



But as the Lahore troops *have* moved towards our frontier, indicating what I feel conscious no act on our part would call for or justify, I shall consider it my duty to press upon the Government, without whose orders you are aware I cannot act, to strengthen our frontier stations, not for the protection of these stations alone, which have ample means for that purpose at present, but to give security to the states south of the Sutlej, under the protection of the Supreme Government of India.

I have &c.

H. GOUGH, *General,*
Commander-in-Chief in India.

The following letter from Mr. Currie is interesting because the writer's official position specially qualified him to express an opinion on the foreign policy of the Indian Government. The handwriting is so execrable that in parts it may be doubtful whether the precise word used by Mr. Currie is here reproduced. The meaning, however, is generally sufficiently plain to make this of slight consequence.

Calcutta : January 19, 1845.

My dear Broadfoot,—You have done very well in keeping us so constantly informed of all that is passing in the Punjab; and all your proceedings have, as you have been officially told, been entirely approved. It is a great pity that we are so far off at the present time, and it is very lucky that you are on the frontier, and not your predecessor.

Sir Henry wrote to you the other day about the example to our sipahees of an army demanding higher and higher rates of pay, and combining to coerce its Government. He lays more stress on this matter than I think it is worth. Our sipahees are, so many of them, the sons or relatives of retired and pensioned soldiers, that they know the real value of our service does not consist in the rate of present pay so much as in the system of providing for the soldier under all circumstances and contingencies. They see also the state of confusion to which insubordination has reduced the Sikh troops; and they have sense enough to appreciate the present state of things, and to know that it portends the destruction or dissolution of the army, which they will shortly witness.

I think the instructions you have received in late letters will enable you to see your way through any circumstances that may arise, pending specific orders on any state of things that may turn up.

If a genuine descendant of Runjeet were on the throne, with a capable minister, or even a tolerable aristocracy out of which to form a government, it might be a question with us whether, in



return for Runjeet's steady friendship, and his forbearance from taking advantage of us at times when he might have done so with present impunity to himself and infinite damage to us, we should aid his descendant in putting down the opposition of his own army and destroying hostile factions in his country. But in the present state of affairs in the Punjab such a measure is quite out of the question. It would be madness in us to think of expending blood and treasure to bolster up the puppet Dhuleep Singh, or to set up such a government as could be formed out of the elements that now exist at Lahore, which must owe its continuance henceforth to our power alone.

Though I would rather see a strong Sikh or Hindoo Government in the Punjab than that the British dominions should extend to the Indus, yet I should indeed grieve to think that such power was of our creating and maintaining, so that for all its iniquities we should in fact be responsible.

Armed interference, therefore, in the internal settlement of the affairs of the Sikhs is out of the question, even though the withholding the aid that may be solicited must bring about the destruction of the Sikh power.

Again, to take advantage of the weakness or prostration which must follow the present extraordinary position of affairs, to go in and seize the country, is what we never should for a moment think of; and it is doubtful how far we should be justified in holding the nominal Government responsible for excesses committed on our frontier and districts by a lawless soldiery in open rebellion to its own Government, and equally their enemies as ours, and saying, If you can't rule your country with a strong hand, we must.

For the present, therefore, abstinence from all interference or aid, by whomsoever solicited, and defensive measures for the protection of our territory, and the destruction of those who violate it, must be our only policy.

The protected Sikhs should be assured that no proceedings on the other side the Sutlege, or any results in which they may terminate, will alter their position with us as long as they remain faithful. We do not want their tribute, and we will not (at least if I have any influence, and you must consider this a private letter) make any compromise¹ with them of present customs; least of all will we yield to them the mischievous right of adoption, which will perpetuate the existing anomalies in these territories.

The most important question which presses at this moment is, the light in which we are to view the Lahore districts on this side

¹ This word is very illegible in the original.



the Sutlege. Are they *national* or *family* property? Will they attach to any Sikh Government we might recognise, or will they belong to Dhuleep (whom we have recognised as heir of Runjeet) should he take refuge on this side, or lapse to us in the event of his death? I hope to get this question, as far as our records throw any light on it, or on circumstances that can elucidate it, before the Government next council day. I incline at present to think it *family* property. I should like to know your view.

I imagine we shall be forced across the Sutlege sooner or later, and you will see that we are sending up troops to be ready for whatever may turn up. We must not have a Mahomedan power on this side the Attock. The Rajpoots of the hills could not hold the Punjab; and if it can't be Sikh, it must, I suppose, be British. . . .

I record most of your private notes to me, and send them to the secret committee, leaving out such parts as are of no public interest.

I have had two or three long conversations with Gen. Ventura; but we can do nothing for him more than to allow our Agent to use his *personal* interest to prevent the seizure of his property. The General put the notion, I think, into Sir Henry's head that our sipahees have an understanding with those of Lahore, and that ours are likely to be led away by their example. The old Frenchman wished to give some valuable information to Sir Henry to make him friendly to his interests. . . .

Yours &c.

F. CURRIE.

The possibility of disaffection in our native army, induced by the example of the Sikh troops, and encouraged by emissaries from that State, was much more serious than Mr. Currie imagined.

The Governor-General sent a letter from Major Carmichael Smyth, in which disaffection was said to be very extensively spread in the native army, and remarked that:

The extensive disaffection alluded to is not credited by the Governor-General; but it [the letter] is sent in reference to the preceding communication. If any system of delegates be suspected to exist, it must be traced in all its ramifications.

The active participation of the Sikh Government in any attempts to seduce our sepoys would be an unpardonable piece of treachery; the clearest evidence of the fact should be obtained with the greatest circumspection.

The Governor-General is satisfied no efforts will be spared to ascertain the real state of the case, and to be prepared at all times to be well informed of what is passing between the two armies.



After the last recorded interview with the Vakil, Broadfoot addressed him, asking for further explanation regarding the movement of Sikh troops towards our frontier. At another interview, all the old ground was gone over again with variations. The Agent told the Vakil that when alarm was felt in consequence of anything that happened on our side of the Sutlej, if explanation were asked for, confidence was increased; but if, instead, indiscreet measures were adopted, and the passions of the mob inflamed, confidence could with difficulty be maintained. He also insisted on getting a written answer to his written demand for explanation, because as there were no witnesses to the conversations, if serious results occurred, the Vakil would unhesitatingly declare that neither remonstrance nor warning had been tried.

The Governor-General's instructions to inquire into the state of the native regiments on the frontier, already quoted, were forwarded by the Private Secretary, Mr. C. S. Hardinge, to whom Broadfoot wrote the following letter :

Camp, Sirhind : January 20, 1845.

My dear Hardinge,—I am much obliged by your kind note of the 12th inst.

Will you kindly say for me to the Governor-General that the subject of his memorandum has, ever since my arrival on the frontier, occupied my most serious attention; that I have made and am making all the inquiries possible without showing that such a thing is seriously suspected by us, that I shall soon write on it as desired, and that I have for some time considered this point as the most important in our relations with the Punjab, but scarcely know how to write on a matter so delicate ?

Yours &c.

G. BROADFOOT.

In case of any little delay, you may say that what I shall write will be, in general, only a confirmation of the Governor-General's opinions. Further, that my views on this have in no small degree influenced my conduct of late, but I hope before many days to write fully.

G. B.

The Rani's share in the Government was reported as daily increasing. She was influenced considerably by Raja Lal Singh, and still more by the girl Mangla, who was placed in Darbar at



the opening of the curtain behind which the Rani sat, and was the channel of communication for all but the great chiefs. This slave girl appeared to be in a measure a recognised officer of the State, as well as the minister of pleasure and of riot. She signed one of the treaties with Raja Gulab Singh; and at will affixed the seals of the Rani and her brother, which she carried at her girdle, to any Government documents except those connected with the English.

Day by day the scandals caused by the behaviour of the Rani and her brother, alike in their love of pleasure if in little else, became worse and worse.

Overtures to the Agent, on behalf of Raja Gulab Singh, were made by Bhai Ram Singh, for aid; in return for which it was proposed to cede the cis-Sutlej Lahore estates, with some territory on the north side of the river, and to pay 50,00,000 rs. equal at par to 500,000*l*. Broadfoot, though he reported the offer, and remarked on the terms as being similar to those proposed in Mr. Clerk's time, did not even acknowledge its receipt to the party by whom the proposal was made.

On the arrival in Calcutta of this information, the Agent was desired to remark to the Vakil, that a regard for the difficult circumstances in which the Maharaja's Government was placed, had hitherto induced the Governor-General to abstain from making a formal remonstrance on the subject of the unruly and ungovernable condition of the Sikh army.

'We considered it right that this intimation, though cautiously and incidentally, should be distinctly, delivered; for we cannot but feel that the state of this army so close upon our frontier may become an intolerable nuisance; and although it would be a mockery to expect that the Lahore Government' in its present state of anarchy and weakness, . . . 'can regulate the conduct of an army which exercises over that Government daily acts of coercion and tyranny, nevertheless we deem it expedient that a notice in the most guarded terms should be given of the great inconvenience to which the British Government is exposed, and of which, if the Lahore Government were in a state of greater strength and responsibility, we should have just cause of formal complaint.

