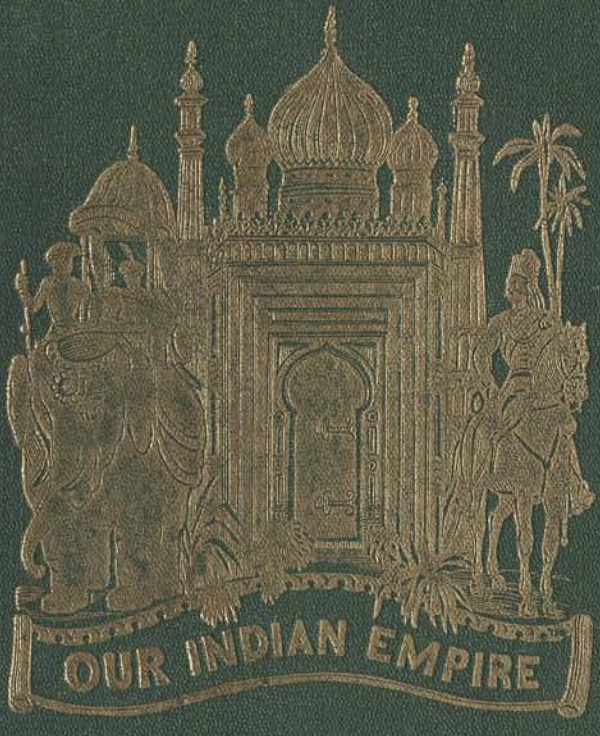

OUR INDIAN EMPIRE


Ex Libris
K.K.Venugopal

KOOER SING.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED.

ZENAT MAHAL_ BEGUM OR QUEEN OF DELHI.

From a Miniature painted on ivory by the portrait painter to the King of Delhi. A beautiful specimen of native art.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED.

VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM THE ESPLANADE.

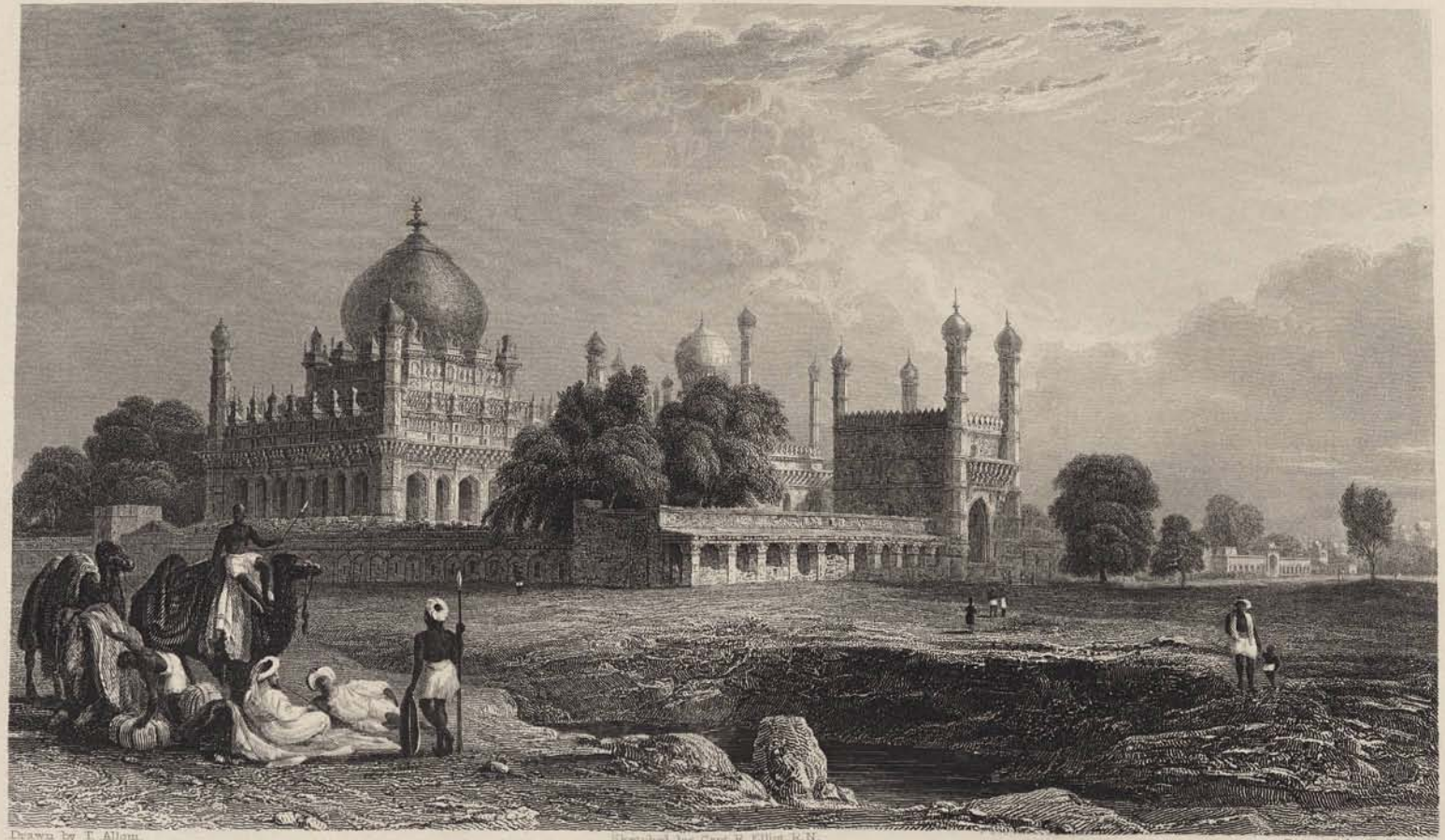
NO 1.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED

VIEW OF CALCUTTA FROM THE ESPLANADE.

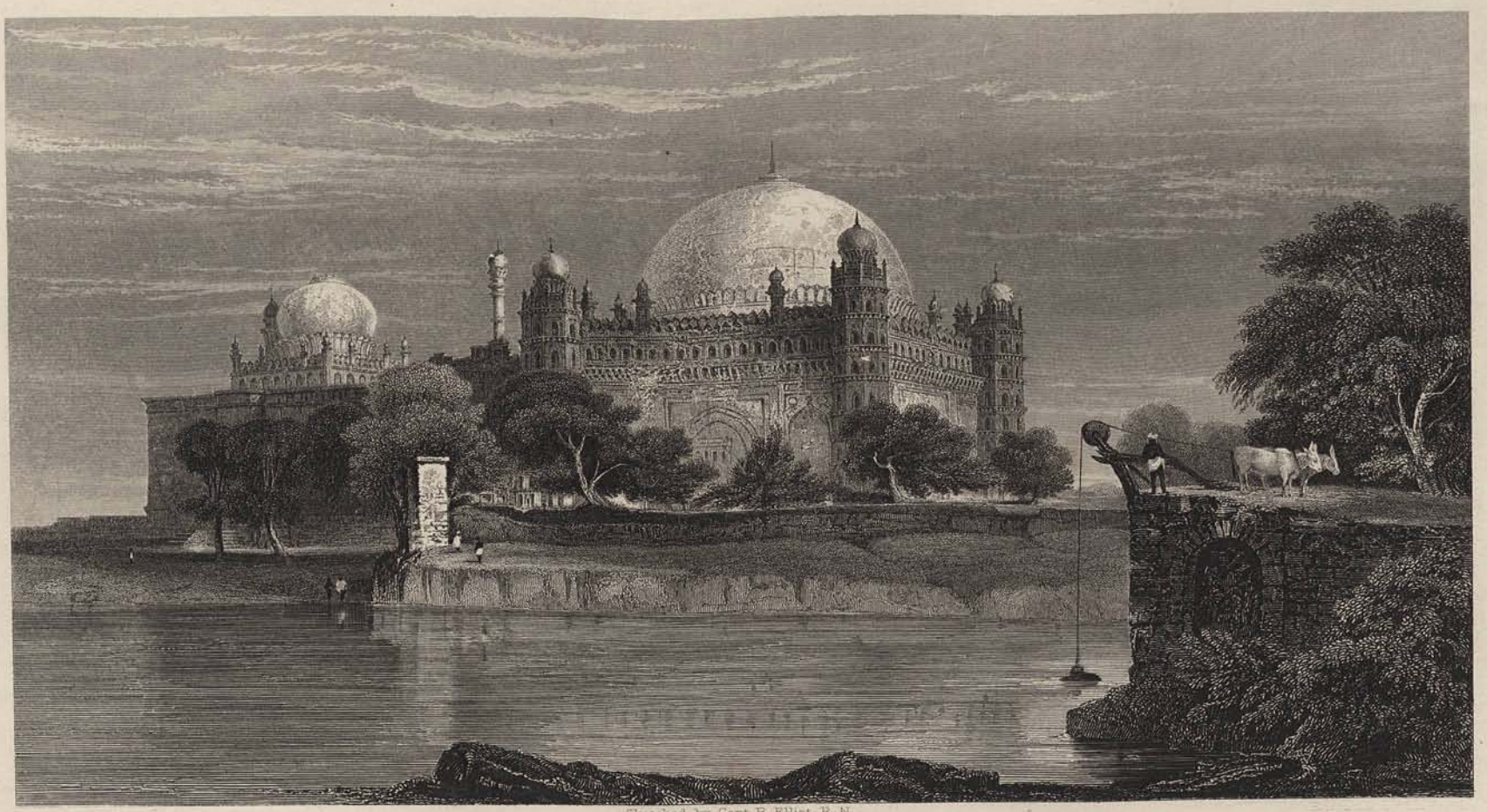
Nº 2.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED.



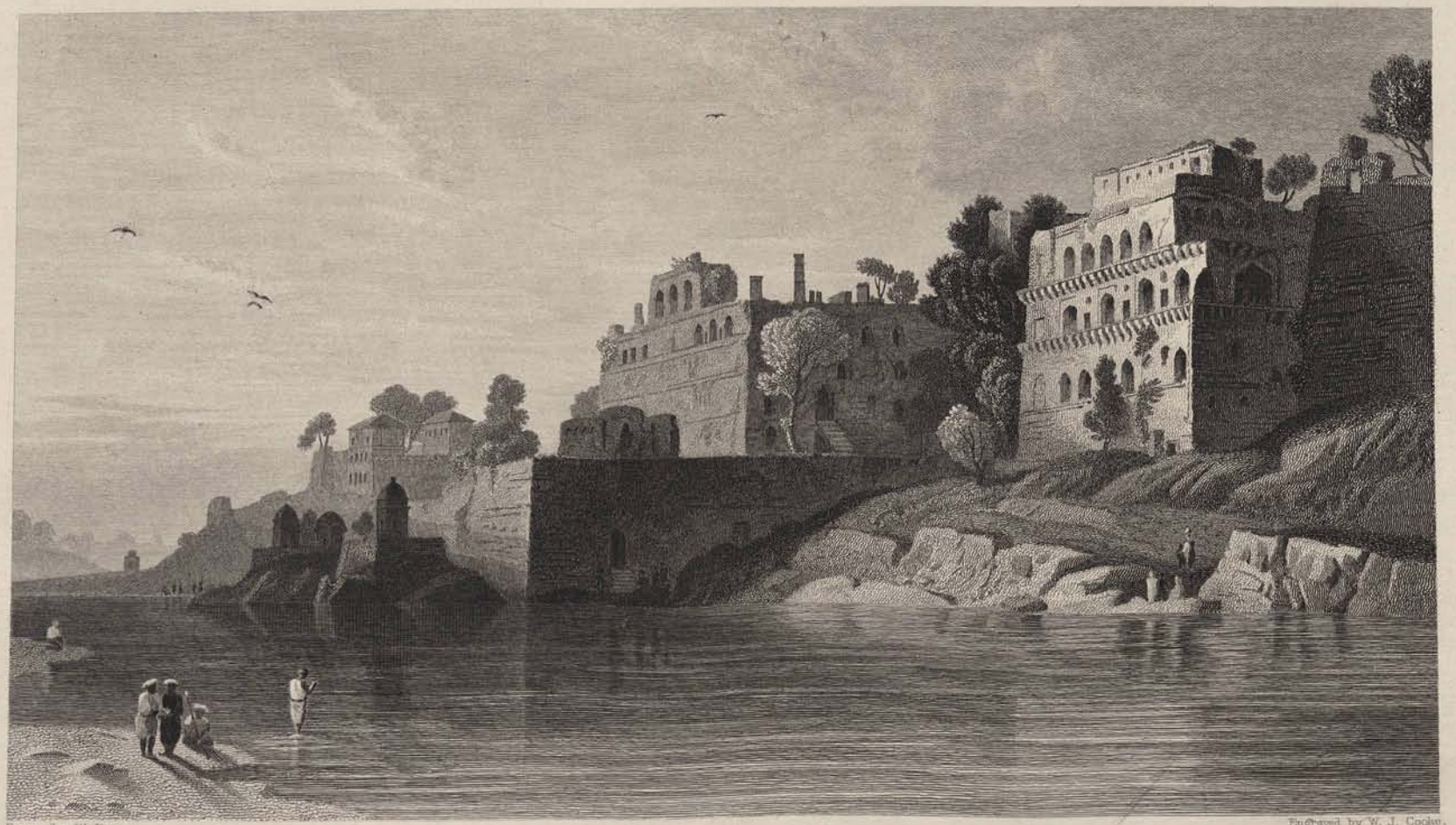
Drawn by T. Allom. Sketched by Capt. R. Elliot, R.N. Engraved by T. Higham.

TOMB OF IBRAHIM PADSHAH,—BEJAPORE.



Sketched by Capt R. Elliot. R.N.

SULTAN MAHOMED SHAH'S TOMB. BEJAPORE.



Drawn by W. Purser.

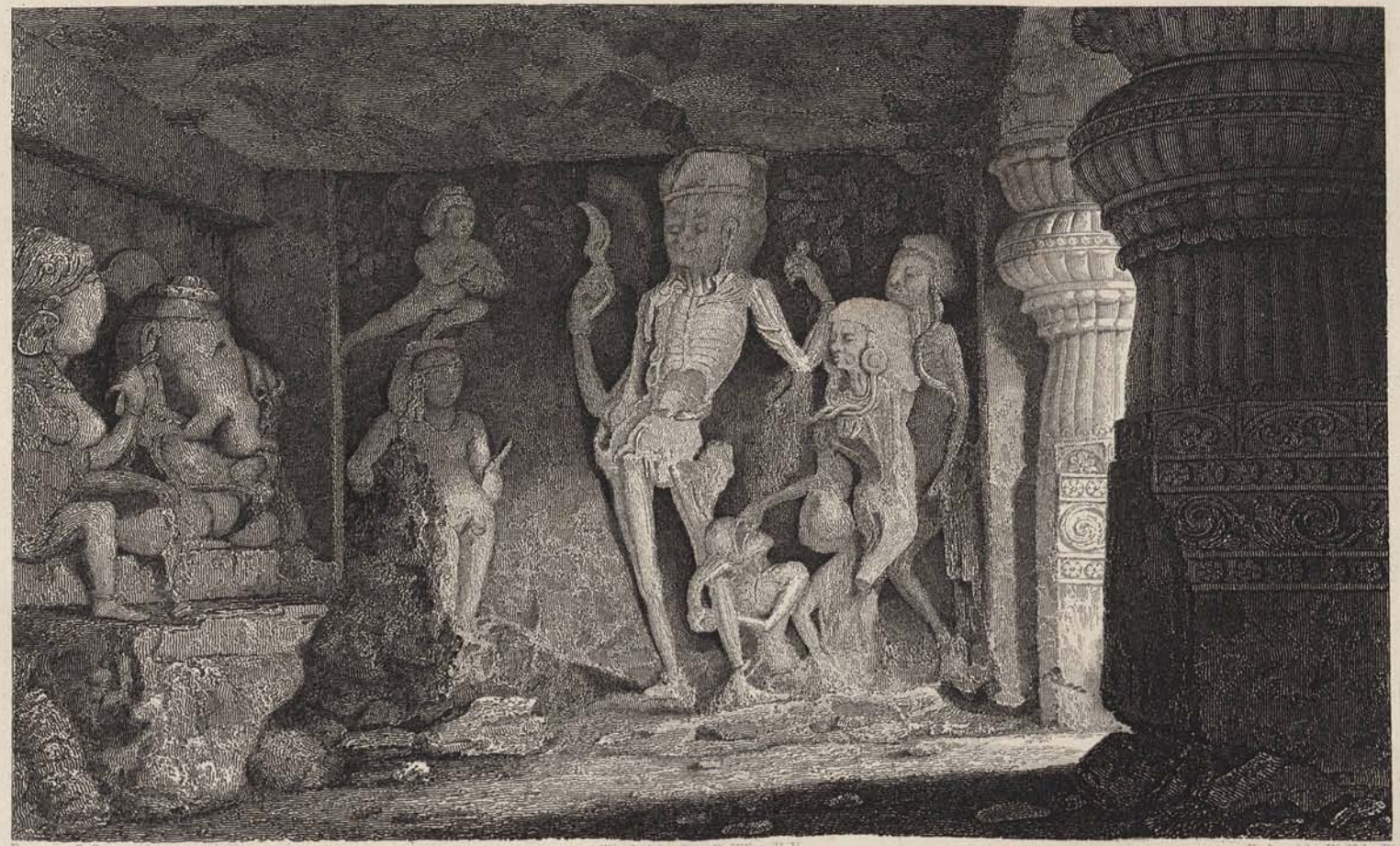
Engraved by W. J. Cooke.

KING'S FORT,— BOORHANPORE.

H. Melville. W. J. Cook.

MOHUNA, NEAR DEOBUN.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED

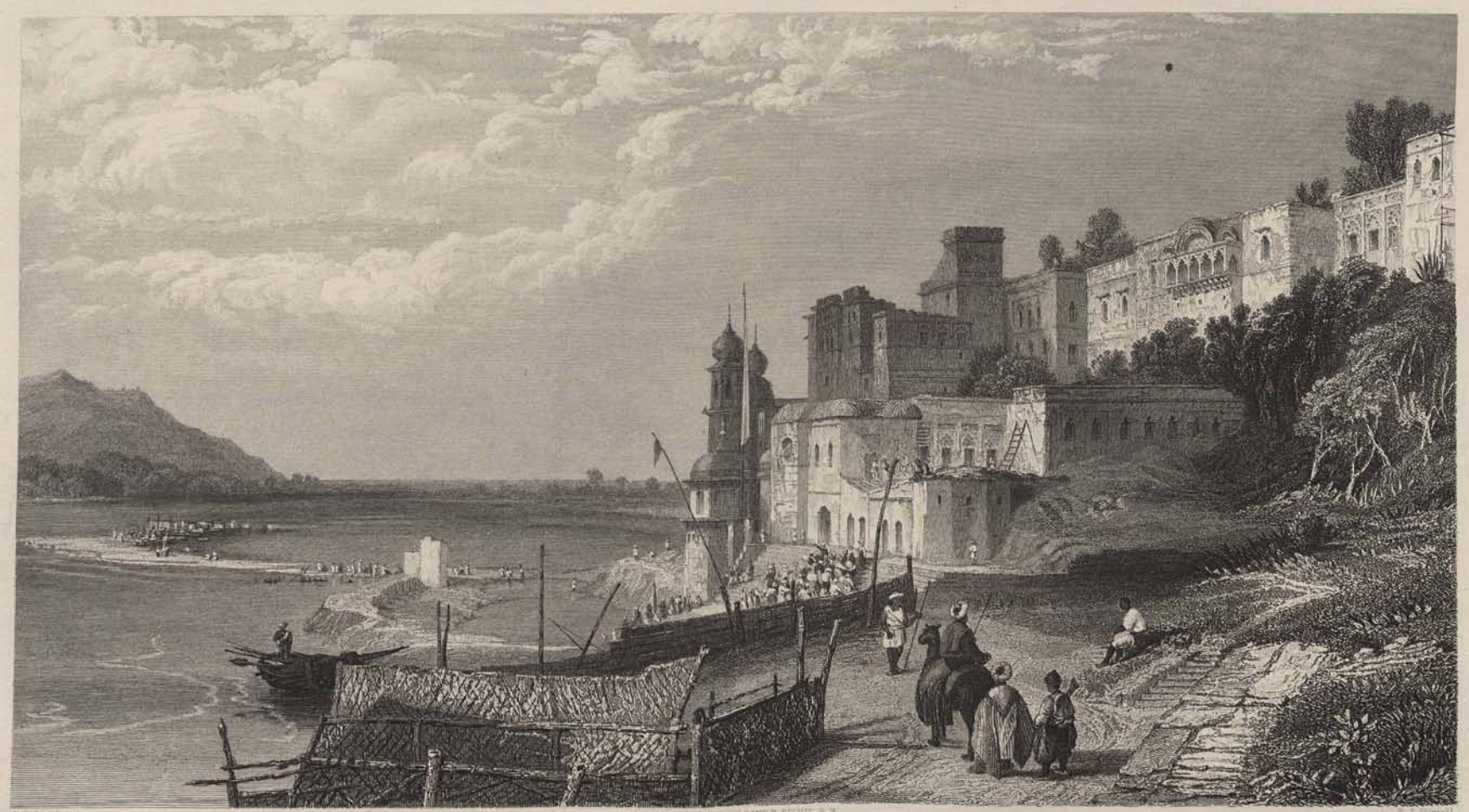


Drawn by C. Cattermole. Sketched by Capt. R. Elliot. R.N. Engraved by W. Kelsall.

SKELETON GROUP IN THE RAMESWUR, CAVES OF ELLORA.

Drawn by Geo. Cattermole. Sketched by Capt. R. Elliot. R.N. Engraved by W. Woolnoth.

RAMESWUR.—CAVES OF ELLORA.



J. D. Harding — DRAWN FROM NATURE BY CAPT. R. ELLIOT, R.N. — F. J. Havell

HURDWAR—THE GATE OF HARI, OR VISHNOO.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED.

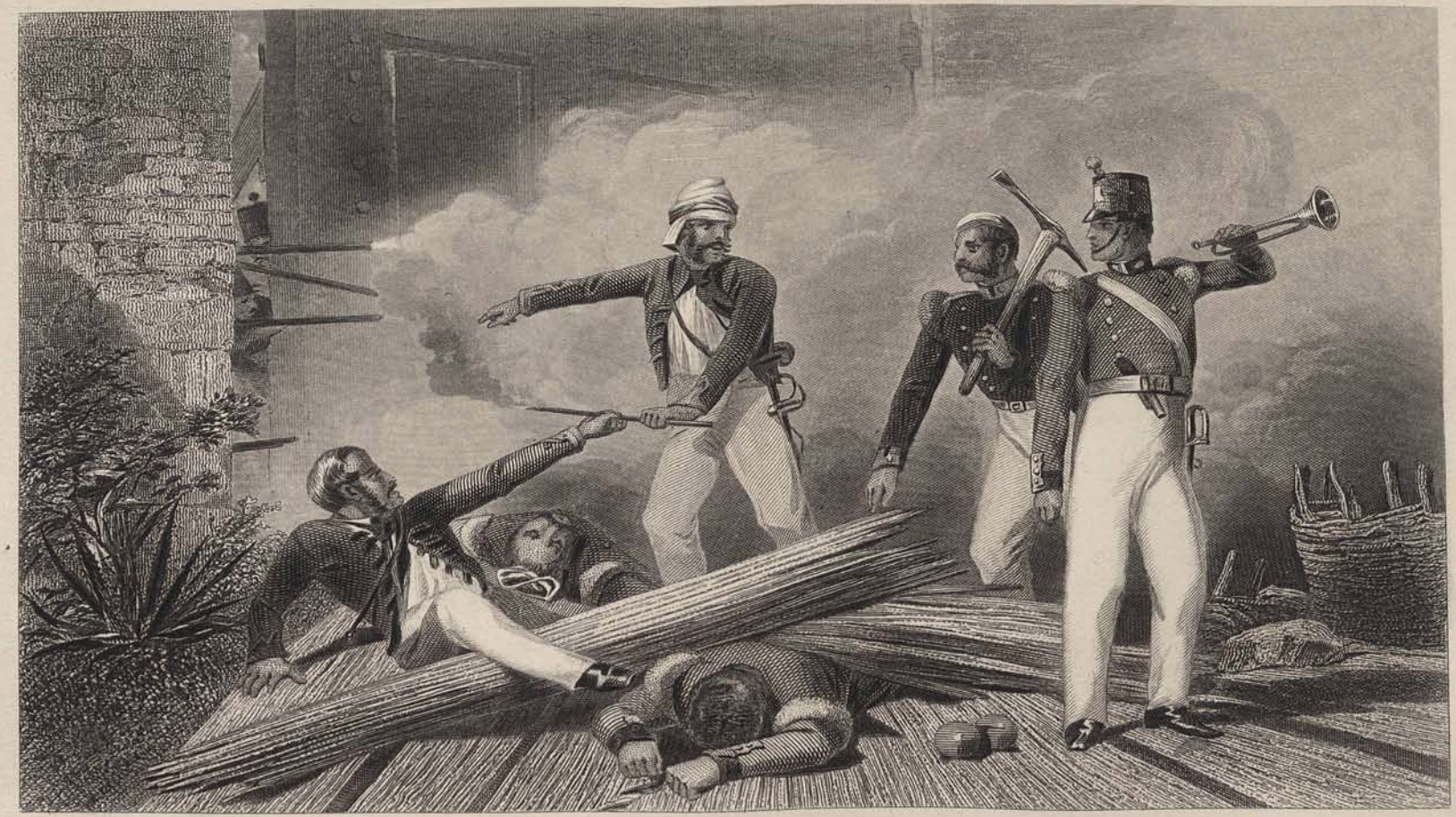
ATTACK OF THE MUTINEERS ON THE REDAN BATTERY AT LUCKNOW.

JULY 30TH 1857.

"One of their leaders waving his sword, shouted, 'Come on my braves!'"

Vide Rees's Narrative.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED.



BLOWING UP OF THE CASHMERE GATE AT DELHI.

While endeavouring to fire the charge Lieut Salkeld was shot through the arm and leg, and handed over the slow match to Corporal Burgess, who fell mortally wounded just as he had successfully accomplished the onerous duty.

NORTHERN INDIA

INCLUDING THE PRESIDENCY BENGAL

SEAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

CAR OF JUGGERNAUT

THE BRITISH RESIDENCY, HYDERABAD

SCALE.

TIGER HUNT

RUINS, OLD DELHI

Longitude East from Greenwich

NOTE
For continuation of India see Map of China & Birmah

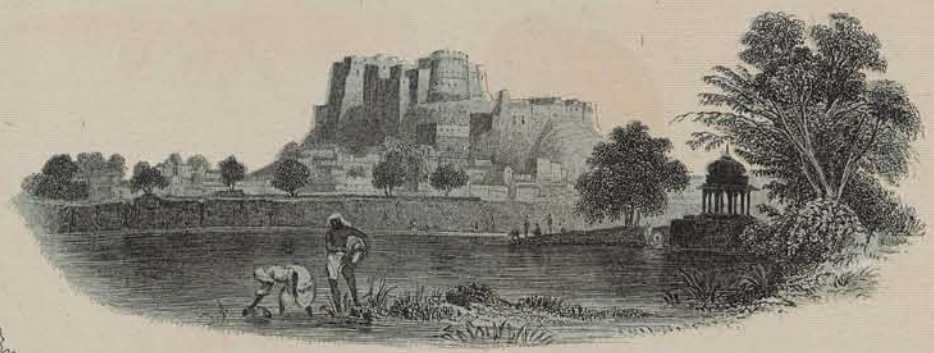
The Illustrations by A.H. Wray & Engraved by J.H. Kernot

The Map Drawn & Engraved by J. Rapkin

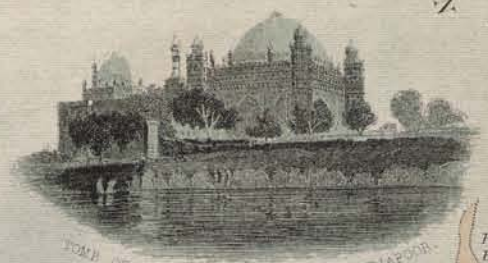
THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED

SOUTHERN INDIA

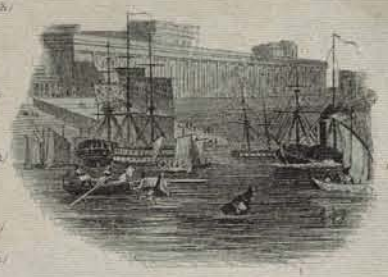
INCLUDING THE PRESIDENCIES OF BOMBAY & MADRAS



SHUHUR, JEYPOOR.



TOMB OF SULTAN MAHOMED SHAH BEJAPOOR.



THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

SEAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The Illustrations by A.H. Wray & Engraved by J.H. Kernot.

The Map Drawn & Engraved by J. Rapkin.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED

under the shade of his bounty;" and it may be fairly assumed, that to the encouragement thus given, the city of Bejapoor owed much of its pristine magnificence.

The beautiful remains of the once splendid palace (represented in the accompanying engraving) are situated within the bounds of the fortified portion of the city. The style of its architecture, which is of a light and graceful character, differs much from that prevailing among the numerous ruins which surround it, and attract the eye in every direction over the vast area now silent as the tomb, but once resounding with the echoes of an immense and busy population.

History appears to be almost silent, and Time itself has preserved but few traditions of the "Palace of the Seven Storeys." That within its walls the gorgeous pageants of Oriental magnificence, as well as the gloomy deeds of Asiatic treachery and revenge have often been enacted, it would be unreasonable to doubt: but the days of its glory and of its guilt have alike passed into the shadowy obscurity of the past, and have left no trace of their existence in the ruined towers and roofless chambers of the desolate palace that, little more than three centuries since, was thronged with the glittering chivalry of an Eastern court.

From a comparison of the Palace of the Seven Storeys with any other of the most important architectural remains at Bejapoor, it has been considered most probable that the edifice was designed for, and used as, the residence of Yusuf Adil Shah (the founder of the monarchy), who reigned from A.D. 1489 to 1510, and that it continued to be the palace of his successors, the kings of Bejapoor, until the subversion of the monarchy by the emperor Aurungzebe, in 1656.

An incident in the history of Ibrahim Adil Shah, the fourth king of Bejapoor (A.D. 1535), is probably so far connected with the Palace of the Seven Storeys, as to deserve mention in connection with it. This prince had formed an alliance with Bhoj Turmul (who had obtained the throne of Beejanuggur by the murder of its young occupant, his own nephew) against Rama Rajah, the regent, and brother-in-law of the murdered sovereign. Ibrahim sent an army to the assistance of Bhoj Turmul, who, in return, paid him down fifty lacs of hoons (a coin equal to eight shillings), or two millions sterling, and promised to acknowledge himself a tributary to the kings of Bejapoor. In carrying out this arrangement, the presence of the traitor, Bhoj Turmul, was necessary at the court of the latter; and he had been received at the palace with the honours due to his pretensions as king of Beejanuggur; where he remained until after the departure of the army intended to support his usurpation. No sooner, however, had the Bejapoor troops left the city, than Rama Rajah, justly incensed at the perfidy of Ibrahim, with whom he had been at peace, assaulted it, and carried fire and sword through its streets and palaces. The king and his *protégé* were constrained to shut themselves up in the Palace of the Seven Storeys, from the lofty towers of which they could behold the devastation they had brought upon the city by their guilty ambition. Mad with rage and despair, in a paroxysm of fury, Ibrahim commanded that all the royal elephants and horses should be blinded, to prevent their being useful to the enemy; and collecting together, in one glittering heap, the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, and other gems, amassed by the princes of his race, he caused them to be crushed to powder between mill-stones; and prepared to collect the gold and other treasures of the palace into a pile, previous to firing the interior, and perishing, with all his court, in the flames, rather than fall into the hands of the incensed rajah. From this extremity he was, however, saved by the accidental return of a portion of his army, just as the attack upon the palace had commenced; and the enemy retired, satisfied with the punishment they had inflicted upon a perfidious ally. Bhoj Turmul, on finding that the unexpected result of his ambition had involved the ruin of the capital of his friend, had no other prospect before him than a cruel death at the hands of one or other of the offended and injured parties; and mistaking the return of the Bejapoor troops to the palace for the approach of those of the hitherto victorious Rama Rajah, he rushed to the upper apartment of the Tower of Seven Storeys, and fixing a sword-blade into the tracery of a pillar, rushed upon it at the moment the palace gates were opened to admit the troops of the king.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, who, with all his faults, possessed the taste and munificent spirit of his race, immediately began to repair and restore the city to somewhat of its former magnificence; but in the midst of his efforts to accomplish that object, he was stricken

down by a complication of diseases brought on by extravagant indulgences, which speedily laid him in the tomb—an event, doubtless, accelerated by his conduct to his physicians, several of whom he caused to be trodden to death by elephants, for failing to cure him; whereupon all such of them as could escape, fled for their lives, leaving the tyrant to perish at his leisure. His successor, Ali Shah, inherited, with the taste of his predecessor, his cruelty also; since he greatly improved and beautified the capital, by constructing the wall which surrounded it, and the splendid aqueducts which still convey water through the streets; but, at the same time, having entered into an alliance with Rama Rajah, and united his forces with those of the latter, they jointly invaded the territory of Nizam Shah, and, according to Ferishta, "laid it waste so thoroughly, that from Purenda to Joonere, and from Ahmednuggur to Dowlutabad, not a vestige of population was left."

The numerous vicissitudes to which the city of Bejapoor has been subjected, have suggested the idea that immense treasures, in gold and jewels, are secreted amidst its ruins; and there are persons resident within the walls who are yet willing to give large sums to the local government for the privilege of digging among the foundations. As yet, the beautiful remains of the Seven-Storied Palace have been preserved from the dangerous operations of the treasure-seekers; though, as the building has already suffered more from the injuries which time and war have brought upon Bejapoor than most of its immediate neighbours, its final ruin has now advanced too far to be arrested.

Of the city generally, it is observed by those who have wandered amidst its ruins, that the freshness and unimpaired strength of many of the buildings are remarkable, when compared with the prevailing character of decay and desolation which, in some parts, exhibit such a wild waste of ruin, that it seems scarcely credible so much destruction could have been effected by man's neglect in the ordinary course of time, but rather that some violent convulsion of nature (of which, however, there is no record extant) must have caused the mighty, terrible, yet partial devastation. This idea is certainly borne out by the numberless beautiful and massive remains which have escaped the fearful havoc, and which, still exhibiting the noblest specimens of Eastern architecture, give promise of almost endless durability. It is observable also, that the remains of the carved work and gilding, still to be found in the interior of the Seven-Storied Palace, have not yet lost their first gloss and brilliancy; while the elaborate ornaments of many of the exterior, retain their minute and exquisite degree of finish wholly unimpaired.

TOMB OF IBRAHIM PADSHAH—BEJAPOOR.

About half a mile to the northward of the city, in the garden of the Twelve Imaums, the Durga of Abou al Muzaffir (as the natives term the majestic tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II.) rises with a pomp of architecture exceeding the most sumptuous of the edifices in its neighbourhood. The great and amiable sovereign who sleeps within this noble pile, is represented by Ferishta, his historian and contemporary, as having been one of the brightest ornaments of royalty. His virtues still live in the memory of the people of the Deccan; and, to this day, the ashes of the good and great—the parent, the instructor, and the friend—are visited, with equal reverence and delight, by the Mussulman, the Hindoo, and the Christian traveller.

This splendid mausoleum was built under the direction of Mulick Secunder, or, as he is sometimes called, Mulick Scindal, who is said to have constructed the Taj Bowlee at his own expense. According to report, it was commenced in the reign of Ibrahim, and intended as the tomb of his beloved daughter, Zoran Sultana, who died at the age of six years, and whose infant virtues are commemorated in a Persian inscription upon her

tomb. The death of the monarch who planned the design in all its grand and beautiful proportions, took place before it was completed; but he lies interred, surrounded by the members of his family, in the mausoleum of the garden which gave its name to the neighbouring entrance of the city, formerly called the Imaum's, but now known as the Mecca gate of Bejapoor.

The style of Ibrahim Shah's tomb differs entirely from that of the Burra Gumbooze, bearing a stronger resemblance to the generality of the Durgas seen in Hindoostan. It consists of a mosque and mausoleum raised upon the same platform, both of which are represented in the accompanying engraving. The basement of these superb edifices is 130 yards in length, and fifty-two in breadth, rising to the height of fifteen feet, and enclosed by buildings of a single storey, open both from without and within, and intended for the accommodation of travellers, visitors, and the attendants of the palace. The entrance to the interior quadrangle, which is seen to the right of the plate, is on the north side of the main edifice, and is a lofty and elegant gateway, flanked by tall minarets of exquisite grace and lightness. This portal leads to a handsome flight of steps, and through another gate of a novel construction, up to the raised terrace, on which the mosque and the place of sepulture stand. The sarcophagi of the king and his family are placed in a large hall in the centre of the building. This hall is enclosed by an outer and inner verandah; the first thirteen feet broad and twenty-two feet high; the other twenty feet by thirty, supported by seven arches on each face. The dome above is raised on arches; five in the length of the curtain, and three in the depth. A staircase leads to a flat terrace spreading above the verandah; and from the minarets at each corner, a lofty balustraded wall, richly ornamented, extends on every side: a second balustrade, of similar proportions, a storey higher, forms a spacious balcony round the base of the dome; and it is furnished in the same style of elegance, with corresponding minarets at the angles, differing only from those below in their height, as may be observed in the engraving. The dome is thirty-five feet in diameter; but, unlike that of the Jumma Musjid, it has the shape of a segment of a globe, cut through one-third part of its perpendicular axis. This form is airy and elegant, but would be difficult to execute upon a large scale, owing to the narrow span of its aperture, and the great exterior flexure of the curve which overhangs its base. A column rises from the summit of the dome, surmounted by a crescent.

The simplicity of the central hall, which contains the monumental remains of the king and his family, forms a striking contrast to the splendour of embellishment lavished on the exterior; yet its ornaments are not less effective or worthy of admiration. The apartment is forty feet square and thirty feet high, and the walls are of such finely-grained black granite, as to have been mistaken for marble. The ceiling is particularly fine, the whole roof being formed of the same kind of stone, and, as it is asserted, without the slightest admixture of timber. It is so constructed that it does not appear to rest upon the main walls of the building, but on a cornice projected from them, so that the area is reduced from forty to twenty-two feet on each side. The roof is quite flat, and richly ornamented, being divided into square compartments, the traverses of which, though of several pieces, look like solid beams; and it excites wonder, that a heavy mass, so disposed, should have existed so many years without the slightest derangement of its parts. The death of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. took place in 1626. His sepulchre, therefore, must be about 232 years old, as the building was commenced in his lifetime, and only occupied twelve years in its erection. The interstices of the stones on the top of the arches in the surrounding verandahs, are filled with lead, and clamped together by ponderous bars of iron, some of which have been wrenched from their places by the destructive Mahrattas, who probably expected to find a rich treasure deposited near them.

The verandahs and walls are ornamented with beautiful sculpture, chiefly from the Koran, the whole of which is said to be carved on the several compartments. The inscriptions are raised in *basso-relievo;* and so highly polished as to shine like glass On the northern side, the letters are given a greater degree of prominence, by being gilt and embossed on a blue enamelled ground, adorned with flowers; and the whole has been compared to the illuminations of an Oriental MS. seen through a magnifying glass, and adding the beauties of sculpture to those of painting. The doors, which are the

only specimens of wood-work used in the building, are exceedingly handsome, and were studded with golden bosses; the doorways, on either side, are adorned with a great variety of ornaments beautifully executed; and there are windows on each side of the doors, which are four in number: these, and the arches above, are filled with a singular stone lattice-work of Arabian sentences, instead of the ordinary pattern of similar perforations: the light that they admit, proceeding through the verandah, is not strong; and the whole of the hall is characterised by a gloomy solemnity, in correct keeping with the last resting-place of the illustrious dead, but not usually a feature in Mohammedan sepulchral architecture.

The sarcophagi lie north and south. The first contains the body of Hajee Burra Sahib, the Padshah's mother; next to her, is Taj Sultana, his queen; thirdly, the king himself: on his left, Zoran Sultana, the beloved daughter to whom the building was originally dedicated. Boran Shah, the youngest son of Ibrahim, lies interred by the side of this lamented princess; and beyond, at the farthest extremity, Shah Jaslah, the monarch's eldest son. The canopies over these tombs, on which Moslems usually expend lavish sums, are of tattered silk, scarcely retaining a vestige of their original magnificence —a circumstance accounted for by the small number and the distressed condition of the followers of the prophet in the neighbourhood.

The gallery on the verandah which surrounds this hall, is remarkable on account of its stone roof, which is most tastefully sculptured. It is divided into compartments, oblong and square, 144 in number, very few of which have the same ornaments. Each division is formed of a single stone, and exhibits an elegant combination of arabesques in flowers and wreaths, in those fanciful and spirited designs in which Indian artists excel, and which are of so truly oriental a character. Imagination has here shown how rich and exhaustless are its stores; and these excellent delineations are executed with the same masterly power exhibited in the grouping and combination of the endless variety of interwoven garlands. One of the cross-stones which support the roof of the verandah on the north face, was struck by a cannon-ball during the last siege of Bejapoor. The shot was said to have been fired from the Mulk-e-Meidan before mentioned; which may not be improbable, as the mausoleum lies within the range of that extraordinary piece of ordnance. The stone, though split at both ends, and hanging only by the pressure of a single arch against the lower part of the splinter, which holds fast in the cornice, has remained in that position since the year 1685, without any perceptible alteration.

The mosque, which fronts this splendid mausoleum at a distance of forty yards, having a piece of water and a fountain between, is a plain building, 115 feet by 76, crowned with a dome, and flanked at the angles of each storey with slender and lofty minarets. The stones of both these buildings are so neatly put together, that it is scarcely possible to perceive where they are joined; and the whole pile, notwithstanding the absence of the white marble, which adds such brilliant relief to the mausoleums of Hindoostan, may vie in magnificence with the most celebrated shrines of Eastern monarchs.

The attendants at the tomb of Ibrahim Padshah II. are poor, and few in number, owing the income allotted for their maintenance entirely to the bounty of the rulers of the city. About 3,500 rupees are annually distributed, from the revenues of the district, among the Mohammedan attendants at the different shrines and mosques; and they have no other means of subsistence, except at the hands of charity. Such, now, are the only courtiers of the once mighty sovereign of Bejapoor, Ibrahim Padshah.

SINGHAM MAHAL, TORWAY—BEJAPOOR.

The remains of a royal palace, built by one of the early sovereigns of Bejapoor, at a village called Torway, about five miles from the western gate of the city, are represented in the accompanying plate. The ruins of a mosque, and the fragments of other

important buildings scattered around, would seem to imply that Torway had been a place of some importance during the prosperous state of the kingdom whose capital it so nearly adjoined. The direct road from Poona to Bejapoor lies through Torway, from several points of which, magnificent views of the lonely city present themselves; and here, as from all other points which command a prospect of the capital, the majestic dome of the mausoleum of Mahomed Shah (the Burra Gumbooze) arrests the wandering eye, as it rises in solemn grandeur above the clustering towers and pinnacles of the surrounding buildings. At this spot, the extreme desolation of the country, its scanty cultivation, and the scarcity of its inhabitants, are seen in its undisturbed loneliness, and do not fail to impress the mind of the spectator with melancholy sentiment. Never, perhaps, could the traveller who has followed at a distance the devastating progress of Mahratta conquest, behold at one glance more striking proofs of the misery to which the rule of that power has doomed every portion of the land submitted to its sway, than is spread before him as he stands upon the ruined towers of Singham Mahal at Torway.

Delighting in a roving existence, and preferring the uncertain but exciting shelter of a camp to the more quiet and peaceful abodes of cities, the Mahrattas cared nothing for fine buildings, and the skill of the architect was lavished upon them in vain. Unlike the Moslems, who, whenever they extended their dominion, introduced new arts and luxuries; and when pulling down the temples of the unbelievers, never failed to erect mosques of equal or superior magnificence in their stead—who converted waste places into flourishing cities, and have left almost imperishable marks of their genius and their glory wherever they planted the standard of the prophet—the Mahrattas, on the contrary, passed over a land like a pestilence, blighting and destroying all that came within their baleful influence, and converting the fairest possessions into a sterile desert, or shattered ruins. Bejapoor has suffered much from their devastating fury; and yet less than many other cities that have been overrun by them, since they have actually, for some cause or other, set apart a portion of its revenues for the support of its tombs and mosques—an almost isolated instance of their liberality in regard to the works of their predecessors when rulers of the country.

The ruin delineated upon the accompanying engraving, consists of a succession of square towers of various elevations, rising from an artificial platform considerably above the level of the surrounding district. The approach to the interior is by a singularly pointed arch of great height, but beautiful proportions, in a square tower at the right extremity of the building. A series of narrow courts, communicating by gateways of smaller dimensions, occupy the interior area of the ruin, few of the chambers being now accessible. On the left of the picture, a smaller arch conducts to a guard-chamber and some inferior courts, which communicate with the gardens of the palace, now in a state of utter dilapidation and ruin. Many of the lower apartments of the palace have been appropriated by some natives in the vicinity for dwelling-places, owing perhaps to the contiguity of a small bowlee (or pond), which is situated at a short distance from the outer wall of the main building. The solidity of the workmanship and materials of the Singham Mahal, will doubtless, for many years to come, enable it to resist the wear of time and the fury of the elements; but "Ichabod" is written over its gates: and it is impossible to stand upon the massive tower and look down upon the country at its feet, without feeling of a truth that the glory of the land has departed.

The ruin before us was evidently but a small portion of the original structure, which would appear to have been less burthened with ornament than the buildings of the city, and to approximate in style to the design of the Asser Mahal before noticed, and with which, in all probability, it was coeval, if not built by the same architect. Seen from a distance, the broad white towers of Singham Mahal stand out against the horizon like some pale spectral monitor, to proclaim the transitory grandeur of man, and the ephemeral duration of kingdoms, as represented by the oblivion to which their founder has been consigned, and by the ruins of his capital that lie scattered before it.

THE CAVE TEMPLE OF ELEPHANTA.

ELEPHANTA is the name given to an island in the harbour of Bombay, situate about seven miles south-west of the city, and something more than six miles in circumference. By the natives of the adjacent coast it is still called by its original name, "Gare-poori" (the Place of Caves); but the Portuguese, during their occupation of the island of Bombay, distinguished it by the term "Elephanta," from a colossal but rude figure of an elephant carved out of the solid rock, which once formed a striking object on approaching the shore; but has now, for many years past, been little more than a huge misshapen mass of stone. Upon landing, visitors to the island are conducted, by Brahmins in attendance, from the shore to the platform of the temple by a steep and narrow pathway, which winds through very beautiful scenery, sometimes stretching along the margin of a precipice, and then meandering through richly wooded groves, where the *gloriosa superba* spreads its clustering flowers amidst luxuriant branches bending with fruit and foliage. In the route, the prospects obtained of the harbour, the opposite shore of Salsette, and of the northern part of the island, are bold yet interesting. At intervals glimpses may be caught, between the interstices of the surrounding trees, of the distant ghâts on the mainland, and the upper part of the beautiful bay in which Elephanta is embosomed—the high ground broken into innumerable ridges, and thickly covered by magnificent topes, amongst which the coronals of the Tara palm are conspicuous, and affording to the delighted gazer one of the grandest displays of forest scenery, with its bright and never-fading verdure, gigantic leaves, and gorgeous blossoms, that can be found along the coast of India.

Having accomplished about two-thirds of the ascent of the hill, the path opens upon a platform of exquisite loveliness, immediately in front of the entrance to the Cavern Temple roofed in by the wood-crowned mountain, within which its mysterious treasures are concealed; and whose *façade* presents a combination of architectural and artistic skill, that imperceptibly prepares the mind for the development of the yet greater wonders that lay hidden in the mysterious gloom of the fane itself.

The view given in the annexed plate represents the front or principal entrance to the cave, the main features of which consist in the multiplicity and arrangement of beautifully sculptured columns, by which the ponderous roof is sustained, and through which a dim yet magnificent perspective is presented along cathedral-like aisles of vast dimensions, that is at length lost in the profound darkness of the space prepared for a worship whose ritual has been imperfectly preserved among the traditions of an antiquity coeval with European notions of the creation.

The stone of which the Cavern Temple of Elephanta is composed, appears to be of a quality resembling porphyry, and the tracery and sculptures with which the singularly-formed columns of the entrance, and also of the interior, are decorated, are exquisitely delicate, and, in many places, still preserve the fresh impress of the original design. But, with these works of marvellous beauty and grandeur, as with those found in the interior of the temple, ignorance and superstition have committed strange and barbarous havoc; and the blind fanaticism of the Portuguese has more than aided the ravages of time in the work of dilapidation and ruin. The ultra-bigots of the European peninsula, who have never been able to tolerate any idolatry but their own, very soon after their first settlement upon the island of Bombay and its dependencies (of which Gare-poori was one of the most remarkable), found employment for their ill-directed zeal in the destruction of every accessible relic of the worship of the natives, however curious and wonderful, as a work of art, might be the object of their antipathy. In these caves, among other means of accomplishing their object, they adopted a process for the mutilation of the columns and sculptures that was ingenious and partly effective. Lighting large fires around the columns, and before the massive sculptures within the temple, they would, when the masses had become sufficiently heated, throw cold water upon them, which, causing expansion, made the stone split in all directions. Of the pillars seen in the accompanying plate, many of the shafts and capitals have been subjected to this

destructive process; and others, although still erect, have had large splinters rent off from the top to the bottom. This, however, was not the only method resorted to by the iconoclasts of Portugal, in India: at times, guns were brought to the island, and discharged at the columns and sculptures, for the purpose of battering them down. Thus few of the remarkable groups and isolated figures that once filled this singular temple with a theogony so darkly mysterious, and powerful in its influences upon an imaginative people, are now in a perfect state; and it is to be regretted, that what of mischief was left unaccomplished by the Portuguese zealots in those days of bigotry, has been since effected to a lamentable extent by modern travellers from other countries, who, carried away by an affectation of geological studies, or a yet less excusable propensity to obtain memorials of these extraordinary relics of far-distant ages of mankind, have broken and carried off fragments of foliage and statuary to a merciless extent, merely for the sake of specimens.

The period attributed for the construction of the Cavern Temple of "Gare poori" is involved in impenetrable doubt and obscurity. The traditions connected with it, as with the Caves of Ellora, are so vague and unsatisfactory, as to afford little assistance in arriving at any probable conclusion. The occurrence of these temples in one particular portion of the peninsula, and upon ground exclusively occupied by the Mahrattas, render very probable the supposition that they were the work of some great people insulated from the rest of the world, and whose existence has been forgotten in the lapse of ages; and it cannot be doubted, that a nation must have progressed many years to produce works requiring such extraordinary and persevering labour.

The area occupied by the temple is nearly a parallelogram, being 130 feet deep, and about 133 broad, divided into nine aisles formed of twenty-six pillars, of which eight are broken away altogether, and most of the remainder are much injured. Time has done much to accomplish this; but man, to his discredit, has immeasurably outstripped the wear of time, in the extent of mischief perpetrated in the Cave Temple of Elephanta.

INTERIOR OF ELEPHANTA—THE TRIAD BUST.

For a proper examination of the wonders of this far-famed temple, the visitor is provided with torches by persons who hover about the caverns for the purpose of conducting strangers to the interior. A dim light that gradually fades into intense darkness at the further extremity of the cavern, faintly reveals the innumerable specimens of characteristic sculpture that cover the walls from the entrance to the farthest recess of the excavation; but as the torches advance, and their light is thrown upon the mystic forms that meet the eye in every direction, one massive object, amidst the gloom of distance, fronts the spectator, and arrests his attention probably to the exclusion for a time of every other idea than that of surprise and awe. The colossal triple-headed bust, represented in the engraving, is the wonder of Elephanta, and occupies a vast recess at the extremity of the central aisle of the temple. The dimensions of this extraordinary relic of ancient art and superstition are, from the bottom of the bust to the summit of the cap on the central head, eighteen feet; the principal face is five feet in length; and the width, from the front of the ear to the middle of the nose, is three feet four inches: the width of the whole bust is twenty feet. The face of the central head is presented full, and is expressive of dignified composure, and of the absorbed state which constitutes the supreme felicity of the Indian deity; a towering pyramidal cap surmounts the head, once richly decorated with superb jewels; and the devices with which the cap is covered are exquisitely wrought: around the neck of the same figure was formerly suspended a broad collar, composed of precious stones and pearls, long since appropriated to a more useful purpose than the decoration of a block of carved stone in the bowels of a mountain.

The face on the left of the central figure is in profile. The head-dress, like that of

the former, is elaborately decorated, and the countenance is expressive of gentleness and benignity. One hand is shown of this figure, in which is held the sacred lotus; in the other is grasped a fruit resembling a pomegranate; and a ring, fashioned and worn like those used by Hindoos at the present time, is placed upon one of the wrists. The head on the right also shows the face in profile; but the expression, and the person represented, are distinctly contrasted with those of the sculptured deity just described. In this case, stern ferocity marks the features; the forehead projects; the eyes seem to glare upon the spectator; snakes supply the place of hair; and human skulls are embossed upon the mitre-shaped covering of the head. One hand of this terrific-looking image grasps a monstrous cobra de capella; the other holds a smaller reptile of the same deadly species; and the effect of the design is indescribably repulsive.

The whole of this singular triad is hewn out of the solid rock, which is a coarse-grained dark-gray basaltic formation, called by geologists trachyte; and, as before mentioned, it occupies a recess cut into the rock to the depth of thirteen feet, including the thickness of the doorway screen, or wall, projecting beyond it, which is about two feet and a-half. The basement upon which it rests is raised two feet nine inches from the ground, having at each corner holes, apparently for the purpose of receiving door-posts; and a groove runs along the floor in front, which, it is probable, was intended to receive a screen or veil, let down occasionally to conceal the mysterious group. On each side of the niche is sculptured a gigantic human figure, having in one hand an attribute of the Deity, and with the other resting upon a dwarf-like figure standing by its side.

Niches, or recesses of large dimensions, and crowded with sculpture, appear on either side of the one occupied by the triad. In that on the right-hand side is a colossal figure, apparently a female, but with one breast only. This figure has four arms; the foremost right-hand rests on the head of a bull; the other grasps a cobra de capella. A circular shield is borne on the inner left-hand; but the second arm on that side has been broken off. The head-dress of this figure is like that of the central triad, and is richly ornamented. On the right of this female is a male figure of smaller proportions, bearing a pronged instrument representing a trident; on the left, a female bears a sceptre. Near the principal figure described, is an elephant, surmounted by a beautiful youth; and above the latter is a figure with four heads, supported by birds. Opposite to these is a male figure with four arms, sitting on the shoulders of another personage, who has a sceptre in one of the hands; and at the upper part of the back of the recess are numerous small sculptured figures, in a variety of attitudes and dress, supported by clouds.

Turning to the niche on the left, the most conspicuous of the group that is presented to sight is the statue of a male, near seventeen feet in height, having four arms. To the left of this is a female fifteen feet in height: rings, of the same pattern as now worn by Hindoo women, are shown on the wrists and ankles of this figure, and her hair is also arranged strictly in accordance with the style among Hindoo females at the present time. The countenance of this statue is sweetly feminine, and expressive of gentleness and amiability. In the background is a figure with four heads, supported by birds; and another with four arms, sitting on the shoulders of one in an erect posture. Several minor figures are in attendance upon the principal personages; one of them, having his right knee bent to the ground, as in the act of addressing the chief, bears a crese like those now used by the Malays. The head-gear of the whole of the small figures bears a striking resemblance to the wigs worn by our modern judges.

On either side of the groups last described, an opening from the recess leads to a small chamber unadorned by sculpture, and probably intended for the private use of the officiating Brahmins, when the triune worship of Brahma was daily offered in this mysterious temple. These dark and rarely visited cells are now the hiding-places of bats, spiders, and scorpions; nor are the venomous reptiles of the island strangers to the shelter they afford.

Turning from these dismal holes and their dangerous occupants, a few paces to the left of the last-described group, approaching the side of the cave, brings the visitor opposite another cluster of figures, of a less repulsive character than the preceding. Here a male figure is observed in the act of leading a young female towards a majestic personage seated upon a sort of couch at the corner of the niche. The decoration of his head is strikingly similar to that of an English judge. The countenance and attitude of

the female is expressive of modesty and reluctance, and she is apparently urged forward by a male figure behind her. Several small figures, in various attitudes, and bearing symbols of the attributes of the Deity, fill up the sides and back of this recess.

Crossing to the opposite side of the cave, and about fifty feet from the entrance, is another recess of larger dimensions, enclosing a gigantic half-length of a male figure with eight arms. Round one on the left side is a belt composed of human heads. One of the right-hands grasps a sword uplifted, as if to cut in twain a figure kneeling before a block, held in the correspondent left-hand. From under one arm protrudes the head of a cobra, and among the ornaments of the head is a skull. Many smaller figures surround this terrible conception, whose features are marked by unrelenting ferocity; and the countenances of all the subordinate figures are expressive of remorse and pain. Of this group, scarcely a single figure has been left unmutilated.

Again, crossing to the opposite side of the temple, near one of the dark chambers already mentioned, is a recess containing a male figure, sitting in the exact and peculiar position still adopted by the native Hindoos. A female figure, in a similar posture, is on his left-hand, and each has an attendant on either side. At the feet of the male, a bull lies couchant, and a colossal male figure, armed, stands at each corner of the niche. Facing this is a correspondent niche; but the figures have been damaged beyond the possibility of description.

A recess, or niche, of similar proportions to the preceding, appears on each side within the entrance to the cavern. In one is a male figure, much mutilated, and having only fragments of the eight arms it was originally formed with by the sculptor. Behind this, in very bold relief, is a figure having four heads, and another with four uplifted arms; both of these figures are supported in the air by birds. In the corresponding recess, on the other side of the entrance, is a colossal figure of a male in a sitting posture, having behind him another figure on horseback. The animal is caparisoned precisely in the style of the country at the present time.

Returning towards the recess of the triformed idol, at the extreme end of the temple, by the left side, we arrive at a chamber excavated from the rock, of vast height, and forming a parallelogram of about thirty feet: in the centre of this apartment, upon a square altar, is the *Lingam*, or symbol of the god Mahadeva, or Mahadeo, which consists of a huge polished stone of cylindrical form, rounded and slightly convex at the top.* This emblem represents the god in his character of Regenerator; and it appears to be synonymous with the *Phallus* of the Greeks, and the *Priapus* of the Romans, although its origin, as an object of worship, preceded the existence of those nations by many ages. The chamber in which this representation of deity is enshrined, is detached on each side from the living rock, and has an entrance in the centre of each face. On either side of these doorways stands a male figure, seventeen feet in height, bearing various symbols in a state of utter dilapidation; but the ornaments of dress sculptured on each are in tolerable preservation, and very much diversified in character.

The whole of the excavations hitherto described comprise the area of the Great Cavern Temple; but there are various chambers of minor dimensions branching off on each side of it. Most of these have been rendered inaccessible by the ravages of the Portuguese spoilers, who appear to have employed themselves more successfully in battering

* "Mahadeva, or Mahadeo (the Great God), is a name of Siva. Of the origin of the mystic worship of the Linga, little appears to be understood; it may be presumed to have been Nature under the male and female forms, personified as Siva, the Sun or Fire, the genial heat of which pervades, generates, and vivifies all; and Bhawani, who, as the goddess of nature, is also the earth, the universal mother. The two active principles of life having been thus personified, may have been subsequently converted, by the grossness of idolatry (which in its progress invariably seeks to gratify the sensual appetites, rather than to elevate the minds of its votaries), from imaginary forms to gross realities; from the personified symbols of nature, to typical representations of the procreative powers of the symbols themselves. The places of Linga worship, or idolatry, are still numerous throughout Hindoostan; and the votaries of the idol are, beyond comparison, in excess of the worshippers of any other deity or symbol recognised by the sacred books of the Hindoos. Some of these emblems are of enormous size, and are usually of basalt; others are made, at morning and evening, of the clay of the Ganges, and, after worship, are cast into the sacred stream."—Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindoos*. In the cavern temple, under the fort of Allahabad, there is still an altar with the Linga of Mahadeo, looked upon with great reverence by those worshippers who can obtain access to it. See *History of the Mutiny in India*.

down the columns or other supports of the roofs of the secondary chambers, than they were in their destructive operations against the principal temple; and huge fragments of rock, and masses of earth, now block up the approaches to these mysterious caverns. From one point, however, a glimpse is obtained of an interior, of apparently vast dimensions, having the walls enriched with sculpture: a band surmounts the figures, covered with characters, that are represented by the attendant Brahmins as an inscription; but they do not profess to decipher or explain it. Among the sculpture cut from the wall of this apartment is a large human figure, with the head of an elephant; and in the midst of the gloom in which this chamber is enveloped, a portion of an enclosure can be perceived, of like character and dimensions to that containing the *Lingam*, on the opposite side of the Great Temple.

Various conjectures have been hazarded by the learned, as to the origin and purposes of these extraordinary cavern temples, which, from the style of sculpture and peculiar symbols borne by the various figures, there can be little room to doubt were constructed, at a very early period, by the progenitors of the races that still occupy Hindoostan. That they were appropriated to the worship of Mahadeva, or Mahadeo (a name of Siva, "the destroyer or changer"), appears probable, from the frequency of the representation of that deity, and the innumerable varieties of attributes and symbols by which his impersonation is accompanied; and the following explanation of some of the extraordinary sculptures in the caverns at Elephanta, is from a paper preserved among the collections of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The triple-headed colossal bust, which forms the chief object of the large temple, is described in this document as a personification of the three great attributes of that being for whom the ancients, as well as the Hindoos of the present day, have entertained the most profound veneration, and of whom they appear to have had most extravagant conceptions. The middle head of the group represents *Brahma*, or the *creative* power; that on the left is the same deity, in his character of *Vishnu*, or the *preserver;* and the head on the right is that of the god, in the form of *Siva*, the *destructive*, or changing, attribute of the triune god of the Hindoos.

The figure represented as a female with *one* breast, symbolises the wife of Siva exercising the active powers of her lord, not only as Bhawani, a destroyer, but as Isani, the goddess of nature—combining the male and female sexes in one; and also as Durga, the protector of the virtuous. The bull couchant at the feet of one of the deities, symbolises an attribute of Siva, under his name of Iswara; and the male figure near it bears the *trisulc*, or trident of that god. The beautiful youth on the elephant, already noticed, represents Cama, the Hindoo god of love; the figure with four heads, supported and surrounded by birds, is a form of Brahma; and that with four arms, mounted on the shoulders of another figure, is a representation of Vishnu.

The two principal figures in the niche to the left, represent *Siva*, and his consort as *Parvati;* with Brahma and Vishnu in the background: and the terrific figure with eight arms, represents the destroyer *Siva* in action. The distant scene, with small figures expressive of pain and distress, denotes the sufferings of those sentenced by Brahma to the place of torment.

The sitting male and female figures, with a bull couchant at the feet of the former, are also Siva and his consort Bhawani. The form with human body and an elephant's head, represents *Ganesa*, the Hindoo god of wisdom, and first-born son of Siva; and the presence of the *Lingam* is of itself considered an unquestionable proof that the whole of the cave temple of the island of Gare-poori, or Elephanta, was dedicated to the worship of the god Siva, and to the mysteries of his cruel and impure ritual.

THE CAVE OF KARLI.

This extraordinary excavation occurs near the village of Ekverah, in the province of Aurungabad, and in the midst of a chain of hills of a very picturesque character. Many of the ridges are level; but others rise abruptly from the range, and towering above their fellows in lonely majesty, lift their forked and riven summits high into the heavens. Of the lower eminences, many have large platforms of table-land at the top; and are, on that account, well adapted for the hill fortresses which, in the early days of Indian warfare, were the favourite strongholds of predatory chieftains of the various races. Two of such mountain fortresses have been at some remote period erected in the neighbourhood of Ekverah, or Karli, and are still in good repair. Merely separated by the valley in which the village is built, their scarped sides and bastioned heights give to the surrounding scenery a formidable, and by no means inviting, appearance.

The subject of the accompanying plate is the entrance to the Cave Temple of Karli, situated at a distance of about 300 feet from the base of one of the hills. It is approached from the valley by a difficult pathway, which has more the appearance of a gulley formed by the rains, than a regular road, being very steep, and exceedingly rugged. The track, however, when surmounted, ends in a terrace or platform, about a hundred feet in width, and partly artificial, being cut in the face of the hill, and constructed of rock hewn from the interior of it. In front, and on the left side of the entrance, is a column twenty-four feet high, and about eight in diameter, having the upper part dome-shaped, and surmounted by a flat slab, on which are the mutilated remains of three lions of considerable proportions. It is believed that a corresponding pillar, on the opposite side of the entrance, has at some very remote period been removed, to afford space for the erection of a small temple which now occupies the site, dedicated to the worship of Bhawani. The column is girdled with an inscription, in characters similar to those in the smaller cavern temple in Elephanta; and, like those, has baffled all attempts to decipher it.

A screen has originally ran across the entrance; but this is partly broken down, and thus displays the grandeur of the arch cut over the doorway—an aperture not at all commensurate with the noble dimensions of the interior. Between the outer and inner screens there is a verandah or vestibule, extending the whole width of the cave, very finely sculptured, with figures of men and animals in *alto-relievo*. Three colossal elephants stand on each side, with driver, and riders in their howdahs, executed in a very free and bold manner; and other figures, both male and female, are finished in the same artistic style. The sculptured deities at Karli are, however, confined to the walls; the only detached object of importance being a large circular altar of stone, surmounted by a wooden canopy. The length of the great cavern is 126 feet, and it is 46 feet wide. The roof, which is arched and ribbed with wood (a circumstance which adds to its singularity, while it somewhat injures its effect), is supported by two rows of pillars, each surmounted by an elephant bearing a male and female figure on its back, encircling each other in their arms, and crouching beneath the weight above them.

The whole aspect of the temple is grand and imposing; but it is, if possible, more gloomy than the cavern fanes of Elephanta or Ellora. That when resorted to by worshippers it was artificially illuminated, there can be little doubt; as, without the aid of torches or lamps, the sculptures in the side aisles are not distinguishable. The wood-work is conjectured to have been added at a period subsequent to the first formation of the temple: it is of teak; and is traditionally reported to have existed 900 years. A portion of this ribbing is shown in the plate, on the roof of the arch in front, and it is still in a high state of preservation.

Indian *literati* have decided Karli to be a Boodhist temple, the figure of Boodh, and the symbols of that deity, being the predominant ornaments; while it is destitute of a single vestige of the twenty-four attributes of the Jains—a distinguishing feature in the

temples belonging to that sect. Several other chambers are connected with the main temple, but they have all been left in an unfinished and rude state, and contain nothing to attract notice. Outside the cavern there are a few native huts, inhabited by the servants of the Brahmins, who, a few years since, mustered in greater strength at Karli than at any other of the cave temples. According to the doctrine of these infatuated idolaters, a state of complete abstraction from all outward influences is the *summum bonum* of earthly felicity; and among the priesthood of Boodh were to be found many who, from their total indifference to worldly and personal concerns, and total abandonment to an idiotic state of contemplation, might have been deemed worthy to represent the deity itself. One of such individuals had for a long time sat, day and night, before a flame of fire, with a cloth over his mouth to prevent him from inhaling pollution, and subsisting solely upon parched grain and water, strained through a cloth. In vain did the Peishwa, who supported the bigot from his own treasury, endeavour to induce him to reside at his court. Nothing could detach him from the post of mistaken duty; and there, after a long period of self-denial and valueless existence, the Boodhist priest passed away from idiotic abstraction before the altar at Karli, to his perfect heaven of unconsciousness. What influence the recent disturbances in India may have upon the native resources from which the race of ascetics in that country have hitherto been supported, time must determine; but there is little doubt that the confiscations which have naturally followed the crimes of rebellion, will have deprived very many of those chiefs and zemindars most likely to uphold such fanatics, of the means of doing so; and thus, notwithstanding the partiality for a life of indolence, by which vacancies in the ranks of these idiots have hitherto been filled up, a total deprivation of support will doubtless have the effect of extinguishing the ambition of individuals who might otherwise succeed to the hermitages of so-called "holy men."

