



Broadfoot's letters show him to be a man of sense, and I trust he will put all to rights.'

Referring to one of these letters, Lord Ellenborough wrote to Broadfoot :

Allahabad : June 8, 1843.

My dear Major Broadfoot,—I received here to-day your letter of the 10th ult. I have had it copied for transmission to Lord Fitzgerald. You may depend upon my full support in putting down bad government in the provinces under your charge. I shall soon be at Calcutta myself, and at hand to give you the aid to which you are entitled.

I have excellent accounts from Scinde, where I hope all will remain quiet. At Gwalior there has been a palace intrigue, ending in the deposition of the Regent, who was set up with our acquiescence and approval.

This may give trouble. I have made Mr. Clerk Lieutenant-Governor, and Col. Richmond his successor as Governor-General's Agent, on the North-West Frontier.

Believe me &c.

ELLENBOROUGH.

On the same day Lord Ellenborough wrote to the President of the Board of Control :

Major Broadfoot must tell his own tale, so I send you his private letter to me. Mr. Bird informs me that he thinks all will now go on well in Tenasserim ; i.e. we shall have no war. Mr. Blundell's appointment to Singapore will be cancelled. Depend upon it, the picture Major B. gives of the province of Tenasserim is not unlike that which might be given of all India. Everywhere the public is altogether disregarded. The interests of individuals only are considered. Major Broadfoot will hit rather roughly, but very honestly, and he is an able man as well as an honest one ; yet I think I can anticipate that the displacing of Mr. Blundell and the nomination of Major Broadfoot will be very unpopular with the Court.

A few days later he wrote to Mr. Bird :

Major Broadfoot seems to have been acting with most useful energy and prudence. The charge he will prove against Mr. — . . . can only be followed by that gentleman's dismissal. It is evident that if we wish to have an honest government in Tenasserim, or any government at all, we must fully support Major Broadfoot.

Mr. Bird, who, as Deputy-Governor of Bengal, was Broadfoot's immediate superior officer, in writing to Lord Ellen-



borough, forwarded a copy of a notification by Broadfoot forbidding British subjects to pay tax or duty to anyone for the privilege of rafting timber on the Salwin river, and promising them the protection of the Government from the consequences of refusal. He intimated that he had cautioned Major B. to avoid any step calculated to bring on hostilities. At the same time he forwarded a memorandum on the native press. He said the first native newspaper was the 'Samachar Darpan,' published at the Serampore Press twenty-five years ago (i.e. in 1818), contemporary with the movement in the cause of public instruction which was made under Lord Hastings. He further remarked that at no period during the last twenty-five years had native papers acquired 2,000 subscribers in town and country; and that a newspaper was not reckoned among the wants of the people.

Although there are now (1888) many native newspapers, which have in the larger towns a considerable circulation, yet, as regards the largest and best part of the native population of India, the owners and cultivators of the land, it is still fairly true that a newspaper is not reckoned amongst their wants. And this is not a matter of regret: it is better that the people should be healthily employed on work which they understand, and from which they can acquire an honest competence and profit, than that they should spend their time in the study of newspapers, and in the acquisition from them of imagined grievances, of discontent, and of disloyalty, to the neglect of their more profitable duties.

We now resume Major Broadfoot's correspondence.

Capt. Durand wrote to him on August 30, on the subject of the recent Afghan campaign. After alluding to the fact that Havelock had decided not to publish, he said:

Backhouse has been, in some way or other, talking of his journal of events at Jellalabad, or others have for him. It is spoken of as containing matter curious and surprising. I have seen nothing as yet, however, in the shape of disclosures of what went forward during the blockade. . . . I should not be much surprised at Backhouse startling the community by speaking out and telling the truth.

Havelock too wrote at this time, in better spirits than before, having just got his regimental majority.



Simla : August 30, 1843.

My dear Broadfoot,—Though only purporting to be an excuse for not writing, your letter, without date, but yesterday received, gave me infinite pleasure.

It has found me with prospects substantially improved, by the blessing of Providence, in the attainment, in the 'Gazette' of June 30 brought by last mail, at length, of a regimental majority. This perhaps was not a great boon after twenty-eight years' service, twenty of them in India, but it was conceded with the air of one, it being urged that the retirements were nearly all filled up, and the applicants for them men of very low standing. Pattison being allowed to go out in my favour, was therefore made an act of grace to me, with the innuendo, I expect, that it closed the door to all further claim for the last Afghan campaign.

To travel at once from the Horse Guards to the Tenasserim coast, I sincerely rejoice in the decided part you have taken as a negotiator and reformer, and the fruits and promises of such energy. It is one of our first duties in India, within and beyond the Ganges, to render ourselves respectable in the eyes of the Asiatic powers; and to compel them to respect the treaties they have made with us. Even up to the point of a Resident at Ava, I would say, let it either be insisted upon, or surrendered only for a *quid pro quo*. I cannot bear to hear of a subsisting treaty with one article disregarded. But as regards the other clause of my proposition, what were the Burmans and Talaings to think of us, whilst our newly acquired conquest was a den of intriguers and speculators, in league with corresponding nests of iniquity in Martaban and Rangoon? Therefore I trust you will persevere in an unsparing clear out, 'counting it all joy' when you are abused to the echo by the 'Moulmein Chronicle,' and those whom it can influence to join in the cry in Calcutta.

I have been enjoying here amongst the cedar trees such *aram*<sup>6</sup> for three months as has scarcely fallen to my lot for twenty years. . . .

Sir R. Sale goes down the Ganges to England; which he ought to have done (putting Indus for Ganges) last year; and the 13th, Lord Ellenborough writes him, march in November to Sukhur, and embark at Curatchee for England in March 1844, or 1845, as circumstances may dictate. I think the latter, for much has been left undone in Scinde. The 'Friend of India' has adverted more than once to our council in Jellalabad, led to do so by the 'Hurkaru,' and followed by the 'Delhi Gazette.'

<sup>6</sup> *Ārām*, rest or repose.



Mrs. Havelock, though unseen, sends her regards. Marshman will gladly accept your remembrances; and I remain, ever &c.

H. HAVELOCK.

P.S.—Toonee, the little orderly, and one Gurboo, a Goorkha non-commissioned officer, often visit me here, coming in the rain from their cantonment at Jitogue. The latter thinks he has still some letter of recommendation to get from you regarding past services, which would be useful to him, and keeps looking towards Moulmein. I fear the poor fellows transferred from the Sappers cannot get promotion in the Nusseeree battalion, having come into the midst of older claims in a new corps.

The next two letters are from Mr. and Mrs. Cameron. Mr. Cameron was, it will be recollected, legal member of council, and from him Broadfoot got advice on matters connected with the study of law; a subject on which he was, necessarily, somewhat ignorant.

Calcutta: September 7, 1843.

My dear Broadfoot, . . . You will see in the newspapers that the Jellalabad parliaments are on the *tapis*, and that somebody with a fictitious signature has given an account of their proceedings not very much like yours. Have you any notion who this is?

We go on here in an unsettled sort of way; the time-servers (a large class) puzzled and not knowing how to shape their course. Certainly it is worth while to be honest and sincere, were it only for the sake of tranquillity. The Governor-General is civil to me, and continues to show those good qualities which we both agreed in thinking he possesses; nevertheless, I wish he may not remain here, for he is not steady enough for enterprises which take a long while in the concoction and in the execution.

I had a long letter from Colin [Mackenzie] by the last mail. He complains much of his health; but appears well satisfied with the consideration shown him at home.

Gen. Smith<sup>7</sup> called here yesterday, and we talked of you. He seems to know your value.

Always &c.

C. H. CAMERON.

September 11, 1843.

My dear Major Broadfoot,—Unfortunately the 'Siren' stole away without giving any notice of the day of her departure, so that

<sup>7</sup> Sir Harry Smith.



the Governor-General's despatches were even, I am told, left behind; but I hope these letters if despatched per 'Patriot' will reach you with equal speed and safety.

In the hurried lines you sent me (in answer to mine per 'Kitty') you did not tell me whether the little sea trip you had taken had been beneficial to your health. I earnestly hope that it has been so, and that nothing now interrupts the success and interest of your new position. You seem to be an intellectual Hercules, and to undertake, and successfully to undertake, the load and labour of the whole government; and to accomplish in six days the work of six years. Lord Ellenborough, a very short time ago, spoke of you to me in the highest possible terms; and I assure you I listened and answered with enthusiasm.