'We put Major Broadfoot, in whose judgment and discretion we have the utmost confidence, in possession of copies of correspondence with his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief relative to strengthening our force on the North-West Frontier.'



It was left to the Agent to say whether the extra troops should be at once posted on the frontier; unless he was convinced of the necessity, it was considered to be preferable that their arrival should be deferred till April, when the periodical rise in the river Sutlej would prevent the Sikhs from being thereby alarmed.

When these papers arrived in England, they were pronounced to be of high interest. They did not remove the anxiety felt, but the hope was cherished that under the judicious instructions of the Governor-General, 'carried into effect with so much propriety and talent by Major Broadfoot,' the necessity for hostilities might be averted, and order re-established.

It is one of the drawbacks to a work of this kind, that the thread of the historical narrative is constantly broken by the introduction of letters not immediately relevant. This becomes more obvious in proportion to the strictness with which the sequence of letters, according to the dates on which they were written, is maintained. The reader must, therefore, transport himself now from the presence of the Agent on the frontier, to the camp of Sir Charles Napier, where that General will speak for himself.

Headquarters, Ooch : January 22, 1845.

My dear Sir,—Having been fortunate enough to surprise the robbers and to defeat them, we are now pursuing Beja Khan along the southern side of the hills by which he flies, instead of by (as I expected) the [pass near Poolajee].² He means to fly to the Mooltan territory to join Shere Mahomed. Now he is a robber, a murderer, a rebel to the Khan of Khelat, and entered our territories to pillage and ravage them, though we were at peace, and in strict alliance with his prince. He chose, very foolishly, to make war upon us without the slightest provocation, but he had a right to do so if he chose it, nor could we, without a want of generosity, complain of his being received by a neighbouring Power as a private gentleman. But I think Beja Khan has no right whatever to be received by the Governor of Mooltan, and I wish you would write to him to beg that he may not be received. If I catch him I mean to hang him at once. I will quiet the Sinde frontier for a hundred years!

My Sinde jaghirdars³ are behaving very well; one of them took

² The name is illegible in the original.

³ Persons to whom an estate has been granted in annuity.



Poolajee, and to-day marched upon Tonge, a village on my left flank, out of which Beja retreated yesterday morning, and I should have cut him off, but I was obliged to wait for provisions.

The necessity of keeping all quiet to surprise the enemy prevented my commissariat from making the requisite preparations; however, we march to-morrow *en route* towards Deyrah, in nearly a direct line.

I think the Boogties will fight us as we enter the hills at a pass called Gundooee, not marked in Walker's map, but it is ten miles due south of the *b* in the word 'Tomb,' which you will see in Walker's map on the river 'Illiassee.' If not here, they will at a place north-east of Deyrah, called 'Meerzakee Ghunsee,' that is to say, if the rascals mean to fight at all, which I hope they do not, and I think I shall end this war without the loss of any more men.

Hoping you will be able to prevent the cutthroat Beja Khan from being received by Mooltan, I remain &c.

C. J. NAPIER, *Major-General.*

The following letter from Sir Henry Hardinge to Lord Ellenborough, which was shown to the Duke of Wellington, contains an interesting epitome of the news of the day.

(Private.)

Calcutta : January 23, 1845.

My dear Lord Ellenborough,—Affairs in the Punjab are in the same state of confusion and anarchy as when I last addressed you.

The Sikh army will neither fight its enemies nor obey its Government.

Peshora Singh is used as the pump by which the soldiery drain the treasury. They declare him their sovereign when the Ranee refuses any demand; and when conceded, put him aside for the next occasion.

The worst feature is the success of mutiny; the infection has spread to the hill troops; they threatened to desert, and did desert until Golab Singh doubled their pay. Any visible tangible danger can be boldly grappled with. Disaffection and mutiny are dangerous in proportion to the success and the duration of a bad example. I need make no comments to you on this subject.

If, however, the contagion should reach Ferozpoor, the safest remedy would be active operations in self-defence. No such alternative will, in my opinion, happen.

We have reinforced Ferozpoor by one European regiment, two troops English horse artillery, two Native Infantry regiments, and a third regiment if desirable.

Sir J. Littler to command this advanced post, which consists of 7,000 men. It is impossible in the face of this force to cross the river at Ferozpoor. The more distant fords would give us timely notice of any attack; and with the works we now have and some heavy guns, I consider this post perfectly secure.

The defensive force exceeds 20,000 men and 60 guns, including seven of H.M.'s regiments.

We can collect 33,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, and 100 guns in about six weeks; all the reinforcements have been taken from our extremities, nothing on the great trunk road, and six of these regiments are troops on which Sir H. Gough did not reckon, such as a regiment from Barrackpore, Midnapoor, Bherampoor, Dinapoor, and two from the Saugor country &c.

The next three months will be occupied in emptying the treasury at Lahore, and, if the troops can be prevailed upon to move in hostilities against Golab Singh, I see no probability of the latter being able to do more than defend himself in his hills. He will not undertake the enterprise of setting up for himself at Lahore. He has not the popularity; ⁴ he may bribe the Sikh sirdars, but the troops detest him, and the hill petty rajas whom he has despoiled equally detest him. I believe he has recently sent money and jewels to our bank of the river.⁵

We shall have 500 elephants in the course of the summer between Cawnpoor and the Sutlege, and 7,000 camels, exclusive of tattoos and hackeries; ⁶ and if ever we do move across, Ferozpoor will be a most useful point on which to concentrate our resources, limiting the baggage, and only moving across in light marching order, having 25,000 cavalry against us, between the river and Lahore.

The battering train would be drawn by elephants, two to each 24-pounder, occupying a short space on the line of march. Two batteries of your iron 12-pounders would also be drawn by one elephant each, and in action by bullocks; double shafts are provided; and a rocket company with the proper apparatus for firing and carrying the rockets.

With regard to the 9-pounders to be converted *out* of the 6-pounders horse artillery, the opinion is adverse to the plan, and Col. Gowan himself has withdrawn, and no longer advocates the measure. However, I have insisted on Major Abbott taking Capt. Grant's troop of 6-pounders, and with eight horses on the detachment

⁴ Means, he cannot reckon on the support of the people of the Punjab.

⁵ The right bank of the Sutlej was

Sikh; the left bank, British.

⁶ Ponies and bullock carts.



system if he likes, turning out the most complete 9-pounder troop that his ingenuity can invent. We have given him *carte blanche*, and the practical trial will be fairly made.

In the midst of this anarchy on the frontier, you will ask why am I here?

The longer I can stay here, the better our chance of keeping the Sikh Government on its legs. Even if we had a case for devouring our ally in his adversity, we are not ready, and could not be ready until the hot winds set in, and the Sutlege becomes a torrent. Moderation will do us no harm, if in the interval the hills and the plains weaken each other; but on what plea could we attack the Punjab, if this were the month of October, and we had our army in readiness?

Self-preservation may require the dispersion of this Sikh army; the baneful influence of such an example is the evil most to be dreaded; but exclusive of this case, how are we to justify the seizure of our friend's territory, who in our adversity assisted us to retrieve our affairs?

H. HARDINGE.

When Broadfoot's letter⁷ to the Commander-in-Chief, dated January 15, inquiring what foundation existed for the rumours of military preparations at headquarters, was received by the Government of India, the Secretary in the Foreign Department was desired to address the Agent and direct him to tell the Darbar the exact truth as follows:

That a barrack for a European regiment of infantry had for a length of time been ordered to be constructed at Ferozepore, of which the foundations are already laid; that the Governor-General in Council, perceiving during the autumn the state of weakness in which the Government of the Maharajah had been for some time under his Highness Wuzeer Rajah Heera Singh, had postponed to give orders for the completion of this building, in order that no question might arise, exciting any doubt or jealousy of our intention, on the part of the Government of the Maharajah or of the Sikh army.

That the British force stationed at Ferozepore has remained of the same strength as before, notwithstanding the recent violent proceedings of the Sikh army against its own Government, which conduct it is unnecessary now to comment upon, otherwise than to repeat that it is conduct utterly repugnant to British feeling and British policy; and that this army has become so notoriously beyond

⁷ Referred to, p. 260.



control, that the Governor-General in Council, always anxious to preserve the tranquillity of the Sikh states under his protection, will, under existing circumstances, now proceed to complete the buildings at Ferozepore according to his original intention, and also to reinforce that post by an additional force of Native Infantry.⁸

Broadfoot was further directed to impress on the Vakil that the British policy of friendliness had remained unchanged, in despite of the movement of the Sikh army towards our frontier, and that no desire existed to interfere in the internal affairs of the Punjab.

