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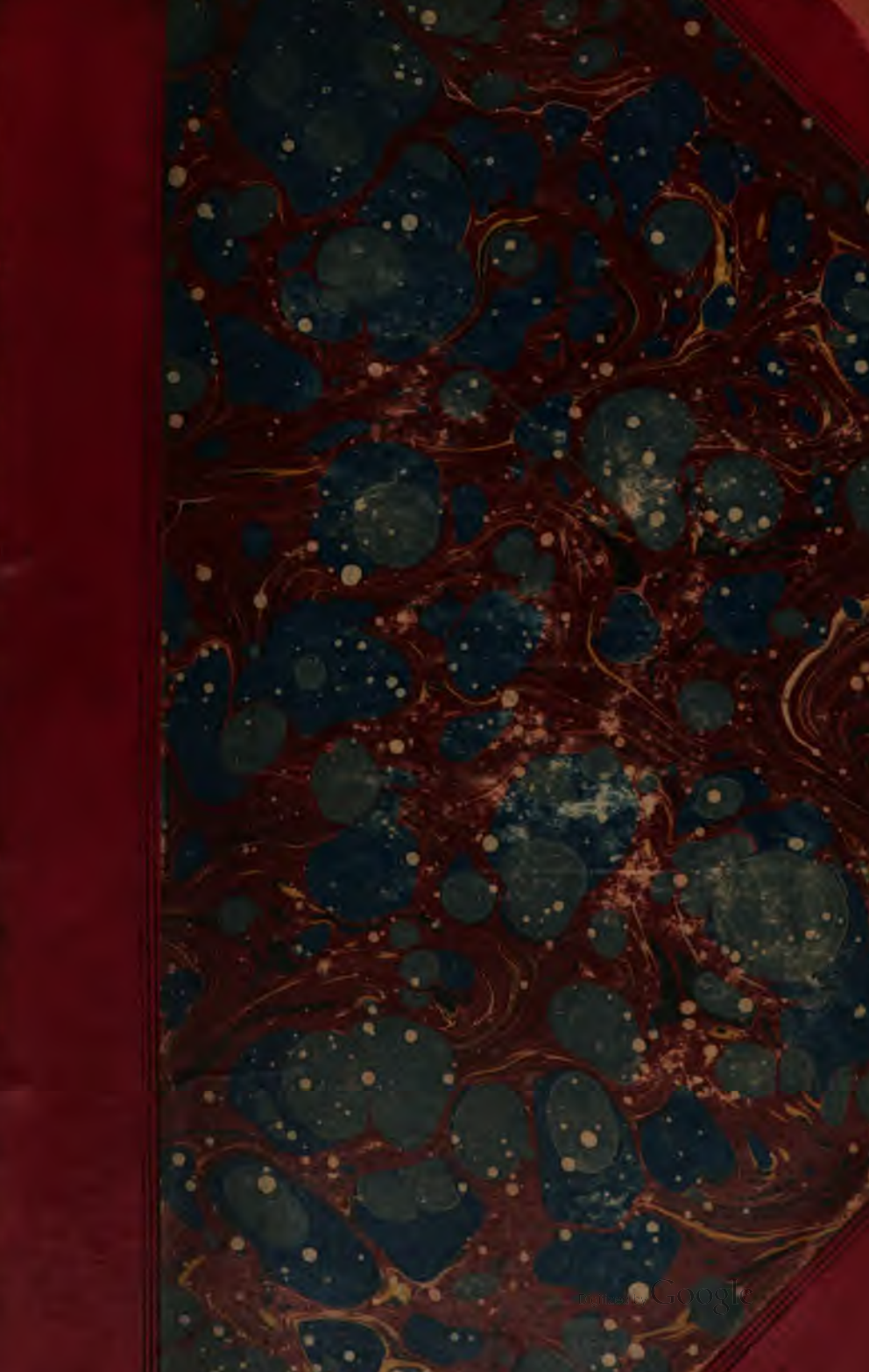
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THE
HISTORY OF THE SIKHS;

CONTAINING

THE LIVES OF THE GOOROOS; THE HISTORY OF THE
INDEPENDENT SIRDARS, OR MISSULS,

AND

THE LIFE OF THE GREAT FOUNDER OF THE SIKH MONARCHY,
MAHARAJAH RUNJEET SINGH;

BY W. L. M'GREGOR, M.D.

SURGEON 1ST E. B. FUSILIERS, LATE 1ST E. L. INFANTRY.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:
JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

1846.

LONDON:
BREWSTER AND WEST, PRINTERS,
HAND COURT, DOWGATE.

Dedicated by the Author

TO

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD GOUGH, G.C.B.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,

AND

THE OFFICERS

OF

THE ARMY OF THE SUTLEJ,

AS A SMALL TOKEN OF ESTEEM FOR,

AND ADMIRATION OF, THEIR UNWEARIED AND INVINCIBLE COURAGE

DISPLAYED ON THE FIELDS OF

MOODKEE, FEEROZSHUHUR, ALLEEWAL,

AND

SOBRAON.

PREFACE.

THE author of the following pages cannot suffer his work to go forth without offering at least an explanation of, if not an apology for, the manner in which the second volume has been prepared.

It will be at once apparent to the reader that all the information contained in the two volumes has been prepared either in the country described or in its immediate vicinity; the major part of the contents of the second volume being actually collected in the very midst of the battle of one of the most memorable campaigns on record. It was the purpose of the author to have given to all his materials the condensed form peculiar to political history; but the rapidity with which startling events succeeded each other,—the great importance of printing the entire work, while yet the affairs of the Punjab possessed a high degree

of interest in England,—and the heavy professional claims upon the author's time,—determined him to send forth the work in its present comparatively crude form. The part of the second volume which speculates upon possible occurrences, which either did or did not afterwards transpire, and to which reference is subsequently made, must be accepted rather as a journal of operations than as a comprehensive digest of the entire campaign.

The author is under deep obligations to several of the military authorities, and to many brother-officers for the aid he has received in the prosecution of his arduous task; and he begs they will, individually and collectively, accept his cordial acknowledgements. His object has been to record every fact connected with the History of the Sikhs, from the birth of Nanuk Shah, to the capture of Kote Kangra by the British; to present a complete history of the life of Runjeet Singh, the former despot of the Punjab; and to render justice to all those enlightened men and gallant spirits, whose skill and intrepidity combined to repel the insolent invasion of a rebellious army and to consolidate the British power in the north-west of India.

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THE
HISTORY OF THE SIKHS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

BEFORE attempting the history of a nation or people, it is necessary that we should become, in some measure, acquainted with their country.

Introductory chapter.

The term *Punjab* is significant of five rivers. These are, the Sutlej, Beas, Ravee, Chenab, and Jelum.

The Geography of the Punjab.

But though five rivers are enumerated, there is in fact a sixth, which eventually receives the collected waters of the other five. Still, as the Sutlej and Beas unite and form thereby but one river, named the Gharra, the term Punjab is correct, as applied to the country below the conflux of these two rivers.

The Sutlej is the boundary of the Punjab on the

east, but the Sikhs have for a long time occupied the left bank of the river, under the protection of the British. In former times the Sikhs on that bank were named the *Malwa Sikhs*, in allusion to their rich country resembling in its fertility the province of that name in Western India. Those inhabiting the country between the Sutlej and Beas, were named the *Doab Sikhs*; while the country stretching from the Beas to the Ravee was inhabited by *Manja Sikhs*, so named from the jungly tract which reaches from the vicinity of the former river to Mooltan. From the neighbourhood of the Doab between the Indus and Jelum, and also of that between the latter river and the Chenab, to Afghanistan, the inhabitants are chiefly Mussulmans, and even at the present day several of them are found in the former district.

All the rivers of the Punjab rise in the Himalayan chain of mountains, whence the Ganges and Jumnah derive their sources, as well as numerous smaller and tributary streams. The sources of the Ganges and Jumnah, though placed among perpetual snow, are comparatively near to the western and southern limits of the mountain; not so with those of the Indus and Sutlej, which exist in regions far in the interior of the Himalayas, and on the boundaries of countries to which the European only has access at great risk and danger.

The Sutlej.

The Sutlej is the Hesadrus of the ancients, and receives various names according to the tract of country it passes through; such as the Sarangas,

Zadarus, Zaradrus, Shatooder, Sutlooge, Setlej, Sutledge, &c.

The Sutlej rises on the southern side of the lofty Kailas, and empties its waters into the lake Munsurawur; from thence its course is parallel to that of the Indus, or Sin-ka-bab (lion's mouth,) which is supposed to rise from the northern side of the same mountain. The great Kialas is considered a paradise by the Hindoos, and they believe it to be inhabited by their Deities, particularly Shiva. Its height is estimated by some geographers at 28,000 feet above the level of the sea; while others compute it at 30,000; it is therefore the loftiest mountain at present known in the world: seen even from an elevation of 17,000 feet, the Kialas is an object of admiration. It often gets the name of the "peaked mountain."

The Sutlej is a rapid torrent in the mountains, and is confined within a narrow channel through which it foams with great velocity, rendering it "unfordable where the depth is only a few feet, unless for the strong and hardy yak."* At Rampore in Busahir, it is crossed on inflated skins during the cold season, and these are employed as far down as Belaspore. In the rains the river is crossed by means of a joola, or bridge constructed of ropes. The Sutlej becomes navigable on reaching the plains at Roopur, and from that place pursues its course to Hurreekee, near which the

* Vide Thornton's Gazetteer.

Beas joins it, and their union obtains the name of Gharra, forming one of the rivers of the Punjnad, and receives the Ravee, Chenab, and Jelum, before it joins the Indus. At the present day the Sutlej flows near the fort of Phillour, which is built on its right bank, and was meant as a place of defence in case of an invasion.

In former times the river ran near the present city of Loodianah ; its bed is well defined, and a small nullah, which now marks its old course, is lost in the sands about Ghauspore, while the high ground near Bhoondree points out its left bank.

The Sutlej frequently changes its bed between Loodianah and Feerozpore ; and the city of Tehara, which now stands at some distance from the left bank, is said to have once occupied a place on the right, while the river at the present day flows over a former city of the same name.

The water of the Sutlej is very cold, indicating at once its source and its long course. It abounds in fish ; and its banks, in many places, are covered with thick jungle, the abode of the tiger and other wild animals.

The Beas.

The next river is the Beas, the Hyphasis of the Greeks. It is known also by the following names, viz. : — Beascha, Beypasha, Bihasis or Bipasis, Beand, and Beah.

This river rises on the southern ridge of the Ritanka Pass in Lahoul ; from this it passes Munde and Nadan, enters the plain of the Punjab, and unites with the Sutlej. A tributary of the Beas,

named Kungar, forms, at its junction, a wide expanse of water, or jheel, where the Emperor Akhbar erected a house with apartments underground, for the purpose of enjoying the sport of shooting in the neighbouring jungle, which abounded with tigers, leopards, and wild hogs. The ferry for crossing the Beas is at Govindwal, Govindwal. once a place of some importance in the history of the Gooroos, the religious teachers of the Sikhs, some of whom resided there, and lie buried at the place. It is on the high road to Lahore, and about five miles beyond the present city of Kapoorthulla.

The country of the Punjab lying between the Sutlej and Beas, is named *Bist* or Bist Jalindhur. The word *Bist* is composed of four letters, two of which are taken from the Beas, and two from the Sutlej. Jalindhur is the name of a rich district in this Doab, and the city of that name is large and populous, with a long street, well paved with bricks; the whole town is surrounded by a wall, the gates of which are shut during the night to prevent any sudden surprize. The precaution is highly necessary in a country like the Punjab, the different portions of which frequently changed masters; and it was no uncommon occurrence to find one of its towns in a state of siege, while the surrounding country was in perfect peace.*

* We once had occasion to pass, during the night, through Fugwarra, a town in the Bist Jalindhur, and were detained a long time at the gate, which was shut and guarded, as the place was actually besieged, and a fight had taken place during the day.

The mountainous tracts of the Bist comprehend the states of Kooloo, Munde, Soochet, all tributaries of Lahore, but ready at any time to throw off their allegiance whenever an opportunity occurs. This Doab is the shortest and narrowest in the Punjab, but at the same time the richest; it abounds in water-courses, and is plentifully wooded; in fertility it is compared to Cashmere; the mangoe produced here is of a superior quality. It is said there were formerly no fewer than thirty-six large and small canals or water-courses in the district for the purpose of irrigation. One of these near the Sutlej was named the White Canal; while another, in the vicinity of the Beas, was called the Black. The ground near both rivers is swampy; and from Kapoorthulla to Govindwal, the country in the rains is a complete marsh. The same is true regarding the tract between the Sutlej and Loodianah, at the same season.

The Ravee.

The third river is the Ravee or Hydraotes. It is also known by the following names, viz:—Tyrawuthe, Aaris, Rhuasis, and Ravee. It is often called the Lahore river from the city of that name built on its left bank. This river rises in Kooloo from the mountain Buddurkal (Bungall), the source is named the tank of Mahadeo. From thence it flows below Chumbee, where the Ravee is crossed by a bridge, and here three roads branch off; namely, one to Cashmere, another to China, and the third to Khatah. From this the Ravee descends to Bisoulee; and near the city of Shahpoor

is the village of Madupoor on the bank of the river, where a royal canal was commenced which carried water to Lahore. After this the Ravee reaches the latter city, passing in succession Puthaw, Kulanoor, and Pursuroor.

In former years the Ravee washed the sides of the city of Lahore; and the Emperor Aurungzebe built a bund, or bulwark, some miles in length, to prevent the river from encroaching on the city. No remains of this defence exist at the present day, but the river probably retains a channel thus imposed on it by art; being at the distance of two or three miles from Lahore, at least the main branch of it, for there are often three divisions of the stream. In the rains, however, there is a complete swamp from Lahore as far as the main or western branch, which flows close to Shahdurra, or the Mausoleum of the Emperor Jehangeer (Aurungzebe). About sixteen years ago, a portion of the wall surrounding this tomb was carried away by the river.

Below Lahore the river passes Fureedabad, then Barsander, a place now in ruins. The course of the Ravee is very tortuous, until it reaches Uchoomba, from whence the river runs in nearly a straight line, and with a very slow current. On the banks of the Ravee there is abundance of peepul and bur trees, whose roots are supplied with water from the river itself. The imlee (*Tamarindus indica*) also abounds. The Ravee is called at this place *Seedunee* or the straight river,

in order to distinguish it from the other portions of its course, which are serpentine. At the distance of twelve miles below Uchoomba, on the bank of the Ravee, there is a place called *Ram Chuotra*, which the Hindoos venerate. It is believed by them that Ram and Luchman, the two sons of Jussrut, came to Uchoomba and began to bathe in the river; from this they went down the Ravee to Ram Chuotra, leaving their clothes on the bank; and the river became forthwith straight, in order that they might keep a watch on their garments! The place is, therefore, one of worship with the Hindoos, who believe implicitly in the miracle. The Ravee eventually joins the Chenab.

The Doab lying between the Ravee and Beas is named *Baree*, and like Bist is formed by two letters taken from one of the rivers forming it, viz. :—Beas, and three from the Ravee; in shape it resembles a boat, being narrow at both extremities. Irrigation is common in this Doab; but in many portions of it, particularly near the Beas, the rain supplies a sufficiency of water, without rendering recourse to this process necessary.

The existence of the two largest cities of the Punjab in this Doab, gives it an importance not possessed by any of the others; it also excites an interest as regards the Sikhs and their early settlement, in having the tract named Manja within its limits. In this Doab lies Ram Teeruth, not far from Umritsir, which according to early records

was the first abode of Seeta, when she was banished to the jungle by her husband; the place was then like most other parts of the Punjab, overrun with jungle. It is a very picturesque spot, rendered so by a large and beautiful tank, shaded by vast numbers of lofty trees, whose long branches bend over the water, and in some places nearly touch those upon the opposite side. Both in this Doab and the Bist, the country is low near the rivers, but gradually rises towards the middle, and again descends to the next river.

The fourth river of the Punjab is the Chenab. The Chenab. It is the Ascensines of the Ancients, and is also called Chenab, Tchendarbarjar, Chunderbahka, Jandabala, and Shantroo, in the different portions of its course among the mountains.

The source of the Chenab is very remote. According to native report, the river Chunder rises on the confines of China. Another river flowing from Thibet, and called Bahka, or Bhaka, joins it at Kishtawar, and their united streams obtain the name of Chunder-bhaka. In the hills its course is very rapid, and in no part is it fordable. Near the mountain of Tirkatta, which is in the state of Jummoo, it escapes from the hill, and at or near the city of Akanoor, divides into eighteen branches, which again unite near the village of Belaulpore. The Chenab then washes the boundary of Sodra, and reaches Wuzeerabad, crossing the king's highway. From thence, having traversed the Huzara

country, it runs below the city of Chunceote, and thence through a small hill. It eventually joins the Jelum.

The Doab formed between the Ravee and Chenab is named Rechna; the letters forming the word being six, the two first taken from the Ravee, and the four last from the Chenab, being the larger river of the two. This Doab is often written *Retchna*, and various opinions have been offered as to the origin of the word, some supposing the term a Greek one. The name, like that of the other Doabs, is simply derived from those of the rivers of which it is composed.

The Jelum.

The fifth and last river of the Punjab is the Jelum. It is the Hydaspes of the Ancients, and like the others has various names, such as Chelum, Jalum, Zaloomy, Jumad, and Behut.

The Natives describe it as rising from the tank *Warnak*, which is well defended by solid masonry. The tank is small, being in circumference twenty feet. It was built by Jehangeer in the year of the Hijera 1029, or A.D. 1605. The structure is said to be a beautiful one.

From this tank the Jelum flows to Islamahad, near which it receives the water of a spring, or fountain, named *Mittun*, and their union forms the river, which is said to be here navigable. After this it receives various tributary streams, and reaches Seereenuggur, the capital of Cashmere; it flows through the city, where it is crossed by

seven bridges. Having passed Baramoola, the Jelum reaches Moozufferabad. Passing from thence the river washes the boundary of Puglee, and then receives the Kishungunge. It then passes Chundmukh and Danglee, and skirts the territory of Kukhur, in the province of Ameerpoor. After this, the Jelum reaches the plains, and there is a ferry for crossing it called Rajghat, which is at the village of Jelum, though occasionally the ford shifts, and its passage is attended with danger from the great depth of water above and below it.

The Jelum eventually joins the Chenab, and forms one of the rivers of the Punjnad.

The Doab formed by the Chenab and Jelum is named Chunth, or Jenhut, which is derived from one of the names of the Jelum, *Behut*, and the Chenab, or rather from the three names.

The zemindars, or landholders, of this Doab, are for the most part Mussulmans. There are numerous water-courses throughout for the purpose of irrigation.

The Indus.

The great river formed by the union of all the five rivers of the Punjab, with the Sin-ka-bab, is called the *Indus*. It is known by the former name at its origin, the belief being among the Hindoos, that it issues from a "lion's mouth."

The Indus forms the western boundary of the Punjab, as also of Hindostan; and the Natives of India have always had a horror of crossing it. In search of conquest, however, both the Sikhs

and Hindoos have repeatedly overcome this prejudice; and the latter have penetrated at far as Cabul, while the former have as yet only spread their conquests to Peshawur.

The course of the Indus is a very long one, and no European traveller has yet visited its source. Through the exertions of Moorcroft, Trebeck, Gerard, Vigne, and others, its mountainous course is pretty well known, while little remains to be learned regarding the Indus in the plains. We owe much valuable information to Burnes, who navigated the Indus from the sea as far as the Punjnud; and that at a time when great difficulties opposed his progress, for the Ameers of Scinde were then anything but friendly to the British, and placed every obstacle in his way. They justly dreaded him as the forerunner of invasion and conquest, as he undoubtedly was, both in Scinde and Affghanistan!

It is believed that the Indus rises on the northern side of the great Kailas. In the native accounts of its origin, the mountain is called Kilmak, but the ideas entertained by them on this head are extremely vague.

The Indus receives in the plains five large rivers united into one stream, named in consequence the Punjnud.

The Shy-yok. One of the most remarkable of its mountain tributaries is the Shy-yok, which at its union with the Indus, here named the Sin-ka-bab, is 150 yards broad, while the latter is not more than eighty.

Below this junction, the river gets the name of Ab-i-sir (Indus Proper.)

The reader who wishes for particular information regarding the Indus, will do well to consult the works of the travellers already mentioned, or the late one published by Thornton, where he will find a concise account gleaned from the resources of practical authors.

As a contrast to the *autopsy* of the Indus given in Thornton's Gazetteer, we may here introduce the meagre and somewhat confused account of the Natives.

The river is often named by them Ab-i-sin or Abasheen; the former being a word synonymous with Sin-ka-bab; the meaning of the one being the "lion's river," and that of the other the "lion's mouth." The source of the Indus, according to Native accounts, is in the mountain of Kilmak; from thence it washes the boundaries of Kashgar and reaches Thibet. It then flows on the border of Kaffristan and Cashmere, passing Puglee and Dhundour in the country of the Eusufzys, and from thence reaches Attokbunarus. About a mile above the latter, it receives the Cabul river. The ghaut, or ferry, at Attok is below the fort of the same name, here the river is narrow, and the water exceedingly cold. Near the right bank, and in the water, there is a large black rock, against which boats are often dashed and wrecked. This rock is named *Julayeea*, from a remark of the great Akhbar,

who in crossing the Indus at this place, lost the boat containing his jewels; it was thrown against the rock. On witnessing the accident, the Emperor smiled and exclaimed, "That rock is as rapacious as Julayeea."* Others derive the name from that of a fukeer, who was buried near the place on the bank of the river.

After passing Attok, the Indus flows through the country of the Khuttuk, a tribe of Affghans; emerging from this, it obtains the name of *Neelab*, or the blue river; it then passes the city of Mukhur and reaches Kalabagh, runs near the village of Peeplee, and from thence through Reghistan, or the sandy country.

The Indus then passes in succession, Dera Ishmael Khan and Dera Ghazee Khan; and at Dhak, the distance between it and the Jelum is only about four or five miles. At a short distance above Mittun, the Indus unites with the Punjnud; and from thence to the sea, their united streams form the great river Indus.

The Doab lying between the Jelum and Indus is named Sind Sagur. The country is often overflowed to a great extent in the periodical rains, resembling an inland sea, and hence the word Sagur, signifying the sea or ocean, may have been applied to denote this tract.

The capital of the Punjab is Lahore, and from this town to Delhi there extends a series of pillars,

* A noted freebooter or robber.

intended in former times for measuring the distance; the interval between each being named a *kos*, and equal to two English miles.* These pillars, or minars, exist on the India side of the Sutlej at the present day, and may be seen in many places between Loodianah and Kurnaul. They are visible from a great distance, and thus enable the traveller to take the shortest road without the risk of losing his way. Not only was the great road marked by *kos-minars*, but the same care was taken of the travellers themselves, by the planting of trees and erection of serais at certain distances for their accommodation; and at each serai there was a large tank for the supply of water. All these serais are now more or less dilapidated, but one can form an idea of their size and splendour from the remains of those seen at Dawra, Kunna, and Rajpoora, between Loodianah and Umballah.

During the Mussulman sway in the Punjab, and even long before it, Lahore was a very large city. Its palaces and mosques at the present day, point out the munificence of the Moslem, though Sikh innovation has done much to alter, and in some cases, destroy the beauty of these edifices; even the tombs of the illustrious dead have not escaped the ravages of the fanatic Sikh. Witness that of Jehangeer on the right bank of the Ravee near Lahore. This handsome edifice, like all other

* The *kos* varies at the present day, and is divided into two kinds; namely, the *kucha* and *pucka*, the former being little more than equal to one mile.

Mussulman buildings of the kind, had a lofty dome in the centre, which was thrown down in the time of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, in order to form the whole terrace into a parade ground! The bigoted Sikhs have otherwise partially mutilated the building, and what they left undone towards its destruction the river itself is likely to accomplish in the course of time; already has the wall surrounding the tomb been carried away in several places by the force of the current during the periodical rains.

The palace of
Lahore.

The palace of Lahore has been partially altered in the interior to suit the taste of the Sikhs; and one room, which was rich in mosaic, formed of precious stones, has been completely divested of the latter, which are said to have cost nine lakhs of rupees, or £90,000 sterling. From this circumstance the room obtained the name of the "Neo lakh ka kumra."

The extensive ruins between Lahore and the Shalamar gardens, show that in former times the city extended from the latter to its present site; and a vivid idea is thereby afforded of the former size of this capital of the Punjab.

The various sirdars in the service of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh have princely houses in the city of Lahore; among others, that of the late Jemadar Khooshyal Singh was conspicuous, and only second in size and grandeur to the palace itself.

Shalamar
gardens.

The Shalamar gardens were constructed after the model of the celebrated ones of the same name

at Delhi, and have been kept in tolerable order through the exertions of Runjeet Singh, who was exceedingly fond of gardens and flowers. In the country lying between Shalamar and Lahore, several places were laid out by him in flower gardens, and a small house constructed at each for the accommodation of the Maharajah when visiting these favourite spots.

Though Lahore has always been the capital of the Punjab, the city of Kussoor, now a dilapidated place, was coeval with it in size and grandeur, and, at first, formed a distinct capital of this portion of the Doab lying between the Gharra and the Ravee. The ruins of Kussoor point it out as a place of great extent, and it was held possession of by the present family of Mumdot, and conquered with difficulty by Runjeet Singh after he had made himself master of the other portion of the Punjab.

The former deep bed of the Gharra is to be seen near Kussoor, showing that this river, which now flows about five miles from Feerozpore, had at one time pursued its course close to Kussoor, and about twelve miles from its present channel.

The second city of the Punjab, and the first in Umritsir. a commercial point of view, is Umritsir. It is also a place of great sanctity, from the existence of a holy tank and Gooroo temple, in the construction and adornment of which vast sums of money have been expended.

The dome is exceedingly rich, and its gilded and

glittering surface has a splendid appearance when reflecting the rays of the setting sun.

The temple is built in the tank, surrounded by water on all sides, except where the causeway leading to it has been erected. The door of the temple faces the north, and on the ground-floor opposite to it sits the presiding Gooroo, with the holy book of the Grunth lying open before him. This apartment is strewed with flowers and the presents made by the daily visitors.

The road leading to the door of the temple is constantly crowded by Sikhs passing to and from the temple. A flight of steps leads to the upper apartments, from which a full view is obtained of the Sacred Tank, and the numerous handsome buildings erected on its sides, belonging to the various Sikh Sirdars in the Punjab, as well as on this side of the Sutlej.

The window shutters of the temple are covered with gold, and the whole structure is of a rich and beautiful description.

The Ukalees. Opposite the great temple or the *Durbar Sahib*, as it is usually called by the Sikhs themselves, stands the temple of the Ukalees, who, at the present day, exhibit more of the original character of the Sikhs, as established by the early founder of the Sikh religion, than is to be met with among the common Sikhs. The Ukalees are extravagant fanatics; they wage war with the followers of all other religions, agreeably to the tenets of their great reformer, of whom we shall speak hereafter. They

carry destruction wherever an opportunity offers, and sometimes cross the Gharra on plundering expeditions.

The Ukalee is always known by his blue turban, and the circles of chukhurs of steel, resembling quoits, which he wears over it. These are weapons of warfare, thrown with great precision and often deadly effect by the Ukalee. No weapons but fire-arms have any chance against such missiles.

Not far from Umritsir is the city of Taruntara. Taruntara. It is chiefly inhabited by the Ukalees, and forms a place of some interest in the history of the Gooroos (spiritual teachers).

There are many objects of interest in the neighbourhood of Umritsir. Govindgurh. Near the city, on the road to Lahore, is the fort of Govindgurh, so named after the tenth and last Gooroo, Govind Singh. It is, or was, the depository of the public treasure. The place is strongly built, but the situation is not a commanding one, and could not long stand a siege with guns of a large calibre.

Umritsir is a fortified city, but of no great strength. Unlike the fort of Bhurtpore in British India, it is constructed of brick, and whole masses of the wall would tumble down before a battering train; while the ditch is insignificant, and filled with water from the Motee Jheel. Several houses are built on the bastions at Umritsir, and on one of them stands the house formerly occupied by Goojur Singh, a chieftain who went as ambassador

to Calcutta, on the part of the Lahore Government, with presents for the King of England.*

Rambagh.

The Rambagh is close to Umritsir, and consists of a garden, as the name implies. An old fort formerly occupied the site. The garden contains several large and neat houses, which were occupied by Sikh chieftains, when they visited Umritsir for religious purposes, and the celebration of the festival of the Dusserah.

Thus much of the rivers and chief towns in the Punjab. We will now address ourselves to the history of that interesting country.

Nothing of certainty is known regarding the Punjab or its kings, until the fourth century before the Christian era, when the Punjab was subdued by Alexander the Great.

It is generally supposed that Alexander reached the right bank of the Beas, or Hyphasis, after conquering the country, and receiving the submission, successively, of Porus, Sophites, and Phegelas. The first of these is stated, by Indian historians, to have been the same as Phoor, king of Hindostan; but their account widely differs from that of the Greek historians, and is no doubt in many respect fabulous. According to them, the battle between Porus and Alexander took place at Sirhind, so that the conqueror must have passed

* This unfortunate man was addicted to the immoderate use of spirits, and falling from the bastion while in a state of intoxication, was killed on the spot. In the fort, or rather on the walls, the late Rajah Dhyan Singh, Prime Minister of Runjeet Singh, had some of his own guns stationed.

both the Beas and Sutlej, and reached the Jumnah. In Quintus Curtius, the river which Alexander wished to cross is stated to have been eleven days' march from the Ganges; it is described not only as a broad river, but rendered still more difficult to ford, by the rocks which lie about and beneath the stream. These remarks certainly do not apply to the Beas of the present day, and we are led to the belief that the union of the Beas and Sutlej, which is named the Gharra, was the river at which Alexander made a halt of two days, and at length abandoned the further prosecution of his conquests from the unwillingness, or rather the inability of his troops to follow him, to oppose the Gangaridæ and Pharrasii, who were said to inhabit the further bank of the Ganges. No mention is made of the Jumnah, though it is hardly to be supposed that Porus could have been ignorant of its existence, or would have concealed it, since both he and Phegelas appear to have been anxious to impress on the mind of the conqueror, the great and insurmountable dangers he would have to encounter before he reached the Ganges. If Alexander really crossed the Sutlej before encountering Porus, and arrived at the Jumnah, then the account of the distance between it and the Ganges is perfectly reconcilable to the relative situations of these two great rivers. We are inclined, however, to the belief, that Alexander never crossed the Beas, or Sutlej; but for the reasons already stated, the term Hyphasis appears to have

been applied to the Gharra. The city which Alexander found defended, not only by a wall, but by a marsh, would indicate Lahore. There are however no means of arriving at the fact, for the historian confines himself to the names of the rivers, and the reigning princes of the Punjab, in describing the progress of the Macedonian. In the height of the rains, the ground between Lahore and the Ravee, or Hydraotes, is a complete swamp; and in the time of Aurungzebe, the river itself encroached so far on the city, as to require a bulwark for the protection of the latter. It is not likely that Alexander, bent as he was on further conquests, would have taken the circuitous route by the Beas and Sutlej, when he could reach the Gharra in two or three days, as it then no doubt occupied its bed near the city of Kussoor. The latter city may therefore have been that of Phegelas.

The country between the Hydaspes and Hydraotes, is described by Quintus Curtius as a jungly tract inhabited by wild beasts. The banian, or bur tree, is delineated with great fidelity by the historian. "*Plerique rami instar ingentium stipitum flexi in humum, rursus qua se curvaverant, erigebantur adeo, ut species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex sua radice generate.*" The poisonous qualities of the snakes are also alluded to: their bite was immediately followed by death, unless a remedy was applied by the natives.

That the people of the Punjab were well ac-

quainted with the use of arms is shown by the formidable array of war chariots drawn up to oppose Alexander after he had crossed the Ravee. These chariots were tied together, and filled with armed men; some had darts, others spears and axes. No mention is made of bows and arrows, so generally employed by the Sikhs of the present day, as weapons of war. So unusual a mode of warfare alarmed the Macedonians, for the barbarians leaped from one chariot to another when wishing to assist their comrades. After losing eighty of their men, the barbarians fled within their city. A noble breed of dogs is mentioned, four of which were considered a match for a lion, a beast of prey then common in the Punjab, and until of late years frequently found in the Hurriannah district, on this side the Sutlej. The term *Singh*, applied by Gooroo Govind to his followers, may have had reference to the great number of lions infesting the Punjab, even in his time. At the present day the tigers appear to have taken the place of the lions, and are often met with in the jungles skirting the banks of the rivers.

The term
Singh.

It is to be lamented, that no authentic records are to be found regarding the Punjab after the time of Alexander, until the time of the Mussulman rulers of the country, embracing a period of 1,300 years, or from the year before the Christian era 325, until A.D. 997, in the reign of Subuctagi. At this time, it is related in Dow's history of Hindostan, Jeipal was the Hindoo king of Lahore,

and had frequent contests with the emperor of Ghuzni.

“ His son and successor, Anundpal, waged war with the great Mamood, who defeated both him and his father Jeipal; the latter having been vanquished both by Suburtagi and Mamood, burned himself on a funeral pile, according to Hindoo custom. Anundpal, on his defeat, fled to Cashmere, and soon after we find him in Mooltan, where Mamood proceeded to punish him.

“ On this occasion, the Hindoo princes of Hindostan were determined to drive the Mussulmans from India, and entered into a confederacy with Anundpal; the chief of these were the princes of Oojein, Gwalior, Callinger, Kinnoge, Delhi, and Ajmere. Anundpal was also joined by the Gickers. Thus supported, he surrounded the Mussulmans, who were obliged to entrench themselves.

“ Mamood commenced the action by ordering a thousand archers to the front, but they were attacked by the Gickers, and obliged to fly to the entrenched camp, where a great slaughter took place, and 5,000 of the Mussulmans were killed in a few minutes. The fate of the day was however decided in favour of Mamood, by the elephant of Anundpal taking flight, which struck a panic throughout his army, and the victory was completed by the Arabian horse under the command of Abdulla, and the Turkish, Affghan, and Chilligis troops, under Arsilla.”—*Dow*.

This was a sad blow to the Hindoos, but a treaty

of peace was concluded between Anundpal and Mamood, whereby the former kept possession of the Punjab. Anundpal must have been possessed of great wealth, since we find him offering to reimburse Mamood the expense of his expedition to India for the purpose of destroying Thannessir, besides an offer of fifty elephants and jewels to a considerable amount.

The Punjab was ultimately wrested from the Hindoos by Mamood, on his return from his tenth expedition to India. The last Hindoo king of Lahore was Putturgepal, who fled on the approach of Mamood, and the Emperor appointed one of his omrahs to the government of Lahore, in the year of the Christian era 1022. (Dow.)

In the reign of Mamood, an attempt was made by the Indian chiefs of the Punjab to regain the country, Collecting a large army, they advanced to Lahore, and invested it. The siege lasted seven months, and the Mussulmans, seeing no chance of succour, sallied out, and offered battle to the Hindoos, who were so struck with their resolution, that they betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter.

In the year A. D. 1158, Chusero, son of Byram, was crowned at Lahore, and died there after a reign of seven years; so that this is the first of the emperors of Ghuzni, who, leaving his own country, made Lahore the seat of empire.

Chusero the Second reigned at Lahore, where he was besieged by Mahomed, brother to the

Prince of Ghor, but unable to take the place, a treaty was formed between him and Chusero. Lahore was a second time besieged by Mahomed, but with the same result; he therefore laid waste the country with fire and sword, and built the fort of Sealcote, which was, in its turn, besieged by Chusero, but without success. Mahomed for the third time advanced against Lahore, and became master of it by treachery.

Lahore was thus transferred to the house of Ghor.

When Mahomed Gori had taken Lahore, he bestowed it on the Governor of Mooltan, and retired himself to Ghuzni.

It is needless for us, in this place, to follow the history of the Punjab while under the Mussulman dynasty.

The Sikhs, who inhabit the Punjab and hold possession of the country, had their origin, like other nations, in small beginnings; but unlike those of Europe, instead of making conquest their first object, the Sikhs began by uniting themselves into a distinct religious sect, or offset from the Hindoos, having religious tenets of their own, and obeying, as their head, a teacher, or Gooroo.

Gooroo.

Some native historians explain the word Gooroo to be derived from Giroh, a crowd or assemblage of people of different castes. But the more general acceptation of the word 'Gooroo' is that significant of teacher, and the followers of this teacher are named *Sikhs* or learners.

Sikhs.

The first Gooroo, or teacher, among the Sikhs was Nanuk (Bedee,) and the last was Govind Singh (Sodee.) Before proceeding, however, with the history of Nanuk, it may be necessary to explain the meaning of the terms Bedee and Sodee, as applied to the Gooroos.

It is related that in former times the Rajah ^{Bedee and Sodee.} Ram Chunder, son of Kussruth, divorced his wife Seeta, and gave injunctions to his younger brother, Luchmun, to carry her twelve miles into the jungle, and then desert her. Luchmun so far obeyed this order that he carried her into the country of the Punjab, and there left her at the spot where the Hindoo place of worship now exists called Ram Teeruth, about six miles from Umritsir.

Seeta was here delivered of two sons, one of whom she named Loh, and the other Kussoo. When arrived at manhood, these became wealthy men, and each built a city to which he gave his own name; that of the elder being Lahore, and ^{Lahore and Kussoor.} the younger Kussoor, both of which remain at the present day; the former being the capital of the Punjab, and the latter exhibiting traces of an extensive city, about twelve miles from Feerozpoore.

The descendants of Loh and Kussoo continued to possess Lahore and Kussoor; but after a long series of years, when Kulrao was king of Lahore, and Kulput was king of Kussoor, the latter raised a large army, and made war on the former, whom he vanquished, and took possession of Lahore,

expelling Kulrao from the Punjab. Kulrao, after his defeat and flight, took refuge in the Dekhan with Amrit, king of that country. The king treated the fugitive with great distinction and kindness, bestowed his daughter on him in marriage, and at his death left him heir to his kingdom. By this princess, Kulrao had a son, named Sodee Rao, who succeeded his father. He made conquests in Hindostan, and became a great king. One day his wuzeer told Sodee Rao, that "though king of so many countries, his proper kingdom was the Punjab, from which his father had been expelled by Kulput, and was never able to return and regain his kingdom," Sodee Rao, on hearing this, collected a large army, and set out for Lahore. He engaged his uncle in battle and defeated him, driving himself and all his children out of the Punjab. After this he ascended the throne of Lahore.

Kulput, after his defeat, became a wanderer on the face of the earth, and at length reached the holy city of Kassir, known in modern times by the name of Benares. It was then, as now, the great resort of learned Hindoos, and here Kulput began to study the books of the Hindoo religion, called "Béds." While thus employed, he found a passage which stated that "tyranny was a great sin, and so long as a man exercised it he had no right to expect mercy." Reflecting on this sentence, and considering that he himself had behaved as a tyrant to his brother in making war on, and dethroning him, he resolved on going to Lahore, and asking

the forgiveness of Sodee Rao for the tyranny he had practised towards his father.

On reaching Lahore, he sought an interview with Sodee Rao, and began reading the Bédés to him; on hearing the third Béd, Sodee Rao relented, and embracing his uncle, said, "You ask forgiveness, which I grant, and as a reward for your reading the Béd to me, I will give you my kingdom, and as a beggar will wander in the jungle," Kulput replied, "You are a good man Sodee, Rao; and though my descendants may be Gooroos and rulers, yet yours will eventually enjoy their rights and privileges, and become great sirdars and kings."

Sodee Rao, on hearing these words, took his departure, and Kulput became, once more, king of Lahore. From the circumstance of his having been a reader of the Bédés, he was surnamed Bédee, his descendants were named Bédees, and Nanuk being one of them, was called (Nanuk) Bédee; this tribe continued to be Gooroos until the time of Ram Dass, who was the first Gooroo of the Sadee tribe, and hence named (Ram Dass) Sadee.

The Sadees are numerous at the present day about Muckawal, and on this side the Sutlej at Macheewarah, which in fact belongs to two sirdars of the Sodee tribe. It is difficult to reconcile this story of Loh and Kussoo with the Mussulman account of the Punjab: either it is altogether fictitious, or the descendants of Loh and Kussoo must have reigned in the Punjab long anterior to the Mussulman dynasty; but then it is equally diffi-

cult to explain the circumstance of Nanuk being a descendant of Kulput Bédee, unless we suppose that the dynasty descended from the family of Kulput to the time of Putturugepal, the last Hindoo king of the Punjab. The records of Jeipal, Annudpal, and Putturugepal are so scanty, excepting as regards their contentions with the Mussulmans, that we know nothing of their private history, and for want of a better explanation of the terms Bédee and Sodee, we must suppose that Nanuk was a lineal descendant of Kulput, and Ram Dass equally so of Sodee Rao.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF GOOROO NANUK (BEDEE.)

NANUK was born in the year of the Hijera 892, ^{Birth of Nanuk.} corresponding to the year of the Christian era 1468* and to 1525 of Bikermajeet, in the 32nd year of the reign of Beloli (Lodi). Nanuk's father, whose name was Kulloo of the Chuttree caste, was a native of the village of Tilwundy, but Nanuk was not born there, though stated to be so by both Forster and Malcolm. Tilwundy is about sixty miles from Lahore, [*Forster.*] and twenty south of Wuzeerabah, on the route from thence to Umritsir, in latitude 32° 4'.—[*Thornton.*] In the time of Forster (1782) the village was known by the name

* In Malcolm's sketch of the Sikhs, the year 1469 is given; but the year in the text is the correct one, since the calculation is made with both the era of the Hijera, and that of Bikermajeet. Malcolm most likely followed Forster, who also assumed 1469 as the year of Nanuk's birth. In Dow's history of Hindostan, Bikermajeet is said to have died in the eighty-ninth year of the Christian era. The Mussulman authors of the History of the Sikhs preserve invariably, a period of fifty-seven years between the Christian era and that of Bikermajeet, or Samvat.

of Rhaypore. In the account of the birth of Nanuk it is called Tilwundy-rae-malar, meaning "wisdom and wealth," and the change to Raepore was probably given to indicate the "city of wisdom," from the circumstance of Nanuk having been supposed to have been born there, or at least of his father being an inhabitant of the village.

Miraculous
story connect-
ed with it.

For a long time after his marriage, Kulloo had no children, and became a fukeer, or religious mendicant. It so happened that one day another fukeer came to Kulloo's hut, and partook of some food. Kulloo no doubt told his story to his guest, for no sooner had the latter finished his meal, than he ordered the fragments to be carried to Kulloo's wife, who, he said, would conceive, and her son be a great man. After she had ate of the food, the fukeer's prophecy was fulfilled, and on her father hearing the glad tidings, he sent for his daughter to the village of Maree, which is near Kot Kutchwa, and here Nanuk was born.

Tilwundy cannot therefore claim the honour of being the birthplace of Nanuk. As to the miraculous part of the story, it deserves but little notice, and was probably composed at some afterperiod, to impart a degree of sanctity to the Gooroo.

After the fulfilment of the fukeer's prophecy, Kulloo returned to Tilwundee, and resumed his occupation as a merchant, though his wife probably remained with her father, and had a daughter named Nanukee, who married a Hindoo in the ser-

vice of Dawbut Khan Lodi, a relation of the reigning emperor of Delhi, Beloli Lodi.—*Malcolm.*

Nanuk's intellect was precocious. At the early age of four, he was sent to the village school, the master whereof was a Deist, and wished to inculcate the same principle in his youthful scholar, but the boy, to his great astonishment, instead of yielding implicit credence, enquired of his teacher, "What proofs he could give him of the existence of a God?" Such a question naturally inspired the man with a wish to know more of his scholar, and on making inquiry, he was told that Nanuk was the gift of a fukeer! On hearing this, the schoolmaster renounced the world and became a fukeer himself. As Nanuk advanced in years, he became partial to fukeers, dividing his property amongst them; and though he wanted proof of the existence of a Deity in his boyhood, he soon became a firm believer in one.

His partiality to the fukeers led him often into serious scrapes with his father: one is related by *Malcolm.* Nanuk having received a sum of money from his father to purchase salt at one village, in order to sell it at another, happened on the road to fall in with some fukeers, with whom he wished to commence a conversation, but they were so weak from want of victuals, which they had not tasted for three days, that they could only reply to the observations of Nanuk by bending their heads, and other civil signs of acquiescence.

Nanuk, affected by their situation, said to his companion, "My father has sent me to deal in salt with a view to profit; but the gain of this world is unstable and profitless; my wish is to relieve these poor men, and to obtain that gain which is permanent and eternal." His companion (Bala Sandhu) replied, "Thy resolution is good: do not delay its execution." Nanuk immediately distributed his money to the hungry fukeers, who, after they had gained strength from the refreshment which it obtained for them, entered into a long discourse with him on the unity of God, with which he was much delighted. His father did not at all approve of this mode of laying out his money, and though his sister, Nanukee, interceded, Nanuk, no doubt, was punished. His father used his utmost endeavours to turn the attention of his son to worldly matters, and with this view built a shop for him at Sultanpore, in the Bist Jalindhur, and furnished it with various articles of merchandise; but, instead of turning them to any account, he bestowed the whole on fukeers. Failing in his object, by this means, his father insisted on his marrying; thinking, no doubt, that this step would cause him to renounce his wandering life. He was accordingly married at Wittala; but he speedily left his home and went to the jungle in search of fukeers; and wherever he heard of them, there he proceeded. Nanuk had now publicly become one of them; and his natural talents, though still a boy, soon won for

Becomes a
fukeer.

him a high place among them. He became a teacher at the early age of eleven years, and had followers; among the rest, Murdana, a musician, who afterwards attended him in his travels, and from being a Mussulman, became a convert to the tenets of Nanuk. Two others of his followers are celebrated: the one named Boodha, and the other Lehna. To these Nanuk taught his doctrines, which were those of pure Deism.

Nanuk endeavoured to conciliate, or reconcile, both Hindoos and Mussulmans, by forbidding the former to worship images and idols; while he deprecated the intolerance of the Mussulmans to the Hindoos; and above all, forbade the slaughter of the cow, an offence which is to this day visited by the severest punishment among the Sikhs—the loss of life being often the penalty incurred for killing the animal.

The precepts of Nanuk were those of peace with all mankind; and he inculcated an abhorrence of war among people believing in God, on whom his firm reliance was placed for every thing; and acting on this principle, he was regardless of wordly matters, and divided every thing he had with his fellow-creatures. His peaceful tenets.

On the whole, Nanuk's tenets evince a zealous desire to remove all the abuses and idolatries of the Hindoos, and the intolerance of the Mussulmans.

Nanuk's time was spent in offering praises to God in poetical effusions; and he made no dis-

inction between Hindoos and Mussulmans. The poems of Nanuk are celebrated. He traversed Hindostan and Scinde; and, according to some authors, visited Mecca. He appears to have been a match for the Moollahs, as the following anecdote, related by Malcolm, will show:—"How darest thou, infidel," said the offended Mahomedan priest, "turn thy feet towards the House of God?" "Turn them, if you can," said the pious but indignant Nanuk, "in a direction where the House of God is not."

Answer to the Moollahs.

His veneration for the cow.

Nanuk did not deny the mission of Mahomed, though he reprobated his oppressive cruelty and intolerance to the Hindoos, and, above all, the slaughter of the cow; for these crimes he believed the prophet had justly died. Nanuk considered himself a successor to Mahomed; and that he was destined to restore, by his example, precepts, and writings, the whole of mankind to the worship of God. He urged the Hindoos and Mussulmans to read their Scriptures, and obey the doctrines taught there. But while inculcating faith in one Supreme Deity, and offering their praises to Him alone, he did not forget that good works were equally incumbent; and that to these tenets of faith and works they should look for mercy, and it mattered little to what caste they belonged.

Nanuk's sublime notion of the Deity.

The following extract from Malcolm's work will give a sublime idea of Nanuk's notion of the Deity, and of the worthlessness of men:—"A hundred thousand of Mahomeds," said Nanuk, "a million of

Brahmas, Vishnus, and a hundred thousand Ramas stand at the gate of the Most High; these all perish. God, alone, is immortal. Yet men, who unite in the praise of God, are not ashamed of living in contention with each other, which proves that the evil spirit has subdued all. He alone is a true Hindoo whose heart is just, and he only is a good Mussulman whose life is pure."

Nanuk was believed by his followers to have had an interview with the Supreme God; which he thus describes:—"One day Nanuk heard a voice from above, exclaiming, 'Nanuk, approach!' He replied, 'Oh God! what power have I to stand in thy presence?' The voice said, 'Close thine eyes.' Nanuk shut his eyes and advanced; he was told to look up; he did so, and heard the word, 'Wa!' or '*Well done!*' pronounced five times, and then '*Wa! Guruji,*' or '*Well done! Teacher.*' After this, God said, 'Nanuk! I have sent thee into the world in the Kali-yug (or depraved age)—go and bear my name! Nanuk said, 'Oh God! how can I bear the mighty burthen? If my age was extended to tens of millions of years, if I drank of immortality, and my eyes were formed of the sun and moon, and were never closed, still, oh God! I could not presume to take charge of Thy wonderful name!' 'I will be thy Gúrú' (teacher), said God, 'and thou shalt be a Gúrú to all mankind, thy sect shall be great in the world, and thy word Púri Púri; the word of the Bairági is Ram! Ram!; that of the Sanyase, Om, Nama! Narayen!; and the word of the Yogis,

Ades! Ades! ; and the salutation of the Mahomedans is, Salam Alikam ; and that of the Hindoos, Ram! Ram! ; but the word of thy sect shall be Gúrú, and I will forgive the crimes of thy disciples. The place of worship of the Bairagis is called Ram Sála ; that of the Yogis, Asan ; that of the Sanyásis, Mat ; but that of thy tribe shall be Deerma Sála. Thou must teach unto thy followers three lessons : the first, to worship my name ; the second, charity ; the third, ablution. They must not abandon the world, and they must do ill to no being ; for into every being have I infused breath ; and whatever I am, thou art, for between us there is no difference. It is a blessing that thou art sent into the Kali-yug.* After this, '*Wa! Guru,*' or '*Well done! Teacher!*,' was pronounced from the mouth of the Most High Gúrú, or teacher, (God,) and Nanuk came to give light and freedom to the universe." (Malcolm.)

The above passage, as Malcolm justly observed, "gives a sufficient view of the ideas which the Sikhs entertain of the divine origin of their faith."

Nanuk believed in metempsychosis, and that really good men would enjoy paradise ; while those who had no claim to the name of good, but yet were not bad, would undergo another probation, by revisiting the world in the human form ; and that the bad would animate the bodies of animals, particularly dogs and cats : but it appears from the Punjabee authors, that Nanuk was acquainted with the Mahomedan doctrine regarding the fall of man and a future state, and that he represented it to

his followers as a system in which God, by shewing a heaven and hell, had in his goodness, held out future reward and punishment to man, whose will he had left free, to invite him to good actions and deter him from bad."—*Malcolm*.

The peaceful tenets inculcated by Nanuk form a pleasing contrast to the present warlike and quarrelsome habits of the Sikhs; but the cause of this change will be manifested in the sequel.

Towards the latter part of his life, Nanuk dwelt on the banks of the Ravee, and established his family there. He had two sons: the one named Luchmee Doss, and the other Sree Chund; the former became a man of the world. He had two sons, whose descendants remain at the present day. Sree Chund was a fukeer, and from him are descended the Oodasee fukeers.

Nanuk lived on the banks of the Ravee.

Some say that Nanuk had an uncle named Lalloo, whose son was called Luchmee Doss. Lalloo had a great esteem for Nanuk, calling him his son, and Luchmee Nanuk's servant. Nanuk formed a very strong attachment to Luchmee, saying they had the same body and soul, and there was no difference betwixt them. On this account the descendants of Luchmee Doss were considered the same as those of Nanuk, and it is said that Nanuk had in reality, no descendants. Those of Sree Chund are named Nanuk Pootras, or children of Nanuk.

Boodha, one of Nanuk's followers, lived to a great age: his story is curious.

Boodha.

One day Baha Nanuk was sitting at the village of Toonga, and being thirsty he called on Boodha, who was feeding his cows near the place, to bring him some water in a vessel (lotah): Boodha replied, that "the water was at a great distance;" but added, "if you will look after my cows, I will bring you some." Nanuk said, "*There* is a tank; bring water from thence." Boodha replied, "There is certainly a tank near at hand, but it is dried up." Nanuk, rejoined "Go and see." Boodha went towards the tank, and to his surprise found it filled with water, though he had seen it dry in the morning! He filled the vessel and brought it to Nanuk; and from witnessing the miracle, Boodha became a follower or disciple of Nanuk, who bestowed his blessing on him. This man lived in the time of the Goroos Urjun and Hur Govind. The former requested him to point out the tank from which he had taken the water, in order that he might construct a new one; which he did, and called it *Umritsir*, or the water of immortality. Boodha had two sons, and lived at the village of Ram Dass.

Lehna.

Another follower of Nanuk, and his successor, was named Lehna, of the Chuttree caste. This Lehna was on his way to Juwala Mookhee, a great place of worship among the Hindoos, near Kote Kangra. On the road he met Nanuk, and from his preaching became a convert and follower of the Goroos.

Nanuk died at the age of 71, in the year 963 of

the Hijera, and A.D. 1539, in the first year of the reign of Akhbar. He reigned as Gooroo sixty years, five months, and seven days. His tomb (summad) is on the bank of the Ravee, five miles from Kulanoor. Vast crowds collect annually to perform certain ceremonies in commemoration of the day of his decease.—*Forster*. The place is named Keertipore; and according to Malcolm, “a small piece of Nanuk’s garment is exhibited to pilgrims, as a sacred relic, at his Dhurmasala, or temple.”

Death of
Nanuk.

His tomb.

Nanuk, as the founder of the Sikhs, is greatly venerated by that nation, though they appear to have entirely forgotten his tenets of peace. In the time of Nanuk, his followers were probably few in number, and leading quiet and peaceable lives; no notice was taken of them by the Mussulman rulers of the Punjab, and there is no mention made of them in the history of the latter. It is stated by *Foster*, that “in one of Baber’s expeditions into India, Nanuk having been apprehended by some of his soldiers, was brought before that prince, who informed of the sanctity of his character, treated him with respect and indulgence.” Malcolm says, that “Baber was pleased with him, and ordered an ample maintenance to be bestowed on him, which the Sikh priest refused, observing ‘that he trusted in Him who provided for all men, and that a man of virtue and religion would consent to receive no favour or reward from men.’”

Nanuk must have commenced his ministry at

His character.

eleven years of age, and thus spent a long life in propagating his doctrines. By the side of a well, and under the shade of the peepul tree, did Nanuk discourse to his followers; he required no costly building for this purpose, and the word *deyrah*, or tent, is often alluded to as the place where he preached; with no other protection than that afforded by a tent, he travelled over the whole of Hindostan, and visited Persia and Arabia. After completing these travels, he put off the fukeer's dress, though he continued to instruct his followers. This change in his dress drew upon him the violent opposition of the Hindoos, and according to Malcolm, "he enraged the yogiswaras* so much, that they tried all their powers of enchantment to terrify him. Some assumed the shape of lions and tigers, others hissed like snakes, one fell in a shower of fire, and another tore the stars from the firmament."

On Nanuk being required to astonish them by some miracle, he replied, "I have nothing to exhibit worthy of your regard. A holy teacher has no defence but the purity of his doctrine. The world may change, but the Creator is unchangeable."

Nanuk is described by all authors as a man of great moral courage, and possessed of powers of eloquence which never failed to produce a great effect on his hearers. His object was to prove, by

* Recluse penitents, who by means of mental and corporeal mortification, have acquired command over the powers of nature.—*Malcolm*.

his precepts, example, and writings, that he was an inspired teacher. He harangued the people, who collected about him wherever he went; and he employed his leisure hours in composition. As an example of his unbending character it may be mentioned, that he was invited by a Rajah to renounce his mode of life and austere habits, and to accept the enjoyment of all human luxuries. But all such offers were made in vain. By his powerful eloquence and arguments he even converted this Rajah, and resided with him during a considerable length of time, in the course of which he was employed in composing the "Pran Sunculee," a sort of text book for the guidance of his followers. This was an early production; it was finished soon after he had assumed the life and habits of a fukeer, and was afterwards incorporated in the first part of the Grunth. Miracles are attributed to Nanuk by his followers, but he never pretended to any himself. Filling the tank with water may be considered as one, and was the cause of Boodha becoming his follower. Malcolm relates, that "when Nanuk was quite a youth, and employed to tend cattle in the fields, he happened to repose himself under the shade of a tree, and as the sun declined towards the west, its rays fell on his face, when a large black snake advancing to the spot where he lay, raised itself from the ground and interposed its spread hood between Nanuk and the sun's rays. This was observed by the chief of the district, and from the great veneration in which the snake is

held by the Hindoos, was no doubt received as a sure proof of the future greatness of Nanuk."

The Grunth. Nanuk's precepts for the guidance of his followers are contained in the "Grunth," or Holy Book of the Sikhs; it was begun, and the first part of it written, by Nanuk and his immediate successors. This part is named Adi-Grunth, to distinguish it from the second portion, composed exclusively by the great reformer Gooroo Govind, Nanuk's successor. This second part is accordingly named the "Dasuma Padshah ka Grunth," or "Book of the tenth king." The religious tenets of Nanuk, as contained in the Adi-Grunth, continued in force, with slight modifications, until the time of Gooroo Govind, who effected a total reform in the religion, manners, and habits of the Sikhs; and it is now in vain to look for the observance of any of his peaceful doctrines, excepting among the descendants of Sree Chund, or the Nanuk Pootras. Before the time of Govind, however, some of the Goroos had armed their followers, but this was chiefly done for the purpose of defence; with this exception, all the tenets of Nanuk were religiously preserved until Govind Singh gave an entirely new character to the Sikhs, who from being quiet and peaceable, became at once a war-like tribe, spreading terror and desolation wherever they went.

The Grunth is written in the Goomoocki character, "a modified species of the Nagari." It is placed in the holy temple of Umritsir, and constantly referred to in all matters by the Sikhs.

Though the followers of Nanuk were forbidden to worship, or pay homage to any object but the Supreme Deity, they have so far forgotten his precepts as to bestow adoration on his own name. He is considered a saint by them, and they pay him divine honours, addressing him in their prayers as their saviour and mediator, and until his tomb was washed away by the Ravee, the Sikhs made pilgrimages thereto.

The simplicity and purity of the doctrines taught and inculcated by Nanuk, were the means of drawing towards him many who had troubled themselves but little with the complicated structure of the Hindoo religion, polluted, as it had become, by the worship of images and idols. Nanuk at once directed their attention to the one-existing Supreme Deity, who was endowed by him with the great attributes of omniscience, omnipresence, and omnipotence. He it was who knew all their actions, and their innermost thoughts; He it was who was ever present through space and time; the only Immortal: all others perished and were lost! Nothing was created without Him, and what men viewed with awe and wonder, emanated from His Omnipotent hand. All the events which occurred were regulated by His presence, and every gift bestowed on man was supplied by His bounty. No place was without His presence. "Turn my feet," said Nanuk, "to where the house of God is not,"—showing clearly that the mind of the teacher was deeply imbued with the great truth

that all space was filled with Him. The most insignificant animal that crawled on the earth, the least complicated flower that decked the face of the desert, were alike the work of the same Divine hand that formed the elephant and wide-spreading banian tree! Trusting to this bountiful Being, Nanuk despised all worldly riches, unless in so far as they served to relieve his fellow-creatures; and charity to all mankind was one of the precepts which he was induced to preach to his followers, next to devotion to the Deity. The life of a fellow-creature was sacred in his eyes, for the same breath was breathed into them all by the Almighty, and was only to be taken away by Him. Murder, war, and discord, whereby the lives of men were sacrificed, he deprecated; and cruelty and intolerance were held in abomination by him, as heinous sins.

The doctrine of the fall of man, by a first act of disobedience to the will of his Creator, was not admitted by Nanuk: he held that nothing was needed but a pure and holy life to insure happiness; grounded, as such must be, in a belief of the Deity ever present to watch man's actions. After all, Nanuk's was an imperfect code of religion, and finite in its application; but such as it was, there are many professing Christians whose creed is equally limited.

The religious
code of Nanuk
deteriorated.

That the Sikhs, as originally constituted by Nanuk, were a singular people, there can be no doubt; but since the reformation of the tribe by Govind, the tenth and last Gooroo, they have lost

all distinctiveness, and are now, like other Pagan and barbarous nations, victims to their evil propensities, their morality is even below that of the blood-thirsty Moslems, for they are guilty of crimes revolting in the sight of God and man.

We have now brought to a conclusion this sketch of the history of Nanuk; it will be seen that we have availed ourselves of the writings of others, but for the completion of such a work, the materials are few and scanty. Were we to follow the Punjabee authors in relating the life of Nanuk, the incidents recorded would enable us to lay the ground-work of a romance, but it would certainly not deserve the name of history.

In tracing the lives of Nanuk's eight successors, it will not be necessary to enter into such minute particulars as are given above, as they were strict followers of Nanuk, inculcating his doctrine, and making proselytes to his tenets. The ninth Gooroo in descent from Nanuk deserves a more lengthened consideration, as under him the simplicity of the Sikhs was lost, and the nation, as already observed, became a powerful and warlike people.

CHAPTER II.

LIVES OF GOOROO UNGUT, UMMUR DOSS, RAM DOSS,
URJUN, HUR GOVIND, HUR RAO, HUR KISHEN,
AND TEJH BUHADUR.

Nanuk's suc-
cessor.

IF Nanuk really had two sons, he did not consider either of them a fit successor to the office he had created. Before his death, the Gooroo had chosen his faithful follower Lehna to succeed him, and named him Ungut, from the following circumstance.*

His choice
falls on Lehna,
and the rea-
son.

One day while Baha† Nanuk was wandering in the jungles, attended by Boodha and Lehna, at a certain place they found a coffin with a corpse in it. Nanuk desired Boodha to eat the corpse, but the latter in disgust refused. He gave the same order

* Malcolm gives Ang—body, and Khud—own, as the explanation of the word, but without alluding to the circumstance in the text which gave rise to Nanuk calling Lehna his own body.

† *Baha* is a word often applied to fukeers; both this and *Shah* were frequently employed by the Sikh historians when speaking of their founder. They even style him *Nanuk Narinkur*, or *Nanuk the Omnipresent*.—*Malcolm*.

to Lehna, who, without any hesitation, complied, requesting to know with what part of the body he should commence. Nanuk replied, "With the feet." Lehna having opened the coffin, began to eat, when the corpse suddenly disappeared. On seeing with what readiness Lehna had obeyed his command, Nanuk embraced him, and from that time called him Ungut, or "own body." This is considered a miracle by the Sikhs, who believe that the body of Nanuk passed into that of Lehna. He His choice falls on Lehna. was thenceforth appointed by Nanuk to succeed him.

On Ungut being appointed successor to Nanuk, the two sons of the latter, Luchmee Doss and Sree Chund, became his dire enemies, and said their father had been guilty of tyranny in thus depriving them of the Goorooship, and conferring it on a servant. They loaded Ungut, who was at the time in a very sickly condition, with abuse. On hearing of the conduct of his sons to his faithful follower, Nanuk was annoyed, and vowed that neither of them should ever succeed him, so long as Ungut or any of his descendants remained. He sent for Ungut, and passed his hands over his body, which was immediately restored to health, with the exception of his feet, which Nanuk, of course, did not touch. Ungut's feet remained therefore Afflicted with a severe complaint, of which he died. afflicted with a severe complaint, and day and night were as hot as fire. On account of this sore affliction, Ungut separated himself from the sons of Nanuk, and took up his abode at Kudoor, on the

banks of the Beas, living there as a fukeer. He had only one attendant, named Ummur Doss, who on Ungut's death became Gooroo. Ungut had two sons, but both of them became men of the world. At length after great suffering, Ungut fell a victim to his disease in the thirteenth year of the reign of Akhbar, and in the 976th year of the Hijera, corresponding to A.D. 1552, and Bik. 1609. His death took place on the 4th of March at Kudoor, where his tomb was erected. He reigned as Gooroo for a period of twelve years, six months, and nine days. The successor to Ungut was named Ummur Doss; he was of the Chuttree caste, and sect of Phulla, and a native of Govindwal.

Ummur Doss becomes his disciple and servant.

When Ungut took up his abode at Kudoor, people visited him from every quarter, and among the rest, Ummur Doss, who formed a great attachment for the Gooroo, and became his disciple and follower. Every day he brought a vessel of water for the purpose of washing and cooling his master's feet. One dark and stormy night, while thus employed, he stumbled, fell, and hurt himself, breaking at the same time the jar containing the water. Some of the by-standers enquired who he was, others remarked—"He is a fukeer without house or home, and servant to Gooroo Ungut." On the tidings of the misfortune reaching the latter, he hastened to the spot, and laying his hands on Ummur Doss embraced him, and begged him not to be distressed, "I am your supporter," added Ungut, "and all I possess is yours." At the same time he appointed him his successor.

On the death of Ungut, Ummur Doss succeeded ^{Succeeds Ungut.} him. He was a wise and just Gooroo, and resided at his native village of Govindwal, and there built a baoulee, or large well with a shelter for travellers. On this he spent large sums of money, as the water was at a great depth. He had numerous disciples, and from amongst them he chose twenty-two, whom he sent to different parts of the country. Malcolm in his sketch of the Sikhs, mentions, that Ummur Doss built Kujàràwàl, and separated the Oodasee sect from the regular Sikhs: this sect was founded by Sree Chund, the son of Nanuk.

This Gooroo had a son named Mohun, and a daughter named Mohunee, more commonly called Bhainee. After reigning as Gooroo for the space of twenty-two years, five months, and eleven days, Ummur Doss died at the village of Govindwal on the 14th May, in the year of the Hijera 999, A.D. 1575, and Bik. 1632. His tomb was erected at Govindwal, but has since been washed away by the river. Ram Dass, who succeeded Ummur Doss, was the first of the Sodee Gooroos. When Ummur Doss was building his baoulee, a great number of masons and other workmen were employed, and vast crowds used to collect to witness the progress of the work; amongst the rest Ram Dass, of the ^{History of Ram Dass Sodee.} Chuttree caste and Sodee family, a lineal descendant of Sodee Rao, who abdicated the throne of Lahore in favour of his Uncle Kulput (Bédee.) The boy had come with his mother from Lahore to the Beas, and employed himself in selling various

little articles required by the workpeople. One day Ummur Doss was sitting by the masons, and observing Ram Dass, he told him to give something to his little daughter Bhainee. Ram Dass went in search of her; and she seeing that he was a handsome youth, became attached to him, and for her sake Ram Dass became a follower of her father. He eventually married Bhainee, and thus united the two families of Bédées and Sodees; he was appointed successor to Ummur Doss.

He succeeds
Ummur Doss.

It happened that the Emperor Akhbar, who was then at Lahore, heard of the fame of Ram Dass and wished to see him. He threw off the trammels of religion, and after conversing with the Gooroo was much pleased with him, and as a mark of esteem and regard, the Emperor issued an order, that a certain portion of ground should be granted to Ram Dass, which was accordingly done, and the ground, thus bestowed, being of a circular form, was named *Chukkur Ram Dass*. In this enclosure the Gooroo built Umritsir, and went occasionally from Govindwal to reside there, and his disciples and followers settled at that place. In the year of the Hijera 1005* Akhbar went from the Punjab to the Dekhan, and on arriving at Govindwal he encamped there, and sent for Ram Dass; he received the Gooroo with great distinction and kindness, and requested him to ask a favour. Ram Dass replied that he wanted nothing, but he had one remark to

Akhbar
bestows a
grant of land
on him.

Treats the
Gooroo with
great respect.

* In Dow, the year 1008 is stated.

make. Akhbar enquired what it was. The Goo-roo replied, that during the stay of the Emperor at Lahore, the consumption of grain had been great, and high prices paid for it, but now that the court had left that place the price would be small, and the ryots suffer accordingly. "I would recommend," he added, "that you levy no rent this year." Akhbar was pleased with the remark, and said the Goo-roo was the friend of the poor; he ordered the rents to be remitted, and bestowed, at the same time, valuable presents on Ram Dass.

After this period, crowds of people followed the Goo-roo, and many of the Zemindars became his disciples. By Bhainee, the daughter of Ummur Dass, he had three sons: the first was named Mahadeo, who became a fukeer; the second, Prithee Dass, was a man of the world; and the third, Urjun, who was his father's favourite, became his successor. Ram Dass, after a reign of nearly seven years, died in the 106th year of the Hijera, A.D. 1582, and Bik. 1639, on the 3rd of March. His tomb was erected on the bank of the Beah.

When Ram Dass died, his youngest son Urjun Urjun succeeds him. was seated on the throne of the Goo-roos. He became a famous Goo-roo and greatly celebrated; he completed the Adi-Grunth.

Hindoo merchants flocked to the Punjab in the time of Urjun, bringing all kinds of curiosities for sale, and many of the Zemindars became his followers. Urjun kept great state, and lived in

splendour unknown to his predecessors. He kept fine horses, and was clothed in costly raiments.

Before the time of Urjun, the Gooroos were clothed like fukeers, or beggars.

He lives at Umritsir, and places the Grunth there.

Towards the latter part of his reign he removed to Umritsir from Govindwal, and dwelt there. At Umritsir he constructed a large tank, and fixed on it as his place of residence; it was named *Hurmumder*, or God's house. The Grunth, or Holy Book, which had been begun and continued by his predecessors, was placed in the temple erected in the tank, and crowds frequented it for the purpose of bathing and hearing the Grunth read. The Chukkur Ram Dass was thus enlarged, and when the wealth of Urjun began to increase in horses, elephants, &c., his brothers began to envy him.