He spoke to me of the devotion of your corps to you; and said that you might any day have made yourself a king, so devoted was every soul around you to your order, and so willing to raise every arm at your command. I remarked (what I have often heard my husband remark of you) how rare it was to see a man who could distinguish himself equally in council and in action, in the cabinet and in the field; but, modest as you are, I will not tell you more of what was said, for fear of your accusing me of quizzing you. All I have to enforce upon you is the entreaty of your friends not to sacrifice yourself entirely to your zeal to promote the public good; for I (although a woman) am a lover of public good, and still maintain that useful good men, being rare, ought to bear in mind how precious they are, and to remember that the untiring, unceasing exertions of a few years, by wearing out their energies and resources of mind and body, are not in the end so desirable as the less active but more steady and lengthened efforts of a long life, throughout which the same philanthropic, devoted, upright spirit is felt, though subdued and tempered by the conviction that when there is no rest given to mind or body, both must suffer an early decay.

It is amusing to see how things are going on now. The Council has a very meagre aspect (not *meagre* in the literal acceptance of the word, for the Deputy-Governor alone, always a Falstaff in appearance, is now so blown out with the dignity of his position, that he might represent a whole body of men!); but Mr. Maddock is, you know, absent in very precarious health; and poor Sir William Casement is seldom spared to attend Council.

Lord Ellenborough, if it be not treason to say so, is flighty and unmanageable in all matters of business; shrewd enough, but wholly without ballast; violently enthusiastic on all military subjects, and they alone seem to occupy his interests or his attention. A soldier,



as a soldier, is the thing he worships; and the whole substance of every public speech he has made since he returned to Calcutta, has been thus versified by my husband, and a literal versification it is.

Long as I fill imperial Akbar's throne,  
Long as the Eastern world my sway shall own,  
Him, Him alone, in power will I place,  
Him, Him alone, with trust and honour grace,  
Unmoved who listens to the whizzing ball,  
And sees serene his slaughtered comrades fall.

His words literally were: 'Who behaves well under fire.' Now it is for this opinion that I quarrel with him.

Courage, however admirable in the field, however worthy of our respect, admiration, and gratitude, cannot alone entitle a man to promotion and distinction in offices of trust and honour, if he has not, besides courage, the mental and moral qualities required to do justice to that office. Again, his favourite public declaration is that we owe India to, and can preserve India through, the *army*, and the army alone. He does not think that there is more credit due to a body who can maintain an honourable peace, than to a body who can always wage war, though it be a successful war. But so exaggerated is his folly, for I must call it folly on this subject, that I can best describe its extent to you by telling you of the speech he made to me at the Fancy Ball, when I was remarking to him how gay the Calcutta ballrooms were made by the number of men in uniform. 'Oh, yes,' he answered, 'military men have so much the advantage; it is such a pity that the civilians have no uniform. I wish we could contrive some sort of uniform for them!' And this he literally feels. The golden bullion of the aide-de-camp's jacket he desires as much as a young coquette desires pink roses whilst a season of mourning prevents her from wearing them. . . .

And now I must wind up this long letter by saying, God bless you. You have, you know, our best wishes for your health and happiness; and must ever write to and think of me and my husband as warm friends.

Ever &c.

JULIA CAMERON.

The overwork, bad climate, and effects of his wounds in Afghanistan had seriously affected Broadfoot's health, which seemed to be never good, at any rate in Southern India or on the Tenasserim coast. Rumours of war too had reached him, and he, for these various reasons, addressed Lord Ellenborough as follows:



Mergui : December 13, 1843.

My Lord,—For some days I had resolved to bring, on public grounds, the state of my health to your Lordship's notice; but the news of your having gone to join the Army of Exercise, and consequent rumours of its being employed in the field, have led me to resolve on something more, viz. of saying how grateful I should feel if in any way I could be allowed to join that army if it takes the field.

The state in which I found these provinces has *forced* me to work to a degree that would need much strength in a good climate. My health has never been restored since I was wounded at Jellalabad, for I was ordered out, before the wound healed, on detachment, and never again had a day's rest; then here there has been no rest, and now, in December, a coat is a burden; at night every window is open, and even a sheet too warm to be borne. I have had some severe illnesses of late, but recently have had slight apoplectic attacks, which make it almost certain that I must for a time, if not permanently, quit the coast. Rest, or a change to military service with the climate of Northern India, would speedily restore me, and I could then either return here or serve elsewhere as your Lordship might desire. Had my health not thus given way, I could not have ventured to make this request, greatly as your Lordship knows I desire to serve again in the field, especially during your Lordship's government; but should the turn my illness has now taken force me to leave at any rate, I should be miserable. I could not recover if the army were in the field, and I an idler elsewhere. I have endeavoured to do good here, and I hope have been able to do a little, and, above all, to carry it so far that anyone supported by your Lordship may carry it on in my absence. A letter from the Revenue Board informs me they see the evils existing, and my reports from this place will show them still more strongly, and I trust their remedies also. All will then depend on the Government. I would earnestly request, therefore, that if there is any chance of the army taking the field, I may be allowed to join it in any way I can be useful. Notwithstanding the distance, I think I could be with your Lordship before any campaign closed.

Begging your Lordship to forgive me for thus troubling you,

I remain &c.

G. BROADFOOT.

To this, and one or two subsequent letters on questions connected with his work, the private secretary and the Governor-General replied :

Camp, Gwalior : January 11, 1844.

My dear Broadfoot,—Your letter of the 18th ultimo and inclosure I lost no time on receipt in communicating to the Governor-General.



CSL

His Lordship is sorry that you can speak in no better way of the state of your own health.

Your letter only arrived this morning. You will have heard of the actions of the 29th at Maharajpore and Punniar; on the 29th both took place. That at Maharajpore was a combat of guns against infantry. The latter did their duty bravely, but our loss was severe. I inclose the 'Gazette' and despatch on these actions, in case you should not before have received them. Sanders fell in leading a party of the 40th against the guns.

Yours sincerely,  
H. M. DURAND.

Camp, Hirdoon : February 1, 1844.

My dear Broadfoot,—I only received here to-day your letter of December and of January 9. I very much regret the state of your health; but I still trust you may be able to remain and to perfect the good work you have begun.

You give a sad picture of the state to which maladministration has reduced your provinces. I always believed things were going very wrong there, but I had no idea they were so bad.

I am afraid my going to the Tenasserim coast would be misconstrued by the Burmese and lead them to expect aggression, while I could not satisfactorily do much in a very short time, and I could only be absent for a very short time under any circumstances. Under present circumstances I cannot venture to leave this part of India.

You will have heard that our campaign was of one day; I am now on my return to Calcutta, having settled all at Gwalior. I have sustained a great loss in Col. Sanders.\*

If there should be at any future time a prospect of our having more important operations to carry on, I will, if possible, have you with me.

I have made every proper representation with respect to your having promotion for your services after April 7, 1842. I can do no more than I have done.

I shall be very anxious to hear how your health is after your voyage to Tavoy.

I have written to Mr. Bird about your having a steamer. I thought you had one.

\* Col. Sanders, of the Bengal Engineers, has been more than once mentioned in these pages. He had served in Afghanistan, visited and surveyed Herat, had distinguished

himself at the taking of Istalif, and at the time of his death was Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Military Department.



I hope the arrangements I have made will enable the Madras Government to execute the original intention of relieving their 44th Regiment now with you. I have been obliged to place at the disposal of the Madras Government the regiments I had brought up, or was bringing up, to the Nerbudda. One of them mutinied at Jubbulpore, and I am stronger without mutinous troops than with them. It is very inconvenient, however, to have to place Bengal troops there just now. I want them all, or may do so.

Let me have a good account of your health, and I shall then feel satisfied that all the affairs of your Government will go on well in time. Believe me, my dear Broadfoot,

Yours very sincerely,

ELLENBOROUGH.

Broadfoot's friend John Malcolmson, to whom most of the letters from Jalalabad were addressed, died on March 23, 1844. A few words respecting his services may be permitted. He entered the Madras Medical Service in 1823, and before long distinguished himself in his profession, and became known as a man of considerable scientific attainments.

In 1833 he won a prize of 500 rs., given by the Madras Government for an essay on *beriberi*,<sup>2</sup> an obscure but distressing and virulent disease.

As a geologist he was thus described by the late Hugh Miller: 'A man of high scientific attainments and great general knowledge. Above all, I found him to possess, in a remarkable degree, that spirit of research almost amounting to a passion, which invariably marks the superior man.' Darwin pronounced that there could not be a higher authority on the geology of India.