Whilst the Agent was to do all he could to convince the Sikh Court of British good faith, he was to take the opportunity, should it occur, of giving the Darbar the warning already mentioned.⁹

The following letter from Gen. Ventura to Major Broadfoot has a certain interest as a genuine relic of one of the best known of the foreign officers who served the Sikh Government. It is printed as it is written, unaltered and uncorrected. The General had the revenues of some villages in the Lahore cis-Sutlej estates assigned to him. He feared that the Sikh Government would resume the gift, and wished to obtain the support of the Government of India in resisting the seizure of his property.

Calcutta le 25 janvr. 1845.

Mon cher Major,—Quelque fut mon desir de vous écrire j'ai différé de le faire jusqu'à ce jour. Je voulais attendre une solution à mes affaires et pouvoir vous en faire part; si celle que j'ai obtenue n'est pas tout à fait telle que je l'eusse souhaitée j'ai lieu néanmoins d'être satisfait et surtout reconnoissant.

Après plusieurs entrevues avec S.E. Le Gouverneur-Général dans lesquelles il m'a temoigné le plus veritable interet et la plus haute bienveillance, j'ai reçu de lui l'assurance positive que l'honorable gouvernement dont il est le chef ne pouvant m'accorder une protection officielle me la donnerait cependant de fait; nous soutiendrons m'a-t-il dit, vos droits avec toute la force de notre influence faisant valoir toute la justice de votre cause, je ne puis vous garantir officiellement la propriété de vos villages, mais je vous assure que vous ne les perdrez point à moins, a-t-il ajouté en riant, que votre affaire ne devienne un casus Belli, je vais écrire à cet égard de ma propre main au Major Broadfoot. De semblables paroles de la

⁸ *Papers &c.* printed February 26, 1846, pp. 14, 15.

⁹ See p. 272.

bouche de S.E. sont faites pour inspirer pleine confiance surtout, mon cher Major, quand c'est vous qui est chargé d'en assurer les bons effets.

L'excellent accueil qui m'a été fait par le chef, et tous les membres de l'honorable gouvernement dans mes démarches au sujet de cette affaire a été, je ne l'ignore pas, admirablement préparée par vos rapports favorables, ce sont vos Lettres qui ont excité ces sentiments d'interet que j'ai rencontrés par tout; enfin c'est un plaisir bien vrai pour mon cœur de vous le dire, c'est à vous que je dois le succes que j'ai obtenu; vous avez pratiqué à mon égard ce beau principe, promettre peu, et faire beaucoup. Je ne saurai vous exprimer avec trop de chaleur toute ma gratitude toute ma reconnaissance, et je puis ajouter toute celle de ma famille; si elle conserve cette majeure partie de sa fortune c'est à vous qu'elle la devra.

S.E. m'a assuré que les choses seront maintenues telles que Mr. Clerk les a établies, que les Villages seront administrés par les employés du Gouv^t et les revenus versées dans le trésor et mis à ma disposition, je prends donc la liberté de vous transmettre ci joint une petite note pour vous faire connaître les charges dont sont grévées ces revenus. Veuillez avoir la bonté d'ordonner que ce chiffre ne soit pas arbitrairement dépassé c'est à dire que vous seul puissiez l'augmenter si vous le jugiez nécessaire.

Permettez-moi mon cher Major de vous prier de compléter pour l'avenir votre bonne œuvre en réglant mes affaires de telle sorte que lorsque vous quitterez la place que vous occupez pour monter à une nouvelle et plus haute encore position, celui qui vous remplacera, dans l'amitié et l'interet duquel je n'ai pas lieu d'esperer comme dans les votres, ne puisse pas detruire votre ouvrage comme Mr. Richmond l'avait fait de celui de Mr. Clerk.

Ce n'est pas ici le moment de vous rappeler que vous m'avez promis de vous adresser à moi pour ce dont vous pourriez avoir besoin en France, cependant je tiens à vous renouveler que ce sera une veritable jouissance pour moi de me charger de vos commissions et de pouvoir vous être agréable, ce sera en la faisant une veritable preuve d'amitié que vous me donnerez.

Je partirai le 8 du mois prochain par le Paquebot à Vapeur le Précurseur et je me rendrai en Angleterre avant de rentrer en France ou je serai dans le courant du mois d'avril, lorsque vous voudrez bien m'écrire mon adresse est

Gen. Ventura, chez Mr. PrévotEAU notaire, rue St. Marc Feydeau, No. 20.

Adieu, mon cher Major, veuillez agréer ici la nouvelle assurance de toute mon estime et de mon reconnaissant attachement.

Votre tout dévoué,

VENTURA.

CHAPTER XII.

1845.

Sikh troops withdrawn from North-West Frontier—Interview between Agent and Vakil: Sutlej the limit of supremacy of the two Powers—Mulla Ahmad—Sir H. Hardinge to Lord Ellenborough: Punjab news—Letter from the Private Secretary: the boats for a flotilla or bridge—Sikh expedition against Jammu—Deputation to Gulab Singh—Letter from Sir C. Napier: the Bugtis—Letter from Havelock—From Lord Ellenborough—Sir H. Hardinge to Lord Ellenborough: Punjab news—Gulab Singh's negotiations with the Sikhs—Troops available for frontier defence—Jammu: fighting between Sikhs and hill men—Negotiation—Gulab Singh virtually a prisoner—Violation of our frontier by Sikh troops—Resolute and prompt steps taken by Broadfoot—His action commended by the Governments of India and England—Letter to Lord Ellenborough: Capt. W. Smith of the 'Siren'—His services in the fight with the 'Chesapeake'; and in Burma—Letter from Lord Ellenborough—Broadfoot in Simla—Lahore news.

EARLY in February the Vakil was able to report that the troops which had been sent towards the Sutlej had been withdrawn, and that a considerable number of men had marched to Jammu against Raja Gulab Singh. In giving this information he intimated that the withdrawal of the Sikh army was owing to his exertions, and said he hoped that dissatisfaction would cease, and that the friendship which existed in Ranjit Singh's time would be preserved.

The Agent assured him that in the friendly feelings of the Governor-General to the Maharaja, and in his desire for the preservation of the former mutual confidence, there was no change, and that because of this, and because of the alarm and injury which might result at Lahore, the necessary reinforcements for the frontier had not been demanded.

Yet, on a report from Ambala, which on inquiry turned out to have been groundless, the Darbar had suspected the Government of India of treachery, and, instead of asking for explanation, had adopted steps which need not be re-



capitulated, and had followed those steps by marching troops towards our frontier.

Broadfoot after saying he was glad that the troops had been recalled, added: 'It would be deceiving the Durbar to say that I felt the same confidence in them as before; and that in all future arrangements for the frontier, it must be my duty to bear in mind what had already happened.' The Vakil asked if he was to communicate this reply to the Darbar, and whether it was to be considered as an expression of the views of our Government, or merely of those held by the Agent.

The reply was, that every word might be reported, but that, as the Agent had not yet heard from the Governor-General on the subject, he must be personally responsible for the reply.

The Vakil then hinted at the necessity under which the Darbar laboured of conciliating the troops; on which Broadfoot remarked that this fact merely added strength to what he had said, and rendered more grave their recent movement.

He further took occasion to state what the Vakil well knew, and what Ranjit Singh never for a moment forgot, that from and after the conclusion of the treaty in 1809, the Sutlej had limited the supremacy¹ of the two Powers, and consequently the protection of all, high and low, south of the river devolved on the Governor-General. That in any government the protection of its subjects was a first duty, and that, therefore, the Agent's most important duty was 'to provide against every risk, from whatever quarter arising, of injury to any man on the south of the Sutlej; and I repeated that in doing so I must bear in mind the occurrences showing that Ranjit Singh was no longer reigning.'

The Vakil assented to all this, and after some less important conversation took his leave.

One of the consequences of the employment of natives in certain negotiations which were carried on in Afghanistan during the Kabul disasters was, that the men employed had found intrigue so profitable that they devoted their attention solely to practising on the credulity of British political officers. Of these men a certain Mulla Ahmad was an adept, and Broadfoot discovered that he was in correspondence with two of his

¹ The words used were *riyāsat*, *ḥukūmat*, and *ikhtiyār*.



Assistants. He pointed out the harm which resulted in the Punjab, and in every other country up to Persia, from the belief that the Government of India was connected with intrigues and intriguers so disreputable and unprincipled. He cautioned an Assistant to be careful, lest by his mode of receiving such persons he might encourage this belief, and give the natives reason to suspect that there was foundation for the falsehoods by which they lived.

On his own part he determinedly discouraged all intercourse with them; unfortunately the necessity for this had not been so evident to his predecessor, who had written letters to Mulla Ahmad, in themselves, it is believed, absolutely innocent, but which in the hands of an unscrupulous man could be used with evil effect. He naturally did make use of them, and the whole correspondence had to be submitted to the Government of India. The incident need not be more minutely followed; it is sufficient to record that the entire approval of the Government of India was conveyed to Major Broadfoot for bringing the matter to notice in the way he did, and of the course he pursued in regard to Mulla Ahmad.

