These are points of nearly the highest weight, but they are of less consequence than others which must either in writing, or when you come up, be laid before you. Their frequent avowal in Durbar, and their causing such avowal to be made known indirectly to me, is a menace of their ability and desire to seduce from their allegiance the other Sikh chiefs and our native army. The very naming of such things with impunity for any length of time is unsafe, seeing the position now held in the State by their army.

On these points, however, I have thought it most prudent to say nothing to them ; to appear to treat them with contempt ; and the reference to you will be solely as to the other points, of which a satisfactory adjustment would go far for the present, and only for the present, to settle the minds both of the chiefs and of our soldiery.

The forbearance shown has been carried to the verge of danger. It so deceived some of the petty chiefs, that I have had to take strong measures with them. I need not tell you they are as a class dissipated, reckless, and ignorant beyond any other similar class in India.

At the same time I have warned the Durbar and the chiefs not to be misled by this forbearance, which proceeds only from your remembrance of the long friendship of Runjeet Singh, and your compassion for the tender years of the Maharaja, but cannot go on for ever.

I have spoken fully, freely, and so plainly that they are angry at it. I never laid aside the customary style to the Maharaja even



when speaking most plainly; but I left them no excuse of misinformation from evil counsels, for I referred them to Runjeet Singh's time, and even sent them copies of his letters, causing the Vakeel to read the originals, and I earnestly recommended abstinence from the danger of departing from the ancient rules, to which the late events tended.

This course is unusual, and apt to make us seem too anxious for a settlement by peaceable means; but I adopted it on mature reflection, from the very motives you have laid down for my guidance.

With respect to Peshawur, the intrigue which makes most progress, though slow, is not to give it to Dost Mahomed, but to his brother, Sooltan Mahomed Khan, now at Lahore, as a nominal vassal of that state. It is a difference in name only; that is, it is open to every objection to which possession by Dost Mahomed is open; but in that, as in other cases, a vigorous effort will be made to accomplish it *before* we invade, or at least *before* we conquer, in order that it may be for us the *status quo*. This will give you a key to much going on in the Punjab. I agree with you that for us to suffer a Barukzye power at Peshawur, with us at Lahore, would be most impolitic.

It is post hour, and I must defer writing on some other parts of Mr. Hardinge's letter till to-morrow.

Believe me &c.

G. BROADFOOT.

The next extracts are from Sir H. Hardinge's letter to Lord Ellenborough; in them news already given is repeated, but special interest must be attached to any epitome of news from the pen of the Governor-General.

(Extracts.)

Barrackpore: August 18, 1845.

My dear Lord Ellenborough,—Many thanks for the sword and pistol; they are both very effective weapons.

Mr. Clerk has either talked or written about his coming out to superintend the Punjab affairs. I did not answer your messages, saying 'he was ready to come out whenever I expressed a wish,' because I did not think it necessary that he should supersede Broadfoot, and place himself as a provisional member of Council in the position of superseding the Governor-General himself on this the great question of the day.

Peshora Singh has taken Attock, and has offered Peshawur to



the Afghans in consideration of their support. I consider Peshawur of vital importance in a military and political point of view. It is 170 miles from Cabul, and would give the Afghans a dépôt for aggressive operations against the Punjab, and the possession of both banks of the Indus by Afghans and Mahommedans would greatly increase the difficulties of the defence of Sind, the Afghans stretching their reconquest of territory from Peshawur to Mooltan, and thence to Sukkur &c.

In a political point of view the reoccupation of Peshawur and the banks of the Indus by Afghans would be a disgrace in the eye of the natives of the East, who recollect that Capt. Burnes left Cabul because Lord Auckland would not take a line respecting Peshawur adverse to the interests of Runjeet Singh, and that the Afghan war was the consequence.