He left the army in 1840, and joined the house of Forbes and Co. in Bombay, his brother being a partner in the London house Forbes, Forbes & Co. In 1842, he became secretary to the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; in February 1844, he went to examine the valley of the Tapti, caught jungle fever from over exposure, and after nearly a month's illness died.

The decoration of the Order of the Bath, to which Broadfoot had been admitted for his services with Sale's brigade, was thus transmitted and acknowledged:

<sup>2</sup> Compare Yule's *Glossary*, p. 66.



Government House, Calcutta: March 1, 1844.

My dear Major Broadfoot,—I send you the decoration of the Order of the Bath, which his Royal Highness Prince Albert, acting Grand Master of the Order, has transmitted to me for you.

If you and I could remain in India some years, I think I should have a similar duty to perform more than once. However, I am a civil governor, and I ought to wish the golden age may return, when there will be no more wars.

Yours &c.

ELLENBOROUGH.

Maulmain: April 10, 1844.

My Lord,—I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter of the 1st ult. conveying the decoration of the Order of the Bath, transmitted to your Lordship for me by his Royal Highness Prince Albert, acting Grand Master of the Order; and I beg that your Lordship will be so good as to convey to the Prince, and through his Royal Highness to her Majesty, my dutiful acknowledgments of the honour so graciously conferred on me.

At the same time I request your Lordship to accept my thanks for the kind and flattering terms of your letter. It adds another to the many obligations under which you have laid

Your Lordship's &c.

G. BROADFOOT.

It is necessary to advert briefly to the quarrel which existed between the Governor-General and the Court of Directors. As in most quarrels, there were faults on both sides. Lord Ellenborough's reforms, though for the most part, if not entirely, wise and honest, were rendered unpalatable to the Directors by the tone of the letters in which they were announced. He further did not exhibit a paternal solicitude for the interests of the Civil Service, and was credited with an undue bias in favour of army men. It is right that the Governor-General should select for the highest appointments the person best fitted to perform the duties, irrespective of whether he be soldier or civilian. It is also right that in doing so the strictest impartiality between the two services, in all dealings in which their interests are involved, should be maintained.

On the other hand, the Court of Directors exhibited singular ungraciousness and pettiness in the endeavour to depreciate the great merits it was impossible to deny to Lord Ellenborough's administration.



A curious anomaly existed at that time in respect to the powers of the Court in connection with the Governor-General. The ordinary rule as regards any appointment is, that the power competent to appoint is competent to dismiss.

An inferior power cannot dismiss a person appointed by a superior authority. In the case of the Governor-General, the Court could make the appointment, 'subject to the approbation of his Majesty, to be signified in writing by his royal sign-manual,'<sup>1</sup> and countersigned by the President of the Board of Control. Ordinarily, therefore, they should have been under a similar restriction in the matter of recall or dismissal.

For some unknown reason it was not so provided in the Act: his Majesty was empowered to remove any officer of the Company's service in India;<sup>2</sup> whilst in the next section, the liberty to remove, recall, and dismiss their servants, was preserved to the Court of Directors.<sup>3</sup>

The quarrel having become acute, the Court decided to avail itself of the power which was thus legally its own; and, contrary to the wish of her Majesty's Government, decided unanimously on recalling the Governor-General.

The following extracts from a large correspondence refer to this subject.

The question of recalling Lord Ellenborough had arisen on more occasions than one; but for various reasons had been abandoned or postponed. On April 6, 1844, Lord Ripon, who became President of the Board of Control in succession to Lord Fitzgerald, who died on May 11, 1843, informed Lord Ellenborough that the Court was tending towards recall; but that the Cabinet did not concur in their view, and would not share the responsibility. The Court complained of the tone of defiance which characterised certain letters, the spirit and tendency of which were such as to necessitate a change in the Government of India. It was pointed out by the Cabinet to Lord Ellenborough that on more than one occasion he had expressed himself, in respect to the Court and its authority, in terms which were unnecessary, and could only excite irritation.

Inclosed in this letter was a memorandum from the Duke

<sup>1</sup> India Bill, 3 & 4 William IV., dated August 28, 1833. Section XLII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Section LXXIV.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Section LXXV.



of Wellington. In it he remarked that though aware of complaints against Lord Ellenborough's conduct, policy, and despatches, yet he understood that the reasons against exercising the power of recall were so strong that even the most incensed members of the Court admitted the impolicy of using it.

The Duke further expressed the opinion that there was no British subject more capable, or even as capable, as Lord Ellenborough of governing India, and he considered the moment of his return from victory at Maharajpur as a most unfortunate one to select for his recall.

On May 5, 1844, Lord Ripon announced to Lord Ellenborough his recall, and that Sir Henry Hardinge had been selected as his successor. He also gave an outline of the views of the Court, and those of the Cabinet on the question. The Court complained of the tone of Lord Ellenborough's letters, and of the numerous instances in which they had found it their duty to disapprove of his proceedings. In reply, the opposite view held by the Cabinet was expressed; the difficulties of the Afghan question, and the success with which he had treated them, were mentioned; in Sind,<sup>4</sup> though the Court condemned the policy followed, her Majesty's Government did not hold the same view, and confirmed Lord Ellenborough's action; the self-devotion to his many and arduous duties, and the personal disinterestedness exhibited in the exercise of patronage, were commended; and the opinion was expressed that the recall would be 'inconsistent with justice and sound policy.' The Court replied that the main ground of the measure they had resolved to adopt, was the habitual disregard by Lord Ellenborough of the nature of the relation existing between him and them, and that his conduct was calculated to bring them into contempt. The various services performed by Lord Ellenborough were disparaged, and reference was made to the appointment of military men to civil and political employment as damaging to the interests of the Civil Service, upon which the internal administration, and consequently the welfare of the people of India, so essentially depend.

As soon as Lord Ellenborough heard definitely of his recall, he wrote to most of the officers in a high position under

<sup>4</sup> A current *mot* at the time was, must admit that he had sinned (Sind) that Lord Ellenborough's friends at last.



him, announcing the fact, and informed them that it would not cause a change of policy in dealing with important matters; that his successor, Sir H. Hardinge, would continue the policy in force, and that the selection of Sir Henry was in all respects a fortunate one.

His letters to Broadfoot on the subject may be appropriately placed here.

Calcutta : June 17, 1844.

My dear Major Broadfoot,—You will have heard that the Court of Directors have thought fit to recall me. My successor will carry out all my views. He is my most confidential friend, with whom I have communicated upon all public subjects for thirty years.

I will not fail to make him acquainted with your merits and services. He will, I know, always place the most favourable interpretation upon your conduct, and give you full support.

I must not wish you to return to England soon; but whenever you do, you will, I feel assured, let me have the pleasure of welcoming you home, which I shall do most heartily.

Yours ever most sincerely,

ELLENBOROUGH.

Barrackpore : July 5, 1844.

My dear Broadfoot,—I have to regret that my sudden (but by me not unexpected) departure from India will prevent my seeing again in this country, and probably for a long time, many excellent friends I have had the good fortune to make here, and I regret this with respect to none more than yourself.

You know my successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, only as a good soldier; but you will find him a thoroughly straightforward man of business, doing justice to all, and supporting all who endeavour faithfully to serve the State as you do.

I trust, and indeed have no doubt, that he will, on Mr. Bird's departure in September, take the Government of Bengal into his own hands.

Every success attend you where you are and in the field.

Yours &c.

ELLENBOROUGH.

P.S.—I know you study your profession in books as well as on service; and as you may not have the Archduke Charles's military work, I send you the French translation of it, and hope you may some day have the opportunity of applying its principles.

Attention is invited to Broadfoot's reply: making every



fair deduction for the influence exercised by Lord Ellenborough's personal kindness, enough remains, when the honesty and ability of the writer are considered, to make it a strong testimony in favour of his Lordship's administration. There are letters from many officers in high appointments which might be quoted in support of what is said by Broadfoot. Amongst the rest is one from Henry Lawrence, who was then Resident at the Court of Nepal, and another from Sir George Pollock, whose testimony is of special value as regards the Indian army. In his letter, dated June 22, 1844, the following sentence occurs :

The army of India owe to your Lordship a deep debt of gratitude, which is not likely ever to be effaced from their memory ; and yet, I believe, only very few are informed of all your Lordship has done and has desired to do in their behalf.

Maulmain River, steamer 'Enterprise : ' July 3, 1844.