The following extract from a long letter, dated February 9, 1845, from Mrs. Cameron is interesting as a record of the impression Broadfoot's conduct as a political officer was making on the Governor-General, and as corroborating opinions somewhat differently expressed in other letters.

I have not often dined at Government House since you were here, but I *never* have dined there without mention being made of you, and made in those terms you would have most liked to hear; I will not call them flattering terms, but terms of perfect *confidence*. On the last occasion Sir Henry Hardinge told me—I do not know whether it was a secret—that he was very anxious to procure for you your lieutenant-colonelcy as soon as possible. I suppose he has told you as much. He has once or twice said to me, 'I was led to form a wrong impression of Broadfoot, and have been told he was a rash and excitable man; on the contrary, I see that he is calm and resolute, and when he displays energy it is not to make, but to avoid, a war.'

The general news of the first half of February will be found in the following extract from a letter from Sir Henry Hardinge to Lord Ellenborough.



Calcutta : February 20, 1845.

My dear Lord Ellenborough,—There is no abatement in the anarchy and mutiny of the Sikh army. They go where they please, and every military operation depends upon their temper and caprice at the moment.

Golab Singh has again written to us, delighted to enter into terms with us. The first overture was a voluntary offer of his own, through a confidential emissary. The letter I now allude to is in answer to the intrigue of a Frenchman, a Mons. de St. Amand, a great scamp, who took it into his head to go to Jummoo from Loodiana, and after two days' delay, finding he could get no employment, pretended he came on a mission from Capt. Mills to propose an alliance with the Raja and the conquest of the Punjab. The Raja's letter by his own emissary had been previously received and rejected. The Frenchman impudently wrote to Capt. Mills from Jummoo that his proposals were accepted, and the Raja has now sent us a letter entreating us to lose no time. Broadfoot will show up the impostor, and M. de St. Amand will have his nose cut off or be hanged.

The Sikh troops in Jesrota and the neighbourhood have burnt several villages, and carried off 1,000 women and boys. The hill tribes are roused to vengeance, and, in spite of their hatred of Golab Singh, may rally round him to gratify their vengeance, and prevent further horrors from being perpetrated by the Sikhs in their country.

Evidently Golab Singh is greatly alarmed. Lahore is stripped of troops, and we hear they have not 12 lacs in the treasury, but rely upon their reserve treasure at Govindghur. The grand *dénouement* will be postponed until the treasure be exhausted.

The Ranee continues her debaucheries in the grossest style. The army threaten to place Peshora Singh at their head, and I believe my threat has saved Dhuleep Singh's life—that if he were deposed by violence the Sikhs must not expect us to recognise his successor.

Our Assistants on the frontier will persist in dabbling in the intrigues of the Punjab, and I fear I must withdraw —, and perhaps —.

We received last night a curious letter from the confidential secretary of the Raja of Puteala, stating that the Raja of Nabha was convinced he was the eleventh incarnation of Vishnoo, and at twenty-four years of age was to rise against the English and vanquish them. Several details of the preparations making are given, and the letter is remarkably well got up if, as I expect, it is a hoax. I therefore do not send it home.



There has been sad bungling in the military operations against Sawant Waree.² I should have withdrawn Gen. Delamotte had he not had some flashes of ability and decision in the storming of Summunghur and Punalla, for which the Bombay Government gave him their thanks. Col. Outram has done very well at the head of his column, marching through the jungle in every direction, whilst the other columns have been frittering away their time in shelling jungles and ravines before they would permit their troops to enter them. I have written in strong terms to Bombay on this subject.

Napier, with his characteristic energy, is hunting the Boogtie tribe, and chastising them for their cruelties during the summer in plundering our villages near Shikarpoor.

I expect to hear the result of a combined movement he is making in the hope of catching them in his net; I doubt this part of the enterprise, but it will be a very useful operation, and if he can capture or destroy two or three hundred of these miscreants he will give the preponderance of power to the Murries, a friendly tribe of robbers, whom the Boogties had conquered.

All your friends here are in good health, and constantly inquire after you with the most affectionate interest.

H. HARDINGE.

The following letter from the Private Secretary to Broadfoot on the subject of boats, which had been ordered in 1843 partly for purposes of traffic, and also to be available for use as a bridge if necessary, has a special importance. The measure has been alleged as one of the causes of the outbreak of war,³ and it is well, therefore, that the principal facts concerning them should be plainly recorded.

(Confidential.)

February 20, 1845.

My dear Broadfoot,—The Governor-General has desired me to address you on the following subject:

2. Sixty boats, built at Bombay, have just been conveyed into the Indus to serve as a river flotilla, and also as a bridge of boats.

3. They are of equal dimensions, each carrying a gun, two grappling irons with strong chains, and 100 men; the sixty boats would therefore for short distances, such as the passage of a river, carry 6,000 infantry at one trip.

² Sāwantwārī.—Native State in Bombay, under the charge of a political superintendent; situated about 200 miles south of Bombay city. The administration was made over to the British Government in 1838, and

there were rebellions in 1839 and 1844. (Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. xii. p. 295.)

³ Cunningham's *Sikhs*, second edition, p. 286.



4. Each boat has its separate proportion of timber ready for the flooring of a bridge of boats, and capable of being laid down in two or three hours.

5. It is not desirable that the purposes to which these boats can be applied should unnecessarily transpire. The Governor-General does not desire to create alarm which might be prejudicial to the Maharaja's Government. These contingent preparations, which policy and prudence dictate, are required by the disgraceful state of turbulence in which the Sikh army has so long remained, and which amply justifies this and every other preliminary arrangement. I need scarcely observe that in the state of the Indian press entire secrecy is the proper course to pursue.

6. But if any inquiry should be made hereafter, your answer will be that this flotilla of boats is not at present required on the lower Indus, that our commissariat arrangements do require the employment of boats between Ferozporc and Sukkur for the supply of the latter place with grain, and that these boats are purposely adapted for military as well as trading purposes, and form part of our military means and establishment on the Indus applicable to any purposes for which they may be required either on that river or on the Sutlej; to which you may add several iron steamers which it is convenient to the Government to employ on these rivers for the conveyance of troops, stores, and supplies; and of course available for offensive as well as for defensive objects, not unnecessarily entering into these explanations, but stating the truth if explanation be proper.

7. On the other hand, you will distinctly understand that our only object in desiring secrecy is at all times and under all circumstances to do nothing which can weaken the Maharaja's Government by exciting alarm or raising discussions in the Indian newspapers.

8. Orders have been given for these boats to move up to Sukkur; and further orders may be hereafter given for their movement towards Ferozporc later in the year. Twenty days must elapse before an answer can be received from you to this communication; but as some preliminary arrangements ought to be made, the Governor-General has desired me to apprise you of what his intentions are in this respect.

9. The Commissariat Department have from economical motives proposed that the Bengal troops at Sukkur should be supplied with grain sent down in boats from Ferozporc. The Government has approved of this arrangement. The Commissariat will be enabled advantageously and permanently to employ a certain number of camels in bringing the grain to Ferozporc, and to have boats and crews at all times in their service regularly paid and under their command.

10. The trade on the Sutlej, however small, will tend to keep open



this communication between the North-West Frontier and Sind, and afford the means of having a command of boats on the river; and the European officers and troops, by the return of the boats employed by the Commissariat, will have all their wants supplied at the cheapest possible rates.

11. The Governor-General observes in a newspaper—'The Friend of India' of February 6—that a Mr. Charde is stated to have established at Ferozpoore an Indus boat agency.

12. It appears to the Governor-General that this speculation should be encouraged, if the individual be of a respectable character, and that the first step should be to give him the assistance of Government by building a ghaut or wharf for the loading and unloading of goods; the means of securing the boats at all seasons, with a road leading to the banks of the river. This wharf should be the property of the Government, and be constructed in reference to objects of commerce as well as of military convenience in the event of a bridge of boats being placed across the Sutlej. It might have a house attached to it, for purposes of trade, capable of holding a guard, gradually establishing a few houses close to the bank of the river.

13. In reference to par. 8 the Superintending Engineer would be placed in charge of the flooring, timber &c. of each boat, arranging them in store according to the most approved method of keeping all the parts of one pontoon together, and at all times in order and readiness.

14. The report of the Bombay Committee will at some future time be sent to the officer in charge, so as to enable him to calculate with precision the exact time required for laying the bridge across the river, which by previous arrangement ought not to exceed two hours by day or four hours by night, on all which details future instructions will be furnished.

15. The Governor-General has ascertained by the scanty information hitherto sent to him that the boats &c. are ample in space and flooring &c. for the object proposed; but he particularly wishes you to turn your attention to the best mode and time of bringing the boats up to Ferozpoore. The inclosed plan and dimensions of one of the boats will enable you to form an opinion whether it will be more advisable to bring up the boats gradually during the summer, unloading the flooring &c. at Ferozpoore, and then handing over the boats to the Commissariat Department to be used in carrying grain down the Indus, and thus establishing a navigation up and down the river in our own boats; or whether it will be a preferable decision to keep the boats and their timbers at Sukkur, not divulging their object until the last moment, if ever the necessity should arise. In this latter case an officer of the Bengal Sappers and Miners should



take charge of the boats at Sukkur, and be well informed on all points relating to the construction of the bridge.