Builds Turuntara.

On this occasion, Urjun built another tank, at the distance of seven miles from Umritsir, naming it *Turuntara*, which means "cleansing water." Between Urjun and his brothers there was perpetual enmity.

Is childless.

Urjun remained long without issue, and on this account was much troubled and distressed in mind. He lamented his hard fate day and night. At last, the people advised him to go and consult Boodha, who was still alive, though a contemporary of Nanuk. It was at the suggestion and by the advice of this old man, that Urjun had constructed the tank at Umritsir. Urjun, therefore, resolved to visit Boodha, taking all his effects along with him. Boodha was then in his dotage, or almost an

Visits Boodha.

idiot, and seeing a crowd of men, elephants, camels, and carts coming towards him, enquired what they meant, and whither they were going? The people replied. "That is Gooroo Urjun." Boodha said, "What? Are the Gooroos running mad?" They answered, "No, Urjun is coming to see you, and requests the intercession of your prayers for a son." On hearing this, Boodha began to dance and clap his hands, reciting or singing the following lines :

"Beta hoga, beta ho,
Jiske jucsa hooa ne Ro;
Sub Bhayon ka ko sutaj
Ruhega wooh sub kee ilaj."*

When Urjun heard these words, he was delighted, and returned to his home. After a time Hur Govind was born. As a youth, he was full of wisdom, and eminently beautiful in appearance and form. At this time, Chundooshah was prime minister at Lahore, and there was enmity between him and Urjun, on the following account.

Chundooshah had a beautiful daughter, whom his father wished to bestow in marriage on his successor in office; this resolution he communicated to his friends, but they advised him to give her in marriage to Urjun's son, as he was a very comely youth. Chundooshah spurned the advice, and added "Though Urjun is a wealthy man and a Hindoo Gooroo, still he is a fukeer. I am like the

Hur Govind
born.

Feud with
Chundooshah.

* Meaning that there would be a son where none existed, and that all the Gooroos would exert themselves in procuring a remedy for Urjun's affliction.

He refuses to marry his son to the daughter of Chundooshah.

upper story of a house; he is like the drain for receiving the water." Being pressed, however, on the subject, Chundooshah consented to the match, and the marriage-presents were sent to the house of Urjun. One of the bystanders related the speech of Chundooshah to the Gooroo, and the comparison he had drawn between them. On hearing this, Urjun was very angry, and said "That Hindoo is a fool compared with me, and I will not allow my son to marry his daughter." When the presents were brought, the Gooroo refused his consent to the proposed union, adding, "He is a nobleman, I am a fukeer; he must be mad in wishing his daughter to wed my son."

Chundooshah entreated Urjun's forgiveness for the words he had used, and went himself to visit the Gooroo, taking with him nearly a lakh of rupees. On coming before Urjun, Chundooshah joined his hands and asked permission to address him; but the latter said it was useless, adding "Oh! Chundooshah, my words are engraved on stone, and cannot be washed out; I will never gainsay them; and were you to give the whole world as a dowry with your daughter, she shall never wed my son: this is fixed and irrevocable." On hearing these words, Chundooshah remained silent, but from that time meditated revenge against Urjun. "This man must have the blood of kings in his veins to refuse my offer," were Urjun's emphatic words on leaving the Gooroo.

About this time, the emperor Shahjehan wishing to visit Cashmere, had arrived at Lahore; and Chundooshah having obtained an audience, told the emperor, that a Hindoo fukeer had sprung up in the Punjab who assumed a state of royalty, and had crowds of people as his followers, who raised tumults and disturbances. Shahjehan expressed a wish to see Urjun, and a horseman was sent to fetch him.

The latter misrepresents the Gooroo to Shahjehan.

Urjun was brought before Shahjehan, who on seeing him exclaimed, "He has a fukeer's face; I will befriend him." He was then dismissed, but Chundooshah determined he should not depart, and resolved to murder him. Addressing the Gooroo, he said, "I will again bring you before the emperor tomorrow, when you must either defend your own cause, or be punished." On hearing these words, Urjun knew well that he would not escape with his life. When the night had passed and the sun rose in the heavens, Urjun requested leave to go to the ravee for the purpose of bathing, promising that he would afterwards return and do whatever was required of him. His request was granted. On reaching the river, the Gooroo plunged into it, sank and disappeared! It is related that Urjun's corpse was recovered from the water and burned by his disciples. There appears to be truth in this, as the tomb of Urjun exists near the gate of the musjid, or temple, within the city of Lahore. The tomb was elegantly built, with a dome covered with gold.

Resolves to murder Urjun.

The Gooroo drowns himself in the ravee.

Gooroo Urjun was drowned about the end of the reign of Shahjehan, in the year of the Hijera 1031, A.D. 1607, and Bk. 1664, after a reign of twenty-four years, nine months and a day.

Hur Govind
succeeds him.

When the news of Urjun's death reached Hur Govind, he was filled with grief. When the time of mourning was over, he ascended the throne of the Goroos.

Keeps armed
followers.

From every quarter disciples flocked around Hur Govind, bringing money and other presents. This Gooroo was a great warrior, and the first that took up arms. Before his time none of the Goroos entertained armed followers, but Hur Govind made them buckle on the sword and prepare for war.

Quarrels with
the king.

In the reign of Shahjehan, his son Dara Shiko governed the Punjab. He was a mild prince, and gave no trouble to religious sects, whatever their creed might be, and he was particularly friendly to Hindoo fukeers. Under his government, Hur Govind became a great man, and occasionally visited Dara, at Lahore. It is related, that a servant or follower of Hur Govind purchased a beautiful horse for his master. Some of the king's attendants seized the horse and carried him to Lahore; but the animal becoming lame, he was given to the cazee, or judge, and from the latter was purchased by Hur Govind for the sum of 10,000 rupees; the price however was not paid to the cazee, and on the second day Hur Govind departed with the horse from Lahore and reached Umritsir.

In return for the seizure of the horse, one of Hur Govind's servants carried off a white hawk belonging to the king. For these offences the king gave Mookhlus Khan orders to proceed with an army of 7,000 horse, to seize Hur Govind. On hearing of the approach of Mookhlus Khan, Hur Govind armed his followers to the number of 5,000 men, and prepared to meet him in battle. This appears to be the first time that the Sikhs assumed a really military character. In addition to his army, Hur Govind was possessed of a warlike spirit, and it will not therefore be surprising, that he defeated the royal troops; many of the latter were slain in the battle which ensued, and the rest fled with their leaders to Lahore.

An army sent against him.

The royal troops defeated.

Though successful in this first struggle, Hur Govind had the sagacity to perceive, that the anger of the king would only be appeased by his own overthrow and death; and he therefore wisely resolved to avoid a second encounter by concealing himself for a time, which he did in the jungle of Battinda, in the province of Hissar, where the ground was dry from a scarcity of water. The place where Hur Govind lay concealed, is named Gooroo-ka-kote, or the abode of the Gooroo, and is distant about fifteen miles from Kudoor. While in this jungle, great crowds became his followers and disciples, and among the rest Boodha, a notorious thief and freebooter. This man stole two horses from the king's stables at Lahore, and brought them to Hur Govind. The act incensed

Hur Govind conceals himself.

The royal troops vanquished a second time.

the king still more against the Gooroo, and a large army was sent against him, under the command of Kunmer Beg and Lal Beg. They crossed the Sutlej in search of Hur Govind, but the want of water so distressed the royal troops that they were unable to fight; and being easily defeated by the Gooroo, they fled to Lahore, leaving their two commanders slain on the field of battle.

This second successful trial of his strength with the king's troops rendered Hur Govind more daring than ever, and he resolved to recross the Sutlej. He arrived at Kurtarpoor, in the Bist Jalindhur, which had been built by Urjun, and here he collected a large army of horse and foot.

A third battle with the king's troops.

One of Hur Govind's followers was a Pathan, named Paendee Khan, but he had quarrelled with the Gooroo and escaped to Delhi, and requested troops from the emperor, for the purpose of seizing Hur Govind. These were readily granted, and on reaching the Punjab a battle was fought between the king's troops under this Pathan, and the Sikhs led by Hur Govind.

Hur Govind defeats them.

The conflict was a desperate one, and great valour was displayed on both sides, for the Mussulmans have always evinced a deep-rooted hatred for the Sikhs. Victory at length decided in favour of Hur Govind, who performed prodigies of valour, slaying many of the Mussulmans with his own hand, and among the rest Paendee Khan.

On the death of their leader, the king's troops fled in confusion, great numbers being slain.

Knowing well that the king would now send a larger force against him, Hur Govind fled to the hills; on his way he spent some days at Ruheela, on the right bank of the Beas, and eventually reached the mountains. He took up his abode at Heerutpore, on the right bank of the Sutlej, five miles from Anunpore. Hur Govind remained there until the day of his death.

Hur Govind resides at Heerutpore, and dies there.

Hur Govind had three wives, by whom he had five sons; whose names were Goorooditteh, Teghbuhadur, Soorut Singh, Anerat, and Uttulrao. The eldest, Goorooditteh, died during the lifetime of his father, but left a son named Hurao. Hur Govind had a great affection for this boy, and appointed him his successor.

Hur Gvind leaves five sons.

Hurao, his grandson, appointed his successor.

The mother of Teghbuhadur was very much displeased at this act of injustice, as she considered it, and accused Hur Govind of acting unfairly. Hur Govind told her to have patience, and assured her that Teghbuhadur would yet sit on his throne. "I give you in charge," continued her husband, "my arms for his use, and when he comes of age deliver them to him." After this the Gooro prayed, and departed this life in the year of the Hijera, 1063, A.D. 1639, and Bik. 1696. Hur Govind reigned thirty-one years, six months, and two days: his death took place on the 10th of March. His tomb is at Heerutpoor.

When Hur Govind died, his grandson ascended the throne of the Gooroos. He behaved in an insolent manner towards his uncle Teghbuhadur.

Hurao assists
Dara.

Aurungzebe
resolves to pu-
nish him.

Sends his son
Ram Rao to
Delhi.

Is retained at
court.

At this time the Emperor Aurungzebe was at war with his brother Dara. The latter came to Lahore, where he raised an army, and Hurao joined him with his troops; but on the defeat of the prince, and his flight to Mooltan, his allies the Sikhs returned to their homes, and Hurao went to Heerut-poor. When Aurungzebe slew Dara and imprisoned his father, he ascended the throne of the Moguls, and reigned happily. Recollecting the aid which Hurao had given to Dara, he resolved to punish him, and despatched the following message to the Gooroo. "If you have the power of raising yourself and becoming king, it is necessary that you answer my challenge." Hurao, after meditating on these words, was convinced that he could not meet the emperor with any chance of success, and resolved to send his son back with the messenger to Delhi. To Ram Rao, his eldest son, he entrusted the following humble epistle in reply to the royal challenge: "I am a fukeer, and have no other employment save that of praying for your majesty. I send my son as the bearer of this, as I cannot go myself, being at present engaged with business of importance. I hope your majesty will forgive me, and treat my son kindly."

When Ram Rao reached the imperial city, and appeared before the emperor as the bearer of his father's letter, Aurungzebe appeared pleased with its contents; and also with the ready answers given to all his questions by Ram Rao.

He therefore relented, observing, "There is no doubt of Hurao being a mere fukeer." Ram Rao was presented with a rich dress, and retained at court.

Shortly after this, in the year of the Hijera 1097, Death of Hurao. A.D. 1663, and Bik. 1720, after a reign of thirty-three years, six months, and fourteen days, Hurao died at Heerutpoor on the 9th of October.

On the death of Hurao, his youngest son, Hurkishen, Succeeded by Hurkishen. succeeded him in the Goorooship. No sooner had this news reached Ram Rao at Delhi, than he was greatly exasperated, observing, "I am the eldest son and rightful heir: how is it that Hurkishen usurps my place?" He addressed the emperor on the subject, remarking, "I left my father's house in order to appease your anger. I am now your servant, and hope your majesty will issue an order for Hurkishen to appear before you, when I will sustain my claims in your presence." Is summoned to Delhi. The emperor complied with his request, and issued a mandate for Hurkishen to repair to Delhi without delay. On receiving this order, the Gooroo was sore afraid, and exclaimed, "Unhappy man that I am, would to God that the small-pox might again afflict me, and cause my death!" After wandering to and fro, Hurkishen, at length, resolved to obey the order. When he reached Delhi, he alighted at the Serai, where the small-pox was then raging. The Gooroo was seized with the complaint, and Dies of small-pox. died in a few days. His death took place on the

14th of March, after a reign of two years, five months, and nine days. He was buried at Delhi, where his tomb was erected.

When Hurkishen was on his death-bed at Delhi, he was asked who should be his successor; and his reply was, "After me, Baba Bukala shall be Gooroo."

Bukala is the name of a village near Govindwal on the bank of the Beas; and when Hur Govind was on his way to the hills, he left several of his followers at that place, where they remained and flourished. Teghbuhadur's mother likewise lived there.

Disputes regarding a successor.

When Hurkishen's death was made known, and also his last words, all the Sodees of Bukala claimed the Goorooship! Teghbuhadur concealed himself, and never appeared in public. One of the followers of Hur Govind, named Mukhun Shah, resided at this time in Delhi; which he left, and arrived at Govindwal with presents for the Gooroo. All the Sodees collected around him, each claiming the presents! Mukhun Shah inquired, what Hurkishen had said regarding his successor. They replied, that he had appointed Baba Bukala. Mukhun Shah observed, "You do not understand his meaning: the ruler of Bukala is Teghbuhadur." He then carried his presents to the latter; but he, being a fukeer, would not receive them, answering, "Give them to some one else who is the king." Mukhun Shah, however, placed him on the throne of the Gooroos; and all the arms left with his mother by Hur Govind were delivered to her son.

Mukhun Shah decides the point.

Teghbuhadur, on observing this, said, "Take away these: do you forget that I am not Teghbuhadur the 'warrior of the sword,' but Deghbuhadur the 'knight of the cooking-pot?'" You must have mistaken me for some one else." This sally of wit, no doubt, operated in his favour, for he not only mounted the throne, but had speedily numerous followers, and become a greater Gooroo than his father Hur Govind. He quarrelled with the Sodees, and wanted to drive them out of Bukala, or murder them. At this juncture, Mukhun Shah again arrived from Delhi, and hearing the resolution of the Gooroo, he visited him and endeavoured to reason with him, and convince him of the danger sure to follow such an act. The Gooroo stated that the Sodees were all his enemies, and if he could not rid himself of them, it would be better that he should at once leave the place and accompany Mukhun Shah to Delhi. The latter agreed to his proposal, and they set out for that place.

Teghbuhadur becomes a great Gooroo. Quarrels with the Sodees.

Goes to Delhi.

Ram Rao, the son of Hurao, was then at Delhi, and hearing of the arrival of his grand uncle Teghbuhadur, he informed the emperor of the circumstance, who ordered the Gooroo to be brought before him. Some of the courtiers who were favourable to Teghbuhadur, remarked, "He is only a fukeer: what need is there to send for him?" On hearing these words, Alumgeer forbade his being sent for. When Teghbuhadur heard this, he left Delhi and went with his family to Petna. After a

Goes to Petna.

* Tegh means sword, and Degh a cooking-pot.

time the Gooroo returned to Delhi; and no sooner had Ram Rao heard of his arrival, than he went to the emperor, and requested that Teghbuhadur should be summoned before him. The Gooroo was alarmed when he received the order, for he knew well that he would not escape Ram Rao; he therefore again left Delhi, and took refuge with the Rajah of Kuhloor, in the hill states. In this rajah's territory there was a place named "Debee Mukho," and Teghbuhadur purchased it for 500 rupees. On it he built the town of Mukhowal, and dwelt there. By his wife Goojuree, Teghbuhadur had a son named Govind Rao, who was now fourteen years of age. Ram Rao hearing of his uncle's escape to the hills, was greatly enraged, and again besought the emperor to send for him. A horseman was accordingly despatched for this purpose. Teghbuhadur guessed the import of his message, and the intention of Ram Rao of taking away his life; he complied, however, with the order. Helpless and broken-hearted, the Gooroo prepared to depart, first sending for his youthful son Gooroo Rao, whom he addressed, after embracing him, in these words, "My son, they have sent for me for the purpose of taking away my life, but though they kill me, do not lament my death; you will be my successor, and do not forget to avenge my blood." Having thus spoken he appointed Govind Rao his successor, and gave him the arms of his father Hur Govind. He then departed with the horseman towards Delhi. When he reached that

Escapes to the hills.

Builds Mukhowal.

Is summoned to Delhi.

His address to his son.

Departs for Delhi.

city, he was thrown into prison by order of Ram Rao. Some days afterwards, he was sent for to the emperor's presence; who had no intention, however, of injuring him. Ram Rao, who was present at the interview, and at whose solicitation, it had taken place, addressed Teghbuhadur thus, "Oh! Teghbuhadur, you did wrong in ascending the throne of the Gooroos: shew now some cause for your doing so, or abide by the consequences." Teghbuhadur remained silent for some time, but at length spoke as follows: "The king requires no explanation from fukeers, and I am only one to offer up my prayers for his majesty; besides this I have nothing else to say, but offer up my prayers in adversity." Ram Rao on hearing this was greatly enraged, and told Teghbuhadur, that unless he gave some explanation of his conduct, he should not be liberated. At length the Gooroo gave this answer, "Since you wish it, I will give the explanation required. I will put a written paper round my neck, which you cannot cut with a sword." Having said this, and written on a piece of paper, he tied it round his neck, and then requested the emperor to order some one to cut it! The blow was made, and the head of the Gooroo rolled on the floor! The paper was then read and contained these words:—

Required to
defend him-
self.

Ingenuous
device.

Is slain.

*"Sir dya aur Sirr ne dya."**

* Literally, 'I gave my head, but not my secret!' The word "Sir" signifying head, and with an additional r, a secret. The ingenuity of the remark is lost in the translation.

His head
given to Muk-
hun Shah.

When the courtiers saw what occurred, they were astonished and confounded; the emperor himself was displeased, and dispersed the crowd. The corpse was interred, and the head given to Mukhun Shah, who kept it in his own house. This catastrophe happened in the year of the Hijera 1104, corresponding to that of the Christian era 1680, and in the 35th year of the reign of Alumgeer. Teghbuhadur reigned as Gooroo thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-one days.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF GOOROO GOVIND. HIS REFORMATION
OF THE SIKHS.

WHEN Teghbuhadur's murder was made known to Govind Rao, he was very much afflicted. He summoned all his followers and addressed them thus: "You know, my friends, that my father has been murdered at Delhi. I am left alone, but as long as I live I will never cease to avenge his death; should I die in the attempt, it matters not. His head is now at Delhi: is there any one among you who will bring it to me?" One man arose, and promised he would bring the head of Teghbuhadur to his son. Having obtained the head from Mukhun Shah, the man proceeded with it to the Punjab. One day Mukhun Shah addressed the emperor in the following words, "Please your majesty, a follower of Teghbuhadur has carried his master's head to Govind Rao. What is to be done with the body?" The king replied, "Let it be burned." This was accordingly done, and the

GoorooGovind
addresses his
followers.

A tomb erected at Delhi, and at Mukhwal.

ashes being collected, a tomb was erected over them at Delhi, near that of Hurkeshesis.

When Teghbuhadur's head arrived at Mukhwal, Govind Rao shed tears over it, and having burned it, he erected a tomb over the ashes. After performing the funeral rites to the memory of his father, Govind Rao determined on reforming the religion and manners of the Sikhs.

One day Govind inquired of a Brahmin well versed in history and other branches of knowledge, what the meaning of the saying was, that "One arrow might become many, and one man might kill a hundred." The Brahmin replied, "In such cases the Gods are present." Govind asked how he could secure their aid. The Brahmin replied, that besides Benares, he could obtain this knowledge from no other place. On hearing this, Govind selected a careful, steady man, whom he despatched to Kashi (Benares.) When he reached that place, he made enquiries regarding the Brahmins who could give the knowledge his master wanted; and after obtaining the proper person, he brought him with him to Govind Rao. Govind promised the Brahmin much wealth and riches for the knowledge he required, and the latter agreed to the terms, which were ratified by the burning of ghee.* Govind built a house for the Brahmin, near Mukhwal, and everything required by him was placed in it. These preparations occupied a

Govind procures a Brahmin from Benares.

* Butter made from the milk of the buffalo.

twelvemonth, at the end of which time, the Brahmin brought Govind Rao to see the preparations. A light was burned night and day in the house, and the Brahmin began to read munters (prayers.) When another year had passed, Debee, the goddess with eight feet and eight hands, was present! Then the Brahmin said, "I have now fulfilled my engagement, and you must supply my place so long as Debee is here. Do not be alarmed or afraid at what you may see." Govind having armed himself took the Brahmin's place, and waited for the appearance of Debee. He continued to read the munters and make vows. At length Debee appeared. The goddess had a frightful aspect, and Govind on seeing her became so alarmed and frightened, that he fainted, but soon recovering, he put himself in an attitude for defence, though he was unable to utter a word. Debee seized his sword by the handle, and left her mark on it; after this she disappeared. Govind at length recovered his senses and came forth. He related what had occurred to the Brahmin, and shewed him the mark; the latter said it was a good sign or token, adding, "From this time forth both you and your descendants will become conquerors with the sword, and make many proselytes. You will be governor of the country, and your punth, or tribe, will be celebrated among the Hindoos. Now, put out your fire and begin your preaching, for your vow is complete." Govind asked what doctrine he should inculcate. The Brahmin replied, "Now

Govind takes
the Brahmin's
place.

The goddess
appears, and
seizes the
Gooroo's
sword.

your fire is out, cast your head here." Govind replied, "If I do so, what shall I gain?" The Brahmin said, "Your son's head will answer equally well." Now Govind had four sons, named Zoojar Singh, Ajeet Singh, Futteh Singh, and Zorawur Singh. Govind on hearing the Brahmin's words sent a messenger to his mother Goojuree, requesting that she would send one of his sons, in order that he might sacrifice him as an offering to the gods. Goojuree replied, "My son Govind is mad: am I a fool to murder his child? I will never consent to this." She immediately concealed herself and the four boys in the fort of Mukhowal. Govind hearing that his mother disobeyed his orders, swore that if she did not comply he would murder the four children before her eyes; so that he should have no descendants. Finding that Goojuree was obstinate, and that there was no hope of obtaining one of his sons, he addressed his followers with a view of inducing some one to offer himself as a sacrifice. His appeal was for a long time fruitless, and Govind was so exasperated that he cursed them all.

One of his followers sacrificed.

At length his entreaties and imprecations were effectual, and five and twenty men offered their heads. Govind cut off one, and threw it into the fire; and after loading the Brahmin with presents he dismissed him.

Collects the Sikhs.

Govind then collected his followers and began to preach. He sent his disciples in every direction, and gave them orders to bring to him the followers

of Nanuk, and all the succeeding Gooroos to the time of Teghbuhadur who were scattered in the Punjab. They were to search every town and village, so as to leave none behind. In a short time vast crowds from all parts of the Punjab flocked around Govind, and when they were assembled, he stood up in the midst of them and addressed the people : “ My father Teghbuhadur His address. ordered me to avenge his blood, and with this view I have collected a large army, but money is required for its maintenance. Now, my friends, every one of you must prepare to obey my orders and contribute money.

“ In the next place you must be all of one mind, and adopt the same manners, and have the same religious belief. There must be no castes among you, Destroys castes. as exist among the Hindoos. You must be all equal, and no man greater than another. You must place no belief in the shasters, or religious books of the Hindoos. You must abstain from visiting any of the places of religious worship, such as the Ganges, Buddrenath, and pay no respect to any of their gods : pay respect to Gooroo Nanuk, and to none else. The four castes of the Hindoos are to be dissolved from henceforth.”

A reformation of this character was eminently calculated to please the lower castes of the Hindoos, who would thus be at once raised to a level with the Brahmins, whom they had been taught from their earliest infancy to respect as their superiors in every thing ; moreover, the meanness of their origin

would be concealed : mixing with the Chutrees, or "warrior caste," they would now fight side by side with men who formerly despised them. These were powerful inducements ; and Govind had no doubt learned from the Brahmin that these were the true means of gaining proselytes from the lower orders of the Hindoos. On the other hand, it was naturally to be expected, that the Brahmins and Chutrees would refuse such a proposal, and prefer retaining the broad distinction of caste, to mixing with men whom they had been taught to view with contempt.

The Brahmins
and Chutrees
desert him.

When the assembled crowd heard the words of Govind, many of the Brahmins and Chutrees accordingly rose, and said they would not obey the orders of Nanuk or the Goo Roos. They were, therefore, allowed to depart to their homes ; a few only of the Chutree and Veisya castes became proselytes, and the great body of Govind's followers consisted of the lowest, or Soodurs. The number, however, amounted to twenty thousand.

Next day, Govind collected his followers, and ordered them to bring him a large earthen vessel filled with water.

His wife brought him five kinds of sweets, viz. :—treacle, red sugar, white sugar, candied sugar, and honey ; which were put into the water. Govind was pleased with the present, and said the gift was acceptable as coming from a woman of whom all are born. "My followers, the Khalsa," added he, "will, therefore, be numerous and sweet-tongued."

Having mixed the sherbet, he selected ten men from among his followers, and performed the pahoo-dee.* He first mixed the sherbet with his sword, then blew or breathed on the latter. He put a little of the sherbet five times on the head, and sprinkled it on the eyes. Each of the ten men then drank five handfulls of the sherbet, and called out in a loud voice, "*Wah Gooroo jee ke Fulteh.*" The oath was then administered, and the men agreed to renounce the following tenets:—

- I. The Brahminical String.
- II. *Kurmuas*, or a belief in the transmigration of souls.
- III. *Keelnas*, or distinction of castes.
- IV. *Kelnas*, or division into trades.

The first of these was the most important point to be gained. Unless this was agreed to, Govind knew that his followers would soon be reclaimed by the Brahmins.

The second, or *Kurmuas*, is a doctrine in which Nanuk had faith; but Govind wished to remove it from the minds of his followers, as a belief in it would tend to make them less sanguinary than he considered desirable.

The third, or *Keelnas*, enjoins a strict alliance with one's family and friends of the same caste. By renouncing this, the Sikhs threw off all distinction of caste, and left home and relations.

The *Kelnas* enjoined the division of the people

* An oath or agreement.

into trades. This, as militating against a strictly military life, was inconsistent with Govind's plan.

Having agreed to renounce all these, it was agreed by the Sikhs that any infringement of them should be punished by a heavy fine.

Govind next bestowed on five of his followers the name of Khalsa; and the names of these individuals, as well as their former occupations, have been preserved. One was named Dhya Singh, a Chutree and native of Lahore. The second was called Sabit Singh, by trade a barber. The third, Himmut Singh, was of the Bearer caste, from Juggermath. The fourth, Dhurum Singh, was a Ját, from Hustempoor; and the fifth, Mokhum Singh, was a cloth-dyer, and a native of the holy city of Dwarakh, built, as the Hindoos believe, in the space of a night for the reception of Sree Keishen when about to leave Muttra!

The other five Govind named Moogutee: namely, Dewan Singh, Ram Singh, Shah Singh, Tebul Singh, and Futteh Singh.

Having thus selected and named his ten disciples, Govind taught them the tenets of his reformed religion, and thus addressed them, "As I gave the pahooldee to you, so do you bestow it on all the rest of my followers."

Govind Singh. From this time Govind tied up his hair in a knot,* and taking the oath himself, changed his name to Singh; and he was ever afterwards called

* Named Kes by the Sikhs:

Govind Singh. Having taken the pahooldee, he exclaimed:—

“Khalsa Gooroo se aur Gooroo Khalsa se hue. Ya ek doosra ka tobeedar hue.”*

After this, the ten disciples of Govind administered the pahooldee to the whole crowd; which was thus, in one day, converted into Singhs or Sikhs. Singha.

It has been surmised that Govind Singh, while a youth with his father at Patna, where he had gone from Delhi, had become acquainted with the religious tenets of the Hindoos, and that his sending for the Brahmin to Benares, was with the view of making a more powerful impression on his followers. But not only was Govind Singh well versed in the religion of the Hindoos, but likewise in that of Mahommed. He had studied attentively the writings regarding both religions; and he knew well the difficulties he had to contend with in obtaining proselytes from either. Nothing short of destroying the authority of the Brahmins and the system of caste, could enable him to make permanent converts from the Hindoos; and though Nanuk had not interfered with the religious or social institutions of the Hindoo or Moslem, recommending the pure worship of the Deity to both, Govind Singh determined to abide no longer by the peaceful doctrines of his great predecessor, but to use arms for purposes of conversion. Yet with great tact he appeals to his followers for their aid in avenging

Govind Singh well versed in Hindoo and Mahomedan literature.

* “The Khalsa arose from the Gooroo, and Gooroo from the Khalsa; they are the mutual protectors of each other.”

the murder of his father, concealing for a time the object he had in view, being no less than a thorough reform in the religion and manners of the Sikhs. The ceremony of pahooldee is represented differently by different historians. Some describe the ceremony as consisting in the feet being washed, and the water employed for this purpose being drunk; but in none of the works of the Mussulman authors is the slightest ground for such a practice to be found; they all agree that the ceremony described was the one employed by Govind Singh.

Since the time of this great reformer, several additional usages have been added to the customs of the Sikhs. It will be seen in the sequel, that to a disguise in blue cloth, Govind was indebted for his escape; and that colour is therefore esteemed by Ukalees, who wear turbans of blue.

Next to the worship of the Deity, ablution was recommended by Nanuk, and the Sikhs were accustomed to wash the body daily; the head, arms, and thighs were the parts to which water was applied, and the ablution was, therefore, named "punjnanish." The thighs were covered, but the legs below the knee were left bare. These peculiarities were observed by the followers of Nanuk, and still more rigidly enforced by Govind, who with great judgment adhered to the leading principles of Nanuk, though making many additions of his own; but what distinguishes Govind Singh from the first Gooroo, is the warlike character which he conferred on the Sikhs.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WARLIKE EXPLOITS OF GOVIND SINGH.

AFTER initiating his followers into the pahooldee, Govind determined on a religious warfare; and in order to excite them to action, he threw the greater part of his wealth into the Sutlej.

One day, a Sikh arrived from Scinde, bringing with him a couple of handsome bracelets, worth 50,000 rupees, or £5,000 sterling, for the Gooroo, and requested permission to fasten them on his wrists. Govind Singh, at first, refused; but the man continuing to urge his request, he at length complied. The Gooroo then went immediately to the river, and threw one of the bracelets into the water: the Sikh inquired what had become of it; and Govind said it had fallen into the river. On bearing this, the man procured a diver, and offered him 500 rupees if he would bring it up; the diver agreed, provided the place could be pointed out. On referring to Govind on this point, the Gooroo took off the other bracelet and threw it into the

Govind's
contempt for
wealth.

water, adding, "That is the place." The Sikh was astonished and gave up the search.

Costly presents brought to him.

On another occasion, a Sikh arrived from the Dekhan, bringing with him the following articles for the Gooroo, namely :—a sword, an elephant, a white hawk, a rich tent with gilded poles, and an Arab horse,

The hill rajahs hearing of these costly presents, came to visit Govind Singh for the purpose of seeing them.

Govind Singh ordered the tent to be pitched, and the howdah placed on the elephant, while the horse was saddled and bridled.

The hill Rajahs covet them.

On seeing these, the rajahs wished much to possess them.

The elephant and tent were coveted by Bheem Chund, the Rajah of Phulore; while Hurree Chund, the Rajah of Hindour, wished for the horse, sword, and hawk. The latter rajah seized the sword, but Govind remarked, "My follower has brought these things for me, and you can easily have them on my terms; which are that I first sit in the howdah with the hawk in my hand, the sword girded on my side, and the horse led before me. I shall afterwards sit in the tent."

Displeased with Govind's terms.

Govind in proposing these terms knew well, that the rajahs would either forego the articles altogether, or be annoyed at the conditions; in either case, he was prepared to act, and added, "If you want the tent, elephant, horse, sword and hawk, you are welcome to them after I have thus used them."

As he had anticipated, the rajahs began to abuse him, and threatened to punish him for his insolence in not delivering to them the articles without any terms, saying that in imposing such, he had insulted them.

The followers of Govind were already prepared ^{The Sikhs raise a tumult.} to avenge the insult offered to their leader, and speedily flew to their arms. The noise and tumult were increasing every moment, and there is little doubt that the lives of the rajahs would have been forfeited by their indiscreet behaviour, but a word from the Gooroo was sufficient to allay the uproar. They were already crying "Gooroo-jee-ke-futteh." Unfortunately for themselves, the rajahs had come with only a few followers, not knowing the strength of Govind, or despising them as a rabble.

At length the patience of the Sikhs was exhausted, and they were rushing on the rajahs, when Govind ^{Quelled by Govind.} waved his hand and ordered them to desist. They obeyed the order, though very unwillingly; and as they could not use their arms, they vented their abuse with unsparing tongues; a means of revenge still preserved among the Sikhs, particularly the Ukalees, the only Sikhs who at the present day, adhere strictly to the tenets of Govind.

By those who have witnessed a band of drunken ^{Abuse of the Ukalees.} Ukalees, almost in a state of nudity, brandishing their naked swords, and at the same time bawling out in abusive and obscene language, the scene now enacted by Govind's followers may be easily conceived.

Govind's
address.

As the crowd continued noisy and tumultuous, loading the rajahs with every term of abuse which a newly organised gang of religious fanatics could invent, Govind Singh addressed his followers, and said, "That though he was pleased to see their zeal in defending his honour, and avenging any insult offered to him, still the use of such language was not proper, and contrary to his wishes; nay, that in future they were not to behave in such a disorderly manner, since in mixing up the sherbet, at the pahooldee, he had prophesied—'That the Singhs would be a sweet-tongued nation.'"

On restoring peace, the rajahs speedily removed to a distance, and next day took their departure altogether.

The Rajahs
depart.

On reaching his own country, Bheem Chund threatened to extirpate Govind Singh and the whole race of the Sikhs.

Govind writes
to Mundunee
Purgas.

Govind Singh was soon made acquainted with his hostile intentions, and not being yet prepared to oppose him, he prudently resolved to take shelter with Mundunee Purgas, to whom he immediately despatched a letter, expressing a wish to reside in his country, and in case of Mundunee Purgas going to war with the Rajah of Hindour, he would assist him with 50,000 fighting men.

Favourable
answer.

Purgas returned a polite answer, inviting the Gooroo to visit him, and promising him aid and protection against his enemies.

On receiving this favourable reply, Govind Singh left Mukhowal and resided at a ghaut on the Sutlej, where he built the strong fort of Ghurpunote.

The hill rajahs lost no time in carrying their threats against Govind into execution, and for this purpose collected a large army.

They soon reached the fort and dug covered ways around it. At this time Govind Singh had five pathans in his service, each holding a command of 100 horsemen. These men resolved to desert him and join the enemy, in order to participate in the spoils of the fort. They therefore wrote to the rajahs, offering the services of themselves and their followers, provided they should share in the pillage of the fort. The rajahs readily agreed to their terms, and next day the five pathans, whose names were Kali Khan, Bheem Khan, Nujabut Khan, Dhyad Khan, and Choor Khan, went to Gooroo Govind and requested their discharge. The Gooroo was astonished at the demand, and that at a time when he most wanted their services; he therefore replied, "Is ~~this~~ the reward I receive for all my kindness to you?—and is it now when I require your services that you wish to leave me?"

Five Pathans
resolve to
desert Govind.

It may be here stated, that though Govind had as previously noticed, 20,000 followers, who became in one day Sikhs or Singhs, yet among such a crowd of low-caste men, there were comparatively few who knew anything of the art of war. Under such circumstances, he was obliged to engage the services of the Mussulmans, who were then, as now, the best soldiers in Hindostan, particularly as cavalry. It was not difficult to secure

for this purpose great numbers of pathans, who were in general faithful servants. Govind on the present occasion was well aware of their value, and he offered them any sum of money, if they would remain with him; they, however, refused to listen to any terms, and were, in consequence, discharged. When Govind's followers saw the 500 horsemen leaving the fort, they became alarmed, as they knew well that in the mounted branch they had no chance with the horsemen, even of the hill rajahs.

Govind saw that the desertion of the pathans had produced a bad effect, and he lost no time in addressing his people, advising them to be at ease so far as regarded the pathans, since they were a vile ungrateful set of rascals, whose absence was rather to be wished for, as their presence could be of no use to him.

After quitting the fort, the pathans repented of their act, and wished to return; but they were pursued and cut to pieces, and only a few of their numbers reached the rajahs.

Next day, a fierce attack was made on the fort, which was defended by Govind Singh with great bravery; vast numbers were killed on both sides, and among the rest Hurree Chund, the Rajah of Hindour. His followers, on seeing their leader fall, fled in great disorder, and others soon followed their example. Govind Singh pursued the fugitives, and slaughtered great numbers.

After this decisive victory, the Gooroo proceeded

An attack
made on the
fort.

The Rajahs
defeated.

to Mukhowal and sat on his father's throne. This place is among the lower hills near the Sutlej.

When Govind Singh had established himself at Mukhowal, he set to work in erecting fortifications. Builds four forts. He built four new forts, viz.—Anundghur, Futtehghur, Soghur, and Mooghulghur. In these he placed all his military stores.

In the course of two years Govind subdued the Extends his conquests. country around him, extending his conquests as far as Roopur, on the left bank of the Sutlej.

He took possession of the whole tract of country thus obtained; and the hill Rajahs being unable to oppose Govind, they became alarmed lest he should expel them from their dominions, and seize their country.

They therefore addressed a letter to the emperor, complaining of the encroachments of the Goo- The rajahs request the Emperor's aid, which is granted. roo, and requesting aid in order that they might oppose his further aggressions.

On receiving this letter, the emperor ordered Zuburdust Khan, the governor of Lahore, and Shums Khan, the ruler of Sirhind, to afford aid to the hill rajahs against Govind Singh, and keep them in possession of their kingdoms.

On receiving this order, the two ameers collected Mukhowal surrounded. large armies, and advanced towards the hills. The rajahs having united their forces with those of the ameers, the whole proceeded towards Mukhowal, which they surrounded.

For the space of seven months the war was carried on outside the forts, with various success. At

the end of this time, Govind Singh retreated to his strongest fort, and shut the gates on the besiegers. After a short time, however, his provisions were exhausted, and the followers of the Gooroo determined to desert him. At this same time, the mother of Govind Singh, who was in the fort with his two sons, Futteh Singh and Zorawur Singh, wrote to the rajahs requesting permission to leave the fort with her two grandsons; and the request being granted, Goojuree departed with the two boys during the night. Several of the Sikhs accompanied her, and she fled to Sirhind. When the Gooroo heard of his mother's flight, he was very angry, exclaiming, "She has left me, but how can she escape?—my two boys will be killed." When Goojuree reached Sirhind, she concealed herself and her grandsons in the house of a Hindoo. But the collector of Sirhind, named Kulgus Rao, on hearing the intelligence that Govind Singh's mother and sons were in the city, ordered the two boys to be buried alive under the city wall! Goojuree died of grief at the sad fate of her grandsons.* Govind Singh being now reduced to the last extremity, his followers proposed leaving him. For this he abused them as cowards, and throwing open the gates, ordered them to make one more

Govind's mother leaves the fort with his two sons.

She reaches Sirhind, where Govind's two sons are murdered, and Goojuree dies of grief.

His followers desert him.

* The cruel murder of Futteh Singh and Zorawur Singh, the sons of Gooroo Govind, has never been forgotten by the Sikhs, and no Sikh passes Sirhind without taking away a brick and throwing it into the Sutlej; and the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh is said to have carried away two. This is done to mark their detestation of the cruel and cold-blooded murder of the two sons of their great Gooroo and reformer.

effort and try the fortune of war. "If we die," added the warlike Gooroo, "I shall be esteemed a warrior, and your memory will be revered; if we conquer, then the country will be ours. To die cowards is base, to die warriors is glorious." No one listened to this address, and at length, they wrote a letter to Govind, stating that they would obey him no longer. After this they left the fort.

CHAPTER V.

THE ADVENTURES OF GOVIND SINGH AFTER LEAVING
MUKHOWAL.

Forty of his
followers re-
main with
Govind.

THE Sikhs on leaving Mukhowal, were surrounded by the enemy, and the greater part of them killed; those that escaped fled to the Punjab. With Govind Singh, only forty men remained; and enraged as he then was, he ordered them to depart likewise; but they refused, and replied, that "they would gain nothing by going away, and they therefore resolved to stand by their Gooroo, and lose their heads in his defence." They implored him at the same time, to forgive the Sikhs who had abandoned him, and tear up the letter which they had addressed to him. Admiring their fidelity, Govind, at length, yielded to their request, and destroyed the letter in their presence.

Escapes to
Chum Kowah.

Taking his forty followers with him, Govind Singh made his escape to the fort of Chum Kowah, below Roopur, and there concealed himself and shut the gates. He was speedily pursued by his enemies, who surrounded the fort. Govind was in

great want and distress. He prepared to die, and addressed his sons and followers to this effect:—

“Excepting death, there is no help for us. You His address. must have brave hearts, and meet death with fortitude. Your death will not go unrevenged if I live.” Among his followers, there was a man who closely resembled Govind. To him the Gooroo gave his arms, desiring him to escape over the wall, and open the gates to the rest in the morning. His followers sally out of the fort, and are all slain. They were then to fall on the enemy and slay as many as possible. These orders were strictly obeyed, and the gallant band, including two sons of Govind, slew great numbers of the enemy, but were themselves killed, with the exception of five men. The enemy believed that Govind had likewise fallen, when they saw the Sikh dressed in his armour fall; so that the Gooroo was enabled to make his escape, and was joined by his five follow- Govind escapes. ers. They all left Chum Kowah without knowing where they should proceed; at some distance from the fort, Govind met Nunee Khan and Ghunee Khan, two Mussulmans, who had formerly received some kindness at the hands of Govind, and though now in the service of the hostile rajahs, the men were kind to the Gooroo, and expressed their willingness to be of service to him.

Arriving at the enemy's outposts, the Gooroo and his party were challenged by the sentry, who called for a light to examine them, but they speedily despatched the man, continued their flight, and arrived Reaches Belalpore. at Belalpore.

It would seem that considerable attention had been paid by Teghbuhadur to the education of his son, and not only was the latter well versed in every thing connected with Hindoo literature, but likewise with the Persian language, and the works of Mussulman writers. His preceptor in the latter had been a man named Kazeer Meer Mahomed, who, at this juncture, was residing at Belalpore, and who, meeting Govind and his followers, immediately recognised the former. Meer Mahomed was pleased at again seeing his former pupil, and informed the Gooroo, that the royal army was then encamped at the place, and that without disguising himself he would most assuredly be captured. At the suggestion of his friend the Kazeer, Govind changed his garments, and both he and his followers clothed themselves in blue and untied their hair.* When Govind had thus disguised himself and his followers, and taken a friendly farewell of the Kazeer, they proceeded toward Mucheewarrah. They were nearly surprised by an ameer, but their dress and long hair deceived the latter into the belief that they were Mussulmans.

Meets his former teacher, who aids him.

He and his followers disguise themselves.

Reaches Mucheewarrah.

On reaching Mucheewarrah, Govind went to the house of a Chuttree, named Goolaba; near this stood a mosque, the Moolah of which recognised

* The circumstance of undoing the hair, which was religiously kept tied in a knot by the Sikhs, was the most likely method to prevent their being recognised. They never have recourse to this measure, unless in cases of most imminent danger. Everything connected with Govind Singh during his disastrous flight, is religiously treasured in the memory of the Sikhs.

the Gooroo, and began to abuse him as a kaffir and an unbeliever. To prevent discovery, Goolab offered money to the Mussulman to preserve silence, but the deeprooted hatred of the Mussulmans to the Sikhs was manifested in the present instance. As the Moolah had thus an opportunity of insulting the head and chief of the Sikhs, he was resolved to make his victim commit the greatest infringement possible of the religious tenets of the Sikhs.

Insulted by a Moolah.

It is well known with what reverence the Hindoos treat the cow, and this is shared in an equal or even greater degree by the Sikhs; and the Moolah resolved that Govind should eat cow's flesh.

He accordingly ordered one to be slaughtered in his presence, and had some of the flesh cooked; it was then placed before the Gooroo, and the Moolah swore if he did not partake of it, he would kill him; adding, "I shall now have my revenge in either case, since your compliance will convince people that your pretensions to be a Hindoo or Sikh are false, and you will forfeit all claim to the title of a Gooroo."

Who causes him to eat cow's flesh.

It was a trying situation for Govind, who after turning over the meat with his iron knife, cut it into pieces and ate it.*

* This occurrence is a memorable one among the Sikhs, and none of them will ever eat his victuals without first turning them over with a knife, in imitation of the great Gooroo. There is another version of Govind's adventure at Mucheewarrah, which is believed to be the true one. It is said that Govind Singh remained there in a dyud's house, and gave him an axe for his kindness. This article remained in the dyud's family for many

On the following morning Govind departed from this hateful place, and arrived at Kunneejah, a village about three miles from Loodianah. There lived at this place a follower of Govind, and from him the Gooroo begged a horse; this was, however, refused, and Govind upbraided him as an ungrateful coward.

Is joined by
numerous
followers.

Proceeding from thence, he reached the village of Jalpoorah, about ten miles distant from Rhaekote. Here he stayed eight days, and assuming his proper attire, he went into the jungles. In this part of the country, there were numerous followers of Teghbuhadur and Hur Govind; who no sooner heard of Govind's arrival, than they flocked around him to pay their respects and congratulate him on his safety, as the report of his death had, no doubt, reached them, for he was supposed to have been slain at Chumkawah.

Reaches Kote
Kapoorah.

After some days, Govind reached Kote Kapoorah, and remained there a short time, to recruit his health and strength; both of which had suffered during his disastrous retreat, attended, as this had been, by great privation and fatigue.

years, and was at length given to the Rajah of Putteala, who, in return, paid to Dyud Mahomed, and Allee Shah, the sum of 500 rupees, as well as bestowed on them and their descendants, a grant of land in perpetuity. It is also mentioned that Govind bestowed on the person furnishing him with the blue cloth at Belalpore, his dagger (khubar), which was obtained some years ago by Hurree Singh, Nulwa, and presented by him to Lord Combermere. This gallant Sikh afterwards fell, while gallantly defending the fort of Jumrood in 1837.

From this place he journeyed to Moogutsir, and here all the Sikhs who had deserted him again collected. The number of Govind's followers now amounted to twelve thousand men, including horse and foot soldiers.

Arrives at
Moogutsir.

The news of Govind's escape, and of his being again at the head of a large army, quickly reached Sirhind, and the sirdar of that place lost no time in collecting troops, with which he pursued the Gooroo. The Mussulmans amounted to seven thousand fighting men, while Govind's force was much larger in number, though inferior in discipline. The Sikhs were, however, determined to conquer or die.

Is pursued by
the Governor
of Sirhind.

A battle took place near Moogutsir, in which Govind was victorious. Great numbers were slaughtered on both sides; and the Gooroo harangued and complimented his soldiers on their bravery; encouraging them, at the same time, to fresh exertions in expelling the enemy. The place which Govind had judiciously chosen as his abode, was in the arid desert, where no water was procurable, except from a few tanks which he held in his possession. The Mussulmans, unable to obtain any water, fled and were pursued by the Sikhs; numbers of them perished.

The latter is
defeated.

Govind's victory was complete, and the news of it spread far and wide, so that great crowds resorted to his standard. His army increased daily; and peace being now restored, he remained at Moogutsir.

Ordered by
Aurangzebe
to the Dekhan.

In the meantime the battles fought by Govind Singh in the hills and plains were well known to the Emperor Alumgeer,* who was then in the Dekhan. The news of Govind's late successes disturbed the Emperor, and he issued a mandate for the Gooroo to repair to the Dekhan, and give an account of his doings.

* Aurungzebe.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEATH AND CHARACTER OF GOVIND SINGH.

WHEN the messenger reached Govind and delivered the "royal firman," the Gooroo kissed it and placed it on his head; he treated the bearer of it with great distinction, and provided a house for him. After reading the "firman," Govind addressed the messenger as follows:—"I am the Emperor's dependent; in no way do I disobey him, and I have only one request to make, namely: that he will allow me to make out a statement of my numerous wrongs for his perusal, and if, after this, it be the royal wish, I am ready to accompany you." It has been already mentioned, that Govind had a knowledge of the Persian language, and he was besides a poet. He, therefore, composed a poem in that language, occupying fourteen hundred stanzas. In this, he gave a full and glowing account of the persecutions which he had suffered, not only in his own person, but those of his father and grandfather.

Receives the order with great respect.

Govind writes a poem, detailing his grievances.

This poem was finished in a few days, and the substance of it may be shortly recapitulated. He stated that the Emperor Akhbar had given his ancestor, Ram Dass, a certain grant of land, and that at that time, no cause of quarrel existed between the Gooroo and the Emperor, who, on every occasion, befriended the poor fukeers. His predecessor Nanuk believed in one God, and never swerved from that belief. At length, a Hindoo named Chandooshah, quarrelled with Gooroo Urjun, and the royal army afterwards attacked Hur Govind, and there were several battles fought between them. The Gooroo was obliged to flee to the hills; but even there he was persecuted. The poem goes on:—

“ At the instigation of Ram Rao, my father, Teghbuhadur, was sent for by your majesty; and, through the deceit of Ram Rao, was cruelly murdered in your presence. He had gone to Patna for the purpose of worship; and, on his return to Delhi, was again oppressed, and obliged to take shelter with a hill rajah. There he remained some time unmolested; but at the instigation of his cruel and unrelentiug brother, he was once more ordered to proceed to Delhi. From long suffering, oppression, and tyranny, my father had become tired of life, and longed for death; which he, at length, obtained by an ingenious contrivance, and his head was severed from his body in your royal presence.

“ I was then a mere youth, and nearly died of

grief on hearing of the cruel murder of my father. I was alone and friendless in the world ; but I was resolved to avenge his death, and establish the Sikhs on a firmer footing. I reformed their religion, and obtained numerous followers. The rajahs who had been at feud with my father, made war against me, and I vanquished them.

“ The governors of Lahore and Sirhind were sent by your orders to their assistance, and I was surrounded in my fort at Mukhowal. I was reduced to great extremities ; and, to add to my distress, my mother, taking with her my two sons, escaped from the fort to Sirhind : the collector of that place cruelly buried my two boys alive, under the wall of the city, contrary to all the laws of God and man.

“ This unheard-of tyranny drove me to despair ; and, helpless as I now was, my followers deserted me, leaving me with only forty men, and my two sons. These brave men sallied out in the morning from the fort, killed great numbers, and were at length slaughtered, with the exception of five. I escaped through the wall, and we fled. We passed the enemy's camp, and were pursued like a flock of goats before the tiger. I wandered from village to village, nowhere finding a resting-place, until, at length, I reached the desert and concealed myself. The news of my safety and arrival were no sooner spread, than all my scattered followers joined me, and I had soon a large army at my disposal.

“ The governor of Sirhind again pursued me, and I met him in battle, where his troops were beaten and fled, as there was no water in the desert which I inhabited.

“ Seeing that I have now lost all my family and relations, as well as my dearest friends, who have been torn from me, I am tired of the world, and willing to quit it. Besides God, I have now no supporter. I fear no human being, and if I die I know that my death will be avenged.

“ What I have told your majesty is the truth, and if you still require my presence, I will obey the order after you have read this letter.”

Despatches his letter to the emperor, along with five Sikhs.

Having finished the account of his wrongs and sufferings, Govind Singh sealed the letter and dismissed the messenger with it, loading him with presents ; he also sent along with him five Sikhs.

When Alumgeer presented the letter, he saw that he had been deceived in the accounts given him of the Gooroo, and was convinced that Govind Singh was no other than he represented himself; namely, a harmless fukeer.

The emperor sent for the five Sikhs and conversed with them. He was pleased with their appearance and address, and bestowing dresses of honour on them, he dismissed them with a letter and valuable presents for Govind Singh. The letter was to the effect, that if the Gooroo would come to the Dekhan, the emperor would receive him kindly.

The five Sikhs, on their return to Govind, were loud in their praise of the emperor. After this Govind Singh dwelt in peace; but, at length, resolved to visit Alungeer. He accordingly set out, but on the road heard of the death of the emperor.

The latter return to Govind, who departs for the Dekhan.

When Govind Singh reached the Dekhan, he found that Buhadoor Shah, who had made war on his brother Azine Shah and conquered him, was emperor.

When Buhadoor Shah was made acquainted with all the sufferings of the Gooroo, and the tyranny exercised towards him by the governors of Lahore and Sirhind, he bestowed presents on Govind, consisting of rich tents, elephants, horses, and the like, and appointed him to the command of five thousand horsemen, and Govind thus remained in the emperor's service.

It is said, that one day a Pathan brought a horse for sale to Govind; the price of the animal was 7,000 rupees, which the Gooroo promised to pay, but delayed doing so from day to day. At length, the Pathan seeing that smooth words had no effect, began to use intemperate and abusive language to Govind, and, drawing his sword, attacked the latter; Govind, however, defended himself, and wresting the Pathan's sword out of his hand, he severed his head from his body.

Kills a Pathan.

Govind speedily repented of this act, and sending for the son of the murdered Pathan, he bestowed money and presents on him.

Becomes tired
of life.

Having lost all his family, and being separated from his people, the Gooroo became tired of life.

One day he addressed the young Pathan thus, "I am the murderer of your father, and if you do not avenge his death, you are a rascal and coward." The lad, however, respected Govind, and resolved to make his escape.

Is stabbed.

It happened that Govind and the young Pathan were one day playing chess together, and the Gooroo began taunting his adversary as usual, until at length the lad grew enraged, and drawing a dagger, plunged it into Govind Singh.

The wound was a small one, but a portion of Govind's entrails escaped through it. People ran in all directions in pursuit of the murderer, for the purpose of killing him; but this Govind strictly forbade, and added, "the man was only avenging an injury; it was by my own advice that he committed the deed which has removed his father's blood from my hands. Permit him, therefore, to go where he pleases."

Mode of his
death.

The wound was sewed up, and to all appearance, healing, but Govind was determined to die. He called for a strong bow, which he bent with all his force, and in doing so the stitches of his wound gave way, his bowels again protruded, and he died almost immediately.

This event occurred in the year of the Hijera 1132, Sawun 1765, and A.D. 1708, at the city of Nadshur, in the reign of Buhadoor Shah.

The tomb of Gooroo Govind Singh is half a mile

from the city. The Sikhs call it Aphullanuggur, and crowds of them frequent it, and are fed by the Nawab of Hydrabad.

Gooroo Govind Singh reigned thirty years and eleven months.

If we consider the work which Govind accom- His character.plished, both in reforming his religion and instituting a new code of laws for his followers; his personal bravery under all circumstances; his persevering endurance amidst difficulties, which would have disheartened others, and overwhelmed them in inextricable distress; and, lastly, his final victory over his powerful enemies by the very men who had previously forsaken him, we need not be surprised that the Sikhs venerate his memory. He was, undoubtedly, a great man; and enjoying as he did the knowledge of both Mussulman and Hindoo religions, he was well fitted for instituting a new system of his own, which would secure to him all the lower castes of the Hindoos. He knew well that so long as the Hindoos adhered to caste, and respected the Brahminical string, it would be in vain to expect proselytes; and he, therefore, destroyed this powerful bond of union among the Hindoos, and thus brought the high caste Brahmin on a level with the Soodur. He next proceeded to destroy the distinctive form of the Chuttree caste, which contained the fighting-men among the Hindoos, and this he did by raising the two lowest castes to a level with the Chuttree as soldiers.

A capacity for war was necessary, not only for the purpose of amalgamating, as it were, the four castes of the Hindoos, but for the maintenance of the numerous followers of Govind; and to stimulate his people to aggression, he threw away all his private wealth, so that being divested of any property or the means of living, the only alternative left for the Sikhs was the forcible acquisition of spoil and territory.

Having created a military race, the next question which suggested itself to Govind, was the art of overcoming a superior force. Besieged in his fort of Mukhowal, it was impossible for him to contend, with any prospect of success, against enemies, supported as they were by the disciplined troops of the Mussulmans. His only chance was a sudden attack on his besiegers, and this he at once recommended; but his followers, intimidated, or probably reduced in bodily strength by want of supplies, were disheartened and unable to fight. When in the jungles and in a position chosen by himself, they shewed no want of courage, and their victory was rendered complete, by the foresight of their leader in seizing upon the only supplies of water afforded by a few tanks. But now their hearts failed them. Seeing that he was not yet prepared to compete with Alumgeer, or wrest from his grasp the territories lying on both sides of the Sutlej, as well as the different Doabs, Govind humbled himself, and even accepted employment from his powerful rival. Worn out by previous

misfortune, alone in the world, as he feelingly describes himself, and foreseeing, no doubt, that his followers might again desert him in time of need, or when adverse fortune should render him helpless, he resolved to desist from his warlike career, and leave to his successors the task of completing the conquests which he had begun; satisfied that he had secured materials for such a purpose in the reformation of the people.

The outline of Govind's exploits, is derived from Mussulman historians; but the Gooroo himself relates many particulars not contained in their works. It appears, from his own account, that he was born at Patna, when his father went there from Delhi to avoid the continued resentment of Ram Rao. When deserted by his followers, Govind said, "The man who does this (deserts his Gooroo) shall have neither child nor offspring. His aged parents shall die in grief and sorrow, and he shall perish like a dog, and be thrown into Hell to lament." The two sons of Govind left with him after the flight of his mother with his two younger ones, appear to have been brave men; Ajeet Singh, especially. It is recorded of Ajeet, that when an insulting message was brought to his father, from the Mussulman camp, "The youth seized his cimeter, and addressing the messenger, exclaimed, 'If you utter another word, I will humble your pride; I will smite your head from your body, and cut you to pieces, for daring to speak such language before our chief.' The blood of the envoy

boiled with rage, and he returned with this answer to his master." The Sikh writers, in relating the fall of this brave man at Chunkowah, thus describe his death.—“ Some fought, some fled, Ajeet Singh covered with glory departed to Swarga (Heaven.) Indra, first of the gods, (Devatus) advanced with the celestial host to meet him; he conducted him to Devapur, the city of the gods, and seated him on a celestial throne; having remained there a short time, he proceeded to the region of the sun.” Thus “ Ajeet Singh departed in glory, and his fame extends over three worlds, for the fame of the warrior lives for ever.”—*Malcolm.*

Many instances are given of the personal bravery of Govind Singh during the siege of Mukhowal. He killed with his own hand Nahar Khan, and wounded Kivajeh Muhammad, leaders of the Emperor's troops. The Gooroo describes his war with Bheem Chund in the true Ossianic style, “ The warriors advanced like a stream of fire consuming the forest.”—*Malcolm.*

Some relate that Govind Singh died in the Punjab; others that he went to Patna, and ended his days there; but the true account appears to be that he died, as already related, in the Dekhan. Aware that since the death of his brave sons there was none among his adherents capable of following up his views and conquests, he fixed upon a Byragee fukeer, named Bunda, who became his successor, though not as Gooroo. That title died with Govind Singh, the tenth and last.

CHAPTER VII.

THE HISTORY OF THE BYRAGEE BUNDA.

BEFORE the death of Govind, it is related that some of his followers told him one day, that there was a fukeer, of the Byragee caste, who was not only a great warrior, but likewise a magician. They added, "whoever attempts to sit in his presence without his permission, he causes instantly to fall down." The curiosity of Govind was raised at hearing this account of the Byragee, and he determined on paying him a visit, and conversing with him.

Next day he proceeded with a number of Sikhs to Bunda's hut, and entering it, seated himself without asking the Byragee's leave. Bunda observed this unwarrantable freedom, and was very wroth. He began to use his art in the hope of unseating Govind. He in vain read munter after munter; the Gooroo kept his seat firmly. When Bunda observed this, he rose and prostrated himself before Govind Singh, entreating that the latter would

Govind visits
Bunda, and
converts him.

explain to him the cause of his honoring his poor abode with a visit, asking at the same time his name. Govind replied, "You know who I am." The Byragee rejoined, "How should I know?" Govind merely added, "Think over this matter." Then Bunda enquired if he were Gooroo Govind Singh. The latter responded, "Yes." Bunda again asked the purport of his visit; and Govind answered, "To make you a convert." Bunda immediately consented, received the Pahooldee, and became a Sikh. Govind Singh then took Bunda along with him. Some days after this occurrence, Govind sent for Bunda, and having seated him, delivered to him his dying words (wusseequt,) "You are appointed my successor," exclaimed the Gooroo; "You must be a warrior, and avenge the blood of my father and grandfather, as well as that of my sons. Do not fear death." Govind then took five arrows from his quiver, and delivering them to Bunda, added, "Do not approach a woman, and keep these five arrows: so long as you obey this order, no misfortune will happen to you; if you forget my orders, or disobey them, then you shall die." Bunda received the arrows, and promised to obey faithfully the injunctions of the Gooroo.

Appoints him
his successor.

His dying
injunctions to
Bunda.

When Govind Singh died, and his followers were left without a leader, they began to disperse themselves. Many resuming their former occupation, became cultivators of the earth, others learned trades.

This occurred in the Dekhan, and the Sikhs

of the Punjab hearing of Govind's injunctions to Bunda, resolved to bring him to the Punjab.

On the death of Buhadoor Shah, the second son of Alumgeer, and the decline of the Mogul Empire, the whole of Hindostan was in an unsettled state. In the latter end of the reign of Furokshere, about the year of the Hijera 1130, Bunda wishing to possess the country of the Punjab, resorted thither, in company with the Sikhs, who had gone to fetch him.

Bunda resolves to subdue the Punjab.

When he reached Mulu Kotilah, Bunda found there his grandson, named Atma Ram, a Byragee fukeer, whom he wished to accompany him; but Atma refused, adding, "I am a wandering fukeer, and not used to bloodshed and fighting. You will never be a king, and will lose your life." Bunda took no notice of this warning, and next day departed with his followers for Sirhind, which, as the scene of the murder of Govind's two sons, he was determined to destroy. On reaching the place Bunda set fire to the city, and murdered all the inhabitants, neither age nor sex was spared; every one was slaughtered indiscriminately, to avenge the murder of Govind's sons; and the city was razed to the ground.*

Burns Sirhind.

Bunda then crossed the Sutlej and employed fire and sword wherever he went. No place escaped, and none could oppose his progress; he pillaged every where. The inhabitants of the

Crosses the Sutlej.

* "The carcasses of the dead were even dug up and exposed to be devoured by beasts of prey."—*Malcolm*.

Approaches
Wittala.

Punjab fled at his approach in the utmost dismay. He next crossed the Beas, and marched to the city of Wittala. On hearing of the approach of this murderous incendiary, the inhabitants were divided in opinion as to what measures were to be adopted; one party proposed to abandon the place with their families, while the other urged a strenuous defence.

Sheikh Oolhud
advised the
defence of the
city.

At this time Synd Muhommed Fuzil Gilanee, escaping along with some fukeers, fled from Wittala and reached the village of Sultanpore, in the Bist Jalindhur. The leader of the opposite party was Sheikh Oolhud, who was also a Synd and had lately arrived at Wittala. This man encouraged the people to fight and prepare for a siege.

Bunda with his army arrived at the Uchur Tank, two miles from the city, and encamped near the temple or musjid.

Is slain.

The inhabitants, by the advice of Sheikh Oolhud, shut the gates and prepared to defend the walls, while the Sheikh himself went out to meet Bunda. On reaching the road he made a bold stand, but, was quickly overpowered and slain. The corpse of this brave man was carried to Wuzeerabad, about two miles from Kotilah, and there interred: his descendants remain at that place to the present day.

Bunda burns
and pillages
Wittala.

Bunda broke open the gates and entered the city, to which he set fire, beginning with the house of Cazeer Abdoollah. The wife of the latter had hid all the treasure in a terrace before the house.

The college, or mundruss, of Fyzul shared the same fate. Bunda, after burning and pillaging Wittala, murdered all the inhabitants, and then took his departure.

The city of Lahore was next burned and pillaged, and the whole of the inhabitants put to the sword. Lahore shares the same fate.

The Byragee then crossed the Ravee, and went towards Jummoo.

When the Emperor Furokshere heard of the desolation committed by Bunda, he sent Ubdoolsum-Ubdoolsum- mud sent mud sent against Bunda. against Bunda, as Governor of the Punjab, to stop the ravages of this fanatic. On reaching Lahore, the

Governor lost no time in pursuing Bunda, and a great battle was fought between them at the foot of the hills, and Bunda was defeated. Bunda is defeated. He shut

himself up in a hill-fort, which was besieged for a long time. At length provisions becoming scarce, his followers began to desert him, and concealed themselves in the jungles and villages, where many of them were killed. His followers at length were reduced to a very small number, and the Mussulmans observing this, attacked them and slew nearly the whole. Bunda and a few others were taken And is taken prisoner. prisoners. He was taken before Ubdoolsum-

mud, who resolved to send him to Delhi. The Mussulman soldiers maintained that Bunda was a "magician," and would make his escape on the road. One of the Moguls rose and said, "Tie us together on the same elephant; and if he attempt to escape, I

He is sent to Delhi.

will plunge this dagger into his body." Bunda was accordingly tied to this man, and in this manner conveyed to Delhi, where he was tortured to death.

His character.

Seldom in the annals of the most barbarous nations do we find traces of such savage slaughter and devastation, as marked the progress of this Byragee. He not only amply fulfilled the order of Govind in destroying Sirhind and murdering all its inhabitants, thereby avenging the cruel death of Govind's sons; but he took full revenge on the Mussulman inhabitants of the Punjab.

The name of Bunda is never mentioned, even at the present day, without hearty curses being bestowed upon his memory by every Mussulman, nor is he held in respect by the Sikhs.

Bunda was a fanatic, and so resolved was he to fulfil the orders of Govind Singh, that he became the terror of the whole Punjab, as well as the districts on this side the Sutlej.

The discrimination of Govind Singh in selecting such a man for carrying out his revenge, is conspicuous. Had the Gooroo himself not been weighed down by years and affliction, nor oppressed with cares incident to his position; in short, had he been a younger man; there is little doubt that the punishment he would have inflicted on the Mussulmans, though differing in kind, would have been equally ample with that bestowed by Bunda.

It is difficult to conceive the existence of such a monster as the latter; but these fukeers when urged

by powerful motives, and under certain vows, will stop at no crime, whatever its enormity may be. They are great impostors; and with an external semblance of piety, they conceal within their breasts the blackest and most malignant spirit.

The scanty records regarding Bunda give little information as to any good properties he may have possessed; but he is allowed, on all hands, to have been a man of undoubted valour and bravery; and the coolness with which he met his death may be here quoted from Malcolm's "Sketch." "Bunda was at length produced, his son being seated in his lap. His father was ordered to cut his throat; which he did, without uttering a word. Being then brought nearer the magistrate's tribunal, the latter ordered his flesh to be torn off with red-hot pincers, and it was in those moments he expired; his black soul taking its flight by one of those wounds, towards the regions for which it was so well fitted." These are, of course, the words of a Mussulman, rejoicing at the end of a brave, but cruel man, who had wreaked his vengeance in such a fearful manner on the Moslems.

Bunda, though following the dying commands of Gooroo Govind, was himself inclined to make several changes in the manners of the Sikhs, and, among others, to substitute for the war cry of Govind, "*Wah! wah! Gooree jee ke futteh, futteh dhurm! futteh dhursun!*"—(Success to piety, success to the sect.)

The dread in which Bunda was held by his fol-

lowers, induced many of them to obey him contrary to their inclinations and wishes. The Ukalees, however, the true and uncompromising followers of Govind, resisted all the endeavours of Bunda to make any change in the tenets and precepts of their favourite Gooroo. For this opposition to his wishes, many of them paid the forfeit of their lives; but death is a matter of little consideration with the "immortals," as the name "Ukalee" implies.

"On the death of Bunda, all his innovations were forgotten, and all the institutions of Govind restored," Malcolm continues; "but the blue dress, instead of being as at first worn by all, appears from that date to have been the particular right of the Acalis; whose valour in its defence well merited the exclusive privilege of wearing this original uniform of a true Sikh."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE SIKHS, AFTER THE
DEATH OF BUNDA.

AFTER Bunda's death at Delhi, and while Ubd-ool Sumnud was governor of Lahore, the disturbance and tumult caused by the Sikhs having subsided, the remnants of the latter were obliged to conceal themselves in the jungles, since strict orders were issued to kill every one bearing the name of Sikh, and rewards offered for their heads. In order to distinguish the Sikhs from the other inhabitants of the Punjab, all Mussulmans and Hindoos were strictly enjoined to cut off their hair and beards; and any person wearing the latter appendage was immediately slain. Such vigorous measures spread consternation among the Sikhs. Many of them fled to the mountainous districts of the Punjab, while others were obliged to forego the outward worship of their religion, and shave their beards.

Strict orders
to kill all the
Sikhs found in
the Punjab.

The cruel career of Bunda and his followers, had naturally exasperated the Mussulmans to the

The activity of Ubdool Summud in exterminating the Sikhs.

highest degree; and they resolved to exterminate the whole nation. The well-known activity of Ubd-ool Summud rendered the harsh measures adopted for this purpose highly efficacious; and the Sikhs were completely dispersed, and nearly annihilated.

Dies at Lahore, and is succeeded by his son Zukereea Khan.

In the time of Mohummud Shah, the grandson of Buhadour Shah, Ubd-ool Summud died at Lahore, and was succeeded, as governor of the Punjab, by his son, Zukereea Khan. He was unlike his father;

The oppression of the Zemindars, and revolt of the ryots.

and the government of the country, under his care, became extremely lax; the Zemindars of the Punjab threw off their allegiance to the Mussulmans, refused to pay the revenues, and oppressed the ryots, and ill-treated them. The latter, who were for the most part Jats, became in their turn disgusted, and joined the Sikhs. At this time there were several of the latter who had complied strictly with Bunda's orders, and were named in consequence

Bunda Sikhs.