I am convinced the truest policy for India is to have a strong Sikh Government in the Punjab. If this cannot be effected, we cannot tolerate Afghan or Mahommedan reoccupation. The Punjab must be Sikh or British. I go up on September 20. Every effort will be made to bolster up a Sikh Government, and not to draw the sword. . . .

Ever &c.

H. HARDINGE.

In the course of a careful examination of correspondence regarding our relations with the Lahore Darbar, only two instances have been found in which the Government of India did not altogether approve of the course followed by the Agent; and as numerous occasions on which unqualified approval was expressed have been recorded, it is proper that mention of these should not be omitted; otherwise, they are not of sufficient importance to deserve record.

One of these is just hinted at in Sir Henry Hardinge's letter of August 14, when he remarked that an offence to our dignity would not constitute a sufficient *casus belli*.

It appears that the Darbar in recent correspondence had departed from certain forms usual on such occasions; and though this in itself may appear to Englishmen a very trivial matter, yet it is not so where Orientals are concerned. It is a case of what is known as 'trying it on.' Completely comprehending this, and considering that to resent it at once was likely to be the surest method of preventing its recurrence, and of thereby removing a source of irritation, the Agent declined to receive the letters till the usual mode of address was



adopted, and expressed his sense of the impropriety in plain terms.

The Government of India considered that he had animadverted rather more strongly than the occasion appeared to demand on some points which, however objectionable under ordinary circumstances, had better, in the present state of parties at Lahore, not have been treated as a matter of such serious importance. The Agent was accordingly warned not to be too sensitive in his communication with the Darbar and its officers.

The other instance referred to was, that when reporting the usual Lahore news, Broadfoot referred incidentally in his letter to being occupied with much graver matters, about which he had not, at the time, collected sufficient information to warrant his writing an official report. Now, as nearly all matters affecting our relations with the Darbar were then sufficiently serious, or rather involved very serious issues, the Governor-General naturally did not like to be told that the Agent was concerned with some especially grave cases, and at the same time to be kept in ignorance of their nature. The impropriety of this was pointed out; but before the letter from the Government of India was received, the desired report had been forwarded by the Agent, so that the correspondence was closed by his expression of regret that he had omitted, in the first instance, to indicate the nature of the cases to which he had referred. He added, however :

Of one thing I feel considerable confidence, and it is this: that it will be found that the forbearance lately and still exercised with the Maharaja's Government is out of all comparison beyond what any example can be found, or indeed what would have been thought possible from the beginning of our cis-Sutlej relations with Runjeet Singh in 1808 down to the death of Sher Singh in 1843, that it has been carried to the verge of danger, and that this has been exercised declaredly from the motives now laid down in your letter for my guidance.

When the report became current in the Punjab and the Protected States, that the English Government had forbidden the Government of India to declare war against the Sikhs without permission, the demeanour of the Darbar immediately changed.



The question of Raja Suchet Singh's treasure, which had been revived by the Vakils, when threatened by the most violent party in the Darbar, was brought forward by Sardar Jawahir Singh. There is reason to believe that he wished to lay before the Agent the original unfortunate order regarding it, to denounce the whole subsequent conduct of the Government of India as a breach of faith, and to threaten war if the terms in that document were not fulfilled.

The Vakil³ urged the Sardar to obtain renunciation of their claims on the treasure from Raja Suchet Singh's widow, and from Raja Gulab Singh. The latter, being in Lahore, was applied to, but answered that the British Government was no respecter of persons, and would place no value on his renunciation of a claim, as the widow was heiress.

She, being absent, sent evasive answers or refusals. This, however, presented no insuperable obstacle; a forged renunciation of her claims was prepared, and Gulab Singh was desired to sign it in token of its authenticity. He delayed, and asked permission to go to Jammu. His signature was made a condition. He wept, signed, and departed. He had, however, provided for this contingency, and did not sign the false deed until he had heard of the delivery of a letter from the widow to the Agent, requesting him on no account to part with the treasure. This he knew would neutralise the effect of the forgery. The messenger delayed giving the letter to the Agent until Gulab Singh was safe in Jammu.