The view from the terrace in front of the temple at Karli is very fine, stretching over a rich and beautiful country, and bounded by a chain of distant mountains. The village, from which the temple is named, is situated about two miles from the excavation, and forms a pretty object in the landscape—its rural habitations peeping out from the midst of mango groves, and embellished by a large tank and a pagoda of considerable architectural beauty. The chain of mountains, amid which the excavations are found, extend from Cape Comorin, at the southern extremity of the Indian peninsula, to the northern boundary of the province of Candeish, in a series unbroken except at one place, about twelve miles broad, in a portion of the Malabar territory. This hilly range in no instance recedes more than fifty miles from the sea, or approaches it within eight; and but few of the passes through it are yet known to Europeans—the passage of the Western Ghauts being still a service of great difficulty, and no inconsiderable amount of danger.

THE CAVE TEMPLES OF ELLORA.

Among the numerous astonishing works of ancient art still spread over India to excite the surprise and admiration of posterity, the Cave Temples of Ellora are justly entitled to be deemed extraordinary, even in a land of wonders; and of these, the one designated "Keylas," or "the paradise of the gods," is eminently deserving of notice. The mountain range in which the excavations we are about to describe occur, takes its name from a village of the Deccan, near Dowlutabad—a singular hill fortress, and capital of a district of Central India; and is of an extremely picturesque character, independent of the interest associated with the partly subterranean and partly isolated temples and palaces it contains, and which are cut from the living rock, and enriched with a variety and redundance of sculptured ornament that defy any efforts fully to describe.

According to the Brahminical account of the origin of these excavations, 7,894 years have elapsed since they were commenced, as a work of pious gratitude, by Eeloo Rajah,

son of Peshpout of Ellichpore, when 3,000 years of the Dwarpa Yoag were unaccomplished; which, added to the 4,894 years of the present, or "Kal Yoag," completes the full number, 7,894. Eeloo Rajah was, as they record, afflicted by a disease that resisted all efforts to cure or alleviate it. In quest of relief, the sufferer sought a then famous purifying water, named Sewa Lye, or Sewallee, which had been curtailed by Vishnu, at the instigation of Yemdhurhum, or Jum (the destroying spirit), from the dimensions of sixty bowshots' length and four in width, to the size of a cow's hoof. In this water Eeloo dipped a cloth, and cleansed with it his face and hands—an operation which cured him of the disease. He then built a khoond or cistern, and bathing therein his whole person, became purified; and looking upon the site of such a miraculous recovery as holy, he first constructed the temple-palace called Keylas, and then continued his pious work to the place of Biskurma, "the creator or maker of the world; known among the gods as the 'Carpenter or Artificer of Ramchundur.'" The excavations, altogether, embrace a series of fifteen larger, and an unascertained number of smaller, temples and shrines, cut in the bed of the mountain, of various dimensions and elevations. Of these, "Keylas," the most remarkable for its extent and marvellous sculpture, is the subject of the accompanying engravings.

The front entrance to the temple (as seen in the plate) is, for want of uniformity in design, less beautiful than many of the *façades* to be met with in the mountain series; but though deficient in exterior elegance, the Cave of Keylas—of which the portion represented is merely an outwork—is, upon the whole, the most elaborately designed and artistically enriched of the whole. In the plate, the summit of a pagoda—which stands insulated in the centre of a cleared area of considerable magnitude, and which is ornamented by colossal figures of the gods, with their various attributes—appears above the wall which connects the gateway, and the chamber over it, with the scarp of the rock. A part of one of the obelisks may likewise be seen a short distance to the left of the pagoda.

The height of the outer gateway of Keylas is fourteen feet, opening to a passage with apartments on either side. The sculptures on the outside are partly Boodhist, and partly of the school of Brahma. Over the doorway is the Nogara Khana, or music gallery, the floor of which forms the roof of a passage leading from the entrance to the excavated area within. Entering upon the latter, which is a wide expanse of level ground, formed by cutting down through the solid rock of the hill, an immense temple of a complex pyramidal form presents itself, connected with the gateway by a bridge, constructed by leaving a portion of the rock during the progress of the excavations. In front of the structure, and between the gateway and the temple, are the obelisks of Keylas, placed one on each side a pagoda or shrine, dedicated to the sacred bull Nundee. These obelisks are of a quadrangular form, eleven feet square, sculptured in a great variety of devices, all of which are elaborately finished; their height is about forty-one feet, and they are surmounted by the remains of some animal, supposed to have been a lion, which, though not an object of Brahmana veneration, occurs very frequently amongst the decorations of the Cave Temples. Approaching the entrance to the temple is a colossal figure of Bhawani, supported by a lotus, having on each side an elephant, whose trunks form a canopy over the head of the goddess. On each side of the passage, from the inner entrance, are recesses of great depth and proportions, in one of which, resting upon a solid square mass, is the bull Nundee, superbly decorated with ornaments and rich tracery; beyond this, on the opposite side, is a similar recess, in which is a sitting figure representing Boodh, surrounded by attendants; and near the end of the passage, where the body of the great temple commences, is a sitting figure of Guttordhirj (one of the incarnations of Siva), with his ten hands variously occupied. Turning to the right, the walls of the structure are covered by sculptures representing the battles of Ram and Rouon, in which the achievements of the monkey-god, Humayun, are conspicuously displayed. Pursuing the storey depicted by these sculptures to the end of the area, interrupted in some parts by fragments of the wall and broken columns, the extremity discloses the entrances into three distinct excavations, supposed to be also temples; but as yet, for various causes, unexplored. Returning by the left side of the area, towards the entrance, the sculptured history of the war of the gods is continued, but in a pitiable state of dilapidation. It is worthy of remark, that the whole length of the substructure appears to be

supported on the backs of animals, such as elephants, lions, horses, &c., which project from the base of the piers in the surrounding walls, and give to the vast superincumbent mass an air of lightness and movability.

Keylas is further distinguished by the extent and beauty of its upper storey, to which the ascent is by two flights of stairs, consisting of thirty-six steps, which wind inwards, on each side of the entrance, and lead to the gallery over the porch of the temple: from hence, a small bridge conducts the visitor into a square chamber, in which is another image of the bull Nundee. A second bridge from this chamber communicates with a handsome portico, supported by two curiously-formed columns, which are surmounted on the outer face by animals representing lions, and, on the inside, by figures bearing a resemblance to the Egyptian sphinx. Passing this, another bridge and an ascent of four steps, conduct to a passage guarded by colossal figures bearing maces, and opening to the grand apartment of the temple, which is divided by two rows of pillars, and enclosed by massive piers. On each side there is a vacant space for one column towards the end of the area; and the accustomed recess—forming the shrine of the Lingam, and to which there is an ascent of five steps—occupies the extreme end.

Of this extraordinary structure and its accessories, it may suffice to mention, that every portion of the exterior, as well as the interior, is carved into columns, pilasters, friezes, and pediments, embellished with the representation of men and animals, singly or in groups, and accompanied with all the attributes which have rendered the Hindoo pantheon a vast gathering of monstrous conceptions. The galleries contain sculptured histories of the Hindoo mythology, which are represented in recessed compartments of the stone scarping, and in which are forty-two gigantic figures of gods and goddesses. Part of the south side of the area is occupied by chambers richly and lavishly embellished, one of them containing groups of female figures so exquisitely proportioned and sculptured, that even Grecian art has scarcely surpassed the beauty of the workmanship. Pen and pencil, it has been observed, however accurate and vivid, can afford very ineffectual aid in a field so vast and unparalleled as that of the Keylas of Ellora. The exceeding number and variety of the objects which present themselves to the eye, actually excite pain, until the tremulous sensations they arouse in the mind subside, and calm contemplation is enabled to succeed astonishment and awe. Of the Brahminical tradition of the origin of these stupendous works, mention has been made in the commencement of this article; but the popular belief among the natives ascribes it to supernatural agency. "Biskurma," say they, "the carpenter of Ramchundur, caused a night of six months; in which, having perfected these excavations, he was to connect them with the hill-fort of Dowlatabad, or Deoghur, about four coss distant; but the cock crowing before the completion of his task, the work was left unfinished, and the divine artificer passed into the outer (avatar) of Boodh." At any rate, conjecture is baffled in its endeavours to trace these mighty works to their founders.

Though still frequented by some fakirs, they have not, for many years, been held in much reverence by Hindoos generally. Their sacred character has been lost in the obscurity of unknown ages; and it can only be said that, whoever may have been the projectors of undertakings so vast and difficult, they must have possessed intellectual and imaginative gifts of extraordinary power, with vast resources for the supply of labour, and, moreover, must have existed in times of perfect security and peace. The rock from which the temples of Ellora are wrought, is a hard red granite; and from every peak and pinnacle of the sacred mountain, the eye roams over scenes of romantic beauty and marvellous grandeur. The dimensions of the excavation for Keylas are as follow:—

	Feet.
Height of the gateway	14
Passage, with rooms on each side, 15 feet by 9	42
Breadth of inner area or court	150
Length from gateway to the opposite scarp	247
Height of rock excavated	100
Dimensions of the temple itself:—	
Door of the portico 12 feet by 6	—
Length from the door of temple to back wall	103
Ditto from door to platform behind the temple	142
Extreme breadth of the interior	61
Height of the principal chamber	47

THE DUS OUTAR—ELLORA.

The temple-cavern bearing this name occurs in the centre of the mountain-range of Ellora, and appears to have been devoted to the representation of the "ten incarnations, or avatars, of Vishnu," whose achievements are sculptured on the compartments by which the walls of the temple are adorned. The Dus Outar (ten avatars)—though it is evidently, from the multitude of its figures actively engaged in terrestrial affairs, a Brahminical temple—is distinguished from other excavations in the range, by having cells opening into its principal hall, resembling those which are found in caves purely Boodhist. Figures in the attitudes assumed by Boodh, surmount the capitals of the pillars in front, and various indications occur in every direction to render its positive character doubtful, particularly as the decorations of the cave are not peculiar to it, inasmuch as each of the adjacent temples is equally supplied with delineations of the achievements of the god during his sojourn in the nether world.

The subject of the accompanying plate is taken from one of the most perfect remains of the numerous compartments of the temple; and it is supposed to represent Siva in the act of crushing under his foot a demon who had offered insult to the goddess Parwutee, whom the former, in his avatar of Ehr Budr, had espoused. The mutilated condition of the group has totally obliterated any portion of grace that may formerly have characterised the female deity, who appears to be partly reclining on the ground, with outstretched arms, as if suddenly awakened in a state of alarm—a circumstance that might well be accounted for, had she possessed a mirror to reflect the charms of her countenance. The face of the recess in which this singular group appears, is in excellent preservation, as are the massive pillars that support the roof of the chamber, which is in an upper storey of the temple, and is 102 feet long, by 98 broad. The apartment has a flat roof twelve feet in height, supported by forty-eight enormous pillars, and twenty-two pilasters along the walls, dividing the sculptured recesses from each other. The whole *façade* of the temple is open, admitting more than the usual portion of light, and exhibiting the interior embellishments to much advantage.

ENTRANCE TO THE RAMESWAR.

Rameswar, one of the Ellora group of excavations, is of comparatively small dimensions among the gigantic works of similar kind and date in its vicinity. The excavation consists of a hall ninety feet in length, beyond which is a temple thirty-one feet square—both supported by massive pillars. Opposite the entrance to the outer cave is a square pedestal, surmounted by the bull Nundee, and, on the left of it, a tank of very fine water, to which the access is by a low doorway and steps cut in the rock. On either side of the entrance to the temple (shown in the accompanying engraving) are female figures sculptured with great delicacy, and of considerable beauty; and the entrance itself is supported by four pillars of extraordinary design, covered with rich tracery, and surmounted by capitals perfectly unique in style even in this vast museum of ancient art. Directly opposite the entrance, at the extreme end of the first cave, is a recess with the accustomed Lingam of Mahadeo, an invariable accessory to the symbols with which Hindoo temples are always profusely adorned. The walls and roof of this apartment are covered with figures, chiefly relating to the amusements of the deities, who are represented as enjoying themselves like common mortals, in dance and revelry.

Like the other wonderful relics of an unknown age in the mountains of Ellora, the decorations of Rameswar have been subjected to the wanton ravages of the spoiler, as

well as to the slow but sure depredations of time; and thus, of the innumerable figures that once ornamented the interior of the Rameswar, there are few that preserve sufficient of their original features, or characteristics, to allow of identification with the heroes and deities of the Hindoo pantheon. The subject of the design that occupies the greater portion of the wall, is, however, believed to refer to the nuptials of the gods, in which, among other incidents, dances and sacrifices were important features, as they afterwards became with the Greeks, and people of other nations, upon similar occasions.

SKELETON GROUP IN THE RAMESWAR.

The singular collection of skeleton figures represented in the accompanying plate, occupies a recess of the temple on the right-hand side of the entrance, and forms a striking contrast to the joyous character of the groups in each of the other compartments or recesses. Of this design, it will be seen the principal figures are represented as skeletons, with two children of the same description clinging to their fleshless limbs. In the rear, and on both sides of the skeleton group, are human figures of various proportions, and the background is beautifully filled up with foliage and clusters of fruit, separated by a mound of earth from the chief figures, who appear to have been the victims of famine. Various theories have been from time to time advanced, as to the history supposed to be connected with this singular and repulsive group; one of which suggests that it commemorates the guilt and punishment of a wicked family, who plundered the temples, and having enriched themselves with the pillage of the gods, and the hardly-gathered earnings wrung from the people, hoarded their ill-gotten wealth, and thus provoked the vengeance of heaven, which descended upon them in the deprivation of food and wasting of their bodies, by which they became a warning and terror to future evil-doers—besides the famine to which they were doomed in the midst of their abundance; and while in a helpless state from long fasting and grief, they had further the ineffable misery of seeing their ill-gotten wealth carried away before their eyes, without power to prevent it. One of the plunderers is seen in the left corner of the upper part of the recess, as in the act of running off with a bag of gold; while others, on a level with the miserable family, are contemplating their sufferings. Such is one version of the traditionary history attached to the skeleton group of Rameswar. Another refers to the incident represented as being connected with a sacrifice at a festival, in which the Now Ratree, or Hindoo Fates—who are exhibited in the persons of seven females, sculptured in an adjoining compartment—are engaged; and that the central figure, the father of a starving family, is selling his wife and children for the purpose. This version hardly appears reconcilable with the presence of Cama, the Hindoo god of love; who, in his person and attributes, appears on the right of the group, and whose presence could hardly be compatible with such a disposition of a wife and children. However wide either of these traditions may fall from the intention of the artist by whom these singular sculptures were wrought from the living rock, there is nothing now by which light can be thrown upon their history; and visitors to Ellora are generally more inclined to wonder at the skill of the workman, than to penetrate the mists that obscure the precise meaning of his design. Moreover, there is a degree of repulsiveness in the idea thus embodied (whatever may have been its origin, or the actual meaning of the sculptor), that combines, with the surrounding gloom, and the mysterious accessories of the cavern itself, to prevent individuals of mere ordinary nerve from dwelling upon a subject so hideous in conception and ghastly in effect.

DHER WARRA—ELLORA.

At the southern extremity of the excavations of this wonderful mountain, the mighty works of Ellora are terminated by a large cave temple, less richly ornamented than others of the series, but still very imposing from its extent, and the elegance and number of the columns, by which on either side it is supported.

The temple is said by the Brahmins to have been originally constructed for, and appropriated to, the religious observances of the Dhairs, or Sweepers—an impure caste, with whom it was contamination to hold intercourse. In consequence, the native prejudice is so great against the Dher Warra, that the Brahmin guides not only refuse to enter it themselves, but remonstrate with European visitants on the degradation which *they* also must incur in treading the polluted area. Fortunately, European prejudices do not incline in the same direction as those of Hindoo fanatics; and thus have many of the finest remains of the architectural treasures of ancient India become familiarised to us, and to the civilised western world.

The "Dher Warra," both as a name and in its supposed connection with the Dhairs, is a fable of comparatively modern origin, as, like many others of the cave temples of Ellora, it bears every indication of having been a temple of Boodh, whose statue and attributes appear here in precisely the same manner as in the Biskurma and other acknowledged Boodhist temples. The principal chamber or hall of the Dher Warra—in which are enshrined the images of the deity and his attendants, with their various symbols of power—is about 100 feet in length, from the entrance to the recesses at the opposite end; the width of the chamber, exclusive of recesses on either side for the Lingam, being about forty feet. The walls of this temple are not so abundantly enriched with sculpture as are those of others in the mountain series, and the pillars which support the roof are slighter, but more elegant, than those seen in the other caves: there is also a peculiarity in the arrangement of the area of the temple, that is not observable in any other; namely, two platforms of stone slightly elevated from the ground, and extending parallel to each other, from the entrance, to the steps of the shrine at the farther extremity of the cavern. Of the purpose for which these elevations were constructed, nothing is known beyond conjecture, which has pointed to them as intended for seats for the convenience of students, scribes, or the vendors of merchandise; the latter supposition being hardly tenable, from the fact of the rigid care with which the Hindoo and Boodhist temples were preserved from contamination—an evil that could not have been avoided if the place was resorted to for purposes of traffic. Moreover, there is no similar construction in the area of the other cave temples. A wide and level passage is formed by these platforms to the foot of the shrine, in which the idol still remains.

The front of this cave is open for its whole breadth; and, during the rainy season, a mountain torrent pours from above over the face of it like a small river, upon the plain below, forming in its descent a crystal curtain before the temple, behind which it would be hazardous to venture, even if the altitude could be reached in safety at such a period. Through the prejudices of the Ellora Brahmins and neighbouring villagers, this fine cavern has been abandoned to neglect, and its uninterrupted quiet has rendered it a favourite asylum for cattle and goats. The dirt occasioned by these animals, and the multitude of all sorts of insects and vermin attracted to the place by them, may perhaps partly have given occasion for the ill-repute into which the cave has fallen.

With the Dher Warra, our descriptive views of the antiquities of Ellora terminate. The solemn loneliness of these caves, their wild seclusion on the mountain side, remote from the populous resorts of man, and the beauty and grandeur which meet the eye on every side, and fill the mind with wonder, will amply compensate the pilgrim to Ellora for the fatigue and difficulties he has to encounter. Unfortunately the gratification can be but partial; for the natural curiosity awakened can never be satisfied. There is no clue to guide us through the labyrinths of thought opened by these sublime relics of long-departed ages. If we turn from the numberless subjects of doubt and difficulty, which the most accomplished of Oriental scholars have vainly endeavoured to elucidate, to the

human hands which wrought the marvels we see around, the attempt is equally fruitless. Their history is not less obscure than are the traditions of the ages that immediately succeeded chaos.

The absence at Ellora of that religious veneration which the Hindoos are so prone to show to the objects of their idolatry, is also unaccounted for: nor can any one presume to guess why these mighty and mysterious shrines have been abandoned by the multitudes who still offer adoration in other places to the same deities, whose effigies are here unreverenced in the most wonderful of their temples.

It may be observed, in conclusion, that when the Mohammedan emperor, Aurungzebe, visited these caves, shortly after his acquisition of the country, he daringly, and with a view to insult the people whom he had conquered, sought to destroy one of the mountain temples (Keylas) by breaking down some of the massive columns that support the roof, on pretence of trying the power of the Hindoo god to protect his own temples. Finding, after this daring effort, that no part of the superincumbent rock gave way, the tempter desisted, but gave orders to deface the sculptures and painted roof of the temple, and its shrines, by filling the chambers with straw and setting fire to it. The blackness of the sculpture in various places, and the discolouration of the roofs of many of the chambers, are attributed to this cause; and it is not impossible, that the abandonment of the temples by the people, may have been occasioned by the desecration wantonly perpetrated by the followers of the conqueror.

A SUTTEE.

Nothing more strongly marks the state of society among nations than the condition of their females. Among all barbarous tribes they are absolute slaves; but, as civilisation advances, they are gradually elevated to their proper rank as the fairest work of creation. Scarcely any state can be more degrading and dependent than that of women among the Hindoos. They have no choice in their own destiny, for they are entirely at the disposal of their father till three years after their nuptial age; and it is one of the sacred duties of a parent to place his daughter in a situation to become a mother. If he neglects this till the time above-mentioned, he forfeits all control over her, and she is then at liberty to choose a husband for herself. When married she is immured in her husband's dwelling, excluded from all education, from religious instruction, and from the temples. Her dependence upon her husband is perpetual; and, on this point, the laws are full and minute. "By a girl, or by a young woman, or by a woman advanced in years, nothing must be done even in her own dwelling-place, according to *her* mere pleasure; in childhood, a female must be dependent on her father; in youth, on her husband; her lord being dead, or her sons, a woman must never seek independence." The deference which is exacted from a wife towards her husband is boundless: if ever so ill-treated she is commanded to revere him as a superior being; and, notwithstanding so much is exacted from females, nothing can exceed the contempt with which they are treated in the sacred books, where they are scarcely ever mentioned but in connection with some degrading epithet. Polygamy is tolerated; but females are not allowed to marry a second time. A husband can dismiss a wife on numerous pretexts; but nothing can absolve a wife from her matrimonial engagement. The wife is not permitted to eat in the presence of her husband. Girls are generally married between the ages of seven and nine, but remain at their father's house for a few years, when they are taken to the house of their new master.

Marriage is considered the most important event in the life of a Hindoo; and the ceremony is generally resorted to in the months of March, April, May, and June. Among the Brahmins it occupies five days, and closes with a procession through the streets of the town or village, in which women hail the new-married couple with the

Arati—a song of rejoicing. In the course of events this melody is changed for the wail of death; for the husband is smitten, and the last trial of the wife is about to commence and find its consummation in the cruel rites of Suttee.

As soon as the sick man has expired, ablutions and offerings are made by way of purification, and the deceased is then dressed in his richest garments, frequently adorned with jewels and other ornaments, and laid on a kind of state-bed while the funeral pile is prepared, which generally consists of fragrant wood intermingled with spices and odoriferous flowers, and surrounded by a trench. When ready, the body is stripped of the greater part of its ornaments, and carried, by four Brahmins, to the place set apart for the funeral ceremonies; the Dharga, or chief of the funeral, bearing with him consecrated fire in a vessel for the purpose. Meanwhile the toilet of the, it may be young, wife is prepared in the manner enjoined by the *Bhagavata*, or sacred books, from which the subjoined passages are translated.

"Having first bathed, the widow, dressed in two clean garments, and holding some cúsa grass, sips water from the palm of her hand; bearing cúsa and tita on her head, she looks towards the east or north, while the Brahmana utters the mystic word, 'Om!' Bowing to Narayana, she next declares the *Sancalpa*, thus:—'On this month, so named, in such a parcha, on such a lit-hi, I, (naming herself and her family), that I may meet Arundhati, and reside in Swarga; that the years of my stay may be numerous as the hairs on the human body; that I may enjoy, with my husband, the felicity of heaven, and sanctify my paternal and maternal progenitors, and the ancestry of my husband's father; that, lauded by the Apsarases, I may be happy with my lord through the reign of the Indras; that expiation be made for my husband's offences, whether he have killed a Brahmana, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend—thus I ascend my husband's pile. I call on you, ye guardians of the eight regions of the world!—Sun and moon!—air, fire, ether, earth, and water!—my own soul!—Yama!—day, night, and twilight! and thou, conscience, bear witness—I follow my husband's corpse on the funeral pile!'

"Having repeated the *Sancalpa*, she walks thrice round the pile, while the Brahmana utters the following *Mantras*:—'Om! Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives, adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire! Immortal; not childless, nor husbandless—excellent! Let them pass into fire, whose original element is water. Om! Let these wives, pure, beautiful, commit themselves to the fire with their husbands' corpse.'

"A *Purannee Mantra* is chanted.

"With this benediction, and uttering the mystic 'nami-namah!' she ascends the pile.

"While the prescribed ceremonies are performed by the widow, the son, or other near kinsman of the deceased, applies the first torch, with the forms directed for the funeral rites in the *Gry-Hya* (sacred books), by which his tribe is governed.

"The wife who commits herself to the flames with her husband's corpse, shall equal Arundhati, and reside in Swarga. Accompanying her husband, she shall reside so long in Swarga as are the thirty-five millions of hairs on the human body. As the snake-catcher forcibly draws the serpent from his earth, so, bearing her husband from hell, with him she shall enjoy heavenly bliss.

"Dying with her husband, she sanctifies her maternal and paternal ancestors, and the ancestry of him to whom she gave her virginity. Such a wife, adoring her husband, enters into celestial felicity with him—greatest and most admired; lauded by the choirs of heaven, with him shall enjoy the delights of heaven, while fourteen Indras reign.

"Though her husband had killed a Brahmana, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend, she expiates the crime.

"The *Mantras* are adopted on the authority of the Brahmana *Purana*.

"While the pile is preparing, tell the faithful wife of the greatest duty of woman. She is alone loyal and pure who burns herself with her husband's corpse. Having thus fortified her resolution, and full of affection, she completes the Prayashita, and ascends to Swarga.

"A widow, on receiving news of her husband dying in a distant country, should expeditiously burn herself; so shall she attain perfection. Should the husband die on a journey, holding his sandals to her breast, let her pass into the flames."*

* *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., ed. 1795.

All the ceremonies essential to this rite are prescribed in the sacred books, and especially in the *Bhagavata* and *Purana;* but many practices were introduced in Suttee, not sanctioned by the ritual. Among these innovations, a woman who declared her intention of burning, was required to give a token of her fortitude; and it was ordained, that any one who should seek to recede after the ceremony commenced, might be compelled by her relatives to complete the sacrifice: in the original rules, an alternative barely short of death was offered to the widow. For instance, the following passages from the text of *Menu*, the great Hindoo lawgiver, clearly leave it open to the wife to perform Suttee, or live in a state of perpetual widowhood:—"A faithful wife, who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her husband, must do nothing unkind to him be he living or dead. Let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her husband is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue until death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as have been devoted to one only husband."*

The torch having been applied to the four corners of the pile, the crowd of attendants accompanying the procession retire to a distance, leaving only the four Brahmins who have carried the bier. As the materials are dry and combustible, the fire rages; and the covering of rushes, which forms a canopy over the corpse and the victim, speedily envelop both in a sheet of flame. When all is consumed, a series of purifications follow, and the family of the deceased are permitted to eat; food being forbidden till the whole ceremony is completed.

In another portion of the sacred books referred to, as quoted in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,† the formula of Suttee is thus also described:—

"Adorned with jewels, decked with minium and other customary ornaments, with the box of minium in her hand, having made *pújá*, or adoration to the Devatas—thus reflecting, that 'this life is naught, my lord and master to me was all'—she walks round the burning pile. She bestows jewels on the Brahmins, and comforts her relations, and shows her friends the attentions of civility. While calling the sun and elements to witness, she distributes minium at pleasure; and having repeated the *Sancalpa*, proceeds into the flames. There embracing the corpse, she abandons herself to the fire, calling, 'Satya! Satya! Satya!'

"The by-standers throw on butter and wood; for this, they are taught that they acquire merit exceeding ten million fold the merits of an *aswamadha*, or other great sacrifice; but those who join in the procession from the house of the deceased to the funeral pile, for every step are rewarded as for an *aswamadha*."

The abolition of the dreadful rite of Suttee throughout the territories subject to British rule in India, has, for some years past, prevented at least the open perpetration of the diabolical act in those parts, although the hideous practice is still common in the independent states. The sacrifice might be performed in any convenient place; but the bank of a river was always selected if possible, as bathing is one of the preparatory observances enjoined to the victim.

The Suttee commemorated in the accompanying engraving, took place in the neighbourhood of Baroda, in the dominions of the Guicowar, about seventy-eight miles north-east of Surat, during the period in which Sir James Carnac was political resident at the court of Dowlah Rao Sindia. The circumstances connected with the immolation were described by Captain Grindlay, of the East India Company's service (who was present throughout the scene), as of a somewhat romantic nature, investing the sacrifice with a more than usual degree of interest. The Suttee was a young Brahminee woman from the Deccan, married to a person of her own caste, holding an appointment under one of the chiefs of the court, and absent at the time from his home. One night the death of her husband was communicated to her in a dream; and, being strongly impressed with the truth of the revelation, she became a prey to anxiety and grief. Shortly afterwards, while returning to her cottage with a pot of water upon her head (an occupation always performed by females of her class), a circumstance happened which confirmed her worst apprehensions. She had placed her necklace, the symbol of her

* Martin's *India* (Note), p. 514.

† *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi., ed. 1796.

married state, on the top of the jar, and a crow alighting, flew away with it. This dreadful omen produced a conviction amounting to perfect faith that the fatal event had taken place. Throwing down the vessel, and loosing her hair, she returned to her desolate home, declaring her intention to join her husband in the grave.

The circumstance being reported to the British resident, he immediately repaired to the house of the presumed widow, with the humane intention of dissuading her from her rash intent. Finding his efforts unavailing, he engaged the assistance of the ruling prince, who readily undertook the benevolent mission, appearing with a large retinue at the door; and when his representations failed to produce the desired effect, he surrounded the avenue with his attendants, in order to prevent the unhappy woman from flying to persons who would encourage her in her desperate resolve. Aware that the abject state of poverty to which a Hindoo widow, who can inherit nothing, is reduced upon the death of her husband, was often the real cause of Suttee, the prince generously offered the woman the means of future subsistence, urging at the same time the duties which she owed to her family, whom she would leave unprotected, and the uncertainty of the loss which she deplored. The widow remained unmoved, and unconvinced; and on being assured that she would not be permitted to ascend the fatal pile, drew a dagger from the folds of her dress, and with all the vehemence which passion could lend to fanaticism, declared that her blood—the blood of a Brahmin woman—should be upon the soul of him who offered to prevent her performing her duty to her husband. Few Indians are proof against fear of the consequences of driving an enthusiast to this act of desperation. The curse is believed to be unmitigable by any effort to expiate the crime that produced it; and thus, perceiving her determination could not be shaken, the Guicowar, with his retinue, withdrew.

"Self-sacrifice is considered so honourable among every class of Hindoos, that the widow, although rushing almost companionless to the Ghaut, was soon surrounded by thronging multitudes of kindred, friends, and spectators. She formed a small image of rice to represent the body of her husband; the pile was prepared; and, having gone through the prescribed ceremonies and ablutions, she repaired to the fatal spot (immediately behind the domed arch on the left of the engraving), and threw herself into the midst of the flames.

"The most astonishing part of the tale remains to be told. In the course of three weeks after this event, tidings arrived at Baroda of the death of the husband, which, upon inquiry, was found to have occurred at a period correspondent to the date of the wife's dream."

This was evidently an instance of determined and voluntary self-sacrifice; but there are numberless instances upon record, in which the cruel and inexorable rites of Suttee have been performed, when young and unwilling victims have been immolated on the funeral pile of an aged husband, despite their tears, their shrieks, and their resistance. Perhaps our wonder may be diminished at the infliction of such barbarity, when we reflect that, according to the sacred writings of the Brahmins, the crimes of the husband, however enormous, are expiated by the sacrifice of the wife; and that a natural desire on the part of his relations that he should obtain admission to paradise, would stimulate them, irrespective of all other considerations, to urge the voluntary, or, if need be, the enforced act that would open the gates to him.

Self-murder, which of course included the practice of Suttee, was suppressed by a prohibitory edict of the supreme government of India, dated the 4th of December, 1829, during the administration of Lord William Bentinck. By this ordinance, all persons aiding and abetting Suttee, were declared liable to the penalty inflicted by the law for culpable *homicide*. The Brahmins, who had originated Suttee to prevent their widows remarrying, declared that it was purely a religious rite, and objected to its forcible suppression; but, with this exception, no opposition was manifested by the people under British authority. Widow-burning, however, still continues in several provinces which are not yet under the immediate control of the government of this country.

THE FORT AT ALLAHABAD.

The city of Allahabad—capital of one of the North-Western Provinces of Hindoostan—is situated at the junction of the rivers Ganges and Jumna, 80 miles W. by N. from Benares, and 498 miles N.W. from Calcutta, in 25° 27′ N. lat., and 81° 50′ E. long. The place is supposed to occupy the site of an ancient city of the Prasii, named Palibothra, which flourished prior to the invasion of India by Alexander the Great. It is called by the Brahmins *Bhat Prayag* (most holy), on account of its position at the most venerated of all the confluences of rivers in Hindoostan (such confluences being declared sacred by the *Vedas);* and so great has been the repute of its sanctity, that more than 200,000 pilgrims and devotees have visited it from distant parts of India in the course of a single year, merely for the gratification of bathing in the waters that lave its walls; while, in time gone past, numbers of pilgrims have drowned themselves at the precise point of junction of the two mighty streams, in full assurance that, by so doing, they secured for themselves an eternity of happiness. The modern city was built about the middle of the sixteenth century, by the emperor Akber, and became one of his most favoured residences, being enriched by him with a number of magnificent edifices, and a fort of great extent and strength, intended as well for the imperial residence as for the protection of the surrounding territory. The city is built on the western bank of the Jumna, and on the west of the fort; but the greater portion of the now remaining edifices are of mud, and are erected on ancient foundations of substantial brick structures. Much of the soil in the immediate neighbourhood consists of materials that have been used for building purposes at some remote period, and of fragments of pottery and household vessels; at once attesting the antiquity and original magnitude of the city of Akber. Among other improvements upon its recently neglected condition, the city contains a number of new and commodious buildings, for the official purposes of the provincial government, and the residence of its chief officers and of the wealthy native and European inhabitants. It has also a government school or college, which, prior to the disturbances, was attended by 103 pupils, of whom eighty-one were Hindoos. The cantonments for the military are situated about four miles from the fort, and were generally occupied by two or more regiments of native infantry, some cavalry, and a company of artillery; but the officer in command of the whole usually resided in the fort.

Among its other institutions of importance, as the capital of a province, Allahabad possesses a permanent judicial establishment, whence periodical circuits are made through the province; and during the greater portion of the year 1858, the city was chosen by the governor-general of India, Viscount Canning, for the temporary seat of the supreme government. Some few years since, a railway had been projected from Allahabad to Cawnpoor, in continuation of the Great Trunk line from Calcutta to Lahore; and a portion of this line, from Allahabad to Futtehpoor, was opened with the usual formalities, by the governor-general, in 1858, under circumstances of unusual interest; the greater part of the distance traversed lying through an enemy's country, overrun with their movable columns, and the safety of the party rendering it expedient to burn down the native villages on each side of the line; while the termini, and stations between them, were protected by troops and artillery, to resist any attempt by the rebels to carry off the governor-general and his suite, while engaged in the ceremony of inaugurating the line.

The fort at Allahabad is still an imposing structure, having been preserved in excellent condition since it came into the exclusive possession of the East India Company in 1801. The walls, which are of great elevation, enclose an extent of 2,500 yards; and, with the numerous bastions and towers, are pierced for artillery. A part of the fortress is built over a cavern, or subterranean temple of the Hindoos, dedicated to the worship of Siva (the destroyer), the roof of which is supported by pillars of singular form and colossal dimensions; and within this gloomy vault, sank deep into the bosom of the earth, a portion of the mysterious rites enjoined to the pilgrims who visit the city of Allah

must be performed, before the deity of the Hindoos can be propitiated. The cavern is vast, and profoundly dark. Its actual extent is not known to the present generation of man; but it is asserted, and believed by the devotees who seek its gloomy recesses, to extend as far as Delhi—a distance of more than 400 miles; and to be infested, for the greater part of the distance, by enormous serpents and noxious reptiles. The author of the *Hand-Book for India and Egypt*, who, some few years since, ventured into the depths of this extraordinary temple of a fanatical creed (called by the natives Peebulpooree), says—"A fakir is constantly in attendance at the entrance to the cavern, who, for a small gratuity, is ready to descend with the pious devotee or inquiring traveller, and exhibit a portion of its gloomy wonders by the aid of torches; as it is only at the entrance, and one other distant locality, that the light of day penetrates the utter darkness that fills the undefined space. The passage to the great vault is, for a considerable length, not more than four feet broad by eight in height, and has been cut through an argillaceous limestone rock of chunam. As it descends, the walls and roof are seen covered with inscriptions, and grotesque and monstrous figures, with niches at intervals, containing mutilated fragments of idols, and other objects of Hindoo veneration. After gradually descending for about a hundred feet from the level of the entrance, the cavern widens out to gigantic proportions, the limits of which are obscured by the profound darkness, which the light of a few torches is unable to penetrate; but in the apparent centre of the space, the Lingam, or symbol of Mahadeo (a name of Siva), is presented to the view of his worshippers. From this hall of gloom and mystery, paths branch off in various directions, forming, in their number and intersections, a perfect labyrinth; having in their course a number of recesses piled up with the fragments of idols—silent but memorable records of the hatred and vengeance of the Moslem troops of Akber, by whom the cavern-temple and its altars were first profaned. The immense and awful vault, and its passages, are now tenanted by insects and reptiles without number; and among them are millions of cockroaches, which, attracted by the unusual light, fly around it, and settle upon the unwelcome intruders on their repose. Toads and snakes crawl and glide across the slimy paths, and appear ready to dispute the invasion of their dismal territory; while a host of bats flit about so close to the torch of the guide, that its non-extinction is surprising. All here is damp, dreary, and noisome."

The fort at Allahabad was the scene of important events connected with the sepoy mutiny of 1857. On the 5th of June, in that memorable year for India, a telegram from Sir H. Wheeler, the brigadier in command at Cawnpoor, directed the officer in charge at Allahabad to "man the fort with every serviceable European, and to make a good stand." This message, in the existing posture of affairs, was ominous of impending mischief, and was instantly attended to. The civilians at Allahabad were at once ordered into the fort, and such as were capable of service were formed into a volunteer corps, numbering, with some few invalided soldiers and staff sergeants, about a hundred men; the charge of the main gate of the fort being left to eighty men of the 6th native regiment, which, that very morning, had made a demonstration of its loyalty by waiting, unarmed, in a body upon their European officers, and, "with tears in their eyes, beseeching them to rely upon their honour and good faith." Several European merchants, and some *half-castes* in government employ, still, however, remained outside the fort, being unwilling to believe the possibility of danger to themselves personally. Some of the European officers, also, whose families were resident between the fort and the cantonments, were still without the walls of the fortress, as were others on duty at outposts. All necessary caution was used, and the usual appearance of order and subordination was presented through the day; but, as night approached, it became evident that a mutinous spirit was at work among the native troops in cantonment; and at half-past nine in the evening, while the officers were yet together in the mess-room, a bugler of the 6th regiment sounded the "assembly." The officers, imagining that some disturbance had occurred in the bazaar or neighbourhood, rushed out to learn the cause, and the foremost of them were instantly shot down. One or two others contrived to escape to the fort; but five English officers of the 6th regiment, and several young ensigns doing duty with that corps, were at once massacred by the men who, on the same morning, had besought them to rely on their fidelity! One officer of the 6th was actually pinned to the ground by bayonets, and, while yet writhing in agony, a fire was kindled on his body. The vengeance of the

infuriated sepoys did not confine itself to their officers alone: women and children, the old and the young, perished alike in their reckless thirst for blood. More than fifty Europeans fell in the first outburst of this demoniacal treachery; and to many of the females, a merciless death was the least of the fearful wrongs to which they were subjected.

One of the civilians who had taken refuge in the fort, afterwards writing of the events of that night, says—"On the alarm being sounded, we ran up to the ramparts in breathless silence. The firing without grew heavier, and we all thought the insurgents from Benares had entered the station, and were being beaten off by the regiment. 'Oh,' we said, 'those gallant sepoys are beating off the rebels!' for the firing grew fainter in the distance, as if a force was retiring; but before long the sad truth was known. Harwood* rode into the fort, bringing tidings that the 6th had risen, and had seized the guns. He had just escaped, and ran up to poor Alexander's camp,† who jumped on his horse, and rode up towards the lines with as many of his men as could be got ready; he was caught in an ambush by a party of sepoys lying in wait for prey, and was killed by a musket being placed to his side and blowing out his heart. His poor body was brought in late in the night; and I gave his hand a last shake, and shed tears over his last bed."

It is not the purpose here to enter upon a detail of occurrences connected with the mutiny of the 6th native regiment at Allahabad; but the following incident, as related by one of the officers who happily survived the murderous onslaught, may be recorded, as exhibiting in the conduct of a mere lad, a glorious example of heroic fortitude and Christian faith. The narrator, whose words we transcribe, says—"When the wretched 6th regiment mutinied at Allahabad, and murdered their officers, an ensign only sixteen years of age, who was left for dead among the rest, escaped in the darkness to a neighbouring ravine. Here he found a stream, the water of which sustained his life for four days and nights. Although desperately wounded, he contrived to raise himself into a tree during the night, for protection from wild beasts. Poor boy! he had a high commission to fulfil before death released him from his sufferings. On the fifth day he was discovered, and dragged by the brutal sepoys before one of their leaders, to have the little life left in him extinguished. There he found another prisoner—a Christian catechist, formerly a Mohammedan—whom the sepoys were endeavouring to torment and terrify into a recantation. The firmness of the native was giving way as he knelt amid his persecutors, with no human sympathy to support him. The boy-officer, after anxiously watching him for a short time, cried out—'Oh, my friend! come what may, do not deny the Lord Jesus!'"

Just at this moment, the alarm of a sudden attack by Colonel Neill, with his Madras fusiliers, caused the precipitate flight of the murderous fanatics. The catechist's life was saved. He turned to bless the boy whose faith had strengthened his faltering spirit; but the young martyr had passed beyond the reach of human sympathy—he had entered into rest.‡

LUCKNOW.

Lucknow, the capital of the now British province of Oude, is situated on the river Goomtee, between 26° and 27° N. lat., 95 miles north-west from Allahabad, and 280 south-by-east from Delhi. The river is navigable for boats at all seasons; and the appearance of the city from its northern bank is one of considerable magnificence, from the number and variety of splendid structures that line its river-front. Palaces, mosques, and mausolea, with their gilt roofs and rich and graceful architecture, meet the eye along a wide range of beautifully diversified ground; and the tapering pinnacles and swelling domes that rise amidst and above the masses of buildings in the interior, are apt

* Commanding a detachment of artillery in cantonments.
† This officer commanded a detachment of irregular cavalry.
‡ *Vide History of the Indian Mutiny.*

to excite expectations which, on nearer approach, are not realised—the greater portion of the dwellings of the inhabitants being of a very inferior description, and the streets in many parts of the town sinking from ten to twelve feet below the level of the ground through which they are constructed, being consequently both narrow and dirty. Lucknow, as a capital city, attained the meridian of its prosperity about the commencement of the present century, when its population was estimated at 300,000 persons; but its greatness had even then greatly decreased with the waning power of its rulers. The palace built by Asoph-ud-Dowlah—known as the Kaiserbagh—was reputed to be one of the most magnificent structures in India, with the exception of those built by the emperors of Delhi.

The important part taken by the city of Lucknow in the great drama of the sepoy rebellion, and the subsequent insurrection of the people of Oude, is amply chronicled in the *History of the Indian Mutiny*, to which we refer for details of the occurrences connected with it; the immediate object of the present work being to describe such ot the most important of the public buildings of the city, as the artist has contrived to group in the accompanying engraving.

The city of Lucknow, as already observed, lies on the south bank of the Goomtee, which runs nearly from north-west to south-east, all the buildings on the opposite or left bank of the river being merely suburban. After winding round buildings designated La Martinière and Dilkoosha, the river changes its course to direct south. Access to the city from the opposite bank was formerly by three bridges—namely, one of boats, another of iron, and the third of stone. The south-eastern extremity of the city is bounded by a canal, which enters the Goomtee near the Martinière; but there is no defined boundary on the south-west, west, or north-west. Previous to the revolt, between the crowded or trading part of the town and the river, a long range of palaces and gardens extended some five miles along the bank of the Goomtee, and formed a belt between it and the poorer or more dense part of the city. These structures were known to Europeans by the several names of the Secunderbagh, the Shah Nujeef, Shah Munzil, the Motee Mahal, the Kaiserbagh, the Chuttur Munzil, Furreed Buksh, the Residency inclosure, Muchee Bowun, the Great Emaumbarra, and the Moosabagh. Of these various edifices, the Kaiserbagh, or Palace of the King; the Motee Mahal, or Pearl Palace (the residence of the begums of Oude); the cupolas and minarets of the Furreed Buksh; a portion of the Residency inclosure, and of the Muchee Bowun and Emaumbarra, are represented in the accompanying engraving.

The Shah Nujeef, or Emaumbarra of Asoph-ud-Dowlah, is a model of fantastic but elegant Mohammedan architecture, and has elicited the encomiums of all who have beheld it. Lord Valentia, in the record of his travels in Hindoostan, says—"From the brilliant white of the composition, and the minute delicacy of the workmanship, an enthusiast might believe that genii had been the artificers:" and Bishop Heber expressed his admiration of the whole design, in the following unequivocal language:—"I have never seen an architectural view which pleased me more, from its richness and variety, as well as the proportions and general good taste of its principal features." The design consists of many large buildings surrounding two open courts, which are connected by three archways of lofty proportions and exquisite workmanship: in the centre of these is the tomb of the founder, guarded by soldiers of the royal household, and attended by moollahs perpetually reciting passages of the Koran. The central hall is of vast size, and magnificent in all its details, presenting a brilliant focus, from whence the wondrous beauties of the mausoleum radiate in every direction. This structure is called the King's Emaumbarra, or Imaumbarra—the name given by the sect of Moslems called Sheahs, to buildings raised by them for the celebration of the religious festival of the Mohurrum. Every family of distinction has its own Emaumbarra—large or small, gorgeous or simple, as the wealth and piety of the owner may dictate; and it is generally selected as his own burial-place, and that of the most favoured of his family. It must be confessed that the beauty of the design and workmanship employed upon the Shah Nujeef is materially diminished, upon close examination, by the poverty of the materials used, which are chiefly brick, coated with chunam, or clay cement. The Roumee Durwaza, or Gate of the Sultan—a beautiful structure, with an elaborately-decorated arch in

the Saracenic style of architecture—is in close proximity to the Shah Nujeef, and shares the admiration which that building, with its accessories and combinations of Moslem minarets and Hindoo cupolas and domes, never fails to elicit.

Another building in Lucknow, well entitled to notice (previous to the revolt), was the Mosque of Saadut Ali, one of the former rulers of Oude—the lofty dome of which was a remarkable object from all parts of the city. Of the Kaiserbagh, or King's Palace, we have elsewhere spoken; but the following passage from a recent work on Oude will not be inappropriate here. The author, who is represented to be an Englishman in the service of the king of Oude in 1834, in speaking of the royal residence, says—"The great extent of the buildings generally called 'the King's Palace,' surprised me in the first instance. It is not properly a palace, but a continuation of palaces, stretching all along the bank of the Goomtee, the river on which Lucknow is built. In this, however, the royal residence in Oude only resembles what one reads of the seraglio at Constantinople, the khan's residence at Teheran, and the imperial buildings of Pekin. In all Oriental states the palaces are not so much the abode of the sovereign only, as the centre of his government—little towns, in fact, containing extensive ranges of buildings, occupied by the harem and its vast number of attendants, and containing courts, gardens, tanks, fountains, and squares, as well as the offices of the chief ministers of state."*

South-east of the city, and at a short distance from the banks of the Goomtee, is the mansion erected by Claude Martine—a Frenchman of extraordinary abilities and tact, who, from the position of a mere adventurer, advanced himself to the possession of vast wealth and power at the court of Oude. Eccentric in his tastes, and left to the unbridled indulgence of his own fancy, he designed and completed the building which has ever since claimed notoriety for its grotesque and extravagant appearance, in which all the rules of European and Asiatic architecture are set at defiance. The ornaments with which the structure is loaded, both within and without, give it the appearance of a museum of curiosities. Among the details of minutely-finished fretwork that surmounted the building, were placed enormous lions of stucco, with glaring lamps in lieu of eyes; Chinese mandarins, and female figures, with undulating heads, thronged the parapets of the terraced roof; and the whole Pantheon of the mythology of Greece and Rome, were scattered over the mansion and grounds in the most incongruous proximity to

"Fabled monsters, which the world ne'er saw."

This singular residence was solidly built of stone, and is of large dimensions: the tomb of the owner occupies the centre of the topmost story, surrounded by the extraordinary specimens of bad taste we have mentioned; but the sarcophagus containing his corpse is deposited in a lower apartment. During the lifetime of the owner he gave it the name of Constantia; but, since his death, the property came into the hands of the East India Company, who established a school or college in the building; and in memory of the extraordinary man to whom it had belonged, called it "La Martinière." During the advance of Sir Colin Campbell to the relief of the residency in November, 1857, this place was the scene of fearful conflict; and afterwards, for a short time, became the head-quarters of the army of Oude.

The Kaiserbagh was not only the most splendid of the palaces of Lucknow, but, as the residence of the king, was also the strongest as a place of defence; and it was next to the Emaumbarra, or Mosque of the Seven Emaums, the most beautiful in an architectural point of view. Both of these superb edifices were doomed to sustain the heaviest weight of the terrific assaults which, continuing from the 2nd to the 16th of March, at length ended in the complete reduction of all the fortifications of the place, and the flight and dispersion of the rebel forces. An extract from one of Mr. Russell's graphic sketches of events during and after the assault by the troops under Sir Colin Campbell, will suffice to give an idea of the terrible revulsion to which the palace of the sovereigns of Oude was subjected, in the desperate struggle for its possession. He had ascended to the roof of the Emaumbarra, and says—"From this position a good view could be obtained of portions of the Kaiserbagh, the road to which was thronged with men bearing litters with the wounded. Artillerymen, sailors, and oxen, were busily employed in dragging up heavy guns and mortars to secure the new position; while troops

* Knighton's *Private Life of an Eastern King.*

were marching rapidly towards the Kaiserbagh, or were already in the courts and streets around it. Descending from the roof, as we struggled over the masses of fallen brick-work, the traces of our sap, choked up here and there with fallen earth, were close on our left, till the sap reached a long corridor by the side of a court, which served as an excellent covered-way for our sappers. The enemy's cooking places, lotas, clothing, belts, broken muskets, swords, and pistols were scattered over the ground on every side; but there were not many dead visible till we reached some of the courts. The large hall of the Emaumbarra, which appeared to have been used as a sort of museum, and had contained many curious models of mosques, and fine mirrors and chandeliers, was a heap of ruin. Working our way through, we approached the Kaiserbagh, and managed to get into one of the courts through a breach in the parapet of the outer works. This court was surrounded by rooms with latticed windows, to which access was gained by means of stairs opening into the court, the strong doors of which were barred on the inside. The walls were decorated with indifferent frescoes, representing feats of arms and female dancers. On one side, the trees of a garden could be seen through venetian blinds; and there was evidence that we were near to the king's zenana, and that the buildings around us belonged to his eunuchs. We proceeded forward to the entrance of the main building. Our men were just crashing through the rooms of the palace, which were, as yet, filled with the evidence of barbaric magnificence and splendour. The Kaiserbagh cannot be described; the whole place is a series of palaces, kiosks, and mosques, all of fanciful Oriental architecture—some light and graceful, others merely fantastic and curious, connected, generally, by long corridors arched and open in the front, or by extensive wings, which enclose the courts and gardens contained within the outer walls. In every room throughout the endless series there was a profusion of mirrors in ponderous gilt frames. From every ceiling hung glass chandeliers, of every age, form, colour, and design. As to the furniture, it looked, in many cases, like collections from the lumber-rooms of all the old palaces in Europe, relieved by rich carpets and sumptuous divans, by cushions covered with golden embroidery, by rich screens of Cashmere shawls, and by table-covers ponderous with pearls and gold. In some of the rooms were a few pictures in gorgeous frames; but the hand of the spoiler had been heavy among all. Those which hung out of the reach of the musket-stock and bayonet-thrust, were not safe from a bullet or the leg of a table, converted into an impromptu missile for the operation. Down came chandeliers, in a tinkling clattering rain of glass: crash followed crash, as door and window, mirror and pendule, were battered down by the excited and thoughtless victors."

The important events connected with the city and the rebellion of 1857, may be thus enumerated in order of date. The siege of the British position in Lucknow, which then consisted of the residency and the Muchee Bowun only, commenced on the 1st of July. On the 2nd of the same month, Sir Henry Lawrence, the chief commissioner of Oude, received the wound which, on the 4th, eventuated in his death. From that time until the 25th of September, when the occupants of the residency were relieved by the force under General Havelock, they had been subject to all the perils and privations of a close siege by the rebel army, under various leaders. Exposed to the calamities of war, and at times almost without the hope of rescue, the gallant band under Inglis resisted every attempt of the insurgents to force them from their position, and heroically held out until the arrival of succour. The relieving force was, however, unequal to the great task of withdrawing the wounded, and the women and children, from the shelter of their defences at the residency; and they were, in turn, also besieged from the 25th of September until the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell on the 17th of November. On the 22nd of that month, the whole European garrison, with the women, the wounded, and state prisoners, the king's treasure, and other property, were safely removed from the residency in the presence of the whole force of Oude, and conveyed on the way to Cawnpoor, *en route* for Allahabad and Calcutta. The rebel army, commanded by the begum of Oude and the moulvie of Fyzabad, still held possession of Lucknow; Sir James Outram, with a considerable force, being stationed at the Alumbagh, a short distance from the city, to watch their movements, and serve as a nucleus on which to base future operations. On the 2nd of March, 1858, Sir Colin Campbell again appeared before the city, which, by the 16th, was entirely in the possession of the British troops.

But Lucknow was by this time a chaos—a place of terror and desolation. The

license inevitable after the assault of a large town, had here been indulged in to a lamentable extent, and had perfected the work which the ravages of war and the consuming brand commenced. Thousands of the native inhabitants who had fled from the city on the approach of the British troops, would fain have returned to their homes, or to the ruins of them. But there were tens of thousands who were destined never again to enter the gates of the once proud city; for their king had fallen from his throne, and the palaces of their chiefs and nobles were heaps of smouldering ruins.

Simultaneously with the restoration of order in the city, arrangements were made by its conquerors for its future occupancy and necessary defence. The Muchee Bowun was selected as the key of the British military position; diverging from which, a number of wide avenues or streets were cleared through the winding lanes and masses of buildings that intervened between it and the various strategic points; such streets or avenues forming, in effect, military roads, connecting each point with the others and with the Muchee Bowun. The civil power also resumed authority, and proceeded to establish law and order. A police force was enrolled, and gradually the city subsided into a state of quietude; though it was long before confidence could be restored among the native population and their no longer indulgent masters.

VIEW OF THE PALACE AT DELHI, FROM THE RIVER; AND OF THE DEWAN KHASS.

The engraving which accompanies this article, represents the river-front of the celebrated palace of the emperor Shah Jehan, at Delhi, as it is seen from the opposite bank of the Jumna. The palace, with its numberless courts, its various edifices and magnificent gardens, occupies an area of one square mile, and, on the land side, is protected by a lofty wall, embattled and flanked by numerous towers and bastions, and, towards the river, by a fort called Selimgurh, with which it is connected by a lofty bridge. Of the erection of the palace and its gorgeous accessories, by the emperor Shah Jehan, in 1631, mention has already been made in this work. Of the vicissitudes of Oriental rule—under which the palace of Delhi became the abode of successive monarchs whose path to empire was traced through perfidy and blood, in the course of the comparatively short period of little more than two centuries, before it came into the hands of the British rulers of India as a spoil of war—it is unnecessary here to expatiate; but it may be observed, that it was in this palace, on the 10th of September, 1803, that Shah Alum, the last actual possessor of the once mighty throne of the Moguls, after being the sport of fortune for years, thankfully placed himself and his empire under the protection of the British commander, General Lord Lake, then engaged in a fierce war against the Mahrattas—the remorseless and inveterate enemies of the aged and afflicted monarch, whom the general, upon his entry to the palace, found seated under a small tattered canopy; "his person emaciated by indigence and infirmity, his countenance disfigured by the loss of his eyes, and bearing marks of extreme old age and settled melancholy." The incidents connected with the loss of sight by Shah Alum, are both interesting and extraordinary. This prince, from the time of the death of his general, Nujeef Khan, in 1782, had been compelled to submit to the will of his neighbours —the Mahratta and Rohilla chiefs, as they respectively gained the ascendency, and assumed the post of vicegerent of the Mogul empire. In 1785, Sindia, the Mahratta, became paramount; but having engaged in war with Pertab Sing, of Jeypoor, advantage was taken of his absence by Gholam Kadir Khan (the son of Zabila Khan, the Rohilla), to obtain possession of Delhi. This he accomplished in 1788, through the treachery of the nazir, or chief eunuch, to whom the management of the imperial establishment was entrusted. The inmates of the palace were treated by the usurper with a degree of

malicious barbarity which it is hardly possible to conceive any human being could evince towards his unoffending fellow-creatures, unless actually possessed by an evil spirit. After cruelties of all descriptions had been practised, to extort from the members and retainers of the imperial family every article of value which still remained in their possession, Gholam Kadir resolved to withhold from them even the bare necessaries of life, so that several ladies perished of hunger; and others, maddened by suffering, committed suicide. The royal children were compelled to perform the most humiliating offices; and when Shah Alum indignantly remonstrated against the atrocities he was compelled to witness, the Rohilla sprang upon him with the fury of a wild beast, flung the venerable monarch to the ground, knelt on his breast, and, with his dagger, pierced his eyeballs through and through. The return of Sindia put a stop to these terrible excesses. Gholam Kadir fled, but was pursued and captured by the Mahratta chief, who cut off his nose, ears, hands and feet, and sent him in an iron cage to Shah Alum—a fearful example of retributive barbarity. The mutilated wretch perished on the road back to Delhi; and his accomplice, the treacherous nazir, was trodden to death by an elephant.* The annual stipend settled upon Shah Alum and his descendants, in return for the surrender of his empire, amounted to thirteen and a-half lacs of rupees (£135,000 sterling).

The palace erected by Shah Jehan, with its mosques and minarets, cupolas and towers, presented a magnificent appearance; and, in the estimation of Bishop Heber, was, except in the durability of the material of which it was constructed—namely, red granite and white marble—only inferior to Windsor Castle as an imperial residence. In order to supply water to the royal gardens, the aqueduct of Ali Merdan Khan was constructed, by which the waters of the Jumna, while pure and uncontaminated as they left the mountains from which they spring, were conducted for 120 miles to Delhi. During the troubles that followed the decline of the Mogul power, the canal was neglected; and when the English took possession of the city, it was found partly choked up with rubbish. It has, however, since been restored, and is now the sole source of vegetation to the gardens of Delhi, and of drinkable water to its inhabitants. When, in 1820, this important object was attained, the inhabitants of the city went out in procession to meet the stream as it flowed slowly towards them, throwing flowers, ghee, sweetmeats, and other offerings into the water, and invoking blessings upon the Company's government for the boon conferred upon them.

Shah Alum expired in this palace in the year 1806, since which time the Mogul empire has been a thing of the past, and its throne a shadow. A son of the unfortunate prince succeeded, and, like his father, became, in spirit and in fact, a mere pensioner of the East India Company, by whom he was suffered to retain the nominal rank of king, and to exercise absolute power within the walls of his ancestral palace. Upon his death, in 1836, his eldest son, Mirza Aboo Zuffur (the late king), ascended the titular throne, which he was permitted to occupy until a mad and hopeless infatuation led him to defy the power of the actual rulers of his empire, and precipitated him from the height to which his ambition had for a few weeks soared, into the depths of ignominious and unpitied exile.

A faint idea of the pristine magnificence of the favourite palace of the Moguls, may be obtained from the picture of it traced by Mr. Russell, who, in the spring of 1858, visited Delhi, and has described some of the most striking features of the architecture and decorations of the place. Referring to the Dewan Khass, or Imperial Hall of Audience, of which it was written in the hyperbolical language of the East—

"—— If there be Eden on earth,
It is here! it is here! it is here!"

the writer proceeds thus:—"On emerging into the square, we saw facing us a long, low-roofed building, white and clean-looking, flat-roofed, and raised above the level of the court on an esplanade or terrace of the same material as the building itself, which we discovered to be marble. This is the Dewan Khass. It is 150 feet long and 40 in breadth; at each angle there is a graceful cupola, which, in some degree, relieves the impression of meanness suggested by the flatness of the building. There was a babbling of voices, in the English tongue, resounding from the inside. On ascending by a flight of

* Martin's *India*, vol. i., pp. 373, 374.

steps four or five feet in height, to the terrace on which the Dewan Khass is built, and looking in through the wide arched doorways, or rather between the rows of pillars on which the roof rests, we saw anything but the dazzling magnificence for which our reading had prepared us. In fact, the Hall of the Moguls was filled, not with turbaned and jewelled rajahs, Mogul guards, and Oriental splendour; but with British infantry in its least prepossessing aspect—namely, in its undress, and in its washing and purely domestic hours. From pillar to pillar, and column to column, extended the ungraceful curves of the clothes-line; and shirts, and socks, and drawers flaunted in the air in lieu of silken banners and gorgeous shawls and draperies. The hall was so obscure, that the richness of the decorations and the great beauty of the interior were not visible until the eye became accustomed to the darkness. The magnificent pavement had been taken up and destroyed, and the hand of the spoiler had been busied on the columns and walls of the building; but still, above and around one could see the solid marble worked as though it had been wax, and its surface inlaid with the richest, most profuse and fanciful, and exquisite designs in foliage and arabesque; the fruits and flowers being represented by sections of gems—such as amethysts, cornelian, bloodstone, garnet, topaz, and various-coloured crystals set in the brasswork of the tracery with which the entire place is covered. Every one of the columns are thus decorated and covered with inscriptions from the Koran, and the walls have the appearance of some rich work from the loom, in which a brilliant pattern is woven on a pure white ground, the tracery of rare and cunning artists. When the hall was cleaned and lighted up, and when its greatest ornament, the Takt Taous, or Peacock Throne (constructed for the emperor Shah Jehan, at a cost of thirty millions sterling), and the great crystal chair of state, were in the midst, the *coup d'œil* must have been exceedingly rich and beautiful." The soldiers were expert at picking out the stones from the decorations of the Dewan Khass, with their bayonets, until forbidden to do so. The crystal chair is still in existence, and was forwarded to England as a trophy of conquest; but the peacock throne had been carried off by Nadir Shah, after his invasion of Hindoostan in 1739. This costly work of art, which was framed so as to be easily taken to pieces and reconstructed, was ascended by steps of silver, at the summit of which rose a massive seat of pure gold, with a canopy of the same metal inlaid with jewels. The chief feature of the design was a peacock with its tail spread, the natural colours being represented by pure gems; a vine also was introduced in the design, the leaves and fruit of which were of precious stones, whose rays were reflected from mirrors set in large pearls. From the spoil taken off by the conqueror, a portable tent was constructed for his use, the outside covered with scarlet broadcloth, and the inside with violet-coloured satin, on which birds and beasts, trees and flowers, were depicted in precious stones. On either side the peacock throne a screen extended, adorned with the figures of two angels, also represented in various-coloured gems. Even the tent-poles were adorned with jewels, and the pins were of massive gold. The whole formed a load for seven elephants. This gorgeous trophy was broken up by Adil Shah, the nephew and successor of the captor. In its entirety the value must have been prodigious.

VIEW OF THE PRINCIPAL STREET—AGRA.

The chowk, or principal street of the capital of the province of Agra, is an exception to the general rule of street architecture in the cities of the East, inasmuch as it is of sufficient width to admit the passage of carriages and other vehicles; a convenience rarely met with in other large towns of India. The accompanying view represents this avenue as it appears during the business hours of the day, when the chowk is teeming with life and activity, and the merchants and shopkeepers of the city display their wares to the best advantage. The style of shop architecture is in no way distinguished

from that adopted in other Oriental cities, being simply stalls, open in front, and screened from the sun by blinds and awnings of every diversity of colour and pattern; which, combined with the variety of merchandise displayed, and the picturesque costumes of the people, present a brilliant and interesting *coup d'œil*, that can hardly be described without the aid of colours. The houses in Agra are, as will be seen by the engraving, generally of lofty proportions, and, for the most part, are built of stone. With the exception of the principal street, the thoroughfares are gloomy and dirty, and are also so narrow, that persons riding in the native carriages, may easily touch the walls on either side with their hands as they pass. It has already been observed, that the city contains several palaces, besides public baths, caravanserais, and mosques; but most of the principal edifices of the Mohammedan era have long been in a state of progressive decay. Since, however, the city has been in the possession of the English, much has been done to repair the injuries inflicted by the ravages of time and conquest, and large sums have been expended by the government on public works—including courts for the administration of justice; depositories for the records of the province; revenue offices; a palace for the residency; a European cemetery; several bridges, and some excellent roads: on one of the latter of which, leading from Agra to Bombay, a sum of thirteen lacs of rupees, or £130,000 sterling, had been expended up to November, 1847. The city having been selected for the seat of government for the North-West Provinces, a large European community has settled there and in its vicinity, between the fort and the cantonments; and at one period, it was in contemplation to make Agra the seat of the supreme government for the whole of India.

The terrible events of 1857 did not leave the favourite city of Akber unscathed by their desolating influences. Startled from its tranquillity by the sullen indications of an impending storm, the European inhabitants, so early as the 24th of May, were first awakened to the dangers that were gathering round them, by a succession of incendiary fires, of which the men belonging to a native regiment in cantonment were believed to be the cause; the object being to occupy the attention of the few European troops at the station in extinguishing the flames, while they (the native soldiers) would fall upon and massacre the defenceless inhabitants, and, after plundering and destroying their dwellings, march off and join their brethren in revolt at Delhi. This plan was happily frustrated by the timely arrival of a detachment of English troops, by whom the two native regiments (44th and 67th) were deprived of their arms; a proceeding they resented by immediately deserting in a body, but without, at the time, attempting to perpetrate further mischief than the fires alluded to.

The quiet that followed the desertion of the mutinous regiments was not of very long duration. On the 23rd of June, the native guard at the gaol, in which about 4,000 offenders, of various degrees of criminality, were then confined, also deserted its post; and two nights subsequently the gaol was discovered to be on fire. Every measure that could be resorted to for securing the safety of the place was at once adopted, and the whole of the women and children were collected in the fort for protection; but the anxiety of the European residents became indescribable.

At length, on the 5th of July, a rebel band, estimated altogether to amount to about 9,000 men of all arms, was reported to be approaching the city; and a force, consisting of a few soldiers of the 3rd European regiment, the civil militia, and some volunteers, numbering altogether about 500 men, marched out, under the command of Brigadier Polwhele, to oppose their progress. They were met near the village of Shahgunge, about four miles from Agra, and a conflict ensued; but owing to a deficiency of ammunition, and other causes, the British force was compelled to retire from the field, closely followed by the rebels to the very gate of the fort; which was scarcely closed, before the cavalry of the enemy swept past on their way to the town and cantonments, which they entered and took possession of. Their first act was to liberate the prisoners in the gaol; who, being in turn joined by the budmashes and rabble of the place, the work of pillage and wanton destruction commenced. The bungalows of the European families, and of natives in government employ, were speedily in flames; the houses of the merchants, as well native as European, were pillaged and set on fire; the very doors and windows of several of them were torn out and shattered into splinters, leaving nothing but the bare brick walls.

Property was strewn about the streets in all directions, and the chowk was rendered impassable by the heaps of plunder wantonly ravaged from the inhabitants, and destroyed. The total loss upon this occasion was afterwards estimated at ten lacs of rupees, or £100,000 sterling. While this havoc was raging in the city, thirty-four native Christians, who had neglected in time to seek shelter in the fort, were savagely murdered. A letter from one of the European officers in the fort on the 19th of the month, says—"Here we are, shut up in this wretched place since the 5th. There are about 4,500 men, women, and children in here now, and they are well packed. As soon as we get help we will go out. The rebels have burnt and plundered all the cantonments and civil lines, and you never saw such a blaze as it was. They killed a great many trying to come into the fort, stripped them naked, and cut their heads off; and women and children are lying about the roads."

In this fort the Europeans of Agra continued closely invested by the rebels, until relieved by an English force, under Brigadier-general Greathed, on the 10th of October, 1857, when a decisive battle was fought, and the enemy, whose force consisted altogether of about 7,000 men, with from fifteen to eighteen guns, was, after an obstinate engagement, completely defeated, and fled, being pursued and cut down for more than ten miles on their route. Their loss upon this occasion was calculated at 1,000 men, as no prisoners were taken, and none were merely wounded.

TOMB OF ELMAD-UD-DOWLAH—AGRA.