My Lord,—A few days ago I heard the news of the unprecedented step lately taken by the Court of Directors. It would be very presumptuous in me to give opinions in such a matter to you ; but one thing I may be allowed to say, which is, that no power whatever can recall the glory of your short but memorable administration—memorable beyond all precedent since Marquis Wellesley's, exceeding that in glory, for, difficult as was his position on reaching India, what was it to yours ?

My Lord, I was then in a situation which made me weigh well our chances, and I know what India and Britain owe to you.

There is no treason, nor is there disrespect to the many good men who doubtless belong to the party opposed to you, in saying that they have fallen into bad company. There is not an idle, a corrupt, or incapable man in India who will not rejoice at your departure ; and setting aside those blinded by corporation feelings, there are few, indeed, who look on a just, able, and vigorous government here, as essential to the happiness of India and the power of England, who will not grieve over it.

For myself, the kindness I, unknown, without connection, or interest of any kind, have received at your hands no doubt sways me. Yet, setting that aside, I feel deeply the injury your removal must cause here. I found here corruption disgraceful to the British name ; supported by you, and by you alone, I grappled with and overthrew it partially ; and now, just as some of the reports of this incredible corruption are going up together with reports of



lowered taxes, increased receipts in the treasury, improved police, and friendly relations with our neighbours, I hear that the author and sustainer of all this good is removed in a way not only calculated to [make], but which already has made, men again hope for a renewal of their pillage, who lately did not hope to escape its punishment.

I feel every confidence in Sir Henry Hardinge. His own character, and the Cabinet which sends him, demand that. But how can he have the familiarity with India, and that intimate knowledge of its administration and relations, which can make him independent of those who, by long prescription, regard a Governor-General, who will be more than their speaking trumpet and pen, as a usurper?

I had announced my belief that in a few years these provinces might cease to be a burden to Bengal; but I think that time is now far postponed. Still regretting this, I shall ever look on it as a great honour to have been the instrument, under you, of arresting the evils in progress, and showing the officers of Government here a system which, for the future, they cannot venture quite to abandon.

As to yourself, who have raised an empire in two years from the verge of despair to unequalled prosperity, every attack will but show your contemporaries the fullness of glory which otherwise only posterity might have known. And I hope all this will tend to make still more sure the destiny I have always looked on as yours, viz. that of guiding the momentous change of 1854.<sup>5</sup> If that year were not so near, I should predict that the East India Company themselves would yet vote you statues and rewards, as they did to Clive, Warren Hastings, and Wellesley, whom, also, they first thwarted and persecuted.

I ought to apologise for so long troubling you, but having begun I could not help expressing something of my feelings.

Believe me, my Lord, with gratitude and respect greater than ever,

Your Lordship's most faithful servant,

G. BROADFOOT.

With reference to the appointment of military men to posts previously held by civilians, Lord Ellenborough, in a letter to Lord Ripon, remarked that it was desirable at Maulmain that the 'office of Agent or Commissioner should be held by a military man of known judgment and experience,' who might be trusted 'to lay before the Government a sound and correct view of the actual state of affairs, and may avoid

<sup>5</sup> The reference is to the expiry of the charter in that year.



creating unnecessary alarm by exaggerated reports of coming dangers, while he, at the same time, remains free from the unsuspecting confidence which might produce yet more injurious results.'

Surely if this was true of Tenasserim in 1844, it follows that if we wish for security and strength in the newly acquired province of Burma, the administration should be in the hands of a skilled soldier, who would, on occasion arising, direct the movement of its garrison. In after years perhaps, when the people are reconciled to our rule, the appointment may, with safety, be permitted to swell the list of prizes which are held to be ordinarily the rewards of successful civil servants.

In adverting to the instances in which a military officer had been substituted for a civilian, Lord Ellenborough wrote:

The honest energy, the fixedness of purpose, and the untiring activity with which Major Broadfoot has applied himself to the investigation, the exposure, and the correction of the flagrant abuses which had grown up under civil management in the province of Tenasserim, can surely not have incurred the disapproval of the Court.

That officer's former acquaintance with Tenasserim, and his position as one of the most distinguished officers of the Madras Army, recommended him to me as a very fit person to be placed at the head of the administration of that province, garrisoned by Madras troops. The personal communication I afterwards had the advantage of having with him, while he accompanied my camp from Ferozpor to Delhi, satisfied me that I was entrusting the province to one of the first men in the public service; and I really do not know one civilian who could, on the ground of personal qualification, have advanced a special claim to the administration of a province where nothing resembles what he could have seen in India.

These quotations are recorded here, not merely to show how well prepared Lord Ellenborough was to justify his selection of a military man in preference to a civilian, but because of the high testimony to Major Broadfoot's abilities and character which they contain.

The last letter of Lord Ellenborough, before he left India, from which quotation will be made, was written to Mr. Currie,



then his Foreign Secretary. It contains the following simple maxims, with which many seem to be unacquainted.

The first is :

Do but one thing at a time. . . .

Never make a demand you cannot at once support by an adequate force.

Never take one step without having considered what your second is to be.

The next letter, from Broadfoot to Miss Sutherland, exhibits another phase of his character in contrast with that of the stern reformer whose part he was then playing.

Some of his remarks about the changes of fashion in India, and the typical old Indian, will be found interesting by those who have had more recent experience of life in that country.

Maulmain : August 20, 1844.

I came here with little but the clothes on my back ; but a man must eat, and custom requires plates and dishes. Nay, modern Indian custom, introduced by steam, requires plates and dishes of china as in London. Having none, I borrowed from my Principal Assistant, Capt. McLeod, till I could get my own from Calcutta. This borrowed ware was sadly damaged, I fear, by careless servants. Now I want to make Mrs. McLeod a present of a nice set of china, say a dinner set for eighteen or twenty-four—eighteen, for they must not give large parties, unless there be a nice set not to be broken. If I send to Calcutta I shall have no choice ; indeed, if I were there, the choice is limited, and I might get down some tasteless enormity at great cost. So I come as usual to you, and leave the whole to you. I know you will forgive the trouble, and I know, too, what I want will be better done than anyone else would do it. I send by this opportunity an order on Forbes & Co. for 50*l.*, which I hope will cover all. My own set is as follows : dinner set for twenty-four, cost 45*l.* ; breakfast set for twelve, cost 20*l.* Could I have waited to write home to you, I suspect that money, or less, would have given me something far handsomer, though it is quite good enough for me. I want to save money if I can.

It is astonishing how India is changed since I saw you, and it is changing more every day. You may, perhaps, remember hearing of the rough way we lived. Now every mess eats from the finest china. My own is inferior to many of them ;—hot-water plates still remain, however ;—but the manufacturers now know this and make them. So also private families are in everything copying London.



Ten years back they would as soon have copied Pekin. Old Indians, such, for example, as Col. Warde, are now as rare here as at home. In fact, I doubt if in a short time one will be found out of the Oriental Club, which will become one of the London shows; an Asiatic museum of the remains of extinct species.

McLeod is an old friend of mine, and almost the only honest man I found here; but he is a very honest and excellent man. A little too kind-hearted for the people he has to deal with, and requiring some one with more—what shall I call it?—obstinacy in him to support him; and that is his only failing; a very venial one indeed, yet it has kept me on this coast when I would fain have left it to seek health. But he cannot stand alone, though with good ability and great zeal; so now you know him. He is the son of a captain in a Highland regiment, but his mother married Col. Sim of the Madras Engineers, of whom you will perhaps remember having heard. Excellent people all.

Mrs. McLeod is the daughter of a very kind old man I knew in Calcutta, Dr. McLeod, the Inspector-General of Hospitals for the Queen's troops in India. I knew her as Miss McLeod, when her husband was falling in and out of love with her, two or three times a day, according to an old bad practice of his; and it would have come to nothing, had not the poor old doctor suddenly died. . . . Poor Miss McLeod was left destitute; but Willie, as her husband is called, forthwith did what I, then a thousand miles off journeying to Afghanistan, said he would do: he found out he was over head and ears in love, and proposed and was accepted, married and a', as Kitty's song used to say; and from all I see, they are likely, as Kitty's stories said, to live happy ever after; for, except that he is from six to seven feet high, and she not much above half that length, they are excellently matched. They have 1,000*l.* a year here; but he was in debt, and she had nothing, so they are living very quietly to get clear. So now you know all about them, to the size of their hands and mouths, and can tell exactly what to send.

And here is a sheet full of gossip. I must come home, I think, soon, or we shall not live long enough to have all the gossip out that is accumulating.

I close this now without another word, as I hope to write again by this ship, though it be but a few lines.