16. The quieter mode as regards reports of their ultimate destination, would be to bring up and to store all the timbers at Feroz-pore, being prepared with artillery waggons belonging to the batteries at Feroz-pore to transport them in an hour to the riverside whenever required.

17. It will be desirable to ascertain the probable time which one of these boats would take in coming up from Sukkur to Feroz-pore, say during the months of June, July, and August.

18. The Governor-General therefore wishes you to take all these matters into your consideration, and to give him your opinion at your earliest convenience.

19. Adverting to par. 5 of this letter, you will clearly understand that this preparation for a movable bridge is a part of the military establishment of every army, and is to be considered in no respect a departure from the policy of maintaining a Sikh power permanently in the Punjab by every possible means consistent with existing treaties. In devising the best mode of proceeding regarding this bridge, care must be taken to avoid publicity by which the Maharaja's interests might be damaged, or the confidence of the Sikh army in his Highness's Government shaken by British preparations, which when known are inevitably of a character to excite suspicion.

Yours &c.

C. S. HARDINGE.

To this letter Broadfoot replied, that he was glad that the boats were coming, as they were much wanted; and that unless they were required at Sukkur, they should be sent at once to Ferozpur. If the Darbar asked about them, explanation would be given as desired; and the sooner the better, for the Sikhs were already aware, for reasons which had been explained to them, that the British Government was strengthening its force on the frontier, and that the means of crossing rivers formed part of our equipment.

For the last ten to fourteen years the Sikhs had kept nearly all the boats on the north side of the river, thereby causing inconvenience to the villages on the south side, and giving rise to considerable complaint.

Broadfoot's view regarding the river was, that it was an open highway, and that we, as well as the Sikhs, had a right to use it; consequently, that we were entitled to have the

means of using it. This was more than ever necessary since the annexation of Sind.

The Darbar, as has been mentioned, had sent part of the Sikh army to coerce Raja Gulab Singh in his capital, Jammu, to make him part with money which he loved so well, and to agree to conditions which he disliked.

His old opponent Sardar Fattah Singh, Mān,⁴ and some others, were deputed to arrange terms, whilst the army halted near Jammu. The Raja received them with great honour, and amused them for several days with alternate professions of submission and hints of defiance. A deputation from the panchayats then arrived. The Raja treated them as masters of the State; placed his sword and shield on the ground at their feet, and stood before them with his hands joined. He expatiated, *more Asiatico*, on the bounty of the Sikhs to his family,⁵ whose long-tried loyalty and devotion were recognised, and during whose tenure of office the State had enjoyed prosperity. He contrasted this with the present deplorable state of affairs; the wealth and property of the Khalsa embezzled by the present rulers, the treasuries exhausted, and the consequent imminent inability to pay the troops. He enhanced these arguments by making lavish presents to the deputation, to evince his gratitude and admiration. At length, after much argument, on February 28, the Raja consented to certain terms, and, as an earnest of sincerity, agreed to hand over to Sardar Fattah Singh and Wazir Bachna four lakhs of rupees. The money was duly paid, and they with their escort departed. Just outside Jammu a party in ambush fired on them. Fattah Singh and the Wazir were killed, many others were wounded, and the treasure was recaptured.

In spite of Gulab Singh's protestations of innocence and grief, the army was incensed at the deception practised, and all his skill was required to avert the dangers by which he was surrounded. How he managed this will in due course appear;

⁴ The full name and title appear to be Sardar Fattah Singh, Mān, of Mānanwālā. The village Mānanwālā is said to have been destroyed about the year 1720. (Griffin's *Punjab*

Chiefs, p. 177.)

⁵ The Sikhs had murdered his brother and nephew, and his son was killed along with Kunwar Nao Nihal Singh.



meanwhile Sir Charles Napier thus described the expedition against the Bugtis which has already been mentioned.

Deyrah: February 24, 1845.

My dear Sir,—I have yours of the 11th instant. The Mooltan authorities are behaving apparently very fairly. The hill Mazarees are the people I referred to; but I have reason to think that his Highness Ali Morad did them injustice in accusing them of honesty and humanity towards brother robbers.

They have sent to me all assurances to the contrary, and I incline to think that they would take great pleasure in a little pleasant practice upon any property he⁶ took with him, and feel no weakness or sentimental tenderness as to his throat. Where he is I am unable to discover. I nearly came upon him on the 20th. We took a quantity of baggage and grain to the value of some thousand rupees, which he had not time to load.

I have now formed a cordon from this to the Mazaree boundary. The Murrees have sent to say they are coming to make their salaam, and I have offered them this fine country, which is now in our possession. This plain is quite beautiful, and has a fine stream of pure water running through it. Every part might be a rich garden. Yet, with the exception of a few patches round the fortress, there is no sign of cultivation. [It is] a regular den of robbers. You cannot enter this superb valley but through such passes as I never saw before. Why they let me in I know not, but *here I am*, and *hold the pass to get out again too*, or I should not feel satisfied, I assure you.

I think you will ere this have received my letter to say that I had given up coming to Deyrah from the river, for fear of any collision or inconvenience to the General Government. However, had I done so, the total destruction of these tribes would have been accomplished a full month ago. We have pretty well done for them as it is!

Believe me &c.

C. J. NAPIER.

Major Broadfoot had written in February to congratulate Havelock on the birth of a daughter, and appears to have apologised for not giving him Lahore news because that was treated as confidential. Havelock, who was then with Sir H. Gough, replied as follows:

* 'He' probably refers to Beja Khan, already mentioned in Sir C. N.'s previous letters as the leader of the Bugtis.



Headquarters Camp : March 1, 1845.

My dear Broadfoot,—Your welcome letter of the 18th ult. was long on the road, and longer still has been my delay in answering it. Many thanks for your kind congratulations on the birth of my youngest daughter. . . .

I have as perfectly apprehended as if you had before written it, the impossibility of your giving me any details of the result of your observation of affairs beyond the Sutlej. I only wish the Government always to be served in the same spirit of honourable reserve by its political servants, and that all my friends, when they think of me, may be guided by the same principle of duty in the first place. But I venture to hope that you will visit Simla soon, and that we shall be able to enjoy long chats *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, without any rub to the conscience of either. This, I trust, is not so distant an expectation as that of my excellent master when he said to the Chinese mandarin, 'Sir, if either business or pleasure shall ever bring you to the county of Limerick, I hope we shall renew our acquaintance at my country seat at Rathronan.'

I am glad the fellow Duriya Khan has been *chupao-ed*.⁷ I recollect my old Mooftee giving me a description of him at Jellalabad. He enlarged much on his Afghan virtues of liberality, courage, and hospitality, and wound up with: 'Oh! he is a noble fellow. I have seen the man. He wears armour, and is a regular hero; and he plunders everybody.'

The late feat of a surprise so sudden and bold appears to justify Lawrence's character of Tej Singh the Governor, who told me he was one of the best of the remaining Sikh Sirdars. When I referred to Ventura, however, for his character, the Frenchman shrugged his shoulders, and said, 'C'est un animal!' Lawrence, I suppose, was right.

I am pleased to hear that my old friends of the Sappers remember me. I am writing at the table which one of them made for me, and which I always regard on that account as a piece of furniture beyond price; and thereon lies the writing desk, which was taken out of Akbar's tent, on the morning in which they carried his encampment with me. You must care for them⁸ certainly; but I trust, my good friend, that neither the duties of chieftainship, nor any other thing,

⁷ *Chapão*, a sudden attack, a surprise.

⁸ Certain Afghans are referred to, who were in Broadfoot's Sappers, and who, on the incorporation of that regi-

ment with the Bengal Sappers and Miners, refused to leave their leader. They were known as Broadfoot's bodyguard, and were with him to the last.



will make you forget the expediency of providing for the future whilst you hold your present good appointment.

Sir Robert⁹ came to us three or four days ago, looking as well as ever after a fatiguing dāk journey; and desires me to send you his sincere regards.

I am glad you think well of the Lieutenant-Governor, or rather of Thomason; for I knew him as a boy in his father's house at Calcutta in 1823, and augured well of him there. A disappointment in such cases is painful; and therefore I triumph in his honest success in after life, as I do in that of Talfourd the lawyer, Sir W. Norris, Hare the archdeacon, and Connop Thirlwall, now a bishop; because I witnessed the first steps of the career of all and each, and thought that they were good. Of soldiers whom I knew when young, old Harry Smith is the only one who has come nearly up to the mark of my expectations.