THE subject of the accompanying engraving presents one of the most beautiful, as it is also, from its incidents, one of the most interesting, specimens of Mohammedan architecture to be met with even in a city so replete with artistic triumphs as was the once imperial Agra—the creation of the renowned Akber, and the favourite resort of himself and the nobles of his court.

The history of this celebrated tomb, which stands in the midst of a dense forest near the Jahara Bang—once a garden-seat of the emperor Akber, and since a place of recreation for the population of the town—is so closely connected with that of the famous Nour Jehan (the favourite wife of Jehangeer), that a reference to the latter will not be out of place in a description of the work of her own filial devotion. The tomb itself has already been briefly noticed in a former part of this work, as one of the most chaste and beautiful specimens of architecture that the Moguls have left as testimonials of their rule. The building, rising from a broad platform, is of marble, of a quadrangular shape, flanked by octagonal towers, which are surmounted by cupolas, on a series of open columns. From the centre of the roof of the main building springs a small tomb-like structure, elaborately carved and decorated, the corners of the roof terminating in golden spires. Immediately below this, on the floor of the hall, is the tomb enclosing the body of Elmad-ud-Dowlah, father of Nour Jehan, by whose orders the fairy pile was raised. Interiorly and exteriorly, the building is covered, as with beautiful lace, by lattice-work, delicately wrought in marble, covered with foliage and flowers, and intermingled with scrolls bearing passages from the Koran. Every inch of the surface of the mausoleum is thus enriched; and all that Oriental art could suggest, or genius execute, in the completion of the structure, was devoted to its adornment. The original idea of the pious daughter by whom it was raised, was to construct the shrine of her father of solid silver; and she was only diverted from her purpose by the assurance that, if marble was not equally costly, it was certain to be more durable, and less likely to attract the cupidity of after-ages.

The life of Nour Jehan was an extraordinary one. Gheias, a Persian of good ancestry, but of reduced means, was driven, at the latter end of the sixteenth century, to

seek subsistence by emigrating from his native country to India, with his wife and children. Directly after reaching Candahar, on his way, a daughter was born to the afflicted family; and being worn down with fatigue and privation, the miserable parents exposed the infant on a spot by which an approaching caravan would pass. The expedient succeeded. A rich merchant saw and took compassion on the child; relieved the distress of its parents; and, perceiving the father and eldest son to be persons of education and ability, he took them under his protection, and procured for them suitable employment. Gheias in a short time attracted the notice of Akber, with whom he found favour, and was advanced to a position of trust and honour. His wife, herself of noble lineage, frequently visited the royal harem with her young daughter, whose beauty captivated Prince Selim, the heir-apparent. Akber being informed of the attachment, commanded that the girl should be at once given in marriage to Sheer Afghan—a young Persian distinguished for his bravery, to whom the emperor gave a jaghire in Bengal, whither he was commanded to proceed with his young bride. Shortly after the accession of Selim, who had assumed the name of Jehangeer, he took occasion to intimate to the viceroy of Bengal his desire to obtain possession of the beautiful creature who, by his father's command, had been given to the arms of another. Endeavours were used to announce the emperor's wish to Sheer Afghan without arousing his resentment; but the latter, upon the first intimation of the design against his honour, threw up the command with which he was entrusted, and laid aside his arms, as a sign that he was no longer in the king's service. Repeated attempts were then made to assassinate him; and at length, at a compulsory interview with the viceroy (where he found himself betrayed), he was murdered; but not until he had sold his life dearly—having killed the viceroy and several of his attendants before he fell covered with wounds. His young wife was then seized and conveyed to the harem of the royal lover; but, either from some feeling of compunction on his part, or from the aversion she naturally felt to the murderer of her husband, she was allowed, during four years, to remain unnoticed in the seraglio. The passion of the emperor at length revived—he sought his captive, and, in the ardour of his affection, made her his wife, bestowing upon her, by special edict, the title of empress, and styling her first *Nour Mahal* (the Light of the Harem), and afterwards *Nour Jehan* (the Light of the World). Her influence thenceforth became unbounded. Honours never before enjoyed by the consort of an Indian potentate were lavished upon her, even to the conjunction of her name on the coin with that of Jehangeer; her father, Mirza Gheias, was made prime minister, and assumed the name of Elmad-ud-Dowlah; her brother, Asuf Khan, was appointed to a station of high dignity; and in every affair in which she took an interest, the will of Nour Jehan was law, which no one dared dispute. The legislative ability of Elmad-ud-Dowlah soon produced beneficial results in public affairs; his modest yet manly bearing conciliated the nobility, who learned to appreciate the value of the control which he exercised over the ill-regulated mind of the emperor. The empress Nour Jehan found delight in superintending the construction of public edifices and gardens; and, by her skilful management, increased the magnificence of the court, while she reduced its expenditure. As an instance of her practical mind, it may be observed, that the mode of preparing the famous atta of roses is generally attributed in India to this empress.

The life of Nour Jehan was chequered by vicissitudes, although she died surrounded with honours; and her fidelity to him who had raised her to a throne was most devoted. Upon an occasion of revolt the emperor had fallen into the hands of his enemies, and was conveyed a prisoner to the camp of the insurgents. Upon Nour Jehan learning the fact, she put on a disguise, repaired to the adherents of the emperor in the field, and set on foot vigorous measures for his rescue.

Nour Jehan, perceiving the hopelessness of attempting the forcible rescue of the emperor, determined to obtain by stratagem what was denied to valour; and she succeeded in restoring her husband to liberty and his throne: but shortly after his return to power, an attack of asthma carried him off while on his way to Cashmere, and he expired in the year 1627, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

THE HILL-FORTRESS OF GWALIOR.

The city or town of Gwalior, capital of the Mahratta state of that name, is situated at the base of a precipitous, isolated rock, about 80 miles S. from the city of Agra, and 772 N.W. of Calcutta, in 26° 18′ N. lat., and 78° 30′ E. long. The celebrated hill-fortress, from which its chief importance is derived, is built upon the rock mentioned, which is one mile and a-half in length, by about 300 yards wide; the elevation from the plain, at the northern extremity of the plateau, being 342 feet. The sides of the rock are precipitous and rugged, and are impossible of ascent but by ladders, or by a single approach on the north-eastern side, where it gradually dips toward the plain. Around the brink of the precipice a stone parapet is erected, within which rises the fort of the Maharajah Sindia, one of the most tried and faithful of the native princes of India.

The entrance to the enclosure within the rampart is near the north end of the east side; in the lower part by a steep road, and in the upper part by steps cut in the rock, wide enough to permit elephants to make the ascent. A high and massive wall protects the outer side of this huge staircase: seven gateways are placed at intervals along its ascent; and guns at the summit command the whole of it. Within the enclosure of an inner rampart is the citadel—an antique palace surmounted by kiosks, with six lofty round towers or bastions, connected by walls of immense thickness and extent. It has been calculated that at least 15,000 men would be requisite to garrison this fortress completely; and it has always been considered of great importance among the native chiefs. Tradition reports it to have been used as a stronghold during more than a thousand years.

Gwalior has, undoubtedly, in all ages been a military post of great importance, as well from its local peculiarity of position, as from its centrical situation in Hindoostan. Under the imperial domination of Akber and Aurungzebe, it was occupied as a state prison, in which obnoxious branches of the reigning family, or subjugated princes of other states, were confined until death relieved them from the thraldom of captivity. Within the limits of the fortress the royal prisoners were not debarred enjoyment, so far as it was compatible with their safe keeping; and among other expedients provided for their amusement, a numerous menagerie of lions, tigers, and other wild animals, was kept within the fort. On account of its presumed security when it first came into the possession of the Mahrattas (who also retained its use as a state prison), it was made a principal depôt for artillery, ammunition, and military stores.

Upon the dismemberment of the Mogul empire, after the death of Aurungzebe, Gwalior fell into the hands of a Jat chief, known as the rana of Gohud. From him, or his descendants, it was acquired by stratagem by Sindia, the ruling chief of the Mahrattas, in 1779. From the latter it was, however, wrested in the following year by a British force under Major Popham; who, despite its repute for impregnability, escaladed the scarped rock on which it stood, at daybreak on the 3rd of August, 1780, and planted the British colours on the summit of its towers. The storming party on this dangerous exploit was led by Captain Bruce, brother of the great Abyssinian traveller. Three years afterwards the fortress was restored to the rana of Gohud by Mr. Hastings, the governor-general, who soon found occasion to regret the cession; and, changing his policy, sanctioned aggressive measures on the part of Sindia, which eventually again placed the important fortress in the hands of the Mahratta chief. Thus affairs continued until shortly after the commencement of the present century; when, offence having been given to the Company's government by the Sindia family, hostilities again broke out, and the power of the Mahratta received a severe check. At this time, and from the year 1794, when Madhajee Sindia died, the dominions of this important branch of the great robber tribes of India, extended from beyond Delhi on the north, to near Bombay on the south, and from the Ganges to Gujerat; a vast region, acquired and held by means as atrocious as any recorded in the history of India. War having been found inevitable to curb the arrogance and rapacity of the Mahrattas, Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the 21st of August, 1803, inflicted a severe chastisement upon them at the battle of Assaye (a fortified village

near the junction of the Kailna and Juah rivers, 261 miles north-west of Hyderabad). On this occasion, the force of Sindia and his confederates numbered 50,000 men, supported by above a hundred pieces of artillery. The British numbered but 4,500 men; and their victory, though complete, was dearly purchased, for one-third of the conquerors lay dead or wounded upon the field at the close of the sanguinary action. Of the Mahrattas, 1,200 were slain. The bodies of the fallen were scattered around in dense masses, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained as trophies of British valour.

After a series of engagements, the result of each being disastrous to the arms of Sindia, he sued for peace, which was granted in December, 1804, upon consideration of an immense cession of territory to the English; and shortly afterwards Bajerut Rao Sindia, the ruling chief, entered the general alliance, of which the British government formed the dominant portion, and agreed to receive into his capital a subsidiary British force, whose expenses were to be defrayed by the revenues of the territories wrested from him. The fortress of Gwalior remained in the possession of Sindia, and the city was then adopted by him as the capital of his states, and the head-quarters of the contingent force, which was commanded by British officers only.

The town of Gwalior is of considerable extent and well populated, running along the base of the eastern and northern sides of the rock on which the fortress is built. It contains a number of handsome edifices, both public and private, chiefly built of stone, which is obtained in abundance from the neighbouring hills, that form an amphitheatre round the town and rock at distances varying from one to four miles. Within the walls of the fort are large natural caverns, descending into the bowels of the hill on which it is built, by which a perpetual supply of excellent water is preserved to the inhabitants of the elevated region.

Besides this famous stronghold, there has always existed at Gwalior a stationary camp of the maharajah, called the Luskur—a poor collection of rude buildings extending to a great distance from the south-west face of the rock, and of secondary importance as regards situation or strength. It was here the greater portion of the contingent troops were stationed; and these, though in the service of a Mahratta state, consisted chiefly of Hindoostanees, like the sepoys of the Bengal army, the Mahrattas forming a very inconsiderable minority of the number. The contingent embraced all three arms of the service—infantry, cavalry, and artillery; and formed of itself a compact army.

We now turn to events connected with the sepoy mutiny of 1857, in which the Gwalior contingent took no inconsiderable part, and the result of which was highly honourable to the good faith and loyalty of the maharajah.

The disasters at Gwalior began on Sunday, the 14th of June; previously to which, however, the resident at the court of Sindia had received information which led him to believe that the contingent, which consisted of seven regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and four batteries of artillery, were thoroughly disaffected, both in the main body at Gwalior and the detachments on out-service. As a precautionary measure, all the ladies and children of the European civil and military officers were sent in from the cantonment to the residency, on the 28th of May, for protection. Some of the superior military officers, including Dr. Kirk, the superintending surgeon of the contingent, doubted the existence of danger, and declared their entire confidence in the loyalty of the troops; and, through their influence, the ladies, on the 29th and 30th, returned to their homes at the station, much to the apparent delight of the sepoys, who loudly expressed their gratification at the generous reliance thus placed on their fidelity.

Just fourteen days after this exhibition of attachment the mask fell. At nine o'clock on the evening of Sunday, the 14th of June, an alarm was given at the cantonment that the troops were in revolt! Shots were heard, and all was immediately in confusion at the bungalows of the European families; but no one at first could give any details of the outbreak. Startled by the first cry of revolt, people rushed from their houses, and each family found others in a similar state of consternation. The alarm became general as the night wore on, and, in the darkness, families were separated; ladies and children, abandoning their homes, sought hiding-places in the gardens, among the tall grass, or on house-tops and in huts. Then arose the flames from burning bungalows, and then also came gangs of sepoys, their weapons reeking with blood, and yet hunting for their prey, which could not long be concealed from their sight. Among others who fell into the

hands of the murderers were two officers, Majors Blake and Hawkins, who had been conspicuously trustful of their men; and by those men they were slain, with others, on the night of the outbreak. Dr. Kirk, with his wife and child, concealed themselves in a garden during the night; but, in the morning, they were discovered. Mrs. Kirk was robbed, but was not at the time further ill-treated: her husband was shot dead before her eyes. At this miserable sight the poor woman begged the murderers to put an end to her also; but, pointing to the corpse of her husband, they replied with some feeling—"No, we have killed you already!" Such of the Europeans as could get away escaped to Agra; and it is some mitigation of the guilt of the mutinous troops that they allowed the ladies and children to depart without ill-using them, beyond the mere act of plundering such as had any property about them.

The position of Sindia was now a very trying one. As soon as the troops of his contingent had murdered or driven away their European officers, they went to him, placed their services at his disposal, and demanded that he would lead them against the British at Agra: but he not only refused to sanction their previous outrages, but endeavoured to prevent them marching towards Agra; and in this he succeeded until an advanced period of the autumn. In September, however, they could no longer be restrained; and, on the 7th of that month, the native officers of the different corps waited upon Sindia, and demanded to be led either to Agra or Cawnpoor. As the answer to their request was not conformable to their wishes, they seized the means of conveyance, and the main body of them left Gwalior, but without offering violence to their chief.

At length, the disasters that had followed every effort of the rebellious troops when opposed to British valour, compelled them to seek some position in which, at a moment of imminent peril, they might be able to maintain themselves with some prospect of success; and Gwalior being the most important stronghold in Central India likely to be accessible to them, they turned their eyes toward it as a place of refuge in case of extremity. This view being adopted by the chiefs in revolt, the Mahratta and Rajpoot insurgents resolved that, if Sindia would not join them against the British, they would attack and dethrone him, and instal another maharajah in his place. To effect this object, the rebel forces, towards the end of May, 1858, drew near Gwalior, and were met in the field by Sindia, whose whole force then consisted of about 9,000 men and eight guns. The strength of the enemy was somewhere about 11,000 men, with twelve guns. The rebel swere led by the ranee of Jhansi, the nawab of Banda, Tantia Topee, Rao Sahib (nephew of the Nana), and other chiefs of eminence, both Mohammedan and Hindoo; and at 7 A.M. on the 1st of June, they made their appearance before the capital in order of battle. Sindia divided his army into three columns or divisions, the centre of which he commanded in person. The engagement had scarcely commenced, when the whole of the troops of Sindia, with the exception of his body-guard, went over in a body to the enemy. The contest was, however, continued till half the number of the faithful guard had fallen, when the rest fled with their master to seek safety at Agra. Directly the maharajah had thus abandoned his capital, the rebels entered it, and endeavoured to form a government of their own. They chose Nana Sahib as Peishwa or head of all the Mahratta confederacy, and appointed his nephew, Rao Sahib, chief of Gwalior, which arrangement was assented to by the disloyal troops of Sindia, as well as by those belonging to other chiefs in enmity with him. During the rebel occupation of Gwalior, the bulk of the army under the ranee of Jhansi, remained encamped in a garden called the Phoolbagh, outside the city, and all due precautions were taken to guard the approaches: the property of the principal inhabitants was sequestered; the treasures of the maharajah were seized by the connivance of a treacherous servant, named Ameerchaud Batya, who had been his father's treasurer; and a formal confiscation of all the royal property was declared.

The possession of Gwalior by the rebels was not of long duration, for it was considered by the supreme government to be of the greatest importance that the daring act of its seizure should be promptly and effectually chastised. A force, under the command of Sir Hugh Rose, was therefore dispatched for its recovery; and so rapid were the movements of the British troops, that by the morning of the 16th of June they had reached the cantonments. A series of engagements occupied the next three days, which all ended in the discomfiture of the rebels. By the evening of the 18th they had

completely lost heart; and on finding the heights surrounding a portion of the town in the hands of the British, they threw away their arms and fled, pursued by the cavalry, which cut them down in great numbers; and, by four o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th, Sir Hugh Rose was master of Gwalior, to the utter dismay of the whole rebel confederacy. On the 20th, Sindia—who had been sent for from Agra for the purpose—was restored to his throne with as much of Oriental pomp as could be made available under the circumstances—the general and his staff accompanying him in procession through the streets from the camp to the palace; and it was deemed a good augury that such of the inhabitants as lined the streets seemed delighted to welcome Sindia back to his throne.

THE CITY OF DELHI.

This celebrated city, built on the western bank of the river Jumna, is situated in lat. 28° 43′ N., long. 77° 9′ E., and is distant from Allahabad 429 miles; from Calcutta 976; 880 from Bombay; and 1,295 from Madras; the three last-named being the European capitals of British India. The origin of the city is carried back by tradition to a period long anterior to the commencement of the Christian era; its existence being recorded in the *Maha Bharat*, a Hindoo poem of remote antiquity. In this epic, it is mentioned as being then under the rule of a Rajpoot line of princes, of whom the last was driven from his capital A.D. 1050. In the year 1206, the emperor Mahmood of Ghuznee, whose predecessor, Shahab-oo-deen, had carefully trained several Turki slaves for the government of kingdoms subdued by him, invested one of them, named Kootb-oo-deen, with the insignia of royalty at Delhi, and thus inaugurated the line named from the seat of their government "the Slave Kings of Delhi."* In 1299, a Mogul invasion wrought great calamities upon the people, which were increased by the tyranny of Mohammed Toghlak (a descendant of the first slave king), who having taken umbrage at the complaints of the inhabitants, determined, in 1309, to transfer the seat of his government from Delhi to Deogiri, 749 miles distant; and commanded the inhabitants of the former to remove at once to the latter place, to which he gave the name of Dowlatabad, and there built the massive fort still existing. After this, the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and again twice were compelled, on pain of death, to abandon it—all these removals being more or less attended with the horrors of famine, occasioning the death of thousands. In 1398, Timur the lame, or Tamerlane—designated the "Firebrand of the Universe," and the "Apostle of Desolation"—invaded India, and, beating down all opposition, ravaged the country on his way to Delhi, which he took possession of, and put every male inhabitant over fifteen years of age to death, lest they should take part with their countrymen yet in arms against the invaders. The number of the slain upon this occasion, amounted, according to the Mohammedan writers, to more than 100,000. The city, which had been surrendered under a solemn assurance of protection, was then entered by the victor, who was there proclaimed emperor of India. While Tamerlane was engaged in celebrating a feast in commemoration of his conquest, his ferocious soldiery, regardless of the dearly purchased promise of their chief, commenced their accustomed course of rapine and plunder; upon which, the Hindoos, driven to desperation by witnessing the disgrace of their wives and daughters, shut the gates, sacrificed the women and children, and rushed out to slay and be slain. The whole Mogul army now rushed into the town, and a general massacre followed, until several streets were rendered impassable by heaps of the dead. At length the wretched inhabitants, stupefied by the overpowering number and barbarity of the foe, flung down their arms, and submitted, without further resistance, to the slaughter which awaited them.

* It was in the reign of Altemsh (the second of the race of the slave kings of Delhi), who succeeded to the throne in 1211 that the extraordinary column known as the Cootub Minar, near Delhi, was began to be erected.

Delhi yielded an enormous booty in gold, silver, and jewels, especially rubies and diamonds. Ferishta, the historian, declares that the amount stated by his authority so far exceeds belief, that he refrains from mentioning it. Neither does he give the number of persons of all ranks dragged into slavery; among whom were many masons and other artificers competent to the erection of a mosque, in which the sanguinary Timur, previous to his departure from the city he had desolated, offered up thanks for the punishment he had been enabled to inflict upon the inhabitants. For many weeks Delhi remained ungoverned, and nearly uninhabited; and the territory belonging to it became in a short time so reduced by the ravages and aggressions of neighbouring chiefs, that it extended in one direction but twelve miles, and, in another, scarcely a mile from the city.

By the vicissitudes common to Eastern history, Delhi after some time gradually recovered its importance, and became again the capital of an extensive dominion, unaffected by the convulsions around it, until the early part of the sixteenth century, when, after a sanguinary conflict at Paniput, continued to the very walls of the city, it was surrendered to the emperor Baber, sixth in descent from Timur. From this period until the reign of Shah Jehan, which commenced in 1627, little of moment appears on record as regards Delhi; but during the lifetime of that monarch, the city was rebuilt on a magnificent plan, far surpassing the original design; and the imperial establishments being now removed thither, sumptuous edifices were built for the nobles and public offices, and Delhi became in appearance, as it had long been in rank, an imperial city.

During the reign of Mohammed Shah, Delhi was subject to continual alarms from the struggles for power that raged among the nobles of the court, and an attempt to subvert the authority of the emperor by setting up Abdullah Khan as a rival to the throne, in whose behalf a force was collected. The armies of Mohammed and of the pretender met between Agra and Delhi, and the latter was signally defeated and made prisoner. Mohammed Shah entered Delhi in triumph—the empress-mother receiving him at the entrance of the harem, bearing a basin filled with gems and new coins, which she poured over his head as a "wave-offering" of joy and thanksgiving. The reign of Mohammed was marked by weakness, and by the open extravagance and corruption that prevailed among all classes, from the emperor downwards; while the intrigues of the Mahrattas surrounded him with a net from which, ultimately, he found it impossible to escape with life. The kingdom, weakened by incapacity and neglect, at length attracted the notice of Nadir the Persian, an adventurer who had mounted the throne of that kingdom in 1736, under the title of Nadir Shah, the "wonderful king;" and who now, at the head of a formidable army, advanced towards Delhi. After an action with the ill-commanded troops of Mohammed, who were signally defeated, and the king made prisoner, the conqueror marched into Delhi, and established himself in the royal palace, distributing his troops throughout the city, and stationing detachments in various places for the protection of the inhabitants. During the first day strict discipline was maintained, and all was quiet; but, on the second, a rumour spread of the death of Nadir Shah; and the populace immediately rising, slew all the Persians within reach, to the number of 700, including some of those who had been stationed for the protection of private dwellings. The tumult continued during the whole night; and at daybreak Nadir Shah mounted his horse and sallied forth, believing that his presence would at once restore order by proving the error of the current report. Flights of stones, arrows, and bullets from the houses soon undeceived him; and one of his chiefs being killed at his side by a shot aimed at himself, he ordered his troops to retaliate, and not leave a soul alive where they should discover the corpse of a Persian. This command involving license for a general massacre, was eagerly obeyed: the soldiery rushed into the houses, and gave free loose to their revenge, and lust, and covetousness. The streets of Delhi streamed with blood; many thoroughfares were blocked up with carcasses; flames burst forth in all parts of the town, where the wretched inhabitants, distracted by the thought of beholding their wives and children in the hands of the enemy, had preferred sharing with them a fiery death. The shrieks and groans of the dying and the dishonoured pierced the air, overpowering at times the fearful imprecations, or yet more fiendish scoffings of their persecutors; and, from sunrise to broad noon, these horrid sights and sounds continued unabated. Nadir Shah, after issuing the terrible mandate, went to a little mosque in the great bazaar near the centre of the city, and there remained in

gloomy silence until he was aroused by the entrance of his royal prisoner, Mohammed Shah, whose deep distress for the sufferings of the people at length prevailed upon the conqueror to command that the massacre should cease. In this terrible punishment, according to the lowest trustworthy statement, 30,000 human beings were put to the sword; while the native authors compute the number as reaching 120,000; adding, that about 10,000 women threw themselves into wells, to escape outrage; some of whom were taken out alive, after being there two or three days. The wretched survivors of this calamity were so prostrated by the blow, that they appear to have wanted energy even to perform the obsequies of the dead. It is recorded, that "in several of the Hindoo houses, where one of a family survived, he would pile thirty or forty carcasses one on the top of the other, and burn them; and so they did in the streets: notwithstanding which, there still remained so many, that for a considerable time there was no such thing as passing any of those ways. After some days, the stench arising from the multitudes of unburied dead becoming intolerable, the bodies were dragged into the river, thrown into pits, or else collected together in heaps, without distinction of Mussulman or Hindoo, and burnt with the rubbish of the ruined houses, until all were disposed of."*

The sufferings of the people of Delhi were not yet sufficient to expiate their offence. A gift was demanded by the conqueror, which absorbed from twenty-five to thirty millions sterling, exclusive of the plunder already grasped. The exaction of this enormous penalty was accompanied with excessive severity, which grew more intense as the difficulty of compliance became more apparent. Numbers of the nobility, merchants, and traders resorted to suicide, to avoid the disgrace and torture that followed the inability to furnish the amount required of them; while others perished under the cruelties inflicted. In Scott's *History of the Deccan*, the following description by an eye-witness, is quoted from a journal kept by an inhabitant of Delhi during this terrible epoch in its history:—"It was, before, a general massacre, but now a system of individual murders. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. Sleep and rest forsook the city. The pangs of hunger and sickness were not long absent; and no morning passed that whole crowds in every street and lane were not found dead. The citizens vainly strove to escape these multiplied calamities by flight. The roads were blocked up; and all attempts to leave the city were punished by mutilation of the ears or nose: until at length—the dignity of human nature being subdued by terror—the wretched sufferers slunk away into holes and corners, and cowered down before their oppressors like the frightened animals of the desert."

On the 14th of April, 1739, the Persian invader quitted Delhi after a residence of fifty-eight days, bearing with him plunder in coin, bullion, gold and silver plate, brocades and jewels, to an incalculable extent. The money alone was computed to exceed thirty millions sterling. Numerous elephants and camels were also taken away, with many hundreds of the most skilled workmen and artificers. The desolation of Delhi was for a time complete.

But Delhi, in its ruin, was simply a type of the universal wretchedness that prevailed in India under the sceptre of the Mogul dynasties. So late as the beginning of the eighteenth century, it is recorded in a history of Hindoostan, by a native writer (Golaum Hossein Khan), that "all prisoners of war were murdered, all suspected persons were put to the torture, and the usual punishments were impalement, flaying, and scourging. The people in certain provinces were hunted with dogs like wild beasts, and were shot for sport; the property of such as possessed anything was confiscated, and themselves strangled; no one was allowed to invite another to his house without a written permission from the vizer, or rajah of the place where he lived, and the people were constantly exposed to the most dreadful plunderings and outrages." Such, by native testimony, was the condition of Hindoostan during the latter part of the domination of the Great Moguls: it became still worse when Nadir Shah, like a torrent of fire, spread over the country; and it was yet more intensely miserable when, after the departure of that prince, India was left in the power of the Mahrattas, whose only object was plunder and devastation. Hundreds of examples may be found in the history of those times, of the whole populations of conquered cities and towns being massacred by the victors—Delhi being one only of the instances recorded; and that, as we have seen,

* Fraser's *History of Nadir Shah*, p. 155.

became depopulated through the savage ferocity of its Persian invader in 1739. Fifteen years after this terrible visitation, the city was again given over to pillage and slaughter by the troops of Ahmed Shah, the second in succession from Nadir the destroyer. In 1759, the Mogul power succumbed to the energy and superior tactics of the Mahrattas, who became masters of the territory of India from the Indus and Himalaya on the north, to nearly the extremity of the peninsula on the south; but the pomp and circumstance that had adorned the capital of the Moguls was now transferred to Poonah. Its fading glory did not, however, exempt it from further misfortune; and in a fearful struggle which ensued between the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots in 1767, Delhi was again entered by a hostile force of the former, under Sewdasheo Rao Bhow. The victors, on taking possession of the city, consummated their success by defacing its palaces, tombs, and shrines, for the sake of the rich ornaments which had been spared by the Persians and Afghans. They also tore down the silver ceiling of the Hall of Audience, which was coined into seventeen lacs of rupees (£170,000); seized the throne and all other royal ornaments, and destroyed the male inhabitants without distinction of rank or age. The emperor Shah Alum, who succeeded Alumgeer II. upon the despoiled throne of the Moguls, had been constrained to abandon the capital and take up his residence at Allahabad, under the protection of the English; when, by a sudden revulsion of policy on the part of the Mahrattas in 1770, he was informed, that if he did not choose to accept the invitation given to him to return to his capital, his son would be placed on the throne. Acceding to this necessity, Shah Alum reached Delhi in December, 1771, and entered its ancient gates amid the acclamations of the populace. From this time until his death (some thirty-six years subsequently), his life was a career of uninterrupted misery, through the tyranny of his Mahratta allies and the bad faith of the East India Company and their servants, who were alternately his protectors and his oppressors. At length, on the 10th of September, 1803, he formally surrendered himself and his empire into the hands of the Company, in return for their protection and an annual stipend of thirteen and a-half lacs of rupees, reserving to himself the nominal title of Emperor of Delhi; and from this time until the outbreak of the revolt in May, 1857, the city of Delhi remained in the uninterrupted possession of its English masters.

The successive invasions by the Persians, the Afghans, and the Mahrattas, and the destruction that invariably followed their conquests, will account for the extensive belt of ruins which, for a distance of some twenty miles, environ the city built by Shah Jehan. For the devastation within its walls, consequent upon its storm and recapture by the British troops under General Sir Archdale Wilson, in September, 1857, we must refer to the following extracts, from details furnished by the actors in the terrible drama of retribution: —"Without the walls the devastation was widely spread; but ruin had concentrated its fury upon the ill-starred city. From the Lahore gate to the village of Subzee Mundee, on the Kurnaul road, there was an almost continuous line of carcasses of camels, horses, and bullocks, with their skins dried into parchment over the sapless bones. Here and there were remains of intrenchments where battles had been fought on the road. From Badulee Serai, a short distance from the Lahore gate, every tree was either levelled with the ground, or the branches were lopped off by round shot: the garden-houses of the wealthy citizens were, in almost every instance, masses of ruins, with the remains of men and beasts bleaching around them. Here and there might be seen the perfectly white skeleton of one who had shared in the terrible struggle of the siege, and had fallen unnoticed and unremembered by his fellows; while on all sides lay scattered fragments of clothing, cartouch boxes, and exploded shells. Around the Subzee Mundee all foliage was destroyed; the gaily ornamented residences in the vicinity of the Serai were now mere masses of blackened ruins, with broken sandbags and shattered loopholed walls, that proclaimed the fiery ordeal through which the combatants on either side had passed. With the exception of the Moree bastion and the Cashmere gate (both on the north-east side of the city), the line of defences did not exhibit much traces of injury; but within the walls, the appearance of the city was fearfully desolate. Entering by the Cashmere gate, the first object seen was the Mainguard, now a mass of ruins. St. James's church next appeared, battered with shot even up to the

ball and cross that surmounted the edifice. Most of the houses from this point to near the palace were mere ruins blackened by fire. A large structure, occupied as the Delhi bank at the time of the outbreak, and formerly the residence of the Begum Sumroo, had nothing but the outer walls and portions of a verandah remaining. In a narrow street, leading thence to the Chandnee Chouk, every house bore visible proof of the showers of musket-balls that were poured upon the defenders of the place, as they retreated, street by street and house by house, towards the palace. In many of the avenues were still to be seen the *débris* of arches which had been built up by the rebels, but were broken into by the advancing troops. The streets had been cut up into furrows by the action of shot and shell, that ploughed up their surface. House-doors and huge gates lay about in all directions, some of which had been strongly backed up by massive stone-work and heavy beams of wood; while the remains of sand-bag defences were passed at every corner. But three of the seven gates of the city were as yet permitted to be opened; namely, the Cashmere gate at the north-east angle, towards the old cantonments; the Lahore gate on the west side, opposite the principal entrance to the palace; and the Calcutta gate on the east, communicating with the bridge of boats over the Jumna, and the road to Meerut—the other four entrances to the place having been blocked up with solid masonry during the siege."

The assault upon the city, on the morning of the 14th of September, has been thus described:—"The signal for the rush of the two columns upon the breaches right and left of the Cashmere gate, was to be the explosion at the gate itself, by which it would be blown open. This was effected by two officers of engineers, Lieutenants Salkeld and Home, accompanied by Sergeants Smith, Carmichael, and Grierson, and Bugler Hawthorne, with ten Punjabee sappers and miners. In the performance of this hazardous duty, nearly the whole party were more or less wounded or killed. They succeeded, however, in affixing the bags of powder to the gate and blowing it open, upon which the assault was given at the breaches. The ladder parties at the head of the assaulting columns suffered greatly; but the principal loss took place after the entrance had been effected. A lodgment being thus obtained, the troops made steady progress on the 14th and two following days, occupying the open space near the church, capturing all the northern wall and gates of the city, and pushing on to and seizing the magazine, until the evening of the 16th, when a line of posts was established across the city, from the Cabool gate to the magazine; and some mortars placed in the magazine compound commenced playing upon Selimghur and the palace. The principal events on the 17th and 18th was the shelling of those edifices. Early on the morning of the 17th, the left wing of the British force was pushed forward from the magazine to the house formerly used as the Delhi bank, which commanded the great gateway of the palace opposite the Chandnee Chouk; and shortly afterwards, the posts along the whole line were advanced as far as the canal. The fire of the enemy at Selimghur was kept down by that of the British, and the resistance in front began to be less vigorous. Throughout the night, and during the whole of the 18th, the fire upon the palace and Selimghur was maintained; the fortress, in return, only firing a few shots, which did no harm. On the left, the position at the bank was strengthened; and, during the night, the sappers penetrated through the houses in their front towards the Burn bastion, which commanded the Lahore gate. During the night between the 18th and 19th, the mortar batteries played upon the portion of the city south of the palace, and bordering on the river; and with the dawn of the 19th, they were turned to the right, upon the Jumma Musjid and its vicinity. The line of posts had then been advanced almost to the Chandnee Chouk. Selimghur was silent, and parties of men, armed and disarmed, were observed crossing from it to the other side of the Jumna by the bridge of boats. The palace was said to be deserted by its inmates, and the whole of the rest of the city to be in process of evacuation. Shortly before dark, the labours of the sappers on the right being completed, the Burn bastion, mounting six guns and one mortar, was carried without loss. On the left, a field-piece, behind a breastwork in front of the great gate of the palace, still maintained a fire on the bank, but without much effect. Throughout the night that followed, a continuous mortar fire was kept up on the southern districts of the city. With daybreak on the 20th came the certainty that the protracted struggle was drawing to a close. The Lahore first, and then the Ajmere gate, with their works, being found deserted, were

occupied and secured. By noon, possession was obtained of the Jumma Musjid. The cavalry that on the previous day had been sent round to the southern face of the city to observe the enemy's camp outside the Delhi gate, returned to report that it appeared to be abandoned; and the explosion of a magazine in that direction, which had been heard early in the morning, seemed confirmatory of the report. The resistance of the mutineers in our front became less and less decided. On the left, by ten o'clock, the gun or guns in front of the palace had been taken and spiked. Then a column was formed for the palace itself. It advanced, blew open the great gates, and occupied the vast piles of building, which were found all deserted. Two hours more, and Selimghur and the bridge were taken. Nothing now remained but the south-western quarter of the town, with its wall and gates beyond the Jumma Musjid; and by five in the afternoon, this also was in the possession of the troops: nor this only, but also the abandoned camp beyond the walls. And thus, by the close of the seventh day of this arduous struggle, the labours of the gallant force were crowned with complete success. The appearance of the once rich and populous city, when the storm of fire and iron that so long had raged over its every street, at last cleared off, bore witness to the vigour with which that storm had been directed and maintained. Under one vast pile of ruins lay festering carcasses of slaughtered rebels. Perhaps no such scene had been witnessed in the city of Shah Jehan since the day when Nadir Shah, seated in the little mosque of the Chandnee Chouk, directed and superintended the massacre of its inhabitants. And if the slaughter that thus attended the righteous vengeance of the British general was less extensive and promiscuous than that which followed upon the sanguinary caprice of the Persian tyrant, yet the ruin of the imperial city was more certain and complete in 1857 than it was in 1739. The excesses of Nadir were to the Mogul sovereignty as a violent but passing attack of illness to an individual, which permanently weakens his constitution, indeed, but from which, though shaken, he yet recovers. The triumph of the English struck the debilitated patient dead. He who had borne the titles of Great Mogul and King of Delhi still lived, it is true; but his sovereignty, long virtually, was now actually at an end. His palace was in the hands of his conquerors. His most inner and sacred apartments became the head-quarters of the English army. In his white marble pavilion—the Dewan Khass, or private council-chamber—was heard, on the evening of the 21st of September, 1857, a sound such as had never before broken the stillness of its early splendour or of the squalid solitude of its later days. It was the cheering with which the head-quarter staff received from the general the name of the Queen of England. Never, surely, was there a more fitting place in which to give the health of that royal lady than in the heart of the palace of the enemy who had defied her power; never a time more fitting than when the majesty of the empire had been so signally vindicated, and the massacre of so many of those who were her sisters as well as her subjects, had been in part, at least, avenged. No wonder that the cheers rang out through the marble arches into the courts and gardens of the palace; no wonder that the escort of Goorkas, loyal as gallant, caught and returned them."

The city of the Moguls was now indeed but little better than one vast and blackened ruin!—its houses and streets deserted, and its defences unmanned; while the sentence of utter demolition hovered over its shattered gates and once defiant towers. The imperial city had now not one hand uplifted in its defence.

But the terrible yet just work of retribution was carried on by British soldiers in a spirit of humanity that contrasted strongly with the practices of native warfare. The women and children found concealed or straggling in the city, were spared all harsh treatment, and were even protected from personal indignity by men fierce with the excitement of war, and burning to avenge the murders and outrages perpetrated upon their own countrywomen: but they were generous as well as brave. Nor were the male inhabitants afterwards molested who had remained passive during the struggle, and had not aided the rebellion by their resources or their sympathy. All such were peaceably allowed to quit the city upon applying for permission to do so; and even those who were suspected of treason, had the advantage of a fair trial; and when death subsequently ensued, it was because previous guilt was clearly established.

An officer, writing from the city a few days after its reduction, says—"The Cashmere gate presented a horrible sight: thirty or forty sepoys, some blown up, and others

bayoneted and shot down, were lying all about. It was the same all along the walls. No quarter was given; but they made very little defence, and retired into the city, where they again made a stand. I went into the bastions. Such a scene of ruin you never saw. Almost every gun was dismounted, or had a great piece of iron knocked out of it, and dead sepoys all around. The troops took up their quarters in the college and church; but the enemy fired on us all night. We then made a battery by the college, and commenced shelling the town and palace. We lost most of our men in the town, as they advanced too far without support, and were fired at from the walls and houses." Another officer, writing from the palace on the 28th of September, says—"It is a frightful drive from the palace to the Cashmere gate—every house rent, riven, and tottering; the church battered, and piles of rubbish on every side. Alas! the burnt European houses and deserted shops. Desolate Delhi! And yet we are told it is clearing, and much improved since the storming of the place. It has only as yet a handful of inhabitants in its great street, the Chandnee Chouk. Many miserable wretches prowl through the camp outside of the city, begging for admission at the various gates; but none are admitted whose respectability cannot be vouched for. Cartloads of balls are daily being dug out from the Moree bastion, now a shapeless battered mass. Every wall or bastion that faced our camp is in almost shapeless ruin; while the white marble pavilions of the palace stand uninjured along the Jumna's bank."

The first idea that appears to have been entertained by the government, in connection with the future state of Delhi, was that of dismantling its walls and fortifications, and leaving it without any means of again becoming a focus of rebellion. With this view, the secretary to the government of India, on the 10th of October, forwarded a despatch to General Wilson, from which the following passages are extracted:—"The governor-general in council desires that you will at once proceed to demolish the defences of Delhi. You will spare places of worship, tombs, and all ancient buildings of interest. You will blow up, or otherwise destroy, all fortifications; and you will so far destroy the walls and gates of the city as to make them useless for defence. As you will not be able to do this completely with the force at present available at Delhi, you will select the points at which the work may be commenced with the best effect, and operate there." Before the above instructions had reached the British camp at Delhi, Major-general Wilson, its captor, had been compelled by ill-health and fatigue to relinquish the command of the gallant army he had led to victory; and was succeeded in his distinguished post by Major-general Penny, upon whom of course the task of demolition now devolved; but from the execution of which he was spared through the interposition of Sir John Lawrence, chief commissioner of the Punjab; who, in a letter to the governor-general of the 21st of October, wrote as follows:—"As regards the fortifications of the town, I should be glad if General Penny would delay their destruction until government can receive and give orders on my despatches of the 9th and 15th of October; I do not think that any danger by delay could arise. If the fortifications be dismantled, I would suggest that it be done as was the case at Lahore. We filled-in the ditches by cutting down the glacis, and lowered the walls, and dismantled the covering works in front of the gates and bastions. A wall of ten or twelve feet high could do no harm, and would be very useful for police purposes. Delhi, without any walls, would be exposed to constant depredations from the Meeras and Goojurs, and other predatory races. Even such a partial demolition will cost several lacs of rupees, and take a very long time. The works at Lahore cost two lacs, and occupied upwards of two years." On the 22nd of the month, General Penny, writing to the secretary to the government, says—"In communication with the engineers, I will get everything in readiness for the destruction of the fortifications; but as the chief commissioner of the Punjab has requested the work to be stopped for a purpose, and as the delay will involve no detriment to the contemplated work, I have consented to his proposition. I solicit early instructions." The result of Sir John Lawrence's interposition was, that the fortifications of Delhi were spared.

In some graphic sketches by the special correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, the following picture of Delhi is presented, as it appeared some months after the triumphant occupation of it by the avenging army. Mr. Russell, on his way from the camp of the commander-in-chief towards Simla, approached Delhi by the Cawnpoor road, and thus

describes the incidents of his visit to the ruins of the prostrate capital:—"After a time there rose dimly along the horizon a dark ridge, not distant, but hazy and indistinct, so that the eye could not at first distinguish the difference between the trees and cupolas, minarets and battlements, with which they were blended. Then came in sight, beneath this ridge, a wide river, on the other side of which I could now make out the castellated walls of imperial Delhi, crowned with bastion and turret, and the lofty domes of mosques and palaces just reflecting the rays of the sun. The city thus seen has a noble aspect, which becomes more impressive on a nearer approach, till the rifts, the dilapidations, and the decay along the water-face of the works are visible. The river itself protects this side of the city, and therefore the weakness of the wall towards the east is of smaller consequence; but it so happens that the part of the city defences we attacked were the strongest of the whole. However, our ground had good command of portions of the place, and we could not pick and choose. Had we attacked from the south we should have found the walls and bastions inferior in strength, and fewer advantages of position in other respects; but it was impossible to move round the city from the north, even had it been desirable to remove from the ridge, where our left flank was defended by the Jumna, and our right rested on a defensible cliff above a ravine. The river at this period of the year is rather low, and is spread in several channels over a wide expanse of sandy bed, which it forms into islands. The road conducts us to a bridge of boats, moored by bark ropes to anchors up stream, fastened to stakes in the river, and provided with apparatus to suit the rise of the waters. There are actually shaky posts for oil lamps stuck at intervals along the line of boats, and sheds of reeds are erected in the stern of each boat to give shelter from the sun. There is a sentry on each end of the bridge, and no native is allowed to pass without inquiry. The Jumna flows at the rate of two miles an hour or so, in turbid and shallow streams; but higher up it becomes deeper. Notwithstanding large offers of rewards, we never could get this bridge destroyed during the siege, and we could scarce touch it with our guns; so that we had the mortification of seeing the rebels and their convoys and supplies crossing it whenever they chose. They did not often go that way if they found it as unpleasant as I did, for the gharry shook tremendously. The bridge leads to the Calcutta gate; but before one reaches it he sees the grand feudal-looking keep of Selimghur rising on his left out of the waters of the river by which it is surrounded. Although it has seen better days, this fort, built of solid stone-work, with massive walls, deep-set, small-eyed windows, possesses an appearance of real strength, which was honestly refreshing after a long course of stucco and compo. It is only accessible by a very lofty bridge, thrown on high arches from the city wall across the branch of the river which insulates the castle, and it is now occupied by a detachment of English troops. At this point the wall of Delhi sweeps round by the curve of the river, and in front of us is the Calcutta gate. The masonry here dates from the time of Shah Jehan, the Great Mogul, to whom Delhi owes its grandest monuments and works. It bears marks of time here and there; but very little outlay and labour would renovate the fine face, which rises to the height of thirty-five or forty feet before us, pierced with loopholes, and bastioned at intervals for its defenders. Passing by the drawbridge and through the Calcutta gate, which offers nothing remarkable, we enter at once into the streets of an Eastern town, rather cleaner and wider than usual. Our course lay for a short time by the city wall; then through a silent street—the houses closed, but pitted all over with bullet-marks; then through a wider street, with public buildings shattered and half ruinous—English guards and English children looking from the doorless halls. Here the magazines were open, and the native shopkeepers sat in their open stalls; but the marks of bullet and cannon-shot became thicker and thicker at every pace; the trees by the side of the way were split and rent; doors and windows were splintered; the gables were torn out of houses; and walls let in the light at jagged holes, through which shot and shell had heralded its advent long ago. At last all is ruin—house and wall and gate alike crumbled under a tremendous bombardment. Then comes a spot over which the storm has passed more lightly; and in an open space there stands, clean, fresh, and radiant in the morning sun, the restored church of Delhi, not destitute of architectural attraction, surmounted by a cupola and ball and cross; and in those particulars and in the general design, affording some likelihood that the architect had not quite forgotten St. Paul's cathedral when he drew his

plan. It was pleasant to see this Christian type amid the desolation and destruction around, the intensity of which increased as we approached the Cashmere gate. Through this immortal portal we passed, and were once more outside the city walls. A few minutes' drive on a good road took the gharry up to a large house, in a castellated style, which once had been held by the enemy's pickets, and which is now the official residence of the commissioner, Mr. Saunders. It bore many marks of shot. In one of the few trees left standing in the avenue there is stuck a cannon-ball, half buried in the split trunk. The house next the commissioner's is a heap of ruins. Close at hand are traces of our advanced trenches and batteries, and on the left there is the quiet cemetery where lie the remains of the glorious soldiers who fell in the assault, and of him who was foremost among them all—who was confessedly, according to the testimony of every Indian tongue, the first soldier in India—'Nicholson.' His grave is marked by a modest slab, and he rests close to the walls of the rebellious city." * * * * * *

"When the sun gave up burning the outer world for the day, and was about setting in a fiery fog, we drove out to visit the city. I followed with intense interest the course taken by the storming columns against the Cashmere gate. The battered face of the Cashmere bastion, where Nicholson, at the head of the 1st Bengal fusiliers, entered by escalade, still shows the force of our fire; but I am certain that the first feeling of every stranger must be surprise at the strength of the defences, at the height and solidity of the curtains, the formidable nature of the bastions, the depth and width of the dry ditch, the completeness of the glacis, and the security of the gates—in a word, he will be astonished to find that Delhi is not only a strong place, but that its fortifications are of very considerable strength. The glacis protects at least four-fifths of the wall, and covers the arch of the gateways. We did our best to enable Delhi to resist a siege or an assault, stored up an arsenal and magazines inside its walls, and then left it without a garrison. And so here is the Cashmere gate, flanked by guns, and with a double way, both exposed to fire; to which advanced, along a few crazy planks left by the enemy to bridge across the ditch, the storming party of her majesty's 52nd, the Kumaon battalion, and the 1st Punjabees, covered by the skirmishers of her majesty's 60th, and preceded by that small band whose deeds and whose fate are never to be forgotten—armed with unromantic powder-bags, and exposed to twofold danger of unresisting death. No vestige of the gate now remains; but the ditch is there, the cold high wall of blue stone, the shattered arch, the bastions, the long line of loopholed defences—all proclaiming how desperate the courage of the men who faced and overcame such obstacles. There, pacing to-and-fro with shouldered musket, lumpy and large-footed, and rather slovenly in gait, without any air of military smartness, according to either the French or the Prussian model—with ill-made coat, preposterous pantaloons, unseemly ankle-jacks, is the stuff out of which such men are made; and you may bet ten to one that yonder red-coated countryman of her majesty's 61st regiment, who is doing duty as sentry on the Cashmere gate, would, if occasion were, emulate the deeds of those who fell before it without one shadow of variableness or turning. Inside the gateway we pass the bullet-marked Mainguard, and houses and walls split and pierced with shot, and enter upon a wide street, lined with trees, in the centre of which there is a stone aqueduct, leading to a noble open reservoir—the work, I believe, of Lord Ellenborough, who forgot in its greatness that the Jumna was not quite dry. This is the Chaundnee Chouk, the main street of the city, which reminds us—oddly enough—of the Boulevards, notwithstanding the meanness of the two-storied Oriental houses, the absence of soldiers, *sergens de ville*, and of *cafés*, the presence of a turbaned crowd, and of camels and palanquins, and the open stores of odd merchandise, and shops filled with Oriental fruits and grain. Half of the houses are shut up; and judging by some of the people who looked out from the screens of the first-floors and from the verandahs, some of the present inhabitants might be dispensed with. The shops are poor enough; they are windowless and open in front, like the stalls in a Turkish bazaar. At the sight of the Burra Sahib's outriders (native troopers), the bunnealis, or shopkeepers—a sleek fat race, with shaven faces, yellow and white caste-marks on the forehead and over the eyes, dressed cleanly and amply in snow-white turbans and robes—rise from their haunches, and salaam respectfully, standing till the carriage has passed by. Diverging to the left from this street we see before us the noblest battlemented wall on which my eyes ever rested. It is the wall of the palace

of the Mogul. A grand face of rich red sandstone, darkened by time, crenellated in two rows, rises to a height of fifty or sixty feet above us, and sweeps to the right and left in melancholy grandeur, slightly broken in outline by turrets and flanking towers. The gems of which the casket is so grand ought, indeed, to be rich and precious. The portal is worthy of the enclosure. Except the Victoria gate of our new palace of Westminster, I have seen no gateway so fine in proportion and of such lofty elevation. The massive iron and brass-embossed doors open into a magnificent vestibule in a great tower, which rises high above the level of the walls, and is surmounted by turrets and four cupolas of elegant design. On passing the gates we find ourselves in a sort of arcade, vaulted and running for the length of the tower, in the midst of which there is a very small court, richly ornamented with sculptured stone-work. The entrance is guarded by a soldier, who might be mistaken for a very sunburnt and savage-looking English rifleman. He is dressed in dark green, nearly black, and supposed by the military authorities to be very like foliage in hue, and therefore suitable to riflemen—like one of our brigade; but he wears a dreadful compromise between a Glengarry bonnet and a turban, made of green cloth with a red tartan border, on his head; his eyes are wide apart, his cheek-bones are high, his lips thick, his face round, like his head, and his jaws square. I don't think I ever saw Saxon or Celt or Scottish, or Irish mixture of the two, exactly the same as that man. He is, in fact, one of our Goorkas. The arcade conducts us to an open courtyard, surrounded by houses of excessively poor aspect. At one side there, in the turreted gateway, Mr. Saunders points out to us the room, below a cupola, where two of our countrywomen were brutally murdered. But in the courtyard before us a more terrible scene was enacted. There is a dry stone tank, in which there once played a fountain, in the centre of the court. Above it a venerable and decaying tree casts an imperfect shadow over the stone seats on which, in former times, those who came hither to enjoy the play of the waters and their refreshing music were wont to repose. It was at this spot, beneath this tree, and round the fountain, that the Christian captives, women and children, after several days of painful respite and anxiety, worse than the fate they dreaded, were hacked to pieces by the swords of the ferocious and cowardly miscreants, who in their mad excitement forgot that Mohammed had ordered women and children to be saved from death. There is as yet no other memorial of the tragedy; but lo! '*ex ossibus ultor!*' the dungeon of the captive monarch who permitted the defilement of his palace by such deeds is close at hand—the house of Timour, the descendants of Baber, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe, have fallen never to rise; smitten in the very palace of their power, which has become their dungeon. Around the very place where that innocent blood ran like water, are ranged, as grim monuments of retribution, row after row of guns taken from the enemy; our guards are in the gates; and of the many who took part in the murders it is probable few live to dread the punishment which, sooner or later, will strike them. The mouldering walls of the palace buildings, broken lattices, crumbling stone-work, and doors and wood-work split, decayed, and paintless, the silence only broken by the tread of the sentry, or our own voices, rendered the whole place inexpressibly sad and desolate. But sadder still when one thought of the voices, of the cries which resounded within these walls one short year ago. It was with a sense of relief—a deep long-drawn breath—that we proceeded towards another grand gateway, leading by a long vaulted arcade into a courtyard paved like the former, but kept in trimmer order, and surrounded by continuous edifices, some of white marble, all of rich decorations in arabesque, the most conspicuous of which, notwithstanding the attractions of a beautiful mosque, is the Hall of Audience—the 'Dewan Khass!'"

The following extracts from letters of individuals personally engaged in the hazardous struggle which resulted in the conquest of the city, will appropriately close this brief sketch of its history. The first are from the correspondence of an officer attached to the staff, dated "Delhi, September 26th, 1857," five days subsequent to its reoccupation by British troops. The writer, after referring to some incidents of the assault, already noticed, proceeds to say—"I think those who called the fortifications of Delhi a garden-wall, have only to walk round them to be satisfied of their mistake. The defences are exceedingly strong; and though the heights, a mile distant, facilitate a siege, they by no means, for practical purposes, give any real command of the

place. I am told, on very competent authority, that, from a mere artillery point of view, the place is stronger than Bhurtpoor ever was; and yet it proves that our main difficulty was inside, not outside Delhi. The sepoys permitted our heavy batteries to be approached with comparatively little opposition—breaches were speedily and well effected, and our troops got over them with loss, but without serious check. But there their task was by no means accomplished; and, street by street, the enemy contested every foot of ground, and occupied position after position with a courage and determination worthy of a better cause. In fact, we may well congratulate ourselves that we did not attempt the storm with an inferior force. There is no doubt, that on our occupation of a part of the city, our army became disorganised to a degree which was highly dangerous when the battle was but half won. Whether the collection in the part of the town which we first assaulted, of vast quantities of wine and spirits (the produce of the plunder of a long line of road on which those articles are the main staple of European commerce), was really the result of deep strategy on the part of the mutineers, I cannot say; but it does seem as if the only common bond which unites the various races fighting under our standard is a common love of liquor; and Europeans, Seiks, Goorkas, and Afghans are said to have all indulged to an extent which might have been disastrous. In truth, the days which followed the first assault were a time of great anxiety. Our progress was slow; the number of men whom we could bring into action curiously small; and the abandonment of the positions held by the enemy was, I believe, a relief to the generals, even though we did *not* exterminate the mutineers. In fact, I believe that the bridge of boats was purposely left intact by our batteries; we were well content to leave a bridge to a flying enemy. I do not think that the enemy were actually forced out by our shells. I was surprised to find how little damage was done by them. The walls of the palace are almost intact; so are by far the greater portion of the buildings inside; and it is quite clear that the chances were yet very much in favour of such as chose quietly to sit in them. In short, I fancy that our mortar batteries were by no means very strong, and not sufficient to do effectually such extensive work; but the sepoys and the king's party had both had enough of it. The fire was, no doubt, hot, and was becoming more so; so they retreated, carrying with them most of their valuables, but leaving all the heavy guns and other bulky articles. As to pursuit, the infantry was simply completely knocked up, and unfit to pursue for a single mile; and the general would not risk the mounted branch alone; so he has contented himself with securing his conquest, and the city of Delhi is completely ours. For the rest, a small party of irregular cavalry appearing at a place a few miles off, where the king's family had taken refuge, obtained possession of the persons of the king and the more important princes—making prisoner the former, killing the latter. Our position is quite secure, but we have yet taken no possession for a single mile south of the city."

The following extract is from the letter of a sergeant of the 61st regiment, whose statement was published in the *Times*, under the initials "M. B." The writer says—"On the 13th of June, an order came to Ferozepoor, where our division had been for more than a month, for the right wing of the 61st to proceed immediately to Delhi. The order reached the colonel at ten A.M., and we had to march at four in the afternoon: everybody was in confusion, trying to find out what companies would have to go. At last it was found that grenadiers Nos. 2, 3, and 7, and the light company, were to march under Colonel Jones that evening. Fancy how fatiguing it must have been to be keeping up forced marches, sometimes as much as twenty-five miles, in the middle of the summer! It was very distressing, I assure you. At all events, we arrived at Delhi on the 1st of July, and then our troubles commenced. In the first place the cholera broke out; and frightful it was to see our poor fellows dying like dogs, sometimes as many as five and six a-day. During all this time the duty was getting heavier every day. We very often went on picket without being relieved for six or seven days, and keeping up a constant firing all the time. The brutes used to come out every day, and we had to drive them up to the walls of Delhi back again. We used to lose a great many of our men that way; for as soon as we retired back to camp, the sepoys opened fire with their artillery. We were too close to them altogether; they played havoc with our poor men: but as regards fair fighting, they are the greatest cowards you ever came across. They won't stand at all; but hide behind brick walls, or get into

houses; and will never show a front. As soon as they hear a cheer from the Europeans they run away like mice. We remained till the night of the 24th of August without progressing, when an order was given out for the 61st and 1st Europeans, and some Seiks, to march at four the next morning to a place called Ruffinjar. It was given out by our spies the day before, that a large body of the sepoys had left Delhi, and proceeded to this place for the purpose of cutting off our supplies. We marched in the morning, and overtook them about four, and a good hard fight took place; but, as usual, we made the scoundrels run. Lieutenant Gabbett, of No. 2, got killed. We lost five or six men, and had several wounded. We captured thirteen guns and all their camp equipage. I forgot to mention that we were losing so many men with cholera, that we had to send to Ferozepoor for the left wing. They also came by double marches, and had to encounter a great deal of trouble on the road. They arrived at Delhi on the 14th of August. The weather was getting a little cooler, but still it was very disagreeable in tents. After they arrived, I am sorry to say, the cholera broke out as fresh as ever. We buried, in one day, nine men; you can't guess how we were situated. We hardly had men enough to relieve the pickets. Things remained that way till the siege-train arrived from Ferozepoor. We were anxiously looking for it every day. At last the artillery and big guns arrived, and then we had harder work. Then we were night after night building batteries and lying in the trenches, and the artillery were bombarding the walls of Delhi and the city day and night. We had a great many men wounded in the trenches. On the night of the 13th, when all our advanced batteries were ready for action, part of the army left camp, and advanced within a hundred yards of the walls, under cover, ready to storm the place, which we did at about daylight the next morning; the remainder of the regiments entering at other parts of the city all about the same time. We managed it beautifully, although there were a great many killed and wounded; I dare say over 1,000. The scoundrels flew in all directions. We entered the city, and halted at the church that night, sending out pickets. We remained in the church until the night of the 16th, when the 61st got the order to fall-in at three the next morning, nobody knowing what for; the colonel telling us at the same time, we had some hot work to do before we dined. We fell-in, and were told-off to four divisions, twenty-two file each—in all, 176. That was all we could muster, we had so many sick and wounded. We marched towards the magazine, stormed the breach without any noise, and got the word 'Charge!' and no doubt our boys did charge with a vengeance, shouting like madmen, and killing every one that came within our reach. I think we took the rascals by surprise, or they would not have given up the place so easily. We had two men killed, and about six wounded. After getting into the magazine, they came down by hundreds; but they could do us very little harm. We being inside and they out, the fools commenced pelting stones at us, and trying to burn down a lot of sheds that were in the place. We captured 148 guns, besides a lot of shot, shell, and ammunition. Our work was now done for that day. I am only writing about our own regiment. Other regiments were doing equally as much good as ourselves. There were the 8th, 52nd, 60th rifles, 75th, 1st and 2nd Europeans, all fighting as hard in other parts of the city; and out of all these regiments they could not form 3,000 men, the army was suffering so much from sickness. We were relieved from the magazine by the 52nd regiment, and then our regiment was divided; some went to the bank, and others to different pickets in the city. On the morning of the 20th, part of our regiment and the rifles took the palace, with very little opposition on the part of the enemy; and that finished the taking of Delhi. A royal salute was fired on the morning of the 21st of September on the walls of Delhi, in honour of the capture of the city, palace, &c. We expected to have taken the king in the palace, but he was too wide-awake for us at that time: he escaped, but he was taken by our people about thirty miles from Delhi, with his sons. They were all brought back. Two of his sons were shot the other day, and the king is now a prisoner, awaiting his trial. A European sergeant-major of the 28th native infantry was taken prisoner, trying to make his escape from Delhi. He is also awaiting his trial. He had given assistance to the sepoys after the mutiny broke out."

MAHOMED SURAJ-OO-DEEN SHAH GHAZEE, LAST KING OF DELHI.

Six Mogul conquerors in succession sat upon the imperial throne of Delhi, each rivaling the magnificence and the power of the mighty Alexander, before whom nations were bowed as reeds before the tempest. Then came a long period of prostration and decay: the haughty lords of Asia yielded to the arms and arts of a power from the West, and gradually, during two centuries, their glories faded in the spreading lustre of its ascendancy. At length the heir of Timur and of Akber—blind, helpless, and persecuted—delivered himself a pensionary into the hands of a few Englishmen, that, under their protection, the remaining years of his existence might be spent in peace. Yet was he treated right royally by his commercial patrons; and, in a sort of mimic state, was permitted to enjoy a nominal sovereignty in his ancestral palace at the imperial city. There, surrounded by six miles of lofty and bastioned wall, a cluster of gorgeous edifices contained, while it also concealed, his sufferings and his pomp. To the last of the visionary scene, Shah Alum and his descendants were treated with considerate deference, and were saluted by British officers as the sovereigns, *de jure*, of Hindoostan. Coin was yet struck in their names; and the last of the race, although worthless—and it was thought imbecile, from age—enjoyed a royal revenue, and seemed, of all men living, the last to whom suspicion of treachery should attach. Such, in brief, was the state of the three last living descendants of the Mogul emperors, until a wild and reckless desire to exterminate the whole European race found upon the soil of India, smote with sudden madness a number of the hereditary chiefs and princes of the land who; without administrative or military genius, fancied a possibility of enthroning themselves upon ruin, and of once more rioting in the pillage and devastation of India. And so it was that the king of Delhi—instigated by a ravenous horde of dependent relatives, hounded on to his ruin by the acclaims of an excited and rebellious soldiery, and dazzled by those visions of ambition which, dimmed not by fading sight and whitened hairs, are attractive even to the brink of the grave—broke from his sworn allegiance, assumed a lurid and transient show of independence, encouraged the native levies of his protectors and ally in a ferocious rebellion to the hand that fed them, and closed the gates of Delhi against a British army. Such, in a few words, were the incidents of the first scene of the wild drama enacted before the people of India in 1857; and the enemies of the British flag in all quarters of the world, pointed to the new Mogul empire, and rejoiced at the down-fall of British supremacy. But the end was yet to come; and before we refer to the consummation of that end, it will be necessary, for the elucidation of the subject, to revert to some phases of the past history of the family whose last representative is now a convict and an exile from the country in which he had enjoyed kingly honours.

On the 11th of September, 1803, the result of a battle between the Anglo-Indian forces, under the command of General Lake, and the confederated troops of the Mahratta and Rohilcund chiefs, opened the gates of Delhi to a British army, and restored to the enjoyments of sovereignty the blind and feeble representative of a once mighty dynasty, in the person of the emperor Shah Alum, who had long been the sport of fortune, and, as it were, the foot-ball of his powerful and merciless enemies the Mahrattas. From this thrall the unhappy monarch was relieved by the valour of British arms; but from that moment his independent rule became a fiction, and his empire but a name. From the 16th of October, 1803, when the final arrangement was concluded, by which the sightless descendant of the magnificent Timur placed himself and his dominions under the protection of the East India Company, until the 11th of May, 1857, Delhi became merely the capital of a territory nominally governed by a Mogul prince, but practically, and in fact, under the supreme control of a British resident, appointed by the governor-general in council. In 1806, Shah Alum escaped, by a peaceful death, from the cares of existence and the mockery of state, and was succeeded by his son Shah Akber in the kingly title, and in the enjoyment of royal honours, but still a pensioner of the Company for the means to support his dignity—an

annual grant of £100,000 being paid to him as an equivalent for his independence; out of which he was required to support the vast retinue of relations and dependents collected within the walls of the imperial residence, who altogether numbered some 12,000 persons. Notwithstanding the degraded position to which this prince had sank as a mere pensioner on a commercial company, both Hindoos and Mussulmans throughout the vast empire that had bowed to the undisputed sway of his predecessors, still looked up to him as the only representative of the ancient glories of India. Princes still sought from his hands the solemn and legal investiture of their states; he bestowed robes of honour on the native chiefs upon their accession to the musnud, as tokens of his suzerainty; and more than once attempted a similar assumption of superiority upon the appointment of a governor-general of the East India Company. Until the year 1827, it is alleged, that the Company acquired no new province without formally applying to the king of Delhi for his nominal sanction and royal firman to confirm their title. At length, during the administration of Lord Amherst, in 1827, this false position on both sides was corrected, by taking from the powerless occupant of a shadowy throne this last vestige he possessed of independent sovereignty, in exchange for an increased pension of £150,000. The implied vassalage of the Company to the great padishah or ruler of India, was thrown aside as a troublesome fiction; and from that time Shah Akber became utterly powerless beyond the walls of his palace, except in regard to the traditional and historic influences of a race of which he was still the living representative, and, as such, continued to be looked up to by the descendants of the millions who had borne allegiance to the house of Timur.

Shah Akber reigned absolute within the walls of his domestic kingdom until his death in the year 1849, having for some time previous endeavoured to procure the sanction of the governor-general to his choice of a successor to the titular throne of Delhi, which he desired should be occupied by one of his younger sons, thereby setting aside the claims of the eldest-born. This arrangement was not permitted by the Company; and, consequently, upon the death of the Shah, his eldest son, Mirza Aboo Zuffur, became king, assuming the title of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee. This prince must have been between sixty and seventy years of age upon his accession to the throne, which he occupied until it was shattered into fragments by his connection with the sepoy revolt of 1857.

From the accession of Suraj-oo-deen in 1849, until the month of May, 1857, when the incidents occurred of which he ultimately became the victim, the king resided in Oriental seclusion and barbaric pomp within the boundaries of his palace, without exciting the notice or awakening the jealousies of the stranger race into whose hands the staff of his imperial power had passed. On the morning of Monday, the 11th of May, 1857, a party of mounted horsemen, soiled with dust and blood, and reeking with the foam of hasty flight from the massacre at Meerut, appeared beneath the walls of the palace, proclaiming that the rule of the Feringhee was at an end, and that Hindoostan was again under the independent sovereignty of its native princes, of whom the king of Delhi was chief. After a short parley, the troopers were, by the king's order, admitted within the palace, and announced to him that the whole of Hindoostan had risen to shake off the yoke of the English; that Calcutta, their capital, and other chief towns, were already in possession of the native army, which had risen against their officers; and that it only required that his majesty would unfurl the sacred standard of the Mohammedan empire, and the whole of the warlike millions of India would rally round it, and re-establish the independent throne of Timur by driving the English intruders into the sea, or feeding the vultures with their carcasses. During the conference, some troops of artillery, which had also deserted from Meerut the previous night, reached the city, and, entering by the Calcutta gate near the palace, fired a royal salute in front of it. This incident decided the wavering inclinations of the aged king; and he consented to the demand of the troopers, whose numbers were increased by the accession of the native regiments in cantonment near Delhi. From that moment the sword of destruction was suspended over the head of the king, and but a short time elapsed ere it fell. Meanwhile, the soldiers exulting in their triumph over his scruples, and feeling they had now a rallying-point under any emergency, rushed from the presence of the infatuated monarch, to satiate their thirst for blood by the massacre of such Europeans as fell into their hands.