A report reached Broadfoot that the health of the Governor-General was not in a satisfactory state; for, in writing to Mr. C. S. Hardinge, after mentioning that Prince Waldemar⁴ was fortunately prevented from going into Tibet by the people on the frontier, who refused supplies, he expressed great anxiety as to Sir Henry's health. The bad effect his absence would have on the Punjab was noticed, as was also a rumour about Mr. Clerk, to the effect that he was about to take charge of our relations with Lahore.

The report was considered to be unfounded, but it had done, and was doing, much mischief.

³ On this occasion it was Ram Diāl, Vakil at Firozpur, not Kishen Chand, who advised the Sardar.

⁴ Prince Waldemar of Prussia

travelled as Count Ravensburg, and was accompanied by Counts Grueben and Oriolla, and Dr. Hoffmeister, who was killed at Firozshah.



The following extracts from a letter from Mr. Edwards, Under Secretary in the Foreign Department, refer to these matters :

Calcutta : August 25, 1845.

My dear Broadfoot,—I have just received your two letters of the 14th ; and as Currie is out of town and will not be back until late in the evening, I at once reply to your inquiry respecting the Governor-General's health, although I trust your anxiety on this head will have been dissipated long ere this can reach you by Currie's letters, which, as they contain no mention of the fact, would of course incline you to disbelieve it.

I am happy to say that Sir Henry is in perfect health, and as strong as when he first arrived. Some time since, before I returned from the Straits, he was, I believe, a little out of sorts, but he is now quite well again. I can easily imagine the mischief caused by any reports of the Governor-General's failing health ; but more especially by that of Clerk's deputation by H.M.'s Government to superintend Punjab affairs ; the latter tending, as it so obviously does, not only to weaken your hands, but to lessen the influence of the Government.

On the same date as that of this letter, Broadfoot reported the arrival of a messenger on behalf of Raja Gulab Singh, to request the protection of the Government of India. The Raja asserted that, having recently quitted the Darbar, he was convinced that war would be forced on the English, and could not be delayed beyond the approaching cold season. The messenger, in corroboration of his master's opinion, said, 'I know it for certain, there will surely be war ; I myself have seen it.'⁵

The Raja's proposals were to raise the inhabitants of the hills against the Sikhs, and to transfer his allegiance to the British ; or to raise 40,000 or 50,000 men and destroy the Sikh army, and leave Lahore open to the British, who could then occupy it without firing a shot.

In return he stipulated for protection in the enjoyment of his possessions during his life ; whilst Jammu and the neighbouring territories, with an income of 120,000*l.* a year, were to be guaranteed to himself and his heirs for ever. And as a proof of sincerity he offered hostages.

Broadfoot replied that the messenger should have known

⁵ The words used were : 'Yakin jānda jarūr jang hundā ; asī khud dekhiyā.'



that as friends or as enemies the English were sincere ; that when forced into war, though they spared those who yielded and rewarded those who served them, yet they made war openly and fairly, trusting to God,⁶ and putting down their enemies by their own strength ; but he ought equally to have known that the English sought peace and justice, and never war till driven to it. Still less would they stoop to intrigue ; and to the Raja's overtures no reply could be given.

One of the results of the hostile feeling of the Darbar to the English was manifested in the Protected States ; difficulties hitherto unknown were raised as to forage from waste lands, and about giving other supplies for our troops. This was no doubt aggravated by a dry season, and by the increased numbers of our force. The difficulty was overcome by the Vakils, who exerted themselves in a manner which elicited the Agent's praise.

With reference to the boats and bridge fittings which were being brought up the river, Broadfoot recommended that no concealment or mystery should be made about them. They formed part of our military equipment, and our soldiers should be exercised in their use, just as they were exercised in drill and in the use of their arms.

⁶ 'Tawakkul ba Khuda.'



CHAPTER XIV.