You are quite right; in public affairs, as in matters eternal, the path of popularity is the broad way, and that of duty the straight¹ gate, and 'few there be that enter thereby.' I shall have been half a century in the world if I am spared another month, and end in opinion where I began. Principles alone are worth living for or striving for; and of all the animals, the most ill-judging, ungrateful, and opposed to their own true interests, are men, that is mankind. Of that race the best portion are the women, as those of the lords of the creation will ever confess whose hearts God has guided to a right choice from amongst them.

I had intended to mention something which Marshman wrote me about your Maulmain Government, all favourable; but I have exceeded due limits, and must stop. Hoping soon to write again, and to hear from you, I remain, ever &c.

H. HAVELOCK.

In the next letter, the only part that requires remark is that in which Lord Ellenborough alludes to Mr. Clerk being ready to go to the Punjab under certain circumstances. It will be shown hereafter that some such proposal was made, but was declined by the Governor-General.

London: March 7, 1845.

My dear Broadfoot,—Many thanks for your letter of January 17.

It is a great comfort to me to know that you are on the frontier at this critical juncture. Sir Henry expresses his satisfaction with

⁹ Sale, apparently.

¹ 'The practice of writing *straight* for *not crooked*, and *strait* for narrow, rests mainly on the dictum of Ains-

worth, approved by Johnson. [N. Fr. *estroit*; Lat. *strictus*.]' Extract from *Johnson's Dictionary*, by Dr. R. G. Latham, vol. ii. part ii. p. 1067.



your proceedings in every letter, and his satisfaction is shared by Lord Ripon. Depend upon it, I am not forgetful of your wishes as to further brevet rank, and I know well how useful eventually to the service your advancement would be.

I hope another year will elapse before you are compelled to cross the Sutlej. You will be prepared by that time, and the lapse of time will make your work easier. I wish I could think that your advance would not ultimately become necessary.

In any case it is wise to confine ourselves to attempting one thing at a time, and we have now a larger force in Sawuntwaree than we had at Candahar, and the troops at Sukkur are not disposable for Mooltan.

I am very glad to hear that my new road from Delhi to Bahawalpoor was found practicable by the Bundeleund Legion.

In the event of your going into the Punjab, I know Mr. Clerk will be ready at once to proceed thither. He is entirely at Sir Henry's disposal for that service, notwithstanding his eventual succession to the Council, which he would readily throw over. Most of the Sardars he knew are, however, gone. I believe all who were at Ferozpoor are now dead, except the Fakeer Azeezooddeen.

I hope you will take care of your health during the hot weather, for you cannot be spared. My best wishes will ever attend you.

Yours &c.

ELLENBOROUGH.

The events of the time are mentioned in the following letter from Sir Henry Hardinge to Lord Ellenborough: some of them have been already described; but though repetition would be avoided by partial omissions, yet on the whole it seems better to quote the letter in substantial integrity.

Calcutta: March 8, 1845.

My dear Lord Ellenborough,—About 35,000 men of the Sikh army are before Jummoor, having left about 15,000 infantry, and the greater portion of their artillery and cavalry, in the plains around Lahore and Umritsur.

The generals were ordered by the punchayets not to interfere with the negotiations which they had commenced on the part of the army with Raja Golab Singh. These delegates, selected from the ranks, exceeding 150 in number, were most humbly received by Golab Singh. He laid his sword and shield at their feet, and declared them, as the representatives of the army, to be his masters.

Both parties agreed in abusing the Ranee and her brother. He



(Golab Singh) contrasted the prosperity of the Sikh State when his family were employed, with the misgovernment of a debauched woman and a brutal brother, who had recently mutilated a Brahmin by cutting off his nose, ears, and hands for having obeyed Heera Singh's order to arrest him. He compared his loyalty, his services, and his gratitude with the wretched system carried on by the present rulers, who would shortly not have bread for the soldiery. He promised a gold ring 10*l.* in value to each punchayet, and a donation of 250,000*l.* for the army.

They applauded his discourse. Sweetmeats, and drink, and women were provided, and the delegates have been with him for a week. His own troops are kept distinct; and hating him as the hill tribes do for his severity and extortion, they are so exasperated by the rape of their women and the scandalous excesses now indulged in by the Sikh army, that their loyalty to Golab Singh is for the moment secured by their hatred of the Sikhs.

The result of the negotiations is reported to have been an offer to Golab Singh to take the office of Wuzzeer, which of course he has declined in favour of Peshora Singh, who has consented to accept it provided his demand of five or six heads be conceded, particularly that of the slave girl Mungla.

He would equally have insisted on the head of the little Maharaja, but some time ago I desired Broadfoot formally to declare to the Durbar that if he were deposed by violence we would not recognise his successor, and with some strong expressions against the army this declaration was conveyed to the Durbar, and, Broadfoot reports, has undoubtedly saved the boy's life for the present; the army having more than once declared their readiness to depose him in favour of Peshora Singh.

The latter has also agreed to the terms of giving 15 rs. a month to every infantry soldier.

The punchayets enlist men; and the army, which had been gradually reduced by Heera Singh, has been augmented by the Ranee and the punchayets by about 9,000 men. The finances must shortly fail by the profusions and extortions of all parties to drain the treasury, and the want of power in the Ranee to resist.² She meditates flight to our side the Sutlege, but is so weak, and has so many treacherous confidants, that her design is known, and, if intercepted, [she] will probably lose her life.

This is the state of things by the last accounts; but I think it not unlikely that the army, at the last moment having marched up

² The finances must shortly fail, draining the treasury, and the Rani is powerless to resist. high rates of pay for the soldiers, are



into the mountains, will not consent to march down again without receiving the donation or the plunder of Jummoo. They will not be so stupid as to be satisfied with words, and are so completely without restraint that I expect to hear they have captured Jummoo, which is not strong, and therefore in which place the wily Raja will not trust himself.

Our protected Sikh territory begins to feel the effects of what is passing on the other side. I have not been able to ascertain that any impression has been made on our sepoy. Broadfoot has this matter in hand. I dare not write on this subject to the Commander-in-Chief. . . .

We shall now begin to move up the additional regiments to Ferozpoor, Loodiana, and Umballa, the barracks &c. being nearly ready; and as the fords deepen, and the heat increases, these movements will cause no alarm; but quietly we shall get the troops into their proper places.

We shall have seven European regiments between Meerut and the river, and the eighth European regiment at Agra, with about seventy pieces of horse artillery and field batteries within the same distance, and if the necessity should arise, full 40,000 men for field service, and 100 guns. During the next six months we hope to get the whole of our affairs with the protected Sikhs into better order; and we must be quite certain of their temper before we leave them in our rear. This military democracy of the punchayet system is most dangerous; the point of endurance beyond which it cannot be tolerated has not arrived, and the trial of attempting to maintain a Sikh Government in power must run its course. I do not think that any administration or any military chief can regain ascendancy over the army managed by the punchayets. A strong Sikh Government, from its position, its resources, and its *religion*, is a desideratum which, I fear, is unattainable;³ and when the finances fail, this Sikh people, or in other words this Sikh army, will relapse into the rude state of their grandfathers, from which they only emerged fifty years ago, and to which they will have no objection to return.

But as regards the policy of this question, there can be no doubt that it is an easier, a simpler, and more decisive mode of dealing with them, to cripple and subdue them as an army rather than to do the same thing⁴ against hordes of Pindaries &c.

Indian policy and European feeling will become each day more difficult to reconcile; but being pretty well prepared for any event

³ Means apparently, the Government cannot be strong, because (1) it is controlled by panchayats; (2) financial failure is imminent; and (3) its

religion is democratic.

⁴ This word is doubtful in the original.



at this season of the year, we have only to wait the progress of events, and act accordingly.

Napier has, with his characteristic energy, done everything that could be performed in his late expedition. The capture of their flocks may make them more cautious in giving us offence. At the same time it is apparent that these Parthians of the desert cannot be caught or their atrocities punished; we shall probably be able to come to terms with them, and I am expecting to hear from him daily.

The Sawunt Warree expedition has given us more trouble than it ought. The forts are very strong, the ravines steep, and the jungles on their sides almost impracticable. Col. Outram volunteered his services when recalled from Colapoor: they were accepted. He was placed at the head of 1,000 men, and certainly the boldness, energy, and perseverance with which he conducted his operations are a marked contrast to the feebleness and folly of the other commanders of the columns ordered to co-operate with him.

Sir G. Arthur has therefore offered him Sattarà; Col. Ovans, after his exposure at Punalla, having resigned. I see Napier is surprised and annoyed. He was thanked for storming the breach at Punalla. I refused to do so on the ground that, being in a political office, he had no right to expose his life; and the officers of the army, who had had all the fag of the siege, ought not to have rival Bayards when there was no military necessity for the display of his courage. I am at the end of my sheet.

Yours &c. H. HARDINGE.