Ever &c.

G. BROADFOOT.

I really do not know how you are to get it shipped; perhaps the dealers will do that, paying freight and insurance. Address to



Capt. W. C. McLeod, Principal Assistant to the Commissioner, Tenasserim Provinces; care of Messrs. Line & Co., Madras. They will of course send an invoice, and tell them to send a number or something by which they will know how to supply breakages from time to time.

It was told of Col. Sim, who is mentioned in this letter, that he wished the permission of the Marquis of Tweeddale to pull down an old wall which was past mending; the Marquis, however, accompanied by his Irish private secretary, Dr. Lane, determined to test the accuracy of his professional adviser by inspection. 'I think it can be repaired,' said the Marquis; 'what do you, think, Lane?' 'Certainly, my Lord, I quite agree with you,' the doctor replied. 'Perhaps,' said Sim, 'Dr. Lane would prescribe a *plaster* for it!'

The next letter, from Havelock, is the last of that part of Broadfoot's correspondence which is included in the period during which he governed the Tenasserim Provinces. A few days after it was written, and probably some time before it was received, Capt. Durand arrived unexpectedly at Maulmain. He announced that Broadfoot had been appointed by Sir H. Hardinge as Agent for the North-Western Frontier, then, next to the Governor-General's, the most important political post in India, and that he himself was to succeed to the vacancy thus created.

Headquarters, Simla: September 9, 1844.

My dear Broadfoot,—I was much gratified by the receipt of your letter of July 5, which, however, did not reach me until August 22, and I was devising to make time from the midst of my avocations to write you a long letter, giving you the story of our short but brilliant campaign beyond the Chumbul, when I heard from Sir H. Gough news that I hope will render epistolary communications unnecessary between us. I trust he is not misinformed when he tells me that he understands it is arranged that Col. Richmond is to go to Lucknow, Durand to Moulmein, and that you, my friend, are to have the North-West Frontier. I cannot say how much I should delight in such a change both on public and private grounds.

Doubtless you must have commenced upon many things on the Tenasserim coast, the completion of which you would rather carry on yourself than see it entrusted to any other hand; but I should hope Durand would be an honest and able successor; and, to put emolument out of the question, our North-West Frontier is the point



of all others the most attractive to a soldier. You are wanted there; for not only is our information defective, but Col. Richmond, though a very fair regimental officer, is by no means a man of calibre for such a charge, and an agent ought to be at Umballa who would communicate, in accordance with sound military views, with the Commander-in-Chief (whose task now seems to be to watch the frontier) on the state of affairs. So, if the news be true, I hope soon to see you in the West, and to have the opportunity of talking at large, instead of writing on a thousand matters in which we both take an interest. You must endeavour to see Marshman on your way up. My wife will be happy to make your acquaintance, especially after being disappointed of seeing you in 1848 at Serampore, though I fear she will not accompany me to the plains this winter.

In case of the Sikhs coming across the frontier, it seems to be intended (between ourselves is this) to concentrate to meet them at Sirhind, a point, as it appears to me, much too far in advance. My own notion is that there should be nothing at Ferozporc or Loodiana except within walls: that the force at Umballa should be increased, and that the point of concentration should be *in rear* again of Umballa.

I consider myself favoured in having got the step of lieutenant-colonel for the Gwalior business; and being far too poor to think of England, I have made up my mind, though with many regrets, to leave the old 13th, and am now major in the 39th.

Believe me &c.

H. HAVELOCK.



## CHAPTER IX.

1843-44.

Sir Henry Hardinge—Sketch of Punjab history and politics—Ranjit Singh—His chief officers and courtiers—Maharaja Kharrak Singh—Death of Kunwar Náo Nihál Singh—Indus flood in 1841—Insubordination in the Sikh army—Murder of Maharaja Sher Sing and Raja Dhyán Singh; accession of Duleep Singh—Col. Richmond, C.B.—Hostile policy of the Darbár—Return of Sardár Attar Singh to the Punjab—Sikhs protest against the action of the Government of India—Suchet Singh's treasure: Capt. Saunders Abbott—Correspondence about the treasure—Major Broadfoot, C.B., appointed Governor General's Agent—Dispute regarding village of Mowran.

BEFORE accompanying Major Broadfoot to the Punjab, it is desirable to record briefly the previous services of the new Governor-General, who succeeded Lord Ellenborough on July 23, 1844.

Sir Henry Hardinge was born in 1785, received his first commission in 1798, and joined his regiment, the Queen's Rangers, at the early age of fifteen. He served under Sir Arthur Wellesley in 1808, and was present at the battles of Roleia and Vimiera, where he was severely wounded. He distinguished himself in the rear guard during the retreat on Corunna, and was with Sir John Moore when that gallant general was mortally wounded.

The value of his services at Albuera is acknowledged by history. The occasion is thus described by Alison and Napier:

In this extremity the firmness of one man changed the fate of the day, and in its ultimate effects, perhaps, determined the issue of the Peninsular War. While Beresford, under circumstances which not only justified, but perhaps called for the measure, was taking steps for a retreat, an officer on his staff, endowed with the eye of a general and the soul of a hero, boldly took upon himself the responsibility of venturing one more throw for victory. Col., now SIR HENRY HARDINGE, ordered Gen. Cole to advance with his



division on the right, which was still fresh, and, riding up to Abercrombie on the extreme left, ordered him also to bring his reserve brigade into action.<sup>1</sup>

The carnage was frightful, 'and then was seen with what a strength and majesty the British soldier fights.'<sup>2</sup> The French at length gave way, and 'like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the ascent. The rain flowed after in streams discoloured with blood; and fifteen hundred unwounded men, the remnant of six thousand unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill.'<sup>2</sup>

Col. Hardinge was again severely wounded at Vittoria, and was present in nearly every battle and siege during the memorable war. For his services he was made K.C.B., and was appointed to command a company in the Guards.

When war broke out again, he was attached to the Prussian army under Blücher as Quartermaster-General, and took a distinguished part in the battle of Ligny. Late in the afternoon his left hand was shattered by a bullet, but he did not leave the field, and it was midnight before his hand was amputated. Rough treatment in the first instance caused much additional suffering, but he was able to rejoin the army in Paris. In acknowledgment of his great services the King of Prussia, at a review at Sedan, decorated him with the Order of Merit and of the Red Eagle; and Wellington presented him with the sword from his own side.

In 1821 Sir Henry married Lady Emily Jane, sixth daughter of the Marquis of Londonderry, and thus became related by marriage to Lord Ellenborough. He entered Parliament, and held office twice as Secretary of War, and twice as Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. That his services in the latter capacity were marked by honesty, ability, and devotion, is confirmed by his having endured the rancorous hostility of the Irish members, and the foul language of their leader.

Sir Henry was the Duke of Wellington's second in the duel with Lord Winchilsea.

This brief and imperfect sketch of Sir H. Hardinge's career is sufficient to show that his experience and qualifications as a

<sup>1</sup> Alison, *History of Europe*, vol. viii. p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Napier, *Peninsular War*, iii. 541 to 548.



soldier were of a very high order; as a member of Parliament and holder of office he has been described as of a temper warm but generous: 'Plain, sincere, straightforward, just and considerate; . . . understanding what he undertakes, and undertaking nothing but what he understands.'<sup>3</sup>

Such was the man who, when fifty-nine years old, undertook the duties and responsibilities of the Government of India.

A retrospective glance at the history and politics of the Punjab is now necessary, in order that events which happened whilst Major Broadfoot was answerable for the conduct of our relations with that country may be correctly appreciated.

Examination of much information, collected with considerable labour, appears to justify the division of the subject into three parts:

I. From the rise of the Sikh sect to the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, say from 1469 to 1839.

II. From the death of Ranjit Singh to the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh on September 15, 1843; during which period the Sikh Government tried to maintain the traditional policy of friendship with the Government of India.

III. From the death of Sher Singh to the outbreak of the first Sikh war.

The necessity for keeping a digression of this kind within suitable limits, prevents more than a very cursory allusion to the events which fall under Parts I. and II. Yet they are of very great interest, and of such a nature as to lend themselves to picturesque description.

The Sikh sect was founded by Guru Nanak, a true and sincere reformer of religion. He preached glory to God, peace and goodwill to man; and endeavoured to reconcile Moslem with Hindu. For a time his attempt seemed to be successful; but before long the increasing importance of the sect led to their persecution, and persecution to reprisal. The apostle of retaliation was Guru Govind, the tenth spiritual chief in succession to Nanak. He preached steel and its application to the Musalman, and altered the distinguishing title of his followers from Sikh (learner or disciple) to Singh (lion or warrior).