"Bunda Sikhs." After their leader's death, these people lived in the Baree Doab, between the Beas and Ravee, in the Manja jungles.

The Sikhs resort to Umritsir every six months.

Every six months, crowds of the Sikhs resorted to the Holy Tank at Umritsir, and there held council among themselves; they afterwards dispersed, and returned to the jungles. Many of the Zemindars in the Manja tract of country were related to the Sikhs, and concealed the latter when pursued by the Mussulmans; and in every village of this jungly tract, there were two or three Sikh horsemen quartered, and supported by the Zemin-

Effectually protected by the Zemindars.

dars, unless when they chose to provide for themselves by robbery and pillage. Thus protected, their apprehension became impracticable.

On Nadir Shah's return from Hindostan, he passed through the Punjab, which was then overrun with jungle, the abode of plundering Sikhs collected from every part of the hills and plains. Nadir Shah inquired of the governor, if there were any troublesome characters in the Punjab; and received for reply, that vast crowds of disorderly Sikh fukeers visited the tank at Umritsir every six months. Nadir Shah asked where their places of abode were; and the governor replied that "their homes were their saddles," The conqueror smiled, and said "they ought to be destroyed, and their country seized."

Nadir Shah's remark regarding them.

After the death of Khan Buhadur, Ahmed Shah invaded the Punjab; the Zemindars revolted, and the Sikhs began to flourish. When Ahmed Shah returned to Cabul, about 40,000 or 50,000 Sikhs collected and began to pillage Lahore, and settled in several places around it, where they erected forts and strongholds. On Ahmed Shah's return to the Punjab, the Sikhs dispersed, and again concealed themselves in the jungles.

The Sikhs pillage Lahore.

About this time, several of the Sikhs, such as Jupa Singh, Ramghureea, and others, were in the service of Adeena Beg Khan; and when Ahmed Shah fought with the emperor, and returned to Cabul, the Sikhs appeared on the bank of the Ravee, and slew numbers of Ahmed Shah's fol-

Attack the followers of Ahmed Shah on the Ravee.

Juhan Khan at first disperses them; they rally and defeat him, killing numbers of the Pathans.

lowers. The Shah was alarmed at this daring attack on the part of the Sikhs; and leaving Juhan Khan as governor of Lahore, he proceeded to Sealkote. The Sikhs collected in great numbers around Lahore, and ravaged the country. Juhan Khan came out against them, but according to their usual practice, they betook themselves to flight. Juhan Khan, on this occasion, remarked, that "except their running away, the Sikhs had no pretension to the name of soldiers." Three hundred Sikh horsemen separated themselves from the rest, and stood ready to engage the Pathans. When the latter were within a short distance of them, the Sikhs fired a volley; every bullet took effect, and great numbers of the Pathans fell, and the rest fled. Taking courage from this unexpected success, the Sikhs pursued and kept up their fire. The horse of Juhan Khan was wounded and fell, and the Sikhs setting up a loud cry of "Wah! wah! Gooroo jee ke Futteh," rushed forward to kill the Khan, but he escaped on foot. Many of the Pathans were slain; and this is the first decided victory on record gained by the Sikhs over the Affghans.

Anecdote of the fukeer Etubar Shah and Juhan Khan.

It is related that, at this time, there was a fukeer at Sealkote named Etubar Shah, who, when Juhan Khan was preparing to attack the Sikhs, was sitting in his hut. Juhan Khan alighted, and requested the fukeer to pray for his success. Etubar Shah, raising his head, cried out "Run away! run away! the wolf is coming." On hearing these words,

Juhan Khan was angry, and ordered the fukeer's hut to be burned to the ground. The defeat of the Khan was, of course, attributed to this act. After this signal victory, the Sikhs became more daring and insolent, laying waste the surrounding country. Every sirdar appropriated a portion to himself, and named it after his native village, such as Ramghureea, Alloowalya; others from their habits, as Bhunjeea.*

On the death of Ahmed Shah Douranee, his son ^{Timoor Shah} ^{unable to op-} ^{pose the Sikhs} Timoor Shah succeeded to the Musnud. Being unable to manage his Omrahs, or contend with them, as he was then at war with the King of Bokhara and the Zemindars of Scinde, it was out of his power to settle the affairs of the Punjab, or dispute the claims of the Sikhs to the country. Each sirdar, therefore, kept his own followers, and took possession of his own district, taking under his protection those Zemindars who revolted from Timoor Shah.

The country of the Sikhs thus extended from ^{Extent of the} ^{Sikh posses-} ^{sions.} Saharunpore on the east, to the Attock on the west; Mooltan and Scinde were the boundaries on the south, and Kote Kangra, Jummo, and Bhember on the north. Each independent Sirdar ^{Amicable di-} ^{vision of land.} kept possession of his own territory, nor encroached on that of his neighbour. In some instances, pergunnahs, or districts, were divided between two, and each received half the revenue of the whole.

* Extract of bhung, an intoxicating drug obtained from the Cannabis Indica.

The *Missuls*.

The Sikhs thus became a friendly nation, divided into what were called *Missuls*.

The sirdars quarrel with each other.

This state of things could not, however, last long; and at length the different sirdars began to quarrel among themselves for an extension of territory. The hostilities consequent on such quarrels, consisted in carrying off cattle and other property, and the ryots themselves were often killed in the struggles which ensued between two neighbouring sirdars.

All remain in peace and harmony at Umritsir.

But though they quarrelled among themselves, all was peace and friendship when they met at the holy tank of Umritsir. There each independant sirdar had his fort or dwelling-house, with a bazaar attached, for supplying his followers and retainers with food and the other necessaries of life.

When thus collected at Umritsir, no mark of strife or discord was allowed; all was harmony and peace, while sitting and listening to the Gooroo expounding the Grunth in the holy temple; for the beautifying of which, each sirdar contributed liberally, according to his means.

The number of independent sirdars reduced.

When these sirdars or chiefs began first to portion out the Punjab amongst them, they were very numerous; but after repeated contests, the country became the property of a few of the most powerful, who maintained their own independence, and gave their aid in defence of the whole against any foreign aggressor. The sirdar at the head of each *Missul* was paramount in peace and war, though his dependents reserved to themselves the option of pro-

Independent power of the sirdars.

longing or curtailing their services according to circumstances.

The territory of the Punjab at this time extended as far as the Jumnah, and even beyond that river; and one of the Missuls,—and the principal, as bearing the standards of the Sikhs, hence named the Nishanwala* Missul,—included the country about Umballa in its possessions.

The Sikh territory extended beyond the Jumnah.

In giving a short outline of these Missuls, however, we shall confine our remarks to those across the Sutlej, since the Missuls on this side the river have long ago merged into the protected Sikh's states, and the details of them more properly belong to a history of the British power in India, than to one devoted to the Sikhs of the Punjab.

* Nishan, a mark, standard, or colour.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HISTORY OF THE BHUNGEE MISSUL.

Jussa Singh.

THE first Sirdar of this Missul was Jussa Singh, a Jat and native of the village of Punjwar, eight miles from Umritsir. He became a Sikh and a follower of Bunda; on the death of the latter, and when the Sikhs were dispersed and scattered over the Punjab, Jussa Singh converted three Jats; who were his own relations. One of these was named Bheem Singh, another Mulla Singh, and the third Juggut Singh. This Juggut Singh was a great smoker of bhung, and hence named Bhungee, and the latter term was applied to his Missul. When joined by his three converts, Jussa became a robber. On his death, Bheem Singh succeeded him as the head of the Missul. After the invasion of Nadir Shah, Bheem Singh, assisted by Mulla Singh and Juggut Singh, collected a number of followers; but though strong in numbers, he had no portion of country, and maintained himself and his adherents by acts of robbery.

**Bheem Singh,
Mulla Singh,
and Juggut
Singh.**

Among the followers of Bheem Singh, there was a man named Hurree Singh, a native of the Punjab. Hurree Singh. He was of a daring spirit, and on the death of Bheem Singh, succeeded to the head of the Missul.

Hurree Singh speedily increased the number of his followers; and on the death of Mulla Singh and Juggut Singh, their places were filled by Ghunda Ghunda Singh. Singh.

Hurree Singh made war on Ahmed Shah, and having conquered Khwajah Oobeid, the governor of Lahore, he seized his artillery and other property. Among the guns captured on this occasion, there was a large one constructed by Juhan Khan, which bears the name of the captor to this day, being the well-known *Bhungee top*.*

The Bhungee top.

A man named Goorbuksh Singh, commonly known as Orawala, who had been Missuldar to Bheem Singh, had a grandson named Goojur Singh, who with another Jat named Lena Singh were ameers in the army. These two, after Goorbuksh Singh's death, joined Hurree Singh in his endeavour to conquer the Punjab; and each seized a portion of country, named after them, Goojerawala and Kalawala, which give titles to sirdars at the present day.

Goojur Singh and Lena Singh join the Missul.

: Hurree Singh went against Jummo, and made war on the Malwa and Manja Sikhs, abiding be-

* We are not quite certain, that this was the large gun captured at Ferozshahur on the night of the 21st December, 1845, by Sir H. Hardinge at the head of Her Majesty's 80th foot, 1st European light infantry; we rather think, this large gun is still at Lahore.

tween the rivers Jumnah, Sutlej, Beas, and Ravea. Hurree Singh was killed, and Jhunda Singh succeeded him as head of the Missul: he lived in peace and quiet.

Hurree Singh killed.

Lahore besieged by Goojur Singh and Lena Singh.

When Ahmed Shah bestowed the governorship of Lahore on Kahulee Mul, the Bhungee Missul went against that place. Goojur Singh and Lena Singh were sent a-head, and reached the city. They shut up the governor, and were joined by Sobah Singh, a nephew of Jye Singh, and after pillaging all outside the walls, the siege of Lahore was continued.

Kahulee Mul escapes from Lahore, which is pillaged by the Sikhs.

Kahulee Mul defended Lahore for several months, and shut up all the gates of the city except two, he also guarded all the passes. Being at length in great straits, he made demands on the city and robbed the shroffs. When he saw no chance of relief, he left Lahore with all his followers and all they could carry away; and on the second day after his departure, the Sikhs entered and pillaged the city. The booty was equally divided, and each sirdar left his lieutenant.

Jhunda Singh besieges Sealkote and takes possession of Mooltan.

After this Jhunda Singh went to Sealkote and besieged it in the year Bik. 1834, corresponding to A. D. 1777. He had at that time a large army and determined on taking Mooltan, whither Jye Singh preceded him for the sake of plunder. On his march towards Mooltan many sirdars and Sikhs joined Jhunda Singh. The Governor fled and the country was taken possession of. Jhunda Singh and Lena Singh divided Mooltan between them,

and appointed Dewan Singh, Killadar. He remained a long time in possession of Mooltan, until driven out of it by Timoor Shah, who gave Mooltan in charge to Jojoh Khan, Pathan Sudozye.

Driven out of it by Timoor Shah.

When Jhunda Singh was returning from the conquest of Mooltan, he took Jhungrealah, and subdued the Beloochee tribes, often pillaging their country. After this he went to Umritsir, and began building a brick fort, which was named the Bhungee fort.

Builds the Bhungee fort, at Umritsir.

Previous to this, Hurree had begun a bazaar at Umritsir, but had not finished it. After this, Jhunda Singh made war on Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, and Churruth Singh. It is said that the latter was killed by the bursting of his gun; and Jhunda Singh by his own soldiers, at the instigation of Jye Singh. Gunda Singh succeeded his uncle Jhunda Singh, and completed the Bhungee fort, at Umritsir. Gunda Singh employed himself in enlarging the city of Umritsir, and for this purpose collected great numbers of workmen.

Makes war on Jye Singh, Jussa Singh, and Churruth Singh killed.

Gunda Singh enlarges Umritsir.

Gunda Singh next proceeded to Pathan Kote, on the following account. A man named Naud Singh, a friend of Jhunda Singh, had left this place to the latter. This Naud Singh had a daughter, and his widow bestowed the latter and Pathan Kote on Tara Singh Ghuneeya, brother to Hukeekut Singh. When Gunda Singh heard of this transaction, he was enraged; and collecting an army, he proceeded to the place, taking the road through Wittala, or Battala. The Ramghureea Missul

Advances against Pathan Kote.

joined him. They halted at Deena Nuggur. The Ghuneeya Missul, under Goorbuksh Singh, the son of Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, joined Tara Singh; also Ummur Singh and Hukeekut Singh, with others of the Ghuneeya.

Dies, and the Ghuneeya obtain the victory.

The two armies met, and fought for several days, without any decisive result. Gunda Singh, at length, became sick and died. His son Desa Singh being a boy, his nephew Churruth Singh succeeded him. The fight continued daily. One day Churruth Singh was killed, and the Bhungee force was broken up, leaving the victory in the hands of the Ghuneeya Missul. After this defeat, Desa Singh was chosen head of the Bhungee Missul, and his prime minister was Goojur Singh. He arrived at Umritsir, and Pathan Kote remained in the hands of Tara Singh and his son, until the latter was seized by the Maharajah Runjeet Singh.

Desa Singh appointed sirdar.

Succeeded by Goolab Singh.

Desa Singh was succeeded by his son Goolab Singh, who remained at Umritsir, and enlarged the city. While this Goolab Singh was a boy, his cousin Kurrum Singh Dooloo, governed for him. On Goolab Singh attaining the years of maturity, however, he was dismissed. Goolab Singh had constant wars with Maha Singh, the father of Runjeet Singh, and son of Churruth Singh.

Makes war on Runjeet Singh.

When Runjeet Singh took possession of Lahore, Goolab Singh assembled the whole Bhungee Missul and was joined by Nizamut Deen, Kussoorea. Their united force amounted to 50,000 or 60,000 men, and skirmishes took place between the two armies.

At length, Goolab Singh became sick, and returning to Umritsir died there. Nizamut Deen returned to Kussoor; and Jussa Singh, on account of his enmity to Suda Koonwur, the mother-in-law of Runjeet Singh, went to his own country. Dies at Umritsir.

The Bhungee Missul from this time declined. One of Goolab Singh's sowars named Sookha, and whose son was named Goordut Singh, with several followers, took up their abode at Majeethea. When the Maharajah seized Umritsir, and reduced it under his power, Goordut Singh and his mother went to Jodh Singh, Ramghureea, and there remained in a state of great poverty. Bhungee Missul declines.

Goojur Singh, after the death of Gunda Singh, became a great man and acquired much territory in the Manja country. On the banks of the Chenab, he possessed the city of Goorura and the fort of Islamghur, where the property of Ruhmut Khan and Hushmut Khan fell to his possession; he also held the villages of Moonawur and Dowlut-nuggur; while his hill territories extended as far as Bhember. On the Jelum he extended his conquests as far as Kala-ka-Serai; and Sirdar Churruth Singh, the grandfather of Runjeet Singh, gave his daughter, named Rajkoonwur, to the son of Goojur Singh in marriage. Goojur Singh extends his conquests.

When Churruth Singh was killed by the bursting of his gun, and his son Maha Singh succeeded him, there were enmity and peace alternately between Maha Singh and Goojur Singh. At Dies, and is succeeded by Saheb Singh.

length the latter died, and was succeeded by his son Saheb Singh, who married Rajkoonwur, the sister of Maha Singh; but this alliance did not prevent constant quarrels between the two. At one time, Saheb Singh was victorious; at another time, Maha Singh. A battle took place between these two sirdars at the village of Sadra, when it was besieged by Maha Singh. On this occasion, Raj Koonwur the wife of Saheb Singh, went to see her brother Maha Singh, and endeavoured to make peace between them. Maha Singh becoming sick returned to Goojurawala, where he died.

Raj Koonwur visits her brother Maha Singh, who dies.

An attempt made to seize the body of Maha Singh, but fails.

When the body of Maha Singh was about to be burned, the soldiers of Saheb Singh went for the purpose of carrying it off; but Kadet Khan Khidmutgar, with Meeah, commandant of artillery, Ghuonsee Khan, and others, met them on the road, and defeated Saheb Singh's troops, who fled, leaving the body of Maha Singh in the hands of his trusty servants, who burned it with all due honors.

Runjeet seizes the Missul.

At length, Runjeet Singh destroyed the Bhungee Missul, after capturing their strongholds of Lahore, Umritsir, Sealkote, Churniote, and Jhungdeal, and taking possession of all the country on both sides of the Chenab. Goojarah Wala and Jellalpoore were wrested from Saheb Singh. He received a village in Jagheer, where he spent the rest of his days. His son Goolab Singh had also a

few villages conferred on him. Leaving no son, there was no head of the Bhungee Missul, which thus merged into the hands of Runjeet Singh, the Maharajah of the Punjab, in the year Bik. 1863, corresponding to the year of the Christian era 1806.

CHAPTER X.

THE HISTORY OF THE FYZOOLOPOOREA AND
RAMGHUREEA MISSULS.

Kapoor Singh. THE first sirdar of the Fyzoolapoorea Missul was Kapoor Singh of the Jat tribe, and a native of the village of Fyzoolapoor, near Umritsir. He joined the Sikhs under Bunda. He was a brave man, and appointed a sirdar. He took, like the rest, to robbing, and had no land of his own. His valour and judgment soon obtained for him the title of Nuwab, and he assumed the name of Nuwab Kapoor Singh. He lived in the time of Khan Buhadour, Governor of Lahore, and died in the reign of Ahmed Shah Douranee. It is related of him, that he fought with the Shah and fell in action. He had three followers, all brave men, namely Khooshyal Singh, Lena Singh, and Seetul Singh, who were brothers by the same mother. These men were contemporaries of Hurree Singh Bhungee Wala, but independent of him, and kept up a force of their own with distinct settlements. Their pos-

sessions consisted of:—1st. the village of Fyzoola-^{Possessions of}
 poor and the neighbouring ones. They had also ^{the Missul.}
 a bazaar, or kotra, at Umritsir, called after them.

2nd. They possessed themselves of the Bist
 Jalindhur; and the zemindars of this district, such
 as Rao Ibrahim and others, paid them tribute and
 placed themselves under their protection. They
 also claimed lands on the left bank of the Sutlej.
 They joined Hurree Singh and other Missuldars in
 making war on Ahmed Shah. There was another ^{Khooshyal}
 Khooshyal Singh belonging to this Missul, who ^{Singh Metoo.}
 from being short-sighted was distinguished by the
 surname of *Metoo*. This man left a widow and
 kindar, but no children. The other Khooshyal
 Singh (Lama) had two sons, one named Boodh
 Singh, and the other, Soodh Singh, who succeeded
 their father as heads of the Fyzooolapoorea Missul.
 They were constantly at war with the Alloowalya
 Sutar. When Soodh Singh died, he left a daughter
 by his wife, the daughter of Lena Singh, Bhungee.
 After his death, Boodh Singh was firmly estab-
 lished as the sirdar of the Missul. The Maha-
 rajah made war on him in 1811, and having
 defeated Boodh Singh, the latter fled across the
 Sutlej, where he died. His son Ummur Singh
 lived there after him. When the Fyzooolapoorea
 Zillah came into the possession of Runjeet Singh,
 he gave the charge of it to Moorodeen, the bro-
 ther of Azeezodeen, and who remained four years
 at Jalindhur.

The first sirdar of the Ramghureea Missul was ^{Ramghureea}
 Missul.

Khooshyal Singh, of Gugo, a village near Umritsir, of the Jat tribe and a follower of Bunda. He likewise became a robber on the death of his leader. When he died, a man named Nund Singh, a Jat and a native of the village of Sahanghee, distant about four miles from Umritsir, succeeded him. He had a great number of followers, and among them one named Jussa Singh, and his brothers, Mala Singh and Tara Singh, of the Buhraee or carpenter caste, inhabitants of the village of Abchokul, who, giving up their trade, became Sikhs, and joined Nund Singh. Of the three brothers, Jussa Singh was a particularly brave man, and celebrated for his feats in battle. He was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Ramghureea Missul. When Adeena Beg Khan fled on account of his enmity to Ahmed Shah, he engaged several Sikhs as his retainers, and among the rest, these three brothers, and they were of the greatest use to him in managing his troops. When Adeena Beg Khan was defeated by Ahmed Shah, and fled to the hills, the brothers left him, returned to their homes, and afterwards joined Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, who with Ummur Singh and others made war on the Pathans and concealed themselves in the jungle. In this warfare, the brothers were conspicuous for their bravery. In the year A.D. 1757 Ahmed Shah left Lahore; and Adeena Beg Khan returned from the hills, and having conquered Khootub Ghat, the Rohilla, he surrounded the city of Wittala and took

Nund Singh.

Jussa Singh,
Mala Singh,
and Tara
Singh.

Adeena Beg
Khan takes
Wittala.

it; after which all the zemindars in the Punjab owned his authority.

Adeena Beg Khan, with the view of driving the Sikhs out of the country, made the zemindars take an oath that they would attack them and drive them away; and that wherever a Sikh was found, he was to be immediately killed, or made prisoner. Meerza Azeez Bukshee was appointed to see the enforcement of this somewhat sanguinary law.

Harsh measures adopted by him towards the Sikhs.

This man was attended by a great number of horsemen, and 4,000 carpenters with their axes, for the purpose of cutting down and clearing away the jungle in every direction, for the discovery of the Sikhs concealed in it.

When the Sikhs were thus attacked and hunted from every place of abode, they fled in all directions, and a portion of them, bolder than the rest, went to Umritsir, and took refuge in the mud fort of Ram Rouree.

Nund Singh, Sanghanee, who was then at the head of the Ramghureea Missul, Jussa Singh, Mala Singh, and Tara Singh, were among the number; and Jye Singh, Ghunneeaya, and Ummur Singh, Kingra, with their followers were likewise there, remaining concealed in the fort. Meer Azeez hearing of this, surrounded the fort, and the Sikhs, being desperate, fought with great bravery. Jye Singh and Jussa Singh made a sally from the fort, and killed great numbers of their assailants with matchlocks and arrows; they then returned to the fort and shut the gates. Jye Singh on this

Sikhs take refuge in Ram Rouree.

The bravery of Jye Singh.

occasion was mounted on a spirited horse, which carried him into the midst of the enemy; but though matchlocks were aimed at him, and he was attacked on all sides, yet none dared to approach near him, and he escaped within the fort. The Sikhs, being reduced to great straits by Meer Azeer, began to throw down the walls during the night, and at length sallied out, when many were killed, and several taken prisoners. In 1758 A.D. Adeena Beg died; and there being no ruler in the Punjab, the Sikhs began to raise their heads. Those who escaped from Ram Rouree assumed the name of Ramghuree, which is the origin of this Missul; and Nund Singh, Sanghaneer, became the head of it.

Adeena Beg
Khan dies.

When Nund Singh died, Jussa Singh and his brothers became the sirdars, and called their Missul the Ramghureea.

Ahmed Shah
comes to La-
hore, and slays
great numbers
of the Sikhs at
Sirhind.

Ahmed Shah, on hearing of the death of Adeena Beg Khan, and the rising of the Sikhs, came to Lahore for the purpose of settling the disturbances in the Punjab. The Sikhs, to the number of 50,000 or 60,000, surrounded Sirhind. Ahmed Shah in one march crossed the Ravee, Beah, and Sutlej, and attacked them on all sides. Seventeen thousand Sikhs were killed; and the slaughter was named Goolhoo Ghara, or the hand of fate. Ahmed Shah returned to Lahore. He established the Pattialah rajah in his own territory, and Komundal Khan was placed over the other sirdars. The temple of Umritsir was blown up by gunpowder by Komundal Khan.

The temple of
Umritsir
blown up.

The three brothers, Jussa Singh, Mala Singh, and Lena Singh, with Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, remained concealed at one place in the jungle, coming out occasionally to rob travellers. They even went to Umritsir to bathe in the tank, and pillaged the suburbs of the city. When attacked by the Shah's troops, they fired off their matchlocks and fled to the jungles. When Ahmed Shah once more left Lahore for Cabul, and Khwajah Oobeid was left to govern, but without any sufficient force, the whole of the Sikhs took to their old trade of robbing, and crowds of them were to be seen in every part of the Punjab, destroying the villages and building forts. Each sirdar took possession of a city and purgunnah; the Bhungee Missul seizing Emanabad, Pursuroor, and Gujrat. The Ghuneeya and Ramghureea Missuls took possession of Wittala and Kulanour.

The Sikhs
again rise.

When Khwajah Oobeid came out to attack the Goojurwala, he was defeated, leaving his guns and treasure in the hands of the Sikhs. On this occasion, the Ramghureea and Ghuneeya Missuls shared the spoils between them.

They defeat
the governor.

Some months afterwards, when Ahmed Shah came again to the Punjab and encamped at Rhotas, and afterwards at Jhundeeala, the Sikhs fled and concealed themselves in the jungles and mountains. But still they determined to keep possession of the country, when Ahmed Shah departed. On this occasion, the Ramghureea seized on Wittala and Kulanour, with the surrounding country. At Umritsir, this Missul seized on the fort of Ram Rouree,

Extensive
possessions of
the Ramghu-
reea in the
Bist Jalind-
hur.

Goorbuksh
Singh besieges
Wittala.

Enters the
city.

called Ramghur, and near it erected a large bazaar. The same Missul, also took possession of several villages in the Bist Jalindhur. Jussa Singh gave Wittala to Mala Singh, with the surrounding country; to Tara Singh, he gave Kulanour. The wives of the three brothers lived at Begowal. When Jussa Singh neglected to divide the revenues with Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, the latter wanted to drive out the Ramghureea from their possessions. War was declared between the Missuls, and great numbers fell on both sides. In the engagement, Gunda Singh, Bhungee, and Jye Singh, Ghuneeya, greatly distinguished themselves. The Ghuneeya conquered; and Goorbuksh Singh, the son of Jye Singh, came to Wittala, and besieged Mala Singh in that place; he surrounded the fort, and the inhabitants supplied him with money and stores, as they disliked Mala Singh, who was a tyrant, and often killed people for his amusement. It is related, that one day while thus employed, there was a great storm of thunder and hail. Mala Singh fired at the clouds in contempt; a stone fell from a cloud on his head, and he retreated to the fort, but the inhabitants turned him out, and admitted the Ghuneeya. Rajah Singh and Dewan Singh, the governors of districts, with Tara Chund, a Brahmin, and others, collected and opened the gates of the city to Goorbuksh Singh, who entered, and Mala Singh fled. From Tara Singh he took Kulanour, and thus conquered city after city, as far as the Sutlej. From thence he went to the jungle, in the

direction of Kote Kapoorah, and left Soodh Singh at Loodianah. Jye Singh became more and more powerful, and enjoyed peace for the space of three years. At the end of that time, all the Missuldars quarrelled with him, and he sent for the Ramghureea.

In the Hissar district, Jye Singh gave great trouble and annoyance to the fukeers, and robbed and slaughtered in every direction. After this, Jussa Singh, Ramghureea, retook Wittala, and remained in it for three years. Jye Singh collected a large army and besieged it. After twenty days he raised the siege and departed, when Jussa Singh resolved to build a brick wall around the city, thirty feet high, and twenty-one in breadth; he likewise established a Thannah in the city; after this he went towards Kulanour for the purpose of attacking Juemul Singh, the son of Hukeekut Singh. After hard fighting for the space of three days, the Ramghureea troops fled. The only places remaining to this Missul were, Rearkee, the city of Ruheela, on the bank of the Beas, and some portions of country beyond that river. Constant wars were carried on between this Missul and the Ghunecya. Night and day, bands of them traversed the country, carrying off cattle, sheep, and goats, from each others' possessions. On the death of Maha Singh and Tara Singh, Jussa Singh remained and lived at Rubeela. Suda Koonwur, having succeeded Jye Singh and Goorbuksh Singh, collected all her troops, and, assisted by Runjeet

Jye Singh
besieges
Wittala.

Contests be-
tween the
Ramghureea
and Ghunecya
Missuls.

Singh, attacked the fort of Meeana, belonging to the Ramghureea Missul. The siege was carried on for several months, but on the setting in of the rains, it was raised. Dewan Singh, the son of Tara Singh, possessed a small portion of country bestowed on him by his uncle Jussa Singh, where he supported himself by robbing. Jussa Singh left two sons behind him; the one named Jodh Singh, and the other Bheer Singh. The former succeeded his father, as head of the Ramghureea Missul. But he was a man of no activity, and unfit to govern, so that his cousin Dewan Singh made daily inroads on his possessions. At length Runjeet Singh took possession of this Missul, and Jodh Singh became his dependant, and entered the Maharajah's service. Dewan Singh, leaving the Punjab, went to Benares. Before he returned Jodh Singh had died, and for some time he and Bheer Singh governed the country, which the Maharajah at length resolved to seize. In 1808, the Maharajah went to Kangra, and on his return he sent for Bheer Singh and Dewan Singh, and imprisoned them; after which he took possession of their country. From thence, the Maharajah took the road to Rubeela, where he spent the night, and then proceeded to Umritsir, where he besieged the fort of Ram Rouree, or Ramghur, with his artillery. The siege continued for a whole day; and during the ensuing night, those in the fort made their escape and fled. It is said that the Maharajah, in the space of three days, seized

Dewan Singh
and Bheer
Singh im-
prisoned by
Runjeet Singh.

and fewer than 150 forts and strongholds belonging to the Ramghureea Missul, and they were all destroyed. After some months, Bheer Singh was released, and also Dewan Singh, and a maintenance provided for them by Runjeet Singh. On Bheer Singh he bestowed Pindroa, near the birth-place of Nanuk, in jagheer, which on his death relapsed to the Maharajah.

Runjeet seizes and destroys the Ramghureea Forts.

Bheer Singh and Dewan Singh released; the former receives a jagheer.

A sum of money was given to Dewan Singh, but no land. He was appointed Thannahdar of Baranoola, on the road to Cashmere; where he died, leaving no descendants.

A sum of money given to Dewan Singh.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HISTORY OF THE GHUNEeya, ALLOOWALYA, AND
SUKKERCHUKEA MISSULS.

Unmur Singh. THE first Sirdar of this Missul, was **Ummur Singh**, Kegra; he was, like the rest, a robber, and had numerous followers. They resided at **Khana Kutchwa**, in the Manga country, after they became Sikhs.

Chunda Singh, Hukeekut Singh, and Jye Singh. Among his retainers, **Chunda Singh**, **Jye Singh** his brother, and **Hukeekut Singh**, were named **Ghuneeya**.

Their character for bravery soon obtained for **Jye Singh** and **Hukeekut Singh** the head of the Missul. **Jye Singh**, as already stated, united with the **Ramghureea** against **Ahmed Shah**. On one occasion, these robber-chiefs plundered **Kusoor**, and carried off a large quantity of silver, gold and jewels; besides shawls and carpets. **Jye Singh's** share of this booty was more than four men could carry. The chief place of residence of the **Ghuneeya Missul**, while exercising its predatory habits, was a thick patch of **dhak jungle** near **Begawal**.

When Khwajah Oobeid was governor of Lahore, the combined force of the Ramghureea and Ghuneeya Missuls, took possession of Wittala, and divided the spoil between them. The Ramghureea established themselves at Begawal, and the Ghuneeya in the Barea Doab.

The Ghuneeya and Ramghureea Missuls seize Wittala.

Of the latter Missul, four men have been celebrated : namely, Ummur Singh, Kegra ; Jye Singh ; Ummur Singh, Bhugga ; and Hukeekut Singh. When the Sikhs were assured that Ahmed Shah would no more return to the Punjab, each of these men took possession of distinct tracts of country, or purgunnahs.

The four chiefs of the Ghuneeya Missul.

When Jye Singh became head of the Missul, he led an army to Gurhota, at the foot of the hills. The sirdar, or ruler, of this place was Esud Buksh, who had but a small force at his command, and could not oppose Jye Singh with any chance of success ; he, therefore, submitted to him, whereby Jye Singh's power and influence were greatly increased. He next took possession of Hajeepore, in the Bist Jalindhur, and he received tribute from the hill chiefs of Moorpoor, Datarpoor, and Saepah. At Mukeriah, there dwelt a sect of Mussulmans named Awan : Jye Singh went against the place, and subdued it after a desperate fight. Great numbers of Sikhs and Mussulmans fell on both sides. The place was pillaged, and many of the inhabitants murdered. At Umritsir, a spacious bazaar, or kutra, was built by the four sirdars of this Missul.

Jye Singh the head of it.

Makes conquests.

Takes Mukeriah.

A coalition of
Missuls.

On the death of Ahmed Shah, a coalition was formed among the Missuldars for pillaging, and becoming masters of the Punjab; the chief of these were Jye Singh, Ghuneeya; Jussa Singh, Ramghureea; Jussa Singh, Alloowalya; Tara Singh, Ghueba; and Khooshyal Singh, Fyzoolapooreea.

Their force
proceeds
against Kus-
soor.

All these joined their forces, and proceeded towards Kussoor. On learning these tidings, the Pathans entrenched themselves in their houses, and in the fort. At this time, Ulif Khan, who was the chief sirdar, without consulting the others, led his men out of the fort, and attacked the Sikhs; he was speedily put to flight, and fled towards the city, followed by the Sikhs, who pillaged it of the articles already

The place pil-
laged by the
Sikhs.

alluded to. Several days were spent in pillaging and destroying the city. At length, the whole fort was taken and divided among the Missuldars.

The latter
expelled by
Nizamut Deen
Khan.

Nizamut Deen Khan afterwards expelled the Sikhs from Kussoor, and retook the fort and city. When Nizamut Deen Khan died, and his brother Kootu-

The place
afterwards
taken by
Runjeet Singh.

boodeen Khan was sirdar, the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, after conquering Lahore, made two successive attacks on Kussoor and took it; and Kootu-boodeen Khan became a dependant of the Maharajah, and received Mumdhote, on the left bank of the Ghana, below Feerozpore, in jagheer; where the family still reside.*

* A worthy follower of this family is now agent for the navigation of the Indus at Mittunkhote: I allude to Peer Ibrahim, who was, at one time, killadar of Feerozpore, and deservedly much esteemed by the British Authorities on the north-west frontier.

On the death of Hukeekut Singh, of the Ghuneeya Missul, his son Juemul Singh began to quarrel with Futteh Singh, the son of Mehtab Singh. Futteh Singh, at length, made Juemul Singh prisoner. On one occasion the latter had gained some advantage, taking Futteh Singh prisoner. On learning the tidings of this mishap, his wife collected a force, attacked Juemul Singh, and released her husband. When Futteh Singh died, Juemul Singh reigned in peace for a long time. He was a kind sirdar both to Sikhs and Mussulmans, and consequently much beloved. He made great improvements at Kulanour, which had been almost desolated by the mismanagement of his father, Hukeekut Singh. His daughter, Chund Koonwur, was offered in marriage to Khurruk Singh, eldest son of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh; and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp by the Maharajah. Sir David Ochterlony was present on the occasion. When Juemul Singh died, and his country came into the possession of the Maharajah, the latter settled the village of Futtehghur and several others on his sons.

Quarrels between Futteh Singh and Juemul Singh.

Character of the latter.

His daughter Chund Koonwur given in marriage to Khurruk Singh.

After this, Jye Singh, and his son Goorbuksh Singh, lived peaceably, and possessed Kote Kangra; all the hill rajahs paying tribute to the Ghuneeya Missul, which became the most powerful in the Punjab. Jye Singh, however, began to oppress the Mussulmans of Wittala, and burned the houses of several of the principal inhabitants; among the rest, of Ghoolam Ghous, who was imprisoned, but

Jye Singh oppresses Wittala.

Maha Singh
befriends
Ghoolam
Ghous.

effected his escape, and fled to Mooltan with the intention of proceeding to Cabul. He was advised by Maha Singh to return with him to Wittala, where he promised to re-establish Ghoolam Ghous. Maha Singh soon found out a pretext for quarrelling with Jye Singh, and several contests took place between them outside the walls of Umritsir.

Wittala at-
tacked by the
Ramghureea,
and Goor-
buksh Singh
killed.

During the absence of Jye Singh, Jussa Singh surrounded Wittala, then governed by his son Goorbuksh Singh. The Ramghureea were successful at every point. During a severe fight between Jussa Singh and Goorbuksh, the latter was killed, and his troops immediately fled. On learning the death of his son, Jye Singh dismounted from his horse, and emptying his quiver of its arrows, exposed himself to the fire of the enemy. The Ramghureea, though thus victorious, respected the grief of the sirdar for the death of his brave son, and drew their forces off the field with a view of seizing on Rearkee.

Grief of Jye
Singh at the
loss of his son.

Jye Singh, returning to Wittala, erected a tomb on the north of the city, near a nullah, over the remains of his son. Being pressed by the Ramghureea, Jye Singh left Wittala and went to Pathan Kote, taking Juemul Singh and Tara Singh along with him. His daughter-in-law, Suda Koonwur, the widow of Goorbuksh Singh, remained behind at Wittala; but becoming alarmed at the approach of Jussa Singh, she collected her followers, and made her escape bare-footed to Saeaan. Hearing that the city had been thus deserted, Jussa

Suda Koon-
wur escapes
from Wittala.

Singh sent an army forward to seize it. When Bagh Singh and Hookoomut Singh, the leaders of this force, approached Wittala, Dhurum Singh, who was Thamahdur under Jye Singh, made his escape over the wall. The city was taken possession of by the Ramghureea, and Soeean was the only place remaining in the hands of Jye Singh. Jussa Singh then began to plunder the possessions of the Ghuneeya on the bank of the Beah. At this times Jye Singh was threatened from another quarter. Sunsar Chund, the hill chief of Kutoch, bore enmity to Jye Singh, on account of the latter having taking Kote Kangra out of his hands: he came as far as Hajepore, seizing upon all the country between that place and the hills, among other Mukeriah; Atulghur, which is a fort outside the city, remained in the possessions of Jye Singh. A slave girl, named Dasser, defended the place for four months against Sunsar Chund, who was obliged to raise the siege. The fort of Kangra was likewise in the possession of Jye Singh. War was carried on between Sunsar Chund and Jye Singh for three years; at the end of which, Suda Koonwur, the widow of Goorbuksh, resolved to bring about an alliance between the Sookurchukea and Ghuneeya Missuls, by giving her daughter, Mehtab Koonwur, in marriage to Runjeet Singh, the son of the Maha Singh, the head of the former Missul. Having thus concerted her plan, she proceeded with her daughter to Juwala Mookhee, and there visited Raj Koonwur, the wife of Maha Singh,

The city taken by the Ramghureea.

Sunsar Chund makes war on Jye Singh.

Atulghur defended by a slave girl.

Suda Koonwur resolves to marry her daughter Mehtab to Runjeet Singh.

and the two were speedily on friendly terms. There is reason to suppose that Mehtab Koonwur was not the real daughter of Suda Koonwur by Goorbuksh Singh, but a counterfeit substituted by her, for certain political purposes. Jye Singh was anxious to make peace with Sunsar Chund, who insisted on getting Kangra. Vakeels were employed on both sides. After a great deal of negotiation, it was at length agreed upon that Sunsar Chund should receive Kote Kangra, giving up, in lieu of it, Hajeepore and Mukeriah; and in the event of war between the Ghuneeya and Ramghureea Missuls, Sunsar Chund was to assist the former.

Sunsar Chund insists on obtaining Kote Kangra, and obtains it.

Sunsar Chund having agreed to these terms, delivered up the countries mentioned in the treaty. Having finished this important matter, Jye Singh, on being joined by the rajahs of Moorpoore and Chunnbeah, as well as Sunsar Chund and Maha Singh, marched against Wittala. Jussa Singh was in the city and prepared for the siege, which, after being carried on for twenty-two days, was raised; and Jussa Singh, as already mentioned, resolved to surround Wittala with a very high wall of brick, but only finished one side of it.

Jye Singh marches against Wittala.

Maha Singh's death, and the marriage of his son to Mehtab Koonwur.

In 1788, the news of Maha Singh's death, at the village of Dhareewal, reached Jye Singh; who lamented him and went to Wittala. The son of Maha Singh, (Runjeet Singh) being then a boy, his Dewan governed for him. In 1792, Jye Singh sent for Runjeet Singh to Wittala, and there married him to Mehtab Koonwur his granddaughter,

or who, at least, was said to have been born to Suda Koonwur by his son Goorbuksh Singh. Vast sums of money were expended on the occasion. Suda Koonwur exercised complete control over her young son-in-law.

When Jye Singh died, he left two sons, Nidhan Singh and Bagh Singh, who retired with their mother, Raj Koonwur, to Hajeepoor and Socean. All the rest of the Ghuneeya Missul fell to the share of Suda Koonwur, who was thus enabled to assist her son-in-law against the Ramghureea. She built outside the city of Wittala a large tank, and collecting all her troops, she attacked Jussa Singh.

When Zeman Shah (Pathan) arrived at Lahore, all the sirdars of the Punjab fled to the hills; among the rest, Runjeet Singh, the head of the Sukker Chukia Missul, leaving all his property under the charge of Suda Koonwur, in the fort of Atulghur. When Zeman Shah departed from the Punjab, Runjeet Singh was left in possession of Lahore. Here he imprisoned his wife Mehtab Koonwur, owing to her misconduct. She had presented him with two sons, Shere Singh and Tara Sing, but Runjeet did not recognise them as his offspring. In 1800, Mehtab Koonwur died, and Runjeet Singh seized the Ghuneeya Missul. He first took possession of Adeenanuggur, which belonged to Gooloo Singh, the son of Chunda Singh; to whom he gave a village in jagheer, then the territory of Soonjanpore, belonging to the sons of Ummur Singh, on whom he bestowed Dhurumkote,

three miles from Wittala in jagheer, He next dispossessed Jye Singh's widow of Hajeepore. Nidhan Singh and Bagh Singh, the sons of Jye Singh, soon afterwards died; and thus terminated the Ghuneeya Missul; but Boodh Singh, the son of Ummur Singh, remained at Dhurumkote, the sole surviving heir of the Missul. Runjeet Singh resolved to destroy the Ramghureea Missul; and in 1811 he arrived at Wittala, and encamped at Shum Shere Khan's tank, where he remained for a month, and sent for Uhmed Shah to consult him on the subject. He ultimately gave up his original intention; and in 1823, during the Mohurram, he sent for Suda Koonwur to Lahore, and put her in confinement. He then went to Mulkeriah, and appointed Desa Singh to the charge of the Ghuneeya Missul. After taking possession of Mulkeriah, Runjeet Singh returned to Lahore, and summoned all the zemindars of Suda Koonwur to his presence. He bestowed degrees of honour upon them; and Shadeen, the son of Azeezodeen, was appointed governor of Wittala.

Runjeet Singh resolves on destroying the Ramghureea Missul.

Foregoes the intention.

Imprisons Suda Koonwur.

Alloowalya Missul.

The first man of note in the Alloowalya Missul, was Jussa Singh, who lived at the village of Mulma Sadhoo, in the Manja country, by trade a kulal, or distiller, of the Toolse tribe. This Jussa Singh supported his father and mother, at the village of Alloo, near Mulma Sadhoo; and he, his uncle, and other relatives, became Sikhs and servants of the Fyzoolapoorea. Kapoor Singh, the head of this Missul, occasionally visited the village of Alloo,

and remained in it during the night, and Jussa Singh's mother placed her son under the charge of the sirdar. Some time after this event, Jussa Singh collected followers of his own, and became a sirdar. On the death of Kapoor Singh, his followers separated, and Jussa Singh became a famous robber, and seized on different portions of land. At first, he took the villages of Alloo and Seereela, the latter a large place. Afterwards he seized on Futtehahad, Lilliana, Govindwal, Silleeala, and Bhopala, as far as Turuntara. After this, he possessed himself of Gograwal, and crossing the Beas he seized on Sultanpore and Tilwundee. He then attacked Rae Ibrahim, of Kapoorthullah, who gave up his country to him. Crossing the Sutlej, he became master of Eesa Khan and Jagraon. Thus, Jussa Singh, Allowalya, became the greatest sirdar in the Bist Jalindhur, and was called "*Badshah*" by his dependents and followers. He was of a liberal disposition and never wore a suit of clothes twice, giving them away to his dependents. He was friendly to the Mussulmans, many of whom were employed in his service. Jussa Singh joined Jye Singh against the Ramghureea Missul. At his death he left no heir, and his brother Bagh Singh succeeded him as the head of the Missul, but died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by his son Futteh Singh. This sirdar formed a friendship with Runjeet Singh. The chowdie of Futteh Singh was named Kadir Buksh; he was a Rajpoot by birth, and a native of Tilwundee; he had the

Jussa Singh
the first sirdar.

Makes extensive conquests on both sides of the Sutlej.

Of a liberal disposition.

Futteh Singh.

Kadir Buksh.

management of all his affairs, and was also vakeel at Lahore. When Kadir Buksh became a rich man, he was entertained by the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, having quarrelled with his own master. An army was sent, at his suggestion, to the Bist Jalindhur, in order to seize it, and place Futteh Singh in confinement. On receiving tidings of this intention, Futteh Singh fled across the Sutlej, and concealed himself in his village of Jagraon. When the Maharajah heard of the flight of Futteh Singh, he expressed his astonishment, and sent Azeezodeen to settle the Bist Jalindhur. Anund Ram, Pindaree, was employed in razing Futteh Singh's forts, and all the zemindars of the Doab paid tribute to the Maharajah. Kadir Buksh remained with Runjeet Singh at Umritsir; and died there, it is said, by a violent death. Runjeet bestowed Tilwundee on his son in jagheer.

Futteh Singh crosses the Sutlej.

Futteh Singh returns to the Jalindhur, and is restored to his possessions.

When Futteh Singh found that the British would only guarantee to him his possessions on the left bank of the Sutlej, he resolved to return to the Bist Jalindhur and ask forgiveness of the Maharajah; who sent Nonehal Singh and Desa Singh to reinstate Futteh Singh in his possessions. The whole of these were restored to him in the Baree and Bist. Futteh Singh imprisoned the sons of Kadir Buksh, and levied fines on them.

Nehal Singh and Ummur Singh quarrel.

When Futteh Singh died, his son Nehal Singh succeeded him; but he and his brother Ummur Singh quarrelled, and the latter went to represent his case to the Maharajah Shere Singh. One day

when crossing the Ravee, with the Maharajah, the boat was upset and Ummur Singh was drowned. Ummur Singh drowned in the Ravee. This occurred in 1841, after which time Nehal Singh remained in quiet possession of his country in the Bist Jalindhur.

Kapoorthullah was the chief town in the possession of the Alloowalya Sirdar, in the Bist, and it was greatly enlarged and beautified by Futteh Singh. His friendship for the Maharajah was sincere, and they exchanged turbans, which, among the Sikhs, is considered the strongest bond of friendship. Character of Futteh Singh. The sirdar was exceedingly fond of horses; His fondness for horses. and in memory of a favorite black charger, he erected a tomb, over which was placed a clay figure of the horse. It was near the entrance of the city on approaching it from the Beas.

At the time when the Sikh sirdars divided the Punjab amongst them, Churruth Singh, the grandfather of Runjeet Singh, had about 400, or 500, horsemen in his employ.

One account is, that this Churruth Singh was kind to a fukeer, whom he fed and clothed. One day the fukeer came to Churruth Singh's house and jumping on his back, began to beat him with his shoe, ordering him to leave his fields, for Churruth Singh was at this time a zemindar near Goojurawala. Churruth Singh obeyed the orders of the fukeer, and at first, bought five horses, and became a highway robber. By degrees he increased his force, and seized on several villages, Rise of Churruth Singh. such as Pindan Khan, and Loon Khana, or the

Forms the
Sookkur or
Sukkur Chu-
keea Missul.

salt mines; at length he formed an independent Missul, named the Sukker Chukeea.

Sookkur, or Sakkur, was a village in the Manja country, which is now in ruins; but from his residing there, Churruth Singh named his Missul after it.

Killed by the
bursting of his
gun.

Churruth Singh was killed in the year 1767, by the bursting of his gun, when Maha Singh was only seven years old. The Mootusuddee and Dewan managed the affairs of the Missul for the young sirdar; but when he attained the years of maturity, he took the management into his own hands. Maha Singh became a great sirdar, and had 60,000 horsemen. At the age of twenty, and while at war with the zemindars, his son Runjeet Singh was born. At this time he took the fort of Rusoolghur, and the name *Ranjeet* was bestowed on his son, signifying the "field of battle;" this occurred in 1780, or thirteen years after the death of Churruth Singh. Maha Singh managed the affairs of his Missul satisfactorily, and at length demanded the daughter of Goorbuksh Singh, Ghuneeya, in marriage for his son. When Runjeet Singh was eight years of age, or in 1788, Maha Singh died of dysentery.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LIFE OF THE MAHARAJAH RUNJEET SINGH,
FOUNDER OF THE SIKH MONARCHY.

It has been stated in the foregoing chapter, ^{Introductory remarks.} that Churruth Singh, the grandfather of the Maharajah, was the founder of the Sookur Chukeea, or Sukker Chukeea Missul, reckoned one of the smallest in the Punjab. This man was a zemindar, and became, like many other Jats, a Sikh, which seemed to be the first step to the favorite trade of robbery and pillage. The quiet and industrious Jat, so long as he remained a cultivator of the field, never concerned himself with his neighbour's affairs, or prospects; but when he saw a lawless set of Sikh robbers, with numerous followers, and apparently in the enjoyment of every luxury of life, which he found it impossible, with every exertion of himself and his family, to procure, it is no wonder that he was often tempted to renounce his life of toil and trouble, for the less irksome pursuits of a robber. Churruth Singh did not

require the chastisement of a fukeer to induce him to seek his livelihood by less arduous labour than cultivating the fields; and the well-known tenets of Govind Singh, whereby the use of the sword was enforced, had a ready attraction for him and others. The story of the fukeer is, no doubt, one of those invented to give a romantic colouring to the history of Runjeet's ancestor, and to supply some excuse for Churruth Singh's adoption of the disreputable calling of a robber. The exact date of Churruth Singh's death, by the bursting of his matchlock, is differently stated by former historians of the Punjab. According to one, it occurred in 1774, while another gives 1771; a difference of three years. Now in the Mussulman records regarding this event, the death of Churruth Singh is stated to have occurred when his son Maha Singh was only seven years of age; and further, that Runjeet Singh, the son of the latter, was born when he had attained the age of twenty. All are, moreover, agreed, that the Maharajah was born in the year of the Christian era 1780; so that his father being then twenty years old, he must have been born in 1760, and seven years added to this will give the correct year of Churruth Singh's death, 1767.

The age of
Maha Singh.

Birth of Run-
jeet Singh.

Runjeet Singh was born, at Goojurawala, on the 2nd November, 1780.

His mother was of the Jheend family; the father was Maha Singh, a man of great military skill and bravery. He died young; thus leaving his son, a

boy of eight years of age, in the hands of his mother and the Dewan, and under the control of his mother-in-law Suda Koonwur, one of the most artful and ambitious women who figure in Sikh history. The mother of Runjeet Singh was aided in the government of the Missul by Lukput Singh, her husband's dewan, with whom she was on terms of undue intimacy; but on Runjeet attaining the years of manhood, he threw off the thralldom of this man and his mother; and the latter, it was supposed, was poisoned. It appears further, that the favours of the Queen-regent were not exclusively confined to Lukput Singh; and from all accounts, we are to conclude, that both the mother and wife of Runjeet Singh were abandoned characters. The Maharajah was a second time married to Raj Koonwur, the daughter of Khujan Singh, the Nukee chief; and his third wife was the present Ranee of Lahore, and supposed mother of Dhuleep Singh.

The abandoned character of his wife and mother. His second wife.

The mother of Mehtab Koonwur, the first wife of Runjeet Singh, as already stated, was anxious to connect herself with the family of Maha Singh, who was a rising man; and as she knew that on the death of her father-in-law Jye Singh, the possessions of the powerful Missul, the Ghuneeya, would fall into her hands, she thought, by getting the control of the youthful Runjeet, she might easily subject the Punjab to her own dominion. She appeared to calculate with certainty regarding the results, for the youthful career of her son-in-law was such as to give every hope of the Ramghureea

The politic views of Suda Koonwur.

Missul yielding to him ; the only remaining power in the Punjab, seeing that she herself was at the head of the Ghuneeya.

Lahore in the possession of Runjeet Singh.

In 1799, Lahore was in the possession of Runjeet Singh. To wrest it from him, a powerful coalition

was entered into between Jussa Singh, Ramghureea, Goolab Singh, Saheb Singh, Jodh Singh, and Nizamut Deen Khan of Kussoor. Opposed to these, were the combined forces of Runjeet Singh and Suda Koonwur.

Is besieged, but in vain.

Failing in the space of four months to make any impression on the place, the siege was raised. Near Wittala, however, a battle was fought between Suda Koonwur, and Jodh Singh son of Jussa Singh, Ramghureea ; Suda

Suda Koonwur victorious over Jussa Singh.

Koonwur was also aided by Runjeet Singh. Suda Koonwur was victorious. After this, Runjeet Singh

Seizes Meeroowal and Jussurwal.

proceeding to Jummo, first seized on Meeroowal. The sirdar of Meeroowal brought a tribute of 8,000 rupees. He next subjected the fort of Jussurwal.

Takes Sealkote.

When he had advanced to within four miles of Jummo, he encamped, and the rajah visited him, bringing presents. On his return from Jummo, the Maharajah took Sealkote, and imprisoned Dul Singh, his father's maternal uncle ; and Dewan Mokum Chund was also imprisoned by Saheb Singh. He

Raises the siege of Atulghur.

beseiged Atulghur, which was defended by the wife of Dul Singh. She was aided by Saheb Singh and others, and Runjeet gave up the siege and proceeded against Dilawurghur. The hostile armies were separated from each other about eight miles. Several skirmishes took place, and Kesree Singh, Sodee,

delivered up Dilawurghur, and received for jagheer, Shah Durrah. The Maharajah returned to Lahore. About this time Ensuf Ullee Khan arrived as vakeel from the British, bringing presents to the Maharajah. In the year A.D. 1800* Khurruk Singh was born.

Dilawurghur delivered to Runjeet Singh.

A vakeel arrives from the British. Khurruk Singh born.

Again, Saheb Singh, Bhungeea, raised a tumult at Goojurawala, and Runjeet Singh went against him; but peace was concluded through the intervention of Suda Koonwur, and Runjeet returned to Lahore. The Maharajah next proceeded against Nizamut Oodeen Khan, of Kusoor, but he did not succeed in taking that strong fort; he, however, burned and pillaged the suburbs.

Saheb Singh raises a tumult.

Unsuccessful attempt on Kusoor.

Saheb Singh, Bhungeea, and others of this Missal, again raised the standard of revolt at Goojurawala; and Runjeet, leaving Futteh Singh, Kalawala, to command at Kusoor, proceeded against Saheb Singh. An engagement took place, and a peace was again concluded. The Maharajah now proceeded towards the hills, to assist Suda Koonwur, who was fighting unsuccessfully against the Rajah of Noorpoor and Sunsar Chund, of Kuloch. The latter fled to his own country, on the approach of the Maharajah, and he having taken the fort of Nuoshuhur from the Noorpoor rajah, bestowed it with all its revenues on Suda Koonwur. Returning from thence, the Maharajah took the fort of Pind-deeputtean, across the Chenab, and bestowed the

Saheb Singh again revolts.

Runjeet proceeds to assist Suda Koonwur.

Nuoshuhur taken.

Pindeeputtean taken.

* The year 1802 is generally given for this event; but it happened in Bik. 1857, which corresponds to the year in the text.

Fort of Bund taken. From this he came to the fort of Bund, which he besieged for two months; when it surrendered. He next exacted tribute from the zemindars of the Dhunnee country, famous for its breed of horses, and returned to Lahore.

The zemindars of Dhunnee subdued.

Goes against Mooltan, and receives a nuzurana.

The Maharajah now resolved on subduing Kusoor; and with this view collected all the sirdars in the Bist, while he himself went against Mooltan. When he arrived near the city, the governor sent him a tribute; which being accepted, the Maharajah retraced his steps to Lahore.

Assists Suda Koonwur against Bagh Singh.

Bagh Singh, Bhungee, who was now at the head of the Ghuneeya Missul, died; and his son, who succeeded him, made war on Suda Koonwur. She asked for assistance from her son-in-law, who proceeded to join her. He ravaged the country about Wittala, and besieged Soojaupore. He, at length, effected peace between Suda Koonwur and her opponent, and returned to Lahore. In the same

Ranjeet bathes in the Ganges at Hurdwar.

year, the Maharajah wishing to bathe in the Ganges, crossed the Sutlej and Jumnah, and after he had bathed, returned to Lahore. Shortly

Takes Fugwarrah, also Bujwarrah.

after this, he seized on Fugwarrah, in the Bist Jalindhur, and gave it to Futteh Singh, Alloowalya. The villages also of Hooshearpore, and the fort of Bujwarrah in the same Doab, which paid tribute to Sunsar Chund, were taken possession of.

Juswunt Rao arrives in the Punjab.

In 1805, Jsumunt Rao, the Mahratta, and Ameer Khan, flying from the English, arrived in

the Punjab, with a large force of horse and foot. General Lord Lake arrived in pursuit of them at Jellalabad, near the Beas. The Maharajah mediated peace between the Mahratta and the British. This, was at length, concluded. Runjeet Singh then visited Juswunt Rao, and learned many particulars from him regarding the British. He heard with astonishment of their warlike exploits. After that period, the Maharajah began to dread the power of the British, and determined to keep on peaceful terms with them, and he despatched a vakeel to Lord Lake.

Learns from him the power of the British.

When peace had been concluded between the British and the Mahrattas, the forces of both left the Punjab.

In the month of Bysakh (April) 1806, the Maharajah wished to bathe in the tank of the Kutas, in the vicinity of the Indus; and in his journey towards it, he reduced all the zemindars. On his return he was seized with a loathsome disease brought on by his own indiscretion, which obliged him to remain at the village of Meeanee, on the bank of the Jelum, until he recovered. In the third month he reached Lahore, and ordered the Shalamar gardens to be repaired; and for the purpose of watering them, the canal of Ali Murdan Khan was brought through them. By this measure the lands in the vicinity were much improved, and their revenues increased. In the month of October, he resolved to take possession of the country on the left bank of the Sutlej, and with

Is seized with an illness.

Remains at Meeanee until he recovers.

Repairs the Shalamar gardens.

Takes the fort of Loodianah.

this view, the Maharajah crossed the river, and took the fort of Loodianah; which he bestowed on his maternal uncle Bagh Singh, of Jheend, displacing Noorsoor Misr, the widow of Rao Ilias.

The Mahawala pays a nuzurana.

He received a nuzurana from the Mahawala Jsumunt Singh; and from thence he went to Pattialah, where he made peace between the rajah and his

Receives a lakh of rupees from the Pattialah rajah.

wife, receiving for his good offices a lakh of rupees in money and property. In going and returning he exacted tribute and allegiance from the sirdars

Goes against Kussoor.

of the Malwa Doab. In the year 1807, the Maharajah set out for Kussoor, collecting his army at Umritsir. The fort of Kussoor was occupied and defended by Kootuboodeen Khan, the son of Nizamut Oodeen Khan, and he offered a fierce resistance

Is taken by treachery.

to his assailant, who had formerly failed against his father. But where force of arms could not prevail, the stratagems and wiles of a woman did; for Suda Koonwur, by bribing some of the Khan's people, prevailed on them to open the gates; and this strong fort was at length taken possession of by Runjeet Singh.

Dehalpore also taken.

The Pathan fort of Dehalpore also yielded, so that the whole of Kussoor came into the possession of the Maharajah.

Goes against Mooltan.

Runjeet Singh had determined on the subjection of Mooltan, and proceeded in the direction of that strong fort, exacting tribute from the zemindars

Pillages it, and receives a nuzurana.

of the country through which he passed. He plundered the city of Mooltan; but the governor of the fort, Moozuffur Khan, by paying a nuzurana

of 70,000 rupees, induced the Maharajah to return to Lahore.

In the month of October, 1808, Runjeet proceeded through the Bist, and crossed the Sutlej. He seized the cities of Jagraon and Rhaee-ka-kote, receiving a ransom of 40,000 rupees, from Futteh Singh, for the former. From thence, the Maharajah went to Naba, and received a second nuzurana from Jumsunt Singh; also from Saheb Singh, of Pattialah; the Mulherwala and Kotilawala; likewise from the Keonthul rajah, Kurm Singh of Shahabad; Bugwun Singh, Bhooreea; Goorbuksh Singh, Umballowala; and all the sirdars and zemindars, in that part of the country. He then returned to Lahore, taking the fort of Narrainghur; where Futteh Singh Kalawala, and several other sirdars were killed. This fort was given to his friend Futteh Singh Alloowalya by the Maharajah, and from whom he received a nuzurana of 8,000 rupees. From Goptah Singh, of Maneemajirah, the Maharajah exacted 30,000 rupees; and from the sirdars of Roopur, half that sum.

Mokhum Chund having escaped from the confinement in which he had been placed by Saheb Singh, Goojurawala, arrived at Lahore, and was received into the service of the Maharajah. He obtained Raon and the neighbouring country in jagheer. This district had lately been wrested from the widow of Tara Singh, by Runjeet Singh. In the month of Magh, (January) Runjeet set out for Pathan Kote, taking Suda Koonwur along with

Takes Jagraon and Rhaee-ka-kote.

Exacts tribute from all the sirdars of the Doab.

Takes Narrainghur.

Mokhum Chund arrives at Lahore.

Subjects
Bissoulee.

him. He reached Wittala, and from thence went to Jusrota, and levied contributions. He next proceeded to Bissoulee, and exacted 8,000 rupees from the rajah as an annual tribute, besides nuzurana; the latter amounted to 25,000 rupees. The wuzeer of Sunsar Chund, Kutoch, visited the Maharajah, with a request from his master that he would assist him against Umma Singh, the Goorkha chief; but the Maharajah would not agree. Departing from the hills, Runjeet Singh arrived at Sealkote which he besieged for seven days, and took it; the charge of this strong fortress was made over to Gunda Singh, Sofi. Leaving Sealkote, the Maharajah proceeded to the Chenab, where Saheb Singh, Bhungee, met him, with a present in money, and a horse. He despatched Dul Singh, who had succeeded Futteh Singh, Kalowala, with a force to subdue the zemindars in the Doabs Chinth and Sindh-sagur, lying between the Chenab, Jelum and Indus, and lay them under contributions. The Maharajah himself went to Juemul Singh's (Ghuneeya) country, and obtained much spoil and riches; after which he returned to Lahore. From thence he despatched Mokum Chund, Jodh Singh, and other sirdars across the Gharra, at Hurreekee, towards Mumdhote. They seized on Zera and Kotekapoorah, and laid siege to Fureedkote; but from want of water, and on receiving 8,000 rupees and two horses, they raised the siege. Contributions were then laid on all the zemindars of Sirhind. In January 1808, Runjeet

Retakes Seal-
kote.

Goes to the
Chenab.

Zera and
Kotekapoorah
taken.

Siege of
Fureedkote
raised.

Singh sent his artillery against Hursun Moonerah, or Sheikhporeea; the place was besieged and taken, and bestowed on Khurruk Singh, the Maharajah's eldest son. At the end of Bysakh (April) a vakeel arrived from the British government bringing presents; he was received kindly and khilats bestowed on him. In the course of this year, the fort of Goojur Singh, Bhungeea, at Umritsir, was repaired, or rebuilt. In it the treasure was deposited, under a guard of 2,000 soldiers, and the whole put under the charge of Emamooden, the brother of Azeezooden. This is the celebrated fort of Govindghur, strongly built of brick and lime, with numerous bastions, and strong iron-gates: twenty-five pieces of cannon were likewise placed in the fort. During this year troops were sent to Mooltan, to exact tribute from Moozuffer Khan, the governor, and also the zemindars of that rich country. About this time, the rajah of Jheend, Bagh Singh; and Bhaee Lal Singh, Mhytulwala, arrived at Umritsir, with presents and horses for the Maharajah; also Bhowanee Dass, Moobra, the dewan of Wuzeer Shere Mohummud, came with all his family from Peshawur, having fled from that place. He brought rich presents, in money and other articles, for the Maharajah, and entered his service. He formed a regular treasury for Runjeet Singh, and paid his troops, and was thus of great use to Runjeet Singh, who, hitherto, had adopted no regulated scale of payments. During the same year, Mr. Metcalfe arrived from Delhi,

Sheikhporeea taken.

Govindghur built, and the treasure deposited there.

Tribute exacted from Mooltan.

Bhowanee Dass arrives at Lahore.

Mr. Metcalfe arrives at Umritsir.

The Ukalees in great numbers attack his escort, are defeated and pursued.

Conduct of Runjeet on the occasion.

Resolves to adopt British discipline and arms.

as ambassador, or envoy, from the British. He remained nearly two months at Umritsir, settling boundaries. During the Mohurrum, the soldiers belonging to Mr. Metcalfe's escort had constructed their tazeeas.* Seeing these, the Ukalees assembled to the number of 3,000 or 4,000, with the intention of destroying them and preventing the celebration of the festival. At first Mr. Metcalfe took no notice of them, from his wish to give no offence to the Maharajah, and endeavoured to persuade them to desist; but finding fair words thrown away upon these fanatics, he collected his escort, amounting to about 500 or less, and prepared to defend himself. The Sepahees boldly attacked the rabble, and slew and wounded several of them; the rest fled, pursued by the British troops towards the city. The Maharajah, who was then at Goovindghur, observing the tumult, came outside, and shaking his kummurbund,† as a signal for peace, proceeded towards Mr. Metcalfe's tent, to which the British soldiers returned. Runjeet Singh complimented the envoy on the bravery of his soldiers, and determined thenceforth to adopt the arms and discipline of the British, seeing that a few hundred of the latter put to flight as many thousands of his fiercest troops.

A few days after this occurrence, a khillut, or dress of honour, was presented to Mr. Metcalfe, and

* Elegant structures of tinsel-work, intended to celebrate the festival.

† A white cloth tied round the loins.

he took his departure, after completing a short treaty with Runjeet Singh, whereby the latter agreed to preserve peace and amity with the British ; not to keep more troops on the left bank of the Sutlej than were necessary for preserving his territories ; and to abstain from making any further inroads, or levying contributions on the Sikh chiefs on the left bank of the Sutlej, who thus placed themselves under British protection, and were in future denominated the "protected Sikh chiefs." This treaty was concluded at Umritsir, on the 25th of April 1809, and was religiously kept by Runjeet Singh until the day of his death, or a period of nearly thirty years. After this, a British force occupied Loodianah during the year 1809, under the command of Sir David Ochterlony. Opposite to Loodianah, and near the right bank of the Sutlej, the Maharajah built the fort of Phillour, for the protection of the ghat. The Dewan Mokum Chund was appointed killadar, or commandant of the fort ; and Nund Singh Bukshee was sent as vakeel, or ambassador, to Sir David Ochterlony ; he was the father of Govind Juss, and Kishen Chund, who afterwards occupied the same important appointment, when Captains Murray and Wade were political agents.

Treaty formed
with the
Maharajah.

A British
force occupies
Loodianah.

Runjeet builds
Phillour.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE LIFE OF RUNJEET SINGH,
AFTER THE TREATY OF 1809 WITH THE BRITISH.

Goes against
Kote Kangra.

IN 1809 the Maharajah went against Kote Kangra, on account of the Goorkha chief, Ummur Singh, having attacked Sunsar Chund. The latter had made an able defence for the space of four years; but at length, he determined to give up this strong fort to Runjeet Singh, and sent a vakeel to the Maharajah with the offer of it, provided the Maharajah would drive the Goorkhas out of his country. The Maharajah took a large army with him, and was accompanied by Suda Koonwur. He took the road by Wittala and Juwala Mookhee; and at the latter place collected all his sirdars, and made them take an oath that they would support him in the war which he was about to wage against the Goorkhas.

Collects a
large army.

A fierce en-
gagement
takes place.

The siege of
Kangra
raised.

A fierce engagement took place between the Sikhs and Ummur Singh's troops; and it was computed, that at least 1,000 fell on each side. After this, Ummur Singh raised the siege of Kangra.

He then lived among the Hazarians, who supplied him with grain; but this failing, he took up his position in the fort of Malakra, which was besieged by the Maharajah, and yielded after a few days, and the Goorkhas agreed to leave the country, after paying a nuzurana to the victor. Ummur Singh and the Goorkhas thus left the country, carrying all their families along with them.

Fort of Malakra taken.

Ummur Singh leaves the country.

For the fulfilment of the agreement with Sunsar Chund, a son of the latter had been sent as a hostage, but on seeing the departure of the Goorkhas, Sunsar Chund refused to deliver up Kote Kangra. Suda Koonwur seated herself on an elephant with the boy, and proceeding towards the fort, demanded the keys. These were refused, until the son of Sunsar Chund was made to say, that it was his wish that they should be given up. The gates were then opened, and Suda Koonwur took possession of the fort, and released the son of Sunsar Chund; who, on going to his father, related to him the trick that had been played on him by the wily Suda Koonwur. The rajah was greatly enraged at his having been overmatched by a woman. Desa Singh, Majeethea, was appointed killadar, or commandant, of Kote Kangra. When the news spread among the hill states, that the Maharajah was in possession of a fort, hitherto considered by them impregnable, they readily yielded allegiance to the Maharajah; who returned to Lahore through the Bist Jalindhur, taking, as he proceeded, the village of Hurreeanah from the widow of Buggut Singh,

Sunsar Chund refuses to give up Kangra.

Induced to do so by Suda Koonwur.

Desa Singh appointed killadar of Kangra.

The hill states yield.