The Sikh army, exasperated by the successful treachery of Gulab Singh, were encamped in the immediate neighbourhood of Jammu. That city, the capital of the Raja's dominions, and still the political capital of the Kashmir and Jammu state, is beautifully situated on the right bank of the river Tavi or Tawi, in the outermost range of the lower Himalaya. It mainly depends on the Tawi for water, and both town and fort, separated from each other by the river, are commanded by an adjacent height. Between the little river and the plains is a belt of thick wood, outside of which is the Tillu tank. The hill men held the town and the belt of wood; the Sikhs occupied the stony plains beyond, which in the month of March, and indeed generally, except during the wet season, are dry, and not agreeable as a camping ground.

Want of water made the Sikhs attack the hill men; after a stubbornly contested fight, which lasted eight hours, and in which the leader of the hill troops was slain, the defenders



were driven from the river, the tank, and the outer jungle. It only remained to seize a small fort which commanded the approach to Jammu, to make certain of the capture of the city. The garrison of this fort sent out men to negotiate its surrender. But, instead of completing their victory, the Sikh leaders returned to camp, leaving their troops to follow as they pleased. The latter, after resting from the fatigue of fighting, pillaged the neighbourhood, 'committing such atrocities that many women having lost caste threw themselves into wells, and others to avoid dishonour were destroyed by their fathers, husbands, or brothers.'

The hill men in the mean time reoccupied all the ground they had lost, except the tank and lower part of the river.

On the second night they attacked, with great vigour, the camp of Sardar Sham Singh, Atariwala, captured two guns, and were on the eve of complete victory, when that chief dismounted from his elephant, rallied his men, recovered the guns, and repulsed the hill troops with loss.

By degrees the discomforts of the situation, and the want of any material success, spread discouragement amongst the Sikhs; and made them, in consequence, more disposed to entertain Raja Gulab Singh's overtures for negotiation. The report of a doubtful battle between Ratnu, the Raja's wazir, and Sardar Ranjur Singh, confirmed this feeling; and the panchayats eagerly accepted the Raja's terms. It is unnecessary to consider them, for neither party had any intention of abiding by them, when inconvenient, or when they could be evaded.

The news of a reconciliation between the Sikh leaders and Raja Gulab Singh was very unwelcome to the Darbar at Lahore. The Rani and her brother feared the immediate return of the troops, from whose detested presence they had enjoyed temporary relief. Sardar Jawahir Singh at once sent to Raja Lal Singh, the commander of the Sikh army, an agent, who was entrusted with orders desiring the prompt abrogation of the treaty, the seizure and transmission to Lahore of Gulab Singh's hostages, and the capture of Jammu.

The hostages appealed to the panchayats, who, without hesitation, conducted them in safety to Jammu. Then the Sardar's message was debated. After a stormy discussion the messenger was desired to return to his master, to inform him that he was unfit to govern, and would be speedily removed

from office, when he would be at liberty and have leisure to capture Jammu himself. This message filled the Sardar with terror. The Sikhs retired about five miles from the town, and their leaders met Gulab Singh, halfway between the two armies, in a garden near the Tillu tank, to arrange matters.

The Raja, with his hands folded and a sheet thrown over his neck as a suppliant, stood before the chiefs and professed sorrow for his offences, leaving punishment or forgiveness in their hands. They assured him that he had committed no offence, and after exchanging presents and conversing as friends for above an hour, they separated.

By the time the leaders had returned to the army, a change had come over the spirit of that unruly body. When told that peace had been concluded, and that they must return to Lahore, they answered 'that anyone who chose might go, but that they would not stir,' a decision which caused as great dismay in Jammu as their reported return had caused in Lahore.

But if there was dismay in Jammu, it was not felt by the Raja to such an extent as to paralyse his energy. The day after the interview he arrived in the Sikh camp with but a slender escort. The boldness of the step commanded the admiration of the troops, who, for a moment, saw in him the only possible reformer of the Lahore Government.

'At the Durbar the news caused terror, suspending even the drunkenness and buffoonery of the Holee,⁵ which Sardar Jowahir Singh had carried to an excess unknown before,' and offensive to a court not remarkable for decency. But the army was very fickle; the news of some slight success gained by Sardar Ranjur Singh banished the favourable impression made by Gulab Singh, and he became virtually a prisoner in their hands. His position was extremely critical, and such as to demand the exercise of all his skill and resource.

Whilst the Punjab was in this disturbed state, Broadfoot endeavoured to prevent disorder from seriously affecting the protected states. In a letter to Lord Ellenborough, dated Zira, March 19, 1845, he wrote:

⁵ *Holi*, the spring festival or carnival, in honour of Krishna and the milkmaids, the most noticeable feature

being the sprinkling of a red powder over spectators, and singing obscene songs. See Yule's *Glossary*, p. 323.



I have been for some time trying to restore something like order in this part of the country, and not, I hope, entirely without success; but confusion in the Punjab will always prevent entire tranquillity on our side of the river.

Sir Charles Napier is showing the Beloochees how little formidable they and their hills are to our troops when rightly led. He has been very successful, at which I rejoice on every account. It will tend greatly to tranquillise upper Sindh.

On this frontier all your plans are carried out, and with perfect success, hitherto and prospectively. If I cannot help wishing you had been here to guide the execution, it is not from any want of kindness towards me on the part of Sir Henry Hardinge, for that has been almost equal to your own. Nor has he adopted, as far as I can see, your policy in this quarter by halves: all his measures seem to me those which you would yourself have adopted under the circumstances.

The following extract is from a letter of the Governor-General to Lord Ellenborough:

Calcutta: March 22, 1845.

My dear Lord Ellenborough,—As I told you in my last note, so it has happened, that the negotiations having been closed by Golab Singh consenting to make the payments, the army sent Vakeels to receive the money; they received four lacs as an instalment, and a short distance from Jummoo were waylaid and deliberately murdered by Golab Singh's orders. The money was brought back to Jummoo.

The army then closed up, and some fighting has taken place, but with no important result; and if the Sikh army find the undertaking more difficult than they expected, they will probably again resort to negotiation, each party, by fraud and crime, trying to betray the other.

At Lahore everything goes on as usual. Gross debauchery and drunken brutality, in which Jowahir Singh killed one of his servants the other day. No prospect of any successor of Runjeet Singh's energy and mind; and no hope of any government ever regaining the ascendancy over this republican army, so admirably organised for successful mutiny and the indulgence of licentious crimes.

Broadfoot is doing good service. I am sorry to say — was in —'s hands; and I hear that my letter desiring it to be understood and pointed out to the Rajas, that your foreign policy was to be unchanged, never was communicated, and that this lieutenant has been taking a latitude and power which, if it be proved, will induce me to remove him immediately. He is a perfect Sikh; but the



major will soon put our affairs to rights ; and, in an opposite quarter, I have the pleasure to report that Durand continues to give full satisfaction and is very happy.

H. HARDINGE.

About the very time that the preceding letter was written, there occurred the first serious violation of our frontier. It was serious, not from the strength of the party which crossed the Sutlej without leave, but from the fact that it was a deliberate attempt to ascertain whether we were in earnest as regarded recent warnings addressed to the Darbar.

Broadfoot was in camp at Zira, a considerable place on the old road from Ludhiana to Firozpur, when the news reached him that a party of Sikh cavalry had crossed the river and taken up a position at Talwandi, a village near Harike patan⁶ and not far from Sobraon, where the great battle was afterwards fought.

He sent off at once to ascertain the strength and position of the party ; summoned the Vakil, who being in total ignorance of the matter could give no explanation ; and informed the officer commanding H.M.'s 62nd Regiment, then in camp at Kot Isa Khan, distant about sixteen miles.

At midnight, having heard that the party consisted of about 200 horsemen of the Lahore army, and two officers, Broadfoot sent the Vakil to them to cause their return, and told him that unless news of their departure by daybreak was received, he would move his camp to the spot, and recommended that all should be settled before he arrived.

In the morning no news came, and the detachment which formed the Agent's escort marched ; just as Broadfoot was about to join them, one of the Sikh party came and showed him an order from Sardar Hira Singh,⁷ brother of the Rani, directing the keeper of the ferry to pass the party across the Sutlej.

He said that their destination was Kot Kapoora ; but he professed readiness to return if I demanded it.

I directed him to inform those who had sent him, that warning

⁶ Harike (Hureeke), ferry or ford. It is situated where the road from Amritsar to Zira, Dharmkot, and Ludhiana crosses the Sutlej a little

below its junction with the Beas.

⁷ Not to be confounded with Raja Hira Singh, the often mentioned Wazir.



having long since been given that armed parties crossing the river without permission would be destroyed, I recommended them to settle with the zemindars,⁸ and recross before the detachment arrived; and I warned them that they would not be allowed to cross till compensation was made for the plunder of the evening.

When Broadfoot arrived at the village, he found the party gone, and no compensation paid. He therefore followed at once with the irregular horse of the escort, and at the river was met by the Vakil, who was profuse in excuses in order to give the party time to escape.