After his death the Sikhs were separated into many parties,

<sup>3</sup> *Calcutta Review*, No. xvi. vol. viii. art. vi.



each under a Chief or Sardār; but all were united as equal members of the Khālsa. The Khālsa is the commonwealth of the Sikhs; the word has for them a mystical meaning, salvation, equality, and government according to the principles of Guru Govind being implied.

These parties were united into a nation by the energy and talent of Ranjit Singh, about the commencement of the present century.

For a time it was doubtful whether he would be content with conquests to the north and west of the Punjab, or whether he would dispute with the English the sovereignty of India. He decided, however, to restrain his soldiers from aggression in that quarter; and once having made up his mind, he most scrupulously adhered to a policy of friendship and trust in British moderation and honour.

The position was a delicate one, for although the Government of India was perfectly sincere in its desire to uphold Ranjit Singh's power, there were complications which under a less determined and less sagacious ruler might at any moment lead to rupture. Of these the principal was that, although the Sutlej was the boundary between British India and the Punjab, the Maharaja had extensive estates on the British side of the river. He was therefore an independent chief on one side, and a protected chief on the other side, of the Sutlej.

In person Ranjit Singh was of short stature, blind of one eye, and marked by smallpox; but evident energy and ability amply compensated for these defects. He affected great simplicity in dress, whilst he insisted on his courtiers being gorgeously arrayed. He was plain even to coarseness in his speech, and permitted great freedom in reply. Almost all Europeans who had interviews with him were greatly struck with his intelligence and talent; but perhaps the most remarkable quality he displayed was an insatiable curiosity. He questioned his visitors on every imaginable subject, was delighted when they were confused or unable to reply, but was even more pleased when the reply was apt. M. Victor Jacquemont, who travelled in India from 1828 to 1832, thus described him:

Maharajah Runjet-Sing est un vieux renard près de qui le plus rusé de nos diplomates n'est qu'un innocent. . . . C'est un cauche-



mar que sa conversation. Il est à peu près le premier Indien *curieux* que j'aie vu ; mais il paie de curiosité pour l'apathie de toute sa nation. Il m'a fait cent mille questions sur l'Inde, les Anglais, l'Europe, Bonaparte, ce monde-ci en général et l'autre, l'enfer et le paradis, l'âme, Dieu, le Diable, et mille autres choses encore.'<sup>4</sup>

He was illiterate, but had great respect for learning, and was most particular in his correspondence, especially with the Government of India, to weigh with care every important word or expression used by his secretary, Fakir Azizuddin.

He was addicted to drink and debauchery, and lax to an extraordinary degree in the rule of his zenana. He had, as far as is known, only one son, Kharrak Singh, who bore a strong resemblance in face to his father, but the likeness ended there. There were other reputed sons, amongst whom may be mentioned Sher Singh, Tara Singh, Kashmira Singh, Peshora Singh, and Duleep Singh, of whom the Maharaja may be said to have adopted the first named.

A few of the principal persons about Ranjit Singh must be introduced ; they will appear hereafter more or less prominently in Major Broadfoot's letters.

The most able and powerful men about the court were undoubtedly the Jammú brothers, Guláb Singh, Dhyán Singh, and Suchet Singh, to whom may be added Híra Singh, son of Dhyán Singh.

Volumes might be written about these men, so eventful were their lives ; but here the briefest description must suffice. Gulab Singh was a soldier, but possessed of much ability as a statesman. Dhyán Singh was a statesman, with many qualities of a soldier. Suchet Singh was a soldier only. Hira Singh in after times gave proof of both wisdom and courage.

Fakir Azizuddin, originally a barber surgeon, latterly in charge of the correspondence with the Government of India, was a man greatly valued and respected by the Maharaja. He was simple in dress and retiring in manner, a master of style, conciliatory but of great energy, gifted with a retentive memory, and always ready with an apt quotation.

Diwan Diná Náth was a prominent figure during the de-

<sup>4</sup> *Correspondance de Victor Jacquemont*, tome premier, pp. 363 et 374. Paris, 1833.



cline of the Sikh power. He was employed by Ranjit Singh in matters of finance, which he managed with ability tainted with corruption. He was rich, hard-working, and accomplished.

The Vakils attached to the office of the Governor-General's Agent were persons of much importance. They were all of one family, and were well inclined towards the Jammu party. Rai Kishen Chand was the ablest of them; he possessed great tact, cunning, and presence of mind, concealed under the disguise of a mild, deferential, and yielding manner.

There were many other persons who deserve to be termed conspicuous in the court of Ranjit Singh, such as Diwan Mokam Chand, Jemadar Khushhál Singh, Diwan Sáwan Mall, Bhai Ram Singh, and Misr Beli Ram; not to mention the principal Sardars, such as Sham Singh of Atari; Fatteh Singh, Mán; Desa Singh, Majithia, and his sons Lahna Singh and Ranjur Singh; the Sindhanwalia chiefs, and others; but the scope of this sketch does not admit further description.

The principal foreign officers were Gen. Ventura, in charge of the infantry; Gen. Allard, who commanded the cavalry; and Gen. Court, who was chiefly employed with the artillery. Gen. Avitabile<sup>5</sup> was a successful and unscrupulous ruler of wild savages, and is best known as governor of Peshawar and Yusufzai.

Ranjit Singh is said to have died on June 27, 1839, and next day his body was burnt outside the gates of the Hazuri bagh, on the spot now occupied by his mausoleum. He was succeeded by Kharrak Singh, from whose weak hands his ambitious and able son, Náo Nihál Singh, soon endeavoured to wrest all power. Raja Dhyan Singh was the wazir or prime minister, and as long as his advice was followed the business of the State did not suffer; but he was distrusted, especially by Nao Nihal Singh. Complications with the Government of India arose on the question of permission for our convoys to march *via* Peshawar to Kabul. The Court of Lahore was disquieted by the reports in English newspapers of the assembling of troops at Firozpur, and they regarded with apprehension the expected return of the army from Afghanistan. They tried to oppose the march of our troops through the Punjab, and Mr. Clerk was sent to arrange the matter. The instructions given to him were explicit: the Government of

<sup>5</sup> See p. 14, note 4.

India must have a safe passage for convoys and escort when necessary, but would restrict the number as much as possible. Maharaja Kharrak Singh's health was in a very weak state: his doctors prescribed 'pounded emeralds and other astringents and tonics,' but without good effect. He died on November 5, 1840. After the cremation of his corpse, Nao Nihal Singh, on foot, accompanied by Dhyan Singh, and Miyan Udham Singh son of Gulab Singh, and followed by some servants, returned from performing the usual ablutions towards a gateway in which he sought shade. As he entered, it fell. Udham Singh was killed on the spot, Nao Nihal Singh was desperately wounded, and Dhyan Singh was slightly struck by the falling débris. Nao Nihal Singh never spoke again, and soon died.

Raja Dhyan Singh at once sent for Kunwar Sher Singh, the reputed son of Ranjit Singh, and, with the unanimous consent of the Khalsa, placed him on the throne, whence he was desired to rule in concert with the ministers and in some kind of conjunction with Kharrak Singh's widow, Rani Chand Kawar.<sup>6</sup> This lady did not approve of the arrangement, and succeeded for a time in causing Sher Singh to depart to his estates and quit the government. Her administration was weak, and her acts were those of a grasping and indiscreet woman. Robbers began to infest the high roads, and insubordination appeared in the army.

In 1841 Sher Singh returned to Lahore, obtained the assistance of Ventura and some of the troops, and besieged the Rani in the fort or citadel, which was defended by Raja Gulab Singh. His assaults were unsuccessful, but terms of evacuation were concluded, and the garrison, laden with the spoil of the treasuries, marched out unmolested. The Rani remained in the fort, and Sher Singh, after having been installed as Maharaja, went by advice of the Darbār<sup>7</sup> to call upon her and beg her pardon. The Rani rose to receive him, and, having seated him by her side, congratulated him on his succession to the throne of Lahore.

<sup>6</sup> There is some obscurity regarding the use of the title Kawar, Kowr, or Kooer, applied to ladies of a certain rank. Kunwar is the title by which a Maharaja's sons are addressed, and

its feminine form is Kunwāri.

<sup>7</sup> *Darbār* or *darbar*, the court, or assembly of the chief persons of the State.