Hurreeanah taken.

lately deceased. At the feast of the Dewalee, he arrived at Umritsir, and in the month of Magh, (January) 1810, learned that Jodh Singh, of Wuzeerabad, had died. The Maharajah proceeded, forthwith, in that direction, and received a nuzurana from the son of the late sirdar, who was established in his father's place. The Maharajah then crossed the Chenab; and Saheb Singh, Bhungee, hearing of his approach, fled to the hills; so, that his city of Goojrat fell an easy prey, and without opposition, to Runjeet Singh. Nooroodeen, brother to Azeezodeen, was left in charge of it. From thence, the Maharajah went to Saeewal, and the zemindars of the district, after a few days' fighting were brought under subjection. He then went to Khooshab, and fought with the sirdars of that place; who became tributaries to him, and concluded a peace after a few days.

Takes Goojrat.

Subdues Khooshab.

Shah Soojah Ool Moolk.

About this time, Shah Soojah Ool Moolk, who had been king of Cabul, arrived at Khooshab, and visited the Maharajah on friendly terms. They discussed the subject of Mooltan, which the Shah advised Runjeet to seize, and make over to him. The Maharajah appeared to agree to the proposal, and departed for Mooltan. For the space of two months, he besieged the place, and plundered the suburbs. During this siege, Uttur Singh, Dharee, was killed. When Moozuffur Khan, the governor, saw no chance of assistance, he agreed to pay a nuzurana of a lakh and 80,000 rupees, at the same time offering to pay allegiance to the Maha-

Besieges and plunders Mooltan.

The governor pays a nuzurana, and yields allegiance.

rajah, and throw off that of Cabul. The Maharajah accepted the nuzurana, and departed for Lahore.

At this time Himmud Singh, of Jilleewal, who was vakeel of Juswunt Singh, of Naba, deserted from his master and took service with the Maharajah. He became wuzeer, or prime minister, and received Alawalpore purgunnah, in jagheer. In the course of the year 1809, Bhya Khooshyal Singh, a native of Hindostan, became a soldier in the service of the Maharajah, and made himself a great favourite with the latter. He was appointed chamberlain, or deeree; and without his order, no one could see the Maharajah. This office was a lucrative one and became the means of enriching its possessor, who often received large sums for obtaining an interview with so celebrated a personage as Runjeet Singh had now become. In the month of Katukh (October) 1809, Mehtab Koonwur, the daughter of Suda Koonwur, and wife of Runjeet Singh, died. During the latter part of this year, Wuzeerabad was taken from the son of Jodh Singh.

Khooshyal
Singh.

Mehtab Koon-
wur dies.

1867 Bik.
1810 A.D.

Hallowal
taken.

Bhember
taken.

The purgunnah of Hallowal, which is in the Doab Rechna, was also taken from Bagh Singh; and the Dewan Mokhum Chund was sent against Sooltan Khan, the rajah of Bhember. The latter fought gallantly, but at length lost his fort, and became a tributary of the Lahore government, agreeing to pay 40,000 rupees annually.

The Maharajah in the winter season went to Pind Dadun Khan, making all the zemindars

tributaries to him. At the Hooly festival he returned to Lahore.

1868 Bik.

1811 A.D.

Nukee added to the Maharajah's possessions.

In 1811, Mokhum Chund was sent against the Nukee country, lying between Mooltan and Manja, and it was added to the possessions of the Maharajah, several villages being given in jagheer. In the month of Asih (September) the city of Jalindhur was besieged by Mokum Chund and taken, and the fort of Philour fully garrisoned by the Dewan. Nidhan Singh, son of Jye Singh, a man of very intemperate habits, and incapable of managing his affairs, being imprisoned, Hajeepore and Saeen in the Jalindhur were taken from him, and several other villages bestowed in jagheer; he was afterwards released and lived with his mother Raj Koonwur, the widow of the great Jye Singh, Ghuneeya.

Nidhan Singh imprisoned.

Khurruk Singh married.

In the course of this year, the marriage of Khurruk Singh, with Chund Koonwur, the daughter of Juemul Singh, Ghuneeya, was celebrated with great splendour, and Sir David Ochterlony honoured the nuptials with his presence. Two lakhs of rupees were expended on this occasion by the Maharajah.

1869 Bik.

1812 A.D.

Koolloo, Sookhet, and Mundhee become tributary.

In the month of Bysakh (April) 1812, the Maharajah sent Mokhum Chund to take possession of Koolloo and Sookhet. Both the rajahs of Koolloo, Mundhee and Sookhet, with several others in the hill provinces became tributaries of Lahore, and presented a nuzurana of one lakh and ninety thousand rupees. During this year, Bhaee Ram Singh, who was the Pesh-kar of Khurruk Singh, received Jummoo in jagheer; and he was sent against

Sooltan Khan, of Bhember, who had rebelled. There was an obstinate fight, and the Sikhs were routed The Sikhs routed at Bhember. and lost great numbers in killed and wounded. Mokhum Chund was sent to take the chief command; and by his successful efforts, peace was established, and Sooltan Khan induced to accompany him to Lahore, where he visited the Maharajah, was imprisoned by the latter, and kept in confinement for the space of six years. He was afterwards sent to Jummo, and remained a prisoner with Goolab Singh until the day of his death.

In 1812 Futteh Khan, with a view of conquering Futteh Khan asks aid against Cashmere. Cashmere, which was governed by Atta Mohummud, the son of Shere Mohummud, left Peshawur and crossed the Attock; from thence, he sent an ambassador to the Maharajah, asking for his aid in the conquest of Cashmere. It is conquered. On this, the Maharajah collected a large army, containing numerous sirdars, and the chief command was bestowed on Mokhum Chund. This army was sent to aid Futteh Khan. Cashmere, was conquered, and Atta Mohummud driven out of the city. It is said that the wife of Shah Soojah Ool Moolk, usually styled the wufu Begum, offered Mokhum Chund the *Koh-i-noor** if he would release her husband, who was then a prisoner to Atta Mohummud. The Dewan released the Shah, and took him back along with him to Lahore. When the brother of Atta

* The precious diamond styled the "mountain of light," now in the possession of Dhuleep Singh. The Maharajah wanted to bestow it on the temple of Juggernath. *Vide* Steinbach's "Punjab."

Mohummud heard of the capture of Cashmere, he wrote a letter to the Maharajah requesting the province of Attock in jagheer. On receiving this request, Azeezodeen was despatched to Attock, where he received Atta Mohummud's brother with great kindness and distinction, and put him in possession of Wuzeerabad. When Shah Soojah and his Begum reached Lahore, the Maharajah demanded the *Koh-i-noor* from the latter, but she refused to fulfil her promise, and the Maharajah imprisoned the Ex-King, and at length obtained it.

Runjeet obtains the Koh-i-noor.

Shah Soojah escapes from Lahore.

In the course of the year, 1812, Shah Soojah Ool Moolk escaped from Lahore to Rajouree in the hills, and from thence to Loodianah, after suffering great privations.*

Futteh Khan attacks Attock.

In 1813, there was a famine in the Punjab, and Futteh Khan, collecting a large army, made an attempt on Attock. On hearing this, the Maharajah lost no time in going to meet him. When the two armies were separated about eight miles, they began to skirmish, without coming to any decided engagement. In the month of Asar (June), when the weather had become oppressively hot, the Sikh army advanced under Mokhum Chund; and on the second day a great battle took place. The Pathans were taken by surprise and completely

The Pathans vanquished by Mokhum Chund.

* Another account states, that the Ex-King made his escape direct to Loodianah by means of an accomplice, who effected his release from the house in which he was confined, and placed horses for him on the road to Loodianah. Others say that he was obliged to escape through a sewer or drain.

routed and dispersed, fighting with each other in the confusion that ensued. A party of Ghazeeas, however, who were better mounted than the rest, attacked the Sikh guns, and drove the gunners from them; but they were speedily overpowered, the guns retaken, and the whole party cut to pieces. Futteh Khan made his escape, and recrossed the Attock. All his camp fell into the hands of the Sikhs. In the month of Sawun (July), the Maharajah returned to Lahore.

After this first decided and great victory over the Pathans, the latter became afraid of the Sikhs. On reaching Lahore, the Maharajah caused the city to be illuminated, as well as Umritsir, and other large cities such as Wittala. Two months were spent in rejoicings at the success of the Sikhs against the Pathans. In the month of Asun (September), the Maharajah wished to visit Attock, with a view of still further intimidating the Pathans.

The Maharajah took the road by Kote Kangra, sending his army direct to the Jelum. He offered presents at Juwala Mookhee, and worshipped there, exacting tribute from the rajah. He then proceeded by the foot of the hills to Jelum. Here he mustered his troops,* and marched to Attock.

Having examined all the buildings in the fort, the Maharajah was very much pleased with them.

* Named "Muojudat" in the language of the natives.

He remained for some time at the place, and then returned to Lahore, leaving Mokhum Chund to settle the country about Attock; after which the Dewan also went to Lahore.

Determines on the conquest of Cashmere.

In the year, Bik. 1871, or A.D. 1814, the Maharajah determined on making a complete conquest of Cashmere; and with this view, summoned all the hill sirdars, as well as those of the plains, and assembled the whole at Sealkote. Thither the Maharajah proceeded in person, and inspected his force. He sent Mokhum Chund back to Lahore to govern in his absence; and he himself, with his whole force, proceeded towards Cashmere. On reaching Rajouree he encamped in the Shah bagh,† and summoned the Rajah Agheer Khan to his presence. By the advice of this man, Ghuosee Khan, commandant of artillery, Meth Singh, Dyal Singh, nephew to Mokhum Chund, and several other sirdars, were sent forward by the route of Byram Gulleh. The Maharajah took the road by Poonch; and the hill soldiers accompanied him. The sirdars crossed the Peer Pinjal, and reached Cashmere, where Azeem Khan proposed to meet them. A battle ensued, and Jewun Mul, commandant of Khurruk Singh's troops, led the van, and boldly engaged the Khan. At this juncture, a storm of snow took place; and the Sikhs being wholly unaccustomed to such an occurrence, and their feet and hands becoming cold, they could make no

A force sent in advance by Byram Gulleh.

A snow storm, disastrous to the Sikhs.

† King's garden.

stand, and the cavalry of Azeem Khan coming up, the Sikh infantry was completely routed, and many were killed; among the rest, the gallant Jewun Mul and numerous sirdars; the rest fled in all directions. The ensuing night witnessed the Sikhs in a sad plight, running and wandering about the snow-clad hills and valleys of Cashmere.* The wounded men collected round the tent of Ram Dyal, who retired to a village in the vicinity of Sreenuggur.† Those who fled, collected in the hill-pass of Ram Gulleh. At the latter place, Bhaee Ram Singh was stationed with 4,000 men, and a supply of provisions; but hearing of the defeat of the Sikhs, he fled to Rajouree. The Maharajah, who was at Poonch, was told that he could not cross the hills to Cashmere, and was advised to return to Lahore. Hearing of the signal defeat of his troops, the Maharajah marched back to Lahore.‡ In the retreat of the Sikhs from Cashmere, the people hurled stones against them, by which many were killed; among the rest, Meth Singh. From Poonch, the Maharajah marched to Meerpore, and from thence to the Punjab. Azeezooden was despatched to a hill Ranee, and by flattery and smooth words, which the fukeer knew well how to employ, he obtained her assistance in keeping

The Sikhs put to flight and dispersed.

Many Sikhs killed in their retreat.

* The Maharajah used to express a horror of Cashmere from its snow and cold, and wondered how any English traveller should wish to visit such a place.

† The capital of Cashmere.

‡ This disaster was a sore subject with the Maharajah, and he never touched on it without denouncing Cashmere as a vile place.

Azeem Khan surrounds Ram Dyal, who concludes a peace.

the road clear. The Maharajah's troops were terribly harassed, and many of them disabled; for the Wuzeer Roohoola, governor of Poonch, had blocked up the road, and cut off many of the Sikhs. On the second day, Azeem Khan pursued Ram Dyal and surrounded him. The latter, hearing of the departure of the Maharajah, made but a slight resistance, and concluded a peace, and thus escaped. Crossing the Peer Pinjal, he effected a junction with Bhaee Ram Singh, and their united forces at length reached Lahore. The Maharajah, though sorely vexed at the unsuccessful attempt, was yet rejoiced at their return, and made presents to the

Death of Mokhum Chund.

brahmins and fukeers. In the same year, (1814) Mokhum Chund died at Phillour on the Sutlej, and his tomb was erected in a garden at that place.

His son Motee Ram succeeds him.

The Dewan was a man of the greatest military tact, and had always been successful in the various important commands bestowed on him by the Maharajah. His son Motee Ram succeeded him as Dewan, and held possession of all his extensive lands. An army was now sent to seize Phoola

Phoola Singh, Ukalee, seized.

Singh, Ukalee. This man had been joined by Nebal Singh, Attareewala, and raised a great disturbance; but was at length captured, and brought a prisoner to Lahore. In the month of Magh* (January), Ram Dyal was sent to exact tribute at

* This month answers to our January; but is not, like it, the first month of the Hindoo year; and this causes confusion in dates, for though the time here mentioned is designated by January, 1815, yet it is, in fact, the ninth month of the year 1781, Bikermajeet, corresponding to A.D. 1814.

Khana Kutchwa. He arrived in the Bhawalpore territory, where he was met by a vakeel from **Bhahawul Khan.** At this time, **Futteh Khan** and **Mohummud Shah** were in Scinde; but on receiving a nuzurana of three lakhs of rupees, they agreed to return. The Maharajah. dispatched **Motee Ram** and **Azeezoodeen** with 2,000 foot towards Bhawulpore; this force was accompanied by a portion of artillery. They joined an army under **Bhaee Ram Singh.** About the same time, the commandant of **Attock**, collecting an army, attacked and plundered **Peshawur**; but the governor sending a force against the Sikhs, the latter fled, and many of them were killed.

Futteh Khan and **Mohummud Shah** retire from Scinde.

Sikhs repulsed at Peshawur.

When the Maharajah heard the news, he was sorely vexed and annoyed, and replaced the commandant of **Attock** by **Hookma Singh**, **Chumnee**, who was sent with 2000 horsemen to take possession of the fort, and assume command of it. Several sirdars fell in the disastrous attempt on **Peshawur**, which took place in the year A.D. 1815.

Hookma Singh appointed to **Attock.**

In the same year, the Maharajah went to **Noorpoor**, and sent **Dewan Bhowanee Dass** and **Desa Singh**, **Majeetheea**, to extort tribute from the rajahs of **Koolloo** and **Mundhee.** In the month of **Bhadun** (August) **Johd Singh Ramghureea** died, and his son was made to pay a nuzurana of 50,000 rupees. The rajah of **Noorpoor** was imprisoned, and his country taken possession of by **Runjeet Singh.** After some months, the rajah made his escape to **Chumpal.** In **Koowar**, (September) the Maha-

The Maharajah goes to **Noorpoor.**

The rajah imprisoned, but escapes.

Runjeet proceeds to punish Agheer Khan.

Rajour taken by the Sikhs.

The city pillaged and destroyed.

Futteh Khan seizes on Cashmere

Runjeet proceeds to Mooltan.

Gets 1000 camels in the Bhur country.

rajah, with a view of punishing Agheer Khan, arrived at Bhember; and from thence despatched a large army, under Ram Dyal and Dul Singh, against Rajour. After marching for ten days, and pillaging as it went, this force reached Rajour, and besieged the city. After defending it for three or four days, the rajah escaped to the fastnesses of the hills, and concealed himself there. On finding the city deserted, the Sikhs pillaged, and afterwards burned it. The rajah's house was thrown down, and also the walls of the city. His whole country was laid waste, after which, the Maharajah leaving it, and taking the road by the foot of the hills, arrived at the Jelum. He ordered Dul Singh, Ram Dyal, and Dewan Singh, Ramghurreea, to proceed against Rhotas, and he himself returned to Lahore.

In the course of this year, (1816) Futteh Khan having crossed the Attock, proceeded by the route of Puklee and Dumdour to Cashmere; and there defeating his brother Azim Khan, assumed the government of the country, receiving the revenues from his vanquished brother. In the month of Bhadun (August) the Maharajah set out for Mooltan. Leaving Umritsir, he took the road through the Manja country, which was infested by robbers. These he forbid carrying on their nefarious practices, while he imposed fines on some, and enlisted great numbers in his service. From thence, he proceeded to the Bhur country, and there received one thousand camels as a nuzurana. Having arrived at the distance of fifteen miles from Mooltan, he encamped at the river Tommin, or three streams. Though

the governor wished to oppose him, yet the wretched state of the country was such as to render this impossible; and he therefore offered a nuzurana, which was accepted. The governor of Nunkheree also paid a nuzurana. The Maharajah returned to Lahore, and sent some troops to imprison the zemindars of Jungewal and seize their country. Soojan Rao was left to settle the country and revenues; and Ram Dyal went with a force to the Attock, in order to aid Hookma Singh, Chimme, commandant of that fortress, in settling the country. On reaching Attock, Ram Dyal despatched a force against Mohummud Khan, the zemindar of Dheree; who, unable to make any resistance, fled to the hills, and there concealed himself. The Sikhs took possession of his fort, and after a short time returned to their camp. On their way back they were attacked suddenly by the Pathans, who had concealed themselves for this purpose, and great numbers of the Sikhs were slain. After two or three days Ram Dyal reached Kala-ka-serai and was ordered to remain there until Futteh Khan should leave Cashmere and cross the Attock. In the month of Asar (June) the rajah of Noorpoor collecting his scattered troops, made a sudden attack on the place, but could make no impression upon it; and crossing the Sutlej, he took refuge in the territory of Hindour.*

The governor of Mooltan pays a nuzurana.

Troops sent against a Pathan zemindar.

Sikhs attacked by the Pathans.

The rajah of Noorpoor makes an attempt to regain his country, but fails.

* It is said that this rajah, whose name was Bheer Singh, kept twelve men dressed so like himself, that they could not be distinguished from him at a distance.

The Maha-
rajah visits
Kote Kangra.

In the month of Koowar (September) the Maharajah went to Kote Kangra and Jawala Moodhee ; where he remained for two months, receiving tribute from the rajahs of Koolloo, Numdhee, and Sookhet.

Nooroodeen
appointed to
settle the
Ramghureea
Missul.

Hearing that the successors of Jodh Singh, Ramghureea, were quarrelling among themselves, he sent for, and imprisoned them, and on his return from the hills destroyed all their forts. He besieged the Ramghureea fort at Umritsir, which he took in two days, and then went to Lahore ; and for the purpose of settling the Ramghureea Missul, he appointed Nooroodeen, the brother of Azeezodeen, to this important charge. Nooroodeen went to Rahela* on the bank of the Beas. The lands of the Missul were divided into three portions. One belonged to the government of Lahore, these were the crown lands ; another was bestowed in jagheer ; while the third was given to fukeers. The author† to whom we are indebted for these particulars regarding the life of Runjeet Singh, went, at this time, from Wittala to Lahore, where he remained for two months.

Another
attempt on
Mooltan.

In the cold weather, Bhowanee Dass, Peshawuree, Hurree Singh, Nulwa, and other sirdars, with a large army, were sent against Mooltan, while Dewan Chund, commandant of artillery, followed, and joined them with a large number of guns. After receiving

* This fort was built by Gooroo Hur Govind, and is sometimes named Siree Hurgovind Pooreea.

† Synd Uhmud Shah.

tribute and a nuzurana from the governor of **Mun-
kheree**, the whole force proceeded towards **Mooltan**,
and besieged that strong fort; but the governor Unsuccessful.
Moozuffur Khan made a gallant defence, and the
Sikhs were obliged to raise the siege. On this
army reaching **Lahore**, the **Maharajah** imprisoned
Bhowanee Dass, after fining him 10,000 rupees.

In the month **Bysakh**,* (April) **Bik**, 1874, or The Maha-
rajah goes to
Deenanuggur.
A.D. 1817, the **Maharajah** went to **Deenanuggur** †
at the hills, and remained there two months. He
extracted tribute from the rajah; and being in bad
health, he went through a course of medicine, and
afterwards embarked on the **Ravee** for **Lahore**. At
the end of the year, **Bhaee Khooshyal Singh** gave
up his appointment of Chamberlain, (**Deoree**) and
Dhyan Singh of **Junmoo** succeeded him. In the Dhyan Singh
succeeds
Khooshyal
Singh.
month of **Magh**, (**January**) the **Maharajah** deter-
mined on taking **Mooltan**.

He collected all his sirdars and soldiers, and
sent them to that country. The fort of **Moozuf-
furgur** was besieged and taken; from thence the
force proceeded to **Mooltan**. **Khurruk Singh** and
Dewan Motee Ram, bringing fresh troops, joined
the army, and the siege of **Mooltan** was begun. Runjeet is
determined on
taking Mool-
tan.
The **Dewan Motee Chund** commanded the whole
force. On the 1st of **Phagan**, (**February**) the
siege was carried on with great vigour, and **Moo-
zuffur Khan** defended himself with great bravery.
Breaches were made in the walls of the city, of

* This is the first month of the Hindoo year.

† This was the favourite abode of **Runjeet Singh** during the hot months.

which the Sikhs took possession after a severe fight; but the siege of the fort lasted for three months, when the Maharajah determined to proceed in person; and with this view, encamped at the Shalamar gardens. He sent daily expresses, urging the siege to be continued. The well-known hatred existing between the Sikhs and Mussulmans rendered the engagement of the fiercest kind on both sides. The Sikhs entrenched themselves outside the ditch, and approached close to the latter; the Mussulmans made sorties, and frequent desperate fights took place. The number and size of the Sikh guns, at length, effected practicable breaches in the walls of the fort, and on the 18th of Jeth, (May) a desperate attack was made on the fort by the Sikhs. Moozuffur Khan and his two sons fought in the most gallant manner in defending the breaches, and many were killed on both sides. At length, the Sikhs made good their entrance; but still the struggle inside was desperate. The Pathans fought hand to hand, with the Khalsa troops. The latter were at last victorious, and pillaged the fort, where they found great quantities of money, clothes, and other valuable articles. As a last effort, Moozuffur Khan, arming himself and his followers, rushed out of the citadel on the assailants, cut his way through them, and reached the tomb of Bhawul Huk, and prepared for battle afresh. Moozuffur Khan fought desperately; but was slain, after receiving repeated wounds. Several of his sons likewise fell, and one of his daugh-

The siege of
Mooltan.

Is taken by
the Sikhs.

Desperate re-
sistance of
Moozuffur
Khan.

ters. For three days, the pillage continued. After this, a guard was placed over the fort, and a thanmah established by the Sikh sirdars. The breaches in the walls were speedily repaired, 400 or 500 houses in the fort were destroyed, and the city itself rebuilt. The fort of Soojeeabad was also captured, and the Sikh army returned to Lahore in the beginning of Asun, (September) and the Maharajah ordered Dul Singh, Nukernee,* Jodh Singh, Kulsee, Dena Singh, and several other sirdars, to Mooltan. Surfuraz Khan, a son of Moozuffur Khan, came to Lahore with his whole family, and received a maintenance from the Maharajah, and also a jagheer. The latter was afterwards confiscated, but the allowance continued.

Fort repaired,
and city re-
built.

* A name derived from his original employment of cutting toe-nails. (nakoon.)

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MAHARAJAH CROSSES THE ATTOCK.

A.D. 1818.

Runjeet Singh
meditates the
conquest of
Peshawur.

Cruel beha-
viour of Kam-
ran to Futteh
Khan.

HAVING made himself master of Mooltan, the Maharajah was desirous of seizing on Peshawur, more particularly as the Sikhs had met with a signal reverse at that place. At this juncture, the wuzeer, Futteh Khan, who, by his bravery and talents had supported Mahmood on the throne of Cabul, and made the Scindians pay tribute, as well as conquered Cashmere, was made prisoner by Kamran, who put out his eyes. This cruel act was said to have been perpetrated by Prince Kamran without his father's knowledge; and there appears to be reason for believing that jealousy alone was the motive that urged the son to remove a man who had, no doubt, great influence; but the latter was exerted in maintaining Mahmood on the throne, which he otherwise had not the ability to fill.

When the brothers of Futteh Khan heard of the cruelty practised on him, and his death, which

speedily followed the inhuman act of blinding him, they one and all raised the standard of revolt against Mahmood. He was displaced; and Ayooh, the son of Timoor Shah, was put on the throne of Cabul.

Mahmood displaced. Ayooh appointed king.

On learning the tumult and confusion caused by this event, Runjeet Singh conceived that the opportunity was a fitting one for putting his design on Peshawur into execution. He accordingly left Lahore, and crossed the Attock, but was opposed by Feeroz Khan, Hajeehoolah Khan, and other zemindars. The Maharajah overcame these, and reached Peshawur. He did not pillage the city, but destroyed the village of Chumkunee, the residence of Sheikh Oonur. Having taken possession of the city, and after remaining in it for the space of two days, the Maharajah left Juhan Dod Khan, the brother of Attar Mohummud, in charge of Peshawur, and departed for Lahore. He crossed the river, and reached Attock, with fourteen guns, which he had captured at Peshawur. From thence he proceeded to Lahore; but he had only accomplished three or four marches across the river, when the tidings were brought him, that Yarmohummud had returned to Peshawur, and expelled Juhan Dod Khan, who joined the Maharajah in the month of Poos, or December. After bathing in the spring of Katas, the Maharajah at length reached Lahore.

The Maharajah proceeds against Peshawur.

Takes possession of it.

Juhan Dod Khan, the governor appointed by him, is expelled.

At this time, Shah Soojah Oolmoolk, the ex-king of Cabul, had proceeded as far as Dhera

Shah Soojah
advances on
Peshawur.

Ghazee Khan; and collecting some troops there, aided by Sadik Khan of Bhawalpore, advanced as far as Peshawur, and took that place. The brothers of Futteh Khan, amounting to twenty-two,* wrote to Azeem Khan, the governor of Cashmere, for his aid, and sent Jubbar Khan to that country: Azeem Khan, taking all his treasure with him, reached Peshawur, and a battle took place between him and Shah Sojah; in which the latter was

Is driven out
of it by Azeem
Khan, and
returns to
Loodianah.

defeated, and fled to Loodianah, where he had received a safe asylum, since his escape from Lahore in 1812. Azeem Khan took possession of the city.

Runjeet de-
termines on
the conquest
of Cashmere.

When the Maharajah heard of the departure of Azeem Khan from Cashmere, and his arrival at Peshawur, he determined on the complete conquest of the former. He sent Dewan Chund ahead, with the army and artillery, and he himself followed. He reached Wuzeerabad and encamped there, and assembled his whole troops, which he despatched towards the hills, under the command of Dewan Chund. The latter having passed Bhember and Ulleekote, reached the city of Rajour; and Agheer Khan, the rajah of that place, fled on his approach; and his brother Ruheem Aolah Khan joined the Sikhs, and was sent by Dewan Chund to the Maharajah, at Wuzeerabad, by whom he was made a rajah.

Dewan Chund
reaches Ra-
jour; Buheem
Oola Khan
joins him.

Runjeet Singh knew from experience the dis-

* Prinsep states them at fifty.

advantage of going against Cashmere in the cold months, when snow was likely to fall, and he now wisely chose the commencement of the hot weather for the prosecution of his design, and left Wuzerabad in the month Jeth, (May) 1819. He arrived at Rajour, and encamped, as before, in the Shahbajh. The army having passed the Peer Pinjal, reached Cashmere, and Jubbar Khan collecting troops prepared to meet the Sikhs. A battle ensued; and Jubbar Khan being wounded, he and his troops fled towards the capital, Sreenuggur, and from thence to Bhember, and eventually reached Peshawur. The Sikhs took possession of the Khan's camp, shawls and other articles; on the following day, Dewan Chund, Rajah Ruheem, Oolah Khan, and other sirdars, entered the city, and stopped the pillage which the Sikhs, according to their invariable practice, had already commenced.

Runjeet proceeds to Rajour.

Jubbar Khan is routed.

His camp taken by the Sikhs.

The pillage of the city prevented.

The Maharajah, on receiving the joyful tidings of the capture of Cashmere, was greatly rejoiced; and his revenues were much increased, by the subjugation of this fertile and important province.

Cashmere was taken on the 22nd Assar, (June) 1819, or Bikermajeet 1876. On the 5th Sawun, (July) Motee Ram was appointed governor of the province, and on the 10th of the same month the Maharajah left Rajouree for Lahore. On reaching his capital, Ram Dyal was ordered with an army against Poonch, in order to bring the rajah Zubbur Dost Khan into subjection. When the rajah saw

The Maharajah returns to Lahore.

The hill zemindars pay tribute.

that he could offer no resistance to the Sikhs under Ram Dyal, he despatched his son to the Maharajah; and all the zemindars in the direction of Cashmere, likewise presented themselves. On this occasion, the Maharajah received fifty-three lakhs of rupees from these hill provinces, besides ten lakhs brought him by Juwahir Noul Pundit.

Misir Dewan Chund having settled the country, left Motee Ram in charge of Cashmere; and reaching Lahore, in Koowar, (September) he received great honours and riches from his master.

The Maharajah collects an army for Peshawur.

Delays its departure.

In the same month he celebrated, as usual, the feast of the Dusserah; after which he collected a large army intended for Peshawur, and encamped on the right bank of the Ravee. Here Mir Dewan Chund represented to the Maharajah, that the troops after their fatigue and privations in the hills, were, as yet, unable to proceed on such an important campaign, and recommended that they should be allowed to remain at Lahore until the month of Magh (January). To this proposal the Maharajah readily agreed and returned to Lahore.

Derbund seized.

In the month of January, 1819, Hurree Singh, Nulma, and Dewan Bhowanee Dass were sent against the fort of Derbund and took it, seizing the Khan, and placing their own thannah in the place.

The Maharajah leaves Lahore.

On the 25th of the same month the Maharajah left Lahore, and in ten days reached Chumeeote, and there encamped. From this he despatched Shere Singh, Ram Dyal, Sham Singh, Attareewala,

Goormukh Singh, Lama Futteh Singh, Alloowalya, and Suda Koonwur, to Paklee, Dhumdour, Chuchmazara, Turbela, and other places, for the purpose of settling the revenue and receiving tribute; while Misr Dewan Chund was sent with the artillery to Munkheree, to exact a nuzurana from the governor of that place. The Maharajah, with his cavalry, took the road to Mooltan, for the purpose of seizing it; and he there celebrated the Hooly festival. He settled the revenues of the country, and displacing Sham Singh, Peshawuree, Sawun Mul was appointed governor of Mooltan. The vakeel of Sadik Khan of Bhawulpore arrived, and agreed to give up the revenue of Dhera Ghazee Khan. Bhaee Khooshyal Singh was sent with an army in that direction. He took the fort and received five and a-half lakhs of revenue. The Maharajah in the beginning of Cheth (March) returned to Lahore; and Misr Dewan Chund, after exacting a lakh and 80,000 rupees from the governor of Munkheree, also reached Lahore. Ram Dyal, who went against Chuchbazara, was killed; and other sirdars fell. The force was broken up, after receiving a small tribute from Mohummud Khan.

Sawun Mul
appointed go-
vernor of
Mooltan.

Dhera Ghazee
Khan taken.

Ram Dyal
killed.

In the year 1877 Bik. or A.D. 1820, Shere Singh and the other sirdars returned to Lahore. In the month of Koowar (September) the Maharajah went to Wittala, and remained there a month.

He now resolved to take Suda Koonwur's country, but did not settle the matter. After the

Dusserah, he departed and reached Sealkote; and taking the pergunnah of Kulanoor from Khurruk Singh, he bestowed it on Nuzur Hussein. Hurree Singh, Nulwa, having been appointed governor of Cashmere, in the room of Motee Ram, the latter arrived at Sealkote. Leaving this, the Maharajah crossed the Chenab; and skirting the foot of the hills, he punished the Ohib and Bhao, who were thieves and robbers, and he burned Dewawittala, their chief city. From thence he reached the Jelum, and crossed it. He here mustered his troops. He sent Nanuk Chund, Dufturee* to settle the revenues of Puklee and Dhundour; and Bhowanee Dass was sent on the same errand to Kooloo and Mundhee.

The Maharajah proceeds to the Jelum.

Goolab Singh and Juggut Singh, Attareewala, were sent to settle disturbances raised at Jummo by Deedoo, Rajpoot. In the engagement, the two sons of the latter were killed, and the third was seized and sent to the Maharajah.

After this, Goolab Singh and Juggut Singh were sent in search of Agheer Khan, of Rajouree, who had fled and concealed himself in the hills. He was, at length, captured and brought to Lahore, where he died.

Misr Dewan Chund, Motee Ram, and the Attareewalya sirdar were sent to punish the zemindars of Poonch, Khookee, and Bhember; those of the two latter places inhabiting opposite banks of the Jelum,

* A clerk or secretary.

in Cashmere. Dewan Chund reached Meerpore, and laid waste the country; while Motee Ram and the Attareewala seized some of the Khukeea tribe, others fled to the hills and concealed themselves.

In the month of Phagoon, (February) 1821, a son was born to Khurruk Singh; he was named Nonehal Singh. In Bysakh, (April) the Maharajah went to Deenanuggur, and remained there a month, returning in Asar (June) to Lahore. He now resolved on taking Munkheree, and for this purpose sent Khurruk Singh with an army, and Motee Ram and the Alloowalya forces accompanied him. On arriving within ten or twelve kos of Munkheree, Khurruk Singh encamped; and the Nuwab sent a vakeel with a promise of 80,000 rupees, and security for its payment.

Nonehal
Singh born.

Khurruk
Singh sent
against Munk-
heree.

In the month Koowar, (September) the Maharajah, by the advice of Khurruk Singh, and Luckee Singh, Dewan, imprisoned his mother-in-law, Suda Koonwur, at Umritsir; and confiscated all her possessions. Desa Singh seized on all her forts without opposition, except Atulghur, which made a strong defence; but was besieged and taken by Mir Dewan Chund. Desa Singh subdued her whole country, and brought Suda Koonwur along with him to Umritsir, where, as above stated, she was imprisoned.

Suda Koon-
wur imprison-
ed, and all
her posses-
sions confis-
cated.

Thus, after an almost unlimited control for twenty years over Runjeet Singh, was this artful and ambitious woman punished. But for the instigation of others, however, it is doubtful, if the Maha-

rajah would have come to a decision which he had often revolved in his own mind.

Takes Munkheree.

In the month of Magh (January) 1822, the Maharajah determined to proceed to Munkheree for the purpose of taking it. He laid siege to that place; but, there being a scarcity of water, the Maharajah caused twenty wells to be dug in one day, from which he supplied his troops. In the space of fifteen days the fort was hard pressed, and the governor capitulated for a jagheer. To this the Maharajah agreed; and bestowed on him Dhera Ismael Kan, in jagheer, allowing him at the same time, to carry away all his grain. Next day the governor departed, leaving Munkheree in the Maharajah's possessions. Leaving some sirdars to govern the place, the Maharajah departed for Lahore, where he arrived, and again appointed Motee Ram, governor of Cashmere. Hurree Singh, Nulwa, on resigning his appointment was ordered to settle Puklee and Dhundour, and receive both places in jagheer. Dewan Chund was sent to assist him; but when they could not effect their purpose, they both returned to Lahore.

M. M. Allard and Ventura reach the Punjab.

In the course of the year 1879 Bik. or A.D. 1822, two European gentlemen arrived in the Punjab, and were received into the service of the Maharajah. These were M. M. Allard and Ventura. The former received a command in the cavalry, while Ventura was appointed to the infantry. Their annual salary was fixed at 50,000 rupees. They were both expert soldiers, and very submissive and

Their salary.

obedient to the Maharajah. They erected a large house outside the city of Lahore, near Wuzeer Khan's garden, and constructed a bazaar. In thus obtaining the services of two European military men, Runjeet Singh was enabled to follow out his plan of disciplining his soldiers after the European system; a project which he had been obliged to postpone, but had never abandoned since the time when Metcalfe's escort had beaten the rabble of Ulaees at Umritsir in 1809. Runjeet Singh could not have chosen two men better adapted for fulfilling his wishes or two who evinced more zeal in the discharge of their duties than M. M. Allard and Ventura. It is to the exertions of these gentlemen, and to Monsieur Court, who afterwards joined him, that the Sikh army owed its high state of discipline. The services of M. M. Ventura and Court were of longer duration than those of Monsieur Allard: and the consequence has been, that while the Sikh cavalry have deteriorated, and forgotten the lessons of their able instructor; the artillery and infantry, particularly the former, have given sufficient proof of the value of the services of Court and Ventura.*

Eminent services.

In the course of this year, it was resolved to build a wall round Lahore; but in the month of

* Now, that the disciplined force of the Sikhs is broken, and their guns captured, it is a prudent clause in the treaty between the British government and that of Lahore, that "no European or American shall be allowed to enter the service of the latter without the permission of the British."

The Maharajah goes to Rawul Pindee.

Koowur, (September) the Maharajah went to Rawul Pindee, and there the governor of Peshawur's vakeel, presented him with a nuzurana; after this the Maharajah returned to Lahore.

Is determined to secure the famous horse "Lylee."

At this time, news was brought the Maharajah, that Dost Mohummud Khan, of Cabul, possessed a beautiful horse; and the Maharajah being doatingly fond of horses, determined to secure the animal at any price. Shere Singh, was accordingly despatched with 8,000 cavalry, with orders to cross the Attock, and bring the horse at all risks.

Pathans defeated.

On reaching Attock, by the advice of Uttur Singh, Hurree Singh, and Kerpa Ram, he crossed the river, and laid siege to the fort of Jehanjeerka. A battle ensued, and the Pathans having no leaders, became alarmed, and fled during the fight, deserting the fort, which was taken possession of by the Sikhs.

Azeem Khan prepared to meet the Sikhs.

Azeem Khan was at Cabul, and hearing of the advance of the Sikhs set out for Peshawur, and there collected an army. The Sikhs seeing that they could not oppose Azeem Khan, halted; and wrote to the Maharajah for assistance, without which they could not advance. The Maharajah, in Phagoon, (February) left Lahore, and arrived at Wuzeerabad. From thence, he sent forward Khurruk Singh and Dewan Chund. He, himself followed, and reached the fort of Rhotas. Here he spent the Hooly Festival; and then by regular marches reached the Attock. Having constructed bridges of boats, he crossed the river.

The Maharajah sets out to assist Shere Singh.

Azeem Khan, with his brothers Dost Mohum-
 and, Yar Mohummud, and Jubbar Khan, collected
 an army, and prepared to meet the Sikhs. Many
 Ghazeeas* joined the sirdars, who resolved to wage
 war against the infidel Sikhs.

The battle which ensued was a fierce one. Azeem
 Khan directed his forces against Shere Singh, while
 the Ghazeeas fought against the Maharajah. Some
 of these people were armed with swords and shields,
 but many of them threw stones, and other missiles.
 Their attack was furious, and the Sikhs began to
 give way. The Maharajah observing this, rallied
 his troops, and great slaughter took place on both
 sides. Phoola Singh, Ukalee, who fought on an
 elephant, was killed; also sirdars Goolab Singh,
 Kurrum Singh, the commandant of the Goorkha
 battalion, and many others. The Ghazeeas,
 though thus fighting in the fiercest manner, were
 unsupported from behind; and the Sikh guns play-
 ing on them in front, they were slaughtered in great
 numbers, to the extent of 10,000 men. On this,
 Azeem Khan became alarmed, and fled with about
 10,000 men more. After defeating the Mussul-
 mans, the Maharajah proceeded against the fort of
 Hushtungeer, and took it; after which he marched
 to Peshawur. The Sikhs began to pillage the city,
 but this was stopped by the Maharajah.

A battle en-
 sues, in which
 the Sikhs, at
 first, give way.

Are rallied by
 the Mahara-
 jah.

Several sir-
 dars killed.

The Affghans
 vanquished.

The Sikhs
 enter Peshawur.

After a stay of some days, and seeing that the
 place could be retained with difficulty, he made a

* Ghaza means an expedition against the infidels, and the term Ghazee is
 applied to those people who fight for their religion to the death.

A treaty concluded with Azeem Khan.

treaty with Azeem Khan, who presented a nuzurana, and a number of horses. The Maharajah then departed for Lahore.

The latter dies.

Azeem Khan ashamed of not having supported the Ghazeeas, died of grief.

In Jeth, (May) Bik. 1880, or A.D. 1823, the Maharajah came to Umritsir, and from thence went by Wittala to Deenanuggur, where he remained for two months, and returned to Lahore in July, on the setting in of the rains.

Tribute exacted from the zemindars of Dhera Ghazee Khan.

In Koowar, (September) after the Dusserah, he left Lahore, and took the road to Wuzeerabad and Goojrat. He crossed the river near Dhera Ghazee Khan, and exacted three lakhs of rupees from the zemindars. Kerpa Ram was sent against Uzzul Khan, while the Maharajah returned to Lahore; and Kerpa Ram having subdued the country, and seized Uzzul Khan and his son, proceeded with them to Lahore.

Uzzul Khan seized.

Saduk Khan agrees to pay for the conquered districts.

At this juncture, the vakeel of Saduk Khan of Bhawalpore arrived, and requested the restoration of his conquered districts, agreeing to pay a nuzurana of one lakh and 80,000 rupees. This proposal was agreed to.

A rich shroff's wealth seized by the Maharajah, with which he builds a wall about Lahore.

In the course of this year, Ramanund, a wealthy shroff, died at Umritsir; and leaving no heir, the Maharajah seized eight lakhs of his rupees, namely, four from his widow, and four from Poldmul of Fugwarrah, the brother of Dunee Rao of Loodiana. Having obtained this money, the Maharajah resolved to build a wall around Lahore. There

were an inner and outer wall, with a ditch, and twelve doors or gates. The extent of the outer wall was 5100 paces, its height seventy-five feet, and breadth twenty-one feet.

In the month of Bysakh, (April) Bik. 1881, or A.D. 1824, **Sunsar Chund** of Kutoch died. Sunsar Chund dica. The Maharajah hearing of the event, left Umritsir, and taking the road by Wittala, arrived at Deenanuggur, and sent for the son of the deceased Rajah, Succeeded by his son. who, after paying a nuzurana, was honoured with a khillut, and appointed successor to his father.

In the course of this year, **Motee Ram**, and his son **Kerpa Ram**, incurred the displeasure of the Maharajah on the following account. Motee Ram and Kerpa Ram incur the Maharajah's displeasure. **Govind Chund**, the uncle of the **Seepreewala**, gave his daughter in marriage to **Dhyan Singh**; and the latter receiving the fort of **Seepree**, expelled **Kerpa Ram**, who was greatly enraged, and absented himself from the **Dusserah**, refusing to serve the Maharajah. Soon after this, the Maharajah marched towards the **Attock**, and remained several days on the bank of the river; at length, he crossed on an elephant, and many sirdars and others, trying to follow him, were drowned, both horse and foot. The Maharajah crosses the Attock on an elephant. Among the rest, **Moolvee Musur Hussem**.

Kerpa Ram, at this time leaving **Phillour** with twenty-five horsemen, reached the **Attock**, and crossing it, joined the Maharajah, who was greatly enraged, and ordered him from his presence, sending a purwannah at the same time to deprive his father, **Motee Ram**, of the governorship of **Cash-**

Motee Ram
leaves Cash-
mere.

Yoosoozye
country laid
waste.

Kerpa Ram
fined.

Again re-
ceived into
favour.

The rising of
Syud Ahmed
Shah.

mere ; to which Chunnee Lall, Pathan, and Nehal Singh, commandant, were appointed. Motee Ram, taking the son of Sooltan Ullee with him, proceeded by the Baramoolah pass, to join the Maharajah. On reaching Sola Ka Serai, he received a purwannah to remain there until the Maharajah's return. After laying waste the Yoosoozye country, Bunnoo, and receiving a nuzurana from the governor of the latter, the Maharajah returned to Lahore, where he arrived in the month of Magh (January). Kerpa Ram was imprisoned, and a fine of one lakh and 20,000 rupees enforced upon him, while all his forts and other charges were made over to Azeezodeen. After a year, however, Kerpa Ram was restored to favour, and he was appointed governor of Cashmere.

In the early part of A.D. 1827, a syud named Ahmed Shah raised a disturbance in the Punjab. He set himself up for a reformer ; and though a Mussulman, he was as inveterate against the followers of Mahomed, as he was against the Sikhs ; but his ire was more especially excited against those Mussulmans who owned the Sikh supremacy across the Indus, or entered their service. Syud Ahmed was a fanatic ; and, like others of this stamp, was a dangerous and seditious character. He proceeded towards Peshawur, where he concealed himself among the hills in the vicinity, and numerous followers flocked around his standard. The Maharajah sent a large force against this fanatic, who, at the head of an immense rabble, attacked the

Sikhs under Boodh Singh. He was, however, easily vanquished, and fled to the hills, where he and his followers concealed themselves, and lost no opportunity of attacking travellers.

Vanquished by Boodh Singh.

The syud was particularly annoyed with Yar Mohummud Khan, who had taken service with the Maharajah; and he resolved to punish him. With this intention, he threatened Peshawur; which he would have seized, had not General Ventura been fortunately at the place on an embassy to Yar Mohummud.

Prevented by Ventura from seizing Peshawur.

Runjeet Singh not succeeding in getting the famous horse "Lylee," and a report having been spread that the animal was dead, (which report was not believed by the Maharajah), Runjeet despatched General Ventura, in 1827, to bring "Lylee" to Lahore; and his arrival at Peshawur during the descent of the syud, in all likelihood, saved the place, for Yar Mohummud was killed in the encounter; and his brother Sooltan Mohummud appointed to the government of Peshawur. The General not only saved the latter from the hands of the fanatic syud, but likewise procured the famous horse, with which he returned to Lahore.

Sher Singh sent to fetch the horse "Lylee."

General Ventura sent on the same errand.

Succeeds.

Though Syud Ahmed had been thus frustrated by the vigilance of the general, the latter had no sooner taken his departure, than the former again took the field, with a host of followers, chiefly Yusoofzyes. Notwithstanding the ill-success of Yar Mohummud against the syud, Sooltan Mo-

The Syud rises again and seizes Peshawur.

hummud resolved to give him battle; but was defeated, and Peshawur seized by Ahmed Shah.

The Maharajah takes the field against the syud.

Such daring on the part of a fanatic, and the want of success in opposing him, induced the Maharajah to take the field, for his chastisement. When the Maharajah crossed the Attock, and approached Peshawur, the rabble force, which occupied it, fled in all directions; and on reaching that place, the Maharajah found no foe to oppose him.

Returns to Lahore.

He, therefore, returned to Lahore, leaving troops, however, for the purpose of assisting Sooltan Mohummud in his endeavours to regain and keep

The syud again appears.

Peshawur. The syud speedily made a descent on the place; and Sooltan Mohummud, unable to contend with him in the field, was obliged to enter into terms of peace with him. He adhered for some time to the agreement with the syud, and paid him a nuzurana; but when Ahmed Shah departed, a revolution took place, and the Yoosoofzyes taking part against the syud, expelled the latter and his followers from their mountains. The syud fled across the Indus, and concealed himself in the mountains of Fuklee and Dhundour. He was eventually slain, in 1831, by a force under Shere Singh.

Ahmed Shah expelled by the Yoosoofzyes.

Is slain.

Peace restored and preserved.

The disturbance caused by Syud Ahmed was the last in which the Maharajah was obliged to take the field in person. All the provinces of the Punjab, as well as those across the Indus, were reduced to a state of order by the Maharajah. He was friendly to the British, and sent vakeels and pre-

sents to both Lord Amherst and Lord Combermere in 1827 and 1828. But in the time of Lord William Bentinck's administration, that nobleman was anxious to have an interview with the Maharajah; and this was left to the management of Captain, now Sir Claude Martin Wade, then assistant political agent at Loodiana.

Lord William Bentinck wishes a meeting with the Maharajah.

The task was one of considerable difficulty, for, though the Maharajah from his intercourse with Captain Wade, had every dependence on the good faith and feeling of the British towards him, yet he had never seen enough of them to enable him to understand their character fully; and he concluded, that though Wade, or the *Captain Sahib*, as he usually called him, might be a good, honest man with whom he might safely trust himself, yet, others might be inclined to take advantage of his crossing the boundary. Besides, his sirdars and followers were averse to the step, and dreaded still more than the Maharajah himself, the operation of disguised and selfish motives.

Difficulty of arranging one.

Causes of this.

At all events, the Maharajah, when yielding to the request of the Governor-general to meet him at Roopur, was determined to be prepared for any sudden emergency; and he therefore assembled a large force, including the flower of his army, by way of escort. The three brothers of Jummoo were at the time great favorites with the Maharajah, and accompanied him, as did all his principal sirdars and the faithful fukeer Azeezooddeen.

The Maharajah accompanied by a large force.

The Maharajah encamped on the right bank of

Reaches the right bank of the Sutlej.

the Sutlej in October 1831, and about the same time Lord William Bentinck arrived at Roopur, from Simlah. The visits of ceremony were exchanged between the Maharajah and the Governor-general attended with great pomp and state on both sides. Several field-days took place, and the Maharajah admired in a particular manner Her Majesty's 31st regiment* and when the 16th lancers were pointed out to his notice, he merely observed "They are all gentlemen. I want to see the European foot-soldiers." There was a review of his own troops across the river, and they performed their manœuvres with tolerable exactitude. During this visit, the Maharajah put incessant questions to the Governor-general regarding the equipment and management of the British army; the pay of each grade; the weight of metal in our shot; the charge of guns; and subjects of a similar nature. He was in great spirits, and joined in the feats of horsemanship and sword-exercise, with his own and Colonel Skinner's horse. At the conclusion of all the ceremonies, reviews, nautches, and the like, the parting took place, and at this a treaty was signed between the Maharajah and the Governor-general of India. This was merely a renewal of that of 1809, with some additional clauses regarding the navigation of the

Lord William Bentinck arrives at Roopur.

The Maharajah admires the European infantry.

His numerous questions on all subjects.

A treaty.

* Destined to cut such a gallant figure in the Sikh campaign fourteen years afterwards. The regiment was present in all the four engagements of Moodkee, Feerozshuhur, Alleewal, and Sobraon, and greatly distinguished itself at Istaliff and the Khyber Pass in the second Affghan campaign.

Indus; and a firmer bond of union was drawn for mutual defence between the governments. Shortly before this meeting, the late Sir Alexander (then Captain) Burnes, had reached Lahore with a present of horses from the British government, and meditated those travels into Bokhara which he soon afterwards commenced. All the particulars regarding this meeting are given in detail by Mr. H. T. Prinsep, who was then principal secretary with the Governor-general, and afterwards drew up the history of Runjeet Singh, from the materials furnished him by successive political agents. The life of the Maharajah, of which we have presented a sketch, may differ in some respects from Prinsep's as to dates; but the authority we have followed appears, in many parts, the same as that from which Murray and Wade derived their information.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FRIENDLY TERMS SUBSISTING BETWEEN RUNJEET SINGH AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

IN 1838, we drew up a paper on the court of Runjeet Singh; which, with a few preliminary remarks, was presented to the Governor-general, (Lord Auckland) and its introduction in this history will serve to elucidate the character of the Maharajah, and the friendly feelings which at all times existed between him and the British.

His views
founded on a
true political
basis.

“As already mentioned, the country of the Punjab had been portioned out among various independent sirdars, constantly quarrelling with each other for extended dominion. In the midst of such confusion, it was reserved for Runjeet Singh to grasp the whole, by vanquishing, in their turn, the different chiefs who formerly ruled the Punjab. The history of his warlike career will point out the steps by which he effected their reduction, and the apparent means he employed; the true cause,

however, of his ultimate success, appears to have been his superior energy of character, and great power of discrimination; by which he was enabled to seize on every favourable opportunity of extending and retaining his power undiminished, for a series of years. His friendship for the British government in India is sincere; and being founded on a true political basis, there is little risk of any change during his lifetime, however anxious some of his advisers may be to quarrel with his friends, in order to extend his dominions. He knows well the sort of advantage he would gain by a rupture with the British; experience has taught him this; and the downfall of every Indian power, which has measured arms with us, is a constant reflection with him, and serves to convince his injudicious counsellors of the futility of risking his kingdom in making war upon his powerful allies. Our government, on the other hand, is equally convinced of the value of his friendly alliance, and would no doubt make great concessions, in order to preserve it. In the event of war with Russia, the Persians, as well as the tribes of Affghanistan, would in all probability join its standard; and the Russian army thus strengthened, would find little difficulty in reaching the confines of the Punjab. The only barrier offered to their entering Hindostan, would be our ally Runjeet Singh, who is well aware of his consequence, in the event of such an invasion. Should such a crisis ever occur, the ruler of the Punjab could not possibly withstand the united

Views of the
British
government
regarding
Runjeet Singh.

forces of Russia, Persia, and Cabul;* but it is easy to see, how advantageous his efforts might be in retarding their progress, and thus affording time for collecting our armies from every part of Hindostan. The war might, probably, be confined to the Punjab, instead of being carried into the centre of our dominions, where there are many discontented powers, who would gladly embrace the opportunity of throwing off the British yoke; more especially among the Mussulmans, whose motives for so doing would be two-fold, namely, a wish to assist their brethren in the north, and the desire of punishing the infidel Sikhs. From what has been stated, it will appear plain, that it is prudent in our government to preserve a friendly alliance with Runjeet; while his doing so with us, insures the stability, or even the existence of his kingdom, in case of an invasion. In order to cement this friendship as firmly as possible, Lord William Bentinck proposed a meeting with Runjeet at Roopur in 1831, and ambassadors were sent to Simlah, where the Governor-general then resided, for the purpose of arranging preliminaries, while Captain Wade visited the court of Lahore for the same purpose. The influence of Captain Wade with Runjeet was well known; and through his advice and representations, Runjeet was induced to grant the meeting. Lord William Bentinck left Simlah in October of the same year, and reached

Captain Wade visits Lahore, and the Maharajah visits the Governor-general.

* This is rather a doubtful point, since our late experience with the Sikhs.

Roopur about the same time that Runjeet did the opposite bank of the Sutlej. The details of this interview are sufficiently known, and need not be repeated here; the result was as favourable as could be wished; and since that time, Runjeet has formed a more correct idea of the British character, and takes every opportunity of shewing his subjects how highly he values our friendship, and how anxious he is, that his armies should be as much as possible on the same footing as those of the British.

“ In March 1837, on the occasion of the marriage of his grandson, Nonahal Singh, Runjeet Singh expressed an earnest wish, that Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-chief, should witness the ceremonies. The necessary arrangements were speedily settled, and Sir Henry proceeded from Kurnaul, viâ Loodianah, to the banks of the Sutlej at Hurreek, where it was thought advisable he should enter the Punjab. There is a fort at this place; and its distance from Umritsir being much shorter than that between Loodianah, and the latter place, the selection of it was, no doubt, judicious. On the morning of the 3rd of March, Captain Wade proceeded from his camp on the right bank of the Sutlej, in order to receive Sir Henry on his crossing the river. The captain, in the first instance, went to the tents of Shere Singh, who had been sent by his father, Runjeet, to accompany the Commander-in-chief to Umritsir. Shere Singh's beautiful suite of tents were close to the river, of which they

Sir Henry Fane invited to the marriage of Nonahal Singh.

commanded an extensive view, including the ghaut, at which Sir Henry, and his escort were being ferried over; the sight was an imposing one, particularly that of the European lancers. After sitting a short time in Shere Singh's Durbar tent, the news was brought to Captain Wade, that the Commander-in-chief had reached the right bank of the river; and before the former could meet him, Sir Henry had disembarked, and was proceeding towards his camp. Captain Wade and Shere Singh immediately joined him, and the whole cavalcade proceeded to camp. The Sikhs attached to Shere Singh were handsomely dressed in green, yellow, and red silks, and some of them were very handsome, tall men; one in particular, was pointed out as a perfect "Roostum" for size and strength; and if his large bulk could be taken as a warrant of his prowess, he might certainly lay claim to the title. The Sikh soldiers appeared rather nervous at the sight of so many armed Europeans; but the utmost harmony prevailed on both sides. It was agreed that the camps should reach Umritsir in two days; the distance being computed at twenty-eight or thirty miles. On the morning of the 4th the Commander-in-chief and Shere Singh proceeded towards the first stage, passing a fort named Suruolee, formerly the residence of a noted free-booter; and encamped beyond the village of Sheron, about sixteen miles from Hurreekee; on the 5th they were at Chubah, four miles on this side of Umritsir, the original intention of reaching

the latter place on the second day having been abandoned, on account of the previous marches on the other side of the river having been long and fatiguing ones. It was now reported, that Nonehal Singh would be despatched from Umritsir for the purpose of conducting the Commander-in-chief to his grandfather's camp on the following morning; and Runjeet was described as being quite delighted at the prospect of so soon meeting his illustrious guest. About half way between Chubah and the last encampment, lies the city of Tarumtarah, inhabited chiefly by Ukalees: it is of considerable size, and a lofty dome with gilded minars rises from a temple in the centre of the city. To prevent any collision between the Ukalees and the soldiers of the escort, orders were sent by Sir Henry Fane, for the latter to pass outside the town; this was prudent, as the Ukalees have a great antipathy to Europeans, and indeed to any strangers. On the morning of the 6th March, the Commander-in-chief was met by Khurruk Singh, heir apparent to the throne of Lahore, and the rajah Dhyan Singh, Runjeet's prime minister. Nonehal Singh did not come as had been anticipated. On approaching the fort of Govind Ghur, its guns fired a royal salute, and the walls were soon enveloped in smoke. At a short distance beyond the fort, the Commander-in-chief's camp was formed, and near it, that of the Maharajah; opposite to which, the horse artillery attached to Sir Henry's escort, fired a royal salute, and Sir Henry having sent an aide-de-camp to

The meeting
between the
Maharajah
and Sir Henry
Fane.

present his compliments to the Maharajah, he and his staff retired to their own camp. Shere Singh's camp was pitched at a short distance from the Commander-in-chief's. After breakfast, the Maharajah proceeded towards his excellency's camp, and was met by the Commander-in-chief, who returned with Runjeet on the same elephant, towards the Maharajah's durbar; the meeting of the two chiefs was the signal for the firing of cannon, and musketry, which was kept up by a line of soldiers, extending, it is said, to the distance of five miles; the sound of the cannon and musketry resembled that of a continued peal of thunder. Twenty-one beds of state were sent to the Commander-in-chief's camp, and several marriage dresses; the one for Sir Henry consisting of twenty-nine pieces of silk, shawls, &c., two horses were likewise presented to his excellency, and richly mounted elephants, with gilded and silver howdahs, were sent for his use, and that of his staff; in short, nothing was omitted, which could give éclat to the reception of Sir Henry Fane by the "Lion" of the Punjab. Proceeding from Umritsir, Runjeet and the Commander-in-chief reached Attaree, where the principal bride's father resided: and here the marriage festivities were celebrated. On the day appointed, Sir Henry and his staff, as well as the officers of his escort, left their camp on elephants, and were joined by Runjeet Singh and his principal sirdars. The whole cavalcade then proceeded, at a slow pace, towards the fort of Attaree. The distance

was about two miles ; and the whole of this space, as well as the country for miles around, was covered by dense masses of living beings. The road by which the elephants proceeded was rendered almost impassable by beggars collected from all parts of the Punjab ; and it was surprising to witness the sagacity with which these docile animals threaded their way, without injuring any one, unless compelled to do so, through the rash and injudicious conduct of the Mahouts, who appeared only intent on getting their elephants close to the one on which Runjeet and Sir Henry Fane were seated, in the same howdah. On reaching the fort of Attaree the whole party dismounted from their elephants, on a flight of steps leading to an open terrace, where the Maharajah and his guests were received by the old sirdar Sham Singh, the bride's father. Chairs were here placed for the whole party. After the display of some fire-balloons, which ascended to a great elevation, Runjeet and Sir Henry, together with all the sirdars and British officers, took their departure, and returned to camp. Fireworks had been erected all the way between Attaree and Runjeet's camp, and Sir Henry was invited to witness their effect in the evening. At the hour appointed, the Commander-in-chief and his staff proceeded to Runjeet's camp, and found the Maharajah ready to receive them, under a rich canopy with canautes stretching out on both sides. After the shaking of hands, the whole party was seated ; the Commander-in-chief being on Runjeet's

right hand, and his grandson, Nonehal Singh, on his left. Captain Wade was in attendance, and on this, and all other occasions, acted as the medium of communication between Sir Henry and the Maharajah. The space before Runjeet, and between the canauts, was occupied by dancing girls and musicians. The cupbearer quickly introduced the *green bottle* filled with the favorite spirituous liquor of the Sikhs. The two chiefs pledged each other in a bumper, and the glass was then handed round to each of the guests, in turn. The sight was highly amusing; Runjeet was in excellent spirits, and, though he could not indulge so freely as in former days, he still took his small allowance, which he measured out in a golden cup. While the glass thus circulated, the dancing girls and musicians were not idle, and did their best to amuse Runjeet and his guests. In this manner, the hours passed quickly; while an animated conversation was kept up between Sir Henry Fane and Runjeet. Mention having been made of the battle of Waterloo, particular notice was taken by the Maharajah of Colonel Torrens, who had been present in that great engagement, and wore on his breast the distinguishing medal; this was examined minutely by Runjeet, who seemed to approve of such a mode of rewarding bravery in the field of battle. After the green bottle had done its duty, and the dancing girls performed all their favorite movements, and exhausted all their store of choice songs, Sir Henry and his staff retired about

nine o'clock; though Runjeet and his chiefs kept up the revelry to a late hour. On the evening of the following day, the fireworks were repeated; and Runjeet and Sir Henry, attended by his principal sirdars, and the officers of the staff and escort, proceeded on elephants along the street of fireworks: the exhibition was on a magnificent scale, and Runjeet and his party seemed to enjoy it very much; the same could hardly be said of the young elephants, for it was with difficulty that some of them could be induced to advance through the line of fire. On the third day of the marriage festivities, a large sum of money was distributed in charity by Runjeet, to the poor people, who had come from every part of the Punjab to witness the marriage ceremonies, and receive their reward. The amount of money expended on this occasion, was said to equal ten or eleven lakhs of rupees, equivalent to one hundred thousand pounds sterling! Every living creature received a rupee, and even the dogs and other domestic animals shared in the bounty! Magnificent presents were made by Runjeet to the newly married couple. Leaving Attaree, and the young bridegroom to marry his other two wives, the camps proceeded towards Lahore. On their reaching the celebrated Shalamar gardens, a halt of one day was ordered, for the purpose of witnessing a grand fête. The whole of these extensive gardens were illuminated by various sorts of fireworks; and the profusion of light emitted by these, and numerous waxen tapers,

Reach the
 Shalamar
 gardens.

produced a dazzling effect, while lighting up the thick foliage of the garden trees and shrubs. Runjeet, on this occasion, was seated with his guests on the terrace of a lofty building which commanded a view over the whole exhibition; and here the green bottle was introduced, and the glass quickly circulated. The band of Her Majesty's 13th light infantry, as well as Runjeet's own, were in attendance, and played alternately. The European soldiers of the escort were, likewise, admitted, and appeared delighted with this mark of attention on the part of their superiors; even the ladies, on this occasion, managed to get a view from a terrace above the one in which Runjeet and his party were seated.

From the Shalamar gardens to Lahore, the distance is about five miles; and during a portion of this tract, the fields are well cultivated, and occasionally diversified by pretty flower-gardens; the latter were greatly admired by Sir Henry; and as the flowers were just assuming their summer garbs, their appearance was exceedingly beautiful. Runjeet is fond of flowers, and is careful that all these gardens are kept in proper order. On reaching Lahore, the Commander-in-chief's camp was pitched near the Ravee, opposite the fort of Lahore. The ground had been under cultivation, but the crops speedily disappeared, so that the place, in the course of a day or two, exhibited no remains of vegetation. While at Lahore, the different troops belonging to Runjeet were inspected

Arrival at Lahore.

by the Commander-in-chief; and the escort was reviewed by the Maharajah, who did not fail to express his entire satisfaction. Runjeet having made known his wish to see the horse artillery practice, a day was appointed for gratifying it. The troop ^{Reviews of troops.} on this occasion, was the 4th, or Native one, of the 3rd brigade, commanded by Captain Henry Timings, and but lately arrived, in the course of relief from Neemuch, under the command of Captain Timbrell, who was present. On his being asked the nature of the practice, he wished to see; Runjeet desired that a large umbrella, or chatha, should be struck by a shot; the umbrella was accordingly placed at 500 or 600 yards distant from where the troop was drawn up. The guns in succession discharged their contents, but still the umbrella stood unhurt. A second round was then ordered, and the first shot from the gun laid by Captain Timings struck the mark, as also the second by Lieutenant Mackenzie, and I believe, some of the others. Runjeet was delighted with the precision of the firing, and some of his own guns drawn up on purpose, were ordered to try the same mark; but from some cause or other, none of the shot took effect, though the distance was at length reduced to a few hundred paces. The Maharajah had seen the same feat performed at Roopur in 1831, by Captain Johnson's troop, where a gun laid by Lieutenant George Campbell struck the umbrella; still he did not fail to express his astonishment, and ordered golden bangles to be given to the

artillery officers who had been so fortunate as to hit the mark. On returning to camp, Sir Henry caused a howitzer, loaded with grape, to be fired over the surface of a sheet of water, in order to shew the Maharajah, the probable effect of this destructive fire. During the stay at Lahore, a grand fête was given in the Soormun-boorj in the palace, to which the ladies of Sir Henry's staff and escort, were invited; and nothing could exceed the polite attention paid to them by Runjeet and his sirdars. It is needless to give any further account of this visit, than to add, that Runjeet, in order to commemorate it, instituted an order of knighthood; the decorations of which, have already been bestowed upon the two Adjutant-generals, and Quarter-master-generals of the army: the ceremony was performed in September last,* at Simlah at the quarters of Sir Henry Fane, in the presence of all the military and civil officers residing there at the time."

* 1837.

CHAPTER XVI.

A SKETCH OF THE COURT OF LAHORE.

“ IN giving a sketch of the court of Lahore, the first place is due to the Maharajah. To look at the man, little of the hero can be discovered; he is small in stature; and his face, disfigured with the small-pox, and deprived of the left eye from the same cause, is not much indebted to nature for its external beauty. His remaining eye is very large; and there is a fire and brilliancy about it, when he becomes animated, which at once discover the energetic mind and discriminating character of its owner. His smile is pleasing, and his manner of address easy and unembarrassed on all occasions; he never appears at a loss for words to express his ideas, which are quickly formed on any subject. When discoursing, he appears at once to grasp the whole bearings of the subject, and his reasoning powers and discriminating acumen are of the highest order. In his youth, Runjeet was remarkably active, an excellent horseman, and well skilled

Runjeet's personal appearance.

His bravery. in every thing connected with military feats. He was ever the foremost in battle, and the last in retreat ; there is no instance of his being even embarrassed, or evincing anything like fear, on record. His whole life has been spent in warfare, and he even now prefers a tent, or any temporary residence, to the gilded palace. He is doatingly fond of horses ; and it is no uncommon thing for him, to have a couple of them saddled and bridled in his durbar ; this I remarked at Umritsir, where one of the horses was standing close to him, while the other, he said, was merely concealed by a curtain.

His fondness for horses. In the article of dress, he is now exceedingly plain, except on great occasions, when he dresses with taste and elegance, displaying a magnificent diamond, called the *koh-i-noor*, or mountain of light ; this precious stone was once the property of Shah Soojah Ool Moolk, the unfortunate ex-king of Cabul. A visitor to the court of Runjeet, is astonished at the rich and costly dresses of his courtiers ; in fact, an ill-dressed person is not allowed to approach him while in durbar ; and his is, I believe, the only native court where the most rigid attention is paid to this piece of etiquette. He generally converses in Punjabee with his own people, and only employs the Hindostanee in talking with his European visitors ; though in this instance, he for the most part prefers an interpreter who knows both languages ; which are the only ones with which he himself is acquainted, as his time has been too much occupied with military matters to

His dress.

allow of his devoting any portion of it to literary pursuits; he nevertheless respects learning and learned men, referring to them for such information as they are supposed to possess, and which he has not had the opportunity of acquiring. When talking, he generally sits with his legs crossed, and raised on the chair; resting one hand on his knee, while the other is employed in stroking his long white beard, which is so bushy as almost to conceal his mouth. Military subjects are the usual topics of conversation. He enquired what services Lord William Bentinck had done for the army; and without waiting for a reply, continued, "Has he not abolished flogging in the Native army—done away with hospital stoppages—and allowed the horses' tails to grow?" I was not aware of the last circumstance, but assented to the truth of the two former. He was very inquisitive regarding the equipment of our horse artillery, and how this branch of the service was supplied with horses. I told him, that formerly many of the horses were purchased from Native merchants, but that of late years, the greater portion, if not the whole, were supplied by the various studs kept up for this purpose by government; adding, that any particularly vicious animals were harnessed to the guns, which in most instances reclaimed them; he said he would try a similar plan with his vicious horses. From Colonel F. having so long commanded at Loodianah on his frontier, Runjeet had conceived the most extravagant ideas regarding the Colonel's personal prowess,

His respect
for learning.

and with great simplicity asked, whether he or Colonel F. who then commanded at Loodianah, would have the best of it in a single combat; adding, that he supposed, there were few sahibs who could vanquish Colonel F. I did not oppose this conclusion; and merely remarked, that I thought the younger of the two, if equally skilled in the use of his weapons, would most likely prove the conqueror. He had some time previous made a present of a toorkee horse to Dr. M., and among other questions, enquired what had become of the animal. I replied, that most probably it had been sold along with the doctor's other property on his departure for Europe; "What!" said he, "did Doctor Sahib sell that horse, which he assured me he would never part with?" I explained to him that the expense of conveying a horse to Europe, would in most instances, exceed its price; he observed "It may be so, but I paid 1,200 rupees for the horse." On my first visit to Runjeet, I made enquiries regarding his health, felt his pulse and so forth; when these preliminary steps were concluded, he asked, why I did not use a watch to mark the number of his pulsations, and a thermometer to ascertain the heat of his body, as Dr. M. had always done. I made answer, that experience had taught me the knowledge of these points without the aid of instruments. He put numerous questions regarding the use of various medicines and their effects on the human system; he showed me the water he usually drank, with some pounded pearls

at the bottom of the vessel containing it, asking at the same time my opinion as to their efficacy in purifying water, adding, that he sometimes used quicksilver for the same purpose. I could not give him much encouragement for the use of either; the pearls might indeed be of some service in neutralizing any free acids, but the mercury when not purified by distillation might have an opposite effect to that anticipated, from its containing occasionally sulphur, and even arsenic: he assured me the quicksilver was always purified previous to its being employed by him. He said, that his water for drinking was kept cool during the hot weather, by a process first pointed out to him by General Ventura. This consisted in gradually filling a well during the cold months, from any convenient stream or rivulet in its vicinity, the mouth of the well being closely shut up during this period. About the month of May, the well is opened, and the water is said to continue cold throughout the hot months; these particulars I learned from the general himself, and the plan certainly deserved a trial, where no ice is procurable during the hot weather.