I therefore pushed on to the water's edge, where the sowars⁹ were hastening their embarkation: it would have been easy to destroy or capture the whole party; but on coming near them I perceived that they were of the best description of Ghorcharra,¹ and therefore in all probability sent, as they said, by the Darbar, or rather by that portion of it which does not favour the English alliance. It seemed desirable, therefore, to do no more than was necessary to convince the Darbar that if they sent their troops across the frontier without leave, they put them into the position of criminals whose release was a matter of clemency.

In and near one boat were the leaders. This party I desired to give themselves up, and, on their refusal, warned them that they would be destroyed if they resisted. As they would not surrender, I ordered our cavalry to seize and disarm them, without using force unless resistance were made. The order was executed promptly, and with as little confusion and violence as can in such cases be expected. I heard only one shot, which I believe was fired by mistake, and it is doubtful whether it took effect.

Having secured the leaders, I directed the rest of the party to be suffered to recross unmolested, and carried the prisoners immediately to the neighbouring village.

In the evening the villagers attended, and the damage done by the horsemen was assessed and paid. The horses and arms were then restored, and the prisoners were made over to the Vakil, who was instructed to pass them across the river.²

Their leader was Baba Bishan Singh, Bedi, who soon

⁸ *Zamindār*, cultivator holding village lands.

⁹ *Sowār*, horseman.

¹ *Ghorcharra*, irregular cavalry.

² From a memorandum kindly furnished by him, it appears that Mr. R. N. Cust, Personal Assistant to the Agent, was present on this occasion.



fraternised with the Agent, and frankly confessed that he knew their action was contrary to rule ; but such was the state of the Darbar, that a man could only save himself from insult³ by doing what he knew to be wrong. That Diwan Dinanath was the only wise man left ; but, he said, ' amidst ten fools a single wise man becomes also foolish.' The Bedi repeatedly said, ' The men of this day do not know, that without peace and friendship with the English we cannot stand. They will force on a quarrel, and then what will they do ? Others who are wiser, are forced to join and will perish with them, for we also are Khalsa.'

The Bedi was right, and the noble death at Sobraon of Sardar Sham Singh, forced by the taunts and jeers of the Rani to oppose the English, against his better judgment, is an apt illustration.

In reporting the occurrence just detailed, Broadfoot remarked that the forbearance shown would probably be misunderstood, and ascribed to any cause save the true one.

The Governor-General expressed entire approval of the Agent's proceedings. He was in some doubt as to the object of sending the party across without leave, and thought it might be in order to test our state of preparation to prevent crossing, or perhaps the result of an intrigue to compromise some party with the Government.

In reporting the matter for the information of the English Government, he remarked that ' Major Broadfoot behaved with great firmness and judgment in the matter,' and that all his proceedings on the occasion, and his letters to the Vakil and Darbar, were approved.

The Home Government concurred with the Government of India as to the propriety of the Agent's conduct. The act was held to be, on the part of the Darbar, an improper one, opposed to existing practice, and a striking example of the risk of collision which might at any moment arise on the south side of the river, as long as the Lahore Government was in such a state of anarchy and confusion. If the Governor-General considered that other incursions were likely to be made, he was authorised to notify to the Maharaja's Government that such acts could not be tolerated ; that the anarchical

³ The expression he used was ' izzat bachānā.'



state of his Government had long been a source of inconvenience and annoyance; that in consequence a large force had to be kept on the frontier; that those friendly relations to which so great value was attached, were endangered; and that to the good faith of the British Government and to its support, it was probable that Duleep Singh owed his position as Maharaja, if not his life; but that the British Government were bound to protect their own subjects and dependants, and could not suffer their interests to be imperilled by the incapacity of the Lahore Government to control its turbulent army.

The Governor-General was further authorised to administer the Maharaja's cis-Sutlej estates, and to forbid the Lahore authorities, civil or military, to cross the river for any purpose of administration whatever. It was considered that this measure, being under the circumstances one of strict necessity and self-defence, could be no act of hostility or aggression on our part.

When Broadfoot was appointed Agent, he wrote home for an extensive outfit, plate, china &c. &c., on a scale which proved he was in need of the warning addressed to him in Havelock's last letter, to provide now for the future. Though a strict economist as regarded Government money, he was careless, and by nature generous and extravagant, as regarded his own. He was aware of this, and his time was fully occupied with Government work, which is to some extent an excuse; in many of his private letters he alludes to the subject, always going to save money, but somehow never doing so. His ideas were large, and may partly be gathered from the following letter to his aunt, Miss Sutherland.

Camp, Zeera : April 4, 1845.

Your letter of February 7 and all the bills have just arrived; and on looking over the lists of all the fine things I feel like a little boy with a new coat. Seriously I have no doubt that everything will be exactly what I wanted, and I hope you will believe how greatly I am obliged to you.

The sum is large, and with freight, carriage &c. from Bombay, another 100*l.* will be added at least. Yet when they reach me they will be better in every way than I could have collected in this country for 1,000*l.* or 1,200*l.*, and they are not superfluities, but matters of necessity.

I believe I have told you that I receive here 1,000*l.* a year more



than I did in Maulmain ; but here, as there, I am obliged to keep open house for all comers of a certain rank that choose, and all of the highest rank honour me, as a matter of course, with their company as guests. When the people are agreeable it is pleasant enough, and in every case it is as much what I am paid for as the work amidst which your letter finds me, and from which I take a moment to answer. There is far more company to be seen here than in Maulmain, but in many respects this is a cheaper country. In Maulmain it would have been difficult to save money ; here, once I am set up, I hope to save the extra 1,000%. a year.

I wish you could come out and keep house for me ; I should then have the advantage of a married man, shall I wickedly say, without being plagued with a wife ? That would be profane, so I only say the advantage, which is that people do not consider the house of a married man a hotel, except in rare cases of men of the highest rank.

I have been much amused at seeing *frills* ; where are they worn ? round the neck like Queen Elizabeth, or the wrists like Queen Anne's courtiers, or on the breast as in the days of the Prince Regent and dandies ? See what an antediluvian I shall be reckoned when I return ; yet it seems but yesterday since I was among you.

I am encamped here waiting for the results of a struggle at Lahore for the government, which was possible yesterday and may happen to-day ; and I believe here is an express from that land of uproar, which must make me close this. It is an express, but no actual fighting as yet.

Early in April the Agent wrote a long and exhaustive report on the old treaties and papers which contained information regarding the relations of the Protected States to the Government of India. He considered it to be established that the Lahore cis-Sutlej property was as much a protected State as any other, and that the Sutlej was, and always had been since the time of the Mahrattas, considered as the boundary between the countries under the Sikh and those under the Indian Governments.

It will be recollected that the Sikh army was on its way to Lahore from Jammu with Raja Gulab Singh, virtually a prisoner. He appears to have employed his time during the march in endeavouring by promises and presents to create a party favourable to his interests. The soldiers were divided in opinion as to whether he or Sardar Jawahir Singh should be supported. Against the latter were his drunkenness, in-



capacity, and the improbability of his being able to fulfil his promises. Against the former were the fear of being reduced to obedience, the belief in his implacable hatred of the whole Sikh sect on account of the murder of his relations, his avarice, and duplicity.

On April 7 the Raja was brought into Lahore as a prisoner, seated on an elephant, with his face covered with a cloth to conceal him from the soldiers who crowded to see him. He was lodged in Kunwar Nao Nihal Singh's house, and a guard was placed to prevent him from escaping or committing suicide.

During April, Broadfoot marched about the districts, held the sessions, and tried local cases. In Capt. P. Nicolson's diary, the Agent's arrival at Ferozpur on Saturday, April 12, is recorded. He is said by Nicolson to have aided him 'in screwing justice out of Mandot,⁴ Faridkot, and other States, and did much good. He left again on Friday, the 18th, seemingly better satisfied with, and having more confidence in me, than he started with as his stock-in-trade on setting up in this quarter.'

The following letter to Lord Ellenborough shows a trait in Broadfoot's character too often wanting where it should be found; namely, a generous appreciation of assistance rendered to him, and an endeavour to procure its recognition by higher authority.

Loodeeana : April 21, 1845.

My Lord,—I am about to take a liberty, which, even with your Lordship, I almost fear may be thought too great; yet, as it is done solely on public grounds, I hope it will be forgiven.

By a letter from Capt. Wm. Smith, lately in command of the 'Siren,' I gather that he has not, as he hoped, been promoted on hauling down his pennant; he does not mention it, and hence I conclude he has been disappointed. Now, I feel sure that had your Lordship remained with us till he went home, some such expression of your opinion of his services would have been given as would have secured him his posting. This, I know, was also Capt. Smith's own feeling, for when he returned from Calcutta after just seeing your Lordship there, he plainly felt, like the rest of us, that he was at length working under the eyes of a master who would not leave exertion unnoticed, and he worked accordingly.

You may remember that when I was first sent to Tenasserim, a river flotilla had to be reformed under discouraging circumstances; that it was reformed with success, and that we were therein much

⁴ Pronounced Mamdôt or Mumdot.