Insubordination among the troops was making rapid progress, and robbery and murder were daily committed in the streets of Lahore. The army acted under the direction of their panchayats or regimental committees. The officers were elected by the men, and to them were referred all important questions, such as what pay they should demand, where they would serve, and what officers they would obey. Later on they practically decided questions of government and policy, and appointed or dismissed those called by courtesy their rulers. In 1841 the mutiny had spread to Peshawar, and the road to Kabul was no longer safe. It will be recollected that the convoy of the wives and attendants of the royal families of Kabul, under an escort commanded by Capt. Broadfoot, marched through the Punjab at this time. There is reason to believe that a number of the mutineers who threatened the convoy, perished in the extraordinary flood of May 1841, caused by the bursting of an obstruction or dam in the Indus, the result of a landslip on an enormous scale. As far as we have been able to discover, the dam lasted for at least two months, when the accumulated waters of the Indus at length carried it away. The consequent flood was of unprecedented magnitude, and disastrous in the extreme. Trees, villages and their inhabitants, and even the surface soil of a considerable tract of country, were swept away, and the desolation which resulted remains even unto this day.<sup>8</sup>

In June 1842, Rani Chand Kavar was killed by her slave girls during a temporary absence of the Maharaja from Lahore.

The defence of Jalalabad attracted the attention of the more thoughtful in the Darbar, and did much towards removing the unfavourable impression caused by the disasters in Afghanistan. On one occasion, when a courtier made some remarks disparaging to British power, Raja Dhyani Singh replied, calling attention to the fact that there were but a thousand of our troops in Jalalabad, yet how bravely did they oppose Muhammad Akbar. They had saved the place

<sup>8</sup> The information regarding this flood rests greatly but not entirely on tradition. High-water marks have been observed. In July 1847, Lieut. Ralph Young, B.E., saw distinctly the high-water mark of this flood at

the Makpon-i-shagron, a considerable distance up-stream of Acho, near which place the obstruction happened. He estimated the high-water mark to be forty feet above the ordinary high-level surface of the river.



India by their own courage, and were again holding it in force. Similarly he alluded to Kandahar, and told his antagonist that he did not at all comprehend the courageous character of the British.

In an evil day for himself, Maharaja Sher Singh listened to the advice of the Indian Government, and consented to be reconciled with the Sindhanwalia Sardars, and to reinstate them in their possessions. They evinced their gratitude by murdering him and his son Partáb Singh, a youth of great promise, on September 15, 1843. On the same morning, and by the hand of Ajit Singh, Sindhanwalia, who had killed Sher Singh, fell Raja Dhyan Singh, the wise wazir of the Punjab. Hira Singh his son, and Suchet Singh his brother, determined to revenge his death. The former gained over the troops, the latter led them, and the fort of Lahore, in which Ajit Singh had taken refuge, was captured. Hira Singh was enabled to lay the head of Ajit Singh at the feet of Dhyan Singh's widow, Rani Pathani, who had declined to burn herself till she had obtained that satisfaction. When that was accomplished, she said, 'Now I am fully satisfied; now I am ready to follow my lord and husband;' and added, turning to Hira Singh, 'I will tell your dear father that you have acted the part of a brave and dutiful son.' Having spoken thus, she calmly mounted the funeral pyre and perished in the flames.

Duleep Singh, a mere child, whose birth had been considered of so little consequence as not to merit report to the Agent till some years after its occurrence, was proclaimed Maharaja.

Part III. of this sketch of Punjab history must be described at greater length, for Major Broadfoot was one of the most conspicuous actors in its stirring scenes.

In June 1843, Col. Richmond, C.B., an officer who had served with distinction in the war in Afghanistan, was selected by Lord Ellenborough to succeed Mr. Clerk, whose reputation as our Agent and Envoy was deservedly great. The selection was not entirely fortunate; the Colonel had no special knowledge or experience of the kind of work he was called upon to perform, and was moreover in bad health. In his private remarks on the appointment, Lord Ellenborough did not express the certainty, which he sometimes recorded, that he had



got the best possible man for the place; he said it was the best he could do at the time, and he trusted that the appointment might turn out well.<sup>9</sup> He sent Col. Richmond instructions to the effect that the British Government desired to adhere to the policy which it had all along followed, and to maintain the relations of amity which had so long subsisted between us and the Sikh nation. He considered that the presence of the Sikhs as a strong and friendly nation between the Indus and the Sutlej was most beneficial, and greatly to be preferred to contact with Afghanistan. At the same time, he pointed out that all the news from the Punjab indicated an early dismemberment of the Sikh State, and that therefore, in common prudence, defensive measures must not be neglected, and information which would be of use if war were forced on us must be collected.

In Lahore affairs were very unsettled. In October 1843 the Jammu party were in the ascendant, Hira Singh being minister. Against him were arrayed the Sikh chiefs as a body, and Rani Jind Kaur, or Jindān, as she was commonly called, the mother of Duleep Singh. But the real power had passed from the rulers to the army. Hira Singh was greatly under the influence of Pandit Jalla, an able and vigorous man, dreaded and disliked by the chiefs, whose wealth he taxed for the benefit of the treasury. He was also the prime mover in the anti-English policy. He foresaw that the time must come when he could no longer raise money to satisfy the rapacity of the army, and believed that his chance of safety then was to incite the soldiers to march against the British. At first the Khalsa penetrated his design, but afterwards they were so far guided by him that the troops marched out to Kāna Kachha, one of the stages on the road to Firozpur. This was the first patent departure from the traditional policy of Ranjit Singh. Sardar Fattah Singh, Man, appealed pathetically against the innovation. He referred to the benefit the Sikhs had derived from maintaining friendship with the British, and deprecated the adoption of any measures which indicated suspicion, or might be considered provocative of war. And he asked the Darbar to weigh his words well, and with the respect to which he was entitled on account of his age of seventy-five years,

<sup>9</sup> P. 194.



and of his services to the State. It was of no use; the Sikh troops were marched still nearer to the Sutlej, and Pandit Jalla urged the generals to send men to Firozpur to tamper with the fidelity of the sepoy regiments.

When Lord Ellenborough heard this, he desired that our friendly attitude should be reaffirmed, but accompanied by a plain warning that if one Sikh soldier crossed the Sutlej in hostility, the aggression would not be forgiven. The Agent's reports at this time exhibited the acts of the Sikhs in the most favourable aspect, and unduly blackened the characters of the Jammu Rajas, a process which was unnecessary. These letters had the effect of eliciting from Lord Ellenborough expressions of horror at the revolting crimes and atrocities by means of which Hira Singh had raised himself to power. That opinion was based on a misconception of the case. The atrocities by which Hira Singh had risen to the highest position under the Maharaja, could not with propriety be laid to his charge. His father had been murdered by the conspirators, and he, a young and somewhat effeminate man, appealed to the troops, and, with a remarkable amount of skill and determination, avenged his father's death. That Hira Singh was much better than his neighbours it would be idle to assert, but neither was he worse.

The Sikhs were superstitious, and there were evil omens in the camp of their army, which had moved towards the British frontier. Their tallest flagstaff was broken in a storm, and the tent of Miyan Lábh Singh, one of their commanders, was literally torn to pieces by an infuriated elephant.

Bhai Gurmukh Singh, who had latterly exercised considerable influence over Sher Singh, and who is believed to have directly recommended Ajit Singh to murder Dhyan Singh, and Misr Beli Ram, who was generally opposed to the Jammu party, mysteriously disappeared when Raja Hira Singh came into power.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that they were included in the punishment he dealt to his father's murderers, and that the Bhai deserved his fate: no direct evidence regarding their death has been found. Misr Beli Ram was for a long time in charge of the *tosha khana*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Calcutta Review*, August 1844, art. v. p. 500.

Government or State presents given or received.

<sup>2</sup> *Tosha khana*, the repository of



It has been recorded that attempts to tamper with the fidelity of the East India Company's sepoy's had been ordered by Pandit Jalla; whether resulting in part from these it is difficult to say with certainty, but serious insubordination was manifested by certain sepoy regiments which were ordered to proceed from Firozpur to Sind. Prompt measures were taken, and the mutiny was arrested.

Raja Hira Singh for a time seemed to be so securely seated as minister, as to afford a reasonable prospect of stability for the Government. Sardar Jawáhir Singh, the drunken and debauched brother of Rani Jind Kavar, had tried to supplant him, but was seized by the troops and imprisoned.

These appearances, however, were deceitful; the troops, the real masters of the situation, were determined to exercise their power, and Raja Suchet Singh openly encouraged Kashmira Singh and Peshora Singh to revolt.