Previous to Sir Henry Fane's visit, the Maharajah wished to know if he was a tall man, and how much wine he could consume at a meal!—these being apparently the standards by which he measured the personal strength of European officers. Not being acquainted with Sir Henry's social habits, I could give him no satisfactory

answer regarding his potatoes; but as to height, I assured him he would not be disappointed. On the occasion of Runjeet's visiting Sir Henry Fane, at Lahore, among numerous other questions on military subjects, the Maharajah enquired, what were the qualifications (I believe he limited them to three) of a good soldier; and from Sir Henry's well known qualities as a military leader, and a companion in arms of the great Wellington, the question was very apropos. I did not hear the exact answer, though I believe, that perfect obedience was particularly insisted on; and several military officers on the spot were of opinion, that this alone was sufficient, with the requisite portion of health and strength. Runjeet is an early riser; on getting out of bed, he takes a ride on horseback, and returns about an hour or two after sunrise, when he enters his durbar, and transacts his business until noon, taking his morning meal about eight o'clock; he is very regular with regard to his breakfast-hour; and at Roopur, while sitting with Lord William Bentinck reviewing his troops, on the approach of the hour for this meal, he retired; and after finishing it, returned and took his seat by the side of the Governor-general. About noon, the Maharajah retires to his bedroom in the Soomunboorj, and takes a few hours repose; after which he dresses and takes his opium; for a short time after this, he amuses himself with his flower garden, and some of his domestic pets are

His habits.

brought before him, and these he feeds with his own hand. The Grunth, or Sacred Book, is now read to him by the Gooroos, or priests, who are magnificently attired for the occasion, and seated on the richest carpets and silks. After this he again holds his durbar, and finishes the business of the day by a ride on horseback. Should the affairs of the state require his attention, Runjeet is ready at all times during the day and night; and it is not unusual for him to order his secretary and prime minister to carry the designs on which he has been meditating during the night, into execution before daybreak. This is only a solitary instance of the many that might be adduced, of the energy of character displayed by the present ruler of the Punjab. Runjeet, while at Lahore, generally resides in the palace, which is the remains of His residence. Mussulman grandeur; and though inferior, perhaps to the palace at Delhi, it is still a superb edifice. The most interesting portion of it, is the Soomunboorj; this is a quadrangular building, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country on both sides of the Ravee, and contains the private apartments of the Maharajah, before which there is an open verandah, while the centre of the square is occupied by a shallow reservoir of water, and several fountains. Across the Ravee, and opposite Lahore, stands the Mausoleum of Jehangeer, the lofty minars of which are seen at a great distance on approaching Lahore. The building is constructed

of marble and red stone; on the ground-floor, in a capacious and lofty hall, repose the earthly remains of the emperor.

His fondness
for field sports

Runjeet is fond of field sports, and makes short excursions every year through the country lying between the Sutlej and Ravee, and across the latter river, in search of game. On these occasions he is attended by all his principal sirdars, and a numerous retinue of followers, with a few horse and foot soldiers as an escort. While thus employed, the Maharajah makes very short marches and generally leaves one encamping ground for another about 3 o'clock P.M. The dogs employed in the chase are large northern, or Persian greyhounds, which to great strength, unite considerable speed, though in the latter respect, they are much inferior to either the English, or Italian greyhounds. Whenever a hare is started, the dogs and hawks are let loose; and as soon as the animal has been injured by the birds, so as to diminish its speed, it then becomes an easy prey to the dogs. There is not much of sport or excitement in this mode of coursing, and as the hare is quickly despatched, few of the horsemen pursue it. Tigers are met with in the dense jungles which skirt the banks of the Sutlej and Ravee. When a tiger has been discovered, a body of soldiers are ordered to attack the animal on foot with sword and shield, no matchlock being allowed; in this manner the tiger is despatched, though it seldom fails to inflict serious wounds on the assailants, and sometimes

even fatal accidents occur. During these encounters, instances of personal courage are not uncommon; and several of Runjeet's followers owe their rise to the valour displayed in killing a tiger single handed. When a man has been wounded by a tiger, he is not allowed to sleep for several days and nights, from an idea that he would see a tiger in his dreams, and thus become alarmed and die of fright! The hunting of the wild hog, is a favourite amusement with the Sikhs; they do not use the spear as we do, but kill the animal either with the sword or matchlock. The flesh of the wild hog is in great esteem among them; and I recollect the Rajah Dhyan Singh, who is a keen sportsman, being very anxious to know by what process he might preserve it. Runjeet was amused at our mode of hog hunting, which he disapproved of, from the difficulty of riding down the animal; and the remark was perhaps just, so far as regards the thick jungles which the wild hog inhabits in the Punjab. Some of the Sikh sirdars are good marksmen, and excellent riders; their saddles are of a peculiar shape, having a high circular peak in front; these, as well as the bridles, are often richly ornamented with gold and precious stones. Runjeet's own horse-equipments are very gorgeous, the holster pipes being covered with gold tinsel, and studded with precious stones, particularly emeralds and topazes; while the bridle reins are formed of pieces of gold or silver, connected together over the leather which is thus concealed.

His nautch
girls.

Like other oriental princes, Runjeet is fond of nautching, or dancing girls; he keeps up a large establishment of these, and lavishes vast sums of money on them. These females are sometimes attired in military costume, and armed with bows and arrows; when thus equipped, he styles them his *body-guard*! They do not, however, like the amazons of old, take part in the battle strife; though their domestic quarrels are by no means unfrequent, and require all the address of the "Lion of the Punjab" to suppress them! He confesses that his body-guard are the most troublesome, and least manageable portion of his troops!! When employed in dancing and singing, Runjeet, it is said, sometimes amuses himself by giving them spirituous liquors (of which these girls are as fond as any bearded Sikh) until they have drunk to excess, when they commence quarrelling, and tear each other's hair, much to his delight! He encourages the sport by every means in his power, and showers rupees without number among the combatants! These Bacchanalian scenes are, however, confined to himself and his favorites, being rarely or ever exhibited to strangers. When in the enjoyment of good health, the Maharajah and his sirdars used to indulge in spirituous liquors to an immoderate extent; on such occasions, his European guests found considerable difficulty in avoiding the force of *regal* example, as may be seen in Burnes' amusing account of a drinking scene at Lahore. On this, and similar occasions, the Maharajah is

described as perfectly happy, and forgetting the affairs of the state, gives himself entirely up to festivity. He rarely or ever indulges now, and the quantity of spirit which he consumes is measured out with great care in a small golden cup.

“It is surprising, that even with the strongest constitution, Runjeet should have lived so long; and it will not appear strange, that he is now suffering from the excesses and fatigues of his early life. His constitution is fast breaking up; already he has been attacked by paralysis, from the effects of which he has not yet entirely recovered; his tongue is the part chiefly affected, and it is not likely that its powers will be ever fully restored, since he will not submit to any active medical treatment. To the use of medicine in any shape, he has a thorough dislike, and can with difficulty be persuaded to take even a single pill: before this is effected, the medicine must be given to one or two persons about him; and should its effects on any of them be greater than he was led to anticipate, he insists on some other composition of a less active nature; and thus delays from day to day, until the patience of his medical attendant being exhausted, he gets rid of the dose altogether. When we consider the position which Runjeet now holds, as the absolute sovereign of several states, which formerly owned distinct rulers, and all of them reduced into subjection by himself, it is evident that he is no common character, but possessed of powers of mind rarely met with, either in

Broken constitution.

His character
as a military
leader.

the eastern or western world. It would be unfair to compare him with those military leaders and conquerors of the latter, who enjoying all the advantages of education and hereditary wealth have pushed their conquests over the greater portion of the globe. Runjeet's talents are entirely natural, and unassisted by education, they have enabled him to triumph over every power who opposed his victorious career to the throne of Lahore. If we compare his conquests with those of Nadir Shah, the Persian conqueror of Hindostan, we may discover more brilliant displays of daring adventure in the latter, but the tragical end of Nadir Shah's reign and life, are circumstances well known in the page of history, as having sprung from want of caution and discernment, qualities so characteristic of the present ruler of the Punjab. The manner in which Runjeet retains his conquests entire, displays the energy of the man in even a stronger light than all his victories in the field of battle, and without knowing the habits and endless resources of this extraordinary individual, it appears difficult to conceive how he manages to preserve such order in his wide-extended dominions; but we cease to wonder, as my friend Fukeer Azeezodeen* has often remarked; on witnessing the minute attention which he bestows on the most trifling subject, from the shoeing of a horse, to the organization of an army. He never loses sight

* The late memorable secretary and physician of the Maharajah.

of the difficulties he has to contend with, and his discernment and judgment enable him to make choice of advisers from whom he receives the ablest assistance. The Maharajah is fond of children; His fondness for children. and many of his sirdars' sons are bred up under his eye, and instructed in riding, and the use of arms; by this means they become attached to him, and when able to assume commands, they never fail of succeeding to important ones. With his usual discrimination, Runjeet seldom makes choice of a subject unworthy of it, and he has ample opportunity of judging of the capacities of those individuals, who are ultimately appointed to the duties best calculated for drawing forth their talents. It has been already hinted that the Maharajah is fond of flowers; and around Lahore there are various gardens, to each of which there is a house attached, in which he spends some of his leisure hours. A novel scene occurred at one of these garden houses in February 1837.* A fukeer, The story of the fukeer. who arrived at Lahore, engaged to bury himself for any length of time, shut up in a box, without either food or drink! Runjeet disbelieved his assertions, and was determined to put them to proof; for this purpose, the man was shut up in a wooden box, which was placed in a small apartment below the level of the ground; there was a folding door to this box, which was secured by lock and key. Surrounding this apartment, there was the

* Copied into Osborne's "Camp and Court of Runjeet Singh."

garden house, the door of which was likewise locked ; and outside of this a high wall, having the door way built up with bricks and mud. Outside the whole there was placed a line of sentries, so that no one could approach the building. The strictest watch was kept, for the space of forty days and forty nights : at the expiration of this period, the Maharajah, attended by his grandson and several of his sirdars, as well as General Ventura, Captain Wade, and myself, proceeded to disinter the fukeer. The bricks and mud were quickly removed from the doorway of the outer wall ; the door of the house was next unlocked, and lastly, that of the box containing the fukeer ; the latter was found covered with a white sheet, on removing which, the figure of the man presented itself in a sitting posture. His hands and arms were pressed to his sides ; and the legs and thighs crossed. The first part of the operation of resuscitation consisted in pouring over his head a quantity of warm water ; after this, a hot cake of Atta was placed on the crown of his head : a plug was next removed from one of his nostrils, on this being done, the man breathed strongly through it. The mouth was now opened, and the tongue, which had been closely applied to the roof of his mouth, brought forward, and both it and the lips anointed with ghee or melted butter ; during this part of the process, I could not feel the pulsation of the wrist, though the temperature of the body was much above the natural standard of health. The legs and arms being extended, and

the eyelids raised, the former were well rubbed, and a little ghee was applied to the latter. The eyeballs presented a dim, suffused appearance, like those of a corpse. The man now evinced signs of returning animation, the pulse was felt, while the unnatural temperature of the body quickly decreased. He made several ineffectual efforts to speak, and at length uttered a few words, but in a tone so low as to make them inaudible. By and by his speech was re-established, and he recognised the bystanders, addressing himself to the Maharajah, who was seated opposite to him, watching all his movements. When the fukeer was able to converse, the completion of the feat was announced by the discharge of guns, and other demonstrations of joy; while a rich chain of gold was placed round his neck by Runjeet himself; and ear-rings, bangles, shawls, &c. were presented to him.

“However extraordinary this feat may appear to both Europeans and Natives, it is impossible to explain it on physiological principles, and equally difficult to account for the means which the man employed in his successful imposition; for he not only denied his having tasted food or drink, but even maintained his having stopped the functions of respiration during the period of forty days and forty nights; resembling in this respect the child before birth. To all appearance, the long fast had not been productive of its usual effects, for the man seemed to be in rude health, so that digestion and

assimilation had apparently proceeded in the usual manner, but this of course he likewise denied, and finally asserted, that during the whole period he had been in a most delightful trance. It is well known, that the Natives of Hindostan, by constant practice, will bring themselves to exist on almost no food for several days, and it is equally true, that by long training, they are able to retain the air in the lungs for some minutes, but how the two functions of digestion and respiration could be arrested for such a length of time, appears unaccountable. The concealment of the fukeer during the performance of his feat, so far from rendering it more wonderful, serves to hide the means he employed for accomplishing it; and until he can be persuaded to undergo the confinement in a place where he can be observed, it is needless to form any conjectures regarding them.* It is well known to physiologists, that the heart beats, and the function of the lungs is performed, even after an animal's head has been cut off; but to suppose for an instant, that the functions of the body can be performed for any length of time without a fresh supply of arterial blood, which necessarily implies the action of respiration, (unless in the case of the child in utero) is absurd; and though in cases of asphyxia from drowning and hanging, or the inhalation of hurtful gases, both circulation and respiration cease

* An attempt was made by the Hon. W. Osborne, to induce the man to shut himself up in a box, giving him charge of the key; he at first agreed to the proposal, but afterwards refused.

for a time, still there is a limit to this, beyond which life is extinct, and no power with which we are acquainted can recall it. Something approaching this state is the phenomenon of sleep, but here the circulation and respiration continue, as well as the secretory functions; the sensorium alone, with the muscles of voluntary motion, being at rest. My own opinion is, that the man enjoyed the functions of respiration, circulation, and assimilation in a degree compatible with the existence of life, and that by training, he had acquired the means of retaining the air in the lungs for some minutes, during the period of his being shut up, and when he was again exposed. How he managed to get a supply of food and drink, I by no means wish to hazard a guess; these affairs were no doubt managed by his accomplices, of whom he appeared to have a considerable number. It is said, that previous to his undergoing the confinement, this man gradually overcomes the power of digestion and assimilation, so that milk taken into the stomach passed out without the least change! He next forces all the breath in his body to the brain, which is described as giving the crown of the head the feeling of a hot coal. The lungs then collapse, and the heart, deprived of its usual stimulus, to use a homely phrase, "shuts up shop." Having thus disposed of digestion, assimilation, respiration, and circulation, all the passages of the body are closed; his legs and thighs crossed, and his arms pressed to his sides; in short, he presents the same appear-

ance he did when his box was opened. However childish all this may appear, the explanation was quite satisfactory to the good people of Lahore, and even to some who pretended to greater depth of reasoning powers. The same individual has, I believe, exhibited with success at Jesselmere, an account of which is given in Lieutenant Boileau's work lately published. The fukeer is a man about forty years of age, mild and intelligent in his deportment, and ready to answer all questions put to him on the subject. He describes his trance as a most delightful one, and does not scruple to say, that he enjoys it much; the only wonder is, that he does not prolong it. On asking him the place of his birth, he said he believed it was Kunkul, a village close to Hurdwar, and famous for fukeers of all denominations. He considers his being able to perform the feat as a gift from God, and he is not sure that it can be taught. It was observed by some of the bystanders, that his beard exhibited the same appearance after disinterment, as on the day he had been shut up; though I do not attach much weight to this circumstance, as the man's beard did not seem to be of the bushy kind, nor even to grow at all; the latter is the case with many Europeans, as well as Natives. Enough has been said on this subject, and were there anything to induce a belief, (except the difficulty of finding out the deception) in the man's assertions, the circumstance might deserve the consideration of the learned; as it is, there is little chance of its exciting

much interest in Europe ; and it has already ceased to create wonder among the Natives of this country, who seldom trouble themselves about the discovery of imposition, provided they are pleased with its successful performance. Besides, it gives them, in their own opinion at least, an advantage over their European brethren, whom they challenge to perform a similar feat. However, if to excel in cunning and deceit, and thereby extort money, be considered creditable among these people, "ignorance is bliss." Runjeet is not above his countrymen in the superstitious ideas which they entertain on many subjects, and it is not improbable, that he had been told the successful performance of this feat might have some effect in restoring his health, in the same way as the Jesselmere Rajah fancied it would be conducive to the birth of a son and heir. To those acquainted with the idolatry and superstition of the Hindoos, there will appear nothing surprising in these absurd notions, which run through the whole tenor of their religious tenets. With regard to Runjeet's own religious character, His religion. it is somewhat doubtful if he has any fixed system ; but as the Sovereign of the Sikhs who follow the religious tenets of Nanuk, modified by Gooroo Govind, it is politic on his part to support this religion, which he does in the most munificent manner. The Sikh religion differs but little, in many respects, from Hindooism, though a wider range is given to many indulgences by the former. Both enjoin a strict prohibition of slaughtering the

cow, and in this particular, the Sikhs have no mercy for such an enormous offence: even in the protected Sikh states on this side the Sutlej, it is rigidly forbidden; while across the river, and throughout the Punjab, the killing of a cow is visited by capital punishment. The Sikhs are forbid the use of tobacco by the tenets of their religion, but they find a ready substitute for it in opium, which is consumed in great quantities throughout the whole of the Punjab, as well as among the protected Sikh states. While under the effects of this drug, the Sikh is a very different person to the same individual before he has taken it. In the former instance, he is active and talkative; in the latter, lazy and stupid. When the habit of eating opium has been once induced, it is well known how difficult it is to throw it off, and of this fact Runjeet is well aware, for though he has been told repeatedly how pernicious the effects of opium must be to his complaint, still he cannot resist the daily use of it, nor would it perhaps be prudent for him to do so suddenly.

“For the purpose of being near the principal Sikh temple of the Punjab, as well as for change of air, the Maharajah is accustomed to spend a portion of each year at Umritsir; he arrives about the commencement of the periodical rains, and takes his departure on their breaking up, or after the festival of the Dusserah. While at Umritsir, Runjeet resides in the Rambagh, a short distance from the city; this is a garden, as the name implies, and it

His residence
at Umritsir.

contains some handsome buildings : the whole is surrounded by a wall and ditch. His time is spent here in a more retired manner than at Lahore, and he devotes more of it to religious ceremonies. The *Durbar Sahib*, as it is called, or great Sikh temple, is erected in the centre of a beautiful sheet of water, above the surface of which it is raised by means of a terrace. The building is a handsome one, and its lofty gilded dome and minars produce a rich and dazzling effect. Surrounding this temple, and skirting the edge of the water, may be seen the stately mansions of the different Sikh chiefs, on both sides of the Sutlej ; one of the most conspicuous among these buildings is that belonging to the Alloowala family, the late chief of which, Futteh Singh, was among the last of Runjeet's early companions in arms. The entrance to the temple is by a flight of steps, which descend from one of the public streets, or avenues ; before entering on these, every person is obliged to take off his shoes, even Runjeet himself is not exempted. On reaching the bottom of these steps, there is a causeway leading towards the temple ; the door of the latter faces the north, and the avenue immediately in front of it is constantly crowded, during the daytime, with people passing to and from the temple. On the ground-floor, opposite the door, sits the presiding Gooroo, or priest, clothed in white robes ; and before him is placed the Grunth, or Sacred Book, which is open ; this book is constantly fanned by the priest, by means

The temple at
Umritsir.

of a chourie, or yak's tail,* which he keeps waving backwards and forwards in his right hand. The Grunth is placed under a small arch of gold tinsel, inlaid with precious stones, and presented a few years ago by the Maharajah, at an expense of 50,000 rupees; the rest of this apartment is covered with rich carpets and strewed with flowers, particularly those of the jessamine, or chumbelee. The doors and walls are gilded and ornamented; while the light descending from the lofty dome has a pleasing effect on the whole. Above this there are other apartments, with verandahs running round the whole circuit of the building. From the top of the building itself, the view is extensive; and here you obtain a nearer view of the gilded dome and minars, on which vast, and almost incredible sums of money have been expended by Runjeet and his sirdars. Facing this temple, on the north side, but not in the water, stands the temple of the *Ukalees*; these are a race of religious fanatics, who inhabit various portions of the Punjab, but found in greatest numbers about Umritsir and the Manja country lying between Lahore and the river Gharra: in this district, as already noticed, is Taruntara, their chief city. The Ukalee is a wild-looking character, displaying in his countenance a mixture of cunning and cruelty; these two propensities are accordingly the leading impulses of his life. The Ukalees are ostensibly

The Ukalees.

* *Bos grunniens* of the Himalayas.

beggars, but differ from this race as found in other parts of India, in their extreme insolence and independence. To the sight, even of an European, they have a strong antipathy; and never fail to load him with abuse. Runjeet has done much towards reducing this race to some degree of order; and though the task is a difficult one, they have even been trained as soldiers, retaining, however, their own peculiar arms and dress. The Ukalees wear but little clothing, and are sometimes divested of it altogether. Their turban is of a peaked, or conical form, and invariably of a blue colour; over this are placed steel circles, made so as to fit the shape of the turban, diminishing gradually in diameter as they approach the top. The outer edge of these weapons is very sharp, and inflicts severe wounds. They are thrown, by giving them a rotary motion on the finger, and then projecting them forwards with great velocity. In addition to these weapons, by which they may at all times be known, the Ukalees carry a naked sword in their hand, which they keep flourishing about their heads like madmen. When thus equipped, and mounted on horseback, they present a novel sight; further increased in terror, if they happen to be under the influence of spirituous liquors, which is by no means a rare occurrence; their discordant yells, wild gestures, and the brandishing of their swords, give them, on these occasions, more the appearance of fiends, than of human beings. The Ukalees sometimes cross the Sutlej and Gharra

rivers, laying waste the country with fire and sword; on such forays Runjeet is obliged to bring them back by means of his regular cavalry, whom they seldom or ever dare to encounter; for they seem to be guided more by the blind impulse of the moment, than by any preconcerted measures, and are alike careless of their own lives and of those of others. On visiting the temple of the Ukalees at Umritsir, the stranger presents a few rupees, and in return receives some sugar, while a small mirror is held before his face, so as to reflect his image. What the exact meaning of this ceremony is, I have not been able to learn, though it is probably meant to convey some moral, as "Know thyself." After this it is advisable to retreat, otherwise crowds of these fanatics collect around the visitor, and commence their abuse, which is equally lavished on friend and foe. Their chief priest is most fantastically dressed in clothes of different colours, above which, he wears the warlike insignia of his race. During Sir Henry Fane's stay at Lahore, a battalion of Ukalees was marched past in review, and made to salute the commander-in-chief; in the front and rear there were some regular troops, in order to prevent their doing some mischief, on which the Ukalees appear always bent. On one occasion some years ago, an Ukalee attempted the life of Runjeet, and made his escape across the Sutlej. I once encountered a body of these people under the walls of the fort of Lahore; I had passed their encampment early in the morning, in com-

pany with Captain Wade and Lieutenant Mackesson, on our way to join the Maharajah's camp on a hunting excursion; having a strong escort with us, they took no further notice than to raise a shout. I had occasion to return to Lahore in the evening, and had ten horsemen as an escort. On approaching Lahore, I met a solitary Ukalee horseman at some distance from their encampment, which I had purposely avoided. He spoke a few words to my escort and then galloped off; shortly after this, on turning round, I observed about twenty Ukalees mounted on horseback, and coming at full speed, shouting and flourishing their swords. As they were evidently intoxicated, I was determined not to risk a quarrel with them; and on their coming up, I asked what they wanted? They said they were starving, and wanted money; I replied, that I had no rupees about me. Not being satisfied with this, they endeavoured to come nearer, and nearer, while my escort advised me to ride off. I did not, however, follow this suggestion, and took no further notice of them. When they found that I was not likely to comply with their demands, they set off at full gallop, shouting and uttering all manner of abuse. Next morning, on my return to camp, Runjeet made enquiries regarding the adventure of which he had heard, assuring me that they were his servants, and that I had no cause of alarm. Be this as it may, I should not have much trust in their forbearance in a retired spot, and without any escort; the latter



is at all times advisable in marching through the Punjab, particularly beyond the river Beas, few of the Ukalees being met with between the Sutlej and the latter river, and hardly any in the protected Sikh states.

The feast of
the Dusserah.

“ The feast of the Dusserah is celebrated at Umritsir, about the latter end of September, or early in October, it being a moveable one. I had an opportunity of witnessing it in 1835, and shall introduce a short notice here on the subject. On the day appointed, I was sent for by the Maharajah about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. I found him seated on the top of a house which he had erected for the occasion. In the apartment underneath, I observed the various sirdars, the most conspicuous among them being Rajah Dhyan Singh, the prime minister, and his relation, Sirdar Kesree Singh : the former was dressed in chain armour. The approach to where the Maharajah was seated was by means of a ladder, with a trap or lifting-door at the top of it. A chair was placed for me close to Runjeet, the only other person allowed one being the young Rajah Heera Singh. From this elevated position, I had a full view of the troops drawn up on the adjoining plain in the form of an open square, each side consisting of four thousand rank and file, making a total of sixteen thousand men, exclusive of the artillery, which numbered one hundred guns. The whole commenced firing at one and the same time ; so that the continued noise of cannon and musketry was quite deafening ; and even Runjeet's

well practised ear was stunned by the sound. This firing lasted without intermission, until the artillery had expended 20,000 cartridges ! and the infantry an equal proportion ! The firing was quick, and intended to represent a battle, the Maharajah assuring me from time to time, that it would be equally expeditious in the scene of action. He asked me what I thought of the firing, and which side of the square fired with the greatest regularity.* I was rather loth to risk an opinion ; but as he insisted on one, I replied, that I thought that on our left fired with the least interruption, and as chance would have it, the Maharajah had formed the same opinion, remarking, that the soldiers on our left belonged to Sirdar Tej Singh, who had just arrived from Lahore to take part in the Dusserah. Besides the artillery and infantry, there were five hundred camels armed with swivel guns, which likewise took part in the exhibition. The Maharajah being at the time in an infirm state of health, I took my leave of him early, assuring him that I had never witnessed such a sight before.

* Allusion to this is made in the second volume.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED.

Dhyan Singh. "AMONG Runjeet's personal staff; the Rajah Dhyan Singh deserves the first place : he is brother to the rajahs Goolab Singh and Soochet Singh, and performs the office of prime minister at the court of Lahore. The three brothers are Rajpoots by descent, and all of them strictly adhere to their Hindoo forms of religion. Dhyan Singh's influence is great, and he uses his power with a moderation and judgment which never fail to elicit the admiration of all who know him. His own personal followers are numerous, and in the event of a war of succession, the three brothers would be formidable rivals to the adverse party. "The rajah," as he is called by Runjeet, is a remarkably handsome man, and well skilled in horsemanship, and in the use of the sword, spear, and matchlock ; he is mild in his deportment ; affable to strangers ; and at all times ready to listen to complaints, and redress grievances. His son, the young Rajah Heera

Singh, is a great favourite with the Maharajah, being constantly with him, and honored with a chair in his presence, a mark of respect denied even to his father. The degree of familiarity existing between this young man and Runjeet is of a childish nature, and would amuse an European unacquainted with the domestic habits of the Sikhs. Though quite a youth, Heera Singh is already a rajah, and holds the command of several regiments in the Maharajah's service. His appearance is effeminate; and his character for energy and intellect inferior to that of his father, Dhyan Singh. Next in power and influence is the fukeer Azeezodeen, who is, at once, chief secretary and physician to Runjeet. The fukeer is an aged man, though of a hale constitution; simple in his manners, and dress; [of a mild disposition; but possessed of great energy, talents and address. He is thoroughly versed in the native science of medicine; both as regards its theory and practice. His memory is extraordinary, and he brings forward on every occasion, appropriate verses from his favorite Persian and Arabic poets to illustrate and enforce his arguments. All the confidential correspondence of Runjeet's court is conducted by the fukeer, and he is always employed to treat with European officers, civil and military, who visit Lahore. On the occasion of Runjeet's attack of paralysis in 1835, the fukeer, as well as all the courtiers, was in great alarm. The Maharajah was for some hours speechless, and during this eventful period, the fukeer's attentions

were unremitting; had Runjeet been his father, he could not have evinced greater solicitude. This worthy man never ceases to watch over the interests and welfare of his master, who in return, treats him with the most marked kindness and respect. The fukeer generally travels in a palkee, without the least ostentation; and he often spends whole days and nights near the Maharajah, with no other comfort than his simple food, and plain water as a drink. The fukeer is of a most humane disposition; and he deems it cruel to deprive even the insect of life: though obliged to witness the death of animals while on hunting excursions with his master, he confesses, that he never sees a hare start before the dogs without offering up his prayers for its escape! These traits will shew the mild and gentle disposition of this worthy man; it must not, however, be supposed that he is less energetic or useful for these peculiarities; on the contrary, his unpretending and simple habits give him an advantage over his more ambitious contemporaries, and enable him to gain information in quarters to which they have no access. His

Nooroodeen. brother Nooroodeen is styled "Khalifa," an honorary title among Mussulmans, he is likewise a physician, and may be justly called Runjeet's "apothecary general," for he prepares all his medicines, as well as the favorite spirituous liquor which the Maharajah, even now, uses more freely than is advisable or beneficial for an invalid. This liquor is manufactured or distilled from nu-

merous ingredients, the most active of which are dried grapes, saffron, and cardamums; and though strong and fiery to the taste, it is highly relished by the Sikhs: it is kept in curiously formed bottles of a green colour, each having a label of the ingredients employed, and the date of distillation. Some of the sirdars indulge in its use to an immoderate extent; and I recollect one day, an old Bacchanalian* of this class remarking to Runjeet (while I was recommending abstinence for its use) that such a small portion as the Maharajah employed would kill him, (the sirdar) to which Runjeet replied, that he did not doubt but that habit was a second nature, and that by degrees he had brought himself to employ a quantity so small, as would have killed him in former days."

"There are numerous attendants at the court of Lahore, who owe their rise to the caprice of fortune, and the whim of Runjeet. One man in particular, who was formerly a menial, (a waterman I believe) had his fortune made in one day, by a gift of several thousand rupees from his master; and now acts as a "Ganymede," or cupbearer, being not a little proud of his office. The rajah Soochet Singh, younger brother to the prime minister, to a handsome figure, and engaging manner, adds all the advantage of dress and ornament; he is of a mild and affable disposition; extremely polite, and courteous; in short, a perfect courtier, when required to assume

The cup-
bearer.

Soochet Singh.

* Sham Singh Attarewala, killed at Sobraon, and alluded to in vol. ii.

that character. He is equally celebrated as a soldier, and holds an important command in the cavalry, or household troops; besides having numerous followers of his own in this branch of the service. The elder brother, Goolab Singh, is for the most part on detached duty in the hill provinces, where the family have extensive possessions. Goolab Singh appears to be a thoroughbred soldier, and less pleasing in his manner and address than either of his brothers; he is even accused of cruelty and tyranny. His son is a promising youth; at Roopur in 1832, he was quite a boy; but, he* is now a fine young man, and already a general officer in Runjeet's service. One of the principal men about the court of Lahore is the Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, who has risen from the rank of a private soldier, to the responsible command of a great portion of the artillery. He is an active, bustling man; possessed of great wealth, and considerable influence in the Punjab. His house at Lahore is a magnificent building, and only inferior to the palace. His numerous elephants, horses, &c. proclaim him to be a man of substance. The Jemadar was originally a Hindoo of the Brahmin caste, but out of compliment to Runjeet, he has become a Sikh, while his wife and family still adhere to their Hindoo forms of religion; and in consequence, he has adopted a son of Sikh origin, or at least a convert to it, on whom he

Goolab Singh.

Khooshyal
Singh.

* Killed at the same time as Nonchal Singh in 1840.

bestows every mark of parental indulgence. This son is named Bishen Singh, and has been for some Bishen Singh. years studying English at the Loodianah school, established through the exertions of the political agent (Captain Wade) and the American missionaries stationed there. It is surprising to witness the progress which some of the boys have made in English literature; and Bishen Singh, though not the first of his class, is still a promising scholar, and speaks and writes English with great fluency. He looks forward to a lucrative appointment about the court of Lahore; and his perseverance, and proficiency will, no doubt, be rewarded with success. The rise of the Jemadar is said to be rather of a romantic nature. During some of Runjeet's adversities, this man was placed as sentry over the tent in which the Maharajah was sleeping; the rest of the latter was disturbed, and troubled, so that he awoke several times during the night, and enquired who was keeping watch over him. The answer to these repeated enquiries was always "Khooshyal Singh." This circumstance, if we may credit native report, had the effect of endearing him to Runjeet, who had ever since shewn him great favor, and advanced him to the post he now holds. The Jemadar is an uneducated man, but possessing great shrewdness, and natural talent; he, like his master, does not appear to suffer from the want of a liberal education. He is accused of cruelty and oppression; but these are failings so common to upstarts in every country, as to be

hardly worth noticing; and in the present instance, have little or no influence in retarding his prospects, all being laid to his zeal for the good of the state. The Jemadar's eldest son, named Ram Singh,* has been instructed in the science of war, by General Ventura, and is already a general officer, though not more than seventeen or eighteen years of age. He is not of a very mild temper, and has lately displayed his cruelty, by the murder of Bishen Singh, not his adopted brother, but a brother-in-law of Chat Singh, a commandant in Runjeet's service. The Maharajah has taken but little notice of this bloody affair; the deceased, Bishen Singh, was a fine young man, and in favor at the court of Lahore; he was particularly civil to strangers, and there are few of the British officers who accompanied Sir Henry Fane but must recollect the pleasing manners of poor Bishen Singh.

The champion. "One of Runjeet's best officers, Huree Singh, Nulwa, was lately slain at Peshawur while gallantly fighting against the Affghans. Runjeet, like other princes, has his champion, or at least a person who may be called such. The present one is Sirdar Uttur Singh, Majeethia, brother to Sirdar Lena Singh, commandant of Umritsir; the latter is a great astronomer, though not yet a convert to the Copernicun system; for he believes as firmly in the earth's immobility as he does in his own exis-

* Since dead.

tence; he is an intelligent man, and possessed of considerable information on general subjects. The champion is tall and athletic; on great occasions, he is armed to the teeth; even in ordinary, he is gorgeously dressed in the favorite colours of the Sikhs, green or yellow, with sword and shield; he stands before the Maharajah, and seems not a little proud of his office. His self-importance induces him to believe, that he must be known to every one. He has no great liking for the English, or indeed for any foreigners; but this appears to originate in the little intercourse he has held with strangers, as he is in other respects a shrewd, sensible man, though his appearance and manners are not prepossessing. He looks on the Maharajah as the greatest of monarchs, and for this he cannot be blamed. Among the sirdars, the name of Goojur Singh* must not be omitted: he is younger brother to Lena Singh, and though inferior to him in talents, he is still a pleasing young man. He Goojur Singh. was selected by Runjeet as ambassador to the government of India, on the occasion of his sending presents to the king of England. Being young and sanguine, Goojur Singh was highly flattered by his selection for this post, and appeared delighted with the attention he received in the "City of palaces." Govind Juss was associated with the sirdar; the former is a sedate middle-aged man, and the choice

* Poor Goojur Singh has paid the debt of nature since this was written, having fallen from the top of his house at Umritsir, and been killed on the spot.

was judicious on the part of Runjeet. It required all the caution and matured judgment of Govind Juss to prevent his volatile companion from committing serious indiscretions, among others, that of marrying a European woman with whom the sirdar fell desperately in love; the news of this adventure coming to the Maharajah's ears caused him much uneasiness, and he was very much displeased at the conduct of his ambassador, who, on his return to Lahore, was excluded the court for some time; it was only through his brother's influence with the Maharajah, that the latter again admitted him into favour. The sirdar is now a constant attendant at the durbar, and it is highly amusing to witness his conduct while there. He is dressed after the English fashion, except the turban, which is an indispensable article of a Sikh's dress. When any conversation is going on between the Maharajah and his courtiers or visitors, Goojur Singh takes out his pencil and pen-knife with his note-book, and placing the latter on his knee, he proceeds to adjust the point of his pencil with the knife, and slowly and ostentatiously returns the latter into his waistcoat pocket, looking round him all the time, with an air of superiority, which he no doubt imagines this imitation of English manners confers upon him! It is doubtful whether or no he commits anything to paper, but he sits in the attitude of a person busily engaged in taking notes, and when Runjeet on any occasion requires information regarding the "Sahib log," as he terms the English gentlemen, Goojur Singh is at all times ready to afford it. His

observations, and comments on the state of society, as he witnessed it in Calcutta, are often the theme of conversation in the Durbar, and seldom fail to amuse the old sirdars, and even extort a smile from Runjeet.

“ Govind Juss, or Ræe Govind Juss as he is more Govind Juss. frequently called, the term “ Ræe ” being an honourable title among Hindoos, is quite of a different stamp from Goojur Singh, being a quiet, steady, cautious man. He never intrudes himself on strangers unless questioned on any subject, when he shews considerable talent and tact, mixed with that low cunning which is so inseparable from the character of a Hindoo. Govind Juss is elder brother to Kishen Chund, the vakeel on the part Kishen Chund. of Runjeet at Loodianah ; the latter is an able politician, and superior in this respect to the Ræe, being possessed of extraordinary tact and cunning, with great presence of mind ; there is little doubt, that this man is sometimes more than a match for some of our British diplomatists, though he, on all occasions assumes a mild, and yielding manner, having learned, no doubt, that this was the most successful means of gaining over his British adversaries in the field of politics. Govind Juss appears to have been much pleased with his visit to Calcutta, which he allows to be a city of palaces : nothing excited his wonder and astonishment so much as the beautiful houses and rich equipages of the wealthier inhabitants ; he evidently looks upon these things as luxuries, and not at all necessary to the real comforts of life. Govind Juss is a great

friend of the fukeer Azeezoodeen, and to these two men Runjeet entrusts the offices of secretaries of state; the fukeer, however, holds the first place, and deservedly, as he is a much superior man in every respect to the Raae; it is, perhaps, wise policy on the part of Runjeet, thus to divide the duties between two men of different religions, as his intercourse with the various tribes of Hindoos and Mussulmans is thereby facilitated.

Nonehal
Singh.

“ In giving a sketch of Runjeet and his court, his grandson Nonehal Singh must not be left out, for though a young man, he has already shewn himself a worthy scion of the stock from which he has sprung. Nonehal Singh is the son of Khurruk Singh, heir apparent to the throne of Lahore. There is a striking likeness between Khurruk Singh and his father Runjeet, though the former possesses but a small portion of the talents inherited by the Maharajah. Nonehal Singh is not a handsome man; for his countenance, like that of his grandfather, is strongly marked by the small-pox, yet, there is a steady, determined look about him, which points him out as a person likely at some future period to emulate the present ruler of the Punjab, and though Khurruk Singh will, no doubt, ascend the throne on the death of his father, it seems very doubtful how long he will be able to retain it, and in the event of his being dethroned, his son Nonehal Singh is the most likely person to become his successor, if assisted by the British.

“ What the aspect of the affairs of the Punjab

may be at the death of Runjeet Singh, it is impossible to guess, but a few conjectures may be hazarded on the subject. It will be seen, that the three brothers, Goolab Singh, Dhyan Singh, and Soochet Singh, are by far the most powerful family in the Punjab, so far as their own personal influence is concerned; but they may be said to be strangers in the land, differing in religion and many other respects from the Sikhs. It is not likely, however, that the Rajah Dhyan Singh, knowing, as he does, the resources of the British government, would ever oppose himself to their wishes regarding a successor to the present ruler of the Punjab; in fact, it would be to his advantage were the throne of Lahore filled by a descendant of Runjeet capable of preserving the kingdom entire, as in the event of disunion among the various sirdars, each would make a desperate effort to regain his former principality; and this family, of Hindoo origin, would most likely be expelled the Punjab, though the struggle would no doubt be a fierce one, as each of the brothers has numerous followers, and great wealth; it may be therefore calculated, that this family will give its support to the heir apparent, Khurruk Singh. There is another person who will not probably allow Khurruk Singh to mount the throne of Lahore. I ^{Shere Singh.} allude to Shere Singh, his younger brother by a different mother. This prince is in every respect superior to his elder brother, being a thorough-bred soldier, and a man of undoubted courage: he is

besides a great favourite with the Sikhs, who would rally round his standard in the event of his claiming the sovereignty; and there is evidently a jealousy existing between the two brothers, each endeavouring to ingratiate himself into the favour of Runjeet, who is well aware of the ambitious views of Shere Singh.

“ It is now time that I should notice the foreign officers in Runjeet’s service. At the head of these, are Generals Ventura and Allard; the former is an Italian by birth, the latter a Frenchman. Both arrived in the Punjab about the same time, and they have always been on the best terms with each other. These gentlemen have held, at various periods, important commands. General Allard has been more particularly attached to the cavalry which he disciplined after the French manner, and brought to a high degree of proficiency previous to his departure for Europe. During his absence, this branch of Runjeet’s army sustained a great loss, for the soldiers were not only much attached to the general as their leader, but also as their friend, which he proved himself to be on all occasions. General Allard on his return to France, was received with great honour by the French king, and on his departure for the Punjab, he was entrusted with valuable presents for Runjeet, accompanied by a letter appointing him *chargé d’affaires* at the court of Lahore. The latter appointment is not of much consequence at a court like that of Runjeet, who though every way disposed to honour a European

General
Ventura.

power, is still too far distant to derive any immediate benefit from such an alliance. Were the French in possession of any considerable portion of Hindostan, there can be little doubt that the British might have some cause for jealousy at the presence of a French chargé d'affaires at the court of Lahore; but as matters now stand, his presence there is rather to be wished for than otherwise. General Allard* was, and is still, I believe, in great esteem with the Maharajah, and from having been always near his person, the general is more of a courtier than his friend Ventura, who has seen a good deal of hard work, and has on every occasion shown himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him by Runjeet. General Ventura has been employed chiefly with the infantry, who owe much to his exertions for their present state of efficiency. The General a few years ago expressed a wish to cross the Sutlej, in order to receive medical aid for a paralytic stroke, which he had experienced in the Punjab. His leave was at length reluctantly granted. During his sojourn in our provinces, he received every mark of attention from the civil and military authorities, as well as from the late Begum Soomroo, of Sirdhanah, where he resided for some time. General Allard having received the permission of the Maharajah to visit Europe during General Ventura's absence in Hindostan, Runjeet became anxious for the return of the latter, and

* Since dead.

after a stay of some months at Loodianah, the general once more crossed the Sutlej, and proceeded with the utmost expedition towards Peshawur, which at that time was likely to become the seat of war. Nothing of a warlike nature however took place, and the general returned to Lahore, where he remained almost unemployed until last year, when he took his departure for Europe. It is likely that he will soon return, for his unbounded hospitality and generous disposition have prevented his accumulating a fortune sufficient to enable him to spend his days in affluence at home. He has very highly lucrative appointments, in which a man of less scrupulous sense of honour might have amassed a princely fortune, but being in every sense of the word an honourable, upright man, he scorned to avail himself of the opportunity of aggrandizing himself at the expense of the state, though there is little doubt that Runjeet, measuring his honesty by the standard of that of his own people similarly situated, gave him the credit of doing so. Be this as it may, the general found great difficulty in recovering the arrears of pay due to him. He is still a fine-looking man, though from exposure to the inhospitable climate of the Punjab, his health has lately suffered much, but, it is to be hoped, his visit to Europe will completely re-establish it.*—Monsieur Court, who is likewise a general in the Sikh service, and a Frenchman by

* He did return, but eventually retired in 1843.

birth, is attached to the artillery, but from a notion of, or as some assert, a piece of advice given to Runjeet on the subject, the chief command of this important branch of his service is always invested in the hands of Natives. General Court has done everything which the means placed at his disposal could accomplish for the artillery. The general is a well-educated man, and was formerly, I believe, in the French service as captain of artillery. His researches in the Punjab in antiquities and coins, have frequently adorned the pages of the Asiatic Society's Journal; and his cabinet of coins and antiquities is a superb one. He is at all times ready to exhibit these, with a politeness which reflects equal credit on him as a gentleman and savant. Monsieur Avatabili, an Italian by birth, is employed in the civil department, and is, by all accounts, an active and zealous officer. Mr. Foulkes, an Englishman, proceeded to the Punjab in 1835, and has since that time been employed in the Sikh army. He is a gentleman of pleasing manners, and being determined to surmount every difficulty, he will ultimately succeed to some important command, though the delays and disappointments he has already experienced, would be sufficient to daunt the prospects of a less zealous soldier. These are the principal foreigners now in the service of Runjeet; but there are others in subordinate employments, whose prospects have

* Cruelly murdered and roasted alive by the Sikhs!

not been realized, and who, disgusted with the treatment they have experienced, are merely waiting an opportunity for bettering their condition, by a departure from the Punjab.

Adventurers.

It is somewhat amusing to hear the treatment which some of the adventurers resorting to this court for employment, meet with. A young German made his appearance two years ago, and represented to Runjeet, that he was well versed in military tactics; this did not, however, satisfy the Maharajah, who, to put him to test, ordered a few companies of soldiers to be paraded, and requested the aspirant to manœuvre them. This was rather more than the young man had bargained for, and a complete failure was the result. After remaining a few weeks at Umritsir, he at length obtained his "Rookhsut," or leave to depart, with a present of one hundred rupees, and a couple of shawls. On this occasion he was asked by Runjeet whether he intended to proceed to Cabul to join Dost Mohummed? He replied that he did; on which, Runjeet remarked, that it was a matter of indifference to him if a hundred such as he joined the standard of his bitterest enemy. Another gentleman, who had formerly been an officer in the French service, made his way to Lahore in spite of the obstructions opposed to his crossing the Sutlej. On his arrival at Lahore, he readily obtained employment with Runjeet, at a nominal salary of 500 rupees per month, and he commenced the drilling of recruits, for which he was well qualified. Monsieur A.

continued at this work for a few months, when he demanded his pay, and a day was fixed on which the Maharajah promised to inspect the recruits, and pay his wages. On the day appointed, both Monsieur A. and Mr. F. attended the durbar with their respective detachments of recruits. Runjeet expressed himself satisfied with their performances, and to Monsieur A. he offered a few hundred rupees in the shape of a present; but to this the former objected, remarking that he wanted no presents, but his arrears of pay: or, as he emphatically expressed himself, "Hum tilab (tilub, or pay) mangta, kooch bukshish ne." "I want my pay, and none of your presents." Runjeet was not in a humour to make further disbursements, and Monsieur A. though he accepted the money, returned it through the prime minister on leaving the presence. This was equivalent to an insult, and the Maharajah was rather puzzled how to act, for he did not wish to part with Monsieur A. whose services he justly estimated; on the other hand, he would fain have kept him on the cheapest possible terms, namely, a little in hand and more on some future day. Monsieur A. was resolute and would agree to no terms short of his full arrears; these at length he obtained, and leave to depart. Monsieur A. has since, I believe, gone to Cabul and joined Dost Mohummud. His loss is a serious one to the Maharajah, as he was an admirable drill, and would have been of infinite service, now that General Ventura has gone away.

The German
chemist.

Again, a Monsieur F. by profession a chemist, had been induced to relinquish a good appointment in the Pacha of Egypt's service, in order, as he imagined, to acquire a fortune in the Punjab, which he had been told was not a difficult matter. Leaving his wife and family behind him, this adventurous old man made his way to Lahore in company with the young German, formerly alluded to, and through whose advice he had been chiefly induced to undertake such a journey. Monsieur F. brought all his chemical apparatus along with him, and on his arrival at Lahore or Umritsir, he had an audience of Runjeet. He engaged to manufacture gunpowder for the Maharajah, of a superior quality : this pleased the latter, and the only thing remaining to complete the arrangement between them was the amount of salary : but here lay the chief difficulty. Monsieur F. demanded 3,000 rupees, or £300 sterling per mensem ; Runjeet offered him 500 rupees, or £50 sterling to commence with. Such a difference could not well be adjusted, and after a short stay at Lahore, Monsieur F. took his departure, thoroughly disgusted with the treatment he had experienced, which was so contrary to what he had been led to expect from the representations of his fellow-traveler. I had the pleasure of seeing Monsieur F. at Lahore ; he appeared to be a good practical chemist, and from the specimens of gunpowder which he exhibited, there can be little doubt but the manufacture of this important article would have

been greatly improved under such skilful hands, had the expenditure suited Runjeet's views. An Italian, Monsieur B., who visited Lahore in search of employment, met with no better success; he was requested to construct a road from General Ventura's house to Lahore, which he did, and so highly was the Maharajah pleased with it, that he told him to make out an estimate for one that should extend round the city and fort of Lahore, a distance of several miles. On presenting his estimate, to the poor Italian's amazement, instead of twenty or twenty-five thousand rupees, the amount of it, Runjeet offered him three thousand. Here the affair dropped, and Monsieur B., like the rest, embraced the first opportunity of quitting the Punjab, which he did without taking formal leave of the Maharajah.

These instances will suffice to show the kind of treatment which adventurers meet with at the present day from the ruler of the Punjab: it was different in former years; but Runjeet's notions regarding the value of their services are now changed, and he either fancies that he can dispense with them altogether, or, what is more probable, he grudges the pay which every gentleman resorting thither expects for his services. Some time ago, he wanted an European medical officer to be stationed at his court, and issued a purwanah, or order, for the attendance of Dr. D., formerly in the service of the late Begum Soomroo; his chief reason for this choice (which was in every respect a judicious one)

was rather amusing; namely, that as Dr. D. had kept the old lady so long alive at Sirdhanah, there was every probability of his performing the same kind office to himself at Lahore. The analogy was hardly just, for before ever Dr. D. had seen the Begum, she had attained a good old age, though there is little doubt that to Dr. D.'s unremitting care and skill, she was indebted for a few years of tolerable health at the close of her life; it is, therefore, to be regretted that the arrangement did not take place, though I do not think the Doctor has much reason to regret the circumstance, as he would probably have found the King of the Sikhs a very different person in the article of pay and remuneration to his late mistress the Begum. Mr. H., an American, was several years in Runjeet's service, and would probably have still been, but for a quarrel regarding money matters, which has for the most part been the ostensible cause of all the Maharajah's disagreements with foreigners.

From what has been said regarding Runjeet and his court, it must not be supposed that all his principal sirdars have been noticed; this was not my intention. Many erroneous reports are in circulation regarding Runjeet, and it is but justice, on the part of one who has experienced some degree of kindness and attention from him, to place his character in its true light. It were vain to expect a sovereign without some faults, and more particularly in the person of an uneducated man, such as Runjeet is; these I have not attempted to conceal;

at the same time I have been equally anxious to support his character in those striking points in which this extraordinary man differs so widely from his predecessors and contemporaries. His intercourse with the British has effected a complete change in his notions on the subject of war; he has learned from some source the importance of many minor details which had been formerly overlooked. Encroaching years and ill-health have, however, diminished the energies of his mind, as well as the activity of his body, and to those who knew him in the prime of manhood, his present state conveys a melancholy instance of the mutability of human life. His very existence is now precarious, and may be extinguished by a repetition of paralysis. When such an event does occur, there will be plenty of blood shed before the British can even reach Lahore. To prevent the chance of this, it appears advisable to have a force as near that capital as possible. The troops now stationed at Lootianah, were they sufficient in numbers, are at too great a distance; for after crossing the Sutlej at Phillour it would take them four days to reach the Beas, and as many more to gain the capital of the Punjab. On looking along the bank of the Sutlej and Gharra, the point nearest Lahore in our possession is undoubtedly Feerozpoore, and no obstacle could exist to the formation of a large military station at this place, which is only four days march from Lahore.* It is said that

* This has since been done.

Runjeet would not like our troops so near to him, but this objection might perhaps be overcome, on assuring him that the step was altogether for his own good, and for the purpose of securing the easy succession of his son to the throne. The only difficulty in the matter would arise from the hope which he cherishes, that he has yet many years to live, and that the cantoning of troops at Feerozpoore would appear like anticipating his speedy death. His advisers might urge, how can the Maharajah be assured of a lasting peace between himself and the British? Some cause for a quarrel may arise, for the settlement of which he could not make concessions consistent with his dignity as an independent sovereign; the British becoming offended, war is waged, and the force at Feerozpoore speedily crosses the Gharra and reaches the gates of Lahore. This reasoning is, however, more specious than just, for were Runjeet equal to a contest with the British, there might be some reason for his objecting to an armed force being stationed at Feerozpoore; but however much his courtiers may think of the armies of the Maharajah, he has discernment to see at a glance the unequal nature of a struggle with his allies, though there is every likelihood that if his honour or that of his kingdom were compromised, he would try the issue. When Feerozpoore fell into the possession of the British in 1835, Runjeet no doubt anticipated that it would be occupied by our troops, for he erected temporary buildings between

Labore and Kussoor, so as to form an army of observation; he never, however, put this design into execution, being assured, I conclude, that there was no intention on our part to establish a cantonment in the newly-acquired territory. The possession of Feerozpore in the midst of his states on the side of the river, is a source of great uneasiness to the Maharajah, as we can by this means bring a large army to the very confines of his empire, and sweep the whole of the intervening country at a moment's notice. The territory of Feerozpore is said to be unhealthy, and certainly if compared with Loodianah, it is sickly; still much might be done for its improvement, and eligible ground be selected at no great distance from the fort where a large force might be cantoned. The existence of so large a body of troops at Meerut can only be accounted for from the salubrity of the station, and in the event of a new cantonment at Feerozpore, a portion of the force might be withdrawn. The troops now at Kurnaul might be advantageously pushed forward to Sirhind or Umballa,* and thus form a reserve, while the force at Feerozpore should be the largest on the north-western frontier, consisting of not less than a regiment of European cavalry, one of European infantry, two troops of European horse artillery, a battallion of foot artillery, two or more regiments of Native cavalry and

* This has since been done.

Native infantry. Were this arrangement adopted, the troops at Loodianah might be reduced, or else a regiment of cavalry added to it; for as it stands at present, the force there is incomplete, and almost useless, being composed of infantry and horse artillery. It would be highly prudent to put the fort of Feerozpore in a state of thorough repair, and this I believe is being done by the political agent at Loodianah, or his assistant. Feerozpore is particularly well adapted for mounted corps, as the immense tracts of grass jungle which skirt the bank of the river and neighbouring country would afford ample supplies of grass, while the soil is rich, and, by proper cultivation, might, in a few years, produce abundant crops of all kinds of grain.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE MAHARAJAH'S VIEWS REGARDING THE BRITISH
INVASION OF AFFGHANISTAN, AND OTHER MATTERS.

It was not long after the foregoing sketch was written, that the Governor-general of India deemed it necessary to send an army to Affghanistan for the re-establishment of Shah Soojah on the throne of Cabul. The designs of Russia, formed the ostensible reason for this measure. Dost Mohumud, the ameer of Cabul, was supposed to be friendly to the interests of Russia; and it was deemed good policy to substitute in his room, the imbecile ex-king of Cabul. By such means it was anticipated, that we should secure a friendly power in Affghanistan, as well as a peaceful neighbour for our ally, Runjeet Singh. The determination on the part of Dost Mohummud to recover the province of Peshawur, was, however, the chief obstacle to arranging an amicable treaty with the ameer. It was evident that he had no particular wish to secure the alliance of Russia at the expense of losing

The object of
invading
Affghanistan.

that of the British ; but he could not be persuaded to give up his views regarding Peshawur, which he considered an integral part of the Affghan kingdom. In 1836, our intercourse with Dost Mohummud was viewed with a jealous eye by the Maharajah, and when Captain Wade visited Lahore at the end of that year, it was surmised that he was about to proceed to Cabul, and the question was even put to the author of this work by Runjeet Singh, as to whether this was not the real motive which induced the political agent to visit the Punjab ? At this period, an idea was entertained by the British authorities, that the possession of Affghanistan would open a wide field for traffic, while the restoration of Shah Soojah was scarcely contemplated as a measure in any way likely to forward such an object. The chief motive for Captain Wade's visit to Lahore at the period alluded to, was to induce the Maharajah to withdraw his troops from the vicinity of Shikarpore, or, in other words, renounce the conquest of Scinde ; and before this object was eventually obtained, the Maharajah secured, what he considered of equal importance, the safety of Peshawur by an arrangement whereby he should have to deal with Shah Soojah instead of the Ameer Dost Mohummud, who had already beaten his troops at Jumrood.

Runjeet's
reasons for
wishing it.

Though Runjeet Singh had contented himself with the capture and possession of Peshawur, he may have contemplated at one time the extension of his victories beyond the Khyber Pass ; but later

experience had taught him, that the utmost he could expect across the Indus was to keep his powerful rival Dost Mohummud in check, so as to preserve his own conquests entire. The defeat of Hurree Singh in 1837, had shown the Maharajah that either his adversary's power was on the increase, or his own on the decline, and in either case, it became necessary for him to look for aid in preventing the encroachments of Dost Mohummud, and the proposal on the part of the British to substitute Shah Soojah for the ameer, was of a nature which suited his views exactly. Had he imagined his position safe without foreign aid, he would not have so easily agreed to our designs regarding Shah Soojah, but the recent example of defeat was fresh in his recollection, and he cordially agreed to the contemplated invasion of Affghanistan.

Though the invaders of a country may be gainers in the first instance, and appear to be sufficiently powerful for retaining their conquests, yet the history of past and present times proves that the retention of a country thus won, is a matter of extreme difficulty, and that the Natives will lose no opportunity of throwing off the yoke of a people who have no other right to impose it than the force of arms. Look at Poland, even at the present day. Though governed by the vast and tyrannical power of Russia, the spirit of independence is as strong in the minds of the gallant Poles, as it was when Russia first deprived them of their

independence; and though their weakened condition forbids even a chance of their regaining their freedom, we see the bold and indomitable spirit of the Poles kindle up at intervals, unhappily however with no other effect than that of making their yoke heavier. Again, in Circassia, though Russia has for years endeavoured to deprive her of her independence, the bloody struggles against her overbearing foe have convinced the latter that the love of freedom is yet undiminished.

The catastrophe in Affghanistan, whereby the British troops who had overcome the Affghans, and marched through the different defiles of the Bolan Pass, ascended the Kojack heights, and in short, conquered the country from the Indus to Cabal, were destroyed, shews clearly the risk to which invaders are exposed, even when everything appears to be tranquilly settled. A brave people will never submit quietly to invasion, however powerful the invading foe may be, and the result is for the most part disastrous to the latter. The more recent attempt of the Sikhs to invade British India is, perhaps, the most daring feat on record. At the outset they had vast advantages on their side, sufficient to raise the hopes of a semi-barbarous people to the highest pitch, and yet, in how short a space of time was their army almost annihilated, and their very kingdom placed at the disposal of the people against whom they had dared to wage war! It was not the least of the Sikh advantages, that the people of the country were already under a foreign

yoke, and it was considered not impossible that in the event of any marked success on the part of the invaders, the Natives of India might, instead of opposing their irruption, be ready to join them in expelling the British. The Sikhs had certainly calculated on this kind of support.

Far different were our prospects in Affghanistan, the natives of which country thirsted for the blood of its invaders, and were determined to lose no opportunity of revenging the injuries inflicted by the British, in forcing on them a king whom they despised.

Runjeet Singh, as we have shewn in the outline of his warlike career, experienced sad disasters in his first attempt at the conquest of Cashmere, owing to the inclemency of the northern climate. He no doubt dreaded the operation of the same cause, in the event of his invading Cabul; in fact, the conquest of Affghanistan was never a great object of his ambition, since the country was not only in itself difficult of access, and inhospitable in the depth of winter, but, even if acquired, its resources were of too scanty a nature to render their acquisition worth the risk of warfare.

Though thus himself convinced of the impolicy of invading Affghanistan, Runjeet did not oppose the views of the British. They appeared feasible to that power, and tended to secure his possessions beyond the Indus. Whether he ever contemplated disastrous consequences may be doubtful, though he was often heard to remark, that the

British certainly were great warriors, against whom no enemy could stand, but in their political arrangements, they appeared often to mistake the character of the people they had to deal with. This remark he illustrated by referring to the organization and management of our own troops, instancing the mutiny of the 47th regiment, Native Infantry, at Barrakpore. "How did it happen," he would ask, "with troops receiving regular pay and pensions, and commanded by British officers; while an occurrence of the kind never takes place in my army, the soldiers of which are often six months in arrears, and receive no pensions?"

Acting on the firm treaty of alliance, which existed between the two governments, Runjeet offered to aid the British, not only in allowing a free passage through his dominions to Captain Wade and the Prince Timoor, but by furnishing a Sikh contingent to co-operate with the British troops in forcing the Khyber Pass.

We are inclined to believe, that while thus cordially aiding us in our attempts, he almost ridiculed the expense his allies were about to incur for such a worthless object; and yet, the idea that the British, and not himself, should be the conquerors of Affghanistan, disturbed him, and he even shed tears when he heard of the victorious progress of our army, though seeming thereby to express his joy at our success. This apparent inconsistency may not be very clearly understood

by European politicians, but it is by no means an uncommon occurrence in the East. Tears are equally the types of joy and sorrow. His alliance with the British was not one of choice, but founded on a necessary political basis; he witnessed with his own eyes the effect of discipline, in the soldiers composing Metcalfe's escort; he learned from Juswunt Rao the irresistible force of our artillery, and being only separated from such a power by the Sutlej, he saw no other alternative than that of making friends with a government which he could never hope to subdue. Had Runjeet survived to witness our disasters in Cabul, he would readily have discerned that they arose entirely from local circumstances, and in no way deteriorated from our military prowess; but the Cabul massacre was otherwise viewed by Runjeet's less intelligent countrymen. It doubtless had some effect in making the Sikhs believe, that we were not the invincible power which their great founder had believed.

Runjeet's alliance with the British founded on a true political basis.

As further illustrative of the character of the Maharajah, we will offer a few more anecdotes, at the risk of being charged with egotism. In the history of India it will be found, that medical men have some share in procuring a footing for the English in the country. One of the emperors rewarded a medical officer at his court for his skill in curing him, with a grant of land to his countrymen! In our own case, the office of medical attendant on the Maharajah was accepted, when Doctor Murray resolved on going home, more with

Further particulars regarding the Maharajah.

a view of seeing the Maharajah and conversing with him, than from any pecuniary consideration. Our second visit was made under peculiar circumstances :—for the express purpose of trying the efficacy of electricity and galvanism in removing the Maharajah's complaint. The former agent had been recommended by Dr. H. who occupied the somewhat anomalous position of Physician and Captain at the court of Lahore. Doctor H. was an adventurer, and started from Loodianah with the intention of subduing all the countries across the Sutlej; he even hoisted the American flag at Loodianah, and collected a rabble to attack some villages across the Sutlej; his success, as might have been foreseen, was unequal to his wishes, and he found his way to Lahore, where he remained for some years, and eventually proceeded to Cabul. He is now we believe in his own country. His plan of galvanizing the Maharajah met with a ready consent on the part of the latter, but the exorbitant sum which the doctor demanded for constructing a galvanic battery (£5,000 sterling) naturally disgusted his royal patient, who threatened to wreak his vengeance on Doctor H. if he did not speedily leave his dominions. Dr. H., well knowing the character of the man he had to deal with, lost no time in making his escape to Loodianah! Acting on the hint, however, the Maharajah determined that the galvanism should be applied to his feeble frame, and the author of this work was accordingly sent to him to perform the

operation. We began by constructing a galvanic battery, and with an electrical apparatus, supplied from the Agra depôt, by order of the Governor of the North-western Provinces, the late Lord Metcalfe, we accompanied the political agent to Lahore in the end of 1836. After some delay, a day was appointed for electrifying the Maharajah. The machine was set up and the jar charged, but a difficulty arose on the part of his Highness's attendants, who were afraid that the shock might be attended by fatal consequences. At length the Maharajah begged of them to be quiet, and said he would take the *Biglee* (electricity.) We purposely put a small charge in the Leyden phial, and the Maharajah received it without evincing any particular emotion. On witnessing the slight effect on their master, all the courtiers entreated that we would give them a shock; and this time we resolved to give them its full effect! The Minister Dhyan Singh joined hands with Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, and he with others, until a chain was formed of the whole party present in the durbar. The jar being now charged to the full extent, they received a powerful shock, which made them all jump. Not making allowance for the difference in the charge, the Maharajah naturally received the credit of possessing a stouter heart and stronger nerves than any of his suite; and this first trial was satisfactory to all parties. Khooshyal Singh suggested, that we should teach some one the art of electrifying the Maharajah; but to this proposal

we decidedly objected, though willing to continue our own services as long as they might be required.*

Galvanism was next tried, but this the Maharajah did not approve of, and requested the electrical shocks to be repeated at intervals, which was accordingly done, and might eventually have been of use, but the visit of Sir Henry Fane, on the occasion of the marriage of Nonehal Singh, interrupted the course of experiments. We endeavoured, during the course of operations, to explain the wonderful rapidity of electricity, and in what way the Maharajah might communicate through it, in an instant of time, with the most distant parts of the kingdom, but Runjeet Singh, though curious on the subject, was rather sceptical on the latter point.

To the use of medicine generally the Maharajah expressed a marked dislike, and hardly ever took any, unless it was administered by his favourite physician, Azeezodeen. He now conceived that our remedies were too powerful for himself and his people; indeed, on one occasion, where we were requested to prescribe for one of his soldiers, he recommended the men to take only half the dose we thought necessary to recommend. He looked upon English surgeons as skilful in operations, and in one case where all the hakeems (native physi-

* The Maharajah was much amused at our charging the jar out of him, and discharging it through the Prime Minister.

cians) of Lahore had endeavoured in vain to relieve a man, a messenger arrived for us, and the patient was saved from death by a single operation, of which however they had no knowledge. On relating this circumstance to the Maharajah, he remarked "Those English doctors would, I believe, bring people back from their graves!" no small compliment, certainly, to the profession.

The Maharajah said he had heard that claret was much used among the English officers, and requested that we would give him a bottle for trial. He tasted the wine, but did not at all approve of it, adding that it was little better than water, and wondering at our bad taste in using such insipid stuff.

The fiery spirit made use of by the Sikhs is stronger than our brandy, and approaches nearer to whiskey; yet they indulge in it undiluted to a great extent; and most of the sirdars are under its influence, or that of opium, for eighteen hours out of the twenty-four. Their early use of both the spirit and the drug renders them indispensable through life; if deprived of their usual dose, the Sikh is one of the most wretched beings imaginable, resembling a man on the point of *delirium tremens*. Before engaging in any feat, the Sikh takes his opium, by which he is for a time excited, but this is soon followed by languor and inactivity. There is no doubt that Runjeet's early indulgence in dissipation brought on the ailment of which he ultimately died, and though he was latterly restricted

to a small portion of the fiery liquor, he still used the opium, so that little could be expected from remedial means. • On our first visit to him, we were conducted by some of his soldiers through the Rambagh at Umritsir, but on returning, the sentry would not allow us to pass by the same route, and we had to make a long circuit in order to reach General Ventura's house. Notice of this uncivil conduct was given to the Maharajah, who begged of us to inform him what punishment we deemed necessary, and whether the man's ears or nose should be cut off. We objected to either, and requested that the Maharajah would think no more of the matter. However, the following incident will show that he did not entirely forget the circumstance. A Native doctor accompanied us to Umritsir, and knowing that he had only to demand anything in our name to obtain it, made frequent applications to the court. At length Dhyan Singh became astonished at the applications, and wrote a note to us on the subject. Ghoolam Mohummud was thus discovered, and we threatened to punish him in a signal manner, but the Maharajah craved his forgiveness, and as an inducement for us to grant his request, brought to our recollection, that he had at our instance spared a man's ears or nose.

From the frequent opportunities we enjoyed of conversing with the Maharajah, he acquired friendly feelings towards us, and on our taking leave of him for a few days, previous to the marriage of his grandson, he insisted on *our* conducting the Comman-

der-in-chief to his court! It was in vain that we pleaded our humble situation of Assistant-surgeon in the Honourable Company's Service, urging that such an honour must devolve on the political agent of the north-west frontiers! He said this might be all very true, but that we were his (the Maharajah's) friend and medical adviser, and that he would prefer our undertaking the task. In short, he would admit of no explanation or refusal, and his treasurer was ordered to disburse the necessary funds for providing a marriage dress! The affair was ridiculous enough, though the Maharajah was perfectly in earnest, and we were obliged to promise that we would return with the Commander-in-chief or the Jungee* Lord, either as an attendant upon or in charge of that high functionary.

It may not be here out of place, to give an example of the momentous effects sometimes springing from humble causes. In his negotiations with Captain Wade, the political agent, the Maharajah became annoyed at some delay, and determined to get rid of the political agent, not by sending him away from Lahore, but by taking his own departure and leaving the agent to his solitary cogitations. One evening, the Fukeer Azeezodeen called upon us with the Maharajah's compliments, saying, it was the wish of the latter, that we should accompany him on the morrow, and that a tent would be pitched for our reception. Knowing nothing of

* Literally, the "Battle Lord."

the cause which induced the Maharajah to leave Lahore, we of course promised to attend to his wishes. Soon after the fukeer had taken his departure, however, we were informed of the true nature of the case. This was awkward for the political agent, and appeared likely to be followed by serious consequences, for the Sikh troops were then on the eve of attacking Shikarpore, with a view to the conquest of Scinde. What was to be done? We suggested that the political agent should accompany us in the morning to the camp of the Maharajah, when an opportunity might occur for renewing the negotiations. Accordingly, early next morning we left Lahore, and reached the camp, where an elegant tent was prepared for our reception. Runjeet soon learned tidings of Captain Wade's arrival, and saw plainly that he had been out-manceuvred. The issue was, that the negotiations were renewed, and the annexation of Scinde prevented. This little incident is merely recorded as an instance of a victory in the political department over the "Lion of the Punjab," effected through the accidental instrumentality of an humble individual.