On Monday, the 11th of November, the Mogul standard was raised over the entrance to the palace, and Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen was proclaimed emperor of Hindoostan and king of Delhi. A throne of silver, which had been preserved in the royal treasury from the year 1843, was placed in the Dewan Khass, or Grand Hall of Audience; and there the phantom monarch took his seat, to receive the homage of his court and people. This ceremony over, the king, surrounded by the paraphernalia of Oriental pomp, amidst the salutes of artillery, the clangour of martial music, and the frantic acclamations of a tumultuous multitude, issued from the gates of his palace in royal procession through the streets of Delhi, to announce by his presence the assumption of imperial power and the restoration of Mogul independence. The cavalcade upon this occasion was led by the Prince Mirza Mogul, one of his sons, whom he had appointed to the chief command of the army. Another son, the Prince Abu Bekr, rode at the head of the body-guard of the aged simulator of imperial power, who presented himself to the gaze of the excited populace in an open chariot; his advanced years incapacitating him from any other mode of exhibiting himself. Surrounded by the members of his household, and thus attended, the king slowly proceeded through the principal streets of the city to the Jumma Musjid, where the standard of the prophet was unfurled, and the empire of Hindoostan proclaimed. His majesty's commands were thereupon issued, that the shopkeepers and inhabitants should immediately resume their ordinary avocations; and the king returned to that palace which he was destined shortly after to leave as a fugitive, and to reoccupy as a dethroned captive, whose very existence depended upon the forbearance of his rashly provoked and justly incensed enemies.

Upon the assumption of the actual sovereignty by Suraj-oo-deen, his first act was to appoint the necessary authorities for the government of the city, within which military guards were posted. The walls were strengthened and the gates secured; a number of guns were brought from the magazine and placed upon the ramparts and bastions; and native gunners were appointed to the park of artillery in Selimghur, the fort attached to the palace. The mutinous troops of the Bengal army chiefly bent their steps in the direction of Delhi; and the native force in and round the city soon became formidable. A camp of 7,000 men was collected, and stationed for the protection of the palace; the pay of the troops was augmented; and rewards were offered for the discovery of any Europeans, or of natives connected with them, that they might be put to death. The treasury belonging to the Company, which contained at the time many lacs of rupees, was removed to the palace, to enable the king to reward the troops.

A native eye-witness of the occurrences at Delhi on the 11th and 12th of May, in a narrative addressed to the vakeel of a Rajpoot chief, says—"Yesterday morning (the 11th of May), some regular cavalry arriving from Meerut, seized the bridge on the Jumna, killed the toll-keeper, and robbed the till. Leaving a guard at the bridge, they proceeded to the Salempoor Chowkee, where they found an English gentleman, whom they killed, and set fire to his house. Then going under the Delhi king's palace, outside the city wall, they made proposals to the king, who told them that was no place for them, but to go into the city. Having entered the Calcutta gate, it was closed. They were preceded, on their first arrival, by ten or twelve troopers, who, on entering the Rajghat gate of the city, assured everybody that they had come, not to trouble or injure the city people in any way, but only to kill the European gentlemen, of whom they had resolved to leave none alive. About ten at night, two *pultuns* (troops of artillery) arrived from Meerut, and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns. The next day, about three in the afternoon, the empire was proclaimed under the king of Delhi, and the imperial flag hoisted at the *Khotwallee* (chief police-station). The king's chief police officer arrived, and with him all the mutineers, horse and foot, and killed all the Europeans they met or could find. The old chief of police fled; the mace-bearers stood aloof." * * * * "The king's sons are made officers to the royal army: thousands of pity for the poor luxurious princes, who are sometimes compelled to go out of the door of the city in the heat of the sun, with their hearts palpitating from the firing of muskets and guns. Unfortunately they do not know how to command an army; and the forces laugh at their imperfections, and abuse them for their bad arrangements. The king sends sweetmeats for the troops in the field, and the guards at the door of the city plunder it like the property of an enemy."

At length, on the 8th of June, 1857, an English force, numbering altogether about 3,000 men, under the command of Major-general Sir Henry W. Barnard, after a sharp conflict with a portion of the rebel army, which vainly attempted to arrest its progress, succeeded in taking up a position upon an elevated ridge about a mile from the city, which it commanded. From that moment the doom of the rebel capital, though for a time deferred, was felt to be inevitable.

The royal troops of Delhi had now other occupation found for them besides eating the king's sweetmeats; but, according to a native account, however valiantly they acquitted themselves behind walls and loopholed buildings, they had little stomach for fighting in the open field. The native writer of a diary kept the first few weeks of the siege, says—"The bravery of the royal troops deserves every praise: they are very clever indeed. When they wish to leave the field of battle, after shooting down many Feringhees, they tie a piece of rag on their leg, and pretend to have been wounded, and so come into the city lame and groaning, accompanied by many of their friends to assist them along." The same writer also says—"The shells have destroyed lots of houses in the city; and in the fort, the marble of the king's private hall is broken to pieces. His majesty is very much alarmed when a shell bursts in the fort, and the princes show him the pieces. Many of the royal family have left the palace through fear." Again, on the 22nd of July, the same writer says—"The other day the king sent for the Subahdar Bahadoor, who commands the troops in the fort, and desired him either to remove him out of the fort, or do something to stop the British shelling, which was very destructive. The subahdar begged his majesty to remain in the fort another day, and during that time he assured him he would devise means to put a stop to the annoyance." It is needless to say the subahdar did not keep his word.

At length, on the 18th of September, it was reported to Major-general Wilson, by spies from the city, that the king, with his sons, the three royal regiments, and some other corps of native infantry, and troopers of the light cavalry, had secured themselves in the palace, and were determined to resist to the last man: but almost immediately upon this announcement, indications of a design to evacuate the palace were apparent; and, during the night of the 19th, the king and princes, with their women and attendants, accompanied by a considerable number of the troops, retired from the royal residence to seek a temporary refuge near the palace of the Cootub Minar, about nine miles from the city, whither, on the following day, they were pursued and captured by Captain Hodson and a party of fifty of his irregular horse. The incidents of the occurrence are thus described in a letter to the brother of Captain Hodson, by an officer intimately acquainted with the operations of that distinguished commander, and who had the details at the time from the lips of himself and other eye-witnesses of the facts related. This officer, after some preliminary remarks as to former meritorious services of Captain Hodson, says—"On our taking possession of the city gate, reports came in that thousands of the enemy were evacuating the city by the other gates, and that the king, also, had left his palace. We fought our way inch by inch to the palace walls, and then found truly enough that its vast arena was void. The very day after we took possession of the palace (the 20th), Captain Hodson received information that the king and his family had gone, with a large force, out of the Ajmere gate to the Cootub. He immediately reported this to the general commanding, and asked whether he did not intend to send a detachment in pursuit, as, with the king at liberty and heading so large a force, our victory was next to useless, and we might be the besieged instead of besiegers. General Wilson replied that he could not spare a single European. He then volunteered to lead a party of the irregulars; but this offer was also refused, though backed up by Neville Chamberlain.

"During this time messengers were coming in constantly; and, among the rest, one from Zeenat Mahal (the favourite begum), with an offer to use her influence with the king to surrender on certain conditions. These conditions at first were ludicrous enough—viz., that the king and the whole of the males of his family should be restored to his palace and honours; that not only should his pension be continued, but the arrears since May be paid up, with several other equally modest demands. I need not say these were treated with contemptuous denial. Negotiations, however, were vigorously carried on; and care was taken to spread reports of an advance in force to the Cootub.

Every report as it came in was taken to General Wilson, who at last gave orders to Captain Hodson to promise the king's life and freedom from personal indignity, and make what other terms he could. Captain Hodson then started with only fifty of his own men for Humayun's tomb, three miles from the Cootub, where the king had come during the day. The risk was such as no one can judge of who has not seen the road, amid the old ruins scattered about of what was once the real city of Delhi. He concealed himself and men in some old buildings close by the gateway of the tomb, and sent in his two emissaries to Zeenat Mahal with the *ultimatum*—the king's life and that of *her* son and father (the latter has since died). After two hours passed by Captain Hodson in most trying suspense, such as (he says) he never spent before, while waiting the decision, his emissaries (one an old favourite of poor Sir Henry Lawrence) came out with the last offer—namely, that the king would deliver himself up to Captain Hodson only, and on condition that he repeated with his own lips the promise of the government for his safety. Captain Hodson then went out into the middle of the road in front of the gateway, and said that he was ready to receive his captives and renew the promise. You may picture to yourself the scene before that magnificent gateway, with the milk-white domes of the tomb towering up from within—one white man among a host of natives, yet determined to secure his prisoner or perish in the attempt.

"Soon a procession began to come slowly out; first Zeenat Mahal, in one of the close native conveyances used for women. Her name was announced as she passed, by the Moulvie. Then came the king in a palkee, on which Captain Hodson rode forward and demanded his arms. Before giving them up, the king asked whether he was 'Hodson Bahadoor,' and if he would repeat the promise made by the herald? Captain Hodson answered that he would, and repeated that the government had been graciously pleased to promise him his life, and that of Zeenat Mahal's son, on condition of his yielding himself prisoner quietly; adding very emphatically, that if any attempt was made at a rescue, he would shoot the king down on the spot like a dog. The old man then gave up his arms, which Captain Hodson handed to his orderly, still keeping his own sword drawn in his hand. The same ceremony was then gone through with the boy (Jumma Bukht), and the march towards the city began—the longest five miles, as Captain Hodson said, that he ever rode; for, of course, the palkees only went at a foot pace, with his handful of men around them, followed by thousands, any one of whom could have shot him down in a moment. His orderly told me that it was wonderful to see the influence which his calm and undaunted look had on the crowd. They seemed perfectly paralysed at the fact of one white man (for they thought nothing of his fifty black sowars) carrying off their king alone. Gradually, as they approached the city, the crowd slunk away, and very few followed up to the Lahore gate. Then Captain H. rode on a few paces, and ordered the gate to be opened. The officer on duty asked simply, as he passed, what he had got in his palkees. 'Only the king of Delhi,' was the answer; on which the officer's enthusiastic exclamation was more emphatic than becomes ears polite. The guard were for turning out to greet him with a cheer, and could only be repressed on being told that the king would take the honour to himself. They passed up that magnificent deserted street to the palace gate, where Captain Hodson met the civil officer (Mr. Saunders), and formally delivered over his royal prisoners to him. His remark was amusing: 'By Jove! Hodson, they ought to make you commander-in-chief for this.'

"On proceeding to the general's quarters to report his successful return, and hand over the royal arms, he was received with the characteristic speech, 'Well, I'm glad you have got him; but I never expected to see either him or you again!' while the other officers in the room were loud in their congratulations and applause. He was requested to select for himself from the royal arms what he chose; and has, therefore, two magnificent swords, one with the name of 'Nadir Shah,' and the other the seal of Jehangeer engraved upon it, which he intends to present to the Queen.

"On the following day he captured three of the princes. I am anxious you should fully understand that your brother was bound by orders from the general to spare the king's life, much against his own will; and that the capture was on his own risk and responsibility, but not the pledge."

Upon the arrival of the cavalcade at the palace, the king, with his favourite begum, Zeenat Mahal, and her son, a youth of seventeen, were conducted by Mr. Saunders

to a small building in one of the courts of the imperial residence, where, under a proper guard, they remained, with about half-a-dozen attendants, until their final destiny was decided upon.

A letter from the palace, dated the 24th of September, describes a visit to the dethroned and captive majesty of Delhi in the following terms:—"The day after the king was caught, I went to see him with two or three officers. He was in a house in a street called the Lâll Kooa-street—*i.e.*, the Red Wall-street. He was lying on a bed with cushions, &c., a man fanning him, and two or three servants about. He is, and looks very old, being very much wasted; has a very hooked nose, and short white beard, and is by no means regal looking. He seemed in a great fright, and apparently thought we had come to insult him; so we merely looked at him and came away." Another correspondent writes—"We have seen the king and royal family; they are in ruinous little rooms in one of the gates of the palace. The old king looks very frail, and has a blank, fixed eye, as of one on whom life is fast closing. He certainly is too old to be responsible for anything that has been done."

An officer who, in his tour of duty, had charge of the royal prisoner, writes thus:—"I was on guard over the king and his wives and concubines on the 24th and 25th, and was obliged to be much on the alert to prevent rescue or attempts at escape. I was ordered to shoot him if things came to the last extremity. Yesterday I handed him over to a guard of the 60th rifles, and was exceedingly glad to be relieved of so responsible a position."

The requirements of justice had now to be satisfied by the punishment of the royal traitor and his rebellious sons; the latter having also taken an active part in the early massacres at the palace and the Khotwallee. The king himself was reserved, on the ground of his advanced age (eighty-five), for the more formal and deliberate procedure of a military commission; but for his principal agents in the dire work of rebellion and murder, no unnecessary delay was allowed to interpose, and their fate was as promptly decided as the severity of it was merited. Two of his sons and a grandson had already paid the penalty of their crimes by death, at the hands of Captain Hodson; and shortly afterwards, two others of the princes were captured, and, after being tried by a military tribunal, were also shot.

On the 10th of October, a message was transmitted from the governor-general in council to General Wilson, from which the following is an extract:—"If, as has been reported to the governor-general in council, the king of Delhi has received from any British officer a promise that his life will be spared, you are desired to send him to Allahabad, under an escort, as soon as that can be safely done. The escort must be strong enough to resist all attempts at a rescue, and must consist, in part, of some European infantry and cavalry, with field guns. Any member of the king's family who is included in the promise, is to be sent with the king. You will appoint one or two officers specially to take charge of the king, who is to be exposed to no indignity or needless hardship. If no promise of his life has been given to the king, he is to be brought to trial under Act 14, of 1857. The special commissioners appointed for this purpose are, Mr. Montgomery, judicial commissioner of the Punjab; Mr. C. G. Barnes, commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej states; and Major Lake, commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej states. You will summon these officers at once to Delhi, in the event of a trial of the king taking place. Mr. C. B. Saunders will act as prosecutor, will collect the evidence, and frame the charges. Should the king be found guilty, the sentence is to be carried out without further reference to the governor-general in council."

Shortly before the arrival of these instructions at Delhi, Major-general Wilson had resigned the command of the army on account of failing health, and was succeeded by Major-general Penny, who, on the 22nd of the month, wrote thus to the secretary of the government:—"Your message to Major-general Wilson, now sick at Mussoorie, has been sent to him to explain under what conditions the king's life was promised him.* The king, agreeably to instructions, will be sent to the fort at Allahabad as soon as the road shall be freely opened; but that cannot be immediately."

Some time elapsed before any active measures were adopted with regard to the

* The condition was simply that he should surrender without resistance. See preceding page.

future destiny of the royal captive; but at length, after a number of the chief actors in the tragedy at Delhi had expiated their crimes by an ignominious death upon the scaffold, the period arrived when it became expedient to determine the course to be pursued with Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen, who still retained his kingly style, though a prisoner in an out-building of his own palace. The capture of the king was effected on the 21st of September; but it was not until the month of January, 1858, that the commission under which he was put upon his trial was made public: at the same time, the charges preferred against him were declared to be as follows:—

"1st. For that he, being a pensioner of the British government in India, did, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage, aid, and abet Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers others non-commissioned officers unknown, of the East India Company's army, in the crimes of mutiny and rebellion against the state.

"2nd. For having, at Delhi, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encouraged, aided, and abetted Mirza Mogul, his own son, a subject of the British government in India, and divers other unknown inhabitants of Delhi and of the North-Western Provinces of India, also subjects of the said British government, to rebel and wage war against the state.

"3rd. For that he, being a subject of the British government in India, and not regarding the duty of his allegiance, did, at Delhi, on the 11th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, as a false traitor against the state, proclaim and declare himself the reigning king and sovereign of India, and did then and there traitorously seize and take unlawful possession of the city of Delhi; and did, moreover, at various times between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, as such false traitor aforesaid, treasonably conspire, consult, and agree with Mirza Mogul his son, and with Mahomed Bukht Khan, subahdar of the regiment of artillery, and divers other false traitors unknown, to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war against the state; and further to fulfil and perfect his treasonable design of overthrowing and destroying the British government in India, did assemble armed forces at Delhi, and send them forth to fight and wage war against the said British government.

"4th. For that he, at Delhi, on the 16th of May, 1857, or thereabouts, did within the precincts of the palace at Delhi, feloniously cause and become accessory to the murder of forty-nine persons, chiefly women and children, of European and mixed European descent: and did, moreover, between the 10th of May and the 1st of October, 1857, encourage and abet divers soldiers and others in murdering European officers and other English subjects, including women and children, both by giving and promising such murderers service, advancement, and distinction; and further, that he issued orders to different native rulers having local authority in India, to slay and murder Christians and English people whenever and wherever found in their territories—the whole or any part of such conduct being a heinous offence under the provisions of Act 16, of 1857, of the legislative council of India.—Frederick I. Harriott, Major,

"Jan. 5th, 1858. Deputy Judge-Advocate-general, Government Prosecutor."

The trial of the ex-king of Delhi at length commenced on Wednesday, the 27th of January, in the Dewan Khass of the palace; the court being composed of the following officers:—Colonel Dawes, horse artillery, president (in room of Brigadier Showers, about to leave the station): members—Major Palmer, H.M.'s 60th rifles; Major Redmond, H.M.'s 61st regiment; Major Sawyers, H.M.'s 6th carabineers, and Captain Rothney, 4th Seik infantry. Major Harriott, deputy judge-advocate-general, government prosecutor; and Mr. James Murphy, interpreter to the court. The trial was to have commenced at 11 o'clock A.M.; but owing to delays, caused by the sudden change in the constitution of the court, in consequence of Brigadier Showers' approaching departure, it was half-past twelve before the prisoner was brought in, although he was in attendance, sitting on a palanquin outside, under a guard of rifles, at the appointed hour. He appeared very infirm, and tottered into court, supported on one side by Jumma Bukht (his youngest son), and on the other by a confidential servant, and coiled himself up on a cushion on the left of the president, and to the right of the government prosecutor; Jumma Bukht standing a few yards to his left, and a guard of rifles being drawn up beyond all.

The proceedings commenced by the members of the court, the prosecutor, and inter-

preter taking the customary oaths. The prosecutor then read the charges against the prisoner, and proceeded to address the court in a clear, concise, explanatory manner, observing, that although the prisoner might be fully convicted by the court, no capital sentence could be passed upon him, in consequence of his life having been guaranteed by General Wilson, in a promise conveyed through Captain Hodson.

The prosecutor then put the question, through the interpreter, "guilty or not guilty?" which the prisoner either did not, or affected not to understand; and there was some difficulty in explaining it to him. He then declared himself profoundly ignorant of the nature of the charges against him, although a translated copy of them was furnished and read to him, in the presence of witnesses, some twenty days previous. After some more delay, the prisoner pleaded "not guilty," and the business of the court proceeded. A number of documents, of various descriptions, and of greater or lesser importance, were then read by the prosecutor; these had been translated into English, and consisted chiefly of petitions from all classes of natives to the "Shelter of the World:" they were very curious, some complaining of outrages committed by the sowars and sepoys in the city and suburbs, others bringing forward the delinquencies of his ex-majesty's offspring, who were accused of extorting money and property of all descriptions from the people. Others referred to the appointment of officers to the rebel army, and the disposal of liquor found in the magazine, but not whispered in Mohammedan circles; while some related to more important matters connected with the "new reign"—one and all concluding with a prayer that such reign should be as long as the world lasted. Most of these "state papers" bore the autograph orders and signature of the prisoner, written in pencil at the top, and were sworn to by competent witnesses, thereby affording conclusive proof of the active part taken by him in the rebellion.

The court was occupied the remainder of the day with these documents, during the reading of which the prisoner appeared to be dozing, or contemplating his son, who presented much the appearance of a Massalchee, as he stood by, occasionally laughing and conversing with the attendant. Neither one nor the other appeared to be much affected by their position, but, on the contrary, seemed to look upon the affair as one of the necessities of their destiny.

On the second day, the military commission resumed its sitting at 11 o'clock A.M. The court was mainly occupied in listening to petitions relating to occurrences of small importance, during the prisoner's brief reign; of most of which he pleaded entire ignorance, denied the signatures, and endeavoured, by voice and gesture, to impress the court with an idea of his innocence. Each paper, as it was read, was shown to the prisoner's vakeel; and thus the business of the court proceeded up to about 1 o'clock P.M., when a document, translated into English, was read—apparently a remonstrance from one Nubbee Bux Khan to the prisoner, urging him to reject the request of the army for permission to massacre the European women and children confined in the palace. The writer submitted that such massacre would be contrary to the Mohammedan religion and law; and stated, that unless the army could procure a *futwa*, it should not be put into execution. This document the government prosecutor informed the court, was the only one among the heap before him in which the spirit of mercy and kindness to Europeans could be traced; and it was remarkable, that it was one of the very few upon which the prisoner had not entered some remarks. Soon after the above-mentioned paper had been read, the prisoner, who had been for some time reclining in a lethargic state, commenced to groan and to complain of feeling unwell; and it soon became evident that the court must close its sitting. The prisoner was remonstrated with, through the interpreter, but he begged to be allowed to leave; and, at half-past one o'clock, the president adjourned the court until 11 A.M. on the 29th instant.

The trial of the ex-king commenced, on the third day, at the appointed hour. The prisoner was brought into court in a palanquin, attended by his vakeel, Abbas, and two servants; Jumma Bukht having received a hint to remain in confinement, owing to the manner assumed by him during the first day's trial. Up to half-past twelve the court was occupied in having read to the prisoner the vernacular of the translations read to the court the day previous; a process not very interesting to the

court, and apparently of little moment to the prisoner, who, coiled up easily upon his cushion, appeared lost in the land of dreams; and except when anything particular struck him, continued unmindful of what was passing around. Occasionally, however, when a particular passage was read from any of the documents, the dull eye might be seen to light up, and the bowed head would be raised to catch every word.

The examination of the king's vakeel, Gholam Abbas, then commenced. The evidence he gave principally related to the events which occurred on the 11th of May, as he himself was in company with the king, and witness to all that occurred on that date. He described the first appearance of the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry under the windows of the king's private apartments. He stated that these men clamoured loudly for an audience with the king, exclaiming that they wished him to put himself at their head. The king then went to the Dewan Khass, and, on arriving there, he heard the firing of musketry, and inquired the cause, which afterwards proved to be two companies of sepoys firing a sort of *feu de joie* into the air. The king hearing this, sent for the native officers to inquire the origin of the disturbance; when he was informed that, consequent on the outrage committed by the government on their caste, by the issue of cartridges greased with the fat of pigs and cows, they had slaughtered all Europeans at Meerut, and came to him for the protection of their lives. The king used all his endeavours to prevent their entry into the palace, and dispatched some attendants to tell Captain Douglas to seek protection in his own private apartments, and take whatever precautions he chose; also giving instructions for all the gates of the palace to be closed. Captain Douglas, however, obstinately persisted in going to speak to the cavalry mutineers in spite of all the entreaties of the king, who even went so far as to hold his hand. The captain then, being threatened, returned to his apartments. The commissioner was seen coming down the steps, accompanied by Azeem Abdoolah (believed to have been the king's doctor), with an undrawn sword in his hand. The king, seeing things assume a desperate aspect, became alarmed for the safety of all the Europeans in the palace, and forthwith, therefore, dispatched servants to inform them of their danger, with two palkees for the conveyance of the ladies, viz., Miss Jennings and Miss Clifford (no other lady being known to be in the palace), to convey them by a circuitous route, *viâ* the palace gardens, to the king's zenana, with a view to their being secreted; but, unfortunately, the gentlemen persisting in bearing them company, the party became so conspicuous, that, as before stated, the mutineers who entered the palace became cognizant of their presence, and forthwith pursuing them for some little distance, put an end to their existence. The king at that time was sufficiently well to walk without assistance, further than that of a stick, and this accounted for his having proceeded alone as far as he did. The sepoys were evidently annoyed at the king's willingness to adhere to the British dominion, and expressed great disgust at his partisanship with the English. They threatened his life should he not accede to all their requests; as he being the principal descendant of the house of Timur, and king of all India, was bound to protect and cherish his faithful subjects. A letter was then handed to Major Harriott, from Brigadier Longfield, in which he stated that, having been appointed president of the commission for the trial of the king, he requested to know at what time the court assembled. The court then adjourned. A request was made during the proceedings, by Bahadoor Shah, to be allowed to smoke his hookah; and permission was granted.

The trial opened at the usual hour on the fourth day, and proceedings commenced with a continuation of the examination of Gholam Abbas, the prisoner's vakeel. The witness being one of the *non mi recordo* class, determined to know nothing that could, by recital, criminate the prisoner, his family, himself, or any one connected with the palace; and this soon became so apparent, that he was twice or thrice reminded, through the interpreter, that he was giving his evidence *upon oath*. Nothing, however, was elicited from him, and he was permitted to resume his office of vakeel to the prisoner, after being subjected to a rigid cross-examination by the government prosecutor, who then proposed that the petitions of the late rajah of Bullubgurh, which were translated and read at the trial of that rebel, should be accepted as evidence; which being agreed to, he proceeded to read to the court the English translations; and, on these being concluded, the interpreter read the originals for the benefit of the

prisoner, who up to this time had been sleeping. He was awoke for the purpose, and appeared to listen attentively, making some remark at the conclusion of each, and indicating by signs during the reading, that he knew nothing whatever about them. He appeared in much better health and humour than on any of the previous days, and laughed in great spirits as each successive paper was taken up to be read, as if quite amused at there being so many.

Up to nearly half-past one o'clock on the fifth day, the court was occupied in reading documents in the vernacular; but when these had been disposed of, the translations of the military papers were read, and afforded considerable amusement to the court. These consisted chiefly of petitions, upon various subjects, from "The Lord Sahib, Mirza Mogul, commander-in-chief of the royal army," Bukht Khan Bahadoor, and other traitors. In some, the helpless state of the "infidels" was set forth in the most glowing terms, pointing out how, with very slight assistance and delay, they would be sent to a place even Mohammedan murderers are never to see; others pointing out how certain districts had been brought under the "royal rule," and treasure obtained by the revolt of those whose duty it was to guard its safety; while all were full of hatred to the "infidels," and unbounded love for the king. To most of these documents the prisoner's autograph orders and signature in pencil had been attached.

The sixth day's trial commenced at 11 A.M. of the 2nd of February. The early part of the day was occupied in reading original documents relating to military matters, the English versions of which were read the day previous: at the conclusion of which, the translation of a letter, dated the 24th of March, addressed to the late Mr. Colvin, lieutenant-governor, North-West Provinces, was read, disclosing the fact, that as far back as a year and a-half previous, secret emissaries were sent by the king of Delhi to Persia, through the agency of one Mahomed Hussun Uskeeree, the object of which was evidently to obtain assistance to complete the overthrow of British power in India. The perusal of the letter, which bore both the Delhi and Agra post-mark, excited considerable sensation in court, and led to a severe cross-examination, by the judge-advocate, of Ehsain-oolla Khan, the prisoner's hakeem, whose evidence partly corroborated the fact of the emissaries having been sent. The witness further stated, that Hussun Uskeeree was not unknown to him; that he was supposed to possess the art of foretelling events, interpreting dreams, &c.; and that one of the prisoner's daughters, named Nawaub Baigam, had become a disciple of his, and was supposed to be his mistress. There was, however, a decided disinclination, on the part of the hakeem, to implicate the prisoner, the witness always endeavouring to absolve him from all knowledge of, or participation in, the acts deposed to. In one or two instances this was so apparent as to create a smile. When questioned as to the feeling displayed by the native inhabitants of Delhi regarding the war between England and Persia, the witness replied that the feeling was scarcely perceptible, but that it was in favour of the British; the Persians being Sheeahs, and the Mohammedans of Persia Soonnees. He further stated, that the Persian proclamation posted at the Jumma Musjid created little or no sensation, and that its genuineness was doubted. He said that the war between England and Persia was not the subject of conversation among the Mohammedans of Delhi, and that the prisoner had never mentioned it. The whole of his evidence tended to implicate, to a considerable extent, the Shah of Persia; and to lead the court to believe that the prisoner was entirely innocent of any complicity in the intrigues that were going on.

On the seventh day, the court commenced proceedings by the examination, through the interpreter, of a person named Jutmull, formerly news-writer to the lieutenant-governor at Agra. His evidence was most important; and, notwithstanding an apparent desire to criminate the prisoner as little as possible, was most damaging to the royal cause. The witness corroborated the statement regarding the emissaries from the prisoner to Persia, about the time the Persians advanced upon Herat; the time corresponding with that given by the hakeem the day previous. He also mentioned the firm belief of many in the powers possessed by Hussun Uskeeree, and related a remarkable dream of the prophet shortly before the mission left Delhi for Persia. It was thus related. Hussun Uskeeree saw a mighty black storm coming from the west, accompanied by a great rush of water, which increased to such an extent, that the whole country was overwhelmed. In the midst of this storm was the prisoner (the ex-king of Delhi), seated

on a charpoy, borne up by the waters, and supported safely till the flood subsided! This vision was, as a matter of course, turned to account, and interpreted accordingly. The storm from the westward was Persia. The overwhelming waves swept away all traces of British rule, and the "infidels" with them; and the mighty monarch, the ex-king of Delhi, having weathered the storm, was permitted to return to all his former state and dignity as the Great Mogul! During the recital of this dream, and of the powers possessed by Hussun Uskeeree, the prisoner, as though affected by some galvanic agency, suddenly started up, and declared that he firmly believed in all that had been stated respecting the wonderful powers of Hussun Uskeeree. It further appeared from the evidence of Jutmull, that the gifted slave, Hussun Uskeeree, had, with the most unparalleled devotion, cut off no less than twenty years from his own valuable life, for the purpose of prolonging, by that period, the life of his master.

The witness Jutmull then entered into particulars concerning the murders committed in the palace, describing the manner in which Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, and other Europeans, were butchered—atrocities in which, if the prisoner took no active part, he was perfectly cognizant of, notwithstanding the manifest exertions on the part of the native witnesses to prove the contrary.

On the eighth day, the evidence of Jutmull, the news-writer, was continued. What was elicited from him related chiefly to the massacre of the European prisoners of all classes and ages, on the 16th of May; and confirmed all before reported concerning the cold-blooded atrocities committed absolutely under the prisoner's own apartments in the palace. The canal water, which ran through the place of execution, was, it appears, used for the purpose of washing away all traces of the bloody deed. Captain Forrest, commissary of ordnance, was then called in, and examined until 4 P.M., when the court adjourned.

On resuming proceedings upon the ninth day, Captain Forrest's examination was continued, and the court was occupied in recording an account of the incidents of the 11th of May, up to the hour when the magazine was exploded.

Mukhun Lall, a chobdar, who formerly attended upon the late Captain Douglas, was then called, having been named by Jutmull as one of those who were present when Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, Mr. Jennings, Miss Jennings, and Miss Clifford, were murdered.

The witnesses, Mukhun Lall and Jutmull, were both cross-examined by the prisoner's vakeel, but to no purpose. The evidence recorded was confirmatory of the worst features of these horrible scenes, and implicated the palace people most completely. The court adjourned at 4 P.M.

The tenth day's proceedings commenced at 11 A.M. on Monday, the 8th of February. Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, C.S., was sworn by the government prosecutor, and gave important evidence relative to the state of feeling amongst the natives before the outbreak of the 11th of May. In reply to a question by the prosecutor, he also stated his opinion regarding the object of circulating the chupatties, about which so many and various opinions had been recorded. Sir Thomas further stated, that the proclamation purporting to be from the king of Persia, which was found posted on the walls of the Jumma Musjid a short time before the outbreak at Delhi, could not have been exposed to the public for more than three hours, as, early in the morning succeeding the night it was placed there, he heard that a crowd of natives had gathered round the spot; and, finding such to be the case, he sent his people to remove the paper. He further mentioned the rumour, said to be current, to the effect, that the Cashmere gate of the city would shortly be attacked and taken from the British; which was conveyed to the magistrates' court about six weeks before the outbreak, by an anonymous writer. The witness declared his opinion, that the chupatties so extensively circulated first emanated from Lucknow, and that they were distributed for the purpose of congregating together, when necessary, persons of one class, who partook of one description of food. He does not think they were circulated throughout India, but only in government villages; a significant fact, when taken into account with what followed their circulation. In Boolundshuhur, the witness continued, the inhabitants gave as a reason for circulating them, that they thought it was by order of government, and consequently they passed them on. The witness was of opinion that the war with Persia created great excitement in Delhi,

and was the subject of much conversation during the time it lasted; and he concluded by stating some facts confided to him by John Everet, a Christian rissaldar of the 14th irregular cavalry, from which it appeared, that the attempt to overthrow the British government was known to be in contemplation before the outrage commenced.

At the conclusion of Sir T. Metcalfe's evidence, the prisoner was asked if he would like to put any questions. He replied in the negative, but wished to know if the Persians and Russians were the same people!

The court adjourned about 1 P.M., to allow time for the "wise man," Hussun Uskeeree, who had been sent for, to appear. On the court reassembling after an absence of about half-an-hour, the soothsayer appeared in court. He did not strike the beholder as a very fascinating sort of fellow; and it was, therefore, probably the effect of enchantment that led the king's daughter to become his "disciple."

Hussun Uskeeree having been sworn and examined, denied all that had been said of the wonderful powers attributed to him. He said that, whatever others might be pleased to think of him, it was merely a matter of opinion, and that he was not at all answerable for it. That he was an humble individual, content to live in peace without troubling himself about dreams, whether of kings or peasants. He denied that he ever had a dream of a great form from the west; in fact, he denied everything.

The prisoner was then referred to, and, notwithstanding his recorded statement of his firm belief in the powers attributed to the witness, he denied all knowledge of him or his powers. He was reminded of his statement made but a few days previous; but all to no purpose: he completely ignored him; and Hussun Uskeeree was returned to his place of confinement, much to the disgust of those who expected some interesting revelations from him.

The next witness called was Bukhtawur, a peon in the service of the late Captain Douglas. His evidence chiefly related to the occurrences of the 11th of May, from the first appearance of the mutinous troopers to the murder of Mr. Fraser, C.S., Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, C.S., Mr. Jennings, and the ill-fated ladies of his family. It appeared—and all the evidence on this point tended to confirm the sad tale—that Captain Douglas, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Nixon, were near the Calcutta gate, leading to the bridge of boats, when four or five of the mutineers came up, and that the troopers all fired upon the party, but that only Mr. Nixon was killed and Mr. Hutchinson wounded. The Europeans jumped down from the road into the dry ditch surrounding the palace, Captain Douglas being much hurt in his descent: they ran along the ditch, and gained the gates of the palace, which they entered and closed. Mr. Fraser came soon after, and was admitted; and, at one period of the attack, he appears to have seized a musket from one of the sepoys at the gate, and shot one of the troopers, upon which the others galloped off; but being reinforced by numbers, they soon became bolder. At the suggestion of Mr. Jennings, Captain Douglas was taken up to his own apartments above the gateway; and soon after this, a party of people from the palace came rushing forward, shouting, "Deen! Deen!" (the Faith! the Faith!) and a crowd gathering, they, headed by the native officer of the guard at the palace (a company of the 88th light infantry), surrounded and murdered, in the most brutal manner, the whole party. One mob went up one way to the hiding-place of the victims; another proceeded in a different direction; so that none escaped. Meantime the work of destruction was going on outside, other troopers having arrived; and it became necessary for every one to look to his own safety: the witnesses (Hindoos) consequently left, and were unable to relate anything further. Another witness was called, named Kishen, his statement being much the same as that of the prisoner's witness, Bukhtawur. The evidence, so far as it had gone, was conclusive on one point—viz., that the inmates of the palace assisted at the murder of Messrs. Fraser, Jennings, Hutchinson, Captain Douglas, and the ladies; and, while several witnesses affirmed that the prisoner tried to persuade Captain Douglas from his intention of going among the mutineers, not one attempted to show that he exerted his influence to check the disturbance at its commencement, or to save the Europeans at his gate.

On the eleventh day, the court resumed, and was occupied the whole day with the examination of a person named Chunee, formerly editor of a native paper, entitled the *Delhi News*. The witness gave some important evidence, and confirmed the

statements of Jutmull and Bukhtawur, regarding the manner in which Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas met their death; adding, that Mr. Fraser attempted to make a stand near the Grape garden (Ungoorie Bagh) with his personal sowars (supplied by the Jhujjur nawab) and a few of the police who were collected near. As soon, however, as the mutinous troopers fired upon Mr. Fraser and his friends, the Jhujjur sowars and police decamped, having, according to the witness's idea, been scattered by the cry, "Deen, Deen!" raised by the mutineers on their approach. He then stated, in reply to questions by the government prosecutor, that the Mohammedans of the city were in the habit of boasting that the Persians, aided by the Russians, were coming to drive the English out of the country; and gave it as his firm belief, that the Mohammedans were very much excited about the Persian war. The chupatties which were circulated, were, he said, for the purpose of bringing together a large body of men for some business to be explained to them hereafter; and he said they originated at or near Kurnaul—precisely the opposite direction from which Sir T. Metcalfe traced their origin. The witness, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said, that about five or six days after the city had been in possession of the mutineers, he heard that there was a great disturbance in the palace; and, on going to see the cause, found a number of sepoys and some of the prisoner's armed servants killing Europeans—men, women, and children. There was a great crowd collected, and he could not see distinctly through it; but after the slaughter was completed, he enquired of the sweepers, who were removing the bodies, and heard that, in all, fifty-two persons had been killed; of these only five or six were males, the rest females and children. The bodies were removed in carts, and thrown into the river: when he saw them lying dead, they were in a circle. A number of Mohammedans were on the top of Mirza Mogul's house, spectators of the scene; and the witness heard that Mirza Mogul himself was one of those looking on. These unfortunate people were confined, previous to their massacre, from the 11th to the 16th of May, in a sort of receptacle for rubbish, in which it would have been deemed an insult to confine a person with any pretensions to respectability. There were many better and more suitable buildings, but they were not allotted to the Europeans.

The court resumed its sitting on the twelfth day. There was some delay in obtaining the witness; but, about half-past eleven, "Chunee" came into court, and his examination was continued: it was not, however, of much importance, and he was permitted to retire, one —— Ram, a pedlar, taking his place. Having been sworn and examined, the witness deposed that he was in Delhi on the 11th of May last, but left three or four days after the outbreak. He confirmed all that the previous witness had stated; adding, that the prisoner was proclaimed king by beat of drum, and that a royal salute was fired before the palace at midnight of the 11th of May. He said that when the prisoner went out, a royal salute was fired, and the same on his return; but as this was customary on all occasions of the ex-king going out in procession, it is not of much importance either way. A witness named Gholam was then sworn and examined, and gave some particulars of the massacre of the Europeans inside the palace, of which he was an eye-witness. He said that it was known, two days prior to the fearful deed, that the European prisoners were to be slaughtered on that particular day; and a great crowd had, in consequence, collected. They, the prisoners, were all ranged in a line, on the edge of a tank or watercourse, and, at a given signal (unseen by the witness), the mutineers and palace servants, by whom they were completely surrounded, rushed in and hacked them to pieces with swords. Shots were fired at them at the commencement (according to another witness); but one of the bullets happening to strike a sepoy, the sword was resorted to, and the fatal work was soon completed. The confusion was too great for the witness to frame an accurate idea of the number murdered; but it was large, and the majority of them were women and children. Their murderers must have numbered 150 to 200. When the massacre was over, the spectators were turned out of the palace, and the bodies carried away. No one attempted to interfere to prevent this frightful slaughter; no messenger from the king came to stop it; and the witness said he heard nothing which could lead him to believe that the deed was not gloried in by the Mohammedans. He then, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said he was present at the murder of the Beresford family. Mr. Beresford was, it seems, badly wounded at the onset, one arm being broken by a shot; but, armed with a sword, and his brave

wife with a spear, they contrived to keep the ruffians at bay for some time, Mrs. Beresford killing one and wounding another. They were at length overpowered, and the whole party murdered. With them were, it was supposed, the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, and another missionary, who had gone to the Bank for safety. The house where they were all slaughtered still bore marks of the struggle.

The prisoner's hakeem, Ehsain-oolla Khan, was then called in, and examined on oath. His evidence always broke down when verging to a certain point—namely, criminating the prisoner. He denied that he was in the prisoner's confidence, and said, that many important matters connected with the household were never mentioned to him, instancing, among other things, the prisoner's repudiation of his wife Taj Mahal, after having been regularly married to her. He admitted that the king's armed "servants" numbered about twelve hundred men; and, in reply to a question by the prosecutor, said that they had not been dismissed in consequence of the part taken by them in the death of Mr. Fraser, Captain Douglas, and the other Europeans murdered in the palace. Notwithstanding a severe cross-examination, it was plain to be seen that, beyond mere generalities, nothing could be gained from the witness; and the court adjourned.

The prisoner was more lively than usual on this day; he declared his innocence of everything several times; and amused himself by twisting and untwisting a scarf round his head, and occasionally asking for a stimulant.

On the thirteenth day (Feb. 11th), the prisoner's hakeem was again examined; but his evidence was not of much moment, inasmuch as, notwithstanding the severe cross-examination to which he was subjected, his leaning to the prisoner was strikingly apparent. At the conclusion of the witness's evidence, Mrs. Aldwell was called, sworn, and examined by the judge-advocate. Her evidence consisted mainly of a narrative of hairbreadth escapes in Delhi, extending over a period of near five months' residence in the city—viz., from the day of the mutiny until the reoccupation of the city by the British troops. The main points were as follows:—The witness resided at Duryagunge; and on the arrival of the mutineers, the house where she lived was defended for some time by a few Europeans there assembled; who, failing at last in defending themselves, were captured; the witness, and some children only, escaping in the disguise of Mohammedans to the house of Mirza Abdoolah, a shahzadah, with whom she was previously acquainted. They were well received by the females of the shahzadah's family, and promised protection; but during the night of the 11th of May, they were sent to the house of the Mirza's mother-in-law, for greater security, and considered themselves safe. On Mrs. Aldwell, however, sending to the Mirza's house for some money and valuables left behind, Mirza Abdoolah sent word to say, that if any more messengers were sent to the house, the whole party should be murdered. They were subsequently brought before Mirza Mogul, and ordered for execution; but some sepoys took charge of them, and kept them in confinement. A tailor in Mrs. Aldwell's employ appears to have befriended the family throughout; and, through his influence with a sowar, she and her children appear to have been preserved. Herself and children were taught the kulmah; and, notwithstanding strong suspicions of their being Christians, they were all wonderfully preserved until the 9th of September, just before the assault, and proceeded in a bylee to Meerut. The witness gave some evidence upon interesting points connected with her sojourn in the city; among other things stating, that when in confinement, together with some twenty or thirty other women and children, the sepoys were in the habit of paying them visits; telling them they should all be cut into little pieces to feed the kites and crows! When their fellow-prisoners were sent for to be slaughtered, the order was given to "bring out the Christians," and leave the Mohammedans (meaning Mrs. Aldwell and her children) to be dealt with afterwards. The witness described this scene as heartrending: the unfortunate creatures declared that they were about to be murdered; but the Mohammedan mutineers swore on the Koran, and the Hindoos on the Gunga, that no harm should happen to them. They were then "massed together," and a rope passed round them (after the fashion at present in vogue when conducting rebels to their prison), and thus they were marched off to the place of execution. The witness said, in reply to a question put by the judge-advocate, that there were no disturbances between the Hindoos and Mohammedans during the siege;

that the latter gave in to the former on every occasion; and that not even at the Buckra Eed festival was an ox slaughtered. In reply to a question by the court, the witness said, that the prisoners were, during their confinement, subjected to indignity and insult from the mutineers and rabble of Delhi.

There was a larger number of listeners than usual in court on this day; and the prisoner appeared the least interested person present.

On the fourteenth day (Feb. 12th), Mr. C. B. Saunders, C.S., commissioner of Delhi, having been duly sworn, gave some interesting particulars regarding the circumstances under which the prisoner, Bahadoor Shah, became a pensioner of the British government; stating the amount of pension, &c., allowed, and other facts connected with the ex-king's former position.

Major Paterson, of the (late) 54th native infantry, was then called in, and examined. The evidence of this witness was merely a repetition of facts, already well known, concerning the outbreak on the 11th of May last. Major Paterson deposed to the murder of his brother officers of the 54th native infantry, and his own escape to Kurnaul, when he found that he had no control over the men of his regiment.

The prisoner's secretary, Mukhun Lall, was called in, sworn, and examined. He was admonished by the judge-advocate for displaying a want of respect to the court, in first neglecting to make his obeisance on entering, and then took his place in the usual position for witnesses. He is a short and rather stout Hindoo. On recovering his equanimity, he assumed a very humble attitude, and stood with clasped hands while his statement was read and translated to the court, the president inquiring, at every dozen words or so, whether he adhered to it on oath; to which he generally replied in the affirmative.

The statement was to the effect, that for at least two years before the outbreak the prisoner had been disaffected towards the British government. This he ascribed partly to the discontinuance of the pomp and ceremony to which the inmates of the palace had been accustomed, and partly to the disinclination, on the part of government, to appoint whoever the prisoner pleased as heir-apparent to the throne. The latter circumstance was known to have caused great dissatisfaction and disquiet in the palace. The arrival of some of the royal family (relations of the prisoner) from Lucknow, about this time, the witness believed to be connected with the prisoner's messengers to Persia; for which purpose the late prime minister, Maibhoob Ali, disbursed funds to a certain Abyssinian, named Seedee Kumber, who was entrusted with the mission. For some time previous to the outbreak at Delhi and Meerut, the disaffection of the native army had been the common subject of conversation in the prisoner's private apartments; and even outside, those connected with the palace talked openly of the circumstance. It was also generally believed that the native officers, who went from Delhi to Meerut to form part of the court-martial upon the mutineers of the 3rd cavalry, arranged the whole business of the outbreak; and the witness strengthened this belief by stating that the guards of the palace, changed weekly, from the three regiments cantoned at Delhi, had become adherents of the prisoner. On the arrival of the mutineers at the palace, they came under the windows of the prisoner's private apartments, declaring loudly that all the Europeans at Meerut had been murdered, and that if the prisoner would protect them (the sepoys), and become their king, they would soon make an end of all the Europeans at Delhi. The prisoner is stated to have asked if they would be faithful, and whether they were prepared to encounter the consequences; and on their reply in the affirmative, sweetmeats were distributed to the men, and presents of money, in addition, to the native officers. The prisoner's own armed retainers then went and slew Mr. Fraser and Captain Douglas, the troopers and sepoys killing all Europeans, wherever they could be found, in the city. On their return to the palace the prisoner was proclaimed king; a royal salute was fired; and the next day (the 12th of May), the silver throne, which had been laid by since 1843, was brought out, and placed in the hall of special audience, the prisoner taking his seat upon it as king of Delhi! With regard to the massacre of European prisoners, the witness said, that when the mutineers became clamorous for the slaughter, Mirza Mogul and another villain went to obtain the consent of the prisoner. He was in his private apartments, and they were admitted to an audience, the mutineers remaining outside. After the lapse of about twenty minutes they returned, declaring,

with a loud voice, that the prisoner had given his consent, and the slaughter accordingly commenced. The ex-king, at this stage of the proceedings, looked up at the court, and putting his forefinger into his mouth, made an Asiatic sign, which is interpreted as "plucking his tongue out" if he gave any such consent! The prisoner appeared perfectly indifferent to the presence of his private secretary, and to what he said; and, except on the occasion above noticed, made no remark or sign whatever.

The prisoner was brought into court as usual, on the fifteenth day, and took his position upon the charpoy assigned to him. With the exception of another shawl twisted round his head, his appearance was unaltered. Mukhun Lall was called into court, and his examination continued. He stated, in reply to a question put by the judge-advocate, that the late prime minister, Maibhoob Ali Khan, was the only person he knew of in the prisoner's entire confidence, and that he himself was never admitted to the royal secrets. That at the private conferences, Maibhoob Ali, Hussun Uskeeree, the begum (Zeenat Mahal), and two of the prisoner's daughters, were generally present, and that by their counsel he was generally guided. He said that after the mutineers from Meerut, together with those cantoned at Delhi, had taken possession of the city, he did not remember any attempt being made to induce other regiments at distant stations to join them. And, in reply to a question by the judge-advocate, stated, that two days after the British troops had entered the city, or on the 16th of September, the prisoner went out with the mutineers as far as Khan Ali Khan's house (about 300 or 400 yards from the palace gates) in an open litter, for the purpose of encouraging them in driving the English out again; but that he very soon halted, and his brave army dispersed; or, in other words, came back faster than they went. The court and the prisoner's counsel declining to ask any questions, the witness was allowed to withdraw.

Captain Tytler (late 38th light infantry) was then called into court, and examined. After deposing to the fact of the arrival in cantonments of a dawk carriage, full of natives, the night previous to the mutiny, and to the occurrences on the morning of the 11th of May, Captain Tytler was questioned by the judge-advocate as to whether he had, prior to the mutiny, remarked anything which induced him to believe that his regiment was unfaithful. He replied in the negative, but said that he had since heard certain rumours, from which he inferred that there must have been some secret meetings among the men in cantonments; and a servant, a bearer of his, on taking leave to go to his home, a short time before the outbreak, remarked that he would return to the service if Captain Tytler's choola* still burnt bright! The prisoner was asked by the interpreter, what was the meaning of the above remark by the bearer? and he laughingly replied, that it meant nothing in particular; that the man who made it must have been some hungry fellow, who was always thinking of eating.

Sergeant Fleming, late Bazaar sergeant of Delhi, was then called into court, and, in reply to the judge-advocate (government prosecutor), said that he was Bazaar sergeant at the time of the outbreak. His son, a youth about nineteen years of age, was employed as a writer in the commissioner's office, and had been in the habit, for five or six years, of exercising the horses belonging to the prisoner's son, Jewan Bukht; for which service he received a monthly stipend. That some time in the latter end of April, his son went one morning to the house of Maibhoob Ali Khan, the prime minister, and there met Jewan Bukht; the latter commenced abusing him, declaring that the sight of a Kaffir Feringhee disturbed his serenity—spat in the youth's face, and desired him to leave. Young Fleming obeyed the order, and reported the conduct of Jewan Bukht to the late Mr. Fraser, who told him he was a fool, and should not notice such nonsense! On another occasion, early in May last, the witness's son went to Maibhoob's house to receive his pay; there he again met Jewan Bukht, who abused him in worse language than on the former occasion, and concluded by declaring that he would have his, young Fleming's, head off before many days passed over. "And," added the poor father, "he kept his word, for my son was killed on the 11th of May!"

The witness being allowed to withdraw, the judge-advocate informed the court that it would be necessary to adjourn for a few days, to allow papers to be translated, from which he expected important disclosures. The court was therefore adjourned *sine die*.

* Hearth still burning; meaning literally, "If you and your house continue in existence."

On the sixteenth day the court resumed its sittings at 11 A.M. of the 23rd of February. The prisoner came, as usual, in a palanquin, under a guard of H.M.'s 61st regiment. On alighting from his conveyance at the Dewan Khass, he declined the offer of support from his attendants, and walked to the couch assigned to him, evidently in better health than he was on his last appearance.

There was about an hour's delay, owing to the absence of one of the members of the court; and it was twelve o'clock when the first witness, Captain Martineau, of the commissariat, was called into court. This gentleman was instructor at the Umballah school of musketry; and having left on the conclusion of the practice, was travelling down the Grand Trunk road, when he met Brigadier Graves' party of fugitives from Delhi, and turned back with them towards Kurnaul, after having assisted some ladies who preceded them. In reply to a question by the judge-advocate-general, Captain Martineau stated, that he had heard the "chupatty question" discussed by the sepoys at the musketry depôt; that it was their belief (affected or real) that the cakes were circulated by government; and that the distribution implied, that those who took them were to be of the same faith and purpose. He had heard the sepoys speak openly of the greased cartridges, and frequently heard them declare that something would happen in connection with them; and the very day the first Enfield cartridge was fired, the first incendiary fire in Umballah occurred. The authorities offered a reward for the discovery of the incendiaries, but without effect; a fact also mentioned by the sepoys to witness. A report was made to government on the subject. The witness further stated, that while at Kurnaul as commissariat officer, some of the troopers of the 3rd cavalry, who came with despatches from Meerut, told him that the government had interfered with their rights and prejudices to such an extent, that they had nothing but their religion left, and that, too, was in danger of being interfered with. In short, that there was a wide-spread disaffection in the native army. The witness, in reply to the court, said that the cartridges served out at Umballah were not greased, but that the men used a composition of ghee and bees-wax for the purpose, the ingredients being purchased and supplied by him.

An original diary of events and occurrences at Delhi, from the commencement of the outbreak, was then read to the prisoner by the interpreter. This occupied the court till 2 P.M., when it adjourned.

Upon reassembling at a quarter past 2 P.M., Mrs. Fleming, wife of the late Bazaar sergeant of Delhi, was called in and examined. The witness stated, that about the middle of April she was at the Begum Zeenat Mahal's apartments, with a daughter, Mrs. Scully. That the prisoner's son, Jewan Bukht, was present, and was talking to her daughter. The latter turned round, and said, "Do you hear what this *haramzadah* is saying?" and on her replying in the negative, her daughter told her that he said all the *Kaffirs* (Europeans) would soon be murdered. She said, in that case, his (Jewan Bukht's) head would first come off; and asked what he meant. He replied that the Persians were coming to kill all the Europeans; but that if she and her family came to him, he would protect them. He said this laughingly, and went away. The witness was cross-examined by the judge-advocate upon the above points, but was positive that such was her daughter's statement. The prisoner appeared slightly affected when the above was translated to him by the interpreter, and muttered something unintelligible, gesticulating all the time he was speaking.

A translation of the before-mentioned diary was then read to the court by the judge-advocate, commencing thus:—

"*May* 11*th*, 1857.—At night, Mr. S. Fraser, the commissioner, received a letter from Meerut, containing the news of the rebellion there; but no precautionary measures were taken at that time. In the morning, information was brought in that the 3rd light cavalry and two regiments of native infantry, at Meerut, had mutinied on account of the introduction of new cartridges; and that after having a fight with the European troops there, were on their way to Delhi. Mr. Fraser immediately ordered the vakeel of the nawab of Jhujjur to send for his master, the nawab, as soon as possible; and Sir T. Metcalfe instantly came into the city, ordered the khotwal to close all the gates of the town, and to post the burkandazes of the Khotwallee over them for protection. The khotwal executed these orders without delay. Mr. Fraser, with his orderly sowars, also

came into the city, and was given to understand that some sowars were on the bridge, and had murdered the sergeant at that place, and set his bungalow on fire.

"The rebel sowars, after murdering the sergeant at the bridge, came below the lattice of the palace, and represented to his majesty that they had come to fight for the sake of 'Deen,' and that they required the gate to be opened for their entrance. The king sent information of this to the officer commanding the palace guard, who instantly went to the spot, and said to the sowars that they were scoundrels, and ordered them to go away. In reply, the sowars uttered their revenge on him.

"Mr. Fraser, on hearing of the massacre of the sergeant at the bridge, went to the Cashmere gate, and told the sepoys on the main-guard that some troops, who had acted disloyally at Meerut, had arrived; and that as they (the sepoys) were old servants of the government, he required their assistance to put down the mutineers. The sepoys replied, that they would have no objection to go against a foreign enemy; but, in the present instance, they would not act. At this time, Jewala Sing, jemadar of the commissioner, informed Mr. Fraser that all the Mussulmans of the city were inclined to rebellion, and requested him to go out of the city immediately; but he replied that he would never do so. The shops of the city were all closed. The Rev. Mr. Jennings, and another European, went on the palace guard tower, to inspect the mutineers by the help of a telescope.

"The officer commanding the palace guard, after speaking to the mutineers under the lattice of the palace, went in a buggy to Mr. Fraser, who was at the Calcutta gate—took a letter out of his pocket, and handed it over to him for perusal. The orderly sowars of the commissioner were ordered to be very cautious.

"The Mussulmans of the Khanumka Bazaar went to the Rajghat gate, made some conditions with the rebel sowars, and opened the gate for them. The sowars having thus found their entrance into the city, commenced murdering the Europeans; and after they had murdered some of them at Duryagunge, and burnt their houses, they came to the hospital, and killed the sub-assistant surgeon, Chummun Lall. The Mussulmans of the city informed them that the Commissioner Sahib was on the Calcutta gate. They accordingly galloped there, and fired a number of pistols and muskets at him, but without effect: however, two other European gentlemen were shot on this occasion. The orderly sowars of the commissioner, who were all Mussulmans, made no attempt to oppose the mutineers; but the commissioner himself, taking the musket of a sowar, wounded one of them, and instantly getting in his buggy along with the officer commanding the palace guard, fled towards the palace gate: the latter reached his residence at the top of the palace guard, but Mr. Fraser was attacked and killed on the stairs. The mutinous sowars, after that, went to the residence of the killadar—massacred him, the Rev. Mr. Jennings and daughter, and another European. The Mussulmans of the city plundered all the property found in the houses of the officer commanding the palace guard, and other European residents in the city.

"Sir T. Metcalfe left the city by the Ajmere gate on horseback, with a drawn sword in his hand: some rebel sowars pursued him as far as Bazaar Chaoree, but were unable to catch him. The moochees, saddlers, and shoemakers at the Ajmere gate also took their cudgels, and wished to catch and kill him, but were not successful.

"The three regiments of native infantry, stationed at Delhi, joined the mutineers; and after killing a few of their European officers, entered the city, and murdered all the Christians—men, women, and children—they could find in the houses and bungalows at Duryagunge, Cashmere gate, and Colonel Skinner's kothee.

"The Mussulmans of the city, and even some of the Hindoos, joined the mutineers, and destroyed all the Thadnas and the Khotwallee. They then attacked the Bank, and tried to murder the two gentlemen, three ladies, and two children, who were sitting there; but as the Europeans had their pistols loaded, the mutineers did not venture to come near them. A Mussulman got on a tree, but was shot by them. The mutineers then set the Bank house on fire; and the Europeans, having no means of escape, were overpowered and killed by the rebel sowars and Mussulmans with cudgels.

"The Mussulmans followed the mutineers everywhere with shouts of '*hyderee!*' (usually exclaimed on a victory). All the money in the government treasury was shared by the sepoys of the three regiments of native infantry stationed at Delhi. The Magistrate's,

Commissioner's, Judge's, and all other public offices were plundered and set on fire; and all the bungalows in the cantonment were also burnt at night. The whole of the troops from Meerut and Delhi went into the palace and stood before the king, requesting him to take them under his protection, and saying that they would make him the master of the whole country. The king said he desired, with all his soul and heart, to patronise and support them, and ordered them to stop at Selimghur.

"The mutineers got information that some Europeans—men, women, and children—were in the magazine. They instantly brought two guns from Duryagunge, and filling them with pieces of stone, fired on the magazine. The Europeans inside blew up the magazine (by which several houses around it were thrown down, and several hundreds of the inhabitants killed and wounded), and fled towards the river; but the rebel sowars pursued and massacred them. They also brought alive, before the king, three sergeants and two ladies, who implored his majesty to keep them with him, otherwise the sepoys would kill them: they were accordingly ordered to stop in the mosque.

"In the evening, Rajah Nahur Sing, of Bullubgurh, accompanied by his wife and brothers-in-law, went to Bullubgurh; he also took along with him, secretly, Mr. Munro, his steward (afterwards killed by the mutinous sowars).

"The mutineers attacked the house of Salug Ram, treasurer; but being unable to break the door, they went away. About midnight they returned, broke open the door, and plundered the house.

"A sergeant went away from the cantonment with two guns; but the mutineers pursued him, and brought back the guns. At night, twenty-one guns were fired below the lattice of the palace. The inhabitants were greatly terrified; and all the houses of the Europeans, in the city as well as in the cantonment, were seen in flames all night. Many shops were broken open by the sepoys, and plundered by the Mussulmans.

"*12th May*, 1857.—His majesty attended the Hall of Audience, and the chiefs paid their respects. The subahdars of the five rebel regiments presented themselves, and applied to the king to appoint a man who would provide them with supplies. Hursaha Mull and Dilvalee Mull, stewards of the king, were accordingly ordered to provide them daily with 500 rupees' worth of dal, ata, gram, &c.

"The rebel sowars got information that Mohumed Ibrahem, son of the late Wallee Mohumed, merchant, had concealed four Europeans in his house, and they instantly went there; murdered the four gentlemen, and plundered the house of the said Mohumed Ibrahem.

"A European woman, who had disguised herself in a native dress, was recognised and murdered by the sowars of the 3rd light cavalry, at the tank near the palace. The shops of all the confectioners, druggists, braziers, and bunyas, were broken open and plundered by the mutineers.

"The king, after prayers, appointed Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, late thanadar of Pahurgunge, to the office of khotwal of the city—placed under his orders a regiment of the rebel sepoys, and directed him to make the Khotwallee his place of residence, and stop the plunder. The said khotwal, finding himself unable to stop the plunder, attended on the king, and represented the case to him; on which his majesty sent for all the subahdars of the rebel troops, and ordered them to place for service one regiment of infantry at the Delhi gate and at the lattice of the palace, and one company at each of the Ajmere, Lahore, Cashmere, and Furash Khana gates. The king further said to them, that he did not wish to see the inhabitants plundered, and therefore ordered them to station one company of sepoys at Durreebah, for the protection of shops there. The mutineers attacked the Nugur Sayth ka Koocha, with the intention of plundering it; but the inhabitants so pelted them, that they were obliged to flee.

"Some Christian clerks had concealed themselves, with their wives, in the house of the rajah Kullyan Sing, of Kishenghur; but the rebel sowars hearing it, went there, and fired their pistols and muskets at them. Finding that the clerks were also armed with muskets and pistols, they obtained two guns, and again attacked the house; but the clerks by this time had concealed themselves in a tyekhana, so the rebels could not find them.

"His majesty ordered Mirza Mogul Beg to take a company of infantry and stop the plunder; accordingly he went to the Khotwallee on an elephant, and had it notified by

tom-tom in the city, that should any sepoy be caught plundering any inhabitant, his nose and ears should be cut off; and that if any shopkeeper would not open his shop, or declined to provide the sepoys with food, he would be imprisoned and fined. Taj Mahal Begum, who was in confinement, was released. Two Europeans, disguised in native dress, were arrested and killed by the rebel sowars near the Khotwallee.

"The king, attended by two regiments of infantry and a few guns, went out on an elrphant, with Mirza Jewan Bukht behind him, into the city, for the purpose of having the bazaar opened. He went as far as Chandnee Chouk, and requested the shopkeepers to open their shops and provide the troops with supplies. Hasun Alee Khan was introduced by Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan. He presented a gold mohur as nuzzur to the king, who ordered him to wait, as he had to consult with him.

"A shawl, for the office of khotwal of the city, was conferred on Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, who returned thanks with a nuzzur of four rupees.

"13*th May*, 1857.—Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and other chiefs attended the durbar, and paid their respects. Nazir Hasun Mirza was ordered to bring Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan; accordingly he went out for that purpose. On his return, he informed the king that the Mirza was indisposed, and therefore could not present himself in the durbar. Ordered that Khotwal Moeen-ood-deen Khan be informed, that the troops were unable to get supplies, therefore he must provide for them. Hasun Alee Khan, attending the king, told him that the troops were already assembled in the palace, and he wanted his advice on the subject. The said Khan remarked that the troops were bloody ones; they had murdered their own officers, and it was not prudent to repose any confidence in them. Shah Nizam-ood-deen, the son of the king's spiritual guide, and Boodhun Sahib, son of the late Nawab Mohumed Meer Khan, were taken into the council. Mirza Mogul Beg, Mirza Khedur Sooltan, and Mirza Abdoolah, were made colonels of the regiments of infantry, and ordered to take with each of them two guns, and adopt measures to protect the Cashmere, Lahore, and Delhi gates. Shah Nizam-ood-deen represented, that some Toork sowars having arrested Nawab Hamud Alee Khan, upon an accusation of his concealing some Englishmen in his house, had brought him on foot to the jewel office, before Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, and that the said nawab declared he had no Europeans in his house. The king requested him (Shah Nizam-ood-deen) to go with the sowars and sepoys, and let them search the house of the nawab. Accordingly, he and Mirza Aboo Bekr went out for that purpose; but finding no Europeans in the house, they obliged the troops to give back the property they had plundered him of, and set him at liberty. Mirza Aboo Bekr was made colonel in the light cavalry.

"Information was received by the sowars, that twenty-nine Europeans—men, women, and children—were concealed in the house of Rajah Kullyan Sing, of Kishenghur. Accordingly they went there; and having caught the Christians, shot them all by a volley of their muskets. After that they went to the house of the late Colonel Skinner; and having arrested the son of the late Mr. Joseph Skinner, brought him before the Khotwallee, and murdered him there. They also, at the instigation of some person, plundered the houses of Narain Dass (banker) and Ramsurn Dass (deputy-collector), under the pretence of their concealing some Europeans in their houses. Kazee Nubboo and his son were killed by the rebel sepoys and sowars. Two Europeans, disguised in native dress, were massacred by the mutineers near the Budur Row gate. The king gave 400 rupees to each of the regiments, for their support. It was notified in the city by Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, that all persons wishing to serve his majesty should present themselves with their arms; and that if any person should be found to have concealed in his house any Europeans, he would be punished as guilty. Nawab Hamud Alee Khan and Walleedad Khan, of Malaghur, attended the durbar, and made their obeisance. His majesty ordered them to present themselves daily in the durbar. The head bunyas were sent for, and ordered to settle the rate of corn, and have the granaries opened, that it might be sold for the sepoys. Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, having engaged 200 burkandazes, stationed them at Cureeba and Chandnee Chouk, for the protection of those places. Two watermen were arrested at Lâll Kooa for robbing. Kahey Khan, Surfuraz Khan, and many other vagabonds of the city, were also apprehended. Several men were arrested for plundering Subzee Mundee and Taleewarah.

"14*th May*, 1857.—Nazir Hasun Mirza, Captain Deldar Alee Khan, and Hasun Alee Khan, attended the durbar, and paid their respects. Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan, Mirza Zea-ood-deen (government jagheerdars of Loharoo), and Moulvie Sudr-ood-deen Alee Khan, principal sudder ameen, also, according to orders, presented themselves. The latter presented a gold mohur in nuzzur, and the king directed him to take the charge of the civil and criminal courts, but he declined to do so. Salugram, treasurer, according to direction, attended the durbar, and presented a gold mohur. His majesty said to him that there must be some lacs of rupees in the government treasury. He replied that he did not know. The king ordered him to send one of his agents to the treasury, and he promised obedience to the order. Rujub Alee Khan presented, through Hasun Alee Khan, a gold mohur. His majesty asked about him, and was informed by Hasun Alee Khan that he was the son of the late Nawab Fyze Mohumed Khan, and also his own nephew. Mohumed Alee Khan, son of Shere Jung Khan, also presented a gold mohur. The king inquired who he was; and, in reply, was told that he was the nephew of Bahadoor Jung Khan, dadreewallah. The agent of Rawul Sheo Sing, of Sawant, Jeypoor minister, attended, and represented to the king, that on account of indisposition, his master was unable to present himself before the king; and that he (the Rawul Sahib) had resolved to go to Jeypoor. Accordingly, a letter for Maharajah Ram Sing, of Jeypoor, directing him to present himself and his troops without delay, was drawn up, and handed over to the said agent of Rawul Sahib. Several shookkas, for Nawab Abdool Rehman Khan, of Jujjus; Bahadoor Jung Khan, of Dadree; Akbur Alee Khan, of Patoodee; Rajah Nahur Sing, of Bullubgurh; Hasun Alee Khan, of Doojana; and Nawab Ahmud Alee Khan, of Furrucknuggur, directing them to present themselves before his majesty without delay, were drawn up and issued. Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan, and Mirza Zea-ood-deen Khan, were ordered to take charge of the district of Jhurka Ferozepoor. Information was received that the Goojurs of Chandrawul had plundered at night all the shops of the inhabitants of Subzee Mundee and Taleewarah, as well as at the cantonments of Rajpoora and Mundursa. Mirza Aboo Bekr was accordingly ordered to look after the said Goojurs. He immediately attended with a regiment of cavalry, went to their village, and plundered and burnt it. Bahadoor Sing, darogah to the ex-king of Lucknow at Delhi, attended, and presented a gold mohur to the king. A European soldier, who was on his way from Umballah to Delhi to get some news, was caught and brought before his majesty, who ordered him to be sent into the armour room. A lady was also arrested and brought before the king. He sent her, too, into the armour room. His majesty was highly exasperated against the sepoys and his own chobdars, for standing before him with shoes on their feet. Mirza Moeen-ood-deen Hasun Khan, khotwal, was ordered to go with a volunteer regiment to the cantonment, and punish the plunderers of that place, and of Subzee Mundee and Dheerujkee Paharee. Four persons came from Meerut, and announced that European troops were coming to destroy the rebels. The sepoys were displeased at this information, and confined the persons who gave it. The thanadar of Neegumbode was ordered to have the corpses of the late commissioner and palace guard officer interred in the burying-ground, and all the other dead bodies of the Europeans to be thrown into the river. This order was executed by the thanadar. The Goojurs plundered all the property in the late commissioner's house, and reduced to ashes the office of the agency and of the *Delhi Gazette* press.