1845.

Death of Major Leech, C.B.—Letter to Mr. C. S. Hardinge: evils from increased communication with Europe—The cis-Sutlej States—Letter from Sir H. Hardinge: general policy indicated—Sikh complaints against the Government of India—Strange scene in Darbar—Death of Peshora Singh—Rumours current in Punjab: Mohan Lal—Letter from Sir H. Hardinge: reference to rumours—Increased hostility of Jawahir Singh—The Khalsa demand his surrender—His death—Suttee of his wives—Sikh attempts to corrupt our sepoys—Desertion from native regiments—Notes from Capt. Nicolson's diary—Hopeless state of the Punjab Government—Sir H. Hardinge to Lord Ellenborough: Punjab news—Boats for bridge.

ON September 3, Major Robert Leech, C.B., Assistant Agent at Ambala, died there, and Mr. R. N. Cust was sent down from Simla to take temporary charge of the district.

Broadfoot reported to the Government of India, that the loss of Major Leech was at that moment the heaviest the Agency could sustain. He added:

I lament his death as a public and private loss. . . . Major Leech's knowledge of their¹ languages sacred and colloquial, his fondness for the study of their literature, his tolerance of native customs and prejudices, his easy temper and kindness of manners, balanced by sufficient firmness, a very dispassionate judgment, good sense and diligence in business, qualified him in no ordinary degree for such a post at such a time, and makes his loss on public grounds severe.

The following letter to the Private Secretary refers to Prince Waldemar of Prussia, who with his suite dined with the Agent about this time:²

Simla: September 5, 1845.

My dear Hardinge,—Poor Major Leech's death has given me so much to do to-day, that I have only time to say that Prince Walde-

¹ Refers to the dialects spoken by the inhabitants of the country near the hills.

² Mr. Cust's memorandum.



mar has come in, and that Count Oriolla has been here to ask, on the part of the Prince, whether he should remain here or go on, his object being to see a Punjab war &c. My answer was, that I would be frank with him; if the British Government could avoid it, there would be no war; it was even at this moment doing everything to preserve peace; its success depended wholly on the Sikh Government, for whom he would be a bold man who ventured to answer one way or other; that, therefore, I could tell him nothing, but if he thought it worth while to wait till the Governor-General came, he might learn more from him.

He evidently thought I was very diplomatic, which is generally thought by clever continental people when they are frankly dealt with.

Leech's place will be difficult to fill at present; but I can write no more to-day.

Yours &c.

G. BROADFOOT.

The Prince is at the Hotel. He refuses all offers to do anything for him.

The Governor-General, when reporting the proposals made on behalf of Raja Gulab Singh, recorded his entire approval of the prudent answer given by Major Broadfoot, in which he stated that to encourage a subject of an allied prince to intrigue against his sovereign was a procedure repugnant to the feelings and customs of the British Government.

The inexpediency of interference by force of arms in order either to hold the Punjab by a subsidiary British force, or to establish a protectorate on the Sikh side of the Sutlej, was pointed out.

It was stated that in round numbers the population of the Punjab amounted to 3,000,000, of which there were 1,500,000 Hindus, 1,000,000 Musalmans, and 500,000 Sikhs.

The Governor-General considered that, if the British power dispersed the Sikh army, the interest of the people at large should no longer be subordinated to that of a small warlike sect, whose conduct had rendered interference necessary. He also predicted the ultimate failure of an attempt to govern a country so composed, by means of a Resident supported by a subsidiary force. He was equally averse to attempting to govern the Punjab by means of the Sikh chiefs. 'We should be deprived of the resources of the country,



and the people would not have British justice, which, however repugnant to the national feelings, gradually gives to the mass of the population some compensation for the loss of national independence by the prosperity which an impartial administration confers.'

Whilst it was repeated that interference in the domestic affairs of the Sikhs was deprecated as strongly as ever, it was clearly stated that if their acts and insults should lead to open rupture, no half measure would be found to answer.