Pandit Jalla had greatly offended the chiefs by taking every opportunity to fine them and resume their estates, in order to supply the treasury. He now fell under the wrath of the army, who discovered that though he constantly professed his devotion to them, and though it did not appear that he had recommended reduction in their pay, yet he had secretly advised Hira Singh to save money, and reduce the power of the troops, by not filling up vacancies as they occurred.

At the Darbar four delegates from the panchayats appeared and said that they came on the part of the whole Khalsa to him, Raja Hira Singh, who regarded himself as a very Emperor; that the order of the Khalsa was as follows: After recapitulating events since Sher Singh's death, they said that now Misr Jalla had been made wazir, a man guilty of conduct the most atrocious and debased. The Khalsa had pointed out these things, but Raja Hira Singh had closed his ears, therefore were they displeased.

Hira Singh observed that they should put forward their wishes plainly in the form of a petition.

The delegates replied that they were no petitioners, but the bearers of the message of the Khalsa; they addressed petitions to no one except to the throne. They again directly formulated their complaint, and the Raja deprecated their anger, and confessed himself grievously in error. The delegates said he must



surrender Pandit Jalla, Shekh Imamuddin, and Lal Singh; and that if he hesitated or refused, he would himself be seized. The Raja promised compliance, and the delegates departed.

Pandit Jalla, a clever fearless man, seeing this state of feeling, remarked, that when they could no longer control the army, they must send it to plunder the English; to which Raja Hira Singh replied, that would undoubtedly be the final act. Lord Ellenborough expressed his concurrence with the Raja, that war with the British would probably be the result of the present anarchy, and that therefore preparation was prudent. On March 27, Raja Suchet Singh with a small force arrived at Lahore. He had been led to expect that the army would join him against his nephew; and when he found out his mistake, with characteristic rashness, he and his small band determined to oppose Hira Singh with twenty thousand men and artillery. First he allowed all those of his followers to go who desired to do so, and then, with the equally brave Rai Kesri Singh, at the head of some sixty or seventy men, he charged the Sikh army, and perished.

The immediate result was that Hira Singh became still more dependent on the will of the soldiers.

The next event of importance, one of the very few cases in which the Sikh Government had a just cause of complaint against the British, was that Sardar Attar Singh, Sindhanwalia, who had taken refuge in the cis-Sutlej states, was permitted to leave them with a considerable band of followers, and join Bhai Bir Singh, Kashmira Singh, and Peshora Singh, who were encamped on the north side of the Sutlej. Raja Hira Singh, with great promptitude, turned the mistake of not restraining Attar Singh to good account. He pointed it out to the Khalsa as evidence that Attar Singh had the support of the British: he expressed great regret that the Bhai, whose religious character and position caused him to be much venerated by the Sikhs, should meddle with State affairs, and by leaguering himself with the enemies of the Khalsa forfeit its protection. He also protested formally against the action of the Government of India in allowing this known enemy of the Lahore Government to leave their territory in order to disturb the peace of the Punjab.

Hira Singh's appeal to the Khalsa was successful. They



listened to his impeachment of the Sindhanwalia chiefs, to his denunciation of them for having invoked British aid, and said that they were the servants of the Maharaja, and were ready to march to Delhi. The Raja replied: 'First punish Attar Singh.'

Lord Ellenborough pointed out the impropriety of not having detained Sardar Attar Singh, and prevented his crossing into Punjab territory to stir up strife. For future guidance he informed the Agent, that if satisfied that a person was proceeding through our territory with hostile designs against Lahore, he was empowered to use any degree of compulsion required to prevent his purpose.

The Khalsa army marched from Lahore and came up with the rebels near Sarehali, which is on the road from Amritsar to Harike patan.<sup>3</sup> An effort was made to detach Bhai Bir Singh from the others, in order that he might not be involved in their ruin. It was unsuccessful, and the Khalsa troops proceeded to do their duty. Their superiority in numbers was so great that the issue could not for a moment be in doubt. Attar Singh, Kashmira Singh, and the Guru were slain; Peshora Singh escaped, it is believed, before the commencement of the slaughter.

The death of the Guru by violence made a great impression on the minds of the superstitious Sikhs; the troops engaged were thereafter called Gúrúmár;<sup>4</sup> and when, shortly afterwards, they suffered severely from cholera, it was considered to be a Divine punishment for their sacrilege.

There was another question, regarding the early treatment of which, the Government of India was not as fortunate as usual. Raja Suchet Singh, shortly before his death, sent a considerable amount of treasure, said to exceed fourteen lakhs of rupees in value, then approximately equal to 140,000*l.*, to Firozpur for safety.

Capt. Saunders Abbott, who was Assistant Agent at Firozpur, on hearing that the treasure had been discovered, went immediately to ascertain its amount, and provide for its safe custody.

He found it buried in three huge copper vessels, one of

<sup>3</sup> *Patan* (*puttan*) is the word used in the Punjab to denote a ferry or ford.

<sup>4</sup> Slayers of the High Priest.



which only was opened. In this were found 63 brass lotas or vases, supposed to contain gold, closed with lead on which the Raja's seal was impressed. Gold mohurs<sup>5</sup> were visible through two defective seals. A guard having been placed in charge of the treasure, next morning Capt. Abbott had it dug up in the presence of the Lahore Vakil and others. There proved to be seventy lotas of gold and thirty bags of silver; the former were sent to the magazine treasury, and the latter to the old treasury. So far good; but unfortunately, in a communication from the Agent, the Darbar were led to expect that the treasure would be made over to them on application. This reply would seem to have been the result of regarding questions between the two Governments mainly from a Sikh point of view, with which in reality we had little concern; and neglecting to consider as the primary matter how they were affected by British law and custom, which must be held to guide the action of the British Government and its agents. From a Sikh point of view, the reply was perhaps correct; for they considered that they were entitled to the property of a subject who had been killed in a rebellion. They further held that they were the true interpreters of their own laws, and could best decide to whom the treasure belonged; that as no British subject claimed the treasure, it unquestionably belonged to a subject of the Lahore State; and that such subject could communicate with the British Government, or Agent, only through his own Government.

The Governor-General regretted that hopes had been held out to the Darbar that the treasure would be made over to them, as it seemed to belong to Raja Suchet Singh's heirs. It is useful to record that at the time to which this sketch of Punjab history has been brought, viz. the end of July 1844, Lord Ellenborough had been succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge as Governor-General, and the latter was therefore responsible for the orders of the Government of India hereafter quoted.

In due time a letter from the Maharaja was received by the Agent, in which his Highness asked that the treasure might be made over to him in order that he might give it to those to whom it belonged, Rajas Hira Singh and Gulab Singh.

<sup>5</sup> A coin, value sixteen rupees.



The Agent recommended compliance, as a means of getting rid of a troublesome question. The Governor-General considered it necessary to take a legal opinion as to the course he should follow. He therefore referred the question of law to Mr. Cameron, saying that he would be glad to get rid of the treasure, and asking if he could with propriety follow the course proposed by the Agent; or if he should not, before he parted with the treasure, have a document from the owners intimating their acquiescence.

Mr. Cameron pronounced in favour of the latter proposal, and an order was sent to the Agent to explain this, and the views of the Government of India on the subject of the treasure, to the Maharaja. He was also desired to inform the heirs or owners, Gulab Singh, Hira Singh, and Suchet Singh's widow, that unless they at once came forward and claimed it, the money would be paid over to anyone named by Maharaja Duleep Singh. In conclusion, the Agent was directed not to part with the treasure until he had received not merely the reply of the Lahore Government, but the orders thereon of the Government of India. The foregoing instructions were issued on August 10.

After a considerable lapse of time the Agent reported that Suchet Singh's widow had claimed the treasure directly, and Gulab Singh indirectly; and that in consequence he had not addressed the Maharaja, as desired.

This was an unfortunate error calculated still further to complicate the question, already unnecessarily involved by the admission previously mentioned.

The Governor-General was naturally surprised and displeased. Explicit orders were sent to the Agent to write forthwith to the Maharaja, and explain that the delay was caused by his misapprehension; he was to add that as the widow had claimed the treasure, it could not be given up without her sanction or that of her adopted child, Gulab Singh's son. Further, he was told to express the regret felt by the Governor-General in Council, that obstacles had arisen to the immediate transfer of the treasure; but the British Government was under legal obligations not to transfer the property without the consent of the parties to whom it belonged.

It is necessary for the elucidation of much that will follow to explain thus at length and precisely what took place regarding