"15*th May*, 1857.—Moulvie Abdool Kadur prepared a list for the distribution of the pay of the troops. His majesty conferred a shawl upon Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, for the office of a deputyship. The agent of Rawul Sosing (sawutwallah) attended, and presented, on the part of his master, a vessel of the spirit of kaveeah, and a bottle of attar. Ghoolamnubee Khan, darogah of Kaley Mohl, and Meer Akbur Alee, sowar, late orderly of Mr. Fraser, came and informed the king that fifty sowars, sent by the nawab of Jhujjur, had arrived, and that their master was unable to present himself in the presence of his majesty on account of disturbances and disorders in his district. Moulvie Ahmed Alee, agent to Rajah Nahur Sing, of Bullubgurh, attended the durbar, presented a rupee as nuzzur, and gave a petition on the part of the rajah, stating that, on account of plunder and devastation made by the Goojurs in his district, he was unable to present himself before his majesty; but, as soon as all was settled, he would do so. Orders

were sent to present himself soon. Information was received that the collector of Rohtuck had left his post; that the treasure of that place was being plundered; and that at Goorgaon it was already carried off. The king ordered one regiment of infantry and some sowars to be sent to Rohtuck to fetch the treasure. Abdool Hakeem was ordered to entertain 400 Khasburdars at five rupees a-month each, and a regiment of sowars at twenty rupees a-month. Accordingly, 200 men were employed. Abdool Kadur, chatawallah, showed some papers to his majesty, and said that he would be able to make all arrangements they referred to. A letter was issued to the rissaldar of the cavalry, stating that Mirza Aboo Bekr was discharged from the office of commandant of cavalry, and that therefore they (the cavalry men) should act according to the orders of the king. Kazee Fyzoolah presented a rupee in nuzzur, and applied for the office of the Khotwallee of the city, and was accordingly appointed to that situation. A goldsmith, who had killed another goldsmith, was arrested and brought before the king. The Mewattees of Jaysingpoorah having plundered 4,000 rupees in cash, and all the property in the house of a European of the railway company, the sepoys hearing of it, resolved to plunder and blow up Jaysingpoorah, and to apprehend all the Mewattees there; but Lalla Boodh Sing, vakeel of the rajah of Jaysingpoorah, applied for the protection of the inhabitants of that place; and the king ordered that no sepoy be allowed to go there without his majesty's permission.

"It being reported that the sepoys and sowars were in the habit of haunting the city with drawn swords, and that the shopkeepers were afraid to open their shops, the king sent orders to the gates of the palace not to allow any sepoy to go about in the city with a drawn sword. The rissaldar of the nawab of Jhujjur's troops was ordered to pitch his tent at the Mahtab Bagh. Information was received that fourteen boats, laden with wheat, &c., were in the ghaut of Ramjee Dass's, goorwallah. Orders were sent to Dilvalee Mull, to take away the wheat for the use of the troops. Two sepoys, who had plundered 2,000 rupees from the Delhi bank, and deposited the same with Ramjee Dass, goorwallah, to be paid back at Lucknow, quarrelled between themselves; and the fact of their depositing the money being known to other sepoys, a company of an infantry regiment went to the house of the said Ramjee Dass, and obliged him to deliver the money to them. A letter was addressed to the bankers of the city, requiring their presence in the durbar. Rebel sowars and sepoys attended on the king, and complained that they had not as yet been allowed their clothing expenses, and that it appeared to them, that Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan were in collusion with the British. After that they went to the house of Lall Khan, and accused Shah Nizamood-deen Peerzadah of concealing two European ladies in his house. Peerzadah required them to bring forward their informant; and they produced a man, who said he had only heard so. Peerzadah represented that he had not concealed any European ladies in his house; but if they wished to plunder and kill him on that pretence, they had the power to do so. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan took his oath on the holy Koran that he had no confederacy with the English. The mutineers plundered all the property in the house of Aga Mahomed Hasunjan Khan, the Cabool name of Mohun Lall.

"16*th May*, 1857.—Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan, Bukshee, Aga Sooltan, Captain Dildar Alee Khan, Rujub Alee Khan, and other chiefs, attended on the king, and made their obeisance. Rebel sepoys and sowars, with their officers, attended the durbar, and produced a letter, which they said they had intercepted at the Delhi gate. It had on it the seals of Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan. In this letter they said that the hakeem and nawab had requested the English to come immediately, take possession of the city, and nominate Mirza Jewan Bukht (son of the king by Zeenat Mahal Begum) as heir-apparent, and that they, the hakeem and nawab, would arrest and deliver to them all the mutineers in the city and palace. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan inspected the letter, denied their writing it, and asserted that it was a trick of some person, and that the seals were forged by means of 'sayt khurree' (a kind of stone); they took out their own seals, and threw them before the rebel troops; pointed out the difference between them and those on the letter; and took their oaths on the holy Koran, that the letter was not written by them; but still the mutineers did not believe them. A person came and reported that some Europeans were concealed in the drain of the canal: accordingly, Mirza Aboo Bekr, attended by

the rebel sowars and sepoys, went to the spot, and fired their pistols into it; but no European came out of it. After that the mutineers again beset Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan and Ahsunoollah Khan, with drawn swords, and said that there was no doubt that they were in collusion with the English, and that it was on this account that they had spared the European captives, with the intention of restoring them to the British as soon as they could come to destroy them (the mutineers); consequently they took out of the armour room all the Christian prisoners (fifty-two in number, including men, women, and children), and brought them on the reservoir at the Nukar Khanàs (the porch of the palace, where drums are beaten at stated intervals), with the intention of massacring them. Mirza Mujhlay Kheezur Sooltan asserted, that in conformity to the precepts of Mohammed, they ought not to murder the women; but the mutineers were displeased, and wished to kill the Mirza first; however, he ran away to his house. The mutineers having made all the Christians sit down, fired their muskets; accidentally an attendant of the king was wounded, on which two brothers, attending, massacred with their swords all the Christians—men, women, and children. About 200 Mussulmans, who were standing on the reservoir, continued all this time to vent their invectives on the Christians. The sword of one of the two attendants who killed the Christians was broken. The corpses of the Christians were laden on two carts, and thrown into the river. The Hindoos of the city, on hearing this act of treachery towards the English, were very uneasy and afflicted, and were fully convinced that the mutineers would never be victorious, for having acted so very cruelly towards the Christians; and that the anger of God would fall on them. The guards at the gates of the city were relieved. Some person informed the rebel sowars, that some Christians were concealed in the house of Muthra Dass, treasurer, in the street of Chodree; accordingly they went and searched the house and the street, but were not able to get any Christians; neither did they molest or plunder any inhabitant there. Walleedad Khan, the chief of Malaghur, was informed that the Goojurs on the bank of the Jumna had caused great disorders, and that he must adopt measures to punish them.

"Two weavers, who had disguised themselves in sepoys' dress, and were plundering the inhabitants, were caught. The bunyas of the Lahore gate brought a complaint against the thanadar of that place, and represented that he required from them 1,000 rupees in bribery, otherwise he said he would send them as prisoners to the Khotwallee. Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan sent an order to the khotwal to arrest and confine the said thanadar.

"*May 17th*, 1857.—All the chief rebels attended on the king, represented that they had prepared a battery at Selimghur, and required his majesty to inspect the same. The king accordingly went there, and was highly satisfied. On their return to the Hall of Audience, the king mentioned to the rebel troops that he would support and assist them, and recommended them to trust, without fear, Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan, and Zeenat Mahal Begum; and that whenever they, the sepoys, should catch and bring any Christian before him, he would kill him with his own hand. On hearing this speech of the king, all the rebel sepoys were satisfied, and acquitted Hakeem Ahsunoollah Khan and Maibhoob Ali Khan of all the charges they had brought against them.

"A man, who had on him a letter from some European at Meerut, was caught and tied to a gun by the sepoys. All the sepoys stationed at the Hall of Audience were turned out of it, and the Hall of Audience was furnished with floor and purdhas, &c. As ordered, Mirza Ameen-ood-deen Khan and Mirza Zea-ood-deen Khan presented themselves in the durbar. The king ordered them to attend on him every day, but they represented that they were indisposed. They were ordered to enlist troops, and they promised to obey the orders.

"Irtza Khan and Meer Khan, brothers of Nawab Moostfa Khan; Jehangeerabadee Akbur Khan, son of Bungush; Fukr-ood-deen Khan, and others, attended on the king, and presented two rupees each in nuzzur. Consultation regarding the appointment of colonels for the troops, was held for some time.

"A sowar came in from the Hursurookee Ghurree, and gave information that some lacs of rupees, collected on account of the revenue of the southern district, were on their way to Delhi, under the escort of a few sowars and sepoys; but that about 300 Goojurs and Mewattees of the district had made an attack on them, and were fighting to

obtain the money. Mohumed Bekr (editor of the *Oordoo Akbar*), with two companies of infantry and cavalry, was sent to oppose the Goojurs and Mewattees, and bring the treasure under their protection. The sepoys apprehended a furrash, servant of Mirza Mogul Beg, upon a charge of his giving information to the English; but he was released by the orders of Mirza Mogul Beg. A man came and reported that the Mewattees at Jaysingpoorah were wounded in plundering the property of a European at the railway; and it was found out that these Mewattees were lately in the service of the British zemindars of Undhoolee: they attended on the king, presented a rupee each, and said that they were followers of his majesty. The king ordered them to keep peace in their district, otherwise their village would be burnt. Two kossids, who were sent to Meerut for news, returned and said, that about 1,000 European soldiers, and some gentlemen, ladies, and children, had assembled at the cantonment Suddur Bazaar, prepared a dum-dumah on the Sooruj Koond, and mounted an Elephant battery over it, and that the roads from Meerut to Sahajanpoor had been infested by Goojurs, who plundered every one within their grasp, and that they (the kossids) were well beaten and plundered by the Goojurs. His majesty ordered two companies of sepoys to be posted at the bridge for the protection of the passengers.

"Hakeem Abdool Huq attended on the king, and presented five rupees. Five companies of the sappers and miners, who had arrived at Meerut from Roorkee, were requested by the English to stop there and discharge their duties; but the sepoys refused to do so, and therefore had a fight with the European soldiers at Meerut: many were killed, and those who escaped came to Delhi. Shookkas, addressed to Maharajah Nurrundur Sing, rajah of Putteeala, Rajah Ram Sing, of Jeypoor, and rajahs of Ulwur, Joudpoor, and Kotah Boondee, ordering them to present themselves immediately before his majesty, were dispatched to them by sowars. The verandah of Deewan Kishen Lall's house fell down, and two boys were killed under it. Information was received that the troops at Umballah had mutinied, and were on their way to Delhi.

"18*th May*, 1857.—The bands of the five infantry regiments attended on his majesty, and played. Kheluts, each consisting of a garment of kinkhawb, shawls, goshwara, turban, nosegay of silver and gold threads, sword and shield, were conferred on Mirza Mogul, for the office of general of the army; and on Mirza Kockuck, Mirza Khedur Sooltan, and Mirza Mayndhoo, for that of the colonel of the infantry regiments. A like khelut was granted to Mirza Aboo Bekr, for the colonelship of the light cavalry. Nuzzurs were presented—viz., by Mirza Mogul Beg, two gold mohurs; and other princes, one gold mohur and five rupees each. Hasun Alee Khan attended the durbar, and paid his respects to the king. He was ordered to attend daily and enlist troops; and a large portion of the country, the king said, should be granted to him. The khan replied that he should not be able to enlist troops; but he would wait on his majesty daily. Two sowars, who were sent with a shookka to Ulwur, returned, and said that several thousand Goojurs had infested the roads to rob and plunder the passengers; and that they (the sowars) had been plundered of everything they had, and were allowed to return only by fawning on these Goojurs; the letter they had was torn, and the pieces returned. A camel sowar, who was sent to the nawab of Furrucknuggur with a shookka, returned, and said that the Goojurs on the roads would not allow him to proceed. The officers of the five companies of the sappers and miners attended the durbar, and represented, that on their arrival at Meerut, from Roorkee, they were quartered near the Dum-Dumah, in which all the European soldiers, gentlemen, women, and children, had collected, and by promises of great rewards and higher pay, tried to coax them to remain in their service; but when three-quarters of the night had passed, they fired grape on them, and killed about two hundred men; the remainder of the sepoys then ran away, and they now presented themselves for the service of his majesty. They were ordered to pitch their tents at Selimghur. Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan prepared a list of the bankers of Delhi, and sent it by his own agent to Ramjee Dass, goorwallah, Ramjee Mull, soorwallah, and Salugram, treasurer, with orders to collect from the bankers five lacs of rupees for the expenses of the troops, which he said amounted to 2,500 rupees a-day. The said bankers waited on Nawab Maibhoob Ali Khan, and pointed out their inability to pay the amount: they said that they had been plundered of all their cash and property by the mutineers. Ramjee Dass requested the nawab to levy the money

himself. Mirza Aboo Bekr was sent with a regiment of sowars to punish and destroy the Goojurs at Chundrawul, but they had run away.

"19*th May*, 1857.—Two sowars came from Meerut, and represented that all the regiments of infantry, cavalry, and artillery at Moradabad and Bareilly, had arrived at Meerut with a few lacs of rupees; that the British complained of the treachery of the native troops at Meerut; and the troops replied that they had already revenged it by killing about 300 men of the sappers and miners, and that they themselves expected the same treatment at their hands. On hearing this reply, the English went into the Dum-Dumah and fired on the troops, who immediately erected a battery, and played their guns on the Dum-Dumah; by the will of Providence a shell fell on the spot where the English had prepared a mine, and blew up the Dum-Dumah, and along with it all the Europeans. The king and all the troops were very glad to hear this news, and fired shots of victory from Selimghur. Information was received that the collector of Goorgaon had left his post, leaving 17,000 rupees at Hursurookee Ghurree; a hundred sowars and two companies of infantry went there, and brought the money, depositing the same in the king's treasury.

"A sowar of Bayja Bye came and mentioned that the Bye had heard of the massacre of all the Europeans at Delhi, but would not believe it; therefore she had sent to the court to inquire into the truth. The king replied that all the Europeans at Delhi had been annihilated, and ordered the sowar to go back to Gwalior, with two sowars and a shookka from himself, commanding the Bye to present herself immediately, with all her troops, before his majesty, and display her loyalty.

"The title of Wuzeerool Moolk Moomalic Mohroosee (prime minister of the protected country), and a khelut, consisting of a garment of kinkhawb, shawl, goshwara, turban, nosegay of silver and gold threads, ten pieces of jewellery, sword, shield, and a silver pen and inkstand vase, were conferred on Mirza Jewan Bukht, who presented ten gold mohurs to his majesty, in acknowledgment of the favour bestowed on him. Mirza Bukhtawur Shah was made a colonel in the regiment Alexander, and a khelut, consisting of a garment of kinkhawb, shawl, goshwara, turban, and three pieces of jewellery, was conferred on him. The Mirza, on his part, presented the king with two gold mohurs and five rupees. A pair of kettle-drums was granted to each of the princes who were made colonels to the troops. Nazir Mirza Hasun was ordered to present Koowur Ajeet Sing, of Putteeala, before his majesty. Accordingly the Koowur attended, and presented a gold mohur. A khelut was conferred on the Koowur, who gave another nuzzur of five rupees to the king. Mirza Ahmud, and the son of Hakeem Abdool Huq, attended the durbar, and presented the king with five rupees each. A rissaldar, sent by Mohumed Akbur Alee, attended, and presented the king with two rupees; he also gave an urzee from his master, representing that as soon as peace was restored in his district, he would present himself before his majesty. A Hindoo tailor had concealed in his house two European gentlemen, three ladies, and one child; but the rebel sowars were informed of it, and they went to the house of the said tailor, and, setting the house on fire, arrested the Europeans, and brought them before the king, who placed them under the custody of the sepoys. His majesty went to Selimghur; the troops there saluted him. The officers of the Bailly regiment stated that they did not believe the two sowars who had brought the news of the blowing up of the Dum-Dumah at Meerut, and therefore they wished to march on Meerut for the purpose of blowing up the Dum-Dumah, and murdering the English. The king answered that he did not think it proper to do so; however, they must be directed by the counsel of their general, Mirza Mogul. Two boats of the bridge on the Jumna having been damaged, Khotwal Kazee Fazoolah was ordered to send a hundred coolies for the repair of the same. Information was received that some moulvies and Mussulmans of the city had raised a Mohumdee standard at the Jumma Musjid, for the purpose of making a jahad on the British, who, they said, were infidels, and it was a virtuous action to murder them. Many thousands of Mussulmans had already collected there. The king remarked, that all the Europeans had been already murdered, and asked against whom had they raised the Mohumdee standard? Moulvie Sudrood-deen Khan went to the Jumma Musjid, and persuaded the moulvies to take off the standard they had raised. Some hackeries, laden with salt and corn, were brought in."

By the time these documents were read, it was 4 P.M., and the court adjourned until 11 A.M. of the 24th of February.

On the seventeenth day (Feb. 24th), the court assembled at 11 A.M., when the proclamation of the Bareilly traitor, Khan Bahadoor Khan, was read in the original, for the benefit of the prisoner; after which the translation was read by the judge-advocate, for the benefit of the court. The following is the literal translation:—

"*Proclamation.*—Now, all rajahs, bestowers of favours and protectors of religion, be prepared to defend your faith and that of those under you. For the hope of your success I appeal to you. The great God has given you all mortal bodies for the defence of your religion, as is well known to all. For the destruction of the destroyers of religion he has given birth and power to all princes. It is needful, therefore, that all who have the power should slay the destroyers of religion, and that those who have not that power should reflect and devise means to defend their religion. It being written in the Shasters, that it is better to die for one's religion than to adopt another. This is the saying of God.

"It is manifest to all that these English are the enemies of all religions; and it should be well considered, that for a long time they have caused the preparation and distribution, by their priests, of books for the overthrow of religion in Hindoostan, and have introduced many persons for that purpose. This has been clearly ascertained from their own people. See, then, what measures they have devised for the overthrow of religion.

"1st. That women becoming widows shall be allowed to marry again. 2nd. They have abolished the ancient and sacred rite of Suttee. 3rd. They have proclaimed that all men shall adopt their religion, going to their churches to join in prayer, for which they are promised honours and dignities from the British government. They have further forbidden that no adopted children shall succeed to the titles of the rajahs of the land; while in our Shasters it is so written, that ten kinds of successors are allowed. In this manner will they eventually deprive you of all your possessions, as they have done those of Nagpoor and Oude. To destroy the religion of prisoners even, they have caused them to be fed with food prepared after their own fashion. Many have died rather than eat of this food; but many have eaten, and thus lost their religion.

"Having discovered that this did not succeed, the English caused bones to be ground and mixed with the flour and with flesh, to be secretly mixed with the rice sold in the bazaars, besides many other devices for destroying religion. These, they were told by a Bengalee, would certainly succeed with their army; and, after that, all men would believe. The English rejoiced greatly at this, not seeing in it their own destruction. They then ordered the Brahmin sepoys of their army to bite cartridges prepared with animal grease. This would have only hurt the religion of the Brahmins; but the Mussulman sepoys, hearing of it, refused to use such cartridges. The English then prepared to force all men to use them, and the men of the regiments who refused were blown away from guns.

"Seeing this tyranny and oppression, the sepoys, in defence of their lives and religion, commenced to slay the English, and killed them wherever they could find them. They are even now contemplating the extermination of the few who remain. From all this, it must be known to you, that if the English are allowed to remain in Hindoostan, they will kill every one, destroying all religions. However, certain people of this country are fighting on the side of the English, and assisting them. I ask of these—how can you preserve your religion? Is it not better that you should slay the English and be with us, by which our religions and this country will be saved? For the protection of the religions of Hindoos and Mussulmans, this is printed. Let the Hindoos swear on the Ganges, and on Toolsie Saligram, and the Mohammedans on the holy Koran, that all shall unite and destroy the English, who are the enemies of their religion.

"As it is of importance to the Hindoo religion, that the slaughter of cows should not be permitted, all the Mohammedan princes of India have made a solemn promise, that if the Hindoos will join with them in the destruction of the English, the slaying of cows shall at once be stopped, and the eating of the flesh of the cow shall, to Mohammedans, be forbidden as that of the pig. If, however, the Hindoos do not assist in destroying the English, they shall themselves be made to eat the flesh of the cow. It may be, perhaps, that the English, in order to prevail on the Hindoos to assist them, will make a

similar promise to the foregoing, regarding the slaughter of cows; but no wise man will believe them; for it is known that their promises are full of deceit, and made only to suit their own purposes. They are lying and deceitful, and have always imposed on the people of Hindoostan. We shall never again have such an opportunity as this. Think well on it, and remember that a letter is half as good as a visit. I am hopeful that, having agreed to all above written, you will reply—Printed for the information of the Pundits and Mussulmans, at the press of the Moulvie Kootub Shah, at Bareilly."

When the above document had been read, the judge-advocate informed the court, that with the exception of the evidence of two more witnesses, Mrs. Leeson and Rissaldar Everett, of the 14th irregular cavalry, the case for the prosecution was closed; the president, therefore, requested the prisoner to prepare his defence, and inquired how long it would take to do so. A week was asked for the purpose; but a member of the court thought this too long a time, as more than a week had already been allowed him—if he had only taken advantage of it—during the recent adjournment. It was finally arranged that the court should meet on Saturday, the 27th, for the purpose of receiving the evidence of the above-mentioned witnesses, who were expected in Delhi by that date; and that the prisoner's vakeel should then inform the court the precise day on which he would be prepared with the defence. The court accordingly adjourned until Saturday, the 27th of February.

On the eighteenth day (Feb. 27th), the court resumed its sitting. The prisoner was brought into court as usual, supported on either side by a servant, and was understood to be suffering from indisposition. The proceedings commenced by John Everett, rissaldar of the (late) 14th irregular cavalry, being called into court, sworn, and examined. The witness (a Christian) deposed to the outbreak on the 11th of May in Delhi. He was in the city at the time, and had been for some twelve or fifteen days previous. As soon as the firing in the direction of the magazine commenced, he, fearing for his own safety, betook himself to the premises of the late Colonel Skinner, his old employer, and remained there all the night of the 11th with Mr. George Skinner (son of the late Mr. Joseph Skinner). The next day, having considerable doubts of their safety, they went to the house of Mirza Azeem Beg, and claimed his protection. (The Mirza was an old soldier who had served under Colonel Skinner). Mirza Azeem Beg promised them protection, and gave them as much as lay in his power; but fearing that the fact of his having sheltered them would become known, he applied to the palace for a guard to protect his house. This was refused; and soon after a party of rebels came, seized Mr. Skinner and witness, and took them in the direction of the Khotwallee. A party of the troopers (3rd cavalry) coming up, asked what was the use of taking the prisoners to the Khotwallee, and why they should not be at once murdered? Saying this, they seized Mr. Skinner by the hair, dragged him to the aqueduct running up the centre of the Chandnee Chouk, and placing him with his back against the masonry, shot him to death with their pistols. The witness, fearing that his own fate would soon be decided in a similar way, remained quiet, and, to his great relief, saw the murderers ride off in the direction of the palace. He was then taken to the Khotwallee, where he remained a close prisoner, with between twenty and thirty others, for some twenty-five days, when he was released, with his fellow-sufferers, in consequence of one Moulvie Ismael having interfered on their behalf, and stated that most of them were Mohammedans; and those that were not, were willing to become such. From this time the witness remained in the city, harboured and protected by one Majood, an African, formerly in the service of Colonel Skinner, and, at the time of the mutiny, in the service of the king; and when the British troops entered Delhi, he was able to seek their protection.

In reply to the judge-advocate, the witness stated that, on the 9th of May, 1857, two days before the outbreak at Delhi, about 11 A.M., the African above referred to met him, and endeavoured to persuade him to leave the government service, giving as his reason for so doing, that the Persians were coming to Delhi, and would soon murder all Christians, and overrun the city. The witness asked how he knew this; and Majood replied, that Seedee Kumber, another African (mentioned in former evidence), had been sent by the king of Delhi to Constantinople, for the purpose of obtaining assistance to exterminate the English, and that the messenger went with others supposed to be on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but in reality for the purpose above mentioned. The witness

replied to a question put by the judge-advocate, that he had heard the men of his regiment converse among themselves about the chupatties which were circulated, but they did not appear to understand why they were distributed. After the first fight (at the Hindun, or Ghazee-oo-deen-nuggur), the prisoner gave out that he thought his troops (the mutineers) were disheartened, and reminded them that if the British once more set foot in Delhi, they would not leave one of the house of Timur alive. With the exception of what the witness had stated to the court, he does not remember anything occurring in the regiment indicative of a spirit of disaffection. The witness was then allowed to withdraw, and his statement was read by the interpreter, for the benefit of the prisoner and his counsel. Some documentary evidence was then produced, and the court adjourned till Wednesday, the 3rd of March, to allow the interpreter time to translate other documents necessary to the proceedings.

The following is the translation of a proclamation issued by the king of Delhi, on the 26th of August, 1857, and produced during the trial:—

"*Seal of Bahadur Shah Badsham Ghazee, Mahammad Dara Bukht, Wali Niamut Khalaf, Mirza Karim Ul Sujah Bahadur.*—It is well known to all, that in this age the people of Hindoostan, both Hindoos and Mohammedans, are being ruined under the tyranny and oppression of the infidel and treacherous English. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of all the wealthy people of India, especially of those who have any sort of connection with any of the Mohammedan royal families, and are considered the pastors and masters of their people, to stake their lives and property for the well-being of the public. With the view of effecting this general good, several princes belonging to the royal family of Delhi, have dispersed themselves in the different parts of India, Iran, Turan, and Afghanistan, and have been long since taking measures to compass their favourite end; and it is to accomplish this charitable object, that one of the aforesaid princes has, at the head of an army of Afghanistan, &c., made his appearance in India; and I, who am the grandson of Abel Muzuffer Sarajuddin Bahadur Shah Ghazee, king of India, having in the course of circuit come here, to extirpate the infidels residing in the eastern part of the country, and to liberate and protect the poor helpless people now groaning under their iron rule, have, by the aid of the Majahdeen or religious fanatics, erected the standard of Mohammed, and persuaded the orthodox Hindoos, who had been subject to my ancestors, and have been, and are still, accessories in the destruction of the English, to raise the standard of Mahavir.

"Several of the Hindoo and Mussulman chiefs, who have long since quitted their homes for the preservation of their religion, and have been trying their best to root out the English in India, have presented themselves to me, and taken part in the reigning Indian crusade; and it is more than probable that I shall very shortly receive succours from the west. Therefore, for the information of the public, the present Ishtahar, consisting of several sections, is put in circulation; and it is the imperative duty of all to take it into their careful consideration, and abide by it. Parties anxious to participate in the common cause, but having no means to provide for themselves, shall receive their daily subsistence from me; and be it known to all, that the ancient works, both of the Hindoos and Mohammedans, the writings of the miracle-workers, and the calculations of the astrologers, pundits, and rammals, all agree in asserting that the English will no longer have any footing in India or elsewhere. Therefore it is incumbent on all to give up the hope of the continuation of the British sway, side with me, and deserve the consideration of the Badshahi or imperial government, by their individual exertion in promoting the common good, and thus attain their respective ends; otherwise, if this golden opportunity slips away, they will have to repent of their folly: as is very aptly said by a poet in two fine couplets, the drift whereof is—'Never let a favourable opportunity slip; for, in the field of opportunity, you are to meet with the ball of fortune; but if you do not avail yourself of the opportunity that offers itself, you will have to bite your finger through grief.'

"No person, at the misrepresentation of the well-wishers of the British government, ought to conclude, from the present slight inconveniences usually attendant on revolutions, that similar inconveniences and troubles should continue when the Badshahi government is established on a firm basis; and parties badly dealt with by any sepoy or plunderer, should come up and represent their grievances to me, and receive redress at

my hands; and for whatever property they may lose in the reigning disorder, they will be recompensed from the public treasury when the Badshahi government is well fixed.

"*Section* 1.—*Regarding Zemindars.*—It is evident, that the British government, in making zemindary settlements, have imposed exorbitant jummas, and have disgraced and ruined several zemindars, by putting up their estates to public auction for arrears of rent, insomuch that, on the institution of a suit by a common ryot, a maid-servant, or a slave, the respectable zemindars are summoned in court, arrested, put in gaol, and disgraced. In litigations regarding zemindaries, the immense value of stamps and other unnecessary expenses of the civil courts, which are pregnant with all sorts of crooked dealings, and the practice of allowing a case to hang on for years, are all calculated to impoverish the litigants. Besides this, the coffers of the zemindars are annually taxed with subscriptions for schools, hospitals, roads, &c. Such extortions will have no manner of existence in the Badshahi government; but, on the contrary, the jummas will be light, the dignity and honour of the zemindars safe, and every zemindar will have absolute rule in his own zemindary. The zemindary disputes will be summarily decided according to the Shurrah and the Shasters, without any expense; and zemindars who will assist in the present war with their men and money, shall be excused for ever from paying half the revenue. Zemindars aiding only with money, shall be exempted in perpetuity from paying one-fourth of the revenue; and should any zemindar who has been unjustly deprived of his lands during the English government, personally join the war, he will be restored to his zemindary, and excused one-fourth of the revenue.

"*Section* 2.—*Regarding Merchants.*—It is plain that the infidel and treacherous British government have monopolised the trade of all the fine and valuable merchandise, such as indigo, cloth, and other articles of shipping, leaving only the trade of trifles to the people; and, even in this, they are not without their share of the profits, which they secure by means of customs and stamp fees, &c., in money suits, so that the people have merely a trade in name. Besides this, the profits of the traders are taxed with postages, tolls, and subscriptions for schools, &c. Notwithstanding all these concessions, the merchants are liable to imprisonment and disgrace at the instance or complaint of a worthless man. When the Badshahi government is established, all these aforesaid fraudulent practices shall be dispensed with, and the trade of every article, without exception, both by land and water, shall be opened to the native merchants of India, who will have the benefit of the government steam vessels and steam carriages for the conveyance of their merchandise gratis; and merchants having no capital of their own, shall be assisted from the public treasury. It is therefore the duty of every merchant to take part in the war, and aid the Badshahi government with his men and money, either secretly or openly, as may be consistent with his position or interest, and forswear his allegiance to the British government.

"*Section* 3.—*Regarding Public Servants.*—It is not a secret thing that, under the British government, natives employed in the civil and military services have little respect, low pay, and no manner of influence, and all the posts of dignity and emolument in both the departments are exclusively bestowed on Englishmen: for natives in the military service, after having devoted the greater part of their lives, attain to the post of subahdar (the very height of their hopes), with a salary of sixty or seventy rupees per mensem; and those in the civil service obtain the post of Sudder Ala, with a salary of 500 rupees a-month, but no influence, jagheer, or present. But under the Badshahi government, like the posts of colonel, general, and commander-in-chief, which the English enjoy at present, the corresponding posts of pansadi, punj-hazari, haft-hazari, and sippah-salari, will be given to the natives in the military service; and, like the posts of collector, magistrate, judge, sudder judge, secretary, and governor, which the European civil servants now hold, the corresponding posts of wezeer, quasi, safir, suba, nizam, and dewan, &c., with salaries of lacs of rupees, will be given to the natives of the civil service, together with jagheers, kheluts, inams, and influence. Natives, whether Hindoos or Mohammedans, who will fall fighting against the English, are sure to go to heaven; and those killed fighting for the English, will undoubtedly go to hell. Therefore all the natives in the British service ought to be alive to their religion and interest, and, abjuring their loyalty to the English, side with the Badshahi government, and obtain salaries of 2,000 or 3,000 rupees per month for the present, and be entitled to high posts in future.

If they, for any reasons, cannot at present declare openly against the English, they can heartily wish ill to their cause, and remain passive spectators of the passing events, without taking any active share therein. But, at the same time, they should indirectly assist the Badshahi government, and try their best to drive the English out of the country. All the sepoys and sowars who have, for the sake of their religion, joined in the destruction of the English, and are at present, on any consideration, in a state of concealment either at home or elsewhere, should present themselves to me without the least delay or hesitation. Foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of three annas, and sowars at eight or twelve annas per diem for the present, and afterwards they will be paid double of what they get in the British service. Soldiers not in the English service, and taking part in the war against the English, will receive their daily subsistence money, according to the rates specified below, for the present; and, in future, the foot soldiers will be paid at the rate of eight or ten rupees, and sowars at the rate of twenty or thirty rupees per month; and on the permanent establishment of the Badshahi government, will stand entitled to the highest posts in the state, to jagheers, and presents:—"Matchlockmen, per day, two annas; riflemen, two-and-a-half; swordsmen, one-and-a-half; horsemen, with large horses, eight; horsemen, with small horses, six—annas a-day.

"*Section* 4.—*Regarding Artisans.*—It is evident that the Europeans, by the introduction of the English articles into India, have thrown the weavers, the cotton dressers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the shoemakers, &c., out of employ, and have engrossed their occupations, so that every description of native artisans has been reduced to beggary. But under the Badshahi government, the native artisans will exclusively be employed in the services of the kings, the rajahs, and the rich; and this will no doubt ensure their prosperity. Therefore those artisans ought to renounce the English services, and assist the Majahdeens or religious fanatics engaged in the war, and thus be entitled both to secular and eternal happiness.

"*Section* 5.—*Regarding Pundits, Fakirs, and other Learned Persons.*—The pundits and fakirs, being the guardians of the Hindoo and Mohammedan religions respectively, and the Europeans being the enemies of both the religions, and, as at present a war is raging against the English on account of religion, the pundits and fakirs are bound to present themselves to me, and take their share in the holy war; otherwise they will stand condemned, according to the tenor of the Shurrah and the Shasters; but if they come, they will, when the Badshahi government is well established, receive rent-free lands.

"Lastly, be it known to all, that whoever, out of the above-named classes, shall, after the circulation of this Ishtahar, still cling to the British government, all his estates shall be confiscated and property plundered, and he himself, with his whole family, shall be imprisoned, and ultimately put to death.—Interior of the Azimghur district. The 16th Mohurrum 1275 Hirji, corresponding with Bhadobady Tij 1265 Fusly."

On the 3rd of March, the court assembled for the nineteenth time, for further evidence, and again adjourned until the 9th of that month; when the vakeel of the prisoner declared, in the name of his royal master, that he did not recognise the authority of the tribunal before which he had been brought, and therefore declined to make answer to any charges brought against him. The public prosecutor then summed up the whole of the evidence adduced; by which it was proved, that, in defiance of existing treaties, the prisoner had assumed the powers of independent sovereignty, and levied war against the British government; and, moreover, that the murders of the Europeans in Delhi were perpetrated with the sanction, if not by the positive orders of the king, in the presence of his sons the princes, and other individuals connected with the royal house, and by the instrumentality of the Khassburdars of his own special bodyguard. The court, after a short deliberation, adjudged the prisoner, Mirza Aboo Zuffur, alias Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, guilty of all the charges alleged against him; whereby he became liable to the penalty of death, as a traitor and murderer: but, in consequence of the assurance given to him by Captain Hodson, previous to his capitulation on the 21st of September, 1857, the court, by virtue of the authority vested in it by Act XIV., of 1857, sentenced him to be transported for life to the Andaman Islands, or to such other place as should be selected by the governor-general in council for his place of banishment.

A very considerable delay occurred in carrying the sentence of the court into effect; and in the meantime, the ex-king, with the females of his family and some native attendants, remained in close confinement within the precincts of the palace; in which seclusion he might, probably, owing to his advanced age, have been permitted to linger out the very few remaining years of his existence, but for the injudicious interference of individuals, who availed themselves of his miserable position to create political capital, for the purpose of impugning the policy of the government at Calcutta. Among these busybodies was a late member of the English parliament; who, while itinerating through India, stumbled upon Delhi, and, as a matter of course, among the other lions of the place, was permitted to visit the ex-king in his state of durance; and of which visit he subsequently gave the following detail at a public meeting held at St. James's Hall, London, on the 11th of May, 1858. Upon this occasion, the ex-M.P. for Aylesbury, in the course of a very animated speech on the Indian revolt, expressed himself, in reference to the late king, in the following terms:—"Many persons regret that the king of Delhi has not fallen in just punishment for his offences. I saw the king of Delhi; and I will leave the meeting to judge, when it has heard me, whether or not he is punished. I saw that broken-down old man, not in a room, but in a miserable hole of his palace, lying on a bedstead, with nothing to cover him but a miserable tattered coverlet! As I beheld him, some remembrance of his former greatness seemed to arise in his mind. He rose with difficulty from his couch; showed me his arms, which were eaten into by disease and by flies, and partly from want of water; and he said in a lamentable voice, that he had not enough to eat! I will not give any opinion as to whether the manner in which we are treating him is worthy of a great nation; but is this a way in which, as Christians, we ought to treat a king? I saw his women, too, all huddled up in a corner with their children; and I was told that all that was allowed for their support was 16*s*. a-day. Is not that punishment enough for one that has occupied a throne?"

This statement excited, as it was intended to do, a large amount of sympathy among those to whom it was addressed, and, for some time, opinion ran strongly against the alleged treatment to which the royal octogenarian captive was subjected; but at length the echo of the speech at St. James's Hall became audible even in the palace at Delhi, whence it promptly evoked a distinct and positive refutation from the individual to whose medical supervision the health of the prisoner and his family had been entrusted by the resident authorities. This gentleman, writing from Delhi on the 25th of June, 1858, quoted the allegations of the ex-member, and proceeded thus:—"I hope that the report of this speech is incorrect; for the words as they stand are likely to mislead. For a man of his years, the ex-king of Delhi is particularly active and intelligent; and I have seldom seen so old a man in England with equal mental and bodily energy. He resides, not in a hole, but in (for a native) a large room, square, with windows looking inwards and outwards. This room is divided about equally by curtains from one side to the other, separating the females from the males. On either side, the centre room opens on to a square court—one reserved for the females of the family, and containing one or two small buildings (or godowns), used for sleeping; the other, or entrance court, provided with temporary dwellings for the male attendants, of whom there are several, besides eunuchs and women for the service of the concealed ones. The whole suite of buildings is elevated some twelve or fourteen feet; and, on the ex-king's side, overlook a garden, in the centre of which reside the officers in charge of the prisoners

"At the season of the year Mr. Layard visited Delhi, no covering further than a sheet is, as far as my experience goes, ever used by the natives of Central India; and the old man has no deficiency either of clothes, pillows, or cushions. There is no limit whatever but the individual's own desire, to the amount of water used for bathing or other purposes. At one time the ex-king was suffering from a disease not uncommon in India, but rarely mentioned in polite English ears; the skin was abraded slightly in one or two small patches about the fingers, arms, &c., from scratching only. Although he has been months under my care, he has not once complained of a deficiency of food, though, as has been his custom for thirty-five years, he usually vomits after every meal. I have, on more than one occasion, seen him superintending the preparation of sherbet by his own attendants.

"The ordinary pay of an inferior workman at Delhi is seven rupees per month—that

is a sufficiency to feed and clothe man, wife, and children. Very few adults consume more than three penny-worth of the common food in twenty-four hours, and that amount covers the charge for flour, rice, dhal, sugar, curry, ingredients, vegetables, butter, and firewood for cooking. I speak advisedly, as the accounts for the lunatic asylums pass through my hands; and, in that institution, the dietary for patients of different social conditions is without stint—speaking of necessaries, of course. Paupers have an allowance of less than one penny a-day for adults.—THE OFFICIATING CIVIL SURGEON, DELHI."

After this official explanation, the personal grievances of the ex-king ceased to be a stock subject from whence to suggest charges against the authorities, either at Delhi or Calcutta.

For a considerable time, the destination of the ex-king remained undecided. By the sentence of the military commission by which he was tried, the Andaman Isles were indicated as the penal settlement to which he was to be transported, subject to the approval of the governor-general in council; but, as these islands had been chosen for the deportation of the rebellious sepoys and others taken in arms, it was probably not judged advisable to place the ex-king in close proximity to them; and some other, and more distant, locality had to be chosen for his residence. At length, it would seem that British Kaffraria was selected for the purpose, subject, of course, to the approval of the free settlers in that colony; as, on the 10th of March, 1858, Sir George Grey, the governor of the Cape and its dependencies, in an address to the local parliament, said—"A correspondence will be laid before you, detailing the reasons for which it is intended to detain the king of Delhi in confinement in British Kaffraria. You will find, from those papers, that this is an isolated case, and that no intention exists of transporting prisoners from India to her majesty's South African possessions."

In October, 1858, it was notified that the supreme government had determined upon the removal of the ex-king from Delhi to Calcutta; upon his arrival at which place, his final destination was to be declared: and accordingly, on the 7th of the month, the aged prisoner and his family commenced the journey, of which the termination was yet to them a mystery. The removal of the unfortunate group was thus described in the *Delhi Gazette* of October 13th:—"The ex-king, his family, and attendants, were brought from their place of confinement at an early hour on Thursday; and, after being placed in their several conveyances, were drawn up in line on the piece of road leading from the Lahore gate of the palace to the Grand Trunk road, where the former guard, of the 2nd Bengal fusiliers, made them over to a troop of H.M.'s 9th lancers, told-off for the duty. This was done in the presence of Mr. C. B. Saunders, commissioner of Delhi, Lieutenant Ommanney, the officer in charge of state prisoners, and some other officers who were present. A squadron or two of the lancers then trotted off as an advance guard, and the *cortège* commenced moving. The first palanquin carriage contained the deposed monarch and his two sons, Jewan Bukht and Shah Abbas (the latter a youth, the son of a concubine), the carriage being surrounded by lancers on all sides. Next followed a close carriage, containing the begum, Zeenat Mahal, with whom were Jewan Bukht's wife, her mother and sister, and an infant. The mother and sister of Jewan Bukht's wife were allowed their choice of either going or remaining at Delhi. They preferred the former. The third carriage contained the Taj Mahal begum, another of the ex-king's wedded wives, and her female attendants. Next followed five magazine store carts, with tilted tops, drawn by bullocks. These contained the male and female attendants, four in each cart, a party of lancers accompanying each. In this order the cavalcade progressed very well, until more than half the distance across the bridge of boats had been accomplished; when, all of a sudden, one of the bullocks in a magazine cart, probably discovering the nature of the load he was assisting across the Jumna, and finding it '*infra dig*' to do so, displayed his sagacity by a violent attempt to deposit his worthless burden in the river. As the companion bullock's understanding was not of the same calibre, he pulled in the opposite direction, and only one wheel of the cart, along with the refractory bullock, descended into the boat, a lamp-post luckily placed preventing a complete capsize. This little event delayed the line some twenty minutes or half-an-hour; when, the cart and bullock having been replaced, the cavalcade recommenced its move onwards, and reached the encamping-ground at Ghazee-oo-deen-nuggur, without further accident or delay of any kind. The band of the 2nd fusiliers played the lancers out of Delhi, and

by half-past 3 A.M. they were clear of the city. In camp, the principal prisoner and his two sons occupy a hill tent. A soldier's tent, with kunnant enclosure, is provided for the ladies of the zenana, and two others for the servants; the whole surrounded by a high kunnant enclosure. The prisoners are securely guarded by dismounted lancers, armed with swords and pistols, both inside and outside the enclosure; while pickets from the police battalion are thrown out beyond. The horses of the lancers—a whole troop, actually on duty over the state prisoners—are kept ready saddled; and the enclosed camp is very judiciously pitched between the lancers and Kaye's troop of horse artillery. Lieutenant Ommanney's tent is pitched just outside the enclosure. By all accounts the prisoners are cheerful; and the females may be heard talking and laughing behind their screens, as if they did not much regret their departure from Delhi."

On the 14th of October, the escort had reached Allyghur with its charge in safety; on the 16th, it arrived at Secundra Rao; and, on the 2nd of November, it entered Cawnpoor, without any effort whatever, on the part of the rebels yet in arms, to disturb the progress of the march, which, after a short halt, was continued to Allahabad, where the ex-king, with his family and attendants, were transferred to a river flat, for conveyance to Calcutta.

Upon the arrival of the flat at Diamond Harbour, Calcutta, on the 4th of December, her majesty's steam-ship *Megæra*, which had recently arrived from the Cape with troops, was found in readiness to receive the royal prisoner, for the purpose of conveying him to his final destination. The whole of the party who had accompanied the fallen majesty of Delhi were now embarked with him, to share his exile, and, by their sympathy, alleviate his punishment; but little feeling was manifested by any of them at the terrible calamity that had fallen upon their house. With true Moslem submission to the fate ordained for them, they even appeared cheerful; and, in the words of an officer of the escort, "were in as good spirits as if they were going on a pleasure excursion." Their actual destination still remained a state secret; but it was believed the governor of the Cape would be charged with the custody of the aged prisoner. The embarkation was conducted without the slightest display of feeling or demonstration of public curiosity: and thus the descendant of the victorious and magnificent Timur, was expatriated from the soil on which the throne of his mighty ancestors had stood, until torrents of English blood, wantonly poured out by their degenerate descendant, washed it from its foundations. A letter from Calcutta, of the 4th of December, gives the following detail of incidents connected with the final removal of the ex-king:—"On the 4th of December, at ten in the morning, the ex-king of Delhi, conveyed in the *Soorma* flat, in tow of the *Koyle* steamer, was taken on board her majesty's good ship of war, the *Megæra*, which, for a vessel of the royal navy, presented a curious spectacle at the time, crowded as her main deck was with household furniture, live and lifeless stock in the shape of cattle, goats, rabbits, poultry, rice, peas, chattus innumerable, &c., &c., brought by the royal prisoner and his attendants, for their consumption and comfort. The flat was lugged alongside the gangway of the ship, so that the Delhi gentleman could step on board. Lieutenant Ommanney, of the 59th, who has had charge of him ever since he was taken, conducted him to this, probably the last, conveyance that will ever again serve him in his peregrinations. He had two wives with him, so impenetrably veiled that they were led below by guides. He looked utterly broken up, and in his dotage; but not a bad type of Eastern face and manner—something king-like about his deeply furrowed countenance, and lots of robes and Cashmeres. He was quite self-possessed, and was heard to ask some of the officers what their respective positions were on board, &c. A son and a grandson are with him: and their very first care on touching the deck with their feet, was to ask for cheroots—took things easily, in short. The ex-king, meanwhile, went below, and was said to have stretched himself forthwith upon a couch of pillows and cushions, which his folk had arranged for him in a twinkling. The whole operation of transferring him and his from the flat was quickly effected; and then the guard of the 84th regiment returned to Calcutta, while the *Megæra* steamed away down the Hooghly for its destination."

The next intelligence that reached the English public, in reference to the royal prisoner, was by an announcement from Bombay, dated the 11th of January, 1859, which stated—"The ex-king of Delhi has been sent to Rangoon, in British Burmah, instead of

the Cape of Good Hope, the colonists of South Africa having refused to receive him. His majesty arrived at Rangoon on the 9th of December, and was to be sent inland to Tonghoo, a station on the Setang river, 120 miles north of Pegu, and 300 miles from Rangoon, in the vicinity of the Karen territory—a locality declared to be the most desolate and forlorn in British Burmah." Shortly after this announcement, the *Calcutta Englishman* stated that the ex-king had sent in a petition to the government, to be forwarded to the home authorities, in which his pitiable condition and failing health was represented as a ground for the reconsideration of his case, and for his restoration to liberty, if not to his former state—a request not very likely to be acceded to.

In closing this melancholy detail of the career of a descendant of the Mogul conquerors, it will not be out of place to advert to the following singular occurrence, which took place at Cawnpoor, shortly after the deportation of the unfortunate Suraj-oo-deen. Two of the princes of the royal house of Delhi had, it seemed, been living at Cawnpoor from the earliest period of the mutinous outbreak, in strict privacy, under the disguise of fakirs, subsisting upon the alms of the charitable, without exciting any suspicion as to their lineage. Upon the publication of the amnesty, the two shahzadahs emerged from their concealment, and declared their rank and identity to the government representative at Cawnpoor, at the same time claiming the benefit of the amnesty. This functionary was surprised at the appearance of two princes of whose existence he had not the slightest suspicion, and he immediately referred to the governor-general in council for instructions. As it was clearly shown that neither of these individuals had taken any part in the disturbances, and had in no manner forfeited their right to the provision they had theretofore enjoyed from the annual revenue allowed to the king, Lord Canning at once acceded to their application, guaranteed their safety, and granted a suitable pension to each; thus showing, even in its last transaction with the family of the justly deposed king, that British justice was still accessible to the appeal of misfortune, where guilt was not actually established.

ZEENAT MAHAL (EX-QUEEN OF DELHI).

The materials for tracing the personal history of a princess, reared, from birth to womanhood, within the jealously guarded seclusion of an Oriental palace, are, it may readily be imagined, but scanty. Fortunately, however, in the present instance, the impediments to a brief consecutive memoir of the begum, Zeenat Mahal (ex-queen of Delhi; for some years the sharer of the fading splendours of the throne of the last of the Mogul emperors, and now the companion of his exile, and mitigator of his regrets), are less difficult to be surmounted, owing to the comparatively familiar intercourse that, for nearly the last quarter of a century, had existed between the British resident at the court of Delhi, and the unfortunate representative of a once mighty dynasty, whose dominion was now bounded by the walls that encircled his palace, and whose subjects were limited to the members of his own family, and their immediate personal dependents. The Princess Zeenat (whose portrait, from a miniature in the imperial palace at Delhi, accompanies this memoir) was a daughter of the rajah of Bhatneer—a territory in the north-eastern division of Ajmere, whose capital of the same name is situated 185 miles W.N.W. of Delhi. The father of the princess had for some years enjoyed the friendship of the Mirza Aboo Zuffur, eldest son of the emperor, Shah Akber, who dying in 1837, was succeeded on the musnud by the Mirza, who thereupon assumed the names and title of Mahomed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, being then between sixty and seventy years of age. The father of Zeenat had long, previous to the accession of his royal friend, held an important position at the court of Delhi, and was known to possess great influence among the princes of Hindoostan; and it is possible that some vague idea of a future struggle for the re-establishment of the independence

of the empire of his ancestors, may have suggested to the prince, Aboo Zuffur, the expediency of strengthening his hands for the possible contingency, by an alliance with a noble whose aid would, in such case, be of the first importance, through the exercise of his influence throughout the Mohammedan states of India. The Princess Zeenat, then in her sixteenth year, was therefore demanded in marriage of the rajah, her father, and was shortly afterwards conveyed, with great pomp, from the fort-palace of the Bhatneer capital to the imperial residence at Delhi. At this juncture the heir-apparent was in his sixtieth year; but the disparity of years appears to have been at all times a question of small significance when the selection of an inmate for a royal zenana was concerned; and the honour of an alliance with the imperial house of Timur was of itself sufficient to counterbalance any objection that might be supposed likely to arise on the part of the young lady or her sire, both of whom were flattered by the prospect thus opened to the ambition of the one, and the girlish aspirations of the other. In due accordance with Oriental ceremony, the youthful princess was speedily introduced to the sexagenarian ruler of her destiny, who at once expressed his admiration of her beauty and vivacity, and designated her Mahal (the Pearl), which name she has thenceforth borne. The royal nuptials were celebrated in 1833; and Zeenat Mahal, the youngest, became also the most beloved of the wives of the future king of Delhi.

A short time after the celebration of the marriage, the father of Zeenat Mahal became an inmate of the palace of the Cootub, the residence of the heir-apparent; and the influence from which so much was expected by his son-in-law, was actively but imperceptibly employed on his behalf. The emperor, Shah Akber, in 1837, was gathered to his fathers; and Mirza Aboo Zuffur, then in his sixty-fourth year, ascended the crystal throne of Delhi.

The tact and assiduities of Zeenat Mahal had by this time riveted the affection which her youth and beauty had first inspired: she had also added the claims of a mother to the attractions of a wife; and the sovereign of Hindoostan, in his old age, became the progenitor of a line of princes, of whom Jumma Bukht, the youngest (born in 1840), is now the only survivor and participator in the misfortunes of his house.

Superior to the petty intrigues and female dissensions of the zenana, the begum, Zeenat Mahal, still maintained a firm hold upon the affections of her aged husband; and, by her prudence, became at last a necessary assistant at his councils, and the confidant of his ambitious but well-concealed designs against the supremacy of the infidel government by which he was held in thrall, and whose domination was a source of undisguised hatred and impatience to all the Mohammedan races of India. With such feelings, it may be supposed, there was no lack of grievances, real or imaginary, to keep a dissatisfied spirit in restless activity within the royal precincts. Among other incentives to discontent was a difficulty that arose respecting the succession to the musnud, which, considering the advanced age of Suraj-oo-deen, became a question of importance, and eventually of much annoyance to the king and his still young and favourite wife. The royal succession had furnished a topic for discussion within the palace, and intrigue without it, from the year 1853; the king having then, as it is alleged, at the instigation of his wife, expressed his desire to name the child of his old age, Mirza Jumma Bukht, heir to the throne; while the government of the Company insisted on recognising the superior, because prior, claim of an elder son, Mirza Furruk-oo-deen. The contention to which this rivalry of interests gave birth, raged with great virulence until 1856, when the elder son suddenly died of cholera, or poison; the latter being a prevalent idea at the time. This opportune removal had not, however, the effect of settling the question, as there were still elder brothers of Jumma Bukht in existence, whose prior right to the succession was recognised by the Anglo-Indian government; while the mother of the latter still persisted in her efforts to obtain the reversion to the musnud for her own son, and declared she would not rest until her object was accomplished. When at length it was formally announced, by the resident at the court of Delhi, that his government had determined that the son of the deceased Prince Furruk-oo-deen, and grandson of the king, should inherit all that yet remained of imperial power at Delhi, as the heir in a direct line of the existing sovereign, the hostility of the begum to British influence became intense; and it thenceforward was a question among her partisans and the personal attendants of the king, whether, by overturning the English *raj*, she might not

obtain for her son the throne she so much desired he should occupy. Such, at least, were among the allegations urged against the begum: but whether correct or not, it would seem there was no proof of her complicity, or, it is natural to suppose, it would have been produced during the trial of her husband.

Of the interior life of the imperial palace at Delhi, little is known; and of the occurrences that are allowed to vary the monotony of the zenana, still less is permitted to transpire beyond the walls that surround the miniature world. Of the begum, therefore, except as above stated, even tradition is silent, until the outburst of the storm which, in its wild fury, levelled the gilded pinnacles of her house in the dust, and drove her forth to share the doom of her dethroned and exiled lord.

The first intimation afforded by the various details which have appeared in connection with the occurrences at Delhi, in which the begum is personally referred to, is supplied in a communication from Mr. Greathed, the political agent of the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Provinces, in attendance at the head-quarters before Delhi; who says—"On the 21st of August, an emissary came into camp from the begum, proffering her assistance to bring about an accommodation. The messenger was desired to inform her majesty that we were anxious for her personal safety, and for that of all women and children; but that no communication could be received from inmates of the palace."

There is no doubt, from the revelations made by Mukhun Lall, the private secretary of the king, in the progress of the trial of his fallen master, that, during the siege, Zeenat Mahal took an active part in the deliberations of the royal council, and that, upon several occasions, her advice animated and encouraged the princes in their efforts to avert the catastrophe that, nevertheless, was inevitable. At the private conferences of the king, Maibhoob Ali Khan, the prime minister; Hussun Uskeeree, the astrologer; the begum, Zeenat Mahal; and, generally, two of the king's daughters, were present, and by their councils he was understood to be guided.

From this time until it was resolved to provide for the king's safety by flight, we have no trace of the begum's interference in affairs of state. The circumstances attending the departure of the royal party from the palace to the village of Cootub, about nine miles from Delhi, on the 19th of September, and their subsequent capture, have already been related in the memoir of Suraj-oo-deen, the ex-king; and need not be repeated.* We must now follow the unfortunate begum in her captivity and distress; which we are enabled to do, by a communication of Mrs. Hodson, the wife of the gallant officer by whom the royal party was brought back to their prison-palace; and which lady, probably from that circumstance, enjoyed the privilege (if such it may be termed) of gratifying her curiosity by a spectacle which woman, except as a comforter, might have been expected to turn from with emotions of deep regret. This lady, accompanied by Mr. Saunders (the civil commissioner at Delhi) and his wife, appears to have visited the apartment occupied by the captive monarch and his family, in much the same spirit as she might have gone to an exhibition of wild beasts. But her sensations when in the presence of the aged prisoner, are thus noted:—"I am almost ashamed to say, that a feeling of pity mingled with my disgust." Surely apology was not necessary, because the instinct of a kindlier nature asserted its power for a moment in behalf of one so fallen and so wretched. But she proceeds—"Mrs. Saunders then took possession of me, and we went on into a smaller, darker, dirtier room than the first, in which were some eight or ten women crowding round a common *charpoy* (bedstead), on which was a *dark, fat, shrewd, but sensual*-looking woman, to whom my attention was particularly drawn. She took hold of my hand—I shuddered a little—and told me that my husband was a great warrior; but that if the king's life and that of her son had not been promised them by the government, the king was preparing a great army, which would have annihilated us. The other women stood in silence till her speech was finished, and then crowding round, asked how many children I had, and if they were all boys?—examined my dress, and seemed particularly amused by my bonnet and parasol. They were, with one exception, coarse, low-caste women, as devoid of ornament as of beauty. The begum, Zeenat Mahal, asked me to sit down on her bed (a great honour, as I afterwards found, but which I did not appreciate); but I declined, as it looked so dirty."†

After some months of delay, during which the fallen monarch and his family were

* See *ante*, p. 159.

† *Vide History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. ii., p. 169.

kept in close confinement in his desecrated palace, he was put upon his trial, as before stated, and, on the nineteenth day of the proceedings, was declared guilty of the offences charged against him, and sentenced to be transported for life.

The youngest son of the prisoner, Jumma Bukht, whose boyish levity on the first day of his father's trial had excited the displeasure of the court, and deprived him of the miserable comfort of attending to his father's convenience during the remainder of the proceedings, appears to have been the only one of the princes of the royal house who was not, in a greater or less degree, implicated in the sanguinary occurrences of the rebellion. This prince, the youngest and most favoured son of the king, by Zeenat Mahal, was consequently looked upon with some degree of commiseration by the government authorities, and, for some time, was treated with indulgent consideration, as well on account of his youth as of his innocence from blame. This conduct at length awakened a sort of jealous feeling among the Europeans in Delhi; who, in their eagerness for retributive justice, fancied, in the attentions shown to the innocent son, they could discover an undue leaning towards the guilty father. At first, the youth had been allowed to accompany British officers in their evening rides, and to visit them at their quarters; but the current of indignation and hatred had set in against the house of Delhi, and it was not endured that any member of it should be exempt from the penalty which the offences of its head had brought down upon his race. Jumma Bukht, therefore, was subjected to a species of captivity within the walls of the palace enclosure; but, as no charge could be alleged or proved against him, of any complicity in the outbreak of May, or in any of the proceedings that followed, it was conceded to his earnest appeal that, on account of the king's great age and increasing infirmity, the prince should be permitted, under certain restrictions, to accompany his father into exile.

In a case of such importance as that which involved the future destiny of one who had inherited a royal name, and was yet, even in his fallen state, the acknowledged representative of an illustrious line of Eastern sovereigns, it became requisite that mature deliberation should be exercised, and that the highest authority should be afforded an opportunity to reverse or ratify the sentence passed upon the fallen occupant of a throne, by a court composed of three or four British officers. It was also necessary to determine the course to be adopted with regard to the female members of the royal establishment, whose destiny was interwoven with that of the prisoner, to whom the brightest days of their existence had been devoted, and who were now crushed by the blow that had prostrated him. The zenana of the aged king contained a number of females of rank; who, by the result of the insurrection, were now wholly dependent upon the liberality of the British government for the means of even daily subsistence. They were all without resources, and had been spoiled of their jewels and valuable ornaments by the rude grasp of unsympathising victors, or by the treachery of their servants, who had fled from them in the hour of peril. The condition of these ladies was alike pitiable and embarrassing, until the generosity of the government afforded them relief from the distress by which they were surrounded.

The ex-king was himself permitted to choose such of his wives as he preferred, to accompany him in the desolate path that lay between him and the grave; and, having made his selection, the ladies were next consulted as to their willingness to share the rigours of his exile. Of those named by the prisoner, several at once recoiled from the cheerless future to which his partiality had invited them; but Zeenat Mahal, whose girlish attachment had long settled into a calm and enduring friendship for one who, a quarter of a century previous, had placed her by his side on the throne of the Moguls, determined for one to share his fate, and to consummate, in a far-off land, the singular vicissitudes that had accompanied her existence. One other of the wives of the ex-king emulated the example and the fidelity of Zeenat Mahal; and by those only of the royal zenana was the offer of the government to accompany the prisoner accepted.

For these ladies, suitable provision had to be made. They were not criminals; and it was not by their act that the palace-home and royal state of the king of Delhi had become changed to a prison-tent and a convict's fare. To have treated them with harshness or parsimoniously in the alternative they had adopted, would, it was felt, have been unworthy of the government which had established itself upon the ruins of their state. A sufficient allowance was, therefore, promptly granted for their maintenance; and, with a delicacy

that should ever characterise an English gentleman, strict orders were issued by the governor-general, that, as regarded these ladies and their female attendants, the most rigid deference to their habits and customs should be observed by the guard placed over the prison-tents of the exiles, that, as much as possible, every unnecessary wound to their feelings and remembrance might be spared.

The time at length arrived for carrying the sentence of the court into effect; and the ex-king, accompanied by Zeenat Mahal, her son, and one other of the wives of the prisoner, were removed from Delhi to Allahabad, from whence they were conveyed by steamer to Calcutta, and there placed on board H.M.'s ship *Megæra,* for transportation to their future home.

Availing herself of the permission granted by government, Zeenat Mahal had, as we have seen, with true woman's fidelity, determined to share the destiny of her husband. Her father had already paid the debt of nature; but the youngest of her sons, Jumma Bukht, remained to her, and, like herself, was free to choose a path through the future intricacies of life; and each made a noble choice, that might atone for many faults. The wife and the son descended from the steps of a throne to the deck of a convict ship, that the few remaining years of him to whom they owed affection and obedience, might not be utterly without solace amidst the desolation that had overwhelmed him.

Dedicated, by Special Permission, to Her Majesty the Queen.

OUR

INDIAN EMPIRE

AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRIES OF

AFGHANISTAN, BELOOCHISTAN, PERSIA,

ETC.

DEPICTED AND DESCRIBED BY PEN AND PENCIL.

THE HISTORY

BY R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN.

Illustrated with a Series of Exquisite Steel Engravings,

FROM DRAWINGS BY

TURNER, STANFIELD, PROUT, CAPTAIN ELLIOTT,

MELVILLE, H. K. BROWN, ETC.

VOL. III.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED,

LONDON AND NEW YORK.

OUDE,—Gangetic plain. Plain; declivity (avg. 7 in. per m.) from N.W. to S.E. Sub-Himalaya range on N. frontier.

NEPAUL,—S. of Himalaya; sustained by sub-Himalaya. Table-land average about 4,000 ft. Valleys, enclosed by lofty chains; sides covered with forests, surmounted by culminating ridge of snow-clad Himalaya.

SIKHIM,—Himalaya. Spurs from Himalaya; enclosing deep valleys.

BENARES,—N. W. Provinces. Plain on either side of Ganges. Declivity from N.W. to S.E., and from W. to E. In S. part of Mirzapoor dist., surface rises into a rugged table-land, being a continuation of the Vindhya chain.

PATNA,—Gangetic plain, Bengal. Sarun and Patna districts; and along Ganges, level; table-land in S.W. part of Shahabad, descent very abrupt; a rocky ridge in S. part of Behar district.

BHAGULPOOR,—Gangetic plain, Bengal. Generally flat: slope from W. to E. Rajmahal hills rise on river bank of Ganges, and stretch S. and S.W. through Bhagulpoor district. Tirhoot diversified by undulations.

MOORSHEDABAD,—Bengal. Rungpoor and Pubna dists. low; Rajeshaye flat; hilly to W.; W. parts of Moorshedabad and Beerbhoom hilly.

JESSORE,—Delta of Ganges, and river bank of Hooghly river (Calcutta district.) Greater part level; even depressed in Jessore district; in W. parts of Hooghly, Burdwan, and Bancoora, rises into slight eminences.

DACCA,—E. Bengal. Declivity from N. to S.; intersected by Brahmapootra. Jyntea, hilly; Silhet, a hollow, swampy basin, enclosed on three sides by mountains.

GARROW and COSSYAH STATES,—Assam. Hilly and mountainous; numerous streams.

COOCH BEHAR,—Bengal. Level; slope to S.E.

N.E. FRONTIER: ASSAM,—N. of Burmah. Intersected by Brahmapootra, which receives the drainage of the sub-Himalaya from the N.; Garrows, Cossyahs, and Nagas from the S.: numerous clumps of abrupt hills.

BHOTAN,—Foot of E. section of Himalaya. Imperfectly known: a table-land resting on the sub-Himalaya, which rise from 5,000 to 6,000 ft. above Assam.

NAGA TRIBES,—Upper Assam. Range of mountains dividing Burmah from the British dominions.

TIPPERAH,—Bengal. Wild hilly regions: fertile tracts on Megna.

MUNEEPOOR,—Burmese frontier. Valley, enclosed by precipitous mountains.

CHITTAGONG,—Mouths of Brahmapootra, and N.E. side of Bay of Bengal. Sea-coast: plains,—backed by parallel ranges of lofty mountains, throwing off spurs in a W. direction. Drainage from E. to W.

ARRACAN,—E. side of Bay of Bengal. Extensive flats, intersected by numerous navigable salt-water creeks: ranges of mountains extending N. and S. Islands and fine harbours.

PEGU,—Lower course and delta of Irawaddy. Gradual slope from N. to S. N. of Prome, hilly: range skirting E. shore of Bay of Bengal, diminishing in height towards C. Negrais. Numerous passes.

TENASSEREM PROVINCES,—E. side of Bay of Bengal. Generally rugged: parallel ranges N. and S., and E. and W.: also extensive plains. High, bold islands, with many harbours.

Islands on the Coast of India—Name, Locality and Position, Extent, Physical Features, and Remarks.

KAROOMBA,—Gulf of Cutch; lat. 22° 27′, lon. 69° 47′. 1½ m. broad, and 3 m. long.

BEYT, or BET,—Gulf of Cutch; lat. 22° 28′, lon. 69° 10′. About 3 m. long, and greatest breadth about ½ m. On the banks are situate a castle or fort, compact and imposing; lofty massive towers, mounted with iron ordnance. Many temples and shrines in honour of Crishna.

DIU,—Kattywar; lat. 20° 42′, lon. 71°. About 7 m. long; breadth, varying from 1½ to 2 m. (See *Diu*—"Ports and Havens.")

PERIM,—Gulf of Cambay; lat. 21° 38′, lon. 72° 19′. About 2 m. long, and ½ m. broad. Numerous organic remains embedded in conglomerate: various antiquities extant.

BASSEIN,—Concans; lat. 19° 25′, lon. 72° 50′. About 11 m. long, and 3 m. broad; 35 sq. m. Irregular surface; amongst other eminences a high hill of tabular form, and a conical peak not quite so elevated.

SALSETTE,—Concans; lat. 19°—19° 18′, lon. 72° 54′—73° 3′. 18 m. long, 10 m. broad; about 150 sq. m. Diversified by hills, some of considerable elevation. Keneri commands an extensive view.

BOMBAY,—Concans; lat. 18° 57′, lon. 72° 52′. Length, 8 m.; average breadth, 3 m. Two parallel ranges of rocks of unequal length are united at their extremities by hills of sandstone. Malabar, Mazagon, and Parell hills are the principal elevations.

ELEPHANTA, or GARA-PORI,—Bombay harbour; lat. 18° 57′, lon. 73°. Rather less than 6 m. in circumference. Composed of two long hills, with a narrow valley. Famed for its excavated temples.

KOLABAH,—Concans; lat. 18° 38′, lon. 72° 56′. Long neglected, as a barren rock, but fortified by the Mahratta, Sevajee.

MALWUN,—Concans; lat. 16° 4′, lon. 73° 31′. Little elevated above the sea, and not easily distinguished from the main-land.