There is much interest in the following letter to Mr. C. S. Hardinge, Private Secretary to the Governor-General, and much truth in the remarks about the danger to India of minute interference by England. That danger is greatly enhanced when Indian measures are treated as party questions.

Simla : September 9, 1845.

My dear Hardinge,—Many thanks for your note of August 29, just received. I am delighted on public and private grounds to find the rumours about Sir Henry's health so totally unfounded. But even rumours are mischievous, now that we are, I think, on the eve of seeing a new phase of Indian politics, arising from the tendency of the native Powers to look rather to London than to the Government of India.

It has been somewhat hastened by the accidents of Mohun Lall being at home, his having played his cards so well, and his connections at Lahore and in our territories; but it is the natural result of the increased communication with Europe, and unless met by extreme caution and firmness at home, as well as by care to strengthen the hands of the Government in India, it may lead to results which even the ablest man, practically unversed in Indian business, could not anticipate. I believe that had Mohun Lall not been in England, had he, when there, been more cautiously received, and referred for pension to the Government of India, the present discussions with the Punjab would either not have arisen or have been settled long ago. And I believe that claims will now be made, never before made, because every doubt existing in London is picked up about the public offices, or even by unguarded conversation of public men, and sent out to the native courts and chiefs, well versed in the method of taking advantage of such things. Again, the Kythul question, but for the same cause, would long since have been quietly settled and forgotten: both cases will now be difficult to adjust satisfactorily. In due time such agency at home will take its place among the things not to be prevented, but never to be left



out of our calculations. It will probably produce some degree of permanent weakness in our Government, and consequently of our possession of the Indian Empire; but its dangers will in a few years perhaps diminish. I say *perhaps*, because if once change in England weakens our Executive Government there also, and every parliamentary or popular change affects Indian administration, as such changes now do that of the colonies, our rule in India will not be of long continuance, unless India itself should undergo in one generation the change of many centuries.

Even as it is, I dread the effects of any possible change of ministry in England. There are able and patriotic men among the Whigs. Their natural bias would be to support and strengthen the Governor-General; but they will come in supported and driven by a faction, that is by selfish and reckless men; and hopes for a season will be excited among intriguers, which, once communicated to the Indian courts, may lead to any amount of extravagance, and may produce effects not to be got rid of when the fallacy of these hopes is discovered. I have every day more and more regarded the present Governor-General's Administration as likely, when Indian history shall be rightly written, to figure as one of the most remarkable and most trying to its head, from his having new dangers and obstacles to meet, amidst difficulties the more formidable from their being ill understood.

That during the changes already begun or imminent there should be no change of hands, must be the wish of every man desirous of the public good; and situated as I am, and thinking as above indicated, you will not wonder at my feeling anxious when the Commander-in-Chief told me he had heard Sir Henry was in bad health. I have run into subjects I did not purpose on beginning to write. Let me only add, after reading over what is written, that I do not want you to answer me a word on the above subjects. I am not putting questions in the disguise of statements.

I am quite vexed at my reports not having gone in, but the way my time is devoured by the trans-Sutlej revellers is inconceivable. I have been from half-past eight till noon writing this letter; my time being occupied by the Vakeels and others interested on our border. Jowahir Singh has emissaries out to corrupt our sepoys; he has sent back to Anandpoor Makhwal the man he recalled at my instance; he has ordered troops to be in readiness to cross the Sutlej; he is trying to tamper with the chiefs. For all this I care little; it is mischievous and must be stopped, but will keep till the Governor-General comes. The chiefs and people, however, get far otherwise excited. I have to hear their stories and talk to them; to write or make preparations for contingencies from hour to hour,



to prevent some explosion difficult to handle. And so my time is not my own, not even the Governor-General's; it is Jowahir Singh's, who is probably at this moment in his cups cutting out work for me, and eventually for the Government.