From our incidental mention of the wish of the Maharajah to deprive the sentry of his ears or nose as a punishment for insolence, it may be thought that Runjeet's disposition was cruel. So far from this being the case, he was an exception to oriental monarchs in this respect, and never wantonly inflicted either capital punishment or

mutilation. His determined character often prompted him to take such decisive measures as the urgency of the case demanded, but imprisonment, with confiscation of property, was the usual means he employed when he wished to bring any of his refractory subjects to a proper sense of their duty, as well as obtain any other object he had in view. We see that he had set his heart on possessing the *koh-i-noor*, and there is every reason for believing, that the Wufu Begum had promised the diamond as a reward for the release of her unfortunate husband when a prisoner in Cashmere; but on reaching Lahore, both she and her husband repented of their promise, and refused to fulfil it. This conduct on the part of the ex-king of Cabul, was of a character sufficient to annoy Runjeet Singh, and though Shah Soojah was completely in his power, yet the only means he employed for procuring the diamond, consisted in the mild imprisonment of the Shah. The ex-king was not thrown into a dark, dismal dungeon under ground, but merely watched in the chamber appropriated to his use; and the surveillance could not have been very strict, since his liberator was unsuspectedly enabled to form a communication between himself and the captive king, by knocking down a portion of the wall that intervened between them. The truth appears to be, that the Maharajah was not over anxious to retain his prisoner after obtaining the object of his wishes, though, had he immediately released the ex-king, the intention of

the imprisonment would at once have been disclosed. The unfortunate Sooltan Khan, of ~~Bham~~ber, was also one of those men who had very much annoyed the Maharajah by his independent or rebellious conduct, and though his general had induced the unfortunate man to accompany him to Lahore under false pretences and promises, the Maharajah inflicted no further punishment upon him than imprisonment of a tolerably long duration. Not willing that he should die under his hands, Sooltan Khan was handed over to Goolab Singh of Jummo, a man on whose vigilance the Maharajah could place implicit reliance.

Runjeet has been accused of ill-treating Sooltan Khan in this matter, but holding the post the latter did, his rebellious conduct was likely to have been fatal to the Maharajah's retention of the province of Cashmere, the acquisition of which had cost him so much labour, and so heavy a sacrifice of troops. No other effectual means of preventing further rebellion on the part of Sooltan Khan occurred to Runjeet, than making him a prisoner for life.

Runjeet Singh, though he had become the possessor of the Punjab in a rather unscrupulous manner, was averse to any disturbance by which even private individuals might be deprived of their property; and to thieves of all descriptions he had a particular aversion. In the palace at Lahore, there was an open verandah, where he was sometimes accustomed to amuse himself with the bow and arrow, directing the latter against one of these

criminals, but the arrow was purposely blunted,* and seldom did much injury to the individual exposed to it. It was only, however, when sickness prevented the Maharajah from taking exercise, that he thus adopted the odd whim of using the bow and arrow.

It is not often that a cruel spirit is witnessed in a man who could amuse his leisure hours in feeding tame pigeons and domestic fowls with his own hand, and whose kindness to children was so marked. Even in cases of murder, the Maharajah sometimes evinced a degree of leniency (which according to our ideas of justice may be termed misplaced) provided the criminal had, either himself done good service to the state, or was related to those who had done so. Ram Singh, the eldest son of Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, as already mentioned, had killed Bishen Singh, son of Cheth Singh, commandant, and his victim being a universal favorite, the murderous act was execrated by all, and vengeance called for, but the Jemadar was a man in great power, and the Maharajah forgave the crime committed by his son, much to the surprise of every one.

There were many natives of Hindostan in the service of the Maharajah, and among others, deserters from the British. It so happened that a trooper of the 3rd light cavalry killed his soobadar at Thannessir while on escort duty. The man made his escape across the Sutlej, and was traced to

* Named a *Toda* by the Natives.

Lahore, where it was reported he had taken service with the Maharajah. Two men were accordingly selected from the regiment for the purpose of proceeding to the Punjab and discovering the murderer, who was well known to both. They were disguised in plain clothes, and on reaching Lahore, had the Maharajah's permission to take every opportunity of examining his troops, in order to discover the murderer. One of the men was a Mussulman, and the other a Hindoo. The former was diligent in his search and enquiries, but the latter soon gave up both, was often at the Durbar, and received particular attentions from the Jemadar, Khooshyal Singh. One day the Mussulman observed the man he was in search of; he was a gunner in the Jemadar's service. On ascertaining this point, he gave notice to the Maharajah that he had found out the murderer. He was summoned to the Durbar, and requested to state the particulars of his discovery. The Maharajah immediately referred to Kooshyal Singh, ordering him to deliver up the murderer. The Jemadar asserted that no such individual was in his service, and dared the informer to point him out. The Mussulman remarked, that he might not then be able to do so, as means might have been taken to get rid of him, but he maintained that he had seen him among the Jemadar's artillerymen. Though every way inclined to show the utmost attention to the wishes of the British agent in discovering the murderer, the Maharajah saw readily, how difficult a task it

had now become. He however gave orders forthwith for all the artillerymen under Khooshyal Singh's command to be paraded, but the search was made in vain. Still, the honest Mussulman swore that he had seen the murderer, and to quiet the man, offers of money were made by the Jemadar, but these he spurned, while his companion in the search, who had fewer scruples, availed himself of the opportunity of adding to his stock of comforts. At length, seeing it was in vain to look for the murderer, the man prepared to leave Lahore and recross the Sutlej. The Mussulman was warned that he might expect no kindness at Khooshyal Singh's hands, and the chances were against his ever reaching Umritsir with his head on his shoulders! The brave fellow laughed at such threats, exclaiming, "Well! let him murder me, my masters have plenty of good soldiers to supply my place." These particulars we had from the man's own lips after his return to Loodianah, where he arrived in a few days after leaving Lahore, for he managed to reach Umritsir the first day, and thus got the start of any one who might have been placed in wait for him by the Jemadar. His companion took his own time, and arrived well-clothed and well-mounted through the kindness and liberality of the Jemadar. The Mussulman was, we believe, promoted for his conduct, which certainly merited reward, and formed a striking contrast to that of the worthless Hindoo.

The Mussulman assured us that the Maharajah

appeared most anxious that the murderer should be discovered, but we knew the character of Runjeet Singh too well to suppose for an instant, that he did not heartily rejoice at the failure of the mission, not that he wished to screen a murderer, but he was anxious to prove to the British authorities, that he never entertained men guilty of such crimes, or deserters, if he knew them to be so. But if the Maharajah possessed any scruples on the subject, none such existed with his friend the Jemadar, who looked upon such offences as venial, and often blamed his master for his alliance with the British government of India. He looked upon Runjeet Singh as the greatest monarch in the world, and fancied that nothing could be easier than the invasion of the British territories by the "Lion of the Punjab." Dhyan Singh had no particular liking for the British, but he knew their power and feared it.

At the court of Lahore, we have seen in how friendly a manner the natives of other countries of Europe were received and entertained by the Maharajah, and yet only one native of Britain ever entered his service as an officer. Generals Ventura, Alard, and Court were great favourites not only with the Maharajah, but with Dhyan Singh, Soochet Singh, and other influential men about the court of Lahore. The truth is, that the Sikh sirdars disliked the reserved and stiff manners of the British officers, contrasting it unfavourably with that of the Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, and others, who resorted to the Punjab. To the Maha-

rajah himself, the utmost politeness was always shown by his British visitors, and he saw nothing to find fault with in their conduct to him ; but not so his prime minister and great sirdars. They expected civility at least, and when disappointed in this, they naturally formed a dislike to the parties concerned. The late Dhyan Singh has often remarked to ourselves, that he was disposed to like the British, but he could not comprehend them, and was annoyed at their not treating him with the respect which every gentleman expects from another—adding “I am as good as they, a Rajpoot and a soldier.” Though apologizing for our countrymen, we fear the reasons assigned by the rajah have too much foundation in truth. The ignorance of the language of the Punjabees often exposed the officers of the Queen’s service, who went to Lahore, to the imputation of intentional rudeness. At a dinner party given by the political agent to the late Sir Henry Fane and his staff at Lahore in 1837, we happened to be sitting next to Soochet Singh, who was invited as a spectator. He was much delighted at the sight of the guests, and seeing them addressing each other, he thought it due politeness for himself to speak to some of the general staff, expecting a civil answer at the least. But to the rajah’s amazement, his question, though put in good Oordoo, only elicited a stare! He made several ineffectual efforts to enter into friendly conversation, when his temper at length became ruffled, and he appealed to us if his language were

not intelligible Hindostanee? We assented. "How then is it," he indignantly enquired, "that General L. Colonel D. and others do not reply to me?" We pleaded their ignorance of the language; but the rajah shook his head and insisted that it was pride on their part, and that they appeared to despise him. The sirdars are in general polite men, and their manner such as to make a favourable impression on strangers. Their language, when addressing you in the Punjabee is soft and pleasing. No gutturals, and few dentals find a place in the delivery, in short, it may be called the Doric of the east. Still it may be difficult of attainment to British officers, from the want of opportunity, heretofore, of hearing it spoken. Our intercourse with the Punjab of late, will remove this obstacle, and the Punjabee will no doubt become a favourite study. Runjeet Singh spoke it fluently, though he knew Oordoo tolerably well, but preferred conversing in the former.

His attention
to the poor.

The difficulty experienced by the poor and needy in presenting their petitions to kings, is well-known in Europe, and exists in a still more marked degree in the East, not only among crowned heads, but their meanest attendants. In order to overcome this difficulty, and learn all the grievances of his people, the Maharajah had a place at the palace accessible to all, where their petitions were lodged, and received into a box, the key of which was kept in his own possession. By this means, he acquired information that could never otherwise have

reached his ears, and he thus held a great power in his hands, by which he was enabled to distribute justice to all ; and he never failed to investigate all matters brought to his notice in this ingenious manner. A similar plan might be recommended to the rulers of the land in our country, and also to judges and magistrates in India, who seldom obtain any clue to the grievances of the poor, except through their amlah, who must be bribed, Runjeet was particularly struck with the justice of British functionaries on his frontier, in settling boundaries, and the task was really not an easy one, when the district of Feerozpore lapsed to us. To a man less acquainted with the subject than Lieutenant Mackeson, the boundary question between Feerozpore and the Sikh States on the left bank of the Sutlej, might have become the source of endless quarrels. The Maharajah knew and owned the difficulties, and could not but admire the patience and perseverance exhibited by the British officers employed on this knotty point, and never failed to express his satisfaction at their proceedings.

One thing occasioned his astonishment, and that was the expense incurred by British troops in marching through the country, where instead of helping themselves to anything they required in the shape of supplies, they paid for all they received. He owned that he could not afford to be thus liberal, and the people had become so accustomed to his exactions, that they would be dis-

appointed if he were to adopt the plan pursued by the "*Ungrez bahadur*." He was anxious to imitate us in warfare and discipline, but there were some old deep-rooted practices which he could not forego, and though liberal and lavish to some, he was in his old age extremely avaricious, and fond of money. We have alluded to the Maharajah's love for horses. It will surprise our readers to be told, that he had no Arab horses in his stud. The excuse he made for this, was the high prices demanded for the animals, which he said he could not afford. His favourites were a white breed, chiefly found at Dhunee and other places in the Punjab. He had several Persian horses and Toorkees in his possession, the latter being strong serviceable animals, for which he often paid high prices. The Maharajah was an excellent horseman, and continued to take exercise on horseback to the latest period of his life, even when obliged to be lifted on the animal's back. He was amused once at seeing a British officer mounted on a camel, and did not appear to envy his rough seat, though he employed the animal in his army mounted with swivels, and also for his sowars when bearing messages. He possessed great numbers of elephants, and their howdahs and trappings were splendidly adorned with gold and silver.

It has been supposed that Runjeet imported cannon from England and France, but this seems very doubtful, since, under the superintendance of Monsieur Court, he manufactured guns of a serviceable kind, as fully proved in after years.

We have now given an outline of the great founder of the Sikh monarchy; his warlike career is well-known to English readers, through *Prinsep's Life of Runjeet Singh*, compiled from records obtained by the late Captain Murray, and the present Sir C. M. Wade. We have not copied either. Our first source of information was a history of the Maharajah kept by a Mussulman family in the Punjab, natives of Wittala, and carefully translated by ourselves from the work rendered into Oordoo by our worthy friend Abdoolashah. We at first intended to leave out the military career of the Maharajah, but wishing to form a continuous history, we trust our readers will excuse us, if they do not find anything new in this portion of our work. Our only regret is, that we had not the good fortune of knowing the Maharajah at an earlier period of his career; but we trust the opportunities enjoyed by us were not altogether thrown away. We have endeavoured to give the character of the Maharajah in its true light, as well as his views regarding his allies, the British. Among all the princes of the East, there were none who ever preserved their alliance with greater care than Runjeet Singh; and it will be seen in the sequel, that the British government in India was not unmindful of this when securing to his son the throne of Lahore.

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THE
HISTORY OF THE SIKHS,
CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF
THE WAR
BETWEEN
THE SIKHS AND THE BRITISH,
IN 1845-46.

By W. L. M'GREGOR, M.D.

SURGEON TO THE HONOURABLE COMPANY'S 1ST EUROPEAN LIGHT INFANTRY.

VOLUME II.

LONDON:
JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET.

1846.

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THE HISTORY OF THE SIKHS.

CHAPTER I.

THE DEATH OF THE MAHARAJAH RUNJEET SINGH.

As has been already related, consequent upon a life of intemperance, and the hardships, toil, and exposure attending his numerous victories over the Sirdars of the Punjab, as well as the Affghans across the Indus, whereby he obtained complete possession of a country which had never, previously, been subjected to one ruler, the Maharajah ^{Weakly state of the Mahara-jah's health.} began to suffer from severe illness in 1834. His attack was very sudden and severe, leaving him insensible for some time, and though he survived ^{Is afflicted with paralysis.} it, he was afflicted with paralysis. He recovered so far, however, that he could use his limbs; but, the power of utterance was for a time lost, and he never perfectly regained the use of his tongue.

His Sirdars and followers were delighted at even his partial recovery, and submitted willingly to the sway of the only man who had preserved discipline and order amongst them. In Dhyān Singh, the Maharajah possessed an able minister, while the well-known talents of Azeezodeen insured the firm stability of public and private affairs. This old man conducted the correspondence with the British, knew their power, and entirely concurred in opinion with his master, that any cause of quarrel with that powerful nation and firm ally would entail eventual ruin on the Punjab.

His partial
recovery.

For a time the Maharajah was perfectly helpless, and borne along from place to place in a covered litter; his body was enfeebled, and he was obliged to express his wants by signs, his power of speech being nearly lost. But had he, even then, led a regular life, and subjected himself to regimen and medical advice under his painful sufferings, recovery might have taken place: his, however, was not a disposition to be thwarted, and he would not entirely give up his habits of revelry and indulgence in the fiery spirit to which he had been so long accustomed; though he restricted himself to a moderate allowance, meted out to him in a small golden cup. He submitted, likewise, to the power of electricity and galvanism, in the fond hope that it might remove the paralytic affection of his tongue. No sooner had Sir Henry Fane reached Lahore, in March, 1837, on the occasion of the marriage of his grandson, Nonehal Singh,

than the Maharajah threw off all restraint, thinking it necessary to shew an example of hard drinking to his guest.

When the army of the Indus was collected at Ferozpoore, in 1838, the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, had an interview with him, and the Maharajah crossed the Sutlej a second time, in order to renew the treaty which had been first formed between him and the British in 1809, and strengthened at Roopur in 1831, when Runjeet Singh visited Lord William Bentinck at that place. Seven years had produced a great change in the Maharajah. At Roopur, he entered the lists with his own Sirdars and Skinner's horsemen, in shooting at marks and cutting at tent pegs with his horse at full speed. At Ferozpoore, he required assistance in mounting his horse, and his feeble arm could neither wield the sword nor support the matchlock. But his energetic spirit, still, remained unsubdued: the mental power survived physical decay.

His interview with Lord Auckland at Ferozpoore.

Altered condition.

We have had opportunities of witnessing the vigorous and powerful frame of this remarkable man, even when afflicted with paralysis; and his muscular system showed, that, to a mind of no ordinary power had been united a bodily frame capable, before it suffered from disease, of undergoing any labour and fatigue.

Frame of body.

Runjeet Singh knew that the Affghans could not successfully resist the British; and he no doubt rejoiced, in his old age and decay, that he would

have his powerful allies between him and Dost Mohummud, whose rising power he dreaded ever since the conquest obtained by the Affghans over Hurree Singh at Jumrood in 1837. He received daily accounts of the progress of the British Troops under the command of Sir John Keane, who, crossing the Indus, advanced through the Bolan Pass, overcoming almost insurmountable difficulties; but he did not live to hear of the capture of Ghuznee, having expired on the 30th June 1839. His death was not unlooked for, but the event spread universal affliction throughout the Punjab, for he had left no successor worthy of him or capable of maintaining his kingdom entire.

His death.

The immediate successor of Runjeet Singh, was his eldest son, Khurruk Singh, who possessed none of his father's qualifications for rule, though resembling him strongly in feature; and it was soon apparent, that Nonehal Singh, the son to the heir of the throne of Lahore, would be, in reality, the Ruler of the Punjab. There was another man who had been extremely popular with the army, and, though never acknowledged by Runjeet Singh as his real son, had still been treated as a prince; we allude to Shere Singh. When Khurruk Singh ascended the throne of Lahore, Shere Singh made his willing submission as a subject, and received an addition to his allowances of one lakh of rupees annually.

Khurruk Singh.

Nonehal Singh.

Shere Singh.

The first act of the new ruler was an unpopu-



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NEOURKUM SINGH.

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lar one, and gave great dissatisfaction. Instead of allowing the Rajah Dhyan Singh to remain as Wuzeer or prime minister, he raised a creature of his own to that high appointment. This man, named Chet Singh, had nothing to recommend him but arrogance and sycophancy. His good fortune was of short duration. Dhyan Singh, at the instigation, it was supposed, of Shere Singh, entered the Durbar and slew the prime minister before his master's eyes. The treasurer Belee Misr Ram and others shared the same fate. After this act of violence, Khurruk Singh shut himself up; and, though he occasionally attended the Durbar, he never forgave the insult. His intellect, never very powerful, became impaired, and the management of public affairs thus fell into the hands of Nonehal Singh, who had always shown a dislike to the British, and now made preparations in the vicinity of Lahore for hostilities against that power. After a short reign of a little more than twelve months, Khurruk Singh died of a broken heart.

Chet Singh
appointed
Wuzeer.

Is slain.

Nonehal's dis-
like to the
British.

All eyes were now turned towards the favourite of the Sikhs, the grandson of their great ruler, whom he resembled in features and disposition. He was popular with the army, for he had been a soldier from his boyhood, and was of a brave and indomitable spirit, united, at the same time, to great caution, discretion, and forethought. Runjeet Singh was very proud of Nonehal, and fondly anticipated that in him the Sikhs would find a successor worthy of filling the throne of Lahore, and

Character of
Nonehal
Singh.

High opinion
of Runjeet
Singh regard-
ing Nonehal
Singh.

preserving his kingdom entire. But this fond hope was not destined to be realized. Nonehal Singh, on returning from the obsequies of his father, was killed by a stone falling on his head from one of the gateways of Lahore, while passing under it in his howdah. Oodum Singh, the eldest son of Rajah Goolab Singh, of Jummoo, who was on the same elephant, shared the same fate. Dhyan Singh ordered his nephew's body to be burned, while that of Nonehal Singh was carried to the palace, and a report industriously circulated, that though badly hurt, the prince was still alive. This was done at the advice and suggestion of Azeezodeen, Goormukh Singh, Bhaee Ram Singh, and other influential persons.

His death.

Was concealed for a time.

Shere Singh summoned to Lahore.

Chund Koonwur discovers the object.

Chund Koonwur seeks the aid of Uttur Singh.

Is sent for to Lahore.

Shere Singh was immediately summoned to Lahore from Mukherya, where he resided, and on his arrival it was deemed no longer necessary to conceal the death of Nonehal Singh, whose body was accordingly burned with the usual honours. The mother of Nonehal Singh, Chund Koonwur, perceived the object of Dhyan Singh in sending for Shere Singh, and she was determined to frustrate it.

Among the most powerful Sirdars in the Punjab, was the Scindinwala, and Chund Koonwur determined to ask his aid in her endeavour to expel Shere Singh from Lahore, and keep the government in her own hands. The chief Sirdar of the Scindinwala family, at this juncture, was Uttur Singh, who was then absent at Hurdwar, and to him she sent a message to return to the capital



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with all possible expedition. On receiving her order, Uttur Singh hurried back by forced marches and soon reached Lahore. Chund Koonwur, thus strengthened, distributed alms to the Brahmins, and was proclaimed Ranee or queen. Uttur Singh was installed as the chief adviser, and by his advice and counsel, as well as that of other Sirdars favourable to her cause, she expelled Shere Singh, and shut the gates of Lahore. Shere Singh was inclined to offer resistance, but Dhyan Singh, who from the first espoused his cause, dissuaded him from making any hostile attempt, promising, at the same time, that he would establish him on the throne of Lahore. Shere Singh accordingly returned to Mukherya, where he employed himself in his favourite pursuits of hunting and shooting until he should receive further advice from the Rajah regarding his future steps. In the meantime, the Ranee appointed Uttur Singh her prime minister, and Dhyan Singh remained unemployed. The affairs of the state were conducted by the advice of the prime minister, assisted by a council of four others. It was soon apparent, that, with the Ranee at the head of affairs, the government could not be carried on in an efficient manner, and Dhyan Singh embraced every opportunity of rendering her unpopular among the Sirdars and the soldiers. At length, he persuaded them that a woman should no longer be allowed to rule them, but that a man of energy and talent was required for this purpose, recommending strongly that the Prince Shere

Shere Singh expelled from Lahore.

Returns to Mukherya.

Uttur Singh appointed Prime Minister.

Council of State.

Dhyan Singh endeavours to overthrow the Government.

Recommends
the re-call of
Shere Singh.

Singh should be recalled and placed on the throne.

Dhyan Singh
departs for
Jummoo.

This suggestion was adopted, but to prevent the supposition that he himself was engaged in the affair, and still further to mask his design, Dhyan Singh went to Jummoo, leaving his brother Goolab Singh and his son Heera Singh with the Ranee. Before leaving Lahore, he wrote to Shere Singh, requesting him to hurry to Lahore, where he would meet with support, adding that he himself would soon return to his post. Shere Singh, at the same time, received the assurance of the Sirdars and soldiers, that he would be kindly received on his reaching the capital.

Assurance of
warm recep-
tion given to
Shere Singh.

Soochet Singh
agrees to sup-
port Shere
Singh.

On his way to Jummoo, the Rajah met his brother Soochet Singh, to whom he communicated his design of placing Shere Singh on the throne of Lahore, and obtained his ready co-operation. Shere Singh lost no time in making his preparations, and dispatched a letter to the British Agent, informing him of his intentions, adding, that whatever aid might be afforded him would be rewarded by a grant of all the Sikh Possessions on the left bank of the Sutlej. He, likewise, sent a letter by the hands of his trusty adherent, Mukhee Khan, to the Rajah Dhyan Singh, advising him of his intention to reach Lahore without delay, and requesting the Rajah to join him there. Mounting his horse, he left Mukherya in the morning, and after halting half-way for the night, he reached the vicinity of Lahore next evening. On the road he gave a hundred rupees to one of his attendants for the purpose of

Shere Singh
writes to the
British Agent.

Requests
Dhyan Singh
to meet him.

Arrives at
Lahore.

purchasing gunpowder at the city or village of Chumeearee. The place where Shere Singh alighted was near the house of Mons. Avatabili, and since called "Futleghur," or the house of victory. Here he was joined by crowds who welcomed his arrival, not by the firing of cannon, for they had none, but by their voices in long and continued cheers. The Ranee, hearing the news of his arrival, ordered the gates of Lahore to be shut, though the gate-keepers, after obeying her order, immediately joined the standard of the prince!

Is joined by a strong party

Ranee Chund Koonwurshuts the gates.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN AND DEATH OF SHERE SINGH, AND THE
WUZEER RAJAH DHYAN SINGH.

Shere Singh
proclaimed
King of
Lahore.

Is joined by
Dhonkul
Singh.

Attacks the
Fort of Lahore.

General Ven-
tura joins him.

SHERE SINGH was scarcely proclaimed king by the unanimous voice of the people, when he proceeded to besiege the capital. Dhonkul Singh, a commander of two regiments of the Royal Musjid, joined him, and conducted him into the fort. Rajahs Goolab Singh and Heera Singh pretended to oppose the prince, and the guns of the fort were directed against him. The fire was returned, and the whole city was in an uproar. After a few hours Soochet Singh joined Shere Singh. General Ventura likewise acknowledged him as king. In the midst of the confusion and plunder, a report prevailed that the British were in Lahore. Vast quantities of pearls, money, and other valuables were carried off; wood, wherever it was to be found, was also taken away, and not a piece was left on the premises of the Jemadar Khooshyal Singh. The uproar continued throughout the night, and in the

morning Shere Singh, learning that the Rajah Dhyan Singh had reached the left bank of the Ravee, went to visit him. The Maharajah and Dhyan Singh then proceeded towards the city and the lines of the soldiers. The Rajah now ordered Goolab Singh and Heera Singh to cease their fire, as it did not become brothers and relatives to be thus quarrelling with and destroying each other. In the course of three days, Chund Koonwur was left helpless and nearly deserted.

Shere Singh meets Dhyan Singh.

Chund Koonwur is deserted.

In the year 1897 Bik., A.D. 1841, Shere Singh was seated on the throne of Lahore. All the Sirdars, with the exception of the Scindinwala, paid their allegiance. In consequence, the territory of that powerful family was confiscated, and orders sent to the Sikh Army in the Hill States to bring Lena Singh, a younger brother of Uttur Singh, a prisoner to Lahore. Uttur Singh himself, and his nephew Ajeet Singh, escaped across the Sutlej, with the intention of supplicating the aid of the British Government to expel Shere Singh, and establish the mother of Nonehal as Ranee. The army which Lena Singh Scindinwala then commanded at Kumlagurh replied to the order of the Maharajah, that they would bind themselves on oath to bring the Scindinwala to Lahore, but not as a prisoner. On arriving at Lahore, Lena Singh was surrounded by Shere Singh's troops; and, seeing no alternative, his adherents were obliged to deliver him up to Shere Singh, by whom he was immediately imprisoned.

Shere Singh seated on the throne of Lahore.

Uttur Singh's territory confiscated.

Intends to petition the British Government.

Lena Singh delivered up and imprisoned.

When once firmly established in his kingdom, Shere Singh employed himself in his favorite pursuit of hunting, and the affairs of the state were prudently and wisely conducted in his absence by Dhyan Singh, the prime minister.

Shere Singh reigns peaceably.

His character.

Shere Singh had always been addicted to pleasure, and indulged in the use of spirits to a free extent before he became Maharajah. He was, however, of a mild, affable disposition, and his failing was readily overlooked among a people who consider drinking as one of their amusements, and often measure a man's physical powers by the quantity of liquor he can consume at a sitting! This used to be no uncommon test, even in countries pretending to greater civilization than the Sikhs; and in the days of Burns, the Scottish poet, the last man who fell below the table was considered the "king among them a'." After a time, however, Shere Singh threw off all restraint and became a complete drunkard and debauchee. The prime minister who had raised the prince to the throne of Lahore and rejoiced in his good fortune, could ill endure to witness the altered conduct of Shere Singh, who, from being a mild, just prince, became a drunken tyrant; moreover, to increase the growing dislike on the part of Dhyan Singh, Shere Singh had not only released the Scindinwala Lena Singh, but recalled Uttur Singh and Ajeet Singh. He restored them to their confiscated estates and heaped fresh favors on them. He was guided by their advice in every-

Becomes a drunkard.

Dhyan Singh is displeased.

The Scindinwala received into favor.

thing, and totally disregarded that of Dhyan Singh. Neither by night nor day was he ever separated from them: they were his boon companions, and no demand from either Lena Singh or Ajeet Singh was resisted. Every thing they asked was granted, and the interest of every one else disregarded. This state of affairs could not last long, nor could it be supposed that, even, if Dhyan Singh should smother his disgust, the Sikhs themselves would endure the rule of a debauchee whose excesses rendered him incapable of governing the State. In their hours of revelry, it happened that the Maharajah and his favorites often quarrelled among themselves, and Ajeet Singh frequently threatened to kill the Maharajah, but the latter did not regard the threat, and hugged himself in a perfect security while he possessed so careful and wise a servant as Dhyan Singh. The Scindivalas saw the difficulty that attended the assassination of Shere Singh, and did not fully comprehend what advantage was thereby to be gained, unless they could secure the powerful influence of the Rajah. They accordingly devised a plan, whereby the latter might be incensed, and actually connive at the act which they contemplated. Accustomed to obtain the willing consent of Shere Singh to their demands, they resolved to avail themselves of this advantage to effect their design. An order was written out to the effect that Rajah Dhyan Singh should be put to death, and to this the Maharajah's signature was obtained at a time when, overcome by

Ajeet Singh threatens to kill the Maharajah.

Resolve to make Dhyan Singh an accomplice in their design.

Shere Singh signs the Rajah's death warrant.

the effects of liquor, he was unconscious of what he was doing. The next point was to make the Rajah aware of the hostile feelings entertained against him by his master. The Scindinwalas broached the subject to Dhyan Singh, by saying that although ill-will might exist between him and themselves, they were equally servants of the state and deserved well of the Maharajah. Dhyan Singh admitted the justness of the remark. The Scindinwalas then added "What would you think of a master, who, instead of rewarding our efforts to serve him, should actually wish for and order our deaths?" The Rajah replied, "that he could not believe Shere Singh would ever be guilty of such ingratitude." To show that he could, the order was produced, wherein, the Rajah's own life was ordered to be taken away! Still Dhyan Singh was incredulous, and said that unless both the signature and seal of his master were attached, he could not believe that he entertained such hostile intentions towards him. On hearing these sentiments, Lena Singh and his nephew lost no time in obtaining both, and then presented the order to the prime minister. The latter was caught in the snare, and irritated to the highest degree. Advantage was taken of his state of mind, and the cunning Scindinwalas observed, "If the Maharajah is thus ungrateful to you, it is easy to repay him by ordering him to be slain; only attach your signature to such a document, and it shall be executed to the letter." Thus, by the cunning of the Scindinwalas, the Maharajah and his Minister were made the

And attaches
his Seal to it.

unconscious murderers of each other. Dhyan Singh signed the fatal paper, and Ajeet Singh promised him that it should be executed on the morrow, which happened to be a Friday. On the evening of the day preceding the murder of Shere Singh, Ajeet Singh requested that he would be pleased to look at his troops in the morning. To this he readily agreed, and left the city early for that purpose. He passed out on horseback through the Roshnae gate of Lahore, and taking the road towards the parade ground alighted near the garden of Tej Singh, where the tents of his son Prince Pertaub Singh were pitched. He had no attendant except the Dewan Deenanath and his armour-bearer, Boodh Singh, who always accompanied him. Ajeet Singh speedily joined him, and reported that his soldiers were all present, and ready for the inspection of the Maharajah. The latter called for Deenanath and ordered him to enrol their names as soldiers. While thus employed, Ajeet Singh produced a handsome case containing a new English rifle, which he shewed to Shere Singh. The Maharajah inspected the box and its contents, and raising the barrel and stock adjusted the one to the other, and then tried the sight. Ajeet Singh remarked that it was loaded, on which, Shere Singh gave the rifle to one of Ajeet Singh's attendants and desired him to take an aim and fire it off. His master gave the signal, and the contents of the rifle were lodged in the Maharajah's chest: Shere Singh exclaimed "What have you done, villain!" and immediately expired. The sword of Ajeet

Dhyan Singh signs the death warrant of Shere Singh.

Shere Singh is killed.

Singh separated at one blow his head from his body. The report of the gun instantly brought Boodh Singh to the spot; he cut down two of Ajeet's followers, and aimed a blow at himself, but the sword snapped in two, and he ran to procure another: but his foot slipped, and he was speedily dispatched by one of Ajeet Singh's followers, whom the noise of the gun had likewise attracted to the spot.

Boodh Singh attempted to kill Ajeet Singh.

Is slain.

While this tragedy was being enacted without the garden, Lena Singh entered it and found Pertaub Singh, the son of the murdered Maharajah, at his prayers on the occasion of an eclipse. The Sirdar quickly dispatched him, and cut off his head. A messenger was now dispatched to Dhyan Singh to request his presence, for the Rajah had forgotten the business altogether, and did not anticipate so speedy a compliance with his order. He was worshipping at the time, and after dressing, he went in search of his master. Outside the fort he was met by Lena Singh and his nephew, who remarked that "the job was done." The Rajah was incredulous until the heads of both Shere Singh and his son were exhibited! He blamed them for killing the young prince, but they merely observed, "that what was done could not be helped." Seeing that the followers of Lena Singh were numerous, and his own few in number, Dhyan Singh returned to the fort accompanied by the Scindinwalas: at length, Lena Singh, taking the Rajah's hand in his, enquired "Who was now to be king?" Dhyan Singh replied "There is no

Pertaub Singh slain by Lena Singh.

Dhyan Singh blames the act.

one but Dhuleep Singh." Lena Singh rejoined "And so he is to be made king and you become his prime minister, while we get nothing for our pains?" The Rajah became annoyed, and wanted to get away, but the Gooroo Goormukh Singh being present observed, "What is the use of words? Remove the Rajah as you have done Shere Singh and his son, and then your path will be clear." On hearing this remark, Ajeet Singh, who was standing behind the Rajah, shot him in the back, and he fell dead on the spot. Thus, in the course of a few hours, were the Maharajah, his son, and minister, slaughtered by the Scindinwalas. This account of the murder, and the manner in which it was concerted and executed, are on the authority of Said Hussein Shah, the son of Said Ahmed Shah of Wittald, in whose possession are the very documents giving orders for the deaths of Shere Singh and Dhyan Singh, under their own signatures!

Dhyan Singh
is shot by
Ajeet Singh.

Authority of
this account.

It is difficult to conceive the ingratitude thus manifested by the Scindinwalas towards their benefactor, though we can easily believe that this powerful family had still a wish to see the mother of Nonehal Singh restored to power; and Lena Singh, no doubt, looked forward to the post of Wuzeer by getting rid of Dhyan Singh. It is said, that Ajeet Singh before he murdered Shere Singh repeated a Persian distich, to the effect that "his affairs were in a disordered state and that he was no longer able to pay his soldiers." The report of the Rajah's death quickly spread through the city,

Misr Lall Singh brings the news of his father to Heera Singh.

and Misr Lall Singh, who afterwards became so conspicuous in the war with the British as a Sirdar, was dispatched to bring Heera Singh into the fort. The young Rajah knew that the death of Shere Singh had been determined on, but he never suspected that his own father would share the same fate; he had absented himself on purpose that morning, and gone to Monsieur Avatabili's house, where Lall Singh found him haranguing the troops and telling them not to mind the death of the Maharajah. The news of the Wuzeer's death alarmed Heera Singh, and he ascended the terrace of Avatabili's house and seated himself there, leaving the sentry to keep a good look out, and allow no one to follow him. He then dispatched a message to the several Sirdars requesting their immediate attendance. They soon arrived, when, the young Rajah unbuckling his sword laid it before them and bared his neck. He said, "The sword has this day deprived my father of life. I am left alone and fatherless, and I now throw myself on you; either kill me or give me your support." The appeal had the desired effect, and they all promised to support Heera Singh, who next addressed the soldiers and promised an advance to each of three rupees a month if they would obey him. The proposition was received with loud cheers. Ajeet Singh, in the mean time, had caused Dhuleep Singh to be proclaimed Maharajah by beat of drum, and himself Wuzeer. During the night Heera Singh reached the Delhi gate, followed

Heera Singh summons the Sirdars.

They promise to support him.

Ajeet Singh proclaims himself Wuzeer.

by the Sirdars and numerous troops : the foremost amongst the latter were those of Ventura and Avatabili. Entering the gate with drums beating, the people became alarmed, believing as they did that Ajeet Singh was in possession of the fort and prime minister. The guns soon began to play on both sides ; great numbers fell, and the fight continued unabated throughout the night. In the morning, Heera Singh's force was joined by General Ventura with six guns, which he placed in position. About nine o'clock, Raee Kesree Singh advised his master Soochet Singh to seize the royal musjid ; but the Rajah was unwell at the time, and requested his follower to do as he recommended. At this juncture, Lena Singh was observed coming from the Huzooree Bagh (Royal Garden) and going towards the Badshae Musjid for ammunition. Kesree Singh took aim and the Sirdar fell mortally wounded, but was dragged through the gate into the sleeping apartments, where he died two days afterwards. When Kesree Singh had cleared the Musjid, he applied his scaling ladders and entered the fort ; here he seized on several Sirdars who were brought to him by the troops, who begged forgiveness and asserted that not they but their leaders were to blame. Ajeet Singh, seeing that the fort could no longer be maintained, escaped over the wall by means of a rope, but a Mussulman soldier observing him, pursued, and Ajeet Singh thus hotly pressed, took off his golden bracelets and threw them at the man

Heera Singh attacks Lahore.

Ventura joins Heera Singh.

Lena Singh is mortally wounded by Kesree Singh.

Who enters the Fort.

Ajeet Singh in his attempt at flight is slain.

requesting him to spare his life; but to this he would not listen, and slew Ajeet Singh, cutting off his head with which he hurried to Heera Singh. The latter ordered the body to be brought also. At the sight of the lifeless corpse of the murderer of their king and prime minister, the rage of the soldiery knew no bounds, and they begged of Heera Singh to lead them forthwith to the fort. In the course of an hour all within the fort were either killed or had fled; among the former was Goormukh Singh, who had advised Ajeet Singh to kill the Rajah Dhyan Singh.

Heera Singh gets possession of the Fort.

The Ranee's house is pillaged.

The Ranee's house was pillaged by the soldiery, and vast quantities of clothes, shawls, jewels, in short every thing that could be met with, were carried away. The merchants in the city left their shops, and fled, leaving every thing to the infuriated Sikhs, who committed all kinds of outrages on the inhabitants, cutting off the noses of the common women in the streets! When the fort was completely in the hands of Heera Singh, he first went and kissed the young Maharajah Dhuleep Singh's feet in token of submission. He next went to the royal garden, and ordered every relative and follower of the Scindinwala to be murdered. One of them, who had concealed himself in a ditch or drain, was dragged out, and his belly ripped up. Heera Singh ordered the corpse of Lena Singh Scindinwala to be brought before him. It was dragged through the city, and afterwards cut into pieces, which were hung up on the different gateways.

Outrages committed in Lahore.

Heera Singh acknowledges Dhuleep Singh.

His revenge on the Scindinwala.

The body of Ajeet Singh was treated in the same manner. Uttur Singh, who had heard of Ajeet Singh's proclamation regarding himself, had advanced about fifteen miles to lend his aid if necessary; and, for the purpose of seizing him, Heera Singh dispatched a strong force. When the news of the defeat and death of his brother and nephew reached him, Uttur Singh retreated, and he and his followers crossed the Sutlej. This Sirdar remained some time in Hindostan, but re-crossed the Sutlej, and in conjunction with Cashmeera Singh, a reputed son of Runjeet, engaged the Sikh troops under Heera Singh, who totally routed him, when both he and the prince were killed.

Uttur Singh escapes across the Sutlej.

Is afterwards defeated and slain.

During the reign of Shere Singh on the throne of Lahore, our disasters at Cabul had occurred; and had he been hostile to the British, the army destined to relieve Jellalabad, under Brigadier Wild, might have met with serious difficulties in traversing the Punjab. Even the better constructed force under General Pollock, sent to effect the same purpose, and avenge our injuries on Akhbar Khan, could hardly have passed through the Punjab had its ruler and his people been hostile to us. With the Sikhs as our enemies, it may be safely stated that neither army would have reached Jellalabad in a state to attempt the forcing of the Khyber Pass, in which Brigadier Wild was forced to retreat on Peshawur. Fortunately, the government of Lahore, under the Maharajah Shere Singh,

Position of the British during the reign of Shere Singh.

preserved a strict and firm alliance with the British, and not only assisted the troops proceeding towards Affghanistan with supplies, but likewise with a Sikh force which acted in concert with that of the British. It was considered a fortunate occurrence that Captain, now Sir Claude Wade, was enabled to force the Khyber Pass, and thus conduct Timour, the eldest son of Shah Soojah, to Cabul. A leader less skilled in eastern politics might have encountered insurmountable difficulties. It must not be forgotten, that Captain Wade, as Political Agent for so many years at Loodianah, had ample opportunities of not only acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Sikhs, but likewise of the Affghans; and though he may not have coincided in the policy of retaining Dost Mohummud at the head of affairs in Affghanistan, thereby securing a powerful and efficient ally, he still accomplished the object of bringing Timour through the Khyber Pass.

Captain Wade forces the Khyber.

His knowledge of Sikh officers.

Opinion of the Sikhs regarding British disasters at Cabul.

Lord Ellenborough assembles the Army of Reserve.

On the advance of General Pollock towards Cabul, and during the successful operations against Akhbar Khan, the Sikh government rightly believed our disasters in that country to arise from the inclemency of the weather, and the perfidy of Akhbar Khan; still, the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, dreading any change that might take place in their friendly feelings, assembled a large Army of Observation at Ferozpoore in 1842, in order to render assistance, if necessary, to the army returning from Affghanistan under Generals Pollock and Nott. The force was complete in every de-

partment, and ready to cross the Sutlej had its services been required. At length, the British army returned victorious from the right bank of the Sutlej, and a large Sikh force were made spectators of the marked respect shown to it by the Governor-General. The whole of the troops at Ferozpore, comprising the Army of Observation, Army of Reserve reviewed. as well as that just returned, were reviewed by the Governor-General and the Sikh Sirdars; and the utmost unanimity prevailed. On the breaking up of the Army of Observation, an embassy was sent to Lahore, acknowledging the valuable aid afforded by the Sikhs.

CHAPTER III.

EVENTS FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF SHERE SINGH,
AND ADMINISTRATION OF HEERA SINGH.

It was feared that the discord and anarchy likely to follow the death of the Maharajah Shere Singh and the Rajah Dhyan Singh, might affect the friendly terms which had existed between the British Government and that of Lahore for a period of nearly five and thirty years; and some troops were accordingly hurried towards the frontier stations of Loodianah and Ferozpore. At this juncture, the British were in the field against Gwalior, and the Sikhs, no doubt, watched the issue with anxiety. Several times the alarm was raised at Loodianah that the Sikhs were crossing. That the Sikhs, at the period referred to, did intend to invade the British territories appears pretty certain; but the overthrow of the Mahrattas on the fields of Maharajpoor and Puneear had so decided an effect on their movements, that the idea of crossing the Sutlej was, for a time, abandoned by the Sikhs.

The Sikhs threaten to cross the Sutlej.

The design abandoned.

Nevertheless the force at Loodianah and Ferozpoore was kept on the watch.

Heera Singh had succeeded his father as prime minister. He had been the especial favorite of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh. He was always near him, and allowed to be seated in his presence, an honour denied to even Dhyan Singh. In appearance, he was rather effeminate, and did not resemble his father, who was a fine, tall, powerful man. Little of energy was expected from him, but his first act showed, that his intercourse with Runjeet Singh had conferred advantages on Heera Singh which made up for any deficiency in natural talents. His measures were prudent and such as the crisis demanded. He had utterly destroyed the powerful family of the Scindinwalas who had murdered his father, and cherished a deep-rooted hatred to Shere Singh, which however had been smothered for a time by the favours lavished on the members of it by the Maharajah. But Heera Singh had injudicious and interested advisers, and it was soon discovered that a Pundit named Julla possessed an entire influence over the Rajah, who followed the advice of this cunning Hindoo in all matters of state. In order to reconcile the army and render it subservient to his wishes, Heera Singh was obliged to make promises which he could not possibly fulfil. The Treasury was exhausted, and the more he bestowed on an idle and discontented soldiery the greater were its demands. Discontent followed, and the Rajah, no longer able to stem

Heera Singh becomes Prime Minister.

His character.

Influence of Julla over Heera Singh.

He endeavours to reconcile the Army.

His death. the march of anarchy, endeavoured to escape, but it was too late, he was pursued and both he and his favourite Pundit were killed.

Death of Soochet Singh. The behaviour of Heera Singh to his brave uncle Soochet Singh, had raised a powerful party against him; and his uncle Goolab Singh, the Rajah of Jummoo, was disgusted at the death of a brother who had fallen fighting gallantly against fearful odds under the command of his own nephew.

His character. Soochet Singh was the *beau ideal* of a Sikh soldier. In his youth, and before debauchery had spoiled his looks, he was a very handsome man: muscular, agile, and well skilled in the use of the sword and matchlock; an excellent horseman: in short, a complete soldier. In his dress, Soochet Singh was particularly gorgeous, and wore a profusion of jewels; while his arms and horse-trappings were magnificently ornamented with gold and tinsel. Though thus a gallant soldier, he was of a mild and pleasing disposition; affable to strangers, and a universal favourite with the army. Possessed of such qualifications, it is not to be wondered at, that his nephew should have become jealous of his power and influence; and desirous of ridding himself of a man so much superior to him in every respect, save cunning; for Soochet's was not a suspicious nature; he was frank, free, and ingenuous. In compassing the death of his uncle, was universally believed, that Heera Singh had acted under the advice, and at the instigation

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the Pundit Julla. The cruel act had the effect of estranging the Rajah of Jummo, who became suspicious of his nephew's protestations of friendship, while his hands were yet red with the blood of his uncle.

The widow of the deceased Rajah and his numerous friends and adherents were loud in their cries for revenge on the murderer of Soochet Singh, and Heera Singh dreaded the pernicious consequences of his barbarous and impolitic act. Still, he maintained too much power to render successful any effort on the part of the widow of his uncle.

The wealth left behind him by Soochet Singh, His property sent to Feroz-pore. consisting of several lakhs of rupees, was sent across the Sutlej, and safely lodged with the British authorities at Feroz-pore. Several demands were made for its restoration by the Sikh government, but to these little or no attention was paid. The refusal to deliver up this money served to irritate the Sikhs, since the Lahore government considered Soochet Singh as a rebel who had forfeited all his property to the state.

The ostensible reason for Heera Singh's taking Reason for killing Soochet Singh. away his uncle Soochet Singh's life, and the manner in which the latter died, were related to us by a faithful adherent and follower of Soochet Singh named Esree Singh, a man who had behaved with marked attention to the officers visiting the court of Lahore. It appears from this statement, that the Rajah Soochet Singh had been induced to visit Lahore at the solicitation of the Panches of the

Sikhs who wished to establish the Rajah as **Prime Minister**. He thereupon reached the right bank of the Ravee with a considerable force, which he left encamped there, crossing over to Lahore with only about fourteen of his followers, among the rest Kesree Singh, who had performed so prominent a part after the death of Dyan Singh. Soochet Singh, on reaching Lahore, informed the Maharahjah that he had arrived and wished to pay his respects. In answer to this, he was ordered to leave his camp. Immediately after this reply, he observed an immense force moving from Lahore towards Meean Meer, where he then was. His attendants warned him, that their purpose was hostile, and advised him to recross the Ravee and join his own soldiers. To this he lent a deaf ear, as he could not believe that his nephew would thus take him by surprise. The guns, upwards of two hundred in number, approached, and the Rajah was urged to flee, but in vain. At length he rose up, and armed himself; the Sikhs rushed upon him, and a fierce and sanguinary conflict ensued, but of short duration, as he had but a handful of brave men wherewith to contend against thousands. Soochet Singh slew three men with his own hand before he fell mortally wounded by two bullets. Kesree Singh killed five, and two of these after he had fallen. Conspicuous for bravery among Soochet's men was Busunth Singh, who slew no fewer than seventeen Sikhs. The desperate valour of the Rajah struck a panic through the Sikhs, and the gunners fled in

His brave defence and death.

The acts of Busunth Singh.

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dismay; not a gun was fired, though Heera Singh was seen urging the gunners with a lighted match in his hand. Thus died the brave Soochet Singh, displaying a degree of desperate courage worthy of his high name. His wives, to the number of forty-five, burned themselves with his body. Eleven women immolated themselves with Kesree Singh, five with Busunth Singh, and eleven with Nehal Singh. There is a temple or school, near where the action took place, named Burumeeahka Dursut, and the Rajah was actually reading the Grunth there, when informed that the Sikhs were advancing against him; he wrote with his own hand on the book that "his head and his name should fall with him." He left behind him no offspring.

Thus in a short space of time, the two brothers of the Jummo family had fallen: one only remained, namely Goolab Singh, who was destined to act a Goolab Singh. conspicuous part in the Punjab. He was the eldest of the three, and inferior to his younger brothers Dhyan Singh and Soochet Singh in talent; his manners were those of a warrior, but not softened down by intercourse with the Court of Lahore as were those of Dhyan Singh and Soochet Singh. He was, also, accused of cruelty, and His character. according to Vigne, he sometimes "flayed his captives alive." He was allowed, nevertheless, by his enemies to possess some good qualities, among the rest, that of keeping his promise, and he never defrauded any one of what he had led them to

expect. In 1837, when attending the marriage of Nonehal Singh, he was a stout, fair man,; he was strongly built, and shorter in stature than either Dhyan Singh or Soochet Singh. Like all other chiefs dependent on the Lahore Government, he was perfectly submissive during the reign of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, but it might easily have been anticipated, that in the event of any disturbance in the Punjab, or rupture with the British, he would not be slow in seizing an opportunity of aggrandising himself. During the life time of Shere Singh, the prime minister had frequently threatened to supplant him by a reputed son of Runjeet, who, with his mother, had been under the protection of Goolab Singh at Jummo. On the death of Shere Singh, and even before that event, arrangements had been made by the Jummo family for bringing this boy to Lahore; and the first step taken by Heera Singh as well as Ajeet Singh was to acknowledge him as king. Though the events in Sikh history possess an interest as evincing their extraordinary rise and formation into a warlike nation under the auspices of Runjeet Singh; yet the history of the Sikhs under the reign of Dhuleep Singh, places them in a position which must be considered of vast importance by the civilized nations of Europe; for it was during his reign, that the Sikh power had become so arrogant, that no longer confining itself to the Punjab, it aimed at the conquest of Hindostan and imagined itself capable of overthrowing the British supremacy.

Such a project might be futile, and had never been even dreamt of by Runjeet Singh, but the sequel will shew that, though unsuccessful, the Sikhs had reason to be confident of their success ; and against a less brave and indomitable foe, there can be little doubt that they would have vanquished Hindostan.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ACCESSION OF THE MAHARAJAH DHULEEP SINGH
TO THE THRONE OF LAHORE.

THE boy Dhuleep Singh, as already stated, was the supposed son of Runjeet Singh by a Hill-woman to whom the Maharajah had been married. When Shere Singh and Dhyan Singh were murdered by the Scindinwalas, Dhuleep was about four years old, and did not, of course, take any part in his own exaltation. He was chosen, since there was no other lineal descendant of Runjeet alive, if we except the children of Shere Singh, whose eldest son, Pertaub Singh, had been murdered on the same morning as his father, and Dhyan Singh. Pertaub Singh was a fine manly fellow, and a great favorite with the French officers. He was, unlike Nonehal Singh, very partial to the English, and expressed himself freely on this subject; had his life been spared, he would no doubt have preserved a friendly alliance with the British, and it was an unfortunate occurrence when Lena Singh ruthlessly

PertaubSingh.

His character
and partiality
to the English.

slew this promising lad. His death was regretted ^{His death lamented.} by all, and Dhyan Singh blamed the Scindinwalas for an act of such cruelty to an unoffending boy, but they knew that they could expect little clemency at his hand, if Dhyan Singh should support his claim to the throne of Lahore. Disappointed in their hopes of Shere Singh, the powerful family of Jummo had determined to have a king of their own making, and Dhuleep Singh was reared for this purpose. His putative mother was, we believe, named Gulloo, and in her time made some figure as a Nautch or dancing girl. Who the real father of Dhuleep Singh was, is a doubtful point, but it was sufficient for their purpose, that Gulloo had been the wife of the Maharajah. The Sikhs, and particularly Khurruk Singh and other branches of his family, were very much disgusted at the strong attachment shown to Gulloo by the Maharajah, who was then old and infirm. They used every means to wean his affection from her, but in vain; and in order to prevent further opposition to his wishes, he married her, much to the disappointment of all. There seems some reason to doubt, that Dhuleep Singh is a son of Gulloo, and it seems more probable, that, like Shere Singh and Tara Singh he was substituted for political purposes by the wily Ranee and her friends of Jummo. The real lineage of Runjeet Singh ceased with the death of Nonehal Singh. Even Cashmeera Singh and Peshora Singh, though ^{Cashmeera Singh and Peshora Singh.} styled princes, were in no way related to Runjeet

Singh. They were his adopted sons through one of those capricious acts of which the Maharajah was guilty. The former, as a boy, was adopted when Runjeet Singh was on his way to Cashmeer, and hence named after that country; while Peshora Singh was, in like manner, adopted and named after the Province of Peshawur when subdued by the Maharajah. But even the adopted sons of a man universally revered by the Sikh nation were looked upon by many as entitled to his throne, and an attempt was made in favour of Cashmeera Singh by the Scindinwala, Uttur Singh, but which was frustrated by the activity and energy of Heera Singh; while Peshora Singh succeeded in raising a strong party in his favour; but, at length fell into the hands of Sham Singh Atareewala, by whom, it was supposed, he had been murdered, though many disbelieved the account of his death.

As regards the British Government, any ruler selected by the Sikhs was sufficient for the purpose, provided he could establish and maintain a government which would prevent any infringement of the treaty or aggression across the Sutlej; and Dhuleep Singh was therefore tacitly acknowledged as the successor of Shere Singh to the throne of Lahore. His vakeels remained in the British territories, and order was preserved during the administration of Heera Singh, and for some time afterwards. So long as the young Rajah continued to follow the steps of his father and the lessons he had learned from Runjeet Singh, he wisely abstained from the commission of any act

which might give cause of umbrage to the firm allies of the state, and turned a deaf ear to the rash advice of those who urged hostilities against the British. It was impossible for Heera Singh to be ignorant of the sentiments daily expressed by Runjeet Singh regarding a rupture with the powerful nation which had subdued the Mussulman power in Hindostan, and continued to govern that immense country by wise and just laws. He must have heard from the lips of the Maharajah himself, the frequent temptations held out to him to invade the British territories. He could not have been ignorant of the offer made to the Maharajah by Doorjun Saul in 1826, when the fort of Bhurtpore was besieged by the British; for we have ourselves been present when Runjeet mentioned that the usurper had offered him a lakh of rupees a-day if he would assist him against the British. But he would not listen to terms which would have involved him in a ruinous war with his powerful ally, and he sagaciously remarked, "I might perhaps drive the British" or the *Ungreex Bahadour*, as he styled them, "as far as Allyghur, but I should be driven back across the Sutlej and out of my kingdom." At the time when the Maharajah made this observation, there were no troops at Umballa, and there is little doubt that he could easily have effected his purpose; and still less that he would have been again driven across the Sutlej, and expelled his kingdom.

Runjeet Singh's opinion regarding the power of the British.

Declines an offer of a lakh of rupees a-day if he would assist Doorjun Saul against them.

The repeated demands of the Sikh soldiery for

increased pay, and the inability on the part of Heera Singh to meet their clamour, led to a deep-rooted hatred on both sides. It was impossible for him to pacify a set of men who had no employment but warfare, and the consequence was, as already stated, his attempt at flight, and his death.

The rapid succession of deaths and murders of the Court of Lahore.

Thus, in the short space of five years, Khurruk Singh, Nonehal Singh, and Shere Singh, had been removed from the scene of action; one of these had been lately murdered, and suspicions existed of foul play towards the two others. The minister who had gained such credit for his wisdom and foresight during the lifetime of the great Runjeet had been sacrificed to party feelings, and lastly his son, Heera Singh, had fallen a victim to anarchy and discord.

Juwaheer Singh.

On the death of Heera Singh, the mother of Dhuleep Singh turned her eyes towards her brother Juwaheer Singh, a man of some energy and talent. His being the reputed uncle of the young Maharajah was in his favour, and the soldiers recognized his claim to the office of Wuzeer or prime minister: for a time, he managed affairs, but his enmity to Peshora Singh exasperated the troops against him, and when that prince was reported to have been killed, their rage knew no bounds, and though accompanied by Dhuleep Singh and his mother, he was killed before their eyes.

His Death

The Ranee refuses to take part in the Government.

The death of her brother was a heavy blow to the hopes of the Ranee, who now remained the solitary individual at the head of affairs. At first, she refused to take any part in the government of

a people who had committed such a glaring outrage in her very presence regardless of her son's authority.

After the death of Heera Singh, the Sikhs resolved to appoint Goolab Singh his successor ; and though the Rajah was on the point of waging war with the Lahore government, yet he was prevailed upon to come to the capital, with the promise that he should be made prime minister. It is probable that the Ranee herself gave a tacit consent to this arrangement, for had she opposed it, her relationship to Juwaheer Singh would have been seized upon as a ready pretext for wishing to serve him at the expense of the Rajah of Jummoo, who was considered by all parties the best fitted for conducting the affairs of the state during the minority of her son. Besides, she had been indebted to Goolab Singh for protection, at a time when the enemies of her cause might have taken revenge on both her and Dhuleep Singh.

Goolab Singh proposed as Prime Minister.

The Ranee wishes to support the Rajah's claims.

It is a curious instance of moral courage on the part of Goolab Singh, that when he knew the dislike entertained towards him by Juwaheer Singh, and the doubtful professions of his sister, he actually trusted himself in the power of both, and became a prisoner in reality, though without restraint, at Lahore. Several attempts were made to assassinate him, but no open outrage was attempted,—a caution which entirely arose from the dread of displeasing the large portion of the army that had guaranteed his safety. Strange to relate, after being kept in suspense by the vacillating policy

Goolab Singh arrives at Lahore.

Attempts made on his life.

Returns to
Jummoo.

of the government, in the hope of being appointed Wuzeer, Goolab Singh eventually returned in

His son shares
the fate of
Heera Singh.

safety to Jummoo.

Previous to the death of Heera Singh, his uncle had sent his young son as ambassador to the court of Lahore; and the boy shared the fate of his cousin. Thus had Goolab Singh been deprived of his two sons; his eldest, Oadum Singh, having been killed at the same time with Nonehal Singh by the falling of a stone from one of the gateways of Lahore. The Rajah of Jummoo vowed bitter revenge on those who had been concerned in the death of his son and nephew, and prepared to make war on the Sikhs, who, on their part, sent an army

Goolab Singh
pays tribute,
but recovers it.

to Jummoo to reduce the Rajah to allegiance; and he so far complied, that he paid a large sum of money, and showed marked attention to those sent to receive the tribute, but they were way-laid by his people, and the money afterwards re-taken from them. After such a glaring insult to the Government of Lahore, we can hardly account for Goolab Singh's subsequent conduct in coming to the capital, on any other supposition than the thirst of revenge

His motive for
going to
Lahore.

on the murderers of his relatives; his reply to the wish expressed by the Sikhs, after his return to Jummoo, that he would supply the place of Juwaheer Singh as prime minister, seems to prove that, if this was not his sole motive, it swayed his conduct, as he replied, that on certain conditions he would consent to accept the office. One of these was, that "he should have the full power of capital punishment, without any appeal from his decision."

CHAPTER V.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE PUNJAB ON THE DEATH
OF JUWAHEER SINGH. HOSTILITIES COMMENCED
AGAINST THE BRITISH.

ON the death of Juwaheer Singh and the return of Goolab Singh to Jummo, there was, in fact, no one at the head of the administration of affairs at Lahore.

The Ranee, it is true, became nominally the guardian of her son and director of affairs; but she could perform no act contrary to the wishes of the Panches of the Army, who became in reality the rulers of the country, and every thing was decided by them. Possessed of an immense force in soldiers, inexhaustible military stores, and no employment for either, the Sikh Army determined to wage war with the British. The advice of the Ranee and many of the Sirdars was disregarded.

The Panches become the rulers of the country.

Resolve on war with the British.

An army was ordered to assemble by the very individual whose wishes were against the armament, and the Sirdars were obliged to join it.

An Army is ordered.

Tej Singh joins
the Army.

Sirdar Tej Singh, the nephew of the late Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, and who had lately returned from the Government of Peshawur, was among the number of those who were averse to a war. He was a man of great military talent, and expressed his dissent in no measured terms; but this was of no avail, and he was forced to comply with the popular wish and put himself at the head of his troops.

The Ranee
wishes to raise
Lall Singh to
the Wuzeer-
ship.

Sirdar Lall Singh who had been raised by Heera Singh from a comparatively low condition to a Sirdarship, had been taken into the confidence of the Ranee on the death of her brother. Her wish was, that he should succeed Juwaheer Singh as prime minister, but there was a strong opposition on the part of the army to such an arrangement, and it was well known, that, to the personal favour of his mistress and to no talent of his own, he was indebted for the interest she took in his advancement to the wuziership. Though thwarted in her attempts for the promotion of her favorite, it will be seen that she resolved to gain her object.

Lall Singh
obliged to join
the Army.

The Sirdar was called upon to join the troops, and after various pretexts and excuses, he was obliged to leave the society of the Ranee and participate in the coming struggle. Unlike Tej Singh, he had no pretension to military talent or experience; and, though, agreeable to the Ranee's wishes, he was nominally Commander-in-chief of the Khulsa troops, the latter looked upon Tej Singh as the man on whom alone they could place reliance as a leader.

While these hostile proceedings were being enacted at Lahore, Goolab Singh demanded the reason of the Sikh government breaking treaty with the British ; and enquired, whether the latter had given any cause of offence ? To these questions, no satisfactory reply was returned, for none could be given, since the British had behaved, hitherto, with the utmost forbearance. Goolab Singh knew well that the Sikhs would fail in their endeavours to fight against the British ; but he was not in a position to oppose the Sikh army himself, and had he evinced any hostile disposition towards it, their army might be turned against himself at a time when he was unable to oppose the combined force of the Sikhs. He therefore "made a virtue of necessity," and instead of opposing their views, he actually promised his support and agreed to send supplies to Lahore, nay, more, he even consented to join the Khulsa troops ! This conduct on the part of the Rajah completely deceived the Sikhs, who, though unwilling to await his arrival, firmly believed that they might rely on his support and presence.

Goolab Singh's
wise policy.

But had Goolab Singh believed that the Khulsa troops could be successful over the British, he determined to await the result of the struggle, knowing well, that, whatever result followed, his position was a safe one. If, as he really thought, the Sikh army would be destroyed by their powerful opponent, then, he could safely step in as a mediator between the British and the Sikhs, and,

while obtaining the credit of restoring peace, he would insure independence for himself. The Rajah had a difficult part to play, and the repeated demands of the Sikh army that he would join it, obliged him to leave Jummoo and proceed to Lahore, but he had determined to keep clear of the struggle until the onset should show how he was to act.

Had Goolab Singh succeeded Juwaheer Singh as Prime Minister, he would have used his best endeavours to prevent a collision between the Sikhs and the British; but he did not forget, that a brother and nephew who had held that responsible post had both fallen victims to the sword, and a similar fate might befall him. From every consideration, therefore, the Rajah believed that a rupture with the British would most effectually accomplish his ambitious views; and he was resolved to act with great caution and avoid mixing himself up in the quarrel: even when he reached Lahore, after the war had begun and he was requested by the Ranee and the Panches of the army to join the latter, he availed himself of the excuse of wishing to act independently at the head of his own troops in any work she might assign to him.

Such, then, was the aspect of affairs in November, 1845. But though daily reports were spread, that the Sikhs intended to invade the British territories, and though the news-writers at Lahore gave minute accounts of the hostile preparations, yet the British government would not believe that

The accounts of the Sikhs crossing the Sutlej disbelieved.

such an event could occur. The orders from the home authorities were so stringent not to interfere with the Punjab, unless actual aggression were first perpetrated by the Sikhs, that the Indian government was crippled; and acting on his instructions, the Governor-general, who was then in the Upper Provinces, did not deem it advisable to take measures for raising an army capable of opposing the Sikhs, should they actually cross the Sutlej. Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Hardinge, if left to his own decision, would, no doubt, have taken the steps early which he afterwards adopted with a promptitude which must ever mark him as an energetic, wise, and talented governor.

The delay in forming an army to oppose them, explained.

It was different with Sir Hugh (afterwards Lord) Gough, the Commander-in-chief. He was at the head of the army, and as such, was resolved to be prepared for the coming events. His acts were under the control of the Governor-general, so far as organizing an army was concerned; but, trusting to his own foresight and military experience, he gave early warning to the troops on the frontier, as well as those at the important military station of Meerut, to hold themselves in readiness, and the sequel showed that Sir Hugh Gough was justified in the measures he wisely adopted.

The Commander-in-Chief gives early warning to the troops.

The time which elapsed between the hostile preparations at Lahore and the actual crossing of the Sikhs, was too short to allow of extensive preparations being made, but the crisis demanded the utmost exertion on the part of the Governor-

The sudden invasion of the Sikhs.

Active measures adopted in forming a British Army for the repulsion of the Sikhs.

The hill regiments march at the shortest notice.

general and Commander-in-chief; and when it was known, that a Sikh force was actually on the left bank of the Sutlej, and the Governor-general no longer restricted in any measures he might think proper to adopt, Sir Henry lost no time in setting the whole troops in the Upper Provinces in motion towards the frontier, while he and the Commander-in-Chief proceeded with all expedition to Kuna Ka Serai. An express was sent to Kussowlee and Sobathoo to order down Her Majesty's 29th regiment from the former place, and the Honourable Company's 1st European light infantry from the latter. At 9 P.M. on the 10th December, 1845, the order arrived at Subathoo, and at 10 A.M., next morning, the European light infantry marched from their cantonments to Kalka, a distance of nineteen miles, while Her Majesty's 29th marched the same morning and reached Muneemajirah. The celerity of the movements of these two regiments with so short a warning, proved that the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief might rest assured that no delay would occur in their endeavours to reach the place of rendezvous on the appointed day, the 13th; and had not a halt of one day occurred at Muneemajirah, the hill regiments would have been at Kuna in time to join the Commander-in-chief. From Muneemajirah to Kuna both made forced marches.

Fortunately, Lord Ellenborough the previous Governor-general of India, had established a large force at Umballa which could be thus available at

a moment's notice. The troops at this station were moved on towards Kuna, and the Governor-general issued at that place his manifesto of war. He confiscated Dhuleep Singh's possessions on the left bank, or British side of the Sutlej, since the Sikhs had made an unprovoked aggression on the British territories, and broken the treaty which had existed between the two nations since 1809.

The Governor-general issues his manifesto from Kuna.

The manifesto was couched in the most moderate and cautious language, but declared in the firmest manner, that such an unprovoked aggression should be punished, and the British sway preserved over those on the left bank of the Sutlej who had placed themselves under its protection. It was clearly explained that the government of India had refrained from hostile demonstrations until the Sikh government had twice refused to give a reason for their warlike preparations.

From Kuna Ka Serai, the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief proceeded by forced marches towards Busseean, with the intention of seizing on the fort of Wudney belonging to the Lahore government. At Busseean the army was increased by troops from Loodianah under Brigadier Wheeler. Orders were sent to the two European regiments, which reached Kuna Ka Serai from the hills on the day following the departure of the Commander-in-chief, to hurry on to Busseean, where it was expected they would join head-quarters, and the whole march against Wudney.

The advance of the army to Busseean.

The insulated position of Feroz-pore became now a matter of the utmost anxiety, for Sir John Littler, though he had placed all his available force in an entrenched camp, could not be supposed capable of withstanding the immense army which was now in his neighbourhood. In order to relieve Feroz-pore by causing a diversion on the part of the Sikhs, it was deemed advisable to pass Wudney and push on the army towards Feroz-pore; and accordingly, on the two regiments, Her Majesty's 29th and 1st European light infantry, reaching Busseean, they received further orders to hasten on, which they did by forced marches. On the 18th December, the first encounter took place between a portion of the Sikh army and the British; the latter had finished a long march when it was called upon to engage the Khulsa troops, who were rapidly advancing. The Sikhs took up a favourable position among the jungle and stunted trees which covered the ground in the vicinity of Mood-kee, thus concealing themselves, and enabling them to take deadly aim at the mounted British officers and European soldiers, and throughout the whole campaign this appeared to be their chief object. The British and Sikh guns opened against each other, and it was evident that the Khulsa gunners served theirs with great efficiency. The British guns were merely the six-pounders attached to the troops of horse artillery, and it was soon apparent to the British Commander-in-chief, that with his guns alone he could not silence those of the enemy: he accordingly resolved to adopt the

The siege of Wudney abandoned.

Army advances.

Battle of Moodkee on the 11th of December, 1845.

Efficiency of the Sikh guns.

never-failing, though desperate mode, of charging them with his infantry, and seizing the guns at the point of the bayonet.

Resolved to capture them at the point of the bayonet.