RAMISERAM,—Gulf of Manaar; lat. 9° 18′, lon. 79° 21′. 14 m. long, and 5 m. broad. Low, sandy, and uncultivated. Sacred in Hindoo mythology; great pagoda.

SAUGOR,—Mouths of Ganges; lat. 21° 42′, lon. 88° 8′. 7 or 8 m. long, and 4 m. broad. Salt manufacture formerly carried on. Island held in great veneration by the Hindoos.

DON MANICK ISLANDS,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 21° 5′, lon. 90° 43′. Flat.

LABADOR,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 22′, lon. 90° 48′. Low.

DECCAN SHABAZPORE,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 30′, lon. 91°. Flat.

HATTIA,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 35′, lon. 91°. Level.

SUNDEEP,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 30′, lon. 91° 32′. About 18 m. long, and 6 m. broad. Level; fertile, and abounding with cattle.

KOOTUBDEA ISLANDS,—Chittagong; lat. 21° 50′, lon. 91° 55′. About 12 m. long. Low and woody.

MUSCAL,—Chittagong; lat. 21° 35′, lon. 92°. 15 m. long, and 7 m. broad. Some small elevations.

SHAPOREE,—Arracan; lat. 20° 46′, lon. 92° 24′.

ST. MARTIN,—Arracan; lat. 20° 36′, lon. 92° 25′. Two divisions united by a dry ledge of rocks.

BOLONGO,—Arracan; lat. 20°, lon. 93°. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.

PENY KYOUNG,—Arracan; lat. 20°, lon. 93° 4′. 26 m. long; 6 m. broad. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.

ANGEY KYOUNG,—Arracan; lat. 19° 50′, lon. 93° 10′. 20 m. long; 3 m. broad. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.

RAMREE,—Arracan; lat. 19° 5′, lon. 93° 52′. About 50 m. long; extreme breadth, 20 m.

CHEDUBA,—Arracan; lat. 18° 40′—56′, lon. 93° 31′—50′. About 20 m. long, and 17 broad; 250 sq. m. Hill and dale; some parts picturesque. Hills in the north part covered with jungle.

FLAT,—Arracan; lat. 18° 37′, lon. 93° 50′. About 4 m. long. High towards the centre.

NEGRAIS,—Pegu; lat. 15° 58′, lon. 94° 24′. Circumference, about 18 m.; area, 10 sq. m. Rendered conspicuous by a hill forming the E. high land on the coast.

PELEW GEWEN,—Mouth of Saluen river; lat. 16° 20, lon. 97° 37′.

KALEGOUK,—Tenasserim; lat. 15° 32′, lon. 97° 43′. 6 m. long; 1 m. broad.

MOSCOS ISLANDS,—Tenasserim; lat. 13° 47′—14° 28′, lon. 97° 53′. Safe channel between them and the coast.

TAVOY,—Tenasserim; lat. 12° 55′—13° 15′, lon. 98° 23′. About 20 m. long, and 2 m. broad. Of moderate height.

CABOSSA,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 48′, lon. 97° 58′. Moderately high.

KING,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 31′, lon. 98° 28′. Length, 26 m.; breadth, 10 m.

ELPHINSTONE,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 21′, lon. 98° 10′. 13 m. long; 4½ m. broad.

ROSS,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 12° 54′, lon. 98° 12′.

BENTINCK,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 11° 45′, lon. 98° 9′. 20 m. long; 6 m. broad.

DOMEL,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 11° 40′, lon. 98° 20′. 26 m. long; 5 m. broad.

KISSERANG,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 11° 34′, lon. 98° 36′. 20 m. long; 10 m. broad.

SULLIVAN'S,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 10° 50′, lon. 98° 20′. 36 m. long, and 3 m. broad.

CLARA,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. 10° 54′, lon. 98° 4′. High; having small peaks, one very sharp, like a sugar-loaf.

Harbours and Havens on the Coast of India—Name, District, Position, Dimensions, Soundings, and Remarks.

KURRACHEE,—Sinde; lat. 24° 51′ N., lon. 67° 2′ E. Spacious; about 5 m. N. from Munoora point, and about the same from town. Entrance, 1¼ fath. at low-water; 3 ft. at spring-tides. W. side, from 2 to 4 fath. at low-water. Position of great importance: the only safe port in Sinde. Population, 22,227. Railway from port to navigable part of Indus.

POORBUNDER,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 37′, lon. 69° 45′. Entrance obstructed by a bar. Much frequented by craft from 12 to 80 tons burthen; trading with Africa, Sinde, Beloochistan, Persian Gulf, and Malabar coast. Exp., grain and cotton. Imp., various kinds.

NUVVEE-BUNDER,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 28′, lon. 69° 54′. Available only for small craft. River Bhader, navigable for 18 m. above town.

DIU,—Kattywar (on an island); lat. 20° 42′, lon. 71°. Good haven, 3 and 4 fath. Small harbour E. of Diu head, from 2 to 3½ fath. A Portuguese town, well fortified; little traffic.

MOWA,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 3′, lon. 71° 43′. 7 to 10 fath. Anchorage without shelter from the S.; with the flood-tide a vessel must lie with a reef of rocks right astern; considerable traffic.

GOGO,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 39′, lon. 72° 15′. Excellent anchorage; safe during S.W. monsoon; water always smooth. Ships touching here may procure water and refreshments, or repair damages.

BHOWNUGGUR,—Kattywar; lat. 21° 45′, lon. 72° 10′. Good and safe harbour. Place of extensive trade.

BROACH,—Bombay; lat. 21° 42′, lon. 73° 2′. River (Nerbudda) 2 m. wide, but shallow; at flood-tide there is a deep but intricate channel. Navigable only for craft of 50 tons burthen at all times. Town walled.

SURAT,—Bombay; lat. 21° 10′, lon. 72° 52′. A barred harbour. Roadstead dangerous in spring, when S. and W. winds prevail.

DAMAUN,—Bombay; lat. 20° 24′, lon. 72° 53′. 2 ft. on bar at low-water; spring-tides, 18 or 20 ft. inside. Rise of tide, 17 or 18 ft. Outside bar, a roadstead 8 fath. Excellent place for small vessels during S.W. monsoon, and for repairs. Portuguese town fortified.

BOMBAY,—Concans; lat. 18° 57′, lon. 72° 52′. Excellent and extensive haven. Continuous breakwater for nearly 10 m. Lighthouse, 150 ft. above sea, at S. extremity of Colaba Island. Great facilities for shipbuilding. Large docks, and strongly fortified.

JINJEERA, or RAJAPOOR,—Concans; lat. 18° 18′, lon. 73° 1′. 4 to 5 fath. at entrance, and same depth inside at low-water. No bar; shelter from all winds. Fortified.

BANKOTE,—Concans; lat. 17° 58′, lon. 73° 8′. 5 fath. low-water. Small haven at the mouth of the Savitree. Fort Victoria, on a high barren hill, S. side of entrance.

GHERIAH, or VIZIADROOG,—Concans; lat. 16° 32′, lon. 73° 22′. 5 to 7 fath. entrance, and 3 to 4 fath. inside at low-water. Excellent harbour; land-locked and sheltered from all winds. No bar.

VINGORLA,—Concans; lat. 15° 50′, lon. 73° 41′. Small bay; sheltered from every point except the S. About 2 m. from the main-land are the Vingorla rocks, —dangerous.

GOA,—W. coast, S. India; lat. 15° 30′, lon. 74°. Fine harbour, formed by an arm of the sea, into which flows a small river. Ancient Portuguese city, now falling into decay.

SEDASHEVAGHUR,—Malabar coast; lat. 14° 52′, lon. 74° 12′. Entrance to river 25 ft. at high tide; hazardous and intricate. Anchorage outside in Carwar Bay, sheltered by several islets. Fortified.

HONAHWAR,—Malabar coast; lat. 14° 17′, lon. 74° 30′. 7 m. long; 3 m. broad; 15 sq. m.; 5 or 6 fath. Though not a good haven, it can receive large ships.

MOOLKY,—Malabar coast; lat. 13° 6′, lon. 74° 51′. Place of shelter for coasting and fishing craft. Mulki rocks outside.

MANGALORE,—Malabar coast; lat. 12° 52′, lon. 74° 54′. Estuary, a fine expanse of water, separated from the sea by a beach of sand. The utility of the haven is greatly impaired, as the depth at the entrance is liable to vary.

CANANORE,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 52′, lon. 75° 26′. Small bay, open to the S., but sheltered on the W. 5 and 5½ fath. abreast of the fort. Water-shoals and rocky bottom near the fort.

TELLICHERRY,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 45′, lon. 75° 33′. Abreast of the fort is a ledge of rocks, between which and the land small craft may anchor. A shipping-place for produce of coast.

MAHE,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 42′, lon. 75° 36′. 5 or 6 fath. from 1½ to 3 m. from shore. Vessels of considerable burthen must anchor in the road. In fair weather, small craft can cross the bar of the river safely. A small French possession.

CALICUT,—Malabar coast; lat. 11° 15′, lon. 75° 50′. 5 or 6 fath. from 2 to 3 m. from land. No river or haven. A capacious haven said to have existed formerly; now filled up by drifted sand.

PONANY,—Malabar coast; lat. 10° 48′, lon. 75° 58′. 3 or 4 m. to sea is a shoal, but anchorage between it and land. 4 fath. on shoal, 6 fath. inside between it and shore. River navigable only for small craft. A railway from Madras is completed.

COCHIN,—Malabar coast; lat. 9° 58′, lon. 76° 18′. Outside the mouth of the Backwater there is a bar with 14 or 15 ft., inside about 25 or 30 ft. Injuriously affected by the S.W. monsoon.

QUILON,—Malabar coast; lat. 8° 53′, lon. 76° 39′. A bight where ships may anchor, under shelter, at about 2½ or 3 m. from the fort. Formerly a place of note.

TUTICORIN,—Gulf of Manaar; lat. 8° 48′, lon. 78° 12′. Safe roadstead; good anchorage, sheltered on all points. Pearl oyster banks exist in the vicinity.

NAGORE,—Coromandel coast; lat. 10° 49′, lon. 79° 54′. 8 ft. on the bar at high-water. Several vessels of 200 or 300 tons burthen belong to this place.

PORTO-NOVO,—Coromandel coast; lat. 11° 31′, lon. 79° 49′. Ships must anchor 2 m. off shore, in 6 or 7 fath. River small at its mouth; admits only coasting craft.

CUDDALORE,—Coromandel coast; lat. 11° 43′, lon. 79° 50′. River small, and mouth closed up by a bar. Admits coasting craft; good anchorage off shore 1½ m.

PONDICHERRY,—Coromandel coast; lat. 11° 56′, lon. 79° 54′. 7 or 8 fath., about ⅔ of a mile from land; 12 or 14 fath. in the outer road. Mouth of a small river, capable of admitting coasting craft. French possession; lighthouse, 89 ft.

MADRAS,—Coromandel coast; lat. 13° 5′, lon. 80° 21′. Anchorage 2 m. from shore, 9, 10, or 11 fath.; 300 yards from beach, varying from 12 to 25 ft. Vessels obliged to anchor 2 m. from shore, exposed to a heavy swell rolling in from seaward. Surf at all times sufficient to dash to pieces any European boat. During the S.W. monsoon no communication with the shore can be held without great danger. Fort St. George, strong.

NIZAMPATNAM,—Coromandel coast; lat. 15° 55′, lon. 80° 44′. No vessel of great burthen can approach the place. A considerable coasting trade.

MASULIPATAM,—Golconda coast; lat. 16° 10′, lon. 81° 13′. Very shallow, ½ fath. for nearly a mile. Ships must anchor 4 or 5 m. from the land, and abreast of the town.

CORINGA,—Golconda coast; lat. 16° 49′, lon. 82° 19′. Bar at entrance, with 12 or 14 ft. at spring-tides. Within, from 2½ to 4 fath. Best place on this coast for building or repairing small vessels.

VIZAGAPATAM,—Orissa coast; lat. 17° 41′, lon. 83° 21′. Bar at entrance passable for vessels of from 150 to 200 tons burthen. 8 or 10 ft. on bar; anchorage off land, 8 fath. In the S.E. monsoon, ships anchor S. of the Dolphin's Nose; in the N.E. monsoon, from 1½ to 1¾ m. from land.

JUGGURNATH, or POOREE,—Orissa coast; lat. 19° 49′, lon. 85° 53′. No harbour for town. Surf here very violent; landing can be effected only by boats similar to those used on the Coromandel coast.

BALASORE,—Orissa coast; lat. 21° 30′, lon. 87°. 12 to 15 ft. on bar at spring-tides. Large ships cannot enter the river; they must lay in Balasore-roads, where they are in some degree sheltered. Dry docks, to which vessels may be floated during spring-tides.

KEDJEREE,—Bengal; lat. 21° 53′, lon. 88°. 6 or 7 fath.; a bank has reduced the depth to 2 or 2½ fath. at low-water. Telegraphic communication with Calcutta, to announce arrivals and intelligence.

DIAMOND HARBOUR,—Bengal; lat. 22° 12′, lon. 88° 10′. So called as a part of Hooghly river. Formerly the resort of the large "Indiamen."

CHITTAGONG,—Bengal; lat. 22° 29′, lon. 91° 54′. Formerly a place of considerable trade, but now declining; other ports having supplanted it.

AKYAB,—Arracan; lat. 20° 10′, lon. 92° 54′. Good harbour. Suited for a commercial town.

KHYOUK PHYOU,—Arracan; lat. 19° 24′, lon. 93° 34′. Harbour said to be one of the finest in the world. Safe ingress for largest-sized ships at any season of the year.

GWA, or GOA,—Arracan; lat. 17° 33′, lon. 94° 41′. Barred. Harbour for vessels of 200 tons burthen.

BASSEIN,—Pegu; lat. 16° 45′, lon. 94° 50′. Deep river channel affords a safe passage for large ships.

RANGOON,—Pegu; lat. 16° 46′, lon. 96° 17′. Anchorage off the town in river. Rangoon river, a branch of the Irawaddy river.

MOULMEIN,—Tenasserim; lat. 16° 30′, lon. 79° 42′. An excellent well-sheltered haven. Fine seaport town. Forests in the neighbourhood, with other advantages favourable for ship-building.

AMHERST,—Tenasserim; lat. 16° 4′, lon. 97° 40′. Harbour large, difficult of access, and, during the S.W. monsoon, dangerous.

TAVOY,—Tenasserim; lat. 14° 7′, lon. 98° 18′. Obstructed by shoals and banks. Inaccessible for large ships within some miles of the town.

MERGUI,—Tenasserim; lat. 12° 27′, lon. 98° 42′. Harbour spacious, secure, and easy of access and egress for ships of any size. Town inaccessible for vessels of large burthen, as a bank obstructs the stream.

In continuing our narrative of Indian History, so far as the war of 1878-'79 was concerned, we must refer our readers to page 525 *ante*, in the first column of which reference is made to the treaty with Yakoob Khan, and the arrival of Major Cavagnari at Cabul. At that time, politicians were jubilant at what was supposed to be the termination of the Afghan War, an error which, as we shall see in the sequel, has had to be paid dearly for in men and money. As intimated in the paragraph already referred to, the thanks of Parliament were voted to all who had taken a part in the Afghan War. The general impression was that the treaty would tend to a lasting peace between the British Government and the Afghans, together with the other hostile tribes that they are associated with. It is only necessary for our readers to peruse the extracts we have given at page 525, from the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to find out how fully the idea of future safety was indulged in, dependent on the policy adopted towards the Afghans, as developed in the treaty.

It was thought desirable to conciliate the Afghans, but it was still insisted that a British resident should be appointed at or near Cabul. Everything appeared to promise well for the future, but it seems to have escaped the notice of British politicians that Indians, of most classes, have from time immemorial been naturally treacherous. Surely our previous knowledge of the Afghan and allied races should have saved us from the losses and humiliation that followed the ratification of the treaty already referred to. But instead of this, a misplaced confidence led our Indian authorities into a maze which has required an enormous expenditure of men, money, political and military scheming, the end of which cannot fail to be discreditable to our position in the eyes of Asiatic semi-civilised Powers.

With these preliminary remarks, we continue the history of the Afghan War from the date given at p. 525 *ante*. At page 506-508, the treaty is given in its text. It will be seen by article 5 that "the Ameer of Afghanistan, and its dependencies, guarantees the personal safety and honourable treatment of British agents within its jurisdiction." How far this was carried out will presently appear. The following details of the events that occurred are mostly quoted from a Blue-book issued in 1880.* It appears that in July, 1879, the Ameer was well received on his return to Cabul, and that the people were generally satisfied with the treaty. Major Cavagnari, the British envoy to Cabul, announced his re-

* C. 2457, Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Afghanistan.

ception in the following terms (quoted *verbatim*):—

"Kabul, 24th July. Embassy entered city this morning, and received a most brilliant reception. Four miles from city Sirdars Abdullah Khan, Herati, and Mullah Shah Mahomed, with some cavalry and two elephants, met us. We proceeded on the elephants with a large escort of cavalry. Outside the city two batteries of artillery, some cavalry, and nine regiments of infantry, were drawn up in column and saluted, their bands playing British National Anthem. As we entered city the heavy battery fired a salute of seventeen guns. Large crowd assembled, and was most orderly and respectful. Mustaufi and Daud Shah met us at our place of residence.

"In Bala Hissar at 6 p.m. I paid formal visit to Amir, and delivered Viceroy's letter. Amir inquired after Viceroy's health, and also after that of the Queen and Royal Family, and expressed regret on death of Prince Imperial. Amir's demeanour was most friendly."

As usual in all diplomatic matters with Eastern nations, there can be scarcely a doubt that the reception of the British Envoy was simply a matter of deceit. It was well known that the presence of a British Envoy in Cabul would become a matter of offence to the Afghans. In respect to the duplicity played on our unfortunate Envoy, nothing can better prove how little we can trust our so-called Afghan allies than the following extract from the Blue-book already referred to (C. 2457, 1880, p. 13), which we give *verbatim*, in further detail of the telegram above quoted from Major Cavagnari:—

"On Wednesday, the 23rd July, the Amir's master of the ceremonies, Shahgassi Mahomed Yusaf Khan, waited upon his Excellency, the Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary, Major Sir Louis Cavagnari, K.C.B., C.S.I., at his camp at Char Asiah to inform him of the arrangements made by His Highness the Amir for the reception of the Embassy next day. On Thursday, the 24th July, the Envoy and staff, escorted by the 9th Regiment of the Amir's Cavalry, marched from Char Asiah, and were met three miles outside the capital by Sirdir Abdulla Khan, son of Sirdir Sultan Ahmed Khan (Sultan Jan) of Herat and Mullah Shah Mahomed, the Foreign Minister, with 100 men of the Amir's mounted body-guard. Two elephants were also brought, and were mounted by the Envoy and the Secretary to the Embassy. The body-guard saluted and fell in in front, leading the procession. Half a mile nearer the city, another troop of orderly cavalry fell in in front of the body-guard. Close to the eastern gate of the Bala Hissar the troops of the Kabul garrison were drawn up in line of columns on the left of the road. On the right was a mountain battery, then nine battalions of infantry, and a horse artillery battery. On the left was a regiment of cavalry. The troops saluted the Envoy, presenting arms and playing 'God save the Queen.'

"The Envoy and staff entered the Bala Hissar by the Shah Shahid Gate, and as they did so, a salute of seventeen guns was fired by a heavy battery, 18-pounders. Near the Amir's palace a guard of honour, consisting of a whole regiment, was drawn up and saluted the Envoy as he passed, by presenting arms. Immediately on the arrival of his Excellency at the place of residence appointed for the Embassy, Mustaufi Habibulla (the Finance Minister) and Daud Shah (Commander-in-Chief) waited upon him to make formal inquiries after his health on the part of the Amir. At 10 o'clock Mr. Jenkyns, accompanied by Lieutenant Hamilton, visited the Amir on the part of the Envoy, and thanked him for the honourable reception that had been given to the Embassy. His Highness appointed 6 p.m. as a suitable hour for receiving the Envoy. At quarter to 6 p.m. the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Mullah Shah Mahomed) called at the British Embassy in order to escort the Envoy to the Amir's palace. At 6 p.m. the Envoy, accompanied by the whole of his staff, paid a formal visit to His Highness the Amir. A guard of the Amir's Highlanders accompanied the Envoy from his residence to His Highness' palace, at the door of which a guard of honour of the same regiment was drawn up. His Excellency introduced the members of his staff to the Amir, and, after the usual inquiries after his health, thanked His Highness for the very honourable reception, and the hospitable treatment which the British Embassy had experienced. The Envoy then delivered a letter to His Highness from his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, and conveyed his Excellency the Viceroy's compliments to His Highness. The Amir expressed his pleasure at the honour, and said he indulged the hope of having a personal interview with his Excellency the Viceroy soon. His Highness also inquired after the health of Her Majesty

the Queen, and the Royal Family, and of his Excellency the Viceroy. He also expressed his sorrow and condolence on the death of the Prince Imperial. After some further conversation the Envoy withdrew, being escorted back by the Foreign Minister. Sirdar Yahya Khan (Governor of Kabul), Mustaufi Habibulla (Finance Minister), and Daud Shah (Commander-in-Chief), were present at the Durbar, and sat on the Amir's left. The Envoy and staff, with Sher Mahomed Khan, Kayani (of the Kohat district) sat on His Highness' right."

It is evident that nothing could be more re-assuring than the reception thus accorded to the British envoy. But Sir Louis seems to have miscalculated his host. The late Lord Lawrence had already warned us that any attempt to send an Envoy to Afghanistan must necessarily be fraught with danger. The Duke of Argyll, in a speech delivered in February, 1880, quoted Lord Lawrence's words, "There is real danger to any Envoy sent to that country." (These remarks were made early in 1879).

Early in September, 1879, it became evident that the new Ameer had lost his control of the Afghans. He stated that the troops, city and surrounding country, had thrown off yoke of allegiance—"in fact, my kingdom is ruined.* After God I look to the government for aid and advice; my true friendship will be clear as daylight. By this misfortune I have lost my friend, the Envoy, and also my kingdom."

During the night of 4th September, 1879, information reached Ali Khel that on the morning of the 3rd the British Embassy at Cabul was attacked by three revolting Afghan regiments, joined by six others, and no hope was left for their safety. The following extract from the Blue-book already quoted, gives us authoritative details, so far as then known of this catastrophe. The despatch is dated Simla, September 15, 1879:—

"Early in the morning of Friday, the 5th instant, information reached this government by telegraph from Captain Conolly, its political assistant officer at Ali Khel, that, on the 3rd instant, the British Embassy at Kabul had been attacked by certain mutinous Afghan regiments, and that Sir Louis Cavagnari and the members of his mission were still defending themselves against overwhelming numbers, when the messenger who brought this intelligence left Kabul at noon on that day.

* Page 31, Blue Book, C. 2457, 1880.

"Immediately on receipt of the above information Captain Conolly was instructed to inform the Amir by letter that the British Government would hold His Highness responsible for the personal safety of all the members of its mission, and that the British troops would march to Cabul unless we were immediately assured of the complete safety of the Embassy. Captain Conolly was simultaneously ordered to let it be generally known upon the frontier that our troops were preparing to advance. General Stewart was at the same time instructed to stand fast at Kandahar, concentrating there all the troops previously under orders to return to India. Major St. John and party, who were about to proceed to Herat, were also instructed to remain at Kandahar until further orders.

"Late in the night of the 5th instant we received intelligence from Captain Conolly that letters had arrived at Ali Khel addressed by the Amir to General Roberts, and that the contents of these letters, as well as the statements of the messenger who brought them (an uncle of Padshah Khan, the great Ghilzai Chief) left no doubt as to the fate of the Embassy and escort. Captain Conolly's telegram added that particulars would follow immediately; and still later in the course of the same night, we received from him, by telegraph, the substance of a portion of the Amir's two above mentioned letters. This telegram ended abruptly, with a note by the station officer at Kohat that the wire at Thull had broken down; and it was not till the afternoon of the following day, September the 6th, that we received the continuation of it. The Amir's letters dated respectively Wednesday, 3rd instant, 8 a.m., and Thursday, the 4th, have been since received, and translations are enclosed with this despatch. They appear to have been written in great grief and perplexity. The first letter relates hurriedly that the troops who had been assembled for pay at the Bala Hissar suddenly broke into mutiny, and assaulted the British residency, after having stoned their officers; that they were received by the residency with 'a hail of bullets;' that the tumult was swelled by the troops from the outlying cantonments, and by the people of the city and the country around, who destroyed the artillery park, magazine, and workshops; and that His Highness made three ineffectual attempts to restrain the assailants, sending first his Commander-in-Chief, Daud Shah, who was beaten down by

the mob and was supposed to be dying, then his son with Yahya Khan, the Governor of Kabul, and finally some Syuds and Mullahs.

"The Amir's second letter states that the assault on the British Embassy was protracted with much loss of life on both sides from the morning till the evening of Wednesday, the 3rd instant, when the besiegers set fire to the residency, and the Amir had been unable to discover whether the Envoy had perished or had been rescued. He goes on to declare that the catastrophe had been brought about by malcontent and seditious persons, for the disruption of his alliance with the British, and for the ruin of his government; that he is shut up within his house with a few attendants, having totally lost authority and control over the troops and people; and that he has used every effort in vain to suppress the disorder; that his kingdom has been brought to destruction by these events; but that after God his strong reliance is upon friendship and union with the British Government, from whom he solicits advice as to how he should act. He protests that he will maintain a firm hold on the friendship of the British Government, and that his sincerity and innocence will be made manifest. He concludes by deploring the loss of the Envoy, whereby his state is ruined.

"On the 6th instant, Captain Conolly telegraphed that Sirkai Khan, the bearer of the Amir's first letter, had told him that Padshah Khan, who had visited the Embassy after the disaster, had seen there the dead bodies of the Envoy, staff, and escort, and added that of the latter some nine sowars were supposed to have escaped. He described the defence as very stubborn, and the loss of the Kabulis as heavy. Sirkai Khan's statement (just received by post and herewith enclosed) says, however, that he and Padshah Khan did not see the bodies of the British officers; also that the nine sowars belonged to a party of eleven who were returning from grass-cutting, of whom two were killed.

"Sirkai Khan states, further, that he, with Padshah Khan and another, were waiting at the Amir's quarters to take leave of him, being about to leave for the Shuturgurdan, when the mutiny broke out, and they heard the sound of firing. The Amir sent them to some troops in the 'Chaman,' whom they succeeded with some difficulty in pacifying; they then returned to the Amir's quarters, where they appear to have remained, without making any attempt to protect or rescue the Embassy, until the residency had been taken and its defenders overpowered. Sirkai Khan says that the Amir placed sentries round his own palaces, but that the soldiery were intent only upon taking the residency; and that the only troops who did not join the attack, and were ready to assist the Amir, were the artillery, who might have fired on the assailants had they received any orders."

Thus we have a circumstantial account so far as then known of the murder of our Envoy and his escort. It is evident that no adequate precautions had been taken either to secure their safety, or to ensure that respect due to the British name. To send a handful of men on an important mission into a country which was known to be deadly hostile to ourselves, and our policy, and in which, for at least some thirty years previously, we had acquired, at great cost, a knowledge of both the strength and duplicity of the people, was simply an act of madness. It may be plainly stated that Afghan duplicity was more than a match for Anglo-Indian diplomacy.

Sir Louis Cavagnari and his attendants defended themselves vigorously under the circumstances in which they were placed. The position they occupied near Cabul was of itself defenceless in a military point of view. They had little ammunition, and, of course, no notice of the intended attack. The following is a narrative of an eye-witness, being an extract from a telegram dated 10th September, 1879, from Captain Conolly to the Foreign Secretary at Simla:—

"Emam Buksh, native of Jullundur, once in Hyderabad (Sind) Police, and lately in Sir Louis Cavagnari's secret employ, was present at mutiny of troops, and throughout fight in Residency. Two guns were used, but fired only some eight shots. Says the mutineers, under shelter of a balcony which ran round the building, set fire to it, and that the defenders were partly killed, partly smothered, and burnt alive. Sir Louis was rendered senseless by a cut from behind which clove his head, and was immediately afterwards crushed by a portion of wall and building roof which fell in. Jenkyns and Hamilton were shot, and scorched or burnt to death. Doctor Kelly, being shot, lived till next morning, when the mutineers returned, butchered him and all who were alive, stripping and mutilating their bodies in the most horrible way. The Sikh Jemadar defended the Envoy most gallantly, and struck off the head of his murderer with one blow. A Sikh Duffadar ran out

and slew eight men with his own hand. All behaved well, but on Sir Louis being killed they lost heart, and the defence slackened. Ammunition, too, had begun to run out. Deponent hid himself in a drain under one of the baths, and at night crept out, and took refuge with a friendly Mullah. Remained two days, and came away. Three sepoys, who had also secreted themselves, were taken away alive to the Amir the same evening. During the attack, which was from all sides, one side overlooking the Residency, the Amir and his Sirdars were looking on unconcerned, and did nothing to help beyond sending his son and Mullah a little way. Daud Shah made only a show of quelling the disturbance, but did not really exert himself. He was not wounded."

Thus fell one of the most valuable of our Indian officers, simply through a misplaced confidence in an enemy, who had only waited to revenge himself on us in a manner strictly in accordance with the previous history of Afghan and the neighbouring tribes.

Immediately on the receipt of the painful intelligence in London, the Home Government took steps to avenge the injury. In a despatch from the India Office, London, dated September 18, 1879, Lord Cranbrook, after expressing his deep regret at the disaster, ordered all measures to be taken "to vindicate the honour of Great Britain, and to exact redress for the murderous violence to which the members of the Mission had fallen victims."

The following remarks, in reference to previous missions to Cabul, we quote from the *Times* of September 19, 1879 :—

"At a time when the inference is being drawn from the massacre of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his escort that both Dost Mahomed and Shere Ali were right in declining to receive a permanent English Envoy in their capital, it may be expedient to point out that there have been successful British Missions to Cabul. There have been, in fact, two such. Before describing these, it may be stated that our duty to our Envoys renders it incumbent upon us to take as many precautions as possible to keep them out of unnecessary danger, and for that reason alone the condition of Cabul must undergo a very considerable change before it would be prudent for us to risk the life of another Envoy among its fanatical people. It is this consideration which gives a practical value to the suggestion that the capital of the State should be transferred back to the old Durani city of Candahar. Not only are the Candaharees much less turbulent and with fewer antipathies towards foreigners than the Cabulese, but they have lately given unquestionable demonstration of their friendly feeling towards England. The welcome which the troops returning from Peshin received the other day proves conclusively that the sentiment of the Candaharees is a friendly one. This has more or less always been the case. The residence of the Lumsden Mission at this town during the worst portion of the Indian Mutiny will be remembered, and it may be asserted with some confidence that had it been stationed at Cabul its fate, despite Dost Mahomed's firmness, would have been the same as that of Burnes and Cavagnari. The question of principle is that a British Envoy should reside at the Court of the Ameer; it is a matter of detail that must be decided by local causes where that Court shall be.

"The first British Mission to Cabul was that of Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1808, but as it only proceeded to Peshawur we can but simply refer to it. The journey of Mr. Forster to the court of Timour Shah in 1783 had given Englishmen a clearer knowledge of the Durani Monarchy, and when it appeared probable that the influence of France was obtaining the upper hand in the Councils of Teheran it suggested itself to Lord Minto that it would be well to repair the check received in Persia by a great success at Cabul. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone was accordingly despatched to Cabul to negotiate a treaty with the King against France and Persia. That the British government 'would not hesitate to adopt any plan of hostility against Persia consonant to the views of the King of Cabul' formed the chief part of Mr. Elphinstone's instructions. These were, however, altered in consequence of the progress of events in Europe and the failure of the French schemes in Persia. The reception given to our representative at Peshawur, then in the hands of the Afghans, was magnificent. The King's 'hospitality was profuse.' Shuja-ul-Mulk, who for a brief space had established his authority, was most gracious. The least fanciful of his expressions was that 'the Creator had designed England and Cabul to be united by bonds of everlasting friendship.' On the other hand, it is necessary to remember that much of this friendship was due to the fact that this Embassy was conducted on a grand scale. The presents it brought were most costly.

The expense was characterised by Lord Minto some time afterwards in an official minute as 'enormous.' But it had come at an unfortunate moment. Afghanistan was on the eve of a civil war which was to cost Shuja his crown; and the best advice the Shah could give Mr. Elphinstone, after the signature of a treaty of friendship, was to leave Peshawur without delay.

"We have to pass on for nearly 30 years before we come to the second British Mission to the Afghan Court, and the first to reach the city of Cabul. This time, instead of being a move of high politics, it was ostensibly one produced by trade considerations alone. Its very title proclaimed its character. It was the Commercial Mission to Cabul. Towards the close of the year 1835 Lord Auckland became Governor-General of India, and in the spring of the following year he received a letter of congratulation from Dost Mahomed, at that time the predominant chief in Cabul, Jellalabad, and Ghuzni. The Dost was hard pressed by the Sikhs in one quarter, and the rivalry of the members of his house was a constant source of trouble to him. Moreover, there hung over him the great cloud of the pretensions of the Sudosyes, the pensioners of Loodiana. He was eager to participate in the security afforded by British protection. He asked Lord Auckland for suggestions as to the settlement of his affairs, and, in truly Oriental language, told him to consider him and his country 'as your own.' The result of that letter was that the Governor-General resolved to 'depute some gentlemen' to Cabul to discuss commercial and other kindred questions. There was a darker cloud on the horizon beyond the border-lands of India, and the rumours of Russian intrigues at Teheran and Russian activity against the Khirgiz beyond the steppe had served to give additional interest and importance to a scheme that had suggested itself some years before to Lord William Bentinck and Sir John Malcolm, and which had given rise to the second mission into Afghanistan. The gentleman Lord Auckland selected for the delicate mission was Alexander Burnes, who, by his proficiency in native languages, and his skill as a draftsman, had distanced all his contemporaries in the service. In 1830, when he was twenty-five years of age, he had visited in an official capacity Runjeet Singh at Lahore, and had seen Shuja-ul-Mulk at Loodiana. It was this journey that brought Burnes under the immediate notice of Lord William Bentinck, who saw in this traveller, full of enthusiasm, and eager to explore the countries of Central Asia, the very man for 'opening up fresh fields of geographical and commercial inquiry.' In December, 1831, Burnes left British territory, ostensibly as a private traveller, but with special passports from the government. Travelling with three companions through the Punjab he entered Afghanistan by the Khyber and met with a most flattering reception at the hands of Dost Mahomed. He arrived at Cabul on the 1st of May, 1832, and remained there until the 18th of the month, when he resumed his journey, and, travelling over the Hindoo Koosh, reached Bokhara, where he resided two months. Returning by way of the Kara Kum desert and Meshed to Bushire he was back in India early in 1833, having accomplished what was certainly the most remarkable journey that had at that time been achieved by an Englishman. During his residence at Cabul he had ingratiated himself with Dost Mahomed and many of his principal sirdars, and was made the most welcome of guests. He had succeeded because he had acted with the most remarkable tact, and the same quality which carried him safely through the dangers of fanatical Cabul helped him among the still more fanatical people of Bokhara.

"No man then appeared to Lord Auckland to be better fitted for the task he had in hand than Burnes, who was spoken of as 'the friend of Dost Mahomed.' A mission of amity to Cabul would have an aspect of sincerity if it were entrusted to that ruler's old guest. While performing a delicate task at the Court of the Ameers of Scinde, Burnes received orders, therefore, to hold himself in readiness to undertake the charge of the Embassy to Afghanistan. On the 26th of November, 1836, he set out on his second mission to Cabul. Travelling through Scinde and Bhawulpore, he, with four companions, reached Peshawur shortly after the battle of Jamrud between the Sikhs and the Afghans; and pushing on from that place they traversed the Khyber without accident, although the deputation of the pass tribes to conduct them had not arrived. On the 20th of September, 1837, they entered Cabul. They were received 'with great pomp and splendour.' Akbar Khan came out in person at the head of a fine body of Afghan cavalry, and Burnes entered the capital seated on an elephant beside the heir to the throne. Special quarters were provided within the

Bala Hissar, and the mission lived as 'the guests of the King.' On the following day Dost Mahomed received Burnes in state, and expressed to him 'his high sense of the great honour conferred upon him;' but the real interview was held on the 4th of the following month, when other schemes than the extension of trade by an improvement in the navigation of the Indus were discussed. Dost Mahomed's great grievance was the loss of Peshawur. For the recovery of that he would do anything. Burnes could hold out very small hope that Runjeet Singh would relax his hold on that possession. The month of October was passed in repeated negotiations on this and similar topics, and while the Candahar Sirdars were gravitating more and more towards the Shah and his Russian advisers, the Cabul ruler's alliance with the English was becoming firmer and more patent in the eyes of the neighbouring peoples. The problem became more involved with the arrival of the Russian Envoy, Vickovitch, who reached Cabul in December. At that conjuncture Cabul had as its guests at the same moment, for the first and perhaps the last time, an ambassador from Calcutta, and another from St. Petersburg. For two months Vickovitch received but cool treatment; but then, it having become known that the English Government would not concern itself in the question of Peshawur, a change occurred, and the Russian officer was placed on a better footing. Numerous other abortive interviews were held, and at last Burnes took his departure from Cabul on the 26th of April, seven months after his entry into the city. So far as the objects of the mission went it had been a failure. Neither commerce nor policy was benefited by Burnes's long residence at Cabul, and when he set out on his return journey he left Vickovitch apparently master of the field.

"History shows us, therefore, that there have been three English Missions to Afghanistan, two of which have resided at Cabul. They were successful in that respect which persons would now assume to be impossible for them to be. They returned in safety. Several English travellers, both before and about the same time, performed the same feat without any unpleasant consequences; and, on the principle that what has been should occur again, it may be asserted that there is nothing insuperable in the way of deputing resident British officers even to Cabul. Tact and judgment on the part of the Envoy would avoid petty annoyances; and it cannot be doubted that our measures on the present occasion will have the effect of impressing upon the Afghans that the murder of British Envoys is too dangerous an amusement to be indulged in."

Having thus described the leading events that occurred during the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari and suite, we next turn to the steps taken by the government to punish the authors and accomplices.

As soon as news reached England, instructions were sent out to despatch all available forces to Cabul. Not only were we in fresh difficulties with the Afghans, and the almost endless number of petty hostile tribes with which that country and its neighbours are infested, but there was, at the same time, apparent reason to fear that Russia was intriguing against us.

Indeed, in a despatch from Sir Louis Cavagnari, dated 27th August, 1879, about a week before the murder, he sent some reports from Cabul relating the movements of certain Russian officers. From this information, and more derived from other sources, it was generally suspected in England that Russia was more or less at the bottom of our fresh troubles in Afghanistan. It was also strongly suspected that the new Ameer had, to some extent, either from fear or other causes, sided with the rebels, and so had been in part accessory to the murder of Cavagnari.

The then state of affairs will be best explained by the following extracts from a despatch sent by the Viceroy of India to Lord Cranbrook, dated Simla, 25th September, 1879:—

"We have the honour to enclose, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, papers containing all the material information that has reached us, since the despatch of our letter of the 15th September, regarding the circumstances of the attack upon the British Embassy at Kabul, and the course of events within Afghanistan.* We propose also to report briefly the progress of the measures adopted to exact retribution at Kabul, and to restore order in the country.

"In regard to the circumstances of the attack on the Embassy, several men of the escort, who had taken part in the defence, have managed to escape into British territory. There are, of course, various discrepancies in the details of these statements,

* The particulars of these have already been given at p. 577, *ante*.

especially in regard to the manner in which the real attack, with fire-arms, began; but all accounts seem to agree that certain unarmed regiments were drawn up in the Bala Hissar to receive their pay, that they suddenly broke out into violent mutiny, and attacked the residency; that they were at first kept off, but they went for arms, and on their return after a short interval surrounded and besieged the residency; reaching the roof and setting fire to the house below, until the building became untenable and the defenders were gradually overpowered. The mutineers were joined by the city mob; and there is no evidence from the accounts given by these men, that any serious attempt was made by the Amir or his people to assist or rescue the British officers. Upon this important point it is still necessary to suspend judgment, until we are in possession of more ample and authentic evidence of the Amir's actual position and behaviour at the time, and until the Amir's own explanations shall have been received. From Kandahar we are informed that the Amir has written to his uncle, Muhammad Yusaf Khan, Governor of Zamindawur, giving an account of the events of the 3rd September, differing much from that sent to the Viceroy and Sirdar Sher Ali Khan. Only two regiments, both of the body-guard, are said to have mutinied, and attacked the Embassy and murdered the members of the Embassy. Nothing is mentioned of any attempt at rescue, or of participation by the people, and it is expressly stated that no other injury was done, and that by evening everything was quiet. We remark that Baha-ud-din-Khan, a very intelligent native officer of our cavalry, who was in Kabul at that time, and Sirdar Gholam Nakshband Khan, who, though not in Kabul when the attack took place, was connected with the Embassy, are both of opinion that the Amir might have assisted our officers.

"In regard to the origin and causes of this sudden outbreak we are still without authentic information. Taimur, a Sowar of the guides escort, who has escaped, mentions that the troops and the city at first welcomed the arrival of the Envoy, imagining that he would be able to improve their condition; but that the temper of the soldiery altered when they were disappointed about obtaining their pay.

"In regard to the general state of affairs at Kabul, and to the disposition of the principal tribes with whom we have to deal, it is yet not possible to form any precise opinion. There can be no doubt that emissaries from Kabul are abroad in the tribal country, with the object of inciting the tribes to take arms, and to be prepared for giving trouble to the British forces. . . . We have not yet ascertained to what extent, and with what object, the Amir himself may be in correspondence with these tribes, or whether the messages are circulating under his direct authority. It was to be expected, however, that in his present situation the Amir would be anxious to secure, in any contingency, the adherence of the more powerful tribes."

The despatch gives some general idea of the state of feeling of the people in the neighbourhood of Cabul, &c. But generally speaking, the only anticipations that could be formed were that we should shortly be plunged into a nest of hornets, whose mode of fighting would give us great loss and trouble. The geological character of Afghanistan greatly favours the guerilla mode of fighting, and of this the natives took the fullest possible advantage.

In a letter from the Ameer, dated 11th September, he expresses himself as deeply grieved "at recent events; but there is no fighting against God's Will." He states his hope that the mutineers will soon get the punishment they deserved, and declares his lasting friendship to the British Government.

The following extracts from the despatch already quoted shows what the Indian authorities resolved on to punish the mutineers and regain our prestige:—

"Our military situation at the present moment (25th September, 1879) may be briefly summed up as follows:—In Southern Afghanistan, General Stewart concentrated the bulk of his force at Kandahar, and, in addition to guarding his long line of communications, had prepared a force of 2,000 men with transport and supplies, ready to move at a moment's notice. We have strengthened this force by the addition of two companies of Bombay Sappers for employment on the Bolan road, and have called up a Bombay brigade of three infantry regiments to guard the Sukkar-Multan line and frontier, and to meet the demands for escort and convoy duty. We directed a reconnaissance to be made to Kelat-i-Ghilzai; and a force of about 3,000 men under Brigadier General Hughes left yesterday

morning for Kelat-i-Ghilzai. We have further under consideration the expediency of pushing this reconnaissance even up to Ghazni. On this line all operations are in full working order.

"On the Kurram line, the supply of transport, and the progress made up the valley by the reinforcing troops have now placed General Roberts in a position to advance. His line of communication is fairly well-guarded already, and is daily becoming more so. His field force is concentrated between Ali Khel and Shuturgurdan. An advance will be made to-day on Dobandi or Kushi by half the force; the remaining half following a day or two afterwards, when the Shuturgurdan will be held by four guns, the 3rd Sikhs, and 11th Native Infantry. The field force should therefore be fully concentrated by the 1st at Kushi, whence Kabul can be reached in four marches. Communication will be maintained with the Shuturgurdan until the pass is closed by snow, or the Khyber line is open.

"On the Khyber line, Major-General Bright, who is now at Peshawur, has organised a strong advanced brigade which is destined to move on to Jellalabad and to push a reconnaissance beyond. A portion of the Lundikotal force will move immediately upon Dakka. The sickness in the Peshawur valley and Khyber Pass, which has been unusually great, has added to the difficulty of equipping two lines at once, but matters are mending in this direction; and as all transport has now been diverted to Peshawur, there is every hope that the road to Kabul will be open *viâ* the Khyber before the end of next month. A cart road already exists to Gandamak, and this will be improved and continued onwards with the utmost possible expedition."

The Ameer seemed to find his capital by no means a pleasant place of residence. He consequently left it, and arrived at General Baker's camp on the 27th September. The following extracts from a despatch from the Viceroy to Lord Cranbrook, describe the circumstances. It is dated October 2nd, 1879:—

"The postscript to our last despatch informed your lordship that General Baker had advanced to Kushi and had encamped there with the troops under his command without any opposition. We now learn by a telegram that General Roberts arrived at the same place on the 28th ultimo (September), with three regiments; and it is understood that his whole force, assembled yesterday at Kushi, moves forward to-day towards Kabul. The cavalry brigade, accompanied by General Roberts in person, advanced the day before yesterday as far as Zarghun Shahr, and was expected to reach Zahidabad, two marches from Kabul, to-day. General Roberts expresses his hope that the whole force will have arrived before the walls of the capital by Sunday, the 5th instant (October). Intelligence of the arrival of His Highness the Amir in General Baker's camp on the 27th September, has already been communicated to your lordship by telegraph. At nine o'clock on the morning of that day General Baker received a letter from Daud Shah, the Afghan Commander-in-Chief, asking whether General Baker would receive him and the Amir's heir-apparent in camp. General Baker replied in the affirmative. An hour afterwards some special servants of the Amir arrived, inquiring whether His Highness himself, attended by 300 sowars, would be received in the camp. General Baker replied that he would meet him a mile from camp. The Amir appeared at Kushi on the evening of the same day attended by his son, Sirdar Yahya Khan, Daud Shah, a suite of 45 members, including many of the most important chiefs, and an escort of about 200 men. Shortly before this, the Mustaufi and the Wazir Shah Muhammad, who had been allowed, after several interviews, to leave General Roberts' camp, had arrived at Kushi, where they have now joined the retinue of the Amir."

Thus to some extent our difficulties were lessened by the fact that there was no government left in Cabul, owing to the Amir leaving it. But still there was the danger of a general anarchy, and this occurred, and lasted until our troops reached the capital.

General Roberts pushed on, and the following extracts from the despatch already quoted, will show some of the difficulties he had to contend with:—

"On receipt of this news by the Government of India, General Roberts was instructed by telegram not to delay his advance, and to issue a proclamation announcing his intentions to occupy Kabul. On the following day the letter of general instructions, which is forwarded to your lordship separately by this mail, was sent to General Roberts for the guidance of his proceedings as soon as he shall have occupied the city. It was reported that the

gates were closed, and the city was in some confusion immediately after the departure of the Amir, who appears to have left without giving any public notice of his intentions; and as soon as his withdrawal became known, the people, after some fruitless appeal had been made for assistance to three regiments in Kohistan, began removing their property. Kabul was reported to be quiet on the 27th September, but we now learn that four infantry regiments have returned thither from Turkestan, which may encourage the inhabitants to resistance. Besides the persons of rank and importance who accompanied the Amir, several others, including Sirdar Wali Muhammad Khan and Abdulla Khan, awaited General Roberts' arrival at Zarghan Shahr, which is seven miles distant from Kushi, and a satisfactory interview followed. The Amir has addressed the Ghilzais and his officials forbidding opposition to the advance of our troops, and has promised assistance, transports and supplies, which, in obedience to his orders, have been sent in."

Before starting for Cabul, General Roberts gave the inhabitants of that city a forecaste of what they might expect when he reached it. It was in the form of a proclamation, of which the following is a copy, dated 16th September, 1879, corresponding to the 28th Ramazan, 1296:—

"Be it known to all the chiefs and the people of the country of Kabul and its Dependencies that, in accordance with the Treaty concluded in May, 1879, corresponding to Jamdi-ul-Akhir 1296 Hijri, between the two great Governments, and to the terms of which His Highness the Amir expressed his assent, and agreed to the location of an Envoy of Her Imperial Majesty the Empress, a British Envoy was, at the special request of His Highness the Amir, located at the Kabul Court, and the Amir guaranteed that he should be treated honourably and protected.

"Within six weeks after the said Envoy was received at and entered (Kabul) the whole Embassy was besieged and massacred in the very citadel of His Highness the Amir, who could not save or protect them from the hands of the soldiers and the people. From this the lack of power of the Amir and the weakness of his authority in his capital itself is quite apparent and manifest. For this reason the British troops are advancing for the purpose of taking a public revenge on behalf of the deceased as well as of obtaining satisfaction (lit. consolidation) of the terms entered into in the Treaty concluded. The British troops are entering Afghanistan for the purpose of strengthening the royal authority of His Highness the Amir on condition that His Highness loyally uses those powers for the maintenance of friendship and of amicable relations with the British Government. This is the only course by which the Amir's kingdom can remain intact, and (by which) also the friendly sentiments and sincerity expressed in his letter of the 4th September, 1879, after the occurrence of the (said) event can be proved.

"For the purpose of removing any doubt about the concord of the two Governments the Amir has been addressed to depute a confidential agent to my camp.

"The British force will not punish or injure any one except the persons who have taken part or joined in the massacre of the Embassy unless they offer opposition. All the rest, the small and great, who are concerned (therein) may rest assured of this.

"Carriage and supplies of every description should be brought into the British camp. Full price and hire shall be paid for everything that may be taken. Whereas mercy and humanity are the characteristics of this great Government, this proclamation is issued before hand for the information of the people at large."

The moral effect resulting from this proclamation on the Afghans did not seem to be very great. In fact, they are simply a collection of hostile tribes, nominally, but not really a nation, a horde of savages which only the hand of a tyrant can control.

General Roberts, after joining Baker at Kushi, determined to evacuate that place until he should be firmly in possession of the Bala Hissar, a strong fort in the neighbourhood of Cabul. He telegraphed that owing to this step, communications might be stopped from him for a few days. He took this course so that he might march with as strong a force as possible on Cabul. But he had to experience great difficulties in regard to means of transport, which caused repeated stoppages on the road. He was accompanied by the Ameer, who seemed to hope that the British forces would reinstate him in his kingdom.

In the first week of October, General Roberts arrived near Cabul, and the following extracts from a despatch dated on the 6th will show how he got over the preliminary difficulties that he had to encounter before taking the city:—

"Charasiah, 6th October.—Reconnoitring parties sent out on all roads to Kabul at daybreak this morning, reported enemy were advancing in great force from direction of city. The parties had to retire, and soon afterwards the high range of hills intervening between Charasiah and Kabul were

crowded with troops and city people, while parties of Ghilzais appeared on the hills running along both flanks of camp, and reports were received that the road to Zahidabad was threatened, along which General Macpherson was advancing with large convoy of stores and reserve ammunition. Warning was sent to Macpherson, and some assistance in cavalry. It was absolutely necessary to carry the heights in front before evening. General Baker was entrusted with this very difficult duty, which he completed in the most admirable manner. He sent a party under Major White, 92nd Highlanders, consisting of a wing of that regiment, three guns, G-3 R. A., 100 of 23rd Pioneers, and two squadrons 5th P. C., to advance by the right of the gorge. After an obstinate resistance, Major White succeeded in driving the enemy off the main hill, and later in the day captured twelve guns."

Following this success, many of the headmen around Cabul came into Roberts' camp to give their submission, and, generally speaking, it appeared that the inhabitants of the city considered further opposition useless.

Continuing the history of these events in their chronological order, we next turn to a despatch of the Viceroy to Lord Cranbrook dated Simla, October 16, 1879.

From this it appears that the Afghans, and armed bands, held in great force the heights between Cabul and Charasiah. General Roberts' successful engagement on the 6th October has been already related. From information that came to his knowledge, General Roberts decided at once to attack these forces on the heights, since delay would have given the enemy an opportunity of bringing up reinforcements from the city. Moreover, there was good reason to believe that an understanding and correspondence was being carried on between the leaders of the resistance in Cabul, and the Afghans who were accompanying General Roberts' camp. The attack was opened by a turning movement against the right of the enemy's position. The Afghans fought well, but were beaten back. They contested every point, nor was it till dark that the heights were cleared. The troops were routed, while the tribes who were assembling to co-operate with them, were said to have returned to their homes.

General Roberts' progress was now become continuous, the enemy being completely disheartened. The following particulars are extracted from the despatch already just quoted, dated Simla, 16th October, 1879:—

"On the 7th the advanced portion of General Roberts' force was within two miles of the city of Kabul, and the Bala Hissar was found to have been evacuated by the Afghan troops; but three mutinous regiments from Kohistan were reported to have returned to the Sherpur cantonment, on the west side of the city. General Roberts, hearing that these troops were entrenching themselves on a high hill beyond the Bala Hissar, and immediately overlooking the city, detached, on the 8th October, Brigadier-General Massey, with eight squadrons of cavalry, to watch the roads leading from the north side of the city to Bamian and Kohistan, in order to cut off the line of retreat. At the same time, Brigadier-General Baker, with a force consisting of six companies 92nd Highlanders, two companies 72nd Highlanders, a wing of the 67th Regiment, two companies 5th Goorkhas, 23rd Pioneers, four mountain guns, and two Gatlings, prepared to attack the position on the hill. By sunset on the 8th, General Massey had arrived at Aliabad, on the Bamian road, having found the Sherpur cantonment deserted, and having taken possession of seventy-eight guns, found in it. General Baker was prevented by nightfall from opening his attack on the evening of the 8th; he was joined before daylight on the 9th by General Macpherson with additional troops, but during the night the enemy evacuated their position, and took to flight, leaving twelve guns behind them. The cavalry, in two detachments, under Generals Massey and Hugh Gough, were sent in pursuit, but the Afghan troops had so completely dispersed that only a few small parties were overtaken. General Roberts' camp was on the 10th October pitched on the Siah Sang ridge, immediately overlooking the Bala Hissar and the city. He visited the Bala Hissar on the 11th, and made his public entry on the 12th, accompanied by the Amir. The whole of the heavy guns and howitzers presented by the British Government to the Amir have been captured, with sufficient ammunition for present purposes; so that General Roberts has been able to send back to Peshawur the heavy battery which was coming up with the Khyber column."

Thus General Roberts, in a brief space of

time, and with great difficulties to contend with, succeeded in regaining our prestige in Cabul. In other parts of Afghanistan matters progressed satisfactorily so far as our forces were concerned. Jellalabad was easily occupied about the 10th October. General Stewart made arrangements in respect to the tranquility of Candahar, and the adjacent districts.

It has already been hinted that the Afghans accompanying General Roberts in his march to Cabul were suspected of treachery, and this decided that officer to immediately attack the heights which we have seen he so successfully carried out. That the Ameer was ill at ease in the camp became evident, and the following copy of a statement he made on a day or two preceding General Roberts' successes before Cabul, will be read with interest as bearing on events relating to him that we shall subsequently have to deal with. He stated to Major E. G. Hastings as follows :—

"I have received a verbal message from Kabul to the effect that the mutinous regiments have plundered the magazine. My mother and wife have left the Bala Hissar and gone to the house of Sirdar Yahya Khan; and that the other members of my family will soon follow them. The Bala Hissar is actually out of my possession. I have received no information to this effect from Nazar Muhammad Khan, Governor of Kabul, or from any other officer. But any trustworthy news which I may receive from Kabul at night will at once be communicated to the general through Major Hastings.

"I have been, and am still, the true friend of the English, and so long as I live I will remain a staunch ally of the British Government.

"On account of my coming to the British camp, all people call me an infidel (Kafir), and my private servants desert me every day. No one will obey my order or consider me the Amir."

Major Hastings adds a note to the above statement of the Ameer, to the effect that he appeared in a very unsettled and troubled state of mind.

Accompanying the despatch from the Viceroy to Lord Cranbrook, which we have liberally quoted, was a large number of enclosures, giving the evidence of natives who had been cognizant or witnesses of the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari and suite. But as we have already given sufficient details of the matter, they need not here be further noticed.

Immediately on the success of General Roberts becoming known in England, Lord Cranbrook telegraphed to the Viceroy the following instructions as to the future policy to be observed in Afghanistan. It is in the form of a proclamation to be issued by the general, and dated (from England) 22nd October, 1879 :—

"I, General Roberts, on behalf of the British Government, hereby proclaim that the Amir, having by his own free will abdicated, has left Afghanistan without a government. In consequence of the shameful outrage upon its Envoy and suite, the British Government has been compelled to occupy by force of arms Kabul, the capital, and to take military possession of other parts of Afghanistan.

"The British Government now commands that all Afghan authorities, chiefs, and sirdars, do continue their functions in maintaining order, referring to me whenever necessary.

"The British Government desire that the people shall be treated with justice and benevolence, and that their religious feelings and customs be respected.

"The services of such sirdars and chiefs as assist in preserving order will be duly recognised, but all disturbers of the peace and persons concerned in attacks upon the British authority will meet with condign punishment.

"The British Government, after consultation with the principal sirdars, tribal chiefs, and others representing the interests and wishes of the various provinces and cities, will declare its will as to the future permanent arrangements to be made for the good government of the people."

This proclamation, as will be seen in the sequel, together with the mode of its being carried out by General Roberts, is of much political interest, more especially as both became the subjects of animated debate, and we may add political animosity, on the meeting of the British Parliament in February, 1880.

The next official despatch from India bearing on the affairs of Afghanistan, is dated Simla, October 23, from the Viceroy to Lord Cranbrook. It must be remembered, as we have already stated, that the Ameer accompanied General Roberts so far as Cabul. As will be seen by the following extracts from this despatch, the future poli-

tical position of Cabul became suddenly altered:—

"On the 13th October General Roberts telegraphed that early on the preceding morning the Amir, Yakub Khan, came on foot to his tent, with two attendants, and that His Highness had declared his resolution to resign the government of Afghanistan. His Highness was treated with great courtesy by General Roberts, who begged him to think over the matter; but at a second interview, a few hours later, the Amir said that his determination was unchanged, and General Roberts has since reported that he believes it to be irrevocable. This important and unexpected declaration has been communicated to your lordship for the information and orders of Her Majesty's Government; and General Roberts was at once desired to report further upon the circumstances in which the resignation, as soon as it is publicly known, will have placed him, and upon the various and complicated political considerations involved."

The circumstance of the Ameer's abdication, in one sense, cleared away some difficulties, but in another brought fresh dangers. These will become the subject of subsequent discussions when the new political position of Afghanistan has to be considered. The despatch of the Viceroy gives the following statement in regard to the progress of General Roberts:—

"General Roberts entered the Bala Hissar on the 12th October. The Amir did not accompany him, but Sirdar Musa Khan, the eldest son of the Amir, and other principal sirdars were in attendance; and special care was taken that the proceedings upon formal occupation of the capital and its fortress should be impressive. After reaching the Amir's garden in the Bala Hissar, General Roberts issued the proclamation, which will be found among the enclosures to this despatch. It notified to the inhabitants of Kabul the penalties which would be inflicted on the city for participation in the massacre of the British Embassy, the arrangements for repression of disorder, the restrictions as to bearing arms which would be enforced, and the rewards which would be given for the surrender of guilty persons. General Roberts has found it necessary to detain in safe custody Mustaufi Habibulla, Wazir Shah Muhammad, Yahya Khan, and Zacharia Khan, pending a detailed enquiry into the circumstances of the attack on the Embassy. The Amir, Yakub Khan, is provided with quarters in the British camp on the Siah Sang hill, outside the Bala Hissar. On the 13th instant the troops marched through the city. There was no kind of opposition, and the demeanour of the inhabitants was respectful. Brigadier-General Hills has been appointed governor of the city and surrounding district; and martial law has been proclaimed within a radius of ten miles from the walls. The intelligence since received from Kabul is scanty, owing to interruption of communications; but we enclose a telegram reporting that explosions, causing, we regret to say, some loss of life, have taken place in the Bala Hissar; though the fire, of which the origin is not explained, was extinguished in time to save the principal magazine."

In taking possession of Cabul, General Roberts seized a large amount of ammunition. Eighty-five guns, mortars, &c., were found in Bala Hissar, making a total of 200 guns altogether coming into our possession. Vast quantities of powder, accoutrements, arms, saddlery, musical instruments, &c., were found. It appeared that Snider cartridges had been made in great numbers in Cabul.

In other parts of Afghanistan, however, continued annoyance was given to our troops. When possible, telegraph wires were cut, even close to the camps, and constant incursions were made by detached portions of the enemy on isolated roads, occupied by detachments of our troops.

The explosions of powder at Bala Hissar occurred daily, and many lives, with much ammunition, were lost. There seemed no reason to suppose, however, that these explosions were otherwise than accidental, as powder and ammunition were lying recklessly scattered over the place. Fortunately, the large powder magazine escaped, which was said to contain 250,000 pounds of powder. Every precaution was taken to prevent the spread of the fire and explosions. They were entirely suppressed by the 22nd October.

The despatch of the Viceroy to Lord Cranbrook of October 30th conveys little additional news as to the state of Afghanistan. Supplies were plentiful at Cabul. Various articles of property, formerly belonging to the unfortunate British Embassy were being continually brought in. In an enclosure General Roberts expresses the opinion that the Ameer's abdication was chiefly due to a sense of his weakness, and,

perhaps, to some extent, owing to the idea that he held of having been suspected of treachery while in the camp. The despatch of the Viceroy to Lord Cranbrook, dated 6th November, contains little matter of interest. Many of the hostile tribes were dispersing. Nothing of special importance transpired during the remainder of November. It was arranged that the late Ameer should quit General Roberts's camp on the 1st December for India, which, it was expected, would have a quieting effect on the people, by removing all hopes of his restoration to power in Afghanistan. A despatch from Lord Cranbrook, in London, to the Viceroy, dated 11th December, 1879, gives general approval of the policy that had been adopted to that date by the Viceroy, General Roberts, and other officials. It reviews all the despatches and enclosures which had been received in London by the Home Secretary for India from 15th September, 1879, to 13th November, inclusive. The question of the possible complicity of the Ameer, Yakoob Khan, is dealt with in reference to the murder of the British Embassy. Lord Cranbrook says that even if the Ameer were wholly innocent of participation in the crime, he cannot be acquitted of discreditable timidity, and want of resource in the presence of a grave emergency.

We quote the following extracts from the same despatch, as showing the views of the Home Government on the progress of events in Afghanistan, up to the end of November, 1879. At the meeting of parliament in February, 1880, the policy thus pursued by the Beaconsfield government, was strongly criticised, and consequently their views, as expressed below, will be of considerable interest:—

"Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the measures taken by General Roberts, after his arrival at Cabul, for the conviction and punishment of persons concerned in the attack on the Embassy, and for the maintenance of order in the city and surrounding district. They still await information of the amount of fine intended to be levied on the inhabitants as a penalty for the part taken by them in the outbreak.

"Her Majesty's Government will be glad to receive at an early date, the views of your Excellency in Council in regard to the reorganization of the administration of Afghanistan. The determination of the Amir, Yakub Khan, to retire from the position to which, by his father's appointment, and the assent of the sirdars and people, he so lately succeeded, left no alternative but to proclaim the temporary assumption by the British Government of authority throughout the country. At Candahar, under the judicious supervision of Lieutenant-General Sir D. Stewart, the native governor, Sirdar Shere Ali Khan, to whom control over a wide district has been delegated, appears to be conducting affairs with ability and success; but elsewhere the ordinary functions of government are necessarily in abeyance.

"Pending further information, Her Majesty's Government will not attempt to decide the mode in which the several provinces of Afghanistan shall eventually be governed, but it seems clear that there is no chance of the establishment of one government for the whole of the late kingdom which would give promise of permanence. They reserve their final opinion on the point until they are in possession of the views of your Excellency in Council. Her Majesty's Government fully recognise the many difficulties by which the question is surrounded, but they trust that, with the assistance of your Excellency, it may be possible to frame arrangements which will reconcile the interests of the Afghan chiefs and peoples, with the essential condition of security to the British empire in India."

The despatch of the Indian Viceroy to Lord Cranbrook, dated 19th December, 1879, contained matters of great importance as enclosures. The latter proved that after the abdication of the Ameer, Yakoob Khan, the Russian authorities had been in communication with his son, Muhammud Musa Khan, and others belonging to the staff of the abdicated Ameer. We have already, at page 589 *ante*, given some statements relating to the apparent influence of Russia in Afghanistan, as adversely affecting our interests. It appears by a letter from Major-General Ivanoff, Russian Governor of Qarafshan to the heir-apparent Muhammad Musa Khan, that the friendship of the latter was greatly desired by the Russian Government. In this letter Ivanoff states that he had forwarded all letters from Muhammad Musa Khan to General Kauffman, who at that time exercised great influence in the districts in the neighbourhood of Cabul for Russian purposes. But in the same despatch from the Viceroy (19th December, 1879) was sent an enclosure to the Home Government giving a detailed account of an interview between the late Ameer, Yakoob Khan,

and General Roberts, which gives some interesting details of the probable causes of our war with Afghanistan in the first instance. At present we only keep up the chronological order of the history; but it may be stated that early in 1880, documents were found in Cabul which were generally thought greatly to damage any opinion that might have been held previously in respect to the honour and truthfulness of Russian diplomacy in the East, but especially in regard to our Indian territories.

General Roberts, in some introductory remarks, states that his interview with the abdicated Ameer (Yakoob Khan) was a private and informal one. But the general endeavoured to lead the Ameer to give some account of the reasons that had led Shere Ali to forsake an English for a Russian alliance. The following gives the substance of Yakoob Khan's statement:—

"In 1869 my father was fully prepared to throw in his lot with you. He had suffered many reverses before making himself secure on the throne of Afghanistan, and he had come to the conclusion that his best chance of holding what he had won lay in an alliance with the British Government. He did not receive from Lord Mayo as large a supply of arms and ammunition as he had hoped, but, nevertheless, he returned to Kabul fairly satisfied, and so he remained until the visit of Nur Muhammud Shah to India in 1873. This visit brought matters to a head. The diaries received from Nur Muhammud Shah during his stay in India, and the report which he brought back on his return, convinced my father that he could no longer hope to obtain from the British Government all the aid that he wanted; and from that time he began to turn his attention to the thoughts of a Russian alliance. You know how this ended.

"When my father received from the Government of India the letter informing him that a British Mission was about to proceed to Kabul, he read it out in Durbar. The members of the Russian Embassy were present. After the reading was finished, Colonel Stolietoff rose, saluted the Amir, and asked permission to leave Kabul. If permitted, he would, he said, travel without delay to Tashkend, and report the state of affairs to General Kauffmann, who would inform the Tsar, and thus bring pressure to bear on England. He promised to return in six weeks or two months, and urged the Amir to do everything in his power meanwhile to prevent the British Mission from reaching Kabul."

It must be remembered that this occurred shortly after our successes in Cabul in defeating the rebels and mutineers. But General Stolietoff never returned to Cabul. He lost no time in reaching Tashkend, where he remained for a few weeks, and he then started for Russia.

"The Afghan official, Mirza Muhammud Hassan Khan, generally known as the 'Dabir-ul-Mulk,' who had travelled with Colonel Stolietoff from the Oxus to Cabul, accompanied him on his return journey to Tashkend. Here the Mirza was detained under pretence that orders would shortly be received from the Emperor, until the news of my father's flight from Cabul reached General Kaufmann. He was then permitted to leave. Two aides-de-camp were sent with him, one an European, the other a native of Bokhara."

Yakoob Khan further remarked that:—

"My father (Shere Ali) was strongly urged by General Kauffmann not to leave Kabul. At the same time the members of the Embassy were ordered to return to Tashkend, the doctor being permitted to remain with my father if his services were required.

"Throughout, the Russian Embassy was treated with great honour, and at all stations between Mazar-i-Shariff and Kabul, orders were given for the troops to turn out, and for a salute to be fired on their arrival and departure."

It must be borne in mind that at this period Russia had as much in hand in Europe as could well be managed. The Turkish war had exhausted all her resources. The execution of the treaty of Berlin was a principal subject of international controversy in which, of course, Russia was the most concerned, and although she still held in view designs in Asia, she had not the power to carry them out, or even to maintain the questionable position which she had gained.