The 'cis-Sutlej territory' question will naturally puzzle everybody who tries to form an opinion from our correspondence. I have touched on the subject in the remarks on Clerk's letter to Lord Ripon. In a report on my table, in its rough form, it is more particularly noticed; but I have not entered into it so fully as if specially called on, which perhaps I may be on the arrival of the despatch you mentioned. But is it not curious that these doubts having sprung up in London, from some source unknown, should be the same that the Durbar should work on, as if Clerk's letter had gone to Lahore, instead of to the Governor-General? And that some intimation of the kind did go there before I heard from you, I have no doubt. Nay, the very odd selection of Anandpoor Makhowal, and the awards of Sir E. Colebrooke, made by Clerk, is the one made also by the Durbar. And the agitation on this subject was renewed on the arrival of the mail which I believe to have brought Clerk's letters a few weeks ago to Calcutta.

An official letter of to-day will indicate the line I have taken: that of pointing out true relations, when I do so, in the way of proffered advice, but refusing to listen to a question of our existing rights. They want to throw on us what we can bear, but which belongs more properly to them, and which they cannot bear—the *onus probandi*.

If it be made a question of words, whether English or Persian, every cis-Sutlej chief can bring language of apparently the most conclusive kind to show that he is as complete a sovereign as Queen Victoria, and that consequently the servants of the said Queen and her ancestors have, for thirty-seven years, practised the most continued, barefaced, and unjustifiable oppression, not only on the Maharaja of Lahore, but on every other chief, great and small, having a kingdom (not estate) or share in a kingdom, whether measured by miles or yards, between Jumna and Sutlej; but if the words be compared with institutions and facts, and thereby interpreted, the very contrary of all this will be found, and whether in the Maharaja's cis-Sutlej or anybody else's cis-Sutlej territory, the sovereignty of the Queen, the Company, and the Government of India, will be found to be as complete and undoubted (among natives capable of thinking at all) as over the district of Hooghly; and this not by treaty or compact imposing limits on our power, but with an extent of jurisdiction exercised varying according to necessity in each case.

If called upon, I am prepared to defend these propositions, not



in the lawyer style, but as serving a Government desirous only of truth and justice, blinking none of the apparently strong arguments which can be adduced, but taking the very strongest of them (for on either side examples abound), and putting it to any dispassionate man whether the truth be with *facts* which are inexplicable on the supposition of *cis-Sutlej* independence, or with *words* which are from the imperfection of language necessarily ambiguous, but are completely compatible in most cases with either supposition, though only on one supposition compatible also with the facts.

Yours &c.

G. BROADFOOT.

The following letter from the Governor-General to Major Broadfoot confirms and repeats the instructions contained in an official letter,³ which, though fuller and more precise, is not quoted.

(Private.)

Government House : September 11, 1845.

My dear Broadfoot,—I have written an answer to your official letter respecting the tender of Raja Golab Singh's allegiance on certain conditions, and I have distinctly informed you that the Government will have nothing to say to proposals for intervention by means of a Resident and a subsidiary force.

Eight months ago I entered at some length with the Home Government on the impolicy of any such system of occupation : that for the interests of India I preferred the Sutlege as our frontier, with a strong Sikh Government as our advanced guard ; but that it was in my mind clear that the Punjab up to Peshawur must be held either by Sikhs or by British.

I adhere more firmly than before to that view of our real policy ; and in the letter which Edwards will send you, I have assumed that these proposals of influential men at Lahore, which they are ready to make, if they did not fear my powers to accept, are *limited* to the hire of a British army to disperse a mutinous Sikh army, the Sikh chiefs retaining their property, their power, and their nationality.

Then I am told I am to be forced to this line of intervention by various indirect acts short of an open rupture.