The shortness of time prevented any guns of a large size from being brought into action, and the only ones of sieging calibre were in the rear with Colonel Dennis, escorted by the two European regiments from Kussowlee and Subathoo.

The British had no large guns present.

The available force in European infantry was small, consisting merely of Her Majesty's 9th, 31st, 50th and 80th regiments, while the only European cavalry present was Her Majesty's 3rd light dragoons. But the Commander-in-chief knew the brave troops he had to trust to, and the gallant deeds of the European infantry on the fields of Maharapoor and Punneear, where the Mahratta guns were captured at the point of the bayonet, and two glorious victories obtained in one day, were fresh in his recollection. He calculated correctly; and the British infantry charged amidst a murderous fire of cannon and musketry, for in this action, as well as all the others, the Sikh infantry fired admirably. The dust and darkness added to the confusion of the scene, but nothing could withstand the British; the Sikh columns were broken and dispersed, but, not before they had made a desperate stand and committed great slaughter among the European officers and men. Sir Robert Sale, the gallant defender of Jellalabad, fell mortally wounded, and expired in a few days. Sir John Mc Caskill, the victor of Istalif, was also shot dead while gallantly leading his division.

The European force.

The Sikh columns broken.

Many European officers and men killed at Moodkee.

Almost every officer attached to the Governor-general as aide-de-camp was either killed or wounded. Many officers were shot by those Sikhs who concealed themselves among the trees and jungles for this purpose, after the main-body had fled, and the officers thus slain were returning to their camp. In this way Captain Jasper Trower of the artillery received his death; his farrier serjeant shared the same fate, while attempting to avenge the death of his captain.

Her Majesty's
3rd Light
Dragoons'
gallant charge.

The 3rd dragoons pursued the Sikhs, but the nature of the ground rendered the gallant charge of this distinguished regiment less effectual than it otherwise would have been. The swords of the dragoons penetrated with difficulty the quilted clothes of the Sikhs, yet they slew many and nothing could resist their impetuous career. It was the first time the Sikhs had encountered European dragoons and infantry, and the noble and gallant bearing of both served to confirm the character they had always borne. The Khulsa troops could compare them to nothing else but *Demons*.

Astonishment
expressed at
the discipline
and bravery of
the Sikhs.

Every one was astonished at the precision and celerity of firing on the part of the Sikhs; but had they considered, that these troops were taught the art of war under the instruction of such men as Allard, Ventura, Court, and Avatabili, and that no expense or pains had been spared by Runjeet Singh to have an army disciplined according to European tactics, it could never have been reasonably anti-

icipated, that the Khulsa troops would be suffered to recross the Sutlej without a desperate struggle, and yet this opinion was cherished by many.

The Maharajah devoted the greatest attention to his ordnance department, and constructed an immense number of guns in his arsenal at Lahore,

Great attention bestowed by Runjeet on his Artillery.

under the superintendence of Monsieur Court, a scientific French officer, many years in his employ;

but he never intrusted any command in the artillery to Europeans, and it is said that Scindia had

Advised never to intrust the command of it to Europeans.

advised him to keep this powerful arm in the possession of his own people. Many Sikh Sirdars,

generals and commandants had numerous guns; but the chief artillery officer was a Mussulman, the

well-known Sultan Mahmood, a brother of Dost Mohummud. The attachment of our native artil-

Attachment of native soldiers to their guns.

lery-men to their guns is well known, and on the occasion of two guns being taken from Captain

Johnson's troop, for the purpose of being presented to the Maharajah by Lord William Bentinck at

Roopur in 1831, the Native officers were so much affected, that they actually shed tears, and said "it

was unlucky to give away guns to which they had been so long attached, and which they loved as

their own brothers." An estimate might have been formed of the number of guns possessed by Runjeet

Singh, from the circumstance of his usually having one hundred pieces of ordnance at the celebration

Great number of guns employed by Runjeet Singh at the celebration of the Dusserah.

of the Dusserah festival, and which kept up an incessant fire with blank cartridges, while twenty

thousand muskets responded with continued and

unremitting roll. We have ourselves been present on such occasions, and the sound was perfectly deafening; the Maharajah used to remark "That is the way I fire against my enemies in battle, only quicker, and with many more guns and muskets than are now present." While sitting with the Maharajah at the field-day, he asked us "Which side of the square fired the best?" The question was difficult to answer, but we hazarded the opinion that a certain side did so, and he said he was of the same way of thinking, and ordered the Sirdar who commanded to be summoned to his presence. This was no other than Tej Singh, who received a purse and was told that "he did well!" As to the infantry of the Khulsa troops, great care and attention were bestowed on them by the French officers: they were regularly drilled daily, until they became perfect in the use of the musket and sword. The latter is a weapon often employed by the Sikhs, when their columns are broken. On such occasions, they throw away their muskets and seize their swords, which are exceedingly sharp, heavy, and efficient weapons. The artillery-men are likewise skilled in the use of this weapon, with which they defend themselves when their guns are spiked.

Care bestowed
on his Infantry.

Inefficient
state of the
Sikh Cavalry.

Since the death of Allard, the discipline of the Sikh cavalry has been neglected, and throughout the campaign against the British, the Ghorchurras were next to useless. Among the best cavalry officers in the service of Runjeet Singh, Sirdar Soochet Singh stood pre-eminent. But in their best

days, and when disciplined, the Sikh cavalry could never resist the impetuous charge of European dragoons, and the handful of men composing Her Majesty's 3rd dragoons would have ridden through and through them. The British cavalry are so superior in the horse, that the weight alone of the latter would disperse them when mounted even by a native, much more when carrying a European dragoon, who knows no other command than "Forward!" It was supposed by many, that the Sikh army had deteriorated so much since the days of Runjeet Singh, that they might be considered next to a rabble; but it should not have been forgotten, that the Sikh is naturally a soldier, and cares for no other employment, which he is forbid by the tenets of his religion to adopt. The sole aim of his life is to fight, and, however idle and dissipated he may become, he never forgets a science to which he has devoted his whole time and attention. As regards artillery, the Sikhs had not ceased to increase the number of their guns after the death of Runjeet Singh; and the events of the campaign against the British proved, that they could take nearly three hundred guns into the field, independent of those employed in the forts of Lahore, Govind Ghur, and Umritser, besides numerous guns at Peshawur and Mooltan. The artillery of the Sikhs, previous to their crossing the Sutlej, may be safely estimated at 500 guns of all calibres.

Incapable of standing a charge of European Cavalry.

The Sikh Soldier is a warrior by the tenets of his religion.

Increase of Sikh Artillery since the time of Runjeet Singh.

The portion of the Sikh force sent to Moodkee was evidently an experimental one, and though

Confidence of
the Sikhs in
their guns.

beaten, the Sikhs were satisfied, that with an overwhelming number of guns strongly entrenched, they might safely await the attack of the British, who appeared to possess but little strength in this important arm, though one by which our early conquests had been chiefly made, and which rendered us the terror of the Native powers. So well aware was Sir David Ochterlony of the immense power of guns, that in the campaign against the Nepaulese he carried two to Malown and thereby completely astonished the Goorkhas. For the first time at Gwalior, the superiority of British artillery was overlooked, and the consequence was, that guns were taken by infantry at the point of the bayonet. The same took place at Moodkee. There is every reason for believing, that at both places, the enemy was despised, but the results at both showed how mistaken the opinion was, if ever entertained. No blame can be attached to the Commander-in-chief at Moodkee, for he was obliged to fight with the means at his disposal. The heavy guns and mortars were not available, and his enemy must be beaten. He had no alternative, and before his artillery could possibly join him, there was every likelihood that he would have to engage the whole Sikh army.

Vast importance of Artillery.

The Sikhs resolved to make a further stand.

No British officer or soldier fell into the hands of the enemy at Moodkee, but from a Sikh Sirdar who was taken prisoner the disposition on the part of the Sikhs to make a further stand was clearly shown. He remarked "that if a few thou-

sand Sikhs required the united force of the British to conquer them, and if opposed to such a small force, the former lost so many men and officers, how much more difficult must it be to conquer the Khulsa army, and how infinitely greater must necessarily be the loss." The war, thus begun, must be carried on, and the Sikh force was expected to advance on the 19th December. On that day the heavy guns escorted by Her Majesty's 29th, the 1st European light infantry and some Native regiments reached Moodkee and the Commander-in-chief determined to attack the Sikhs' entrenched camp on the 21st December, thus giving a day's rest to the troops which by forced marches had reached him.

British force increased on the 19th December.

Nothing could exceed the attention of the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief to the European soldiers who were thus hurrying on to their aid. Elephants were despatched to Churruk, seven and twenty miles from Moodkee, to carry those who might be unable to walk, and thus enable them to come on. When near Moodkee, and almost overcome with marching and thirst, water was received from the head-quarters' camp brought out on elephants. Being thus refreshed, the men marched vigorously to Moodkee, where the Governor general's band was in readiness to conduct them to camp.

Kind attention shown to the Troops on their march by the Governor-general.

On the morning of the 20th December, the European infantry consisted of the regiments already mentioned with the addition of Her Majesty's 29th and the 1st European light infantry. The

An attack meditated on the Sikh entrenched Camp.

heavy guns had, also, come up, as well as the 11th and 41st regiments of Native infantry. With this increased force the Commander-in-chief resolved on the following morning to attack the Sikhs, who were entrenched at a place named Feerozshuhur, or, as written in the despatches, Feerozshah. It may be said there is little in a name, but, in the present instance, it would be well if the point were settled regarding the name of a place where the hardest fought battle ever witnessed in Indian warfare took place.*

In every warfare, there are a number of personal adventures which occur, interesting to the individuals concerned, and one happened previous to the battle of Moodkee which may be mentioned. An officer was on his way to join a new appointment at Ferozapore, and had reached Moodkee, where, he fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Various reports were, as usual, circulated regarding the treatment he was likely to receive or had received. He could not have less than his ears and nose cut off by a savage and cruel people like the Sikhs!! Torture and death were, in the opinion of others, to be his fate!! As to his ever being sent back, none dreamt of such an occurrence. All pitied his unfortunate situation, and all rejoiced when Lieutenant Biddulph reached Moodkee safe and sound. He afterwards,

* In the Ferozapore district, the addition of "Wala" is a common term in naming villages, such as Sultan Khan Wala, Bootawala, Akberwala; and probably the name of the place in question may have been Feerozshahwala, and from the length of the word, the latter part may have been dropped or Shuhur (a City) substituted. We are therefore inclined to use the word Feerozshuhur in speaking of it.

wrote an interesting account of his capture, treatment, and release, and we cannot do better than give the statement in his own words. His letter, which was published in the Delhi Gazette, is dated "Army of the Sutlej near Ferozpoore, January 19th 1846."

Lieutenant Biddulph says:—"I left Umballa on the 5th of December to join my corps. I reached within four stages of Ferozpoore, when alarming reports prevailed of a Sikh invasion, and the villagers told me I must be on my guard; parties of plundering horsemen scoured the country, and I had several serious alarms, but considered that to turn round and run would only insure instant destruction. I put a bold face upon it therefore, and continued to advance. At Moodkee, sixteen miles from Ferozpoore, on my arrival, I saw we should probably be attacked, and made preparations accordingly: horsemen left the village at dusk and proceeded on different roads, as it seemed to me to bring up more during the night; three men came singly to me after dusk, saying I should be attacked, and advising me to ride for my life, but these men I treated as spies, and told them I feared nothing, and would abide with my people and baggage. During the night we kept anxious watch, and observed fifteen horsemen enter the village; at daylight the attack commenced. I was surrounded by matchlock men, spearmen, and swordsmen, and told to surrender. I said 'Never.' Twice we drove them back, but at length more and more men came on;

Lieutenant Biddulph's account of his capture, imprisonment, and release.

they seized my horses, plundered the baggage, and separated many of the servants from me. I then attempted to force a passage to Ferozpoore; spear-men and matchlock men held me at bay in front, others rushed on me from behind, I was knocked down and stunned with blows on the head and face, carried into a small fort and kept prisoner. Soon after the people in the fort manned the walls and prepared for a battle; this told me some of our troops must be near at hand, but ere they arrived, I was hurried out of the place, put on a horse behind a Sikh trooper, and with a strong escort galloped off some nine or ten miles. Judge my horror when I saw before me the whole Sikh camp and army! I was taken up and down their position amidst excited crowds, who abused and poked me right and left; my gallant horsemen, however, protected my life, but I saw with alarm a large beam on two posts, bearing a most unpleasant resemblance to a gallows; multitudes were around it, and I prepared for death, praying that I might not be tortured, and die calmly. We passed this, however, and at last reached Rajah Lall Singh's tent; Akalies going in and out, shook their swords at me, and crowds thronged me; Lall Singh came out and I addressed him, but he would not hear me, ordering me to be put in irons and made over to the commandant of artillery; thither I was taken. The general spoke angrily and sent me away to his men; I was then chained under a gun, and a guard placed over me. Thus I lay for three days

and nights; bitter cold it was; chappatees* my food, water my drink; and many anxious thoughts prolonged my days into weeks, my nights into months. Daily I was thronged, abused, and threatened; hundreds of questions put to me; and tempting offers of services made, all of which I steadily refused. The artillery-men became my fast friends, defended my life, and as far as possible drove back the crowds, and tried to shame those who threatened me. Even in such a precarious situation, life has its pleasures and enjoyment; the calm of night, cessation from teasing multitudes, a chat with the artillery-men, smoking through my *hands* from a *chillum*† without a pipe; the thousands of reports, strange sights and scenes, the pity of some, the wonder of *all*!—was not this happiness? Indeed, I began almost to be happy; at any rate I could laugh. But the scene was now to change.

“The battle of Moodkee roused my hopes; I sat on a board behind a gun, and the artillery-men with lighted matches stood around. It seemed the fight drew near and more near, fancy almost rang the clangour of a charge in my anxious senses, and then the thought whether victory to us would not be death to me came to calm my too-buoyant hopes. I remembered Loveday,‡ he was my ship companion!! At eleven at night the gun ceased, the file-firing died away, and I heard the bustle of

* Flour cakes.

† The bowl of a hookah containing the tobacco.

‡ Lieutenant Loveday was killed while a prisoner in the hands of the Scindians.

the Sikh troops retiring into camp; who shall describe then the prisoner's feelings? I cannot.

“Morning at last came, and I soon perceived that the boastful pride of our enemy had greatly abated, their tone was altered and my condition seemed better. Another day, another night, succeeded; the third I was suddenly summoned to the Chief Beharie Ally Khan, and on my way to him, a smith appeared, and my irons were taken off. On entering the chief's tent, he spoke kindly, gave me water to wash, and said he would get me released. Some conversation ensued, and an Affghan Sirdar, who had visited me the day before, evidently interested himself in my behalf; we started for Lall Singh's quarters, but on the way there I was sent back to my gun. Some anxious hours passed, and when the unruly multitude heard I was likely to be released, a row commenced; my friends of the artillery stood to their guns, and declared they would fire if I were touched; by degrees matters smoothed down, and the crowd dispersed. Suddenly, I was told I might go! I desired the messenger to make my grateful acknowledgements to the chiefs, and took leave of my Bhaicees, the artillerymen, but I said, ‘I shall be cut down directly I leave your lines.’ Two of them offered to accompany me, and though their authority was not much to protect me, the risk must be run; off we set, and the sun never seemed to me to shine so cheerfully before. Then a brother of the artillery chief's ran after us, and said he would get me through their outposts; he sent the two artillery-men back,

and on we went. Many were the stoppages and much demur at the last outpost, five miles from their camp, but my friend satisfied them all. Merrily we trudged the ten miles to Moodkee, and the reception I met from all was grateful indeed, and never to be forgotten. My companion received from the Governor-general 1000 rupees, and offers of service if he chose to stay with us; but he returned, however, after the battles, to his own people or home. The 21st and 22nd saw the Sikhs routed after a desperate resistance, but the Governor-general would not allow me to mingle in the fray, as he said I owed *that* at least to the enemy who released me, although I refused to give any pledge not to fight."

At a later period of the campaign, a medical officer was carried prisoner to Lahore, along with several European soldiers who were taken when Sir Harry Smith's baggage was attacked at Buddeewal, near Loodianah; they were all restored to their freedom, and sent to the British camp by Goolab Singh after the army had crossed the Sutlej. They were tolerably well treated, while prisoners; but had they fallen into the hands of the vanquished Sikhs after the battle of Alleewal, their fate might have been different. The release and escape of Lieutenant Biddulph was a most providential one, and well might the fate of poor Loveday present itself to his mind. He appears to have owed his safety to the generous feelings of the artillerymen, who afterwards proved themselves the bravest soldiers among the Sikh troops, and served their

Treatment of
European prisoners
by the
Sikhs.

guns manfully. Not only did Goolab Singh release the Lahore prisoners, but presented each with a sum of money. It was related, that a few European soldiers straggled into the Sikh camp after the action of Moodkee; they soon discovered their mistake, but instead of being made prisoners or ill used, each received a rupee and were allowed to return to their own camp without molestation.

Their motives for forbearance towards the prisoners.

This forbearance on the part of the Sikhs to men whom they so much wished to destroy, may have arisen from motives of policy, and a wish to make a favourable impression on the European soldiers, and induce them to desert. Several European soldiers were said to be in their ranks, both Englishmen and Frenchmen; but no instance of a desertion from the European regiments occurred during the campaign, and the same was true as regards the Native troops, with one or two solitary exceptions. The kind treatment experienced by the prisoners at Lahore is easily to be accounted for, since the Ranee and Goolab Singh knew well, that the retribution would be full and complete if they injured them. In fact, they calculated on their release and safe conduct to the camp of the British as likely to make a favourable impression on the Governor-general, at a time when the Sikh government could expect but little clemency; and their chance of this would be still further lessened, had they dared to ill treat or put to death the prisoners. We have given Lieutenant Biddulph's graphic and highly interesting account of his cap-

ture and release, and we wish we possessed the means of affording our readers an opportunity of perusing that of Dr. Banan.

At the close of the battle of Moodkee, and while the British troops were pursuing the Sikhs, a gallant officer had his horse shot under him. The poor animal fell with his rider, and on the latter recovering himself, he found a Sikh with a drawn sword standing over him. He received a wound on his left arm, and two other sword cuts were made at his body by the Sikh, who in order to render them more effectual, took his sword in both hands and cut at the officer with all his might. Fortunately in both instances, the sword struck against a powder flask. The Sikh now considered that he had killed his victim; and drawing the officer's sword from its scabbard walked away.

Escape of an officer.

When thus freed of his company, the officer drew his pistols, and with one in his hand, prepared for the return of his enemy, who on observing him moving, was coming back. At this juncture a European soldier came to his aid, and either killed the Sikh or the latter fled. It was now dark, and a dooly, or litter, obtained, in which the officer hoped to reach camp; but he had not gone far, before he found an officer mortally wounded, though still alive. He left the dooly, and wished Dr. Graydon, the assistant surgeon of Her Majesty's 50th, for it was no other than he, to occupy his place, while he walked by his side. From loss of blood, he could not keep pace long with the dooly, and offered the

Dr. Graydon
of Her
Majesty's
50th.

bearers a high reward if they would carry both himself and his wounded brother officer to camp ; but there being only three men, the attempt failed; Graydon then begged that he might be left behind, as he said he knew he was mortally wounded and could not survive. At length a loose pony belonging to an officer who had been killed, was secured, and on this the officer reached camp. Two medical officers were wounded at Moodkee, and both eventually died. They had advanced with their respective regiments, the 31st and 50th, with the laudable purpose of assisting the wounded officers and men, but in doing so, they necessarily exposed their own lives. At Moodkee, the dust prevented a view of what was going on in front, and the officers in question were not aware of their dangerous position. On the line of march in an enemy's country, the rear is perhaps the least safe place, but in a pitched battle, the medical officer's place is out of the range of shot, if he wish to be of service to the wounded, and his exposing himself to the enemy's fire can serve no good purpose, while it renders his services unavailable, in the event of his being shot or wounded ; in either case, he is justly blamed, and the remark is made that " he had no business there." In case of retreat, there is of course no place of safety for any one, and all must encounter the risk of being slain, but with the British army in a fair field, there is little chance, at least, in India, of such an occurrence.

Two medical officers killed at Moodkee.

The proper place for medical officers during war.

We have remarked that the dragoons experienced considerable difficulty in penetrating the quilted and padded clothes of the Sikhs, and at Moodkee an officer of the irregular cavalry who had wounded his adversary in the sword-arm, actually could not kill him from this cause, and was obliged to leave the work to one of his own men who came to his aid!

Difficulty of killing a Sikh.

Though Lall Singh was nominally the Commander-in-chief of the Khulsa troops destined to cross the Sutlej and measure arms with the British, yet, Tej Singh was the most influential man in their army and considered their leader. Averse as the Sirdar had been to war with such a powerful foe; when, once in the midst of his soldiers, he resolved to do his utmost, and took the lead in the hostile operations which had now commenced.

Tej Singh in reality the Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh Army.

To meet the coming struggle nearly all the Khulsa troops had been sent across the Sutlej, and only a few battalions under Dhonkul Singh and some Mussulmans with fifty or sixty guns left at Lahore. The Sikhs crossed with the purpose of not simply vanquishing the British in one or two battles and then returning to the Punjab, but of forcing their way to Delhi, Benares, and Calcutta!! Their ambition and arrogance knew no bounds. To effect this purpose Tej Singh marched towards Kussoor with a large force, consisting of at least twelve battalions of infantry under the command of Mehtab Singh and Misr Sookh Ræe; there were

Strength and disposition of the Sikh Army.

several regiments of cavalry attached to his force, and both foot and horse artillery. Sirdar Tej Singh, likewise, commanded the Hureekee brigade, equal in strength to that of Kusoor, and under him were Generals Goolab Singh and Jemadar Kunnr. To the Hureekee force were attached five thousand cavalry. Thus the force at Tej Singh's disposal amounted to 24,000 infantry and at least 10,000 cavalry with a hundred guns. Runjoor Singh was in command of an army of 10,000 men, moving on Phuloor with upwards of sixty guns, and a portion of cavalry. In addition to these three brigades numbering upwards of 30,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry and 160 guns, there was a force under Shum Shere Singh amounting to 15,000 infantry, 7,000 cavalry and thirty guns, besides horse artillery. Thus a Sikh force was marching on the Sutlej of nearly 50,000 infantry, 25,000 cavalry and 200 guns. On the 19th December, the main body of the Sikh army, consisting of at least 35,000 infantry and upwards of a hundred guns with 25,000 cavalry, was strongly entrenched at Feerozshuhur, after allowing for its losses at Moodkee. A portion from each branch of their service had been sent to that place. During the 19th and 20th of December, the Sikh troops who had fled from Moodkee joined their head quarters, and awaited the attack of the British. Had the Khulsa troops encountered a less desperate resistance in their first engagement, they would, in all likelihood, have rallied on the following day, and made another

attack, which was anticipated by the British Com-
 mander-in-chief. But Tej Singh considered that
 a detached force without the assistance of an over-
 whelming artillery was certain destruction, and he
 resolved to await the advance of the British in his
 entrenched camp, and thus preserve his whole force
 entire. His scouts had informed him, that the
 only arm in which he could trust against the enemy
 was his artillery, and that even his guns were not
 safe, since the British at Moodkee had resorted to
 the desperate plan employed at Maharajpooor of
 seizing them at the point of the bayonet. The
 Sirdar, though well aware of this fact, conceived
 that such desperate courage only belonged to the
 European portion of the British army, and from
 the smallness of their number, imagined, that with
 upwards of one hundred guns, he could defy their
 efforts. In short, he came to the conclusion, that
 his position was safe, and victory on the part of
 the British next to impossible. The Sirdar knew
 well, that the guns of a large calibre possessed by
 the enemy were few in number, and could never
 silence his own, many of which were of battering
 calibre. Let us now see what force the British
 Commander-in-chief had to oppose to his large
 army. The only accession he had received to his
 strength since the battle of Moodkee consisted of
 Her Majesty's 29th foot, the Honorable Company's
 1st European light infantry, the 11th and 41st
 regiments of Native infantry and the heavy guns
 brought up by Colonel Dennis.

Tactics of Tej
Singh.

Is confident of
success.

Strength of
the British
Army at
Moodkee on
the 20th De-
cember, 1845.

He had thus six European regiments of infantry, amounting probably to upwards of 4,000 men: these were Her Majesty's 9th, 29th, 31st, 50th, 80th, and the European light infantry; five of these had suffered severely from cholera at Kussowlee, Subathoo, Umballa, Loodianah, and Meerut, so that their average strength could not exceed 800 men.

The Native infantry at his disposal consisted of the 2nd, 11th, 16th, 24th, 26th, 41st, 42nd, 45th, 47th, 48th, and 73rd, eleven regiments, each of which may have averaged 1,000 men, making a total of 11,000 Native infantry.

The deficiency in cavalry was much felt, and the only European regiment in that branch was Her Majesty's 3rd light dragoons, with the Governor-general's body guard, the 4th and 5th regiments of light cavalry, and the 9th irregular cavalry.

In horse artillery there were Brind's, Dashwood's, Todd's and Swinley's European troops, with Garbett's Native troop. To these are to be added two horse field batteries, Nos. 7 and 9, manned by two companies of European foot artillery.

The Meerut force was on its way to join, but there was no time to be lost, and Sir John Littler's force was ordered to come up on the 21st from Feerozpoore, which it did about 2 P.M., not more than an hour previous to the battle of Feerozshuhur. This force consisted of Campbell's European troop of horse artillery and Day's Native; the 8th regiment of light cavalry, and the 3rd or Tait's irregular cavalry. The Native portion of infantry consisted

of the 12th, 14th, 33rd, 44th, and 54th, with Her Majesty's 62nd Regiment: two light field batteries manned by two companies of foot artillery accompanied the Feerozpore brigade.

Private instructions had been given to commanding officers on the evening of the 20th, to have their regiments in readiness to march at two on the following morning. Accordingly, at the hour appointed, the camp was left standing with a detail from each regiment; and a regiment and a half of Native infantry being kept as a guard over it and the wounded, the army of the Sutlej left Moodkee, and by daylight the several regiments had joined their respective brigades. The whole marched onwards, making a long detour with a view of attacking the weakest points in the enemy's position, though, as matters turned out, the attack was made on the strongest.

The army marches from Moodkee on the morning of the 21st Dec.

Several halts were made, for the march was a long and fatiguing one of about sixteen miles. About two P.M., Sir John Littler joined. The force now consisted of seven regiments of European infantry, fifteen regiments of Native infantry, a regiment of European dragoons, four regiments of Native light cavalry, including the body guard, two of irregular cavalry, seven troops of horse artillery, four light field batteries, and four companies of foot artillery, with two eight-inch howitzers. The whole may probably have amounted to 20,000 infantry, 3,500 cavalry, 900 artillerymen, horse and foot, with forty-two six-pounder and twenty-

four nine-pounder guns, besides the two heavy pieces of ordnance. Soon after the Feerozapore brigade joined, the Sikh horsemen were seen on the right! They fired off their matchlocks, but did not approach very near the column. Some riflemen were sent out, however, to keep them at a distance. After passing a mud village, the troops were halted and formed into battle array. When Tej Singh saw the British preparing for the contest after a long march, and without any chance of obtaining water or food, his hopes must have been raised to the highest pitch. In the entrenched camp of the Sikhs, food and water had been stored up in abundance. The Khalsa troops were fresh and ready for action, confident of success and victory.

CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE BATTLE OF MOODKEE,
AND OTHER MATTERS REGARDING THE STATE
OF AFFAIRS.

BEFORE proceeding further, it may be as well to give a more full and detailed account of the action of Moodkee from the pen of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief, as contained in his despatch, dated "Camp, Moodkee, 18th December, 1845." We have merely given a general description of the battle, for we do not profess to be writing a detailed account of the military operations of the British: still it is incumbent on us to give as much information as will convey to our military readers a correct idea of these operations, and in doing so, we can follow no surer guide, than the general who commanded the victorious army of the Sutlej from its first formation, until its breaking up under the walls of Lahore; the gates of which were then guarded by British troops, and the very existence of the Sikh Government preserved by a portion of that gallant

A more detailed account of the first encounter with the Sikhs.

army. In the despatch alluded to, his Excellency continues :—

The Governor-general's despatch regarding the Battle of Moodkee.

“ Soon after mid-day, the division under Major-general Sir Harry Smith, a brigade of that under Major-general Sir John M'Caskill, and another of that under Major-general Gilbert, with five troops of horse artillery, and two light field batteries under Lieutenant-colonel Brooke of the horse artillery (brigadier in command of the artillery force), and the cavalry division, consisting of Her Majesty's 3rd light dragoons, the body guard, 4th and 5th light cavalry, and the 9th irregular cavalry, took up their encamping ground in front of Moodkee.

“ The troops were in a state of great exhaustion principally from the want of water, which was not procurable on the road, when about 3 P.M. information was received that the Sikh army was advancing, and the troops had scarcely time to get under arms and move to their positions, when the fact was ascertained.

“ I immediately pushed forward the horse artillery and cavalry, directing the infantry, accompanied by the field batteries, to move onward in support. We had not proceeded beyond two miles, when we found the enemy in position. They were said to consist of from fifteen to twenty thousand infantry, about the same force of cavalry, and forty guns. They had evidently either taken up their position, or were advancing in order of battle against us.

“ To resist their attack, and to cover the formation of the infantry, I advanced the cavalry under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, rapidly to the front in columns of squadrons, and occupied this plain. They were speedily followed by the five troops of horse artillery under Brigadier Brooke, who took up a forward position, having the cavalry then on his flanks.

“ The country is a dead flat, covered at short intervals with a low, but in some places, thick Jhan jungle, and dotted with sandy hillocks. The enemy screened their infantry and artillery behind this jungle, and such undulations as the ground afforded; and while our Native battalions formed from echellons of brigades into line, opened a very severe cannonade upon our advancing troops, which was vigorously replied to by the battery of horse artillery under Brigadier Brooke, which was soon joined by the two light field batteries. The rapid and well directed fire of our artillery appeared soon to paralyse that of the enemy; and as it was necessary to complete our infantry dispositions without advancing the artillery too near to the jungle, I directed the cavalry under Brigadiers White and Gough to make a flank movement on the enemy's left with a view of threatening and turning that flank, if possible. With praise-worthy gallantry, the 3rd light dragoons, the 2nd brigade of cavalry, consisting of the body guard and 5th light cavalry, with a portion of the 4th lancers, turned the left of the Sikh army, and sweeping

along the whole rear of the infantry and guns, silenced for a time the latter, and put their numerous cavalry to flight. Whilst this movement was taking place on the enemy's left, I directed the remainder of the 4th lancers, the 9th irregular cavalry under Brigadier Mactier, with a light field battery, to threaten their right. This manoeuvre was also successful. Had not the infantry and guns of the enemy been screened by the jungle, these brilliant charges of the cavalry would have been productive of greater effect.

“When the infantry advanced to attack, Brigadier Brooke rapidly pushed on his horse artillery close to the Jungle, and the cannonade was resumed on both sides. The infantry under Sir Harry Smith, General Gilbert, and Sir John McCaskill, attacked in echelon of lines, and the enemy's infantry were almost invisible amongst wood and the approaching darkness of night. The opposition of the enemy was such as might have been expected from troops who had everything at stake, and who had long vaunted of their being irresistible. Their ample and extended line (from their great superiority of numbers) far outflanked ours, but this was counteracted by the flank movements of our cavalry. The attack of the infantry now commenced, and the roll of fire from their powerful musketry soon convinced the Sikh army that they had met with a foe they little expected; and their whole force was driven from position after position with great slaughter and the loss of seventeen pieces ofartil-

lery, some of them of heavy calibre ; our infantry using the never-failing weapon, the bayonet, whenever the enemy stood. Night only saved them from worse disaster, for this stout conflict was maintained during an hour and a half of dim starlight, amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain which yet more obscured every object."

In reading a despatch, we are struck with the apparent simplicity and regularity of every movement; but to those engaged in the fight all seemed confusion. In the present instance nothing can appear more easy than to comprehend the flank movements of the cavalry, the advance of the horse artillery and infantry, the breaking of the Sikh column and their dispersion; but if we ask individuals regarding their position, they cannot tell whether they were on the flank, in the front or rear of the enemy. If this be difficult in daylight, and on a plain unobstructed by brush wood or jungle, and the whole atmosphere clear and not one vast cloud of dust, the attempt becomes vain when such obstructions are superadded. A Commander-in-chief knows what movements he ordered, and when those performing them are enveloped in dust and darkness, it is impossible for any one to see how these orders are carried out, and it is only known that they have been so by the result. If the latter be successful, then the manœuvre is supposed to have been devised and executed in strict accordance with military tactics.

Clearness of despatches.

Difficulty of describing a battle by those engaged in it.

When a victory is gained, it must be achieved by

a combination of skilful movements and the bravery of the troops employed. In Sir Hugh Gough, the army employed at Moodkee had a gallant and experienced general. The dispositions for the attack were such as were most likely to insure victory; and all accounts agree in stating, that the European and Native troops behaved with their accustomed steadiness and bravery. In the list of killed and wounded, appended to the Commander-in-chief's despatch, we find that the whole number of killed and wounded amounted to 872; of these, no fewer than fifty-one were European officers, while the Native officers amounted to eleven; twelve of the former and two of the latter being killed. Again, in the ranks of non-commissioned officers, drummers, rank and file, the number of killed and wounded was 705, and out of this amount, upwards of 500 were European soldiers of Her Majesty's 3rd dragoons, 9th, 31st, 50th, and 80th foot, inclusive of non-commissioned officers and drummers; so that two-thirds of the whole wounded and killed were among the European portion of the army, which did not, probably, equal a fifth of the whole. One of two conclusions must be drawn from these fearful odds, either that the Europeans were more exposed, or that the enemy directed their fire with unerring aim against them: we have in our general sketch of the operations remarked that the European infantry seized the enemy's guns at the point of the bayonet, but this is not prominently alluded to by the Commander-in-chief,

Gallantry of the troops.

Comparative loss between the European and Native killed and wounded.

Conclusion to be drawn.

though giving every credit to the bayonet as the "never-failing weapon when the enemy made a stand," so that it is fair to conclude that the Native infantry charged the guns equally with the European; and no invidious distinction should be drawn, when the man best capable of forming a correct judgment was satisfied with the conduct of all. The Sikhs are stated to have lost seventeen Guns lost by the Sikhs. guns at Moodkee, so that the remaining twenty-three must have been brought back to their entrenched camp at Feerozshuhur. As to the actual loss of the enemy, it was not very great; this arising entirely from the causes mentioned in the despatch, namely, the nature of the ground and the darkness of night, which prevented the full Causes which lessened the loss of the Sikhs. effect of the cavalry charges.

The 5th light cavalry under the command of Major Alexander vied with the European dragoons, while the body guard maintained its well-earned name, and out of the few officers attached to it, three were killed and wounded. The battle appeared to have raged the thickest near the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief, since, almost every mounted officer attached to both, was either killed or wounded, including the aides-de-camp with the Governor-general and one with the Commander-in-chief; while Major, now Lieutenant-colonel, Patrick Grant, deputy adjutant-general, was very severely wounded, and Sir Robert Sale, the quarter-master-general, received a wound from which he soon afterwards died. There could be no Great loss among the British mounted officers, particularly the staff of the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief.

doubt that the Sikhs directed their fire against the mounted officers, and those with cocked hats and staff uniform were their particular marks.

Regret of those not in the battle, but within hearing of the guns.

Not likely to be disappointed in future.

The Sikhs, though beaten at Moodkee, resolved to fight.

Many who were within hearing of the guns, on the evening of the 18th, deeply regretted that they were not sharing in the struggle which might be the last, but after forced marches in the hope of reaching head quarters in time, were doomed to arrive a day too late! This disappointment was vividly felt and deplored by the European regiments which reached Moodkee on the evening of the 19th December; but the determination on the part of the Sikhs to fight to the last, restored their hopes, that they might yet share in the dangers and glory of the coming battles; and they were soon destined to see their most sanguine wishes realized on the field of Feerozshuhur. At Moodkee, the Sikhs had fought on the open plain, and were routed after a desperate fight; but though thus discomfited their spirit was in no way broken; and though they lost the victory, in the common acceptance of the term, yet it was a very dearly bought one on the part of the victors; and such as crippled the British Commander-in-chief's means much more than those of the Sikh leader. The latter was so perfectly satisfied with the result of the experiment he had made, that he saw with pleasure the British troops fronting the strongest position of his entrenched camp on the evening of the 21st of December, and even sent out his horsemen, to point out as it were the way to his stronghold.

Having thus entered a little more minutely into the action at Moodkee and supplied our readers with the details of it, we must now return to the position of the contending forces at Feerozshuhur, where a much more fierce encounter was awaiting the British than they had met with even at Mood-
 kee, though that battle will be recorded as one of the most hard contested which had hitherto occurred in India, and that with a people who excelled in numbers, and in the possession of the implements of war, the brave troops hitherto vanquished by the British under a Clive, a Wellesley, a Wellington, a Combermere, or the chief who had led the army of the Sutlej to a victory through a fiercer struggle than he had encountered with his brave army on the field of Maharajpoor; where the indomitable bravery of troops capturing the guns at the point of the bayonet proved the obstinacy and determination of the Mahrattas. These people though brave soldiers, had encountered the British before, and though determined to try their strength, yet they must have been sensible that they might be vanquished; but not so with the Sikhs, whose confidence in their own strength and resources induced them to look upon the British as hardly their equals, and determined to bring the test of their superiority to a fierce trial. They might be beaten, nay, exterminated; but to fight and try the issue of the battle they firmly resolved upon, in spite of every advice offered to them by their great leader, Runjeet Singh, while alive, and that of the

Moodkee, a hard-contested battle.

Moodkee and Maharajpoor.

The arrogance and confidence of the Sikhs.

False basis on which formed.

Advantages on the side of the British.

Ranee who now conducted affairs, not to measure arms with a people whom they would not allow to be wholly invincible like themselves. True, the British had been the paramount power in India for many years, even the Sikhs on the left bank of the Sutlej avowed its supremacy; but still its army had been annihilated in Affghanistan : and calculating on this disaster as the result of deteriorated skill, instead of the consequence of irresolution, misplaced confidence, and the inclemency of a northern winter, the Sikhs had now the temerity to resolve to encounter the British army in its own territory, or at least on its own side of the Sutlej, led by a determined commander who had never known defeat, and supported by the Governor-general of India, a soldier himself, who would spurn all their arts of circumvention, and listen to no terms of peace until he had avenged the insult offered by a proud and ambitious nation, to the country whose welfare had been committed to his charge, and at a season when the cold air of December had invigorated the European frame, and restored many to health and strength, who had been laid on a bed of sickness, during the debilitating and pestilential months of July and August. It is a curious feature in the history of the Sikhs, that instead of crossing the Sutlej in the hot winds, when the European soldier could never withstand the burning sun of India, and his services therefore be unavailable without the risk of death from fever, apoplexy, or cholera, they

have invariably made their threats after the Dusserah at the beginning of the cold weather. One reason for their overlooking such an advantage, and of not acting on it, may doubtless be attributed to the rise in the rivers of the Punjab, during the hot months, and particularly the Sutlej and Gharra : Reasons of the Sikhs not crossing in the hot weather. the latter river, in which are situated the principal ghauts of Hurreekee, Koonda, and Huggur, would then be impassable to them by means of a bridge of boats, and this is probably the chief cause that has operated in restraining them from invading the British territories, during a season of the year when a European force could not be brought into the field in tents without its certain destruction from the causes already mentioned. It may be that the Sikhs themselves, who are notorious for their laziness and apathy, are averse to exertion at the hottest period of the year; and requiring stimulus have delayed warfare until the Dusserah, when their sluggish spirits appear to be roused to war, discord, and murder. In Runjeet Singh, they had an example of making their hostile preparations at the commencement of the cold months.

Another curious feature in the present campaign, particularly at its commencement, when regiments were marching to join the army, was that no molestation or annoyance was offered to our troops on the road, though alarms were often given of the Sikh horsemen being in the neighbourhood; and there is some reason to suppose that they hung British regiments unmolested while on the march.

upon the flanks, but did not like to try their hand with European soldiers, ready at least to receive them on the point of the bayonet. A party of them did rob a cart with some commissariat and private property near Moodkee; the bullocks were unable to keep up with the column, and the contents of the cart fell an easy prey into their hands, though a guard of native soldiers was over them. But from the time of leaving Kulka, until the regiments reached Moodkee, not a single Sikh horseman was seen, and no theft or robbery committed, with the exception of the solitary case alluded to.

Why Feeroz-
pore was not
attacked.

It can hardly be accounted for why the Sikh troops did not attack Feerozpore; for, notwithstanding the place was defended by a considerable number of troops, and in an entrenched camp, Sir John Littler could hardly have held it against a siege with large guns and shells, backed by an overwhelming army of infantry and cavalry. The only Europeans he possessed were the 62nd Queen's, and two troops and some companies of foot artillery. What the nature of the attack would have been, may be easily imagined from the desperate struggle at Moodkee and Feerozshuhur, and in the latter engagement, the Feerozpore force under their gallant and distinguished leader, found the enemy opposed to them such as they had not probably anticipated when they expected them at Feerozpore.

The Sikh troops are said to have pressed Lal Singh to lead them against Feerozpore repeatedly, but he refused; and at length sent them to Mood-

kee in order to satisfy their demands, and get rid of their importunity.

His excuse for not attacking that insulated post, was, that he wanted to fight the Commander-in-chief, and considered any one else as below his notice!! Others asserted that his forbearance arose from the supposition that the cantonments had been filled with mines, since the desertion of them by the British.

Whatever the real cause may have been, it was Fortunate not-
attacked. most fortunate that the Sikh army on crossing the Sutlej did not march on Feerozpoore; for the least they could have done, would be to burn the barracks and officers' bungalows, and plunder the bazaars. Great consternation prevailed among the inhabitants of the city, which would have fallen an easy prey to the Sikhs, and become the scene of pillage and outrage; for which the Khalsas, and particularly the Ukhalies, have been always so celebrated. Had Runjeet Singh been ruler of the Punjab at the time of the Sikh invasion, his first act on crossing the Sutlej would have been to send the Ukhalies to burn and pillage every town and village belonging to the British or under their protection; and it is unaccountable why this mode of proceeding was neglected. We are almost tempted to believe that the Sikh leaders wished to keep their troops together, in order that the British might have a full and fair opportunity of destroying them! The Sirdar Lal Singh left Lahore unwillingly, and no doubt wished to get back as speedily as possible;

and had he scattered his troops about the country, thus allowing them to be beaten in succession, the war would be much longer delayed than suited his views or assorted with his wishes.

Probable issue of the approaching battle.

It was calculated that when once the Commander-in-chief should reach Moodkee, Feerozpoore would be comparatively safe; for the 19th December would have seen the army of the Sutlej encamped at the place, or at least in a position, where the Feerozpoore force could easily and safely join it. The result of the battle at Moodkee, and the entrenchment at Feerozshuhur, rendered a march to Feerozpoore uncalled for; but it formed an admirable place to fall back on should any reverse take place; which no one, however, dreamt of, except a few who considered that the force at the Commander-in-chief's disposal could not do more than it achieved at Moodkee, and that the Sikhs in full force, and with an immense artillery, were fearful odds against the British army, possessing so few guns of any large size.

Feeling of the Mussulmen towards the Sikhs.

The hour, however, was approaching which would decide the point whether the Sikhs were to beat their enemy, and force their way to Delhi, Benares, and Calcutta; in other words, to become masters of India, or be again forced to fall back on the Sutlej, and recross the river which they had now traversed with such buoyant hopes and insolent arrogance. Before leaving Lahore, the Khalsas had taken care to impress the Mussulman portion of the inhabitants with their objects; and

though the faithful dared not oppose them, their thoughts and wishes on the subject would not have responded to those of a people whom they thoroughly detested, and who they conceived had at length sought a foe who would level their pride, and probably subdue their kingdom. The Mussulmans of the Punjab disliked the despotic and arbitrary sway of the Sikhs; they could not forget that in former times they had been rulers at Lahore, and that their great Emperor Akhber treated the poor Gooroo kindly, as a harmless creature who could never be supposed by his words or acts to give any cause of offence. They had daily before their eyes the minarets of Jehangeer's tomb across the Ravee; in short, they rejoiced at the coming struggle, which would once more enable them to offer up their prayers, and follow all the pomp and show of their religion under the British sway, which never interferes with any faith, but allows to all the benefit of perfect freedom in religious matters, regardless of whether it be the idolatry of the Hindoo, or the fanaticism of the bigoted Mussulman.

Though the Sikhs were thus disliked by the Mussulmans, several of the latter were in high employ in the Sikh army, as well as in affairs relating to the state. A Mussulman was at the head of their artillery; and their best gunners were of the same sect; this accounts readily for the generous bearing towards Lieutenant Biddulph by the Sikh artillery. They were not fighting for their country, like the Sikhs; they were mere mercenary

Their fidelity
to their em-
ployers.

Military spirit
of the Goork-
has.

soldiers, and though true and faithful servants, they could well afford to be generous to a nation whose cause they prayed for the success of, although obliged to aid the very people whom they wished from motives of religion to see overthrown. It has always been remarked of our Mussulmen servants, that they never prove unfaithful, when well treated and regularly paid; and in the contest between the Sikhs and British, the opposing combatants might each number men related by blood and united by the ties of one religion. This remark applies still more strikingly to the hill-men or Goorkhas; many of these were in the Sikh service, while two battalions of the same "little brave fellows" composed a portion of the British army during the campaign. Yet on either side they were the same resolute, daring soldiers, disregarding "kith or kin" in their strenuous endeavours to fulfil their duty to their respective employers, though fighting perhaps against their nearest and dearest relatives. These hill-men had been ordered to the plains on the first breaking out of the war, and did good service in every action in which they were engaged. So much did they please the Commander-in-chief, that it was resolved to raise more regiments of these hill-men, and their pensions were increased to the same scale as those granted to the Native soldiers of the line. When it was proposed to send them to the newly acquired Doab, they gave their willing consent, though from their having their huts and families at Deyrah and Futog,

they no doubt preferred returning to those two places, and which they were allowed to do. On the line of march in the plains of India, the Goorkhas are unable to take the long stride of the Hindoo and Mussulman soldier, but for energy, bravery, and a love of fighting they are a match for any Native troops, and look on the latter as even inferior to them. Their habits are more congenial to those of the European soldier, with whom they prefer to associate; and on joining the Army of the Sutlej, the Sirmoor battalion, it is said, requested to be brigaded with the 1st European light infantry, and accordingly joined the 4th brigade before the battle of Sobraon, where their gallant conduct elicited the admiration of the Commander-in-chief, who resolved to encourage them by every means in his power, by raising new hill corps, and increasing their allowances, so as to place them on an equal footing with those of the line.

Their partiality for the European soldiers.

We have probably given too high an estimate of the British force, and too small a one of the Sikh when prepared to oppose each other on the 21st December at Feerozshuhur; but a common fault in estimating the results of a victory is for each side to underrate its own strength, if beaten, and, from the same motives, to overrate that of the victorious army. This false estimate has pervaded the records of all warfare, ancient and modern; so that it is impossible to arrive at anything approaching a correct idea of numbers from written accounts. If this be difficult as regards European warfare, the

Difficulty of forming an exact estimate of the strength of armies.

Strength of
the Sikh Army
in the time of
Runjeet
Singh.

Additions
since made.

Runjeet
Singh's
opinion of his
regular troops.

task becomes much more so, when we endeavour to calculate the hordes of the East. In the time of Runjeet Singh, we ourselves saw the book in which he kept a correct list of his regular or Aeen troops; and in 1835 these amounted to thirty-five regiments of infantry of a 1000 men each; while the regular cavalry or Ghorchurras numbered 15,000 men. Great additions have no doubt been made since that time to both branches; but in estimating the regular troops at so low a rate, it must be recollected, that the Sikh force consisted of an immense number of irregular regiments, both cavalry and infantry, under the command of Sardars, who disciplined them and brought them into action at their own expense. With such a resource as this at command, the number of men comprising the Sikh army when it resolved to cross the Sutlej was incalculable. There might have been 70,000 infantry and half that number of cavalry; but with the exception of the Aeen or regular troops, much opposition could not have been expected against the British disciplined troops, either European or Native. The opinion of Runjeet Singh himself was, that his regular troops were equal to any in the world; he had probably been told by the French officers in his service, that they were a match for their own countrymen, and as a matter of course equal, if not superior to the British, whom the Maharajah had been industriously made to believe had been beaten by the French, and hence were inferior to the latter! We have had frequent opportunities of discussing

this knotty point with Runjeet Singh, and though unwilling to flatly contradict an assertion supported by those who might have some object in view in advancing it, we merely referred him to the battles in the Peninsula, where the two nations had measured arms with each other. This excited his curiosity, and he was most anxious to ascertain the merits of the case, and asked in what book he could find information. We referred him to Napier's celebrated work, and even promised to make, or get a translation of it made, into the Oordoo or Persian language, for his express use. The idea pleased him, and with that energy which marked the character of this wonderful man, he insisted that the book should be sent for immediately! His state of health and impaired strength at that period, forbade any hopes of his ever regaining either, and the subject was lost sight of. Notwithstanding his belief in the superiority of the Khalsa troops, he never once hinted that they were a match for the "*Ungrez Buhadoor*," or the "warlike English," as he was always wont to style the British soldiers; he said he had heard of the latter performing extraordinary long marches for a succession of days, weeks, and months, and yet when called upon to fight, entering the field with as much freshness and courage as they would have exhibited had they had no previous heavy marches. He doubted if the Khalsas would be able to accomplish such a feat, and asked our opinion on the subject. We corroborated what he had heard from other European officers who

Anxious to know the comparative merits of the British and French soldier.

His high opinion of the former.

had visited his court, but left it doubtful if the Sikhs had physical strength for such exertion. It must be honestly confessed, however, that the Sikh soldiery have remarkable pedestrian powers, and these have obtained for them the cognomen of "iron legs." The distance between Lahore and Umritsar backwards and forwards, nearly sixty miles, is often travelled over by a Sikh during a single night.

The Sikhs celebrated for walking.

Runjeet Singh wishes to know the comparative merits of the Sikh and Affghan soldier.

With a view of ascertaining our sentiments regarding the comparative merits of the Sikhs and Affghans, the Maharajah, after showing us the list of his regular troops, inquired how many of the troops of Dost Mohummud five and thirty thousand of his were likely to vanquish? We replied, that considering the superior discipline of the Khalsa in the knowledge of European tactics, they might beat double their number. The answer fell below the estimate of his Sirdars, for they shouted out "More, more, a lakh!"—or one hundred thousand. The Maharajah silenced them, and said we had given a very fair reply. This high opinion of their own strength and bravery has always been inherent in the Sikh tribe, since it was first formed into a warlike nation by Gooroo Govind. By his tenets, every Sikh or Singh is enjoined to carry a sword; the whole business of his life is declared to be war; no other trade or occupation must engage his attention. Thus fighting upon religious principles, it is not to be wondered at, that after the battles of Moodkee and Feerozshuhur, and even after Sobraon and

The cause which renders the Sikh soldier so warlike and disorderly.

Allewal, though defeated in one and all, the Sikhs persevered in shewing a front: they were bound by the obligations of their faith never to lay down their sword but with their lives. This spirit will account for the obstinate opposition of the Sikh soldiers to the wishes of the Ranee, and even many of the Sirdars themselves. In the struggles with other oriental states, one complete victory on the part of the British generally decided the fate of the Native power, because the troops of the latter gave their services for hire, and were animated by no other principle than that which governs the mercenary in all countries. When conquered therefore, they sought peace at the hands of the victors; and when no longer required, laid aside their swords and supported themselves by following the arts of peace; in short, war with them was a matter of necessity, not of choice; and if they ceased to be soldiers they infringed none of the rules of their religion. Even upon the slaughter sustained by the Sikhs at Sobraon, and when thousands of them covered the ground, or found a watery grave in the Sutlej, those that escaped were as ready and determined to fight as if victory had crowned with success their former endeavours.

Not operating
on other ori-
ental nations.

Sikhs regard-
less of
reverses.

Overlooking this important feature in the character of the Sikhs, many of the English believed that their army would not fight on the 21st December, and various conjectures on the subject became the theme of conversation during the march. Others thought the Sikh resistance would be feeble, and

Erroneous es-
timate of the
resistance to
be expected
from the
Sikhs.

that they might calculate with certainty on eating their dinner at Feerozpoore, or on the bank of the Sutlej; nay, it was a mooted point, whether they might not be on the right bank of the Sutlej on the same day, and the Sikhs in full retreat upon Umritsir and Lahore. An officer who for some time had held in his hands the direction of the British affairs, as connected with the Lahore government, was of a different opinion from the rest as regarded the warlike purposes of the Sikhs, and the writer of these pages heard Major Broadfoot on the morning of the 20th, when addressing some officers, thus give his opinion, "You may be prepared for one other desperate fight at least." His words were destined to be verified to a further extent than even he had anticipated, and this energetic and gallant soldier was doomed to fall in the very struggle which he predicted would take place.

Opinion entertained by Major Broadfoot on the subject.

Major Broadfoot had been selected by Lord Ellenborough to fill an important post in the Tenasserim district or province; but when Colonel Richmond, chargé d'affaires in the Punjab, was transferred to the residency of Lucknow, the Major was appointed his successor. The military reputation he had acquired in Affghanistan was of the highest order; there, in the rough defiles and precipitous heights of the Khyber Pass, was he to be seen, ever foremost in the struggle; no danger or difficulty ever arrested his progress in his eager desire to assert the interests and honour of his country. He was the admiration of all, and some-

His high military character.

times incurred blame for a determined courage and impetuosity which hurried him to places where, according to rules and orders, his presence was not expected. Lord Ellenborough was one of those statesmen who paid the highest tribute to bravery and daring; though not a soldier himself, he could appreciate the qualities of one, and he mingled in the battle strife at Punneeah with a zeal and courage which proved that had he been bred a warrior, his career would probably have been as glorious in the field as his talents and energy had rendered him eminent in the cabinet. Both Major Broadfoot and Colonel Richmond had been selected for office by Lord Ellenborough on account of their bravery and military skill only, since neither the one nor the other possessed a knowledge of the people with whom they had now to mingle in affairs of a political nature. Colonel Richmond had not even the necessary acquaintance with the language used in the correspondence with Native states. His high employment consequently became irksome to him; he was sensible of the disadvantage under which he laboured, and the anxiety of his mind preying upon his body, he prudently removed to another sphere of action, and eventually sought in the invigorating breezes of the sea, that health which he could neither hope to regain nor enjoy amidst the harassing duties necessarily imposed upon him by his political trust. Broadfoot, on the other hand, was perfectly conversant with the language of the Punjabees,

His political character.

but he could not have had opportunities of studying the policy and character of the Sikhs, equal to those enjoyed by Sir Claudius Wade, Captain Mackeson, Cunningham, and others. It is impossible for those who were not in the secrets of government to blame or praise Broadfoot's acts during the present struggles. If he estimated the Sikh character by the standard of other people of the east with whom he had come in contact, and who, viewing the British government as omnipotent, gave no cause for alarm, and led it to neglect the proper means for resisting invasion; then it must be admitted he was not the person capable of filling the post conferred upon him. If, on the other hand, he gave early warning of the consequences likely to follow the anarchy and confusion consequent on the weakness of the Lahore government, and its inability to control its own subjects; we may lament the futility of his efforts to preserve the friendly alliance first formed between Runjeet Singh and the British in 1809; but we surely cannot blame him for any want of foresight.

Importance
of Captain
Nicolson's ap-
pointment.

United with Broadfoot in the management of Sikh affairs were Major Leech, Captains Mills, Nicolson, Cunningham, and Abbot. Perhaps the most important of these appointments was the one held by Captain Nicolson, for he was stationed at Feeroz-pore, an isolated frontier station, and would necessarily be the first to feel the effects of any hostile disposition on the part of the Sikhs across the Sutlej. This energetic officer lost no opportunity of making

himself thoroughly acquainted with Sikh affairs and their actual position at Lahore. Though appointed to another office, he kept his place, and watched with intense interest the coming events, the progress of which he communicated to his superiors, who, it is said, acknowledged his vigilance by calling him an alarmist! How he merited this, results have shewn:—When the Khalsa troops were actually marching on the Sutlej, Captain Nicolson could not possibly mistake their intentions, nor forget his duty so far as to conceal his belief that they would soon cross the river into the British territories. His position gave him the best opportunities of receiving correct information, and if he supplied this to his superiors, and took measures for guarding against any sudden inroad on Feerozapore, he performed his duty as a faithful servant to the state. As in the case of Broadfoot, we have no means of ascertaining the real merits of the case; and Nicolson, like his superior, falling in the field, has left to others the task of doing justice to his acts. He had been trained in the political school, and his intercourse with the Affghans, and particularly with the Ameer Dost Mohummud (whom he conducted to Hindostan and again back to the left bank of the Sutlej), rendered him a man unlikely to be prematurely alarmed, or circumvented by the Sikhs.

His energy of character.

Knowledge of Native character.

It may be asked what all this political or personal discussion has to do with the battle of Feerozshuhur. Not very much perhaps; but our military readers must excuse us, if, in our endeavours to trace effects

General remarks.

to their causes, we take a view of men and matters which might at first sight appear foreign to the subject: ours is a history, and not merely a military detail, and we are therefore forced into an elucidation of all the events which have had such an important influence on the country of which this work treats. Our task is to supply those who may honour these pages by perusing them with a general knowledge of the operations of the army of the Sutlej; but even in this attempt, had we not received the valuable aid of an esteemed friend, we doubt if success would have attended the undertaking.*

To return. Whatever the conduct of the political agents may have been, or by whatever means the hostile disposition of the Sikhs had been roused which induced them to cross the Sutlej, it was proved at the battle of Moodkee, that they were far superior to any foes the British army of India had ever encountered in the field.

Present state
of the Native
portion of the
British army
as compared
with that of
former years.

We have endeavoured to shew the spirit which actuated the Khalsa troops in their attempt to spread their conquests over Hindostan; and it now seems proper to enquire, whether the Native portion of the British army was likely to have opposed a firm resistance to the Sikhs.

The victories gained in India by a Clive, an

*We trust our friend Captain Combe, will not blame us for thus acknowledging but a small portion of the valuable and never-to-be-forgotten aid we have experienced at his hands; and without which, and his persevering example, this work might never have seen the light.—*Author.*

Ochterlony, and an Adams, shewed that the Native troops of their days were, at least, a match for any power opposed to them. The men were steady, brave soldiers, obeying implicitly the orders of their European officers, between whom and the men the freest intercourse existed. The officer commanding a company knew every sipahee personally, while the commanding officer of the regiment was so associated with the interests and welfare of his men as to be looked up to with a species of filial reverence. The position of affairs is somewhat changed. The bonds which united the Native soldier to his officer have been sundered. The means whereby the former was made to look with esteem and respect on his commander no longer exist, for the independent power of the latter has been curtailed, and the sipahee is drilled and taught the mechanism of the art of war, without an attempt being made to enlist his feelings in the cause. He consequently takes but little interest in the service, and merely looks upon it as a means of present livelihood and future comfort. Many officers in the Native army do not know even the names of their *Native* officers, (the Subedars, Jemadars, &c.); and a wide chasm has separated the two classes.

Officers do not possess the same influence over the Natives as formerly.

When a dislike to any particular duty arises, it spreads throughout the whole ranks: it is in vain that the commanding officer urges his men to a sense of their obligations; they are sulky and sullen, and refuse to obey officers whom they hardly know, except by name. We need only instance the

unruly spirit which prevailed in the corps that mutinied in 1843, and which, in spite of every exertion on the part of their officers, refused to march to Scinde, until the presence of two European regiments threatened their very existence.

The state of
the mounted
branch.

No body of officers can excel in zeal and energy those of our Native army in India, but they cannot, under the present state of interference with the internal management of their regiments, calculate with certainty on those strenuous exertions and that determined courage which marked the sipahee of former times. The mounted branch of our army, called the regular cavalry, is not now composed of men sprung from a race of warriors. Many of them are persons of low caste, whose fathers and brothers are the cooks and table-attendants of the officers, and it not unfrequently happens that the latter swell the ranks of a light cavalry regiment. We look in vain for the gallant Rajpoot and high-caste Mussulman who formerly displayed such courage and daring in the hard-fought fields of Indian warfare. Their officers indeed are the same gallant men who formerly led them to the charge, emulating in every respect the European officer at the head of his countrymen, but they have not the same material to work at. How is it then, that the irregular cavalry are said to excel the regular in effectiveness? They are officered from the classes of Englishmen who command regular cavalry, but the horses of the latter are of a better stamp. The regulars have not, it is true, the same amount of

Character of
the European
officers attach-
ed to regular
cavalry.

cloth and trappings about them, and are armed with a sword intended merely for a thrust, while the irregulars are in possession of a strong heavy weapon, capable, when properly wielded, of doing great execution. Nevertheless there is another vast difference existing between the regular and irregular cavalry: the latter possess in their ranks men of high caste and family who are accompanied and followed into the field by young relatives who do their utmost to imitate them. This spirit of emulation does not exist in the regular cavalry; every man does what he considers his duty, and no more. In Affghanistan one of our regular cavalry corps refused to charge the Affghan horse, even when it was certain, from the very weight of its horses, to overthrow the enemy! The advantage of charging *en masse* has not yet been fully impressed on the Native cavalry; they still trust to their individual exertions, which, in the absence of effective weapons, can achieve but little. Could the regular Native cavalry be brought to believe that a dense and compact body of well-trained horsemen will bear down undisciplined troopers, less reliance would be placed in individual power, and the full advantage of a body of dragoons might be realized. In *some* regular Native cavalry corps a proper impression prevails (as witness the 1st Bengal regiment in Affghanistan, the 3rd at Alleewal, the 5th at Moodkee, and the 9th at Meeance) but it is far from being universal. In the battle of Moodkee, the loss in the European infantry and cavalry was great, as compared with that sustained by the Native branch of the service,

Why does irregular cavalry possess any advantage over the regular?

and we endeavoured to reconcile such a marked difference by supposing that the Sikhs took more deadly aim at the former, without for an instant doubting that both were equally exposed. The effect, however, produced on both branches of our Native army at that hard-contested fight, was somewhat to shake their courage, and it could not be denied, that, previous to the battle of Feerozshuhur, a fear prevailed that opposed to formidable batteries, our Native infantry might waver, and our regular Native cavalry shrink from charging guns, or even the squares of Sikh infantry.

The courage of our Native troops shaken by the fierce bearing of the Sikhs at Moodkee.

Such a feeling was industriously suppressed, however, if ever entertained by the Commander-in-chief and Governor-general. The Native troops marched with alacrity to Feerozshuhur, but a resistance there awaited them, which they could not have anticipated, and which certainly caused the wavering of the best troops Europe could produce. The Sikhs defended their entrenched camp with a spirit which even European intrepidity could not at once overcome, and if a less courageous bearing were manifested by the Native troops, it should be remembered that they had not acquired that contempt for an enemy, which the European entertains: their highest aim was to follow and emulate him.

The Commander-in-chief had every confidence in the Native portion of the army of the Sutlej.

When entering, therefore, the field of Feerozshuhur, some doubted whether the Native character for bravery was equal to the approaching struggle; but the hopes of all were buoyant, and it was soon to be proved to what extent the Native soldier could be trusted.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BATTLE OF FEEROZSHUHUR OR FEEROZSHAH.

WHEN last speaking of the army of the Sutlej, it had halted and formed into the order of battle. Disposition of the British army. The disposition was soon made for the coming strife. The Commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, commanded the right wing; while the left was under the command of General Sir Henry Hardinge, The Governor-general second in command. who on the previous evening, set aside his dignity of Governor-general, and volunteered his services as second in command. Sir Harry Smith commanded the 1st infantry division, consisting of the 1st and 2nd brigades; the former containing Her Majesty's 31st, 47th, and 24th regiments Native infantry, the latter Her Majesty's 50th and the 42nd and 48th regiments of Native infantry. The second infantry division fell to the lot of Major-general Gilbert, and was usually styled the centre division; it contained two brigades, numbered the 3rd and 4th; the former consisted of Her Majesty's 29th, and the 45th Native infantry with Her Majesty's

80th regiment* attached; the latter, of the 1st European light infantry and the 2nd and 16th regiments Native infantry grenadiers.

Infantry
divisions
brigades.

The 3rd infantry division devolved on Brigadier and Wallace, and was composed of Her Majesty's 9th, and the 26th and 73rd regiments Native infantry, forming the 5th brigade.

The 4th infantry division consisted of two brigades, numbered the 7th and 8th, containing exclusively the troops under Sir John Littler, and which had joined the army on the 21st. Those composing the 7th brigade were Her Majesty's 62nd, and the 12th and 14th regiments of Native infantry. The 8th contained the 33rd, 44th, and 54th regiments of Native infantry, being the only brigade without a European regiment.

Cavalry
division.

The cavalry division was composed of the regiments already mentioned, viz. Her Majesty's 3rd light dragoons, the 8th Bengal light cavalry and 9th irregular cavalry constituting the 1st brigade. The Governor-general's body guard, the 5th regiment light cavalry and 8th regiment of irregular cavalry, forming the 2nd brigade. The 4th regiment light cavalry (lancers) and 3rd regiment of irregular cavalry, constituting the 3rd brigade, and commanded by Brigadier Harriott.

Artillery divi-
sion.

The artillery division, composed of the troops

* The 11th and 41st regiments of Native infantry, which formed with Her Majesty's 80th; the 6th brigade of infantry were not present, and the 80th was accordingly attached to the 3rd in Gilbert's division.

and batteries mentioned in a former chapter, was under the command of Brigadier Brooke.

The principal objects of the army on leaving Moodkee were to effect a junction with Sir John Littler, and make an attack on the weakest part of

Attack first intended to be on the weakest point of the entrenchment.

the Sikh entrenchment; and for this latter purpose, a long detour of about sixteen miles was made; but, instead of gaining the object in view, the British, when preparing for battle, did actually front the longest and strongest side of the entrenchment, which was in the form of a parallelogram of

Nature of the latter.

about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, including within its area, the strong village of Feerozshah, the shorter sides looking towards the Sutlej and Moodkee, and the longer towards Feeroz-
pore and the open country.* The side on which the British advanced was the longer one, looking

Attack actually made on the strongest side.

towards Feerozpoore, instead of the shorter, from which the Sikhs had no doubt advanced on the 18th when attacked by the British. It is curious how such a mistake could have been made; for it is said that the position of the entrenchment had been accurately described. The side of the parallelogram looking towards Moodkee was the shorter, but perhaps the Sikhs imagined it might be more easily defended; and they were, no doubt, prepared to place their guns in position on whatever side the attack should be made. Their scouts could easily

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

Reason for this accounted for.

Sikhs prepared for the attack on either side.

put them in possession of the manner in which the British were advancing, and it may have so happened that the longer side looking towards Feeroz-pore had been previously less strongly defended, until the Sikhs became aware that it was destined to be the point of attack. In fact, the Sikhs were thoroughly acquainted with the country, and knowing by what roads the enemy could advance, were prepared for their reception. So that it mattered little whether the approach was made on the longer or shorter side, though the preparations on that fronting Feeroz-pore showed that it was considered by the Sikhs as the proper front of their position. How the British were led to believe the contrary is a question only solved by supposing that the information given on native authority must have misled them.

The British deploy into line.

Position of the horse artillery.

The reserve and second line.

“ The ground in front, like that at Moodkee, was jungley; the three divisions of the British, under the command of Major-General Gilbert, Sir John Littler, and Brigadier Wallace, deployed into line, with the whole of their artillery in their centre, except three troops of horse artillery, one on either flank, and one in support. The reserve was under Sir Harry Smith, and the cavalry, small in number, formed the second line with the brigade in reserve to cover each wing.”* The artillery were ordered to the front, and the infantry wheeled into line. After a reasonable time had been allowed for the

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

mortar practice, which it was speedily seen could never silence the Sikh guns, the artillery opened their fire, to ascertain the position of the Sikh batteries, and the latter responded at somewhat less than a mile's distance. The calibre of the British guns rendered them useless at such a distance; the artillery, therefore, advanced, protected by the whole of the infantry moving by echelon of regiments from the right at eighty paces distance. When thus several hundred yards nearer, the guns were unlimbered, and several rounds of shot fired; this was repeated until they approached within 250 or 300 yards of the enemy's batteries. "The Sikh guns could not be silenced by the British, and the infantry, therefore, advanced amidst a murderous shower of shot and grape, and captured them with matchless gallantry."^{*}

The guns open on both sides.

British artillery advances nearer and nearer.

The Sikh guns could not be silenced, and were captured by the infantry.

General Gilbert's division was completely successful in carrying the batteries, and entered the Sikh camp. But when the batteries of the Sikhs were thus apparently within the grasp of the British infantry, a fire of musketry was set up against them by the Sikhs drawn up behind their guns."† Almost the whole of General Gilbert's division passed to the right of the village of Feerozshah, which formed the centre of the enemy's position. On forcing the batteries, the infantry were exposed not only to musketry, but to a terrific explosion from a

Complete success of Gilbert's division. Enters the entrenchment and proceeds to the right and rear of Feerozshah.

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

† The Sikh infantry were lying down, and consequently fired high, killing many mounted officers.

Explosion of the great mine.
Smaller ones explode.

Sir H. Smith clears the village.

His progress arrested by the night, and the Sikhs retain a portion of their entrenchment.

Position of the hostile armies on the night of the 21st.

Harassing and dangerous position of the British infantry.

Guns and muskets fired on them.

mine formed in the rear of the guns, which blew up and did great mischief among the advancing troops : every thing was blown into the air, and for a time nothing but confusion ensued. Several smaller mines exploded, and the noise occasioned by them resembled an interrupted discharge of thunder-clouds, while the whole atmosphere over them was filled by a vast cloud of smoke, supported on a murky flame, throwing its lurid glare far and wide.

Sir Harry Smith entered the village of Feerozshah, and cleared it. He then proceeded further into the entrenched camp, and halted in consequence of night coming on. "In spite of the indomitable bravery of the British, a portion only of the Sikh entrenchment was carried. Night fell, but still the battle raged."* General Gilbert took the 29th, 80th, and 1st European light infantry some distance to the right and rear of the village, and there halted. Thus, on the setting-in of the night of the 21st December, were the European infantry regiments placed in the enemy's camp, having captured a portion of it; while the Sikhs occupied the rest; their cavalry and infantry moving about throughout the whole night, harassing and firing on the British who were bivouacked. A large Sikh gun was brought up close to the British, and its contents discharged; but so near that the grape could not spread itself, and the men and officers thus escaped, while the chargers of the latter were

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

knocked over even when their masters were holding the rein while lying on the ground. On another occasion, while the 50th and other European soldiers and officers were lying on a tent and on the ground, a battalion of Sikhs passed and deliberately fired into the midst of them! but strange to say, with little or no effect! This was a fearful position to be in, and from the intervals between the European infantry regiments and the Native brigades with them, being left vacant, there was no possibility of forming a line, or acting in concert; portions of one regiment got mixed up with more of another in the entrenchment, and in the darkness of night, could not regain their respective positions. If a regiment had attempted to move right or left in search of another, the Sikh guns were sure to be directed to the spot; and where the 50th bivouacked, Sir Harry Smith, with admirable prudence, forbade a shot to be fired in return for any that might be directed against his position. The white covers were taken off the caps, which served as marks for the enemy, and every means adopted for keeping the men out of the hostile fire. The gallant soldiers who had, at the point of bayonet, captured the batteries of the Sikhs, were thus glad to actually conceal themselves under the darkness of night. It was not flight, but as near an approach to it as can be well conceived; and no wonder if, at this time, the Governor-general of India felt the precarious position of the troops. Never in the annals of warfare in India had

Unable to form line or act in concert.

The British infantry did not return the fire.

Critical position of the British infantry.

Confidence in
their continu-
ed bravery.

matters attained such a threatening crisis. The European infantry alone could now support him, and he knew well what their daring bravery had accomplished at Plassy, Bhurtpore, and Ghuzni. In this action "the reserve was brought up by Sir Harry Smith, and seized another portion of the position, while the 3rd dragoons charged, and took some batteries; yet the Sikhs remained in position, and in possession of a considerable portion of the quadrangle."*

Her Majesty's
3rd dragoons
capture guns.

Attack on the
left not so suc-
cessful.

We see that though Gilbert's division drove everything before it, and though Sir Harry Smith followed up with equal success, yet the Sikhs persisted in keeping their position. On the left, where the Feerozpore force was engaged under the command of Sir John Littler, the fire was so terrific, that Her Majesty's 62nd regiment was unable to make good their charge and were ordered to retire; at least, this is the explanation afforded by those who ought to know best; and it does not follow that though one portion of an entrenched camp be carried, all the rest can be so. There was a half moon battery at the right corner of the Sikh position, which played with deadly effect on the 62nd, and against which they could not stand; had they formed a portion of the centre division, there is little doubt but the 62nd would have done their part well, and emulated their brave countrymen in capturing the batteries. It unfortunately happened, that Sir John Littler, in his private

Her Majesty's
62nd checked.

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

despatch, intended solely for the Commander-in-chief, used the words "panic struck" as applicable to this regiment, and attributed the irresolution on the part of the Native regiments in his division, as arising from the example of the 62nd.

The supposed effect on the Native troops.

Whether, as their own brigadier stated, the regiments had received an order from himself to retire from a position which they could not carry without the risk of being annihilated; or whether this check was a necessary consequence of the insurmountable obstacle opposed to them; the loss in men and officers attests, that the efforts of both were great, for we find that this gallant regiment had no fewer than seven officers killed and ten wounded; while among the soldiers of a weak regiment in numbers, there were 76 killed and 154 wounded, a greater number in both grades than fell to the lot of any other European regiment. Both the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief did every thing in their power to reassure the regiment that its well-known character for bravery was fully borne out, and it is to be lamented that an occurrence should have happened which could ever have rendered it a matter of doubt.*

Great loss sustained by the 62nd.

Ample testimony borne to the bravery of the 62nd.

* Since this was written, we have the Duke of Wellington's remarks on the subject, in his speech in the House of Lords. His Grace continued—"I have read with pain of one regiment to which the word 'panic' was applied, and I considered it my duty, in the position in which I am placed, to examine particularly into the circumstances. I see in the returns made, it is stated to have lost five-twelfths of its numbers, and a vast number of officers; and I have seen accounts, that in the first quarter of an hour one-

The great loss
in men and
officers attests
this.

The list of
killed and
wounded, a
good criterion
of the danger
encountered.

As a contrast to the killed of the 62nd, let us see what the list of the other five Native regiments exhibited. We find the number of casualties scarcely amounted to half that of the 62nd in rank and file; while not a single European officer belonging to the five regiments was killed; and the whole number of their wounded European officers, little more than equalled that of the 62nd regiment alone. We do not, for an instant, wish to draw any invidious comparison between the European officers of the Native army, and those of Her Majesty's service; but we may rely upon it, that the list of killed and wounded among these, is a good proof that they and their men were in a position of danger, and that both suffered equally. The fact, as regards Feerozshah, cannot be concealed. The Native infantry were not equal to the work. If it were otherwise, how came it that the capturing of the guns became the work of the European infantry and European cavalry? How did it happen, that long ere the European infantry found themselves in the entrenched camp, the Native regiments connecting them with one another had disappeared? They did not, perhaps,

third of its officers fell. I cannot question the report of the operations made by a commanding officer; but I wish this official, when he sat down to write an elaborate report of the conduct of the troops under his command, had referred to the list of killed and wounded; and if he had enquired into the loss sustained by that regiment, I believe he would have found that they were absolutely mowed down by the fire under which they were advancing."—*Duke of Wellington's speech in the House of Lords, 26th Feb. 1846.*

run away, but they did what in its effect proved much more injurious ; they hung back, lost their proper distances, and, instead of being side by side with the European soldiers, they got behind them and fired, often accidentally killing or wounding the latter. So far as the result of the battle of Feerozshuhur is concerned, it would have been far more eligible to have formed the whole European force into one line, and left the Native regiments in reserve, and at such a distance as to prevent the consequence of their ill-directed, though well-meant fire. This point may be disputed by those partial to the Native soldier ; and had it been mooted before the campaign with the Sikhs, the supposition we have advanced would have been spurned ; but facts have proved the truth and justice of our statement. It is well known, that the European officers had the greatest difficulty in getting their men to advance, and that many threatened to cut them down. On the night of the 21st, the fate of India depended on the continued bravery of the European infantry. Had the battle been commenced early in the day, and with the troops fresh, and not fatigued by a long march and want of water, the conduct of the Native troops would certainly have been far different ; and we have heard regrets uttered by even themselves, to the effect ; that they could do nothing—“ *Psiyasa aur bhook se murjata*”—“ I am dying from want of water and food,” and concluded by a downcast look and shrug of the shoulders, “ *Hum kya kurne sukta!*”—“ I am good for nothing.”

The Native infantry unequal to the task of capturing guns.

The result would have been equally successful without their co-operation, and less fatal to the European infantry.

The European officers of Native corps convinced of this.

Causes operating to produce such irresolution in the Natives.

Their own confession.

Different constitution of European and Native soldiers, and its effect.

Beneficial effect of a small portion of spirit on the European.

Causes assigned capable of proof.

Not advisable to try the courage of the Native soldier under privation.

Those who do not know the Native character may smile at our endeavours to extenuate their want of a combative spirit, but with those who know how incompetent a Native is to do anything without his water and food, the excuse will go far to prove, that we have not attached too much weight to these circumstances. A Native knows none of the stimulating and exciting effects of wine, beer, or spirits. The European soldier can exist, it is true, without either, and be a robust, courageous individual; but the energy of the Native is paralysed when he cannot procure water; his physical strength and courage give way in its absence. A European soldier, on the other hand, suffering from thirst, finds a mouthful of rum sufficient to quench it more effectually than perhaps a gallon of water, and this was verified on the night of the 21st, at Feerozshuhur. Those who were dying of thirst, and loathed the taste or even the smell of the soldiers' rum, were speedily obliged to own its magical effect, in moistening their parched lips, and restoring the energy of mind and body. Fortunately, the causes which we have assigned for the apparent want of spirit and purpose, on the part of the Native soldier, were afterwards tested at Sobraon, where many Native corps charged side by side with the European regiments, and with a gallantry equal to that of their brethren in arms. This, it is hoped, will act as a warning to commanders in all future battles, not to call upon the sipahee to fight on an empty stomach. So well are

the Sikhs aware of the baneful effects of such privations on the Natives of British India, that in all their wars, they have invariably endeavoured to entrench themselves in a position where water is scanty; and the tact which Gooroo Govind exhibited when fighting against the Mussulmans, at Moogutsir, in the desert of the Hissar district, was as strong a case in point as that furnished by the Kulsa troops, in 1845, under Lal Sing and Tej Singh. Though far outnumbering the army of the Gooroo, the Sikhs got possession of the only water then procurable, and the Mussulmans consequently fled, and many died.

The Sikhs always take advantage of privation on the part of their opponents.

We must now give an account of the renewed battle between the British and Sikh armies on the 22nd December; but before doing so, an instance of the bravery of the European infantry, given in the Commander-in-chief's despatch, may be here introduced, more particularly as the Governor-general himself makes a conspicuous figure in the narration. In Sir Henry Hardinge's offer to assume the post of second in command, Sir Hugh Gough could not but admire the spirit of so experienced and gallant an officer as Sir Henry; but at the same time, he could not be insensible to the risk incurred in exposing the life of the Governor-general. Politicians may blame Sir Henry's devotion, yet all must admire the intrepid spirit which thus risked every thing in the wish to vanquish an enemy who appeared determined to wrest from Sir Henry the country which he governed. If Sir

Heroic behaviour of Sir Henry Hardinge.

Precarious condition of the British.

Henry Hardinge had been thus anxious for the result on the 20th December, what must have been his feelings when he found himself in the Sikh entrenched camp (not master of it) with the European soldiers who had gained the portion they held at the point of the bayonet? Delivering his watch and star to his son's care, he showed that he was determined to leave the field a victor, or die in the struggle! When the eventual completion of the victory enabled him to send home his despatches, little could the people of England imagine what had been the situation of the Governor-general; a functionary with whose position they associate the idea of every luxury and comfort. Exposed in the Sikh entrenchment, sharing the privations of the lowest European soldier, his mind suffering pangs unknown to them, with the fate of India hanging on the doubtful issue of the morrow—it was a situation to which that of our Henry the Fifth at Agincourt could alone offer a parallel. The European troops lay bivouacked, exposed to the musketry of the Sikh battalion, daring not to move or return a shot! Nothing but the hand of Providence appeared capable of deciding the action in favour of the British. Their situation during the night was miserable enough; but this might have been borne with cheerfulness, if any ray of hope could have been expected to dawn on them with the coming day. The enemy, still numerous, had guns at their command, though a great many had been captured. The British guns were ineffective,

from the expenditure of all the ammunition. The computation of events was most disheartening. Even if the infantry could be formed into line with the light of day, there was no gun to defend their advance, and no cavalry capable of completing any advantage they might gain. On the other hand, the Sikh force was numerous, and their strength in cavalry incalculable; with such advantages on their side, nothing could be expected but a fierce renewal of the fight.

“ The Sikhs during the night remained in position, and in possession of a considerable portion of the quadrangle. The British kept possession of the rest and bivouacked, their ranks greatly thinned and exhausted by their arduous efforts, but above all by the want of water. In the middle of the night a large Sikh gun was advanced, and played with deadly effect upon the British. To silence this formidable cannon, Sir Henry Hardinge formed Her Majesty’s 80th and the 1st European light infantry, and “ the gun was captured by as brave a charge as there is on record.”* The incessant booming of the gun here alluded to was heard during the stillness of night, and though numerous parties of Native infantry and cavalry were seen on the road leading to Feerozpore, it was evident the battle still raged, and the Sikhs maintained their position. The shells aimed at the British infantry often found their way to the interval which sepa-

Large Sikh
gun taken by
Sir Henry
Hardinge.

* The Commander-in-chief’s despatches.

Little impression by the Sikh shells.

A cavalry regiment ordered off the field.

Want of cavalry in the British force.

Imperfect arrangements in the medical department.

rated the latter from the cavalry ; but from their bursting high, little mischief was done to those in the vicinity. It was during the night of the 21st that the 8th light cavalry were ordered off the field to Feerozpoore. This was done by an officer in the Adjutant-general's department ; and at a time when the British were weak in this branch, the withdrawing of even one regiment was a serious mistake. What the object of this movement was, if there really were any, it is difficult to divine, but the officer commanding the regiment thought it was necessary for him to obey the order he received, and weakness was the result. The want of a sufficient force of cavalry was severely felt at Moodkee, and where thirty thousand Ghorchurras were waiting to charge, the loss of even one cavalry regiment was likely to be serious at Feerozshuhur. So sensible was Sir Henry Hardinge of his deficiency of cavalry, particularly of European cavalry, that he is reported to have said "he would give half a lakh of rupees that Her Majesty's 16th lancers should arrive."

During the night of the 21st many a poor wounded European soldier found his way to the rear in search of medical aid, but the arrangement for affording it was very incomplete, excepting through the efforts of the regimental surgeons, who did everything in their power with the means at their command. As for the field hospital, it had no existence. True, a field surgeon had been appointed and a superintending surgeon also, but both officers remained behind at Moodkee with the

wounded. So confidently had the opinion been entertained that the Sikhs would not offer resistance, that it was deemed unnecessary to make any arrangements for a field hospital. There were no medical stores or surgical instruments on the field, except those attached to regimental hospitals; and the hurry of the movements prevented any sufficient supply from being obtained without great delay. It was, to say the least, an anomalous event that the "field surgeon" should have been fifteen or sixteen miles from the field! but so it was; not that his presence could have effected much without the requisite supply of medical stores and instruments; and the fault of not possessing these did not rest with him, for there was no possibility of obtaining them from the depôts owing to their great distance. The writer of this work had recommended a depôt for medical stores being formed at Kurnaul, to meet any sudden demand which the hostile appearance of the Sikhs might render necessary.* He likewise advised the appointment of a superintending surgeon at Feerozpoore; but such recommendations coming from an humble individual could not be expected to meet the eye of superior authority, and had they been offered in a more direct manner, the probable result would have been a reprimand, to the effect, "that the adviser had better confine himself to his own duty."

Medical depôts too great a distance from the frontier.

Suggestion on the subject.

These observations may appear foreign to the

* Medical and Literary Journal for January 1845.

Importance of
medical
arrangements
in the field.

subject, but there is surely no more important point connected with the efficiency and welfare of an army, than the medical provision for the gallant soldier who is wounded in the defence of his country; and the energetic measures adopted by the Governor-general, after the battle of Feerozshuhur, clearly proved that he was determined to save no expense or trouble in providing for the wants of the sufferers, both European and Native. But in a campaign commencing so suddenly as the present did, the attention of the ruler of the land is necessarily directed to the means available for opposing or attacking an enemy; and it is only when the cannon and musket have done their work, that arrangements for the care of the wounded men are forced on his attention. We will return to this subject; meanwhile we proceed to the renewal of the battle of Feerozshuhur on the morning of the 22nd.

Battle renewed on the
22nd.

“The British infantry formed into a line, supported on both flanks by the horse artillery, while the fire was opened from the centre by a few heavy guns and a few flights of rockets sent among the Sikhs. But on these a masked battery of the Sikhs played with great effect, dismounting the British guns and blowing up their tumbrils.”* We were assured by the horse artillery-men, that they had never witnessed any thing so terrific as the effect of the Sikh guns on theirs, which they described as being actually blown into the air!

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

It was evident that the battle must be won by the British infantry, the Governor-general as second in command having placed himself at the head of the left, while the Commander-in-chief occupied a similar post on the right.

“ The line advanced unchecked and drove the Sikhs out of the village of Feerozshah, as well as their encampment ; then changing front to its left on its centre, the force continued to sweep the Sikh camp and dislodged the enemy from their whole position. The British captured seventy-eight pieces of cannon and were masters of the field ; but Tej Singh brought up fresh battalions and a large field of artillery, supported by 30,000 Ghorchurras which had been kept as a reserve near the river.”* This immense force in Cavalry had occupied the ground about Sultan-Khan-Wala, where there was also a supply of five thousand maunds of gunpowder afterwards seized and destroyed by the British. What a contrast between this immense quantity of gunpowder, and the miserable supply on the part of the British ! The small force constituting the British cavalry could not withstand such a multitude of foes. The despatch continues,—“ he drove in the British cavalry, and made strenuous efforts to regain his original position, but was unable to effect his object. Still the Sirdar renewed the contest by a combined attack on the left flank of the British, which compelled

Tej Singh
brings up
fresh batta-
lions and
Ghorchurras.

British cavalry
driven back.

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

The British
army obliged
to change its
front.
Their artillery
useless.

them to change their whole front to the right, his guns playing with great effect, while those of the British were rendered useless from want of ammunition, the whole of which had been expended and could not return a single shot."

Reflections.

What a position for the British! Ever the boast of the nation, and the dread of her foes, their cannon were now useless! The guns could not be taken, it is true, as those of the Sikhs had been, but of themselves they were helpless, and saved alone by the indomitable spirit and courage of the British infantry.

Advantage of
the Sikhs
counter-
balanced by
the British
infantry.

With an overwhelming cavalry, guns well served, and plenty of ammunition on the one side, and a handful of European infantry, without a single gun, and a few regiments only of cavalry on the other; what result could have been anticipated but that victory must decide in favour of the former? But the opposing foe was the British infantry, who had seized the guns at the point of the bayonet. The formidable cannon was no match for them, though, in all warfare, its power has been allowed. The Sikhs felt convinced, that with their numerous guns, they were invincible; and Tej Singh therefore determined to contest the battle to the utmost. He had driven back the British cavalry; his guns were causing great destruction; the British, reduced in numbers and suffering from fatigue, had no guns to oppose him; yet with all these available resources, "an attack was now made on the Sirdar, by the British infantry supported on the flanks by

Tej Singh's
determination
to continue
the contest.

the cavalry. The Sikhs ceased their firing and abandoned the field." Is driven off the field.

Thus terminated the hard-contested fight of Feerozshah, which, but for the indomitable bravery of the British infantry, must have been gained by the Sikhs. The victory gained by the British infantry.

The British, from the first, had no guns capable of silencing those of the Sikhs; and even those they did possess were rendered useless for want of ammunition, a proof that they had done their duty while means were at their disposal. We can never forget the look of disappointment so vividly depicted on the faces of the brave artillery-men when they turned their horses' heads from the field on which they had so nobly acted their part. Dire necessity compelled them to withdraw from a contest where they could no longer be of use, and this at a moment when the British infantry had so many thousand cavalry threatening their very existence. Gallant bearing of the British artillery.

The British cavalry were driven back by Tej Singh. The few regiments of regular and irregular cavalry composing the former, though having before them the daring and intrepid 3rd dragoons, were appalled at the sight of the almost numberless horses of Sikh Ghorchurras, and it was in vain to attempt the charge. The British infantry, therefore, formed into line with the cavalry on its flanks, determined to drive the combined force of Tej Singh off the field. Already, as we have said, had the cavalry been driven back, and the entire mass The British cavalry unequal to the charge. Determined and fierce charge of the British infantry.

of living beings which crowds the rear of an army was in flight to Feerozpore. The whole ground between Feerozshuhur and the latter place appeared, indeed, covered with men; some running, others looking behind them with terror depicted in their faces, the dread of the Sikhs at their heels almost depriving them of the power of motion. The latter effect, amounting to paralysis, when certain death seems inevitable, is not unfrequently witnessed on the field of battle; and a gallant field-officer related his own case at Feerozshuhur, when in front of the enemy's guns—He saw the gunner apply his match three successive times, but without effect. The sight of instant destruction so absorbed his attention, however, that he stood for the moment unable to move to either side to avoid the shot. He was rooted to the spot by some indescribable fascination. When the panic spread to the rear of the army, the bearers of the doolies threw down the wounded men, and fled. No threat could induce them to remain, and to add to the confusion, the doolies containing the surgical instruments were in many instance deserted and upset. The ground was strewed with bedding and other clothing, and the wounded men were left on the road with little power or prospect of reaching Feerozpore before the darkness of night overtook them.

The bearers
desert the
wounded.

• Their miser-
able prospect.

Fortunately Feerozpore was not more than eight or nine miles from the scene of action, and the authorities there, in the commissariat and executive

departments, used their utmost endeavours to bring in the wounded. All the men who arrived were forthwith put into the entrenched camp, and the doolies sent back for more; elephants, carts, &c., were put in requisition, and during the whole night of the 22nd, the wounded were being brought in, or found their way on foot in a state of dreadful exhaustion from pain, loss of blood, and want of food and water. Every available place in this entrenchment was filled with wounded men calling loudly for assistance, but little could be afforded until morning. The writer had an opportunity, on the morning of the 23rd, of witnessing the lamentable condition of the brave European soldier who had bled for his country's cause, now imploring in vain for a mouthful of water. As it was impossible to accommodate the numerous cases belonging to the European regiments in such a confined place, we suggested the propriety of getting a range of barracks for the wounded of each corps. The suggestion was acted upon by the senior medical staff present, and in a few hours carts were procured, and the men sent to the vacant barracks of Her Majesty's 62nd regiment. By noon they were all in their own quarters; and quilts and cots furnished in abundance; in fact, it was almost incredible how the commissariat and executive departments could supply so much comfort in such a short space of time. The wounded owe much to the unwearied efforts of Captain W. B. Thomson and Lieutenant Goodwyn (who responded to every

Exertions made to convey them to Feroozpore.

Proposal for accommodating the wounded.

Kindness of
the Governor-
general to the
wounded.

call) for their comparatively snug condition on the 23rd and 24th, and it was a gratifying sight to the Governor-general when he visited them to find so much comfort where he anticipated so little. He generously gave strict orders, that every thing required should be supplied ; and without the usual formality of an indent. Sir Henry Hardinge visited all the wounded men and officers, and had a cheerful word for all. If a poor man had lost an arm, the Governor-general consoled him by pointing to his own sleeve, and assuring him he would soon be all right. The men were delighted at the urbanity and kindness shown towards them by the Governor-general of India, and for a time forgot their own sufferings in the admiration which his kindness elicited. Nothing is at any time more gratifying to the wounded than attention from the humblest individual, but when the Governor-general thus deigned to comfort and address them, their hearts were filled with sentiments of gratitude and esteem. The Commander-in-chief, whose arduous military duties did not allow him to visit the wounded at Ferozpoore for some days later, did every thing in his power to cheer the men ; he praised their undaunted bravery in one of the hardest battles ever fought in India, and though the casualties in killed and wounded had been heavy, he was grateful that Providence had enabled him to conquer a proud and fierce foe, and thus sustain the honour and courage of the British soldier. He spoke to all and listened to all, their every want and every wish found in him a

Kindness of
the Com-
mander-in-
chief.

chief eager and willing to remove the one and gratify the other.

The Governor-general took immediate measures for having all those who had lost limbs, or whose wounds rendered them unfit for service, conveyed to Europe as soon as they could be safely moved. He visited the wounded again and again, and watched over their welfare with a solicitude that could not have been surpassed had his own children been the objects of his attention.

Measures adopted for conveying the wounded who had lost limbs to Europe.

Such details may be considered uninteresting to the general reader, but the discipline and efficiency of an army, its endurance under the severest deprivations, its determined efforts to support the honour of the Nation, are not to be fully attained without a careful watch over the soldier's wants and a generous attention to his sufferings: of this fact the noble commanders at Feerozshah proved they were fully sensible.

Beneficial consequences of such kindness and attention.

A battle so desperately contested on the part of the Sikhs, must necessarily have been attended with a great loss in killed and wounded. It is impossible to arrive at any thing like accuracy on this point, as regards the enemy. Their artillerymen stood manfully to their guns, and the greater part of them must have fallen. The British lost upwards of 2,000 in killed and wounded, including thirty-seven officers among the former, and double that number wounded, several of whom afterwards died. Adding this loss to that sustained at Mood-kee on the 18th December, the total in killed and

The killed and wounded necessarily great.

British loss.

Computed loss on both sides.

wounded will amount to three thousand and upwards. The loss on the part of the Sikhs was computed at four times that number, but it is impossible to arrive at any certainty on this point, since many who had been missing, and were supposed killed, afterwards found their way to their homes.

Number of
guns captured.

The guns captured from the Sikhs at Feerozshuhur, and placed in the entrenched camp at Feerozshuhur, amounted to seventy-three, making with those taken at Moodkee, a total of eighty-eight, but several were thrown into wells by the Sikhs themselves, and others though in the possession of the British were not spiked. The loss of the enemy in guns was, therefore, probably little short of one hundred.

Sikh guns of
heavier metal
than the
British.

An inspection of the guns captured from the Sikhs, proved that they were heavier in metal than those of a similar calibre with the Bengal army, and "the whole were well fitted for post guns."*

Sikh artillery
the only effi-
cient arm of
their force.

It was found at Feerozshuhur, that the Sikh artillery was the only arm which had any chance against the British, deficient as the latter were in this important implement of war.

Greatest loss
sustained from
grape and
cannon shot.

At the battle of Feerozshuhur, the great loss sustained by the British arose from grape shot; though the Sikh musketry did, no doubt, great mischief. The loss on the part of the Sikhs from the British musketry, however, must have been great, as the men fired without raising the musket

* Warner's return of captured guns.

above the hip, whereas the Sikh infantry lay down, and their shot passed over the heads of their opponents excepting when it came in contact with a mounted officer or his horse.

But though the European infantry thus escaped the musket shot of the Sikhs, it must not be concealed that they suffered from that of the Native infantry in the rear, when endeavouring to thread their way through the entrenchment. This unfortunate occurrence could hardly have been prevented, unless the sipahees had fired their muskets in the air. A Native soldier with a loaded musket fires to his front; and as, unluckily in many instances, the Native infantry got in the rear of the European soldiers, the effect may be imagined. The young officer* who carried one of the colours of the 1st European light infantry, was thus *riddled* by a volley of musketry from the rear, just at the moment when he was congratulating himself on having escaped unscathed into the entrenchment. As we have remarked in a former place, it would have been more eligible to form the whole of the European infantry in one line, and keep the Native in reserve.

Unfortunate loss from Native musketry.

A striking instance of it.

Proposal for avoiding this.

Several mounted officers were killed at Feerozshuhur; among the rest the gallant Major Somerset, Military Secretary to the Governor-general. When the army was drawn up in line to prepare for the engagement, this officer was conspicuous,

Death of Major Somerset.

* Ensign Moxon.

mounted on a black steed, and elicited by his noble bearing the admiration of all. On the morning of the 22nd he was borne to the rear mortally wounded, "while conducting himself with the hereditary courage of his race."*

Major Broadfoot killed.

Major Broadfoot, the political agent, also fell. He was first thrown from his horse by a shot, and the Governor-general failed in his endeavours to make him leave the field. "He was as brave as he was able in every branch of the political and military service."†

High eulogium by Sir H. Hardinge.

Captain Nicholson killed.

Captain P. Nicholson was also doomed to fall at Feerozshuhur on the 21st, where he received a mortal wound through the chest, of which he died before reaching Feerozpoore, the scene of all his active labours.

All the political officers either killed or wounded.

With the exception of Captain Mills, who took the command of a troop of horse artillery, all the political agents were either killed or wounded in this fierce struggle, shewing by their death and example, that though employed in diplomacy the daring bravery of the British soldier had been in no way diminished.

Prince Waldemar's surgeon killed.

Among those who shared in the dangers of this battle, were Prince Waldemar of Prussia, and his staff Counts Grueben and Oriolo, and Doctor Hoffmeister; the last officer was unfortunately killed by a grape shot, or as one of the Prussian gentlemen expressed it, "by a mouthful of grapes!"

* Sir Henry Hardinge's despatch.

† Idem.

Prince Waldemar left the field at the request of the Governor-general, who was unwilling that a foreign prince should be further subject to the risk of losing his life. The issue of the battle was not then decided, but fortunately the prince returned to Feerozpoore, and had the satisfaction of knowing, that though the British had a fierce foe to contend with, victory had decided for them.

Colonel Wallace, who commanded a division, was also killed by a cannon shot at a time when the enemy's guns were playing with deadly effect on the morning of the 22nd. Colonel Wallace killed by a cannon shot.

Among the first who fell on the 21st December was Captain Thomas Box, of the 1st European light infantry, as brave a soldier as ever entered the field of battle, which indeed might emphatically be said to have been his true sphere of action; his gallant bearing was acknowledged by all, and his conduct at Kooner, in Affghanistan, will not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed it. He was, to use a common expression, "a soldier every inch of him," and he bravely died the death of a soldier, while cheering on his gallant men. He was universally beloved by men and officers, and his death left a blank in the regiment which cannot be easily filled up. Death of Captain Box.

Captain D'Arcy Todd, whose escape from Herat will be in the recollection of many readers, had his head carried away by a cannon shot, while with his troop of horse artillery. Like many others, he had a presentiment that he would be killed in action. Death of Captain Todd.

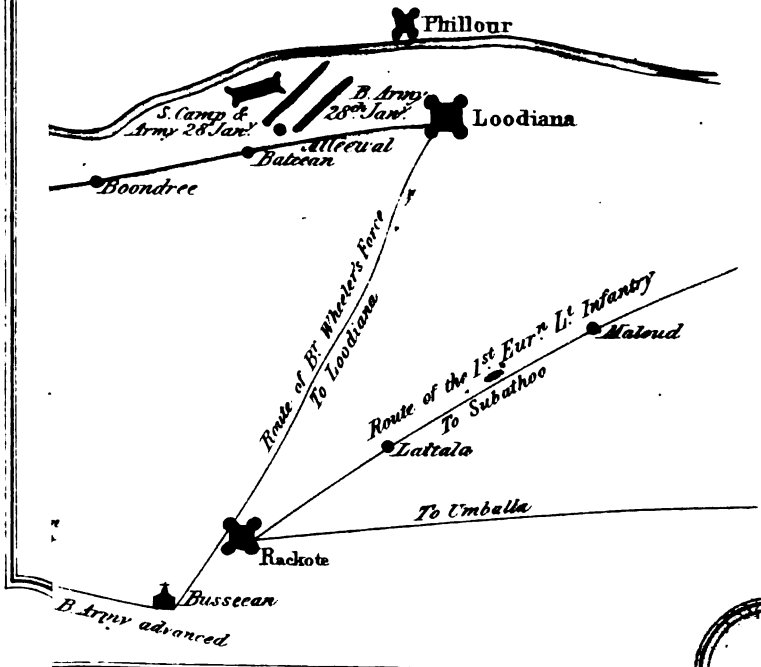
Great loss in
the European
regiments.

All the European regiments had to
heavy list of killed and wounded ; and a
rest Her Majesty's 31st, which lost two
Lieutenants Pollard and Bernard ; the
officer had been wounded at Moodkee
not recovered, yet no persuasion could prevent
again joining his gallant regiment, and
mortally wounded. Major Baldwin of
regiment afterwards died of his wounds ;
Peninsular officer and much beloved in
Her Majesty's 3rd dragoons suffered severe
officers and men, having had three of them
killed and six wounded, and no fewer than
rank and file killed.

MOVEMENTS
of the
ARMY OF THE SUTLEJ,
BY
Capt. H. T. Combe.

JALINDHUR DOAB

ceded to the British by the Treaty of Lahore.



MACLURE, MACDONALD & MACGREGOR, LITH. LONDON

CHAPTER VIII.

PROGRESS OF AFFAIRS.

AFTER his defeat at Feerozshuhur, Lal Singh fled to Lahore, and Tej Singh sent an urgent request for more troops; otherwise, as he said, the disaster which had befallen him would be fatal to the Sikh nation. He doubted his ability to again resist the British without the aid of Goolab Singh, who appeared, however, but little inclined to leave Jummo, and perhaps rejoiced at the overthrow of the Sikhs in the fields of Moodkee and Feerozshuhur; for he conceived, as the power of the dominant party declined, his own would be in the ascendant. His object, and that of the Ranee, was to preserve friendly terms with the British, since they well knew that in the event of the complete conquest of the Punjab, their position as hostile parties would not be an enviable one.

Tej Singh doubts his ability to again encounter the British.

Policy of the Ranee and Goolab Singh.

The Khalsa troops believed the army of the Sutlej, on defeating them at Feerozshuhur, would follow up its advantage by crossing the river and

The Sikhs expect the British to follow up their advantage and cross the river.

Reasons why
this could not
be done.

invading the Punjab; but this measure could not be accomplished without a powerful battering train, and more cavalry as well as more European troops, since the result at Feerozshuhur had amply proved the necessity of the one and the value of the other: moreover, the Sikhs were still in possession of numerous guns, and it was even doubtful if the whole of their regularly disciplined infantry had been present at Feerozshuhur. The Khalsas had made a fierce stand at that place, but they might still make greater efforts; and the Commander-in-chief therefore wisely resolved to wait for the guns and mortars then moving upwards, with the 9th and 16th lancers, and Her Majesty's 10th and 53rd regiments of foot, which, with the 3rd light cavalry, and the 43rd and 59th regiments of Native infantry composed the Meerut force under Sir John Grey.

The Scinde
force under Sir
C. Napier
ordered to
move upwards.

The Scinde troops, under Sir Charles Napier, had also been ordered up, and their services were likely to be put in requisition for checking the governor of Moulton, who had already made several attacks on convoys of supplies as well as troops coming up the river.

The Sikhs
resolve to
make another
stand and
construct a
bridge.

At length, the Sikhs, after witnessing the apparent inaction of the British, and detecting no wish on their part to follow up their success, resolved to make another effort to maintain their position on the left bank of the Sutlej; and for this purpose, they began to construct a new bridge of boats below Hurreekee. This they were allowed to do unmolested by the British; but the latter, though

Allowed to do
so unmolested.

delaying the invasion of the Punjab, or at least the crossing of the Sutlej, nevertheless resolved to effect one or both purposes, when the means should arrive. The army of the Sutlej accordingly moved from Feerozshuhur to Sultan Khan-Walla, and afterwards to Mullawala, Attaree, Bootawala, and lastly to Akhberwala, only a few miles from the Sutlej. At Sultan Khan-Wala, as already stated, 5,000 maunds of gunpowder were destroyed.

The Sikhs, though driven across the Sutlej after the battle of Feerozshuhur, began to recross as soon as their bridge was finished, and advanced just as The Sikhs recross the river. Little Sobraon was taken possession of by a British brigade of infantry: the brigade was subsequently withdrawn, and a picquet substituted. On two or three occasions the alarm was given that the Sikhs were advancing for the purpose of attacking the British camp, but such an occurrence never took place.

The Governor-general, in his manifesto, had confiscated all the possessions of Dhuleep Singh on the left or British side of the Sutlej. Among these The Fort of Wudnee. was Wudnee, a fort belonging to the jagheer of the late Shere Singh. The gates of this place were shut against the Commander-in-chief's force when advancing to the frontier, but the wish to relieve Feerozapore induced him to hurry forward without Surrenders to Sir John Grey. besieging Wudnee, which place afterwards surrendered to Sir John Grey and the Meerut force.

Another place of some importance to the Sikhs, and situated about half-way between Feerozapore

Dhurrumkote evacuated, and taken possession of by the British.

and Loodianah, was Dhurrumkote, and against this Major-general Sir Harry Smith was sent, with the first division of the Army of the Sutlej. The place was speedily evacuated by the Sikhs, and some Affghan soldiers left for its protection were taken prisoners.

Buddeewal seized by the British.

One of the Sirdars under British protection, and who early joined the Sikhs, was Ajeet Singh, of Ladwa, near Loodianah. He held a small jagheer from the Lahore Government, named Buddeewal. Here he had constructed a small fort, which had been seized by the Loodianah force, under Brigadier Wheeler, on its march to join the head quarters of the army at Busseean. Ajeet Singh, however, returned when the operations at Moodkee and Feerozshuhur had diverted the attention of the British from Loodianah, and obtained possession of the females belonging to his family. Nor this alone; but, assisted by the Sikhs, he burned a portion of the barracks, and the mess-house of Her Majesty's 50th, at Loodianah, and eventually retook possession of Buddeewal.

Ajeet Singh again obtains possession of it, and burns the barracks of the 50th at Loodianah.

The Sikhs fire on Sir Harry Smith while passing Buddeewal.

A portion of baggage lost, and some Europeans taken prisoners.

After Sir Harry Smith had taken Dhurrumkote, he proceeded towards Loodianah, but when passing Buddeewal, he was fired on by the Sikhs, who seized a great portion of his baggage, and made prisoners of Assistant-surgeon Barron and some European soldiers. Sir Harry Smith did not return the fire, but pushed on with all expedition to Loodianah, where he arrived with his troops much harassed by the march, and their situation

rendered uncomfortable by the loss they had sustained in their baggage.

Runjoor Singh, the younger brother of Lena Singh Majeetheea, commanded the portion of the Sikh army intended to act against Loodianah, as well as to seize the siege train in progress to join the head quarters of the army. Both these objects were to be kept in view by Sir Harry Smith: had he stopped to return the fire of the Sikhs at Buddeewal, all fears for Loodianah might have been removed; but then there was the risk, that, if discomfited, Runjoor Singh might have crossed the country and seized the siege train, which was only escorted by a Native infantry regiment, and the 11th light cavalry, with some artillery-men. The condition of Sir Harry Smith's troops at Buddeewal was such, that he could not, effectually, hope to drive Runjoor Singh across the Sutlej that day; and he probably considered half measures worse than useless. Besides, though making a great sacrifice of baggage and even of lives, there was the hope that his forbearance would be construed into fear by the Sikhs; who might, in consequence, be induced to meet him in a fair field, when he would have an opportunity of accomplishing the two objects he had in view: namely, the defence of Loodianah and the safety of the train; winding up, perhaps, with the total defeat of the Sikhs, when his troops should be a little refreshed.

Sir Harry
Smith effectually
thwarts
Runjoor
Singh.

Runjoor Singh was in possession of a large number of guns, and his army more than doubled

Disparity between Sir Harry Smith's force and that of Runjoor Singh.

the force at Sir Harry Smith's disposal ; but this disparity never concerned a general who had fought at Moodkee and Feerozshuhur, with such fearful odds as had there presented themselves on the part of the Sikhs. His only wish, and that of his brave army, was to have another opportunity of measuring swords with the Khalsa troops.

Comparatively weak state of the garrison of Loodianah, and the defenceless condition of the City.

The small fort of Loodianah contained all the sick of Her Majesty's, and the Honourable Company's troops, which had left the place to join the army of the Sutlej, as well as all the ladies and children of the officers. For the defence of these, there were at Loodianah only a couple of Native regiments, the Nusseeree and Sirmoor battalions, afterwards augmented by the 30th Native infantry, the 1st light cavalry, and about 1,500 of the Putealah horse. Such a mere handful could hardly be expected to meet Runjoor Singh's numerous army in the field, though they might keep possession of the fort until relieved ; the arrival of Sir Harry Smith, with the first division of the army of the Sutlej, must therefore have been anxiously looked for, and joyfully hailed by the inmates of the fort, as well as the inhabitants of the city of Loodianah, many of whom were in the greatest state of alarm, and had actually sent their money across to Phillaer, to be in the safe keeping of the Sikhs, since they looked for no protection from the British. Many of the Hindoos, at least, adopted this novel plan, but the Mussulmans, both in India and in the Punjab, never doubted the

Consternation of the City.

eventual success of the British arms against the Sikhs.

It was not, however, at Loodianah alone that a panic had seized the inhabitants; even at Subathoo, Simla, and Umballa, the greatest alarm prevailed. At the first mentioned place, the gallant young officer (Lieutenant Williamson,) who had been left in charge of the depôt of the 1st European light infantry, had made the most judicious arrangements for its defence, and the few guns there, were placed in a position capable of sweeping the parade which commanded the road up the hill. He was assisted in his preparations by the advice of an old and experienced officer (General Tapp), whose long residence in the hills at once suggested the best measures to be adopted; and there is little doubt, that had the Sikhs reached Subathoo, they would have met with a warm reception from the handful of Europeans left there, and the gallant little Goorkhas, who had been sent as a guard to the place. At Simla the panic was, if possible, still greater, as the place possessed considerable inducements for the pillaging propensities of the Sikhs. One and all of the European residents were ready to leave the station, and cross the hills to Mussooree; the baggage mules even stood ready, and the hardy Ghoonts were in requisition for a safe and speedy flight.

Alarm prevalent at the hill stations of Subathoo and Simla.

Though the hill stations had reason to expect a visit from the Sikhs, their descent on Umballa was considered so much more certain, that an imme-

Still greater
alarm at Um-
balla.

diate and simultaneous flight of the ladies took place. Some bent their steps towards Meerut, others looked to Saharunpore for refuge, while most of them deemed Mussooree their only place of safety. All, however, turned their backs on Umballa, and the Sikhs. But this sudden flight could not be accomplished in the usual way, by means of palanqueens; one or two, indeed, might thus find a ready conveyance, but where dozens of persons were concerned, it became necessary to put ponies, horses, buggies, and bylees, into requisition; and thus along the road they might be seen hurrying onwards, except when—as was often the case—the animals became jaded and would not move. It was amusing to see ladies whipping their ponies, but all to no purpose. We may now smile at the fears which prompted this fugacious movement; but, had Sir Harry Smith not advanced on Loodianah, there is every reason to believe, that the siege train might have been lost, Loodianah pillaged and burned, the hill stations destroyed, and Umballa and even other places in the provinces sacked and occupied; so that the movement of the first division was one of the utmost importance, and not only prevented such sad disasters, but was followed by one of the best-managed actions on record.

The alarm well
founded had
not Sir Harry
Smith advanced
on Loodi-
anah.

The 3rd
infantry
brigade.

In order still further to ensure the safety of the siege train, the Commander-in-chief thought it necessary to send the third infantry brigade, commanded by Brigadier Taylor, towards Dhurrumkote; but it returned to camp on the 30th January.

On the morning of the 28th January the firing of heavy guns was heard in the camp of the army of the Sutlej, in the direction of Loodianah, and it was immediately surmised that an engagement had taken place between Sir Harry Smith and Runjoo Singh; the former proving victorious, as the firing did not last long. All was suspense, however, during that day and night. Major Laurence and an aide-de-camp rode off to Dhurrumkote, where the former received a hurried note, written, we believe, in pencil, to the Commander-in-chief, announcing that Sir Harry Smith had completely defeated the enemy, and his artillery was, at that moment, "teaching the Sikhs how to swim the Sutlej." On the night of the 28th it was deemed advisable to keep the army in readiness, for it was thought probable, that if Sir Harry Smith should meet with any decided reverse, the Sikhs might attack the British camp at Akhberwala. Every one was therefore prepared to turn out at a moment's notice; but all remained quiet, and at daybreak of the 29th, a royal salute announced to friend and foe that a victory had been gained somewhere by the British, though it was supposed the Sikh leaders at Sobraon were either unaware of the fact, or wished to keep their entrenched troops in ignorance, since they actually imitated our bands in playing the national anthem of "God save the Queen!"

News of the victory gained by Sir Harry Smith.

The army of the Sutlej on the alert during the night of the 28th.

Result of the battle unknown to the Sikh army at Sobraon.

It is some time before the particulars of a battle can be ascertained; and the accounts given by two

The battle of
Alleewal.

individuals are sure to vary, unless they both happen to be in the same position during the engagement. Hence the conflicting, and often contradictory accounts obtained. The battle of Alleewal was no exception to the rule. Some stated that the Sikh infantry, after receiving the cavalry charge, threw down their arms and betook themselves, in confusion, towards the river. Others said that the Khalsa troops did throw down their muskets, but on doing so, drew their swords and cut manfully at the British cavalry, wounding and killing many of the latter, and after the repeated charges made by the cavalry, the Sikhs merely walked off or retreated sulkily towards the river.

Different
accounts of it.

Runjoor Singh had entrenched himself at Alleewal, and entreated his soldiers not to leave their position ; but the circumstance of Sir Harry Smith having allowed himself to be fired upon at Buddeewal without returning a shot, impressed the Sikhs with the idea that he was afraid of them, and they insisted on leaving their camp and going out to meet him in the open field. "The enemy had, up to the evening of the 26th (January) fifty-six guns, and 20,000 men. On that evening he received a reinforcement of twelve guns and 4,000 men, regular or Aeen troops. Our force consisted of thirty-two guns, and not half the number of those men. Yet, so ably were the orders of attack conducted, with the regularities of a field day, each column and line arriving at its point of attack to a moment, that the enemy

Strength of
the force under
Runjoor Singh.

That of the
British.

was driven by repeated charges of cavalry and infantry headlong back over the river."* This gives a general idea of the success on the part of the British.

Sir Harry Smith marched from Buddeewal, early on the morning of the 28th January, towards the enemy, who appeared in sight after the British had traversed about eight miles of the country. The right of the Sikh force rested on Rhoomaree, and their left on Walleepore, and they advanced some distance from their entrenched camp and cannonaded the British for half an hour, until the latter stormed the village of Alleewal, the key of their position. The whole of the British line then advanced, charged, and took the Sikh guns, on which the Sikhs fled towards the river. It was at first computed that at least half their force was destroyed, but later accounts stated that the number of killed was comparatively small. On making enquiries of officers engaged at Alleewal, they all declared that the affair at Buddeewal was the only harassing one. Her Majesty's 16th lancers charged in gallant style, but the Sikhs lied down on the ground, and the lances could not reach them, while they either fired their muskets or cut with their swords. This regiment had upwards of one hundred men killed and wounded, but the total loss of the British force did not exceed 400. When the cavalry first charged the mass of Sikh infantry, it was too dense and compact to be broken; the work

Disposition of the Sikh force.

Gallant charge of cavalry rendered less effectual by the Sikh infantry lying down.

Loss on the part of the British.

Horse artillery effectually break the Sikh column.

* Sir Harry Smith's despatch.

had to be accomplished by the guns of the horse artillery. All the Sikh guns were captured or destroyed : one was carried across the river, where it was spiked by Lieutenant Holmes of the irregular cavalry and Gunner Scott of the horse artillery, who forded the river in pursuit of the enemy. The victory was so complete and the confusion among the Sikhs so great, that had Sir Harry Smith been in a condition to follow them, he might have driven the Sikhs before him to Lahore.

All the Sikh guns captured.

Gallant conduct of Lieutenant Holmes and Gunner Scott.

Brown or Potter, the deserter.

Previous to the battle of Alleewal, a European came into Loodianah from the camp of Runjoor Singh. He said his name was Brown, but this was merely an assumed one, his real name being Potter. He had been originally in the Bengal horse artillery, from which he deserted after the capture of Bhurtpore in 1826 or 1827. Ever since that period, he had been in the Sikh service as an artillery man. He had nearly lost all appearance of an Englishman, and retained but little of his national feelings, as he himself candidly confessed. The object of his visit was somewhat doubtful, though he professed himself willing to surrender and return to his allegiance as a British subject. It was suggested to him that he had better return to the Sikh camp, where he might be of service to the British interests. He was taken prisoner on the 28th, and asserted that he had purposely laid the Sikh guns high, so as not to injure the British ; that their guns were thus elevated seems probable, but whether or no this was owing to Potter's management, was

Is taken prisoner.

very doubtful. He was brought a prisoner to Akhberwala, and along with him four of the captured guns. These were exquisitely finished and ornamented. They had been manufactured by Lena Singh Majeethea, who paid great attention to the mechanical arts.

Four beautiful Sikh guns brought from Alleewal to head-quarters.

When the army of the Sutlej crossed that river at a later period, and the prisoners captured at Buddeewal were restored by Goolab Singh, they stated that but for Potter their condition would have been worse, and that he had interceded for them. The Governor-general, therefore, gave Potter his liberty. Potter was not the only European soldier in the Sikh force. A man named Lairdie, under the assumed name of Sultan Mohummud, and who had deserted from Captain Delafosse's troop of horse artillery in 1842 or 1843, was among the Sikhs, and a man named Boyle, a deserter from the first European light infantry, likewise. The artillery-men must have been of infinite service to the Sikhs in training them as gunners, and the conduct of the latter showed that their instructors had not bestowed their labour in vain. The Sikh gunners were as much attached to their guns as are the Native artillery-men of Hindostan: at Alleewal, for example, one of these brave fellows was found clasping his gun, and could not be separated from it until cut down or bayoneted.

Potter is afterwards liberated.

Lairdie and Boyle deserters from the British, also in the Sikh army.

Great value of British artillery-men to the Sikhs.

Great attachment of the Sikh gunners to their guns.

The battle of Alleewal was a fortunate and brilliant event: Loodianah was released, the Sikhs dispersed and driven across the Sutlej, after losing all their

Brilliant and complete victory of Alleewal.

Hill tribes declare early in favour of the British.

Expel the Sikhs from the hills.

Runjoor applies in vain for more guns.

Advantageous circumstances under which the battle of Alleewal was fought.

guns, and the safe transit of the siege train effectually secured. Confidence was likewise restored to the inhabitants on the frontier, as well in the plains as on the hills, where the dread of the Sikhs had caused such consternation. The hill tribes declared early in favour of the British, and the Honourable J. C. Erskine, the British resident at Simla, had already organized them, and taken up a position in some fort at Saeehuttee, commanding the ascent from the Ghumbur. Across the Sutlej the states of Nundee, Sookhet, and Koolloo were not slow in expelling the Sikhs, to whom they owned an unwilling allegiance, and were ready to break it on the first opportunity. The Lahore Government was not in a condition to punish them, and they, no doubt, looked for British supremacy, and a release from the hateful and oppressive yoke of the Sikhs.

The news, at length, reached Lahore of Runjoor's defeat, but it was hardly anticipated from the first that he would have any chance of success against the British; and to his demands for money and more guns, he received for answer, that he must find those he had lost, and that more would not be entrusted to him. The resistance on the part of Runjoor's force would no doubt have been more effectual had it not left the camp, and given battle to the British. The Sirdar had in his recollection the fate of Moodkee; and though, as there, the Sikhs were beaten at Alleewal, yet the desperate struggle at Feerozshuhur warrants the conclu-

sion that the loss on the part of the British, had the Sikhs entrenched themselves at the former place, would have been great in a corresponding degree. The British troops were, however, fresh at Alleewal, and they fought during the morning under a clear, serene sky ; whereas at Feerozshuhur they were obscured by clouds of dust. The Native portion of the force behaved gallantly, both cavalry and infantry, thus confirming our position that they are thoroughly effective when neither fatigued by long marches, nor deprived of food and water.

The only occasion on which the Sikhs had been molested, since the battle of Feerozshuhur, by the British was on the 14th January. On that day, some cannonading took place on both sides, but without producing any decided effect on either. The bridge across the Sutlej was completed by the Sikhs, and covered by guns on the right bank, so as to prevent its destruction by the British. Why the Sikhs were suffered to prosecute so important a work unmolested, is a problem to the present moment.

The picquet formerly mentioned as occupying Little Sobraon had been withdrawn for some time, during the night, and only planted at day-break on the following morning. The Sikhs discovered this, and therefore took possession of the post one night with their usual war cry,—“*Wah! wah! Gooroo jee ke futteh.*” The circumstance was not known to the sergeant of pioneers, who was superintending a party of men in constructing a small entrench-

Sikhs allowed
to construct
their bridge.

The Sikhs obtain possession of Little Sobraon during the night.

A sergeant of pioneers surprised.

Escapes to camp.

The Sikhs occupy the post.

The British post of Rhodawala.

A gallant attack on the Sikh horsemen by Lieutenant Becher.

A night attack expected.

ment or breast-work for the picquet; and he, as usual, proceeded to the place early one morning, and did not discover his mistake until he found himself in the midst of the new occupants, one of whom seized the bridle of his horse! He fortunately disengaged himself, and lost no time in riding back at full speed to camp, while the Sikhs vainly discharged several matchlocks after him.

On getting possession of this position, where there was a small round tower at no great distance from the village, the Sikhs burned the latter, and levelled the tower with the ground. Their advanced post now occupied the vacant space, and they could be seen in great numbers crowding about it, and moving occasionally to a picquet of cavalry in front of the British camp. On their right, the British had an entrenched place named Rhodawala, defended by an infantry brigade, with some mounted guns. It was only a short distance from camp, and a favourite ride for the officers.

On one occasion a party of Sikh horsemen was surprised in the neighbourhood, and a gallant charge made on them by Lieutenant Becher, of the irregular cavalry, who killed some and wounded others. In front of the British camp there was the dry bed of a Nullah, which might have been defended against cavalry; and if the Sikhs had availed themselves of it, they would have had some chance of making a successful night attack on the right of the British camp. Such an event was probably expected, as the troops were ordered to

hold themselves in readiness several times during the night, while turning out in the day-time was a common occurrence. The noise of a mounted officer's horse galloping through camp was looked upon as a sure sign that the Sikhs were advancing, and that an order to arms would speedily follow! But the Sikhs were otherwise employed, constructing a work of defence, which would in their opinion defy the attack of any troops, however daring; the engineer who planned it having assured them that they might rest perfectly secure in their stronghold. No attempt had been made since the 14th January to molest or disturb them, and latterly the Sikh horsemen did not show themselves in such numbers about Little Sobraon. There was, in short, a perfect lull in the campaign—a calm that foreboded a coming storm; and the Sikhs were busily employed in preparing the ingredients for the tempest. Though at Moodkee, Feerozshuhur, and Alleewal, they had lost upwards of 150 guns, they were still reported to have a great many more, but few of any large size; and most of their gunners were said to have fallen in those actions. The latter fact seemed certain from their anxiety to get more men. A Native soldier belonging to the 43rd light infantry, who had incautiously advanced too far to the front of the camp, was taken prisoner, and at once appointed to the artillery branch, of the duties of which, however, he was profoundly ignorant. He was placed on a horse, and the Sikhs were mightily amused at his awkwardness as

False alarms of common occurrence.

Sikhs busily employed with their entrenchment.

A Native soldier taken prisoner by the Sikhs, but escapes.

a horse artillery-man. He managed, however, to escape and return to his regiment, where he related his adventure with great glee. Those of the Sikh horsemen who appeared in front of Little Sohraon were perfectly civil, and one of them being hailed by a British officer readily came forward, and even accompanied him to camp, where he was interrogated by the Commander-in-chief. He said that the Khalsas had no doubt been beaten several times, but they were determined to fight again; and it must not be supposed that they would prove unfaithful to their employers, and desert their cause. He got his leave, and promised to come back; but the honour of a second visit was politely declined. A sipahee of the 41st Native infantry was caught in the act of deserting to the enemy, and was sentenced to be hanged. Already had he reached the fatal gallows, where the rope was dangling to receive his neck, and every spectator looking for his exit into another world, when a reprieve arrived! His delight may be guessed, and the clemency shown him was appreciated by the Native soldiers, who remarked to one another—“Oh! he is a soldier; it would not do to hang him!” Desertion was so uncommon that an example was not required; for, with the exception of this man, and another from the 45th Native infantry, all the Native soldiers were faithful to the British cause. Their confidence in our continued prosperity is unbounded. Even when the catastrophe happened at Cabul, the Natives still relied

His account.

A Sikh horseman comes into the British camp.

His account.

A Native soldier endeavouring to desert to the Sikhs, is caught, and sentenced to be hanged;

Is reprieved.

Desertion uncommon.

No motive for it.

Native confidence in British fortune, conspicuous in the present campaign.

on the fortune of the British, or the "*Ikkal Un-grez*," as they express it. Without troubling himself to enquire from what circumstances this good fortune arises, the Native soldier has implicit faith in its permanency; and certainly, during the present campaign with the Sikhs, fortunate occurrences did take place, under circumstances which boded difficulties, if not disasters.

Look at the whole course of the campaign.

The Sikhs, instead of awaiting the invasion of Instances of it. the British on the right bank of the river, the passage of which might have been stoutly opposed by them, and great loss necessarily sustained by the invaders, cross over into the British territories, taking the government by surprise, and causing a hurried movement of troops to oppose their further progress without any guns capable of silencing theirs. This, at first sight, had a serious aspect; but look at the sequel! The loss of Sir Harry Smith's baggage and of troops at Buddeewal were thought untoward events, and the gallant general was censured accordingly; yet, we see that from that very loss the most brilliant results ensued. The Sikhs came out on a fair field, were beaten and sent "headlong over the Sutlej." Loodianah was relieved, and tranquillity restored on the frontier. The siege train made a sure and safe progress, though weakly defended by a Native regiment of cavalry, and one of infantry, with a few hundred artillery-men, armed only with their swords.

Difficult to
calculate
events in war.

Such are the fortunate results, which, in war, sometimes arise from what at first appear untoward events, and which are hardly within the sphere of calculation. Nor were those the only happy accidents.

Another
striking
instance of
good fortune,
from supposed
untoward
events.

The position of the Sikhs at Sobraon, entrenched strongly, and covered by their guns across the river, with a bridge at command, whereby they could transport their implements of war to the left bank of the river, was looked upon as formidable in the extreme. Those who had read of the desperate resistance offered to troops crossing large rivers in the face of the enemy, naturally dreaded the passage of the Sutlej, if they did not consider it an impossibility. They had no fears that victory would ever decide for the Sikhs on either bank, provided the British were once in the Punjab; but how to get there was the point. Now, had the most skilful means for securing this dreaded passage, in the face of a determined foe like the Sikhs, been devised, they could not have effected the purpose so completely as the very act of the enemy itself did: and the tactics of a general must be admitted to be of no ordinary kind, when he can turn events, considered by common minds unfortunate, so entirely to the advantage of his own arms.

Dreaded pas-
sage of the
Sutlej.

Untoward
events may be
turned to
advantage.

Another
seemingly
unfortunate
event.

One more link in the chain of seemingly unfortunate occurrences, must not be passed over. Had the large guns been at command when the Sikhs were constructing their bridge, there is every probability that it would have been destroyed, and the

Sikhs thus rendered incapable of entrenching themselves on the left bank of the river; we should then have been obliged to construct our own bridge under a terrific fire.

After the defeat of the Sikhs at Feerozshuhur, they urgently appealed to Goolab Singh for assistance, and requested his presence; but the Rajah, as already hinted, had a deep game to play, and though he obeyed the summons of the Ranee, or, in reality, the order of the Khalsa troops, and reached Lahore, he was determined not to mix himself up with either in the ill-judged opposition offered to the British.

Appeals made to Goolab Singh.

He so far complies.

The emissaries from Lahore reached the British camp early in February, but the siege train had now arrived, and Sir Harry Smith's division rejoined the main army, so that no reply was given to the Lahore Government though one was promised.

No reply given to the emissaries from Lahore.

The Sikhs had met the British twice in the fields of Moodkee and Alleewal, and once in their entrenched camp at Feerozshuhur; they had been beaten on every occasion, yet, observing the effect of their artillery, they conceived that if they could only again entrench themselves more strongly, and be thereby enabled to direct their musketry from behind their walls against the European soldiers, they might still effectually oppose their enemy. Against the British in the field they felt they had no chance, seeing that their guns were invariably captured at the point of the bayonet.

The Sikhs resolved to entrench themselves more strongly than at Feerozahuhur.

Accordingly, when their bridge had been com-

The entrenchment of Sobraon ably constructed, and very strong.

Governor-general arrives in camp.

The battle decided on : this known at a distance, and the manner in which it became so.

Plan for crossing the Sutlej.

pleted, they set to work in constructing the entrenchment of Sobraon, under the direction, it is said, of a Spanish engineer named Hobron. From the 14th of January till the beginning of February 1845, they had been industriously employed in building their defences, covered by their guns on the opposite side of the river. The works, as might have been supposed, were of great strength ; indeed, they far outran expectation. The Governor-general reached camp on the 9th February, when the plan of attack on this formidable entrenchment was settled ; and it was speedily known, that a battle would take place the following morning. However strange it may appear, people at a long distance from Akhberwala knew, or asserted, that the 10th February was the day appointed. It is impossible to prevent such intelligence from reaching the Natives, many of whose relatives are writers in every public office, with open eyes and ready ears for every coming event, which they at once communicate to their friends all over India.

Sir John Grey, with a considerable force, had occupied Attaree, near the Nuggur Ghat, while a bridge of boats had been thrown across the river some miles below, at the Koonda Ghat. It was not at first deemed advisable to contemplate crossing the Sutlej by the Sikh bridge, even if it remained entire after the battle ; the passage of the river, it was thought, could be readily accomplished, while the attack was making on Sobraon, and thus the great difficulty be overcome of the British

entering the Punjab. The Sikhs overlooked this circumstance, and apparently conceived, that as the British did not follow them across the Sutlej after Feerozshuhur, there was a chance of their not doing so, even if they themselves were forced to retreat over the Sutlej, in which case they could destroy their bridge, and be ready to oppose the passage at Nuggur. These may have been their calculations, but they were doomed to be woefully disappointed. That they did contemplate delay on our part was evident from the government of Lahore suggesting, when the news of the disaster at Sobraon reached the capital, that an emissary should be sent to offer terms, so as to prevent the invasion of the Punjab. But it was then too late.

The Sikhs entertain a mistaken notion about the matter.

Whatever their ulterior plans might have been, the Khalsa troops were determined to defend their entrenchment to the last, and felt assured that it could not be taken by the best troops in Europe, much less by an Anglo-Indian army. They had completed it, and quietly awaited the attack, full of confidence in their ability to repel it, although Runjoor Singh's defeat, at Alleewal, had deprived them of numerous guns. Within the entrenchment at Sobraon, the Sikhs collected a large force, and what was of more consequence, the soldiers were chiefly those who had been trained by the French officers, and on whom they could consequently rely, as adepts in the use of the sword and musket.

Confidence of the Sikhs in their entrenchment.

Occupied by the best troops.

Since the large guns and mortars had arrived,

the British Commander-in-chief resolved to employ artillery to the fullest extent, in order to render the attack infinitely more effectual and much less sanguinary than had been the previous actions of Moodkee and Feerozshuhur. The large siege guns, as well as the mortars and rockets, had been brought out from Feerozpore; the rest of the artillery consisted of horse and foot, the men of the latter branch serving the guns attached to light field batteries of both classes.

Scaling ladders constructed.

On the morning of the 9th of February, there was a report that scaling ladders were being made up, but whether these were for the walls of the Sikh entrenchment, the high bank on the opposite side, or the walls of Lahore, was a problem difficult of solution by people not in the secret. Suggestions for spiking guns, or rendering them useless, had been promulgated some days previously, so that everything boded some desperate exploit; and every one rejoiced at the prospect, for there are no men in the world that get sooner tired of inactivity than the soldiery, and the army of the Sutlej was beginning to desire some more stirring scene than the turning out to arms, upon false alarms of hostile approaches.

Warlike appearances.

Hailed with delight by the army of the Sutlej.

The reason of the Sikhs not making an attack on the British camp.

Some readers may be surprised, that the Sikhs never did make a night attack; but it should be remembered, that such a step must have been disastrous to them, for if repulsed, which there was every prospect of their being, they would have been assuredly followed to their entrenchment by

the British, who would thus enter the works with themselves, before they had time to organize any resistance. They wisely abstained, therefore, from any nocturnal sortie, and concentrated all their resources within the entrenchment. No Sikhs were ever to be seen on the face of the country lying between Feerozapore and Akhberwala. Immense supplies of grain and other articles of food, were therefore brought daily from the one place to the other, without any other guard than a few irregular horse, who could have offered no resistance to a large body of Sikh cavalry.

As already stated, the British troops longed for an engagement, but they most assuredly did not anticipate the kind of encounter which awaited them at Sobraon. Few could conceive a more desperate opposition than that experienced at Feerozahur; but circumstances which could not be foreseen, rendered the battle of Sobraon one of those, in which the assailants suffer for some time very severely, without having it in their power to make any effectual return. Walls, only to be surmounted by scaling ladders, afforded a secure protection for triple lines of musketry pouring their murderous fire on their assailants, while the latter could not risk a shot with the slightest chance of its doing any execution.

The attack on it necessarily a desperate one.

The reason of this.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BATTLE OF SOBRAON.

Advantages of
a day attack.

The Comman-
der-in-chief
well acquaint-
ed with the
nature of the
entrenchment.

Formidable
nature of it.

SIR HUGH GOUGH being now the assailant, with an enemy before him calmly awaiting his attack, was enabled to choose his own time. He therefore judiciously ordered the whole army to march on Sobraon, at half-past three o'clock, on the morning of Tuesday, 16th February, 1846, when his men were fresh and there was a certainty of many hours of daylight operation. The Commander-in-chief had made himself fully acquainted with the position of the Sikhs at Sobraon, for he says "the enemy's works had been repeatedly reconnoitred during the time of my head quarters at Nihalkee, (Akhberwala) by myself, my departmental staff, and my engineers and artillery officers. Our observations, coupled with the report of spies, convinced us that there had devolved on us the arduous task of attacking, in a position covered with formidable entrenchments, no fewer than 30,000 men, the best of the Khalsa troops, with seventy

pieces of cannon, united by a good bridge to a reserve on the opposite bank, on which the enemy had a considerable camp, and some artillery commanding and flanking the field works on our side."*

Sir Harry Smith's force, after its brilliant feat at Alleewal, had joined head quarters, and the army of the Sutlej was now in numbers and efficiency much more complete than when it engaged the Sikhs at Feerozshuhur. In cavalry it had been greatly strengthened, since Her Majesty's 9th and 16th lancers, as well as the 3rd light cavalry, and Leeson's irregular cavalry had joined; the 43rd and 59th regiments of Native infantry were also added to the list, as well as several companies of foot artillery.

The British
army com-
plete.

It had been intended to drive in the enemy's picquets in front of Rhodawala, and Little Sobraon, during the night of the 9th February, but this could not be accomplished until near daybreak of the 10th. Little Sobraon was, however, deserted in the night, and found unoccupied in the morning by the Goorkhas, who were sent to clear it of the enemy. Both this post, and that in front of Rhodawala, had, it seems, been only occupied by the Sikhs during the day and abandoned at night, in imitation of the British during their tenure of the former post.

The post of
Little Sobraon
and another,
only occupied
by the Sikhs
during the
day.

The troops were moved out of camp at the ap-

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

The attack intended at day-break of the 10th.

Sikhs taken unawares.

Brilliant appearance of the field.

Disposition of the British force.

pointed hour, and marched in silence to their destination. "The battering and disposable field-artillery was then put in position in an extended semicircle, embracing within its fire the work of the Sikhs. It had been intended, that the cannonade should have commenced at day-break, but so heavy a mist hung over the plain and river, that it became necessary to wait until the rays of the sun had penetrated it, and cleared the atmosphere."* On the evening of the 9th, some Sikh guns were heard in the direction of the river, and it was supposed that they were signal ones, announcing the approaching event. But it appeared that this was not the case; for on Captain Grant's battery of horse artillery guns beginning at day-break to play on the entrenchment from Little Sobraon, the Sikh drums were heard distinctly beating to arms. When the sun rose and dispelled the fog, a magnificent sight presented itself on all sides. In front were the gun and mortar batteries forming a semicircle, while Rhodawala was seen in the rear; filled with armed men. Masses of European infantry covered the plain, and every thing portended deadly strife. The disposition of the British force, is thus described by the Commander-in-chief. "On the margin of the Sutlej on our left, two brigades of Major-general Sir Robert Dick's division, under his personal command, stood ready to commence the assault against the enemy's

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

extreme right. The 7th brigade, in which was the 10th foot, reinforced by the 53rd foot,* and led by Brigadier Stacey, was to head the attack, supported at 200 yards distance by the sixth brigade, under Brigadier the Hon. T. Ashburnham, which was to move forward from the entrenched village of Rhodawala, leaving, if necessary, a regiment for its defence. In the centre, Major-general Gilbert's division was deployed for support or attack, its right resting on the village of Little Sobraon.

The attack entrusted to Brigadier Stacey.

“Major-general Sir Harry Smith's division was formed near the village of Guttah, with its right thrown up towards the Sutlej; Brigadier Cureton's cavalry threatened by feigned attacks the ford of Hurreekee, and the enemy's horse, under Rajah Lal Singh Misr, on the opposite bank. Brigadier Campbell taking an intermediate position in the rear, between Major-general Gilbert's right, and Major-general Sir Harry Smith's left protected both. Major-general Sir Joseph Thackwell, under whom was Brigadier Scott, held in reserve on our left, ready to aid, as circumstances might demand, the rest of the cavalry.”†

It has been mentioned, that the British guns from Little Sobraon had given the Sikhs warning of our approach. “But it was half past six before the whole of our artillery fire was developed.”‡ Nothing could be conceived grander than the effect

* Brigadier Orchard commanded this portion of the brigade, being the only regiment belonging to his brigade on the field.

† The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

‡ Idem.

Grand effect of
the British
batteries.

of the batteries when they opened, as the cannonade passed along from the Sutlej to Little Sohraon, in one continued roar of guns and mortars; while, ever and anon, the rocket, like a spirit of fire, winged its rapid flight high above the batteries in its progress towards the Sikh entrenchment. Well might the Commander-in-chief call the opening of the cannonade "most spirited and well directed."

Little effect of
the Sikh bat-
teries.

The Sikh guns responded with shot and shells, but neither appeared to do much execution; the latter were seen bursting in mid-air long ere they reached the British batteries; while some of the shot passed over Rhodawala and struck the ground in front of General Gilbert's division. It now became a grand artillery concert, and the infantry divisions and brigades looked on with a certain degree of interest, somewhat allied however to vexation, lest the artillery should have the whole work to themselves! The Commander-in