General Roberts, after recounting, as already quoted, the substance of the conversation he had with Yakoob Khan, states his view of the situation both before and after the last stage of the Afghan War (to December, 1879) in the following terms:—

"It would be superfluous for me to advance any proof of the fact that for one reason or another, Sher Ali did, during the latter part of his reign, fall away from us

and incline towards an alliance with Russia. But I think the closeness of the connexion between Russia and Kabul, and the extent of the Amir's hostility towards ourselves, has not hitherto been fully recognised. Yakub Khan's statements throw some light upon this question, and they are confirmed by various circumstances which have lately come to my knowledge. The prevalence of Russian coin and wares in Kabul, and the extensive military preparations made by Sher Ali of late years, appear to me to afford an instructive comment upon Yakub Khan's assertions. Our recent rupture with Sher Ali has, in fact, been the means of unmasking and checking a very serious conspiracy against the peace and security of our Indian Empire."

General Roberts then goes on to state his views in reference to the preparations that had been made by Shere Ali for war.

"The magnitude of Sher Ali's military preparations is, in my opinion, a fact of peculiar significance. . . . . Before the outbreak of hostilities last year (1878) the Amir had raised and equipped with arms of precision sixty-eight regiments of infantry and sixteen of cavalry. The Afghan artillery amounted to near 300 guns. Numbers of skilled artizans were constantly employed in the manufacture of rifled cannon and breach-loading small arms. More than a million pounds of powder, and, I believe, several millions rounds of home-made Snider ammunition, were in the Bala Hissar at the time of the late explosion.* Swords, helmets, uniforms, and other articles of military equipment were stored in proportionate quantities. Finally, Sher Ali had expended upon the construction of the Sherpur cantonments an astonishing amount of labour and money. The extent and cost of this work may be judged of from the fact that the whole of the troops under my command will find cover during the winter within the cantonment and its outlying buildings, and the bulk of them in the main line of rampart itself, which extends to a length of nearly two miles under the southern and western slopes of the Bemaru hills. Sher Ali's original design was apparently to carry the wall entirely round the hills, a distance of five miles, and the foundations were already laid for a considerable portion of this length. All these military preparations were quite unnecessary except as a provision for contemplated hostilities with ourselves, and it is difficult to understand how their entire cost could have been met from the Afghan Treasury, the gross revenue of the country amounting only to about eighty lacs of rupees per annum."

* See p. 587 *ante*.

General Roberts next draws attention to the coins and merchandise found in Cabul towards the end of November, 1879. He remarks:—

"I have referred to the prevalence of Russian coin and wares in Kabul as evidence of the growing connection between Russia and Afghanistan. I was unable to find proof that the Tsar's coin was introduced in any other way than by the usual channels of trade. It is quite possible that the bulk of it, if not the whole, came in gradually by this means, the accumulation of foreign gold in particular being considerable in this country, where little gold is coined. Nevertheless, it seems to me a curious fact that the amount of Russian money in circulation should be so large. No less than 13,000 gold pieces were found among the Amir's treasure alone; similar coins are exceedingly common in the city bazaar; and great numbers of them are known to be in possession of the sirdars."

He found, of course, abundance of English goods of all kinds, but it was a remarkable fact that Russian articles of commerce were in still larger quantities, and it was also worthy of notice that the habits of the Russians in regard to clothing, the style of dress, and other such matters were remarkably followed in excess in Cabul of our own or any other nation, showing, as he suggests, a decided *rapprochement* to Russia in nearly every question of the civilised elements of society.

The Viceroy's despatch to the Home Government of 19th December, 1879, is occupied with details of the weekly diaries of General Roberts that present few points of interest. Many of the outlying tribes showed signs of opposition, without, however, resorting to actual hostilities against our forces. But it was evident that a certain amount of danger was looming in the distance, and that a kind of guerilla warfare was approaching. On the 7th December, General Roberts telegraphed to the Viceroy:—"Affairs round Kabul less satisfactory of late. . . . . Anxious as I am to avoid any further expeditions at present, I may be forced, if this movement spreads, to send troops out again." On the 11th, Roberts telegraphs to the Viceroy that the hostile

tribes were getting more threatening. He adds:—"Vague impression here that when winter becomes severe our Kabul position will be seriously threatened by hordes from direction of Kohistan and Ghazni. Increased preparations and vigilance requisite."

On the 12th the danger became imminent. General Roberts telegraphs to the Viceroy as follows:—

"As reported in my telegram of yesterday, Macpherson's brigade advanced by Paghman valley, towards Arghandi. . . . . Enemy appeared in great numbers, and quite outflanking Massey forced him to retire. Ground is much cut up by deep water-cuts, the guns upset, and had to be temporarily abandoned. Cavalry charged several times, but the numbers against them were too great." General Roberts, in this telegram, thought that the combination against our forces was undoubtedly very extensive, and seemed to be somewhat alarmed at future prospects. He endeavoured to defend all the lines of communication to India, which he considered as a most important point, to impress an idea of our power on the hostile tribes.

On the following day a telegram states that the enemy was still collecting in all directions around Cabul, and showed an amount of strength that defied, at first, the available forces of the British commander. But in the course of the day the enemy was defeated on all sides. A continued attack of about 20,000 men was to be made by the Afghans during the night, but they were held in check. A telegram dated 14th December, does not give such encouraging news. General Roberts telegraphs as follows to the Viceroy:—

"We have been fighting all the morning, and gained great success at first, but the enemy are coming on in such numbers that I have decided to collect my force within Sherpur entrenchments, giving up heights above city and Bala Hissar, as it is not possible to hold such an extended position while the enemy are so numerous. Keeping up communication with the outposts would be very difficult. I have ordered Gough to push on from Gandamak as fast as he can, withdrawing Latabund detachments as he passes by, as this excitement and combination are now sure to spread along line of communication. I strongly recommend more troops being pushed up, so as to admit of General Bright being able to keep open communication, and to enable me to clear the country should I find it impossible to do so with my present force, which seems likely, looking to the overwhelming numbers, and the great determination the enemy exhibit. Your Excellency may depend on my doing all that is possible, but I foresee that I shall not be able to do all I ought unless strongly reinforced, which should be done without delay. I have ordered Arbuthnot's brigade from Jalalabad to Kabul immediately."

This was a decidedly discouraging state of things, but one that might have been readily foreseen by judging of the character of the enemy with which we had to deal by his antecedents. On the 15th December matters did not improve, as our losses in killed and wounded were comparatively heavy. The telegraph communication with Cabul and Jellalabad was cut, and, consequently, General Roberts was isolated, as was also General Gough.

In continuation of the chronological order of the history of the war, although we shall have to refer to antecedent dates afterwards, in regard to its progress, we next turn to the despatch of the Viceroy to Lord Cranbrook, dated December 31, 1879. In this, the progress of affairs in Cabul is noted from the 15th December, as already given. We have already stated that the telegraph communication between Cabul and India had been cut off. Consequently, the following extracts from a telegram from General Roberts dated so late as 22nd December, leaves a void of about a week. The General remarks as follows:—

"Kabul, 16th December.—We have been employed the last forty-eight hours in completing the defences of Sherpur. Enemy still occupy the hills overlooking city, but have not yet ventured into the plains. Our cavalry is constantly employed reconnoitring, and yesterday afternoon a small column of infantry cleared the close country which intervened between Sherpur and the city. Gough's brigade should be here on the 20th instant. Communication with India should then be restored, as the troops now at Latabund will remain there, and Butkhak will be re-occupied. I am waiting only for an opportunity to strike a blow. If none offers before Gough arrives I will attack the following day, as I shall be strong enough then to hold the Bala Hissar and other important positions, and also I hope to disperse the enemy. Though I was aware the excitement was widespread, I had no reason to

suppose such a gathering would take place, nor apparently did any of the sirdars, or those on whom I have been mainly depending for information. Wali Muhammud and all the influential people who joined me on first reaching Kabul, are with me in Sherpur, and it is not in their interests to conceal matters from me. It is evident that a strong religious feeling is at the bottom of the movement. The Mulla Mushk-i-Alam was joined by large numbers as he came along, and no one probably could have foretold that his following would have been anything like as great as it is at the last. The city and large villages in the neighbourhood of Kabul each furnished their quota, and our force on the 14th found itself opposed to such overwhelming numbers that it was necessary to concentrate it to prevent small parties being cut off. This I was enabled to do before dark. Your Excellency must not suppose that we cannot move out of Sherpur, or that I have any anxiety about the safety of my force, and, collected as we now are, I am quite confident of being able to maintain our position, and to beat the enemy whenever I get a chance. We are fairly off for ammunition, on an average about 350 rounds per rifle, and strict orders have been issued to economise expenditure, but it is desirable that more ammunition, both for rifles and guns, should be sent up without delay. The troops are well and in good health. Our losses on 14th were more than reported in my message of that day. We had twenty-eight killed, and ninety-nine wounded, of whom eight have since died of their wounds."

This was by no means encouraging news. All the advantages we had gathered since the successful entry of General Roberts into Cabul, in October (see p. 585 *ante*) seemed to have been all but lost. A telegram dated on the 17th, from Roberts, states that, for the present, matters were quiet, and the same statement is made in regard to the situation on the following day. At this point General Roberts was acting on the defensive, waiting the arrival of Gough with reinforcements. On the 19th, General Roberts seems to be impatient. He remarks:—"I have sent Gough peremptory orders to move on Kabul without delay. The longer the city is occupied by the enemy, the more our prestige suffers. When joined by Gough's and Hudson's forces, I hope to have no difficulty in re-asserting our supremacy. Troops are all hard-worked, but continue well and in famous spirits."

On 20th December, matters remained the same. But General Roberts began to fall short of officers, and requested some to replace casualties. The next telegram of importance from General Roberts to the Viceroy was as follows:—

"Kabul, 23rd December. — Desultory attacks all yesterday, one casualty, a private, 67th Foot, wounded. During the day information was received that a general attack would be made at day-break to-day, the signal being a fire lighted on Asmi heights. Large numbers of the enemy were seen occupying the more distant villages during the day, and coming into the near ones as it got dark. At 6 a.m. the light appeared, and immediately afterwards attack commenced on three sides. We were all prepared. On the south and west sides, the enemy did not show much determination, but on the north-east corner of Bemaru heights some thousands collected, and evidently contemplated assaulting the position. General Hugh Gough commanded. He, with the able assistance of Colonel Jenkins, made an admirable disposition. As soon as the intention of the enemy was fully developed, I determined on a counter attack with cavalry and artillery; these issued by the gorge between the Bemaru heights, and opening fire on the enemy's flank, speedily dislodged them from the place they had taken up on the north-east corner. The cavalry pursued and cut up numbers of the enemy, who, retiring from all points, beat a hasty retreat into the city. We have now occupied some of the advanced villages, more particularly those on the Butkhak road, so as to ensure the advance of General Charles Gough's brigade to-morrow unmolested; his camp is visible about six miles to the east. I shall take the initiative either to-morrow afternoon or the following morning, and hope soon to report that Her Majesty's troops have again got possession of the Bala Hissar and city of Kabul. Our casualties to-day have been few. Numbers will be telegraphed to-morrow. I grieve to report the death of two gallant officers, Captain Dundas and Lieutenant Nugent, Royal Engineers, caused by an untimely explosion while engaged in blowing up the towers of a neighbouring village."

This success afforded encouragement, as it had a great moral effect on the hostile tribes who were attacking our forces before Cabul.

On the following day General Roberts telegraphs thus :—

"Kabul, 24th December.—Our success yesterday was more complete, and the enemy's loss was more severe than I was aware of when despatching my telegram last evening. The Kohistanis and Logaris, also people living near Kabul, went straight to their houses after being defeated. The remainder went to the city for a few hours, but during the night they all fled. Mulla Mushk-i-Alam and General Muhammud Jan, the two leaders, went off early. Takir Khan, son of Muhammud Sharif Khan, who has been very active against us, has, it is reported, taken away Musa Khan, eldest son of Yakub Khan, the ex-Ameer, and escaped towards Wardak. Cavalry have gone in pursuit. The Bala Hissar and city will be taken possession of this afternoon, and the former will be occupied, if I can be satisfied that there is no danger to the troops from gunpowder. Yakub Khan's wife and mother, and Yahia Khan's wife, who is a daughter of the celebrated Sirdar Akbar Khan, will be brought into Sherpur to-day. They have done all in their power to keep up the excitement, and it is reported that they contemplate flight. Our losses yesterday were (not ?) great, five killed, including the two Royal Engineer officers accidentally blown up, and thirty-three wounded. General Charles Gough's brigade arrived this morning. Slight snow last night. All well."

We have thus traced the history of events in Afghanistan to the 24th December, 1879, and the results of our policy certainly were not of an encouraging character. The last telegram that has been quoted from General Roberts bears the date of December 24th. The following telegrams from the Viceroy carries on the account of the progress of Roberts to the end of the year :—

"News received from Roberts to 26th December. Heavy fall of snow, 25th, stopped pursuit of enemy. All cleared away, leaving many dead around Sherpur. Bala Hissar magazine has been emptied. Frequent explosions occurred during enemy's occupation of Labul, in one of which 100 men reported killed. Telegraph line, greatly destroyed by enemy, is being repaired. Butkhak has been re-occupied, and force about to move into Kohistan in pursuit of Mir Batcha, Kohistani leader. Bright reports Norman attacked at Gandamak yesterday (29th December) by Asmatullah Khan and Lughman Chiefs, with about 2,000 followers; enemy driven off. Our loss, Lieutenant Wright, R.A., and one man killed, one man wounded. Norman advances to-day (30th) to re-occupy Sehbaba and Lataband. Roberts telegraphs, Kabul, 27th.—Baker marched for Kohistan with 1,700 infantry, guides, cavalry, and four guns. All walled enclosures around Sherpur are being levelled, and position otherwise strengthened. Mahomed Jan has taken Musa Khan to Wardak. Country round Kabul rapidly quieting down. A despatch from General Roberts of the 26th instant, announces that Butkhak has been re-occupied. A force starts for Kohistan to-morrow (30th) to attack Mir Batcha, the Kohistani leader. General Roberts reports the total casualties up to the 26th instant as seventy-seven killed and 220 wounded."

It would appear that the Kohistanis were among the most active of our enemies at the period now referred to, and had previously given us much trouble; hence, probably the reason why General Roberts determined to attempt their conquest, as intimated in the telegram just quoted.

Kohistan is one of the most turbulent districts in the kingdom of Afghanistan, and is a country very strong for defence, owing to the facility with which its population can retreat to the mountains. For this reason the Kohistanis have always been independent, and never gave revenue to the Ameer, except to a demand backed by force. In their personal character they are bold, violent, and unruly, and so much addicted to war that it is considered a disgrace for a Kohistani to die in his bed. They are excellent soldiers, more particularly in hill warfare. During our campaign in Afghanistan in the year 1840-'41, Kohistan was the scene of many engagements, in more than one of which the British were not the victors. We subsequently raised a corps of Kohistanis under Lieutenant Moule, but they were eminently untrustworthy, and at last they broke into open mutiny on the very first symptom of rebellion at Cabul.

In the autumn of 1840, when Dost Mahomed, bursting through the Hindoo Koosh, was dashing over Northern Afghanistan a very firebrand, kindling insurrection in his path, it was found necessary to detach a strong brigade under Sir Robert Sale to Kohistan in order to show our force. Our first engagement at Tootumdurrah was successful, but three days later the attack on the fortified village of Julgah, despite the

desperate gallantry of the 13th Light Infantry, under their brave leader, Colonel Tronson, was defeated with loss. All the month of October was spent in fruitless pursuit of the fugitive Ameer, who finally, on the 2nd of November, inflicted a severe defeat on our cavalry at Parwandarrah. It was the last effort of the gallant Dost Mahomed. Seeing further resistance useless, he straightway rode into the British camp and delivered up his sword to Sir W. Macnaghten. All necessity for the presence of troops in Kohistan was then at an end, and within a few days Sir Robert Sale moved his brigade back to the capital.

Owing to a variety of causes, General Baker's expedition against the Kohistanis was fruitless. At the commencement of 1880, the hostile tribes were generally disheartened, and on January 6th Cabul was quiet, the people were returning to their houses, and supplies for our troops were more plentiful than before the rising. To induce the friendly disposition of the natives, General Roberts offered an amnesty, from the benefit of which only a few of the leaders were exempted. At that time, General Gough occupied the Bala Hissar.

Before entering more fully into the events of 1880, we may refer to some matters connected with Yakoob Khan (the ex-Ameer), who had, as already stated, been sent as a kind of state prisoner to India from the camp of General Roberts, before Cabul, partly on account of suspicion as to his fidelity to our cause, and also under the impression that his presence in the British camp might lead the Afghans into the belief of his possible restoration to the kingdom.*

The following account of an interview with him is quoted from a letter of the *Times* correspondent dated at the end of December, 1879:—

"The Ameer was lodged up to the time of his departure for India, in a large, double-poled tent, which was pitched in the head-quarter camp. I found a son of the well-known Nawab Gholam Hussein Khan awaiting me outside the tent, and was at once introduced into the presence of the ex-Ameer. He was seated in a chair, dressed in an ordinary Afghan *posteen*, or sheepskin cloak. He rose as I entered, receiving me with much cordiality as a well-remembered acquaintance of a former, and for him, happier time, at Gandamak, and a friend of the late Envoy. He seated me on one of two vacant chairs, the other being occupied by my introducer, and with Oriental *empressement* assured me that I was one of his three greatest friends, the others being poor Cavagnari and Captain Marsh, the traveller, whom he received so well at Herat shortly before the events which led to his imprisonment by Shere Ali. I avoided at first the mention of what was doubtless uppermost in his, as in my own mind, and endeavoured to keep the conversation to the less painful subject of my own travels in Turkish Arabia since I parted from him at Gandamak. But he gradually approached the subject of his present situation, and of the circumstances which had led to it, and I saw no reason why I should not listen, as he elected to talk of it. He gave me a very minute account, in his own way, of the events of the fatal 3rd of September. (See *ante* p. 577.) His account did not differ in any important way from that which has been generally received. He dwelt much on the efforts he had made to quiet the rebellious soldiery, first by sending his Commander-in-Chief, Daoud Shah, and afterwards his own son, and on the assurances he personally gave the soldiers of full compliance with their demand for a further issue of pay if they would only cease from the attack on the Residency. He declared that he had never had the smallest difference with Cavagnari in their constant mutual conversations, and spoke of him in terms of respect and even affection, which strengthened the impression I had retained of his warm feelings towards Cavagnari at Gandamak. He dwelt much upon the constraint he had put upon his own feelings in consenting to the Gandamak conference under three such hard preliminary conditions as those imposed upon him—namely, the abandonment of all claim to Kuram as far as Ali-khel, and to the Khyber, the reception of an Envoy, and what he called 'protection,' which he explained, on my not at once understanding the term as he pronounced it, to mean the condition to place his foreign relations entirely under British control. He then referred to his voluntary journey to the British camp at Khushi, and affirmed that all these sacrifices, and the efforts he had made to save Cavagnari, ought to prove his entire innocence of complicity in the attack on the residency, or disloyalty to his treaty engagements. He spoke of General Roberts without any bitterness, and in terms of respect and liking, and

* See *ante*, p. 588.

declared his readiness to submit himself in all respects to the decision of the Viceroy. He spoke of his countrymen as headstrong, ignorant men, quite unable to stand for a moment in the field before British and Indian regiments. He made it very clear to me, from the account he gave of the outbreak, that it was not the act, as was originally asserted, of certain regiments from Herat, all of whom had been dismissed to their homes some time before, but of three regiments which happened to be at Cabul in the ordinary course of relief or duty, and this was confirmed to me by Daoud Shah. Passing on from these somewhat embarrassing topics, he made some shrewd observations on what I suppose may now be called the late Russian expedition against the Turcomans, and made light of the notion that Persia would withhold any assistance which the Russians might demand. Persia, he said, was entirely in the power of Russia, because the latter was at every point firmly established in possession of all the ports on the Caspian, besides her overwhelming strength to the south of the Caucasus. The ex-Ameer is very fond of airing his, for an Oriental, really considerable knowledge of geography. Bagdad being referred to, he remarked that half the city was on one side, and half on the other side of the Tigris, a fact which is probably unknown to nineteen out of twenty otherwise well-informed Englishmen. He discoursed fluently about the Suez Canal and Cyprus, and seemed fully to comprehend the immense importance of the former. He told me that he possessed—pointing to a corner of the tent—a book of geography and an atlas, making use of the English words, and gave me to understand that the study of them relieved the tedium of confinement. After a visit which must have lasted nearly an hour, and which he gave me the impression of being grateful for, I left him pondering regretfully upon the promising position he has lost, and on the demolition of all the hopes of a friendly and peaceable Afghanistan, to which the Gandamak meeting and treaty gave birth."

The commencement of 1880 appeared to promise that many, if not most of our difficulties in Afghanistan, had been overcome, but subsequent events exposed our mistake. Practically, the Afghans are all but an unconquerable people. Of some of the tribes it is related that the maxim of the men is that it is a disgrace to die on their beds, as the field of war is their fate and destination by nature and birth. Our policy towards them seems to have ignored this fact, for, hydra-headed, no sooner was one tribe or district apparently quieted, than one or more rose to attack us, not in open field, where we should have been more than their match, but by that wearisome guerilla warfare which, while it gives regular troops an immense amount of trouble, yields no compensation in honour or reward.

In regard to our policy during 1879, we quote the following remarks from an able critic, and an eye-witness of many of the events which occurred in that year, and to its close:—

"I do not desire to constitute myself a critic of the past, but there is no disputing that great mistakes have been committed since the avenging army arrived at Cabul. First and chief among these has been, I think, our action in regard to Yakoob Khan. Coming, as the army did, nominally to his assistance, it would have been far wiser to have upheld his authority and dignity in every particular, and to have kept ourselves in the background, doing everything in his name. I cannot but believe that it was the contrary course which so mortified the Ameer as to lead to his resignation. That resignation should not have been accepted, or his wishes listened to for a moment; and least of all was it—in the light of subsequent events—judicious to treat him, however reasonable our suspicions, as a criminal in the matter of Cavagnari's massacre. As a matter of fact, I believe that all are now perfectly well convinced that the massacre was an unpremeditated act of the fanatical Afghan soldiery. The controversy is almost out of date; but I think there is no doubt that when the Afghan soldiers first approached the residency on that fatal September morning they were unarmed, and that the first shots were fired from the residency. Yakoob's conduct was doubtless, throughout the day, pusillanimous and half-hearted in the extreme; and it is quite conceivable that he viewed without dissatisfaction—nay, may even have promoted—a threatening movement towards the resident, which he thought might have the effect of intimidating Cavagnari, and lead to his ultimate withdrawal from Cabul. But beyond this, any Afghan evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, I do not believe him guilty, and therefore I think it is much to be regretted that the idea of Yakoob's resignation was ever entertained for a moment, and still more that, after a prolonged

rigorous confinement, he should have been deported to India. A still greater mistake probably followed in Sir F. Roberts assuming the *de facto* government of the country, instead of nominating some one or other of the available Sirdars—Wali Mahomed, for instance—who would, at least, have represented the shadow, if not the substance, under which the government of the country was to be carried on. In the first days of Afghan alarm and consternation, almost any sirdar we might have nominated would have been accepted by the country; and even if he had been weak and incapable he would very likely have formed, in time, a party about him who would have supported him, and eventually brought him sufficient strength to rule the country effectively. In these remarks I am not casting any blame upon Sir F. Roberts. He is a first-rate soldier, and his reputation as such is quite unassailable; but it is no reproach to him to say that he is neither by natural gift nor training a politician, and that he committed mistakes in a political situation of almost unparalleled difficulty. If what was to happen had been foreseen at Simla when General Roberts was first launched at the head of the avenging army to march on Cabul, the Viceroy would doubtless have seen that he had at his right hand a political adviser of the highest capacity; but, as it was, every important step had to be taken on General Roberts's unaided judgment, and that at a time when the military situation demanded the closest and most vigilant attention."

Continuing the narrative of the war in chronological order towards the middle of January, 1880, the hostile tribes around Cabul attempted to form fresh combinations against us. It appeared that though, for a time, the disturbances in Afghanistan were quieted, they were by no means at an end. Consequently, additional precautions were taken in the disposal of the British forces by the Indian Government. Herat was the scene of much contention. From Northern Afghanistan news of doubtful value was received, and the general impression was that fresh troubles in all directions were in store. The winter months rendered any advance of our troops all but impossible, and our communication with India by the Khyber Pass was seriously threatened by a hostile tribe called Mohmands. The town of Ghazni had become, in the middle of January, the rendezvous of all discontented and intriguing Afghans, and threatened us with much trouble in that direction. In fact, the whole of our surroundings were of a very gloomy character. Matters were made worse by the belief on the part of the Afghans, that as spring came on Russia would advance to their assistance to expel us from Afghanistan. However, up to 23rd January, Cabul, at least, was reported as quiet, the winter season preventing any active steps being taken either by the Afghans or ourselves. A report, however, was current that Mahomed Jan, who was at Ghazni, was meditating an attack on Cabul.

In the early part of February, matters remained in the same condition. In anticipation of an attack, the fortification of Bala Hissar, and the Sherpur were actively proceeded with, and the surrounding villages had been razed to the ground, so as to give an open space for our guns, and destroy all shelter for the enemy. There was no apprehension felt at Cabul by General Roberts, as to the safety of the British forces. The political condition of Afghanistan, and its probable future, at the period now referred to, is well detailed in the following remarks of the correspondent of the *Times*, dated February 8th, 1880:—

"The more I see of the present state of Afghanistan, and the more I mix with its sirdars the less do I wonder that the government should be slow in deciding how to deal with the present situation. There can, however, be no doubt that the question presses for solution. Our present attitude of apparent hesitation almost invites another coalition against us, and our prolonged military occupation of Cabul is almost as offensive to patriotic Afghans, or Afghans interested in the independence of their country, as if we declared our determination to annex the country. Three months ago, in the then apparently acquiescent state of the people, much could be said in favour of a policy of waiting upon events, and some strong man coming to the front, but such a leader in Afghanistan did not arise, nor is there any present indication of any chief possessing the ability or influence to take real command of the country. In fact, it daily becomes more apparent to careful observers that Afghanistan is not a nation which can be held together by any but a very extraordinary man. Such a man apparently was Shere Ali, who, for at least a few years of his reign, certainly exercised very real and far-reaching authority over even such a remote dependency as Herat. Now, however,

that Shere Ali is gone, the different component provinces of Afghanistan at once resolve themselves, as a matter of course, into separate and independent states. Herat, for instance, is rarely even mentioned at Cabul, its affairs seemingly exciting no interest among the sirdars who are gathered round General Roberts. In the same way the interests of Candahar are treated as quite foreign from those of Cabul, and I can trace no feeling of jealousy among those Afghans I meet, at the way in which the affairs of the former province have been so long administered by General Stewart and the sirdars who are acting under him. Turkestan, indeed, as being nearer, is regarded with more interest; yet even this interest is languid, while the more remote provinces of Badakshan and Wakhan are never mentioned, and the attention of the Afghan sirdars seems limited to the affairs of Ghazni, Logar, and Kohistan. These facts appear to me to suggest the inference that we have heard the last of a united Afghanistan, and that for some years, at least, the only power which could, if it chooses, again build up Afghanistan into a solid, united kingdom is England. Notwithstanding recent combinations against us, I think that if such an improbable decision were adopted, we should encounter in its execution no more than a very perfunctory resistance. The assertion may seem strange, but I believe that such a decision would be more unpopular with the British officers and European and native soldiers than with the Afghans themselves. It is, however, a fact that neither officers nor men are fascinated by the prospect of prolonged service here, and that few would be sorry to exchange the discomforts of Afghanistan for the conveniences of India. All, indeed, are ready to do their duty to the end, but the British officers at Cabul have not that craving for conquest and adventure with which the Russian officers serving in Turkestan are rightly or wrongly credited."

At this time our Indian officials, officers, and men, were all getting tired of the war. There was no prospect of any possible advantage being got from it; it was not only more plague than profit, but the "masterly inactivity" which we were compelled to adopt lessened our prestige in the eyes of Asiatic nations. Numerous schemes were suggested for us to get honourably out of the country. Into these we need not enter, for, as will be seen in the subsequent narrative, our occupation was destined to be much prolonged.

But, in England, circumstances occurred which materially altered the future probable policy that might be adopted in regard to Afghanistan and India generally. The last, seventh, year of the British Parliament had arrived, and with it, of course, was much speculation as to which political party might have the ascendency after a general election. Parliament met on the 5th February, and, of course, the affairs of India, and especially Afghanistan, held a place of great prominence in the speech and debates.

"We quote the following passage from the Queen's speech, as referring directly to Afghanistan:—

"At the close of your last session, I expressed my hope that the treaty of Gandamak (see p. 506 *ante*) had happily terminated the war in Afghanistan. In conformity with its provisions, my Envoy, with his retinue, was honourably received and entertained by the Ameer at Cabul (see *ante* p. 576.) While engaged, however, in the exercise of their duty, he, and those connected with the Embassy, were treacherously attacked by overwhelming numbers, and, after an heroic defence, were almost massacred. An outrage so intolerable called for condign chastisement, and my troops, which, pursuant to the treaty, either had withdrawn, or were withdrawing from the territories governed by the Ameer, were ordered to retrace their steps. The skill exhibited in the rapid march upon Cabul, and in the advances upon the other lines of action, reflects the highest credit upon the officers and men of my British and native forces, whose bravery shone with its wonted lustre in every collision with the enemy.

"The abdication of the Ameer, and the unsettled condition of the country, render the recall of my troops impossible for the present; but the principle on which my government has hitherto acted, remains unchanged, and, while determined to make the frontiers of my Indian empire strong, I desire to be in friendly relations alike with those who rule Afghanistan, and with the people of that country."

It is needless to quote the address which, as usual, was a most "humble" echo of the speech, but we may very properly quote a portion of the speech of Earl Granville referring to Afghanistan, more especially because the noble earl and other members of the liberal party replaced the Beaconsfield Cabinet in the short space (May) of

some two or three months. The Earl Granville remarks* :—

"There are two paragraphs in the speech from the throne on a subject upon which the interest of the country is deeply engaged. Forty years ago a dreadful disaster happened, the worst that has happened to this country during this century. The bitter lesson was taken to heart by the East India Company, by successive advisers of the Crown, by successive Viceroys, and distinguished Anglo-Indian soldiers and administrators. It was only after the accession of the present government (Beaconsfield's) to power, that a change of policy was decided upon, a policy not announced, but carefully concealed from the people of this country. What has been the result? Let anyone take up the account by the historian Kaye, or the statesman-soldier, Sir Henry Durant, and shut his eyes to the dates, and he will fancy that he is reading, step by step, with the great exception of the incompetency of some British officer, every incident of the present day. In the same way I read in the newspapers of the last year of the easy overrunning of Afghanistan by our troops, of the fanaticism excited by our advance, of the massacre of our gallant representative (see p. 577 *ante*), the difficulty in which we found ourselves, and which is indicated in the Queen's speech, of remaining or going away. I can hardly help fancying that I am hearing the very words which the late Lord Lawrence, with not a grain of that party feeling which may excite some of us, and with almost tears in his eyes, for that India which he loved, and had served so well, prophesied in conversation to me, as he did in public, the certain results of the step so falsely taken. What is the present position of things? We have some 45,000 British troops there—more are hurrying up from Bombay; we hardly do more than hold our own; we have spent millions in destroying the present governors; the outlying provinces north and west are in complete anarchy; and all this has been done, not to prevent Russia invading us—because that the prime minister (Earl Beaconsfield) said was almost impossible—but to destroy the possibility of Russian intrigue. Is it possible to imagine more completely playing the game of Russia or any Power that wishes to intrigue? What the country want to know—and I do not merely speak of the opposition, thoughtful conservatives are just as anxious as we are—what we want to know is, What is the policy of her Majesty's Government? Sir Michael Hicks-Beach pledges the government to take such measures as will revive the prosperity of the Afghans. The First Lord of the Admiralty says that the policy of the government is to refrain from annexation, except when circumstances absolutely compel them to resort to it, not only for their own preservation, but for the interests of the people annexed. Sir Stafford Northcote says it is a policy of self-defence, and not a policy of annexation. . . . . Her Majesty's gracious speech indicates that the troops are to remain until the wild country is settled, and it adds—which, really in a State document, sounds like a joke at this moment—that it desires to remain in friendly relation with the rulers, who no longer exist, and with the people whose hatred they have so deeply stirred. . . . . Surely my lords, her Majesty's Government should give us not vague generalities, but some clear indication of what their policy is."

* *Hansard's Debates*, vol. CCL., 1880, p. 34.

In reply to this, Earl Beaconsfield remarked that he was at a loss to know what Lord Granville wanted the government to tell him about Afghanistan. It would be difficult for them to say in detail what they intended to do by way of final settlement, because they were dealing with matters in an unfinished state. What they had desired, was an adequate and secure frontier for our Indian Empire. That we had obtained by the war in Afghanistan.

This summary of the speeches of Earls Granville and Beaconsfield, delivered on the the first night of the parliamentary session of 1880, will give a sufficient idea of the views of the two political parties in England in regard to the policy that had been adopted in Afghanistan. The subject, however, was subsequently brought before Parliament in a formal manner, the results of which will be given at a subsequent page.

Returning to the chronological history of the Afghan war, we quote the following remarks from the correspondent of the *Times* at Cabul, dated February 14th, 1880:—

"The weather has, for the last fortnight, been extremely severe, and snow lies thick upon the ground; but the end of the winter is almost in sight. It is probable that the fact of the British forces here having without difficulty or serious inconvenience, held their own throughout the inclement season about to close, has produced a great impression upon the Afghan mind, and, in con-

junction with other circumstances operating in the same way, may achieve that acquiescence on the part of this people in the will of the English Government, of which, without being unduly sanguine, it may be affirmed there are at present many indications. This vain people has, there is reason to think, all along cherished the belief that, as it was in 1841, so it would be in 1879, and that because the British army once was, with the aid of winter, driven to extremities at Cabul, the strong effort of 1879, joined to the severity of the climate, would result in ridding the country of General Roberts's army. Instead, however, of their arms and winter prevailing, they have seen General Roberts each day strengthening his position at Cabul, and, as his measures to that end lose nothing in their transmission to distant points of the country, it is doubtless now believed that he is absolutely unassailable. It is a very important fact, which cannot be too much insisted upon, that, with few exceptions, all the representatives of the dominant and reigning branch of the Barakzai tribe—that is, the Mahomedzai section—are here at Cabul. Of the seven surviving sons of Dost Mahomed, five are here with their families. His numerous nephews, grandsons, and grandnephews, to say nothing of a later generation, are almost all here or in India. The absentees may be counted on one's fingers. Of his sons, Nek Mahomed is the only one against us. Among his grandsons, only Abdurrahman, Ayoob Khan, and Tahir Khan, the abductor of the boy Moosa, are absent. The only able councillor of Shere Ali and Yakoob Khan, Mustaufi Habibullah, is working heartily in our interests. What is the feeling towards us of these Mahomedzai Sirdars? Certainly it is not adverse. The policy of Shere Ali was to exclude them from all public employment, and fill all State offices with men of mean extraction, whose self interest and consequent devotion to himself he thought he could rely upon. The sirdars were left to vegetate in indolence and poverty in Cabul, and their exclusion from employment is doubtless one of the causes why men of ability and character are now so rare among them. I do not think that any one sirdar possesses following or influence worth mentioning, because of his near relationship to Shere Ali. If there were anything of this kind, it would probably be in favour of Hassan Khan; but I trace nothing of this in that direction. All are selfishly jealous of one another, and would hate to see any one rise to their own exclusion. If there is any national feeling in favour of the ex-Ameer Yakoob, it is, I believe, traceable to the fact that he is under our displeasure. Such is the situation as I read it, and it affords great scope for able political management."

One name just mentioned, to which we have not yet alluded, introduces a new element into Afghan affairs. It is that of Abdurrahman, who will be found in the future history of the Afghan war as holding a prominent position, partly as being a claimant to the government of the kingdom. In respect to his position, we give the following extracts from a letter dated February 14th, at Cabul:—

"Abdurrahman's movements are still shrouded in some mystery, but the Russian report that he was in Balkh at the close of the year is almost certainly erroneous. If he had then been there, the fact could not have so long been unknown at Cabul, and it is still merely a rumour of the bazaars that he has crossed the Oxus. Noor Mahomed, son of Wali Mahomed, who was deputed by General Roberts some weeks ago to proceed towards Turkestan, is now at Saighan, 110 miles from Cabul, on the threshold of Turkestan, and is consequently in a most favourable position for obtaining news from Mazar-i-Sharif, the seat of the Turkestan Government, which is by road only 160 miles distant. He is in communication with the chiefs of Dara Yusuf, only forty miles from Mazar, and, writing on the 1st of February, he reports the arrival of letters from these chiefs, stating that Sirdar Nek Mahomed (not Abdurrahman), with some Turcoman horsemen, had arrived on the further bank of the Oxus. These letters do not mention Abdurrahman, who, if he has crossed the Oxus, has probably gone towards Badakshan to his wife's relatives. Abdurrahman is looked coldly upon by some, because it is presumed that his feelings would be rather in favour of the rival Power, to whom he has been indebted for an asylum and pension. But he was equally granted an asylum in India when he asked for it in 1868, and chance only determined him in favour of Samarcand. As commander he showed undoubted ability, and the general impression among the Afghans here is that, with money and his personal character, he would be readily accepted as ruler in Turkestan, and probably find many sup-

porters in Cabul. Here, therefore, seems a favourable field for political action."

For several months the movements of Abdurrahman were matters of great interest, as it was considered that he might greatly influence the future of his country. But at Ghazni, which had become the rendezvous of the discontented Afghans, there were two other persons of great distinction, one the great Mollah, noted for his religious proclivities, and General Mahommed Jan. We have previously mentioned them as referred to by General Roberts in his despatches, but the following particulars will be of interest as bearing on future events in Afghanistan:—

"Mahomed Jan, a Marduk by tribe, is a man of good tribal family, and had he not been too useful as artillery officer to Shere Ali, he would probably have been nominated chief of his tribe instead of his younger brother, the actual chief. He commanded the artillery at Ali-Masjib when, last year, that fort was taken by Sir Samuel Browne. For some time after that he was without employment, but Yakoob Khan made him General and gave him the command of three regiments. After Char-Asiab and the flight of Sirdar Nek Mahomed the Sepoys elected him their leader, and he commanded the rebel army before Cabul on the 8th of October. He thence fled with the Sepoys to Ghazni. He is popular with them because he is the head of the clan to which many of them belong, and on account of his character for personal bravery. He is spoken of with contempt by the Mahomedzai Sirdars at Cabul, and will never be accepted by them, except as an instrument. Mooshk-i-Alim ("Fragrance of the World"), as he is popularly called, his real name being Mollah Deen Mahomed, bears the highest character among the Afghans for sanctity. By origin he is from India, but his family has been long settled near Ghazni, where he first studied theology, putting himself afterwards under learned Mollahs in Lughman, Peshawur, &c. He saw a campaign against the Kafirs under one Haji Taj Mahomed. His leader being killed in this campaign, he carried off his body with great devotion, and afterwards returned to Ghanzi as teacher. Most of the Mollahs of that quarter are his pupils, and his influence extends to the Ghilzais, the Lughmanis, and even the Mohmands. He is of great age, and, as would appear, a bigoted and even fanatical Mahomedan. His sincerity is undoubted. It has escaped notice, but it is most creditable to our numerous Mahomedan Sepoys that never in a single instance have they allowed themselves to be drawn away from their duty even with so sacred a character leading the opposite forces."

In the middle of February the city of Cabul was quiet, and General Roberts had greatly strengthened his position. At Ghazni, Mahomed Jan, above referred to, was endeavouring to excite the neighbouring tribes against our forces. Over fifty influential chiefs tendered their submission to us, and the inhabitants of the surrounding districts sent in abundant supplies.

Towards the end of the month, there were some signs that Mahomed Jan was desirous of coming to terms with the British. It was reported that Mastaufi, the Finance Minister under Shere Ali and Yakoob Khan, had been sent by General Roberts to Wardak with letters to Mahomed Jan and other chiefs, intended to induce their submission. It appears that these letters were crossed on the way by overtures from Mahomed Jan to General Roberts, sent with the evident object of coming to terms.

About this period, and subsequently, heavy charges were brought against General Roberts in India and in the British Parliament, that he had exercised undue severity in the punishment of the Afghans found in Cabul and its neighbourhood. The defence of General Roberts we shall afterwards allude to, as it was read in the form of a letter in Parliament shortly after the opening of the session of 1880. Meanwhile, we give the following abstract of a report which was issued by the Indian Government of the number of executions at Cabul, from which it appears that the charge against the persons concerned, and the number executed and acquitted, were as follows:—

"Dishonouring the bodies of officers of the Embassy—executed, four. Possessing property of the Embassy—executed, four; released four. Being armed within five miles of the camp—executed, six; released, fifteen. Attacking escorts with the view of releasing prisoners—executed, four. Murdering camp followers, participation in the attack on the residency, inciting people to rise, treacherously killing wounded soldiers—executed, sixty-nine; released, fifty-seven. Total executed, eighty-seven; released, seventy-six.

The instructions issued on the 9th of

October, for the guidance of the military commission were:—(1) All prisoners not belonging to the force will be brought before the commission; (2) all natives of the country found armed in the city, or within a radius of five miles, and all persons suspected of being soldiers, will be made prisoners; (3) every soldier or civilian who took part in the massacre of the Embassy will be executed; (4) the cases of all other prisoners will be inquired into and referred to General Roberts. Every case was tried by the military commission, presided over by a general officer, and no sentence of death was awarded without confirmation by the Lieutenant-General commanding. The defence of the accused was fully heard, and remands granted when rebutting evidence was stated to be forthcoming. When reasonable doubt existed, the benefit af the doubt was given to the accused. Rewards were offered for the capture of those who fought against us at Char-Asiab, because it was known that the regiments which attacked the mission took part against us on that occasion. In no instance, however, were soldiers, thus brought in, executed unless proved to have taken part in the attack on the residency, or to have committed any other of the crimes enumerated in the proclamation. Four hundred rupees were paid in rewards, of which 200 were given as compensation to the family of a man killed when arresting an armed band. The result of the disarming order has been that our force has been unmolested by assassins or fanatics. The order was widely circulated and well understood. Few suffered for its non-observance, and all who proved that they were ignorant of it were released. The disarming order was further of service in permitting foraging parties to be accompanied by smaller escorts than would otherwise have been required. The villages close to Sherpur were destroyed for purely military reasons. Compensation was paid, and fresh ground assigned to the families thus deprived of their homes."

At the commencement of March, there was no further news of the movements of Abdurrahman. The early submission of Mahomed Jan was expected. The general attitude of the people was much as in previous weeks, nothing decisive being shown. Fighting occurred between the Herati and Cabuli troops.

The early part of March produced a sensation that rapidly spread, not only over Europe, but in India, and, as will subsequently be seen, much affected the future of the British policy in Afghanistan. The year 1880 completed the seventh year of the then existing British Parliament. On the 8th of March, the Premier, Earl Beaconsfield, addressed a letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in which he expressed the determination of the government at once to recommend the dissolution of Parliament. The conservative ministry had for a long time been credited with possessing a working majority of about fifty, and there is not the least doubt but that they relied on maintaining this in the event of a new general election. Without unduly anticipating the result, it may be here briefly stated that the conservatives not only lost their majority, but entered the House after the election in a minority of over 100. Of course, the affairs of India and Afghanistan became part of the election cry of the liberal party at the hustings.

Sir Stafford Northcote, as the conservative leader in the House of Commons, in his address to the electors, claimed credit for the government as follows:—"It has emphatically proclaimed the national determination to maintain, strengthen, and defend our great colonial and Indian Empire."

Lord Hartington, as leader of the liberals, in his address to the electors of North-East Lancashire, thus characterised the past conservative policy:—

"In Africa, Her Majesty's Ministers have drifted into a war which they did not sanction, and which they deplore—a war which has brought no honour, and no advantage in return for the blood and treasure which have been spent. In Afghanistan they have created a war which has destroyed a nation, the strength and independence of which they declared, in common with their predecessors, to be important for the safety of the frontier of India. The flower of the Indian army, and the resources of India, are still employed in guarding the ruins which they have made, and in repressing the anarchy they have let loose. The policy of the government has involved India, not only in great present expenses, but in future permanent charges, which are yet undefined, but which must be immense, and that at a time when it is only found possible to balance the finances of India by a reduction of those public works which are necessary for the well-being of the people, and the development of the resources of the Empire."

Such were the opposite views with each party entered on a new election, the results of which we have briefly stated, but which will be more fully dealt with hereafter.

An incident mentioned by the correspondent of the *Times*, in a letter dated at Cabul, March 7th, is worthy of relation, showing as it does, that while we can be daring in war, our natural feeling of generosity can under the most irritating circumstances assert its supremacy. He writes as follows:—

"A candid Afghan remarked the other day that only for one thing would his country retain a grateful remembrance of the English occupation of Cabul, and that was for the institution of a charitable dispensary. This acknowledged benefit has been conferred upon the Afghans through the humane exertions of Dr. Charles Owen and the hearty support of Sir Frederick Roberts. The dispensary in question was opened in Sherpur on the 14th of November, one of the first patients treated being an Afghan Sepoy, with a wound evidently received in the attack on the Residency. Encouraged by the number of patients applying in the first ten days of its establishment, the dispensary was removed to the city, and on the 10th of December there were 257 out and eight in door patients. The dispensary was then perforce closed, and when reopened by Dr. Charles Owen on the 25th of December, it was found that all conceivable damage had been inflicted by the Ghaznis on the building and its interior arrangements. On the 26th of December, however, 18 patients were treated, who profusely expressed their gratitude. By the 26th of January the number had increased to 208—namely, 90 males, 78 females, and 40 children. The indoor patients numbered 30. Up to the 17th of February relief had been afforded to 10,963 persons, of whom 3,324 were women. Our occupation of Cabul has, therefore, not been barren of good."

The attacks made on the Viceroy and General Roberts in the British Parliament, shortly after the opening of the session of 1880 have been already noticed. They called forth an indignant response on the part of Lord Lytton, in a speech delivered by him before the Legislative Council of Calcutta, at the commencement of March. After having dealt with other matters relating to Indian affairs generally, he concluded his speech with some remarks on the Afghan war. The odious charge had, he said, been made against the Indian Government that, in wanton and criminal disregard of the great interests committed to its care, it had insidiously sought occasion for that war which, in fact, the Viceroy said, it first undertook in reluctant recognition of its unavoidable necessity. He was content to ask all whose common sense was still unbiassed to consider first the great resources Shere Ali was collecting, and, secondly, the ruinous condition of chronic panic and unrest in India which would have followed had we left this great and growing war machine, planted on the very threshold of our Empire, not only at the uncontrolled command of a Prince avowedly hostile, but also under the influence and direction of that despotic and aggressive military Power which had been for years steadily advancing towards our gates. In the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, whose constant supervision had so greatly contributed to the successful result, it would be presumptuous on his part to make any comment on the military conduct of the war; but he esteemed it an imperative as it was also a congenial duty to take this opportunity of vindicating from cruel aspersions lately cast on it the character of that fine soldier and true gentleman, General Roberts. The marked humanity of General Roberts' character was well known to all acquainted with him. The total number of persons executed was 87 (see *ante* p. 600). It had been alleged that some of these were *bonâ fide* combatants punished under the cruel and fictitious charge of rebellion for no worse deed than that of defending their country. He had great satisfaction in denying on behalf of General Roberts and of the Government, to which General Roberts had rendered strict account of his proceedings, the truth of this allegation. No combatant or non-combatant was executed on any mere charge of rebellion or for openly bearing arms against us. No one was put to death without full inquiry and till the court which tried him was satisfied that he either participated in the attack on the Residency or committed some other crime to which the recognised usages of war apply the penalty of death. It was not merely cruel, it was essentially cowardly, to employ these ignoble weapons, rummaged up from among the refuse of hearsay for the purpose of scarifying the character of men labouring to serve their country in positions of constant

anxiety and tremendous responsibility. Neither a pretentious patronage of public conscience nor ostentatious professions of superior personal morality, never tested by dread conditions of responsible public action, could mitigate or conceal—indeed, they seriously aggravated—all that was frivolous or despicable in such conduct. He had but one word more to say. The Duke of Argyll had stated in Parliament that the Indian Government, or some of its members, had communicated to the Press confidential orders received from the India Office with the object of raising excitement in India, and that the Viceroy had circulated in England an elaborate document recommending measures more severe than those approved by the Ministry, and had inspired Sir Henry Rawlinson's recent article on the Afghan situation. He had read this with astonishment. Had he been guilty of such conduct he would have been unworthy of his high office. While giving the assertions in question the most unqualified contradiction, he desired to declare on behalf of his colleagues and himself that there was no conflict of opinion between the Indian and Home Governments respecting the relations with Afghanistan and the prosecution of the objects of the war.

This speech may be considered as a general defence of the Indian authorities, in view of any possible change that might occur in the event of the British elections ousting the Conservative party, which, as we have already stated, did occur, and, consequent on this, Lord Lytton was replaced by Lord Ripon as Viceroy.

Towards the close of March, matters assumed a more hopeful appearance in Afghanistan. In no quarter was any hostile gathering known to exist. The movements of Abdurrahman were unknown. The question of a new and suitable ruler for the country was being anxiously discussed, for, while our military position was good, our political one was evidently an anomaly. Meanwhile, preparations were made for an advance on Ghazni, which, as already stated was the rendezvous of the leaders of the discontented Afghans. It was reported that General Roberts had received a letter, written ostensibly by the boy, Prince Moosa Khan, and signed by all the chiefs of Ghazni, intimating their readiness to submit, and to repair in a body to Maidan for the purpose of entering into negociations. The Afghan regiments in Turkestan were reported to have thrown off the authority of Gholam Hyder, Governor of the province, their action having apparently been connected with some actual or expected movement of Abdurrahman.

On the dissolution of Parliament at the end of March, 1880, Afghan affairs received the following curt notice in the Queen's Speech:—"I entertain the confident hope that the measures adopted in Afghanistan, will lead to a speedy settlement of that country."

The general view of the situation in Afghanistan at the end of March was thus expressed by an able writer, quoted from the *Times*:—

"The opportunity which now presents itself must have been in the contemplation of the Indian Government for some time, and it ought, therefore, not to be unprepared with a definite policy framed in an anticipation of it. It is now nearly six months since our troops occupied Cabul and exacted reparation for the outrage committed on the Embassy. The interval which has elapsed since the final repulse of Mahomed Jan's attack will not have been mis-employed if it has really produced a more conciliatory disposition on the part of the Afghan chiefs. But the time has now come when the future policy to be pursued in regard to Afghanistan should be cleared of all ambiguity and uncertainty by those more immediately responsible for it. Further delay in this respect will tend to the revival of disquieting rumours and projects. We have maintained throughout that nothing has occurred since a fresh advance on Cabul became necessary last September to justify any material departure from the policy embodied in the Treaty of Gandamak. It has been necessary, of course, that the hold on Cabul should not be relaxed until it was evident that all serious resistance was at an end, but there has never been any real necessity, or even justification, so far as we can discern, for the more aggressive schemes which seem to have found favour in some quarters both in India and at home. At one time it was urged that an advance should be made on Herat from the side of India, and that a position which some describe as a ruined and almost deserted city, and others as the key of India and the garden of Asia, should be permanently occupied by British troops. At a later date consideration was given in very responsible quarters to a proposal for the occupation of Herat by Persia. This

would mean nothing more or less than a merely vicarious occupation by England; for Persia certainly could not hold Herat against a powerful and determined enemy without British assistance, and its presence there would be the reverse of an advantage to England unless its friendship had been previously secured by a virtually defensive alliance. These adventurous schemes, however, have now again happily fallen into the background. It is beginning to be seen more clearly that the work which our troops were sent again into Afghanistan to accomplish has been substantially accomplished, and that the time is coming when we can revert to the policy interrupted, but not overthrown, by the massacre at Cabul. It is still necessary, no doubt, that General Roberts should leave some established authority behind him, and that is the immediate task to be accomplished in the forthcoming negotiations at Maidan. It must be made clear that the Indian Government desires no annexation of territory beyond what is necessary for the security of India, that it claims no right of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, and that it will recognize any ruler whom the Sirdars may choose and are willing to obey, on the sole condition that he will maintain a friendly attitude towards his Indian neighbours. If the Sirdars are sufficiently powerful and united to agree upon terms of peace and to give adequate security for their execution, it ought not to be impossible for them to choose a ruler and to insure respect for his authority. It must be the paramount aim of General Roberts and Mr. Lepel Griffin to bring about this result, and to convince the people of Afghanistan that the Treaty of Gandamak still represents in the main the purpose of British policy."

It unfortunately happens that the schemes of political and military authorities often fail through want of an adequate knowledge of the circumstances on which they are or should be founded, and the war in Afghanistan gives ample illustration of this fact. Towards the close of March, news from Afghanistan intimated that General Stewart, who had not only succeeded in pacifying the country under his control but even in gaining the praise of the Afghans, was *en route* to Ghazni. A report was current that Abdurrahman had left Kunduz and was marching his troops on Cabul. The neighbourhood of Gandamak was the scene of night attacks, and at Herat civil war was still raging. In face of all these facts both English and Indian politicians were indulging in vain ideas of a pacified Afghanistan. As already stated the malcontent chiefs at Ghazni were expected to meet in the neighbourhood of Maidan to tender their submission to the British, but for the moment the arrangement was not carried out. In fact, the Afghan discontented leaders were playing a game, in the hopes that they would gain something by the lapse of time. Our officials seem to have treated these persons as they would have done with European diplomatists. Their error is well pointed out by the following remarks, quoted from an officer, resident at Cabul:—

"Not the least interesting inquiry at the present moment is, what are the views as to our proceedings of those Afghan sirdars who have thrown in their lot with us, and some of whom, though without commanding ability, are most intelligent men, and presumably well acquainted with the character and feelings of their countrymen? In conversation they abuse their countrymen roundly, and with a heartiness leaving no doubt as to their sincerity. 'Dogs,' 'animals without sense,'—these are the epithets they apply to them. 'There is only one treatment that will tell upon Afghans—that of the stick. You must thrash them first. Kind treatment must come only after they have been made thoroughly afraid of you. The time for kind treatment has not yet come. The sense of defeat and hopelessness, powerful three months ago, has been relieved, and they are now as boastful and confident as ever. Did they not hold us besieged in Sherpur for eight days, and what have the English done since, except fortify themselves and stay within their defences?' Such is the boastful talk at present of this vain people, who, in addition to their natural vanity, are intoxicated from the fact that they have paid no revenue for two years, and have derived large profits from the presence of our army, so that, as the sirdars express it, 'they are full to repletion.' 'You even who are here, you do not know the Afghans,' was the complimentary remark addressed to me yesterday. 'Your Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, who is at a distance,' I was further instructed, 'knows them still less; and the Viceroy, who is still further away, not at all. As to your government in England, what can they know about the Afghans?' This language

is, of course, to some extent that of men who are dissatisfied with the part they expect to play in the future, yet it may serve to correct some errors under which some men at home are labouring."

According to advices from Candahar, dated March 30th, General Stewart, and the head-quarters of the Bengal division, marched on that day for Khelat-i-Ghilzai, and the whole force was to move on the 8th of April. At this time, owing to the action of the home authorities of the Horse Guards, certain restrictions were placed on regimental officers who had acted as press correspondents. This regulation caused much annoyance, tended to keep back a true record of the war proceedings, and, subsequently, became a subject of serious discussion in the House of Commons.

Early in April, the general news from Afghanistan was of an uncertain character. Rumours of fresh disturbances were rife. The whole of the Bengal division marched for Ghazni. The tribes along the Khyber line seemed rather restless, but no serious opposition was expected to General Stewart's advance.

The chief British parliamentary elections having been concluded early in April, much speculation was indulged in as to the future policy of the new English ministry in respect to Afghanistan and India generally. Lord Hartington, the ostensible leader of the Liberal party, had dropped hints to the effect that an evacuation of Afghanistan would be adopted at an as early period as possible.

This news had already reached India, and in a telegram of the *Times* correspondent, dated April 4, at Cabul, the following remarks occur as indicating the future course of events in Afghanistan :—

"Events are marching slowly, but not, therefore, badly. The sirdars have been told in general terms what our policy is. Yakoob Khan will not be allowed to return. Candahar, probably, and Herat, possibly, will be separated from Cabul government. The British army will retire when the Afghans themselves can agree, subject to our approval, on a future ruler for Cabul. In the meantime, the Ghazni malcontents have reached Maidan with the Mustafi, who comes on to Cabul, and who will declare their wishes. They evidently desire, by their number, to give their wishes the weight of a national declaration. Such a declaration can only be favourably received if couched in submissive terms, and in so far as it really possesses the weight it claims, it must be judged by its intrinsic reasonableness, and by the prospect it offers of a stable settlement. It will be carefully examined, and, desirous as the government certainly are for an early withdrawal from the country, a hasty acceptance of it would be most imprudent. Gradually we shall discover the real wish of the country, and of the great tribal chiefs, and discriminate between the fitness of the rival candidates for power. One danger is obvious; that what the Ghazni faction propose may be insincere, and only intended to procure our speedy retirement, with the concealed intention of having their own way afterwards. Our military and political chiefs will not, however, be deceived. It is quite probable that if the proposals of the Ghazni faction prove impossible, they may try intimidation, and that a popular rising may be put in train. If so, our strength will be vigorously put forth, and this boastful people will have again to learn that patience and forbearance do not mean weakness. The Afghan tactics of December will hardly be repeated. Attempts are rather expected on the line of communications, but General Roberts is prepared at all points.

"Abdurrahman has not yet declared his hand; perhaps from natural shrewdness, perhaps from the lesson taught him before his so-called flight from Samarcand. He is so far playing a concealed game. He cannot with prudence be ignored, and in this country, without roads and posts, information and business travel slowly. Possibly he will make for Herat, or embarrass us and the future ruler of Cabul by establishing his rule over Turkestan. The more hopeful view is, however, that he will approach us in a friendly attitude.

"The organization of the troops, and of all departments, is now admirable, and it is reasonable to hope that the next few weeks will see things in train for a satisfactory settlement, and a peaceful return of the troops to India."

On the 13th of April a durbar was held, at which the intentions of the government were formally declared by Sir F. Roberts and Mr. Lepel Griffin to the assembled sirdars and chiefs, as they had previously explained them privately. These are that the army will withdraw whenever the chiefs can agree upon a ruler whose rule is likely to be stable and friendly to England. The

only absentees were Mahomed Jan and the ex-Governor of Jellalabad. The demeanour of all present was respectful and friendly, and the way has been paved for a favourable solution of the question. The uncertain factor is now Abdurrahman, whose views and intentions yet remained undeclared. News had arrived that the headquarters and main body of General Stewart's division had arrived at Khelat-i-Ghilzai on the 7th. They had met with no difficulties, and supplies had been plentiful, but, as we shall afterwards see, they had troubles in store.

In India, the progress of the general election in England was watched with great interest, especially in regard to the probable effect on the Afghan policy. The following telegram gives some idea of the views then prevalent in Calcutta. It was dated April 11th:—

"The last mail brought us Mr. Gladstone's Edinburgh speech, in which he said that, however much the Liberals disapproved their predecessors' actions, they would not undo what had been done. This declaration has gone far to remove the feeling of disappointment which followed the first news of the Conservative defeat. It was generally supposed a week ago that the first act of the Liberal Ministry would be to abandon Afghanistan—a supposition which was strengthened by a telegram stating that Lord Hartington had publicly announced his intention of adopting that course. It is now believed that the telegram, if not altogether wrong, at any rate omitted some important qualifications. Once convinced that the Afghan and Central Asian policy will not be reversed, Anglo-Indians will look upon the change of ministry with comparative equanimity, and will begin to find more interest in speculating on the probable successors of Lords Cranbrook and Lytton. The native papers of the presidency towns representing the Anglicized natives of Calcutta and Bombay express great delight at the Liberal victory. The present Government is unquestionably unpopular with the natives, owing to its connection with the Vernacular Press and the Arms Acts, the licence tax, the remission of the cotton duties, and the attempt to saddle India with the entire cost of the Afghan war. As regards the last-named three subjects, the European feeling is in complete accord with that of the natives; but the European community, being better acquainted with the ways of party warfare, doubt whether there is more to be hoped for from one party than from the other on these points."

By way of relief from the comparatively dry details of the progress of the war, the following account of Cabul is here introduced. It was written by one who accompanied the army of General Roberts during the whole period of his march on, and residence near the city:—

"It is difficult to convey to the untravelled western mind an idea of what Cabul is like, though easy enough to any one who has wandered as far east as Cairo. It would not help the former class of readers to say it resembles Bagdad, which it does, subtracting the various Christian churches and Mahomedan tombs of Bagdad and the really handsome barracks and public buildings which the Turks have erected. In truth, all Asiatic cities have the strongest family resemblance, and have little to distinguish them from one another, unless the introduction of foreigners as permanent residents, or the free adoption of Western ideas by the native population, has revolutionized the native ideas of comfort and convenience. Cabul is as yet free from either of these elements of change and improvement, and remains to this day just what we may suppose it to have been in the days when Timour Shah first made it his capital. In its general aspect it is a mere conglomeration of mud walls and houses, most of the latter of the meanest class, but all constructed with a view to privacy and concealment, as is usual in Mahomedan countries. It is permeated by filthy and narrow lanes, which at this season (winter) are ankle-deep in mud and snowy slush, and are always the natural resting-place for such filth and refuse as the inhabitants, who are not very nice, find too offensive to retain within their own walls. Cabul is an unwalled town, but the want of walls is supplied to some extent by the style in which the outlying houses are generally built—namely, with blank outer walls enclosing open courtyards, round which the rooms occupied by the family find place. The ambition of the lower classes is satisfied with a single story only, but the better classes always have a second story, and each house then becomes a regular fortress. A more undesirable town, chiefly for this reason, and from the narrowness and intricacy of its lanes, for troops to have to act in, it would be impossible to find. The roofs of the houses are all flat, and of mud, and generally made

private by a parapet 3ft. or 4ft. high round the outer circumference. This gives a strange uniformity of appearance to the town when viewed from the hills above, and impresses the observer with the little effect which would be produced upon the place by artillery fire from however advantageous a position.

"There are two exceptions to the generally tortuous character of the Cabul streets, and they are to be found in the part devoted to business. The first of these is the Shor Baza, a long straight street running nearly east and west, and dividing the city into two unequal parts. This bazaar is devoted to the sale of every description of article of luxury, from the silks and finery of the Zenana to the china teacups which are such an indispensable appendage to even the most modest Afghan household. The wares are exhibited, in the fashion common to the East, in a narrow verandah, elevated about 3ft. above the level of the street, with perhaps a scarcely larger enclosed space behind, where the bulkier articles are stored. The owners of the shops sit cross-legged on the ground, with a pan of hot coals, at this season, to keep life in their fingers and toes; and it is a peculiarity with them that they show no eagerness whatever to sell their wares, such as is generally observable in Eastern bazaars, where a supposed customer is sometimes almost torn in pieces by rival dealers; but after quietly exhibiting any article demanded, and asking for it an obviously ridiculous price, they return it to its shelf without a word of remark or a hint at abatement, and are quite indifferent if the customer betakes himself straightway to the adjoining rival shop. Each of these shops is closed at the approach of evening by rude wooden shutters, and the occupant betakes himself, with anything peculiarly valuable and portable, to his private residence in one of the retired lanes of the city. The Shor Bazaar is roughly covered in with a mud roof, supported on wooden uprights, so constructed as to leave plenty of light and air, and yet to protect the crowded and narrow thoroughfare from rain or snow. The other large thoroughfare of Cabul is what is called the Char Chowk, or Bazaar of the Four Squares, from the four quadrangular spaces through which the main line of street runs. The short streets which connect these quadrangles are covered in like the Shor Bazaar, and it is here that all sorts of necessaries of life are to be found—the dealers in fruit, vegetables, bread and meat, and in the various skins and furs so largely used for the winter apparel of all classes of the Cabulees. Here, too, are to be found the shops of the saddlers—a very flourishing trade in a country where every one rides who can afford it—and the various artificers in wood, iron, and brass, and the suppliers of every sort of household necessaries, from a basket of nails and old iron to the fantastic shoes worn by the highest class of Afghan ladies. The course of this long street is about parallel to the Shor Bazaar, and crosses the Cabul river by a rude bridge old enough to have seen the passage of Timour Shah's processions, and the haunt at present of innumerable beggars. This, by the way, is a class which infests every street and lane of Cabul and its environs; and the appeal for alms is incessant, and is renewed for every individual passer-by. The appearance of these unfortunate beggars is most pitiable; but I imagine they have reaped a less abundant harvest from the English occupation than any other class of the population—not that their appeals are wanting in pathos or addressed to unpitying ears, but the copper coin of the country is inconvenient to carry, and the English in Cabul, following the custom in India, rarely carry the current coin of the realm in their pockets. This bazaar, like the Shor Bazaar, is incessantly crowded by buyers, and by horsemen and pedestrians of all classes; and it is no uncommon thing for the whole moving mass to be brought to a stand for some minutes by the passage of a long string of loaded mules or camels, which blocks up almost the entire roadway of the narrow street. The Char-Chowk Bazaar was the bazaar in which the body of Sir William MacNaghten was said to have been exposed and dishonoured in December, 1841, and it was therefore selected by General Pollock for destruction the following year. The injury it then received has been only partially repaired, and, in particular, a channel of running water, with reservoirs at each of the four quadrangles, which was one of its original embellishments, has ceased to exist, and the reservoirs, which still remain, are dry and choked with rubbish.

"Cabul possesses almost no public buildings or monuments of interest. The tomb of Timour Shah, which stands in a large open enclosure in almost the centre of the city, has, I believe, never been finished, is certainly now greatly out of repair, and

never could have possessed any architectural beauty. The mosques are extremely mean, and, with the exception of Timour's tomb, the ugly uniformity of the flat mud roofs is unbroken by a single object like a tomb or a minaret, such as you would expect to see in a large Mahomedan capital. There is not even a handsome serai, and the best serais are so filthy, from the peculiar habits of the people, that they cannot be inspected without disgust. The beauties of Cabul must be sought outside the city in the gardens and orchards with which the neighbourhood is studded, and in the views which can be obtained from the top of the Shahr-Darwaza or Asmai hills. From these hills the valley of Cabul, and still more that of Chardeh, must look lovely when the rich crops they produce are on the ground, and when the orchards are decked in their summer foliage."

The following remarks describe the domestic character of some of the best classes of the inhabitants:—

"The manners of the Afghan sirdars of Cabul, as seen in their own houses, and in their intercourse with those English officers who show any desire to cultivate their acquaintance, are exceedingly pleasing and friendly. Sirdar Wali Mahomed Khan, for instance, who, if he could only speak European languages, would be an acceptable guest at the best tables in London or Paris, is a most agreeable companion, full of conversation, and with an immense fund of information and anecdote drawn from long experience of men and things. In a lower generation, Ahmed Ali Khan, a grandson of Shere Ali, and son of that eldest and favourite son whose death in battle drove him for some months almost mad with grief, is a youngster who, if he carries out his present wish to accompany Sir F. Roberts to England, may yet make his mark in London drawing-rooms. Among other visits I lately paid one to Hussein Ali Khan, a Kizlbash gentleman of some distinction, who, after many years of faithful service rendered to Shere Ali, became at last Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan army. Hussein Ali Khan, I may remark *en passant*, was just the kind of man that Shere Ali liked to promote. He was not one of the Barakzai sirdars of whose possible ambition and influence Shere Ali was so prudently apprehensive, but a man without tribal or family influence, and who looked to his patron alone for advancement and place. He was tutor to the young Abdullah Jan, and accompanied Shere Ali in that capacity to the Umballa meeting in 1869. When Ayoob Khan obtained possession of Herat, shortly after Shere Ali's flight to Turkestan in 1878, Hussein Ali Khan was sent by him a prisoner to Cabul, and remained in confinement by Yakoob's order until after the battle of Char Asiab, when his Kizlbash kinsmen released him. This by the way. His house is in the Kizlbash quarter of Cabul, and the approach to it gives a good idea of the necessity under which Afghan sirdars live of making their houses their castles. Turning down a narrow and filthy lane, the road lay through a dark covered passage to the entrance door. Here the ex-commander-in-chief met me and my companion, and, ascending a steep staircase with an abrupt turn, making it highly defensible, he led us through an outer room into a small apartment furnished with chairs and a table. The latter, on our entrance, was covered with a cloth of gay pattern, which was immediately withdrawn, and exposed a perfect array of the beautiful fruits of Cabul—apples, pears, grapes, and quinces, interspersed with plates of confectionery. After a few minutes' conversation tea was brought in, and served in cups of Russian ware. The tea used by the Cabul sirdars is invariably green, imported by way of Bombay, the supply direct from China through Bokhara having been stopped for many years, for reasons which I have not been able to discover. It is drunk Persian fashion, weak and without milk, and freely sweetened with Russian loaf sugar. The taste for tea in this form is soon acquired. We were then most hospitably pressed to attack the beautiful fruits, and, as our host was full of conversation, and was equally at home in the Persian and Afghan languages, we were able to enjoy a most interesting hour's talk. On taking our leave we were again conducted to the foot of the stairs by our host, who remained standing until we had mounted our horses. It is gratifying to think that under probable future arrangements there may yet be a prospect of honourable employment for men like Hussein Ali Khan, and happy will it be for the coming ruler of Cabul if he finds among his subjects many others like this worthy soldier and gentleman."

The meeting of the Afghan chiefs at Cabul on 13th April, already described, and the statement of the intended policy of the Indian Government, were believed at head-

quarters to have had a beneficial effect, and as likely to lead to the selection of a suitable native ruler. But the accounts of the movements of Abdurrahman were still conflicting, although his friends reported that he was well disposed to the British policy. But the country generally was in a very disturbed state, and a quiet settlement of it was yet far from probable accomplishment. The sirdars who were present at the durbar promised to facilitate the progress of General Stewart towards Ghazni, but they were scarcely to be depended upon.

The progress of General Stewart, as far as Khelat-i-Ghilzai, where he arrived on the 7th of April, has already been recorded. On the 19th he encountered a large gathering of tribesmen, estimated at 15,000 horse and foot, about twenty-five miles south of Ghazni. While preparations were being made to attack them, some 3,000 frantic swordsmen rushed upon the troops, outflanking both ends of the British line. The fight lasted about an hour, when the enemy was beaten and dispersed over the country. General Stewart then continued his march to Nani, and his advanced guard entered Ghazni on the 20th. More than 1,000 of the dead were counted on the field of battle, while our losses were seventeen killed and 115 wounded.

Numerous minor attacks were made on the British forces, which delayed General Stewart's march from Ghazni. But success universally attended our army, and the General proceeded to Cabul. Meanwhile renewed attacks were made on our forces which, although inflicting no severe loss, were the causes of much trouble and annoyance. Some desultory attacks were made by the tribes of the Kurram valley, but the insurgent spirit seemed to have been much weakened by the recent defeat which the hostile tribes had sustained.

The Indian Government thought it desirable, under existing circumstances, to strengthen the forces in Afghanistan, certainly a step which seemed to contradict the opinion that the quiet settlement of the country was approaching. Whenever our forces left a district, a fresh rising of the natives followed, and thus our generals were chiefly occupied rather in retaining than gaining fresh ground.

The situation is thus described in a telegram from the Viceroy, dated May 4th, 1880:—

"General Stewart arrived in Cabul 2nd, and took command. His division occupies position in Logar Valley, near Charakh. Stewart reports Ghazni quite incapable of resisting artillery. Walls in utter disrepair. He brought away two guns left by English after last occupation.

"Sirdar Mohammad Alam Khan, believed acceptable to both Hazaras and Afghans, appointed Governor by Stewart. Stewart wrote to Musa Khan, who was twenty miles distant, inviting him to return to Ghazni. He replied, he would come directly state of country permitted. Tahir Khan accompanied Stewart to Ghazni.

"Still a large gathering of tribes in Shilgarh Valley, under Mushk-i-Alam, but spirit much shaken by recent defeat. Musa Khan has now returned to Ghazni and is with the Governor.

"Kurram reports attempts being made to raise tribes for attack on force when advancing to Ali-khel. On morning, 22nd, attack made by Dami and Mahsud Waziri raiders on Chappri post, near Thall. A transport officer killed and eight men wounded. Enemy left two dead.

"Wali of Candahar has destroyed village of leaders of attack on Dorbrai post. A gathering in Arghastan intending attack on communications dispersed on Wali going out."

The financial condition of India has been repeatedly the subject of remark, and as a rule, deficits generally become discovered after the publication of the official budget. This was eminently the case in 1880, and caused great consternation among the home authorities in England.

Early in May the Indian Government sent a dispatch to the Secretary of State for India showing that the cost of the Afghan war would probably exceed the estimates by at least £4,000,000.

An appended minute from the member of Council for the Military Department and a memorandum from the Military Accountant-General, explained the manner in which the estimates were framed and the reasons for which the Military Department believed them to be sufficient, and officially recommended to the Finance Department to adopt them in the Indian Budget.

The minute declared the Military Department to be entirely responsible for the estimates, and stated the chief reasons which led to the increased expenditure, and which were unforeseen when the estimates were made. Among these were the neces-

sary purchase instead of merely the hire of a great proportion of the means of transport required, the cost of transporting to the front supplies for six months and the enormous increase in the price of grain and all other supplies, famine prices prevailing both at the base and in Afghanistan. Higher wages had to be paid to all camp followers on account of their dread of foreign service, and the minute points out the necessity that arose for constructing works for the maintenance of the positions gained and the protection of the troops in consequence of the prolongation of the war beyond the time anticipated. The exhaustion of the local resources and the necessity for frequently renewing the means of transport, which had to be drawn from distant provinces of India at constantly increasing cost were also dwelt upon.

The despatch of the Indian Government declared that the condition of the Indian finances, apart from the war, continued to be thoroughly satisfactory, and the estimates of revenue would be realized. The general financial position was good as described in the Budget statement, and the despatch said that but for the war there would have been a surplus of £4,000,000 both in the past and present year.

This piece of financial news produced consternation in India and fell like a thunderbolt on the new British administration. In England our finances were in a deficit condition, owing to a variety of causes, but particularly the depression of every department of commerce. A hope that our home industrial interests were improving, received in May a sudden check, so that what with the finances of India and those of Great Britain, Mr. Gladstone was placed in a most difficult position. If ever there was a time when a clear head and firm hand were required for Indian finance, it was at this juncture. It was bad enough that the accounts had been presented in a form so complicated as to be unintelligible, except to the initiated; but it was worse that they should have been based on erroneous calculations, and that the error should have amounted to several millions on the wrong side.

A telegram from the Viceroy to the Home Government, dated May 7th, reports that the hostile tribe about Cabul were dispersing to their homes, and generally speaking, Afghanistan was quiet. News was received that there was a rising in Badakshan against Abdurrahman's authority. The Kohistani gathering had dispersed, and these had been among the worst of our enemies. Affairs at Ghazni were quiet, and arrangements had been made to keep open communication with Cabul. In the hopes of uniting all the hostile factions of Afghanistan under one head, our authorities made overtures to Abdurrahman to make him on certain conditions Ameer. It would thus appear that our difficulties, political, financial, and military were such, that the Indian officials, like drowning men, were glad to snatch at anything which promised them even an idea of safety. Fresh disturbances again arose, constantly calling on our forces for action, although the events were of little importance. The excitement throughout the country was great, the Afghans being naturally anxious to know on what bases future government would be founded, and who would become their Ameer. The proceedings of our authorities at Ghazni and Cabul, tended greatly to impress the people with the idea that we really intended the evacuation of their country. Lord Ripon had left England for India as successor of Lord Lytton, and an entirely new Indian policy was expected.

On the 20th May, the new session of Parliament commenced. Of course the "Queen's speech" was under very different dictation to that which led to expressions in previous speeches. The references to Afghanistan and India were as follows:—

"On the last occasion of my addressing you I expressed my hope that the measures adopted in Afghanistan would lead to a speedy settlement of that country. Since that period, the gallantry of my troops has continued to be conspicuous, and the labours of my Government in India have been unremitting. But I have to lament that the end in view has not yet been attained. My efforts will, however, be unceasingly directed towards the pacification of Afghanistan, and towards the establishment of such institutions as may be found best fitted to secure the independence of its people, and to restore their friendly relations with my Indian Empire.

"The condition of Indian Finance, as it has recently been made known to me, has required my special attention. I have directed that you shall be supplied with the fullest information upon this weighty subject."

The address, as usual, was simply an echo

of the "Gracious speech," but unfortunately the facts remained that the affairs of Afghanistan were as far off settlement as ever, and that at least an error of some four or five millions had been made in the estimate of Indian finance due to the Afghan war.

The gross blunder of the Indian estimates, of course, was laid on every one's shoulders except those who were actually responsible for the mistake. It is true that difficulties of transport had much to do with the matter, but these ought to have been foreseen by the authorities. A grand scheme, involving not only the occupation of Afghanistan, but possibly its annexation, had been indulged in both by the Home and Indian politicians, and of course without counting the cost. In India the arrival of the new Viceroy, Lord Ripon, was anxiously waited for in the hopes of a change of policy. At this point the following extracts from a leading article in the London *Times*, of May 21st, may be read with interest:—

"The measures adopted by Lord Lytton's Government have secured results of great importance to the Empire, which it would be unpardonable to surrender. The object of Lord Ripon's negotiations must be to enter into such arrangements in Afghanistan, whether with a single Prince or with a confederate group of sirdars, as may enable the Anglo-Indian Government to retire behind the 'scientific frontier' according to the spirit of the Treaty of Gandamak. (See pp. 506-508 *ante*). It may be expedient, in the present state of affairs, to modify in some particulars the provisions of that treaty; but its aim and its substance must be maintained, and Lord Ripon will have, in the first place, to see how these necessary objects can be separated from the ambitious schemes with which they have been confounded, and how they can be carried out in spite of the embarrassments of the Indian Exchequer. It is plain from the tenour of our Afghan correspondence that the permanent occupation of Cabul and the surrounding country must be impracticable unless we are prepared to maintain an armed force beyond the mountains to an extent which would impose an intolerable charge upon the finances of India. It is possible that if Sir John Strachey's Budget had been unchallenged, the advocates of a prolonged occupation of Cabul would in spite of the facts which our Correspondent at Safed Sang records, have maintained their views, and would, perhaps, even have been able to resist the policy of the new Viceroy. But political observations and financial exigencies combine to show that the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan as soon as possible is an end towards which Anglo-Indian policy ought to be firmly directed. Lord Ripon, we may assume, will grasp this truth; but it is to be hoped that he will not allow himself to be carried too far away by its advocates. A too sudden and too complete retreat would only bring upon India a swift and sure reaction."

As we shall see afterwards, the plan of Afghan policy was all very well in print, but of little practical value. The Afghans knew their power, as that of keeping up a kind of guerilla warfare, similar to that maintained by Garibaldi during the Italian war of independence, and the settlement of Afghanistan consequently long remained a problem for solution. Cabul, Herat, Persia, Turkestan, Beloochistan, were all elements of disturbance, and perhaps—worst of all—Russia might be included either directly or indirectly.

As regards Herat, reports were spread in England that it was the intention of our Government to sacrifice Herat to Persia. An eminent British General in the Indian service, published the following remarks towards the close of June, 1880, which bear not only on that question but we think wisely on the future of Afghanistan.

"The question of Herat remains to be considered. This city having been formerly the capital of Eastern Khorasan, in the province of Persia, and its population at the present day being largely Tojik—of Persian origin—might be expected to gravitate towards Persia on being left unfettered to follow its own inclinations. The Heratees have no sympathies with the Afghans. Assuming then the determination of a neutral zone in negotiation with Russia—a policy long ago advocated by the late Lord Clarendon—and providing that the *status quo* should be the basis of that settlement, as between that Power and the British Indian Government, I should have no reluctance in seeing Persia occupy Herat, or even resuming her former dominion over the whole of Afghanistan—a not unlikely contingency in the event of our tacit acquiescence. For it must be

borne in mind that Afghanistan never enjoyed independence as a separate state until about the middle of the last century, previous to which it had been alternately a province of the Mogul Empire in India or of the Persian Empire; or the country was divided at certain periods of its history between these two great Asiatic powers. Further, the Afghans proper constitute but a small proportion of the population of Afghanistan, the other and far larger portion being composed of virtually independent tribes—Tajaks, Kuzzibasts, Hazaras, Turcomans, the first three of whom are of direct Persian descent, who might be expected to regard with complacency the resumption by Persia of her former dominion over Afghanistan. The use that Persia might be expected to make of her power when aggrandised by the incorporation of Afghanistan, would be in direct proportion to the vigor of British policy in maintaining the proposed neutral zone on the basis of the *status quo*, comprehending the independence of Merv and Turkistan inviolate. The vexed question as to whether Persia is or is not the Pioneer of Russia, long suspected and practically assumed by England in the wars waged for the integrity of Afghanistan as the outwork of India, seems to me beyond the scope of practical political discussion in this place. On this point I would only remark that Persia, in her position between Russia and England, but illustrates, though on a slightly larger scale, the law of Political gravitation. If, then, Persia, in times past, should have shown a preferential leaning towards Russia, it would only imply that Russia's policy had been more vigorous than our own, assuming the strength of the two Powers to be equal. With the Caspian converted into a Russian lake, and her columns pushing their way steadily across Central Asia, consolidating her power at each stage by the absorption of intermediate States and by the construction of a chain of forts, wells, depots, &c., and England, on the other hand, sitting supine and making no sign, what was Persia to do? Once let there be a change to a vigorous policy, a neutral zone demarcated in negociation with Russia, and on that hard and fast line the words Thus Far! inscribed and ratified by the whole united fiat of Great Britain, and we shall assuredly have no cause to complain of Persia's preferential leaning to any other Power. Let it be distinctly understood that we do not desire to meddle any further with Afghanistan, but that it concerns England's honour and her highest Imperial interest that no other European Power should be suffered to do so."

Towards the end of May, the expectations that sundry Afghan chiefs would remain or become faithful to us were grievously disappointed. As already noticed the British authorities (see *ante*, p. 599), had hoped much to secure the adhesion of Abdurrahman to our interest; Mahomed Jan and Mastaufi, were also in some measure thought to be trusted. How far these ideas, held in February, 1880, were justified in the result, may be judged of by an extract of a telegram from the *Times* Correspondent at Cabul, dated May 23rd:—

"In Cabul the principal event of importance has been the arrest and deportation to India of Mustaufi Habibullah Khan. Letters to General Mahomed Jan, the insurgent leader, urging him to attack the British troops lately in Ghazni and Maidan, written by the Mustaufi, had been obtained, and an inquiry as to their genuineness was held in the presence of the principal Sirdars of Cabul and of the Mustaufi himself. Their genuineness having been proved to the satisfaction of the chief political officer, the Mustaufi was arrested and detained in Sherpur for the night. Next morning, under an escort of the 9th Lancers, he started on his journey for India, where he will anyhow be detained until a final arrangement is made in Afghanistan. The intrigues of the Mustaufi had long been notorious, and he was the one man in Afghanistan who had power in any serious way to thwart the Government policy. The popular native opinion entirely supports the action taken. It is not anticipated that this event will cause any excitement, except, perhaps, among the Wardaks, his own tribe. The day before his arrest the Mustaufi had sent his camels and mules to Ghazni, and would, doubtless, himself have followed shortly afterwards. His main object was to oppose as much as possible the acceptance of Abdurrahman, upon which he believed the Government to be bent. He has with the Sirdar a deadly feud, and knew that were Abdurrahman appointed Ameer he himself could not remain in Afghanistan. Ghazni being the centre of the Mustaufi's intrigues, it is possible that his deportation may cause some excitement there. Sirdar Alam Khan,

the provisional Governor of Ghazni, who lately came to Cabul, hesitates to return there on this account."

In various parts of Afghanistan there were signs of fresh troubles. Jellalabad was disturbed by the Mohmands, Ayoob Khan terminated the quarrel between the Duranees and the Beloochees of Chakansur, by marrying a daughter of their chief, and declared his intention of attacking Candahar, and generally speaking the feeling was that the only resource we then had of getting decently out of Afghanistan, was the establishment of Abdurrahman on the throne of Cabul. In the Kurram Valley matters were very unsettled.

At the commencement of June our prospects were by no means brighter. The hopes above stated in respect to Abdurrahman falling in with us were not justified by the result. In a telegram dated June 1st, from the Viceroy to the India Office in London, it was stated the Mahomed Jan was collecting large numbers of troops to attack us. The Mollahs were continuing to preach a holy war against us among the Mohmands, and altogether matters looked by no means promising. All the districts round Cabul were quiet, including our worst enemies of Kohistan. The Ghazni field force, however, was threatened. The difficulty of the situation is well described at this period by the following extracts from a letter, from a British resident of Cabul, and dated May 30th:—

"I had yesterday an interesting, but discouraging conversation with a leading Afghan Sirdar. I pressed him for his unreserved opinion whether Abdurrahman would really come to Cabul to arrange matters with the English. He did not think that the Sirdar would come. When pressed for his reason, he replied, 'because he would then lose any influence he possesses and become no better than one of us, who, as the supporters of the English, are regarded as false Afghans.' The Sirdar then expressed his surprise that with so many friendly Afghan Sirdars to choose from, we should accept the one obviously bound to an antagonistic Power by all the ties of gratitude. I did not reply that all the friendly Sirdars were too feeble and too unacceptable, apparently, to their countrymen to deserve our support, but reminded him that gratitude was not an Afghan virtue and that self-interest was much more powerful. I also reminded him, that after Shere Ali's recent experience, Russian promises of support should be entirely discredited. He met this by saying that the Afghans knew from our constant declarations that we were going away, while they still flattered themselves with vague visions that the Russians might help them, not for the first time. I then pressed the Sirdar for his opinion as to how the situation should be dealt with, and received the common Afghan answer that there are three ways, two of which would probably succeed, and one certainly fail. The first is to annex the country. This would be easy and would meet small opposition now. The second is to nominate any one we please as Ameer and support him, for a time at least, with our army. This would also succeed, and if it had been done when Yakoob Khan resigned, the country would now be perfectly settled. The third—namely, to nominate an Ameer, and then leave the country—would be certain to fail. I have heard a fourth course, added by some Sirdars—namely, to withdraw and let them fight it out among themselves; but my friend was a man of peace and did not suggest this alternative. The settlement made at Candahar is generally approved by the Afghan Sirdars, and its adoption here is desired. I do not think an Afghan Sirdar understands either the process or the possibility of the effect upon the British policy of the change of Ministry, but doubtless the change of the Viceroy is a subject of inference. I may also mention that I have never heard the late defeat of the Russians by the Turcomans mentioned by the Afghans. Their apparent ignorance may be explained by the long stoppage of free communication between Herat and Cabul."

As regards the future, contingent on Abdurrahman joining us, a letter from an officer connected with our Ghazni Field Force gives the following opinion:—

"There is daily increasing a spirit of enmity and excitement all over the land, and I should not be surprised if Abdurrahman's appearance in Cabul, if he does come, which I much doubt, were the signal for a general conflagration south of Cabul. I am sure that the Ghazni party means mischief. That place is again becoming the nucleus of the irreconcilables and malcontents, just as any other convenient place would have certainly become had we occupied Ghazni and prevented their assembling there. I look upon the whole future as uncertain

and stormy in the extreme. The villages round here are full of men wounded in the last affair at Char-Asiab. They are being brought in to be cured in our camp hospitals."

Both in England and in India all classes were getting heartly tired of the Afghan war, more especially as there seemed no prospects of its end coming. It was generally admitted that the result of our military successes would have a most beneficial effect in impressing on the minds of Asiatic powers, a sense of our strength of will and of our resources to back our determination. We certainly gained greater and more accurate knowledge of the character of our enemies on our north-west frontier, and dispelled a bugbear which the failure of our efforts in previous years had given rise to. We showed the Afghans that their country presented no serious obstacle to our progress, and that in future our Government in India can control any governor who may become Ameer of Afghanistan, despite the intrigues of all other powers. Possibly had we taken earlier steps to assert our supremacy many valuable lives and much expense would have been saved. We have shown that Afghanistan need no longer terrify us, because our power over it will be irresistible whenever we are called upon to exercise it. On the other hand the cost has been enormous, and far beyond what had been even guessed at by the utmost opponent of the war. As far as India was concerned, the financial difficulty will for years bear heavily on her resources. This will hinder the material progress of the country. Public works that are of so much importance will have to be stopped, and thus the efforts of the last quarter of a century to develop the internal resources of the country will at least be partly paralysed; and taking a broad view of the entire Afghan question, we are almost forced to the conclusion that, whatever moral influence may have been secured, their financial cost counterbalances their advantages—at least to a very large extent.

By a telegram dated Simla, June 10, it appeared that General Stewart had received orders to withdraw his forces with the least possible delay, compatible with the health of the troops. Instructions were given him that Cabul should be evacuated not later than 31st October. Orders were sent that all surplus staff and stores with ammunition should be at once returned to India. The new Viceroy, Lord Ripon had arrived at Simla on the 8th June. At that period it was believed that the Shutargardan Pass would be with Gandamak the extreme points remaining in future British occupation. It was evident that these resolves militated against the policy of the new Viceroy, according to the instructions he had taken with him on his departure from England.

Early in June Abdurrahman, by letter from Turkestan, expressed himself in friendly terms to us. But the wily Afghan took time before he expressed them in his acts. At this time the Indian authorities were literally hawking about for a new Ameer for Afghanistan, so as to allow us to retreat from the country with decency, or at least without loss of prestige. Generally the state of the country was tranquil, and at this period there were no signs of immediate disturbances. In Kohistan only was there any excitement—the old centre of our grievances. Herat was still a source of difficulty, as was Turkestan.

On his arrival at Calcutta, in reply to a deputation of the officers of the Presidency, Lord Ripon made the following remarks:—

"No one can think of that contest without feeling his heart beat quicker with an honourable and just pride at the recollection of the gallant deeds which in this war, as on so many previous occasions, have been performed for our Queen-Empress and country by Her Majesty's troops, European and Native alike; and we are proud to recollect that in those later times both these services have shown themselves fully able to maintain the great and glorious reputation which the armies of England have won for her in every quarter of the globe. It will be my most earnest endeavour to bring that war, so far as lies in my power, to an early and honourable conclusion, in the hope that with returning peace, the Government of India may again be able to devote its attention to those works of internal improvement to which you have alluded. I can assure you that if it should be my lot to contribute in any degree to the development of the resources of this great country, agricultural and industrial, and to promote to any extent the happiness and welfare of the people of India, of all races, creeds, and classes, and especially the prosperity of the mass of the people, I should esteem it the greatest honour of my political life."

In the middle of June the fallacious hopes of the Indian authorities were tested. A telegram from Cabul to Simla stated that the condition of Northern Afghanistan was less satisfactory. It was believed that Abdurrahman, the "trusted one" of our Indian Officials, was intriguing with the native chiefs to stir up renewed hostility to the British power, and then these worthies began to consider whether it would be not as well to put their own prisoner Yakoob Khan on the throne—that is, provided it were in their power. By way of parenthesis, and as bearing on the future history of India, it may be observed that the Russian territory on the borders of China, had been invaded by the Chinese, and that as far as we were concerned fresh difficulties arose in Burmah, which would most probably strain still further the then slender diplomatic relations between that country and ourselves.

Towards the close of June, the Viceroy telegraphed to England that hostile gatherings were occurring at Maidan, and other points, but not of a very dangerous character. Abdurrahman was evidently temporising, and definitely declined some of the conditions for the settlement of Afghanistan suggested by the Indian authorities.

At the commencement of July, affairs again became threatening, and the British troops had to take the initiative in attacking a village where they received a most stubborn resistance. Thus did this miserable war go on week after week till about the end of July, when matters became more serious. On the 16th, a telegram announced that our troops had to attack various hostile tribes, that were roaming in the neighbourhood of Cabul, &c. Some of the forces of the enemy had mutinied, but still the situation was as uncertain as ever, Abdurrahman had not made any appearance at the British camp, and others of the leaders held themselves in abeyance. Thus our politicians and troops had nothing to do but to await events.

Meanwhile Indo-Afghan finance became worse. Early in July the India Office in London issued the following memorandum, giving a review of the general financial history of the war.

"The total cost of the war in Afghanistan, excluding the expenditure on frontier railways, was given in the financial statement as £676,381, expended in 1878-9, £3,216,000 estimated for 1879-80, and £2,090,000 estimated for 1880-1, making a total of £5,982,381, or say £6,000,000. In the telegram of June 22 the total gross cost (that is, without allowing for extra receipts from railways and telegraphs) is estimated at £15,000,000, showing an excess of £9,000,000 over the former estimate. If a reform which has been suggested by the Financial Member of Council be carried out, by which the military expenditure would apparently be brought into the accounts at a much earlier date than before, the portion of the excess so brought to account in 1879-80 would be £5,500,000. By this alteration the sum of £71,164,000 shown (on page 47 of the correspondence laid before Parliament) as 'Imperial expenditure' in that year, would be increased by £5,500,000, a corresponding reduction being made under the heads of 'other deposits repaid and advances made' and 'balances.' Thus, the war expenditure brought to account to March 31, 1880, would be nearly £9,500,000. The cash balances in India was, on March 31, 1880, about £1,183,000 below the estimate of February. It has since been strengthened by the loan in India, of which the proceeds will amount to about £3,229,770. On the other hand, the war disbursements in 1880-81 would, under the suggested reform be £5,500,000 instead of £2,090,000, or an excess of £3,410,000 over the provision in the Budget. Adding this last £5,500,000 to the former expenditure of £9,500,000, the total becomes £15,000,000 in the three years. To this excess of £3,410,000 must be added £260,000 granted for frontier railways: but an extra receipt of £300,000 seems to be expected from railways and telegraphs. Thus there will be a total amount of £3,370,000 to be provided in the current year, if the present estimates of the Government of India regarding the war should be realised, and if in other respects the anticipation of the Budget estimate should prove correct. It is uncertain what amount of bills will be drawn in 1880-81; but, on the assumption that the drawings will be reduced to £15,000,000, the cash balances in India on March 31, 1881, are now estimated at £12,000,000, or about £556,000 higher than the estimate of February last."

But even this minute did not give the actual state of finance, for Lord Hartington stated in the House of Commons, in the

middle of July, that further expenses had to be added to the preceding estimate. When the annual Indian Budget was placed before Parliament at the end of August, 1880, matters seemed to be worse, and some extra millions of deficiency had to be looked in the face. But, as will be seen, in reference to our previous pages, the state of things seems for years past to be normal in regard to Indian Finance.

Abdurrahman seemed gradually to turn over to the British side, but a new danger arose in regard to Ayoob Khan, a relation of his, and a pretender to, or, perhaps, claimant of the Afghan Ameership. Ayoob was gradually gathering forces in the neighbourhood of Herat, and his allies were compelling him to advance to Candahar. As will be seen in the sequel, this led to one of the greatest disasters which have occurred to the British forces during the present century. This, no doubt, arose from the insane trust that was made in Afghan promises after the experience that had been gained of the constant hatred and treachery they had maintained towards us from the commencement of the war—in fact, since the first connection we had with the nation.

Towards the close of July, Ayoob Khan's force had reached the Helmund, above Girishk. General Burrows, who had to oppose him, moved the main body of his army in the same direction, in expectation of an attack. It was evident that Candahar would soon become the centre of hostile operations. Cabul was quiet, General Roberts being there in great force. On July 22nd a durbar was held there, which was attended by most of the chiefs, and delegates sent by Abdurrahman. Many officers of the force were present, and Abdurrahman was formally recognised as the future Ameer of Afghanistan. Many of the leaders of Yakoob's party (the ex-Ameer) joined Abdurrahman, and so, for the present, the future of the country seemed to be in prospect of settlement. The people recognised the fact that we had kept our promise of restoring a Mahomedan ruler. It is needless to add, so far as the British were concerned, that the occurrence formed an excellent and honourable excuse for evacuating Afghanistan.

Within a week afterwards, however, it found that our exit from the country would not be without trouble. On July 28th, a telegram from Candahar, sent by General Primrose, gave the following news of a terrible disaster:—"General Burrows' force annihilated. We are going into the Citadel." On receipt of this, of course, every effort was made to reinforce our army in the neighbourhood of Candahar; but, however, little could be done, as much time would be occupied in moving troops, baggage, &c. Ayoob Khan, therefore, for the present, was master of the situation, and speedily commenced to lay regular siege on Candahar.

A panic ensued both in India and England. The first news gave the extent of our loss at from 6,000 to 7,000 men, besides ammunition, treasure, &c. But eventually, our losses were more accurately stated, and perhaps 1,000 to 1,200 men would be the highest estimated loss in respect to our soldiers. The home authorities at once took steps to send fresh troops to India, and most troops on their return to England were ordered back, as it was greatly feared that the news of disaster would rapidly spread, and cause us fresh and serious trouble throughout our Indian Empire.

Numerous criticisms, of course, were made on the cause of this event. A calm reflection on the whole affair, would make it appear that General Burrows and the Indian authorities were utterly at fault, in respect to information of Ayoob Khan's movements, and the strength of his forces. It has been maintained that Burrows was deceived and out-generalled. But the fact is, that he was literally hemmed in by the enemy, whose superior numbers enabled them to execute flank movements, so that defence was impossible, and escape almost cut off. The whole of our force was dispersed, was pursued by the enemy for miles, and the stragglers only arrived in driblets to seek refuge under the walls of Candahar. At the same time, the enemy cut the telegraph wires, so that no information of the progress of events could be sent from the scene of disaster to the Indian authorities. The last fugitives reached Candahar about July 27th.

Of course, all was at first confusion and uncertainty, but as Abdurrahman was now the Ameer in reign at Cabul, it was determined that General Roberts should leave that city with his whole force to relieve Candahar. Although Ayoob Khan had been largely reinforced by the Wali brigade, which had deserted from us, his losses in the battle had greatly weakened his forces,

and, despite his success, he seems to have had great difficulty to decide what course to take. Prudence dictated one course, while his fanatical adherents insisted on another. The latter prevailed, and Ayoob at last resolved to lay siege to Candahar. Meanwhile, General Roberts was moving from Cabul with a force of 10,000 men towards Candahar, which, it was expected, he would reach by the end of August. The withdrawal of the British troops from Cabul was effected with the utmost order and without accident. The districts surrounding the city were quiet, no excitement occurred along the line of march, and the new Ameer, Abdurrahman seemed to be settling down to a steady pursuit of his duties. Fortunately the season of the year was favourable for General Roberts, as the heat lessened every day, and supplies were generally abundant.

Meanwhile Ayoob Khan had settled before Candahar, and commenced an attack on the south side of the Shikarpur gate. A cannonade was kept up on three sides of the city, but the British loss was trifling. On the 16th August our force made a *sortie* on a neighbouring village, but this being strongly occupied by the enemy, our forces had to retire, but, at the same time, cleared that side of the city of the enemy.

General Roberts met with little or no obstruction on this expedition to Candahar. He arrived at Robat, not far distant from Candahar, on the 28th August. But Ayoob Khan having heard of his approach raised the siege of the city on the 23rd, and marched to a position on Argandab, about ten miles north of the city. His estimated strength was about 10,000, including cavalry. He wrote an apologetic letter to General Roberts, stating that he did not wish to fight, but saying that he was forced to it. General Roberts, in reply, told him that he must give up all prisoners, and submit unconditionally. It appears that some of his party advised a retreat, but this was overcome by the urgency of his allies that he should not desert his friends. Some of these on whom he had relied seemed to have decided to leave him unless he would fight; and it thus appears, whatever his personal inclination might have been, the actual situation left him no alternative but that of facing Roberts, who arrived before Candahar on 31st of August. At this time Ayoob Khan held a strong position on the banks of the Argandab, as already noticed. As usual, throughout the Afghan War, the estimate of the enemy's strength was astonishingly varied. It was reported that at this time Ayoob had under his command about 23,000 troops. He was well aware that Roberts had altogether about 10,000 of the best troops in the Indian army to oppose him. He was also well aware that on the issue of the battle his future in regard to Afghanistan would be finally settled, more especially as his enemy, Abdurrahman, the new Ameer, was gradually consolidating his position at Cabul, and courting the friendship of the British to secure that position. Ayoob Khan, therefore, had to risk all his future on the result of his contest with Roberts, and, consequently, it was no matter of surprise that every endeavour was made to render this attempt against the British a decided success. Had he succeeded against us, Abdurrahman would soon have been dethroned, and Afghanistan would here become a scene of anarchy, and all our previous expenditure of men and money a lamentable loss.

The decision of the whole affair was shortly arrived at. About nine o'clock of the morning of September 1st, General Roberts attacked the stronghold of Ayoob Khan at Baba Wali, a few miles from Candahar. The enemy fought resolutely, but by noon he was driven from his position, and his camp, artillery, &c., all came into our possession. The garrison of Candahar, under General Primrose, assisted in the action; and in the result Ayoob's army was totally defeated and dispersed. He fled towards Herat. While his loss was very heavy, our's, including deaths and casualties, were only about 250, of which a comparatively small number were killed.

General Roberts telegraphed his success to the Indian authorities, much in the same *veni, vidi, vici* style of Cæsar, and, as a matter of historical interest, it is quoted *verbatim*, as follows:—

"From General Roberts, Sept. 4, 1880.

"CANDAHAR, Sept. 1, 6 P.M.

"Ayoob Khan's army was to-day totally defeated and completely dispersed, with, I hope, comparatively slight loss on our side. His camp was captured. The two lost guns of E Battery, B Brigade, Royal Horse Artillery, were recovered, and several wheeled guns of various calibre fell to the splendid infantry of this force. The cavaly are still in pursuit. Our casualties are Captain Straton, 22nd Regiment, killed; 72nd

Highlanders, Lieutenant-Colonel Brownlow, Captain Frome, killed; Captain Murray and Lieutenant Monro, wounded, and 7 men killed, 18 wounded; 92nd Highlanders, Lieutenant Menzies and Donald Stewart, wounded, 11 men killed, and 39 wounded; Lieutenant-Colonel Battye, 2nd Goorkhas, and Major Slater, 2nd Sikhs, wounded. It is at present impossible to ascertain casualties among native troops, but I have no reason to believe they are excessive. Full details will be telegraphed to-morrow. The quite recently murdered remains of Lieutenant Maclaine, Royal Artillery, were found on the arrival of the British troops in Ayoob Khan's camp. Ayoob Khan is supposed to have fled towards Herat."

The whole of Ayoob's guns were brought into the Citadel of Candahar. He fled with a few followers to Khadrez without stopping. He had no baggage, and no troops but the Herati horse. It appeared that Ayoob's loss was much greater than had at first been estimated.

The success of General Roberts amply revenged the defeat of General Burrows, and the only opponent of the new Ameer was thus, at least, for the present, put *hors de combat*. Little news arrived in respect to Ayoob's flight to Herat, but shortly after his defeat it was reported that the governor he had left in charge of that place had been murdered. It is a somewhat singular fact that Afghan princes have repeatedly, when apparently ruined, sought refuge in Herat, and yet, shortly afterwards, issued again from that city apparently as strong as ever.

What the future of Afghanistan may be it is impossible to foretell. Of course, all the hopes of peace, so far as we are concerned, depended on the attitude which the new Ameer, Abdurrahman, would assume, and could afterwards maintain. As an illustration of the delicate nature of the future, and on what a slender thread it may hang, the following account of the interview between the British authorities and the new Ameer may be quoted. It took place early in August:—

"After the usual inquiries as to the health on both sides had been gone through, and the officers present had been duly presented to the Ameer, all the latter withdrew, except Mr. Griffin's confidential staff, and, on the part of the Ameer, Sirdar Eusuf Khan, a younger son of Dost Mahomed, and, of course, uncle to Abdurrahman; the Khan of Kulab, and a confidential moonshee, who took notes of the conversation. The interview lasted for three hours, and the Ameer impressed very favourably all who assisted at it. No doubt was left on the minds of the English present, that the Ameer is a very remarkable man among Afghans, full of intelligence, and quick to perceive the force of an argument. But, unfortunately, it was equally apparent that the Ameer is by no means a free agent. He is at present much in the hands of his troops, who, it will be remembered, are the mutinied soldiers of Shere Ali's late Governor of Turkestan, and of the petty chiefs and their followers who surround him. The capricious and unintelligent whims of these he is obliged to humour until he can obtain a decided ascendency in the country which he aspires to govern, and in which he is clearly at present anything but his own master. The interviews neither of Saturday nor Sunday passed without several incidents, showing the extreme nervousness of the Ameer as to the conduct of his troops, and his dread lest they should be guilty of some act by which he would be committed. On both occasions, however, nothing serious occurred, but it was certainly with a feeling of relief on both days that Mr. Griffin's safe return to camp was witnessed. The sad events of the 3rd September, and the day following, at Herat, show how powerless an Afghan ruler may be in the presence of a disorderly soldiery, even when personally he has their approval and confidence."

So strong was the feeling of danger, that although it had been notified that the Ameer would be received in public durbar, it came to be understood that this would not take place. The Ameer was himself anxious for the public meeting, but some of his followers, especially the Ghilzai portion of them, objected, and threatened to leave him. Even then, the Ameer intimated that he was prepared to brave the displeasure of his followers for the sake of proving his confidence in, and goodwill towards the British. But here Sir Donald Stewart stepped in, and caused the Ameer to be informed that, in the circumstances made known to him, and in the interests of the Ameer himself, he should decline to receive him.

Dedicated, by Special Permission, to Her Majesty the Queen.

OUR

INDIAN EMPIRE

AND THE ADJACENT COUNTRIES OF

AFGHANISTAN, BELOOCHISTAN, PERSIA,

ETC.

DEPICTED AND DESCRIBED BY PEN AND PENCIL.

THE HISTORY

BY R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN.

Illustrated with a Series of Exquisite Steel Engravings,

FROM DRAWINGS BY

TURNER, STANFIELD, PROUT, CAPTAIN ELLIOTT,

MELVILLE, H. K. BROWN, ETC.

VOL. II.

THE LONDON PRINTING AND PUBLISHING COMPANY, LIMITED,

LONDON AND NEW YORK.

supported on every side, he converted a march into a thorough process of occupation; and, at the beginning of the year 1859, was able to report to the governor-general, that there was "no longer even a vestige of rebellion in Oude."*

The campaign was wearisome to the troops; but at its close, nothing remained for them to do, except to continue the pursuit of the few insurgent leaders who seemed resolved never to be taken alive. This small number included the noblest, bravest, and ablest of the rebels—such as the Begum of Oude, with a small band of devoted Rajpoots; Prince Feroze Shah, of Delhi; and Khan Bahadoor Khan: it likewise comprehended the Nana, and his hateful associate, Azim Oollah; both of whom were of course beyond the pale of mercy. Their cruel treachery at Cawnpoor was denounced by the Begum, and Prince Feroze Shah, as having brought a curse on the native cause. Yet the offer of £15,000 failed to induce the people to betray the Nana; and when, at the close of 1858, his fortunes were utterly desperate, a hill chief, named the rajah of Churda, sheltered him and his family for weeks in his jungle fort, and, on the approach of the British troops, fled with him into the Terai, the atmosphere of which was pestilential to natives, and fatal to Europeans.

There were, however, exceptional cases, in which rebel chiefs fell through the treachery of two or three compromised individuals. The first of these betrayals was that of the Moolvee of Lucknow or Fyzabad, for whose apprehension £5,000 and a free pardon was offered. On the 15th of June, he arrived before Powayne, a small town, sixteen miles north of Shahjehanpore. The rajah of the place was, it is said, extremely anxious to improve his position with the British, which he had reason to fear was a dangerous one; therefore he caused the Moolvee to be shot while engaged in a parley; delivered over the dead body to the nearest British magistrate, and received the blood-money.†

Among the chief leaders who surrendered themselves to the commander-in-chief, was the head of a powerful Rajpoot clan—Lall Madhoo Sing, of Amethie. Sir Colin (or rather Lord Clyde, for he had by this time been made a peer, in acknowledgment of the public service rendered by the relief of Lucknow) appeared before the fort of Amethie on the 11th of November, 1858; but hostile operations were stayed by the submission of the rajah, whose antecedents have been already related,‡ and who protested against the decree for the disarmament of his followers and surrender of his arms; urging, with truth, that his fort had sheltered English men, women, and children when in danger; and his arms, which were very few, had been used for the same purpose. He likewise complained boldly of the seizure of his property at Benares, and the refusal of all redress or explanation of the matter.

Bainie Madhoo, the Rana of Shunkerpoor (another Rajpoot of similar rank to Lall Madhoo Sing, and whose son had married the daughter of Kooer Sing), abandoned his fort on the approach of Lord Clyde (November 15th), and marched off, with his adherents, treasure, guns, women, and baggage, to join the Begum of Oude and Birjis Kudder, who was, he said, his lawful sovereign, and must be obeyed as such. He proved his sincerity at heavy cost; for though offered his life, his lands, the redress of injuries, the full investigation of grievances—he rejected all, and became a homeless wanderer in the Terai, for the sake of the Begum and her son, to whom he had sworn fealty.§

* Lord Clyde's despatch of January 7th, 1859.

† Russell.—*Times*, February 11th, 1859.

‡ At page 233; where a mistake has been made in the name of the rajah, arising from the confusion which existed in the accounts sent home to England at the time the erroneous paragraph was published. Lall Madhoo Sing is the name of the Rajah of Amethie; Bainie Madhoo Sing, that of the Rana of Shunkerpoor.

§ One of the causes which are said to have strengthened the resolve of Bainie Madhoo, is as follows:—"A kinsman and great friend of his resided, at the time of the outbreak, on his estates between Allahabad and Futtehpoor. The commissioner (Chester), aware of his character, wrote to him to say that he was to remain in his house, and give us such aid as he could render. He did so: he provided coolies, transport, and stores for our troops. Some Sikhs quarrelled with his villagers; and in the fight, it is said, a few men lost their lives. The zemindar was called in to Futtehpoor, and he and his elder son were hanged. The second son fled to Bainie Madhoo for protection, and was assured that he would never be abandoned. Out of the 223 villages on Bainie Madhoo's estates, 119 were taken from him on the second revision, after annexation; but, as he was assured that any complaints of unjust treatment in former days, would be considered in the event of his submission, it must be supposed he had some strong personal feeling at work [to account] for the extraordinary animosity he has displayed against us."—Russell: *Times*, January 17th, 1859.

Dabee Bux, Rajah of Gondah, was another of the most determined rebels. A native chief predicated of him and of Bainie Madhoo, that they would not surrender—the latter because he had promised not to desert Birjis Kudder (and he never broke his word); the former because he was fond of fighting, and had done nothing else all his life.*

Nirput Sing, of Royea, a Rajpoot chief of inconsiderable rank before the mutiny, raised himself to eminence by the unflinching resolve with which he stood aloof from proclamations and amnesties; partly, perhaps, because they were so vaguely worded, and so tampered with,† as to inspire little confidence in the intentions of the British government for the better administration of India. It was currently reported of him, that he had vowed (alluding to his crippled condition), "that as God had taken some of his members, he would give the rest to his country."‡

Tantia Topee held out, fighting as he fled, and flying as he fought,§ until the 7th of April, 1859, when he was captured while asleep in the Parone jungles, ten miles from Seepree, by the treachery of Maun Sing; heavily ironed, tried by court-martial, and hanged. His bearing was calm and fearless to the last: he wanted no trial, he said, being well aware that he had nothing but death to expect from the British government. He asked only that his end might be speedy, and that his captive family might not be made to suffer for transactions in which they had had no share.

Maun Sing himself had been driven, many months earlier, from his pretended neutrality by Mehndie Hussein, who had summoned him, in the name of the Begum of Oude, to join her cause in person, at the head of his retainers; and not receiving a satisfactory answer, had besieged him in his fort of Shahgunj; whereupon the intriguer had been compelled to seek aid from the British, and decisively join the cause which, by that time (July, 1858), was beyond question the stronger. This chief and his brother, Rugber Sing, then played a winning game, in a manner quite consistent with the account of their previous lives, given by Colonel Sleeman. Mehndie Hussein, "a fine, tall, portly man, with very agreeable face;" his uncle, Meer Dost Ali, and several other of the Oude leaders, surrendered themselves into the hands of the commander-in-chief in January, 1859, encouraged by the conciliatory tone the government had gradually been induced to assume. "I was twenty-five years in the service of the King of Oude," said Mehndie Hussein as he entered the British camp; evidently implying that he could not, as a man of honour, help fighting in the cause of one he had served so long. Lord Clyde behaved with frank courtesy to the fallen chiefs; invited them to be seated; and expressed his hope that they would now settle down as good subjects of the British Crown. "I have been fifty years a soldier," he said; "and I have seen enough of war to rejoice when it is at an end."

* Since the above page was written, the prediction was fully verified. In November, 1859, Jung Bahadur marched his forces into the Terai, and encountered Bainie Madhoo, who, with 1,200 men, withstood the Goorkas, but was killed with half his followers. The death of the Gondah Rajah, and the surrender of the Gondah Ranee, with eighty-nine followers, have been officially reported. Also the deaths of Bala Rao, of Cawnpoor; General Khoda Buksh, Hurdeo Purshaud, Chuckladar of Khyrabad, and many others.—*Times*, January 21st, 1860.

† Certain leading civilians, although "old, valued, and distinguished" public servants, evinced their repugnance to the amnesty in a most inexcusable manner. Mr. Russell gives a case in point. "It will be credited with difficulty, that a very distinguished officer of the government, whose rank in the councils of the Indian empire is of the very highest, actually suggested to one of the officers charged with the pacification of Oude, that he should not send the proclamation till he had battered down the forts of the chiefs; and yet he did so. Had a military officer so far contravened the orders of his superior, nothing could save him from disgrace and the loss of his commission. A more disgraceful suggestion could scarcely have been made to a man of honour; one more ruinous to our reputation, more hurtful to our faith, certainly could not be imagined."—*Times*, December 21st, 1858.

‡ Russell.—*Times*, February 11th, 1858. Nirput Sing is said to have been slain at the same time as Bainie Madhoo.

§ Mr. Russell, December 4th, 1858, wrote—"Our very remarkable friend, Tantia Topee, is too troublesome and clever an enemy to be admired. Since last June he has kept Central India in a fever. He has sacked stations, plundered treasuries, emptied arsenals, collected armies, lost them; fought battles, lost them; taken guns from native princes, lost them; taken more, lost them: then his motions have been like forked lightning; for weeks he has marched thirty and forty miles a-day. He has crossed the Nerbudda to and fro; he has marched between our columns, behind them, and before them. Ariel was not more subtle, aided by the best stage mechanism. Up mountains, over rivers, through ravines and valleys, amid swamps, on he goes, backwards and forwards, and sideways and zig-zag ways—now falling upon a post-cart, and carrying off the Bombay mails—now looting a village, headed and turned, yet evasive as Proteus."—*Times*, January 17th, 1859.

Other well-known Oude chiefs, including Pirthee Pal Sing,* had previously thrown themselves on the mercy of the government, and were, in several instances, treated with less severity than might have been expected. When the vengeance fever subsided, the Europeans began to draw distinctions between the insurgent leaders, and to admit, and even praise, the courage and steadfastness with which certain of them endured prolonged suffering. This change of feeling is very marked in the case of Prince Feroze Shah, of Delhi: his military daring, hairbreadth escapes, and skilful horsemanship, are spoken of with admiration; and even Anglo-Indian journals (the *Delhi Gazette*, for instance) pleaded his cause, urging his reported intercession on behalf of the European ladies and children massacred at Delhi by the mutinous sepoys of the East India Company. Few persons, after, but would regret to hear that the prince had perished either by jungle fever or the hands of the executioner. A still stronger interest attaches to the Begum of Oude; of whom it has been said, that she, "like all the women who have turned up in the insurrection, has shown more sense and nerve than all her generals together."†

The fate of the Nana and Azim Oollah is a matter of uncertainty. Repeated reports have been given of the capture of Nana Sahib; nothing short of the identification of his body, which is yet an unaccomplished fact, can decide the question.

No estimate has been attempted of the number of insurgents who have perished by the civil sword; indeed, there are no records from which a trustworthy approximation could be framed. It is a subject on which few but those personally interested possess even limited information; and they, of course, are silent as the grave.

In the middle of the year 1858, Mr. Russell wrote—"Up to this time, there has certainly been no lack of work for the executioner. Rajahs, nawabs, zemindars, have been 'strung up' or 'polished off' weekly, and men of less note daily." The conquests of the Great Moguls were marked by pyramids of heads, piled up like cannon-balls; our path may be traced by topes full of rotting corpses—not the remains of enemies slain in war; but the victims of "the special commissioners, who, halter in hand, followed in the wake of our armies," with excited passions, and "armed with absolute and irresponsible power."‡

At the close of the year 1858, their proceedings were denounced even in Calcutta, and they themselves became "the objects of incessant attack. Some of them, it is said, spilt blood like water. Many were inattentive to the rules of evidence. One stated, on a requisition made by government, that he had sentenced 'about' 800, but had kept no exact account."§ The excesses of civilians cannot, however, throw into the shade those committed by military leaders; some of the most notorious of which were perpetrated before the fearful provocation given at Cawnpore;‖ while others were prevented by the humanity of civilians attached to the forces.¶

The sentence of government on certain influential leaders, whose names have been mentioned in previous chapters, remains to be stated. The Nawab of Furruckabad came voluntarily to head-quarters. A price of £10,000 had been set upon his person; and he was expressly shut out, by proclamation, from all favour and amnesty, on account of his being deemed, in some measure, responsible for the massacre of women and children at Futtehghur. On being reminded by the commissioner, Major Barrow, of the position in which he stood; the nawab replied—"The best proof I can give that I do not consider myself guilty is, that I come here to take my trial, though you have already pronounced me guilty, and I have to prove my innocence." In this, however, he failed, notwithstanding the strongly favourable testimony of two Christian ladies (mother and daughter), the wives of British officers; who had been known to the nawab in former

* See p. 330, *ante*. † *Times*, Nov. 29th, 1858.

‡ Russell's *Diary*, vol. i., p. 214.—*Times*, July 19th, 1858; January 17th, 1859. An Umballah civilian boasted to Mr. Russell, that he had hanged fifty-four men in a few hours for plundering a village; enjoyed the work, and regretted that he had not had "more of it."—*Diary*, vol. ii., p. 82.

§ *Friend of India*, November 18th, 1858.

‖ See account of proceedings of Renaud, when he moved from Allahabad in advance of Havelock's force: p. 374, *ante*; and Russell, ii., 402.

¶ For instance, Colonel Bourchier, of the Bengal artillery, blamed Mr. Sapte, the civil officer with his column, for not calling on him to punish the town of Khoorja, on account of a headless skeleton found outside that place, near Alighur; which Colonel Bourchier took to be that of a European female, and Mr. Sapte that of a sepoy. The case gave rise to some discussion; and Mr. Sapte asked—"Even had the skeleton been that of a European, would it have been just to have shelled the town, and indiscriminately killed men, women, and children, the innocent and the guilty? An officer proposed this."—*Friend of India*, Nov. 11th, 1858.

times, and were received in his zenana at the outbreak. The special commission assembled for his trial at Furruckabad, found him guilty of being "accessory after the fact," to the murder of the Europeans, and sentenced him to be hanged; but the governor-general commuted the sentence to banishment from India for life, because the nawab had surrendered on the faith of the written assurance of Major Barrow, that he would be pardoned, if not personally concerned in the murder of English people. The life of the nawab was therefore spared: he was allowed to take leave of his children, but not of his wife; was heavily fettered, lifted into a covered cart, and £100* given to him, wherewith to provide for his future subsistence when he should arrive at Mecca, his self-chosen place of exile.

The life of the *Nawab of Banda* was spared by government, and a pension of 4,000 rupees per annum allotted for his subsistence. The *Rajahs of Banpore and Shahghur* surrendered and were directed to reside at Lahore under official control. The *Rajah of Mithowlee*, a sick, old man, was transported to the Andamans.

The *Nawab of Jhujjur*,† and the *Rajah of Bullubghur*, were both executed at Delhi, although they pleaded that they had aided the fugitive Europeans as far as they could, but had been powerless to resist the sepoys.

Khan Bahadoor Khan, of Bareilly, held out in the Terai until the close of 1859; and then, hemmed in by the Goorkas on one side, and the British forces on the other, was captured by Jung Bahadur. The Khan is described as an old man, with a long white beard, bent double with rheumatic fever. His life was considered forfeited by his alleged complicity in the Bareilly murders, but his sentence was for some time deferred. *Mummoo Khan* surrendered himself, having been previously dismissed the service of the Begum, "for want of courage and devotion."‡ *Oomar Sing* (the brother of Kooer Sing) also surrendered; so also did Jowallah Persaud, one of the Nana's chief leaders. At the close of the year 1859, the *Begum* and *Feroze Shah* were the only leaders of any note still at liberty. The prince was believed to have escaped into Bundelcund, with a very small following. The Begum had less than 1,500 adherents, "half-armed, half-fed, and without artillery."§

Into the history of British India, since 1859, the writer does not here attempt to enter. The date of his conclusion is a twelvemonth earlier. He has narrated the rise and progress of the Mogul Empire and of the East India Company. These questions have been fully discussed in vol. i., in which the history of British India is brought down to a much later date, and includes the account of events subsequent to the incorporation of India with the British Empire.

After a protracted captivity, the King of Delhi was brought to trial. The guarantee given by Hodson for life and honourable treatment, was regarded just so far as to save an octogenarian from the hands of the executioner: how he survived the humiliation, terror, grief, hardships, insufficient food, and filth, of which Mr. Layard and others were eye-witnesses, is extraordinary. The trial was conducted by Major Harriott, of the 3rd Native cavalry—the deputy judge advocate-general, whose proceedings in connection with the Meerut outbreak have been noticed.‖ The European officers, who desired to give testimony in favour of their men, had been then peremptorily silenced; and evidence, exculpatory of the King of Delhi, was now received in a manner which convinced his servants that, to offer it, would be to peril their own lives, without benefiting their aged master. Major Harriott announced, at the onset, his intention of leaving "no stone unturned" to present the evidence against the prisoner in its strongest light; and he kept his word.

Important statements—such as that noticed in the *Friend of India* (Oct. 8th,

* The forfeited pension of the nawab exceeded £10,000 per annum, besides accidental stipends accruing to him by lapses, as well as several houses, gardens, jaghires, villages, and lands, which were granted or secured to the family, in consideration of the cession of the province of Furruckabad to the Company in 1802.—Russell: *Times*, Aug. 20th, 1858.

† The Nawab of Jhujjur was hanged on the 23rd of September, 1857. A visitor, then staying in Delhi, enters in her diary, that her host, "Captain Garstin, went to see the execution, and said the nawab was a long time dying. The provost-marshal who performed this revolting duty, had put to death between 400 and 500 wretches since the siege, and was now thinking of resigning his office. The soldiers, inured to sights of horror, and inveterate against the sepoys, were said to have bribed the executioner to keep them a long time hanging, as they liked to see the criminals dance a 'Pandies' hornpipe,' as they termed the dying struggles of the wretches."—*Mrs. Coopland*, p. 269.

‡ *Times*, January 14th, 1860.

§ *Times*, January 30th, 1860.

‖ See pages 144 and 264, *ante*.

1857), that the prisoner had endeavoured to interfere on behalf of the Cawnpoor captives, and had "suggested to Nana Sahib, that he should treat them well"—were not inquired into: and the wretched king, prostrate in extreme weakness, was, for twenty-one days, compelled to attend the court, being occasionally roused by his gaolers from the stupor natural to extreme age, to listen to the charges brought against him. Among the witnesses was his late confidential physician, whose "life was guaranteed, on the condition of his answering, satisfactorily, such questions as might be put to him."*

The king's brief defence was, that he had been perfectly helpless in the hands of the mutineers; that he had opposed them as long as he was able, by closing the gateway under the palace windows; by giving warning to the European commandant of the palace guards; and by sending an express to the lieutenant-governor at Agra,† stating what had occurred: all of which he was admitted to have done.

With regard to the European massacre, he declared that he had thrice interfered to prevent it at the hazard of his own life, which, together with that of Zeenat Mahal, was threatened by the sepoys; and that he never gave his sanction to the slaughter. Of the greater part of the mass of orders and proclamations brought in evidence against him, he declared he had no recollection whatever. In conclusion, he reminded the court of his refusal to accompany the sepoys, and voluntary surrender.

Major Harriott commented on the evidence, in an address of three hours' duration; in the course of which he adduced much irrelevant matter; drew some deductions, which were evidently foregone conclusions regarding the cause of the mutiny; and endeavoured, at considerable length, to demonstrate, that neither "Mussulman nor Hindoo had any honest objection to the use of the greased cartridges"—an assertion intended to vindicate his own conduct at Meerut.

The court found the king guilty, as a "false traitor" and a rebel to the British government; and as an accessory to the massacre. Sir John Lawrence concurred in the finding of the court; and suggested, that "the prisoner be transported beyond the seas as a felon, and be kept in some island or settlement, where he will be entirely isolated from all other Mohammedans."‡ He refuted Major Harriott's assumptions respecting pretexts and causes of disaffection; declaring, that the cartridge question had been the proximate cause of the mutiny, and nothing else; that the Native army did really believe that a sinister, but systematic, attempt was about to be made on their caste; and he accounted for "the bitter mistrust" evinced at Meerut, by the fact, that the cartridges which the 3rd cavalry refused to accept, were enveloped in paper of a different colour to that previously used.

A difficulty arose, as to where to send the old king. The Andaman Islands were preoccupied; for when the Draconian policy of death for every degree of mutiny gave place to a more discriminating system, transportation was substituted in the case of the less guilty offenders; and a penal settlement for sepoys was formed on those islands.

The propriety of isolating the king from any Indian community being much insisted on, British Kaffraria was proposed for his place of exile; but the Cape colonists (who had resolutely refused to receive European convicts) declined to admit even an Indian state prisoner. At length, a station in Burmah, named Tonghoo, 300 miles inland from Rangoon (represented as a most desolate and forlorn district), was selected; and the king, on the 4th of December, 1858, with Zeenat Mahal, Jumma Bukht and his half-brother Shah Abbas (a mere child), with some of the ladies of the zenana, embarked in H.M. steamship *Megæra*. The destination of the captives was kept secret until after their departure.

The general impression at Calcutta appears to have been, that the Great Mogul had been very cleverly dealt with. The Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* (not Mr. Russell), after describing the manner in which the king was carried on board, remarked—"Two hundred years ago, the agents of the East India Company stood before this man's ancestor, then the absolute ruler of 100,000,000 of people, with folded hands, begging permission to exist at a single town upon the coast. As the natives say, it was the foothold granted to a

* Sir John Lawrence's letter to governor-general, April 29th, 1858.

† See page 159, *ante*.

‡ Major Harriott quitted India shortly afterwards, and died suddenly at Southampton, on landing from the E. I. mail-packet, in March, 1859. It was stated in the newspapers that £30,000 were found in his baggage; and that he left property to a nephew to the amount of £100,000.

giant." But the same storm which drove the last of the Moguls from Delhi, to die in exile, destroyed the power of the giant whose sovereignty had been founded on the ruins of the Mogul empire. The simultaneous increase of debt and revenue; the repeated financial crises; the undeveloped resources of India; the feeble commerce; the absence of suitable means of traffic and communication; and the abject misery of the mass of the people, had long been commented on in England, as proofs of ill-government. The defection of the Bengal army, followed by the insurrection of whole provinces, bringing great monetary difficulty upon the government, and destitution (to the extent of absolute starvation in very many cases) upon the agricultural population, decided the question. The "double government" of the Crown and the Company had failed, and the entire administration was therefore assumed by the nation. On the 1st of November, 1858, a royal proclamation, issued throughout British India, declared the sovereignty of Queen Victoria.

The decree for the transfer of power from the Company to the Crown, was passed by the British parliament, August 2nd, 1858, under the title of an "Act for the better government of India."

It was therein provided, that a principal secretary of state, with under-secretaries, should be appointed, and their salaries paid out of the revenues of India. A "Council of India" was likewise established, consisting of fifteen members, with salaries of £1,200 per annum, to be paid out of the Indian revenues.

Seven of the members were to be nominated by the Court of Directors of the E. I. Company, from their own body; and the remaining eight by the Crown. It was declared indispensable that the major part of the council (nine at least) should have served or resided ten years in India, and should not have left that country more than ten years preceding the date of their appointment.

Every member was to "hold his office during good behaviour;" with the provision, that it should be lawful for the Crown to remove any one from his office upon an address of both houses of parliament. No member was to be capable of sitting or voting in parliament. The secretary of state might or might not consult the council on any proposed measure; and he might act in opposition to the expressed wishes of the council, recording his reasons for so acting. The members, also, were to be at liberty to record their opinions.

By this act the E. I. Company remained an incorporated body, without duties or rights, excepting the receipt of dividends, due from time to time, on the capital stock of the proprietors.

In the first volume of this work the history of British India, from the expiration of the government of the East India Company has been also given up to the most recent date. Its financial and general difficulties have been also related. At the same time, the most prejudiced reader of Indian history will admit that the transference of the government of an immense country like Hindustan, comprising a population of from 200,000,000 to 300,000,000 persons, from that of a private company to one of an Imperial character, cannot be otherwise than beneficial to the population at large. The numerous reports that have been issued, showing the material progress of India since 1858, whether in regard to commerce, railways, canals, roads, or other signs of industrial improvement, indicate that however much in former times India has been made a kind of *bête-noir* in respect to our treatment of its peoples, intellectual, moral, and commercial progress, has now become an object of great interest to all shades of politicians in this country. India is a necessity to our manufactures, whether as regards imports or exports. Its financial difficulties are, doubtless, simply a question of time for their solution. A country which, for centuries past, has been noted for its riches, cannot easily fall into abject poverty. As will be seen in the latter portion of the first volume of this work, its vegetable and mineral resources are being rapidly developed, and in the result an eminent prosperity for India cannot be far distant.

It may be, however, interesting here to notice, by way of comparison with after times, the position of India in 1858-'59, whether financially, socially, or in a military point of view. On August 1, 1859, Sir Charles Wood brought before the House of Commons a proposal for a loan to India. In doing this he made the following remarks:* —"When we consider, not only how important India is to England, but the many millions in that country who now own the sway of the British Sovereign, and as to whom we have undertaken the solemn duty

* *Hansard's Debates*, vol. 155, p. 770.

of providing good government, I do not think it possible to over-rate the task which is imposed upon the government and parliament. It is not my intention, however, upon the present occasion, to go into general questions concerning the state or welfare of India. Her financial prospects are grave enough to occupy the attention, both of government and parliament, and certainly no deeper responsibility was ever imposed on either. It will need all the wisdom and all the energy which the government can bring to the consideration of the subject; it will require all the aid and support which I doubt not they will receive from parliament, to deal properly with a matter of such vital importance. . . . . I need not say, because I am convinced that every one who hears me is aware, that the financial state of India at this moment demands the most anxious consideration. In saying that, however, I must not be understood to say that the future prospects of India are in my opinion gloomy, or hopeless. . . . . When we have surmounted the difficulties of the next two or three years, I see no reason why India should not be restored to that state of prosperity, material and financial, in which she was before the late mutiny broke out. I see no reason whatever to anticipate that she may not be restored to that state in which it was my good fortune to leave her when I held the office of President of the Board of Control. . . . . At that time we had, as I hoped, closed our career of war and conquest. Universal confidence prevailed. We had an army, in the fidelity of which every one trusted, and for which those who were best acquainted with it—namely, its officers—would have answered with their lives. We had a surplus revenue, and the only object we had was to develope the internal resources of the country, to devise an improved system of education, to promote a better administration of justice, the more rapid progress of railways and electric telegraphs, to improve the navigation of the rivers, and the means of irrigation, and, in fine, to bring out those resources which India so abundantly possesses, and which may make her the source of wealth, not only to herself, but by furnishing us with an ample supply of raw materials for our manufactures to this country. Since that time the whirlwind of the mutiny has passed over the land, marking its course with murder and bloodshed. Confidence is destroyed; our trusted soldiers have proved unfaithful; public works are checked; and financial difficulties of the most serious description have been caused by the late events. Within the last few weeks to these misfortunes has been added the discontent, and, I am afraid I must say, from the reports just received, the mutiny of a portion of the local European troops in India. These are difficulties great enough to grapple with. They require the most careful consideration —the most vigorous and well-matured action—on the part of the government and parliament."

In respect to future policy, Sir Charles Wood quotes the opinion of Sir John Lawrence, to the effect that the mutiny arose from a belief of the natives that a systematic attempt was about to be made on their ceremonial religion, and then states, "That from this we learn two things. We learn first of all that we must be very careful not to give to the natives of India any reason to believe that we are about to attack the religious feelings and prejudices they hold so dear. No doubt, in the recent case, there was no just cause for suspicion; but they entertained that belief. We have seen the consequences, and if we hope to retain India in peace and tranquility, we must take care so to govern it, as not only to consult the interests, but the feelings of the native population. If we have a contented population we shall require less forces, and then we shall be able to do that which we learn in the second place—namely, not to maintain so large a native force in India as we have done. Wherever there was no native force, there no disturbance arose, but almost in every place where a native force was stationed, there disaffection, if not mutiny, appeared. . . . . We must keep up a larger European army in India than we have done; and we cannot entirely dispense with some native force."

Such were the opinions of Sir Charles Wood, as expressed in 1859, shortly after the close of the mutiny; and some twenty years later the same difficulties which had then to be contended with, at least financially, yet occurred. But this is a subject fully dealt with at the close of the first volume, and, as already stated, the above remarks have been quoted simply as illustrating the state of India shortly after the declaration of Her Majesty as Empress of that country.

In the Queen's Speech, delivered at the opening of Parliament, on January 24th,

1860, the following passage occurred:—"The last embers of disturbance in my East Indian dominions have been extinguished; my Viceroy has made a peaceful progress through the districts which had been the principal scene of disorder, and by a judicious combination of firmness and generosity, my authority has been everywhere solidly, and I trust permanently established. I have received from my Viceroy the most gratifying accounts of the loyalty of my Indian subjects, and of the good feeling evinced by the Native Chiefs, and the great landowners of the country. The attention of the government in India has been directed to the development of the internal resources of the country, and I am glad to inform you that an improvement has taken place in its financial prospects."

This is all very good for a Queen's Speech. The results of the policy above referred to will be found detailed in our first volume. Generally speaking, both Houses of Parliament assented to the policy of the then Government, which included Lord Palmerston, Lord Campbell, Earl Granville, Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone, and many other eminent Liberal statesmen, some of whose names re-appear at the close of our first volume, which brings down the history of India to a recent date. At the time now referred to (1860), Continental affairs chiefly engaged the attention of Parliament. Italian affairs especially were of interest; a Congress of the Great powers in Europe was on the *tapis*, and there is not the slightest doubt that the then lull in Indian affairs lessened all interest in their future progress.

Taking the history of Hindustan during the present century, it seems comparing that with the histories of such countries as Greece and Rome, which, like ourselves, were colonising countries, it is somewhat astonishing that its present condition should present so many anomalies. But it must be remembered that European influence has hitherto been maintained more by physical than moral force, and in such a case the physical is sure at times, on both sides, to show its predominance, or at least to attempt to assert its existence. In a speech delivered by Lord Stanley of Alderley, in 1880, advocating a Court of Appeal, some of the special grievances of India were alluded to as then existing:—

His lordship pointed out that it has been apparent for some years there exists a necessity for some court to which Indian subjects can appeal against the acts of the Indian Government, and this want has become more evident and more pressing since last year (1879), when the Secretary of State, Lord Cranbrook, declared that he could not enter into the subject because it had not been remitted to him by the Indian Government. Formerly many cases were brought before Parliament, and, prior to the abolition of the East India Company, it was possible for them to obtain an impartial hearing; but since the separate government of India has been abolished, and merged into the government of the rest of Her Majesty's dominions, no case can be brought before Parliament for redress without its appearing to be of a party character, or an attack upon the minister in charge of Indian affairs. For these and other reasons, Lord Stanley of Alderley urged that a Court or Commission of Appeal should be appointed in India, to be composed of five members, some of whom shall be judges. This view is to a large extent, in accordance with some remarks on the grievances of India, related at page 526 in our first volume, as advocated by an Indian barrister.

END OF VOL. II.

INDEX

TO

VOL. II. OF THE "INDIAN EMPIRE."

INDEX

TO

VOL. I. OF THE "INDIAN EMPIRE."

LIST OF ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. I.

VOL. II.

VOL. III.