My answer will be, not only that I will not interfere on such terms, but that if by acts of violent aggression I am compelled to cross the Sutlege, I will do so without terms, giving them fair notice that they must take the consequences of throwing the first stone. You will perceive by the tenor of my public letter that I

³ No. 584, dated September 10, 1845.



assume they are prepared for a *limited* system of intervention. Are they prepared for the *unlimited* consequences of compelling me to cross the Sutlege?

In your letter to Capt. Mills, in par. 3 you state that efforts are supposed to be making to tamper with our sepoys. Bear in mind that on October 7 the Act providing articles of war for the three armies will be promulgated to the troops. The temper in which they may receive it is a responsibility which I am prepared to take; the risk is so inferior to the advantage to be obtained, that I have not hesitated to incur it. October 7 may assist the Raja of Ladwa's schemes; but you will in the interval have been able to ascertain the nature of his progress, from which I confess I apprehend no serious result.

The intention to promulgate the new code on October 7 is confidential, although the Commander-in-Chief has in all probability informed you of the fact.

Mr. Currie left us some days ago; and as I start in ten days, I am severely tasked in getting through the public business. In great haste,

Yours &c.

H. HARDINGE.

Meanwhile the Sikh Darbar was preparing an indictment against the Government of India, and the Vakil was desired to find out from the Agent how it would be received. He said that he had heard privately that the Darbar had caused an order to be written to him, but had not as yet sent it. The contents were as follow: That the Darbar had at great cost twice invaded Afghanistan for the benefit of the British. That English armies had traversed the Punjab to the detriment of its people and Government, an injury which had been patiently borne by the Darbar. That we had been permitted to occupy Firozpur, which by right belonged to the Darbar, on condition of keeping no more troops there than were necessary for the management of the district, but that, in spite of this, a great army was collected. Nor was this the only innovation since Col. Richmond's time: the passage of the Darbar's troops across the river had been forcibly prevented, and Lal Singh, Adalati, had been prohibited from crossing though sent on duty by the Darbar. The Vakil continued that he had heard he was to be ordered to demand prompt satisfaction on all these counts, and to be threatened with recall in case he did not succeed in obtaining it. He was further to point out that



these offences had all occurred since Major Broadfoot had been Agent; if that officer would at once withdraw from Firozpur all troops not required for police duty, would allow free passage to the Darbar's troops, and to Lal Singh, Adalati, it would be well; if not, the Darbar would decline to deal with anyone save the Governor-General in person.

It is said that the composition of the document which embodied these demands and threats caused a curious scene at the Darbar. The tone and words used were unusual and insolent, but the paper was heard by the generals with great applause. Bhai Ram Singh and Fakir Azizuddin, who represented what remained of the moderate party, would have nothing to do with it; whereupon Sardar Jawahir Singh said publicly that he would not be surprised if the troops and faithful Sikhs were to burn down their houses. They were summoned to the Darbar to consult on the document. The Bhai refused to attend, and left Lahore next day to avoid the consequences.

The Fakir, more at the mercy of the Darbar, attended; and, after a scene almost comical, gave an ambiguous approval understood by the intelligent, but taken literally by Jawahir Singh and his companions. He declared the style and composition to be admirable, and calculated to fill the English with terror; that in his day such a letter would not have answered, for Ranjit Singh had to deal with Sir D. Ochterlony and other headstrong men; but that he had no doubt the change was as great on the south as on the north side of the Sutlej, and if so the parwana⁴ would produce the desired effect. He flattered them with so great ability that he obtained 500 rs. as a present, the promise of a jagir, and, what he valued more, the promise of never being sent for again on such a matter. On taking leave he said, so strong was habit at his years, that, greatly as he admired the parwana and the spirit which dictated it, he could not help advising, as most favourable to tranquillity, adherence to the old treaty and to established rules.

The Vakil asked Broadfoot whether he would receive such a parwana if it were sent; and was told that if sent officially it would undoubtedly be received and forwarded to the Government of India; that it would speak for itself, and save much trouble.

⁴ The document in question. *Parwāna* means a letter or order from a superior to an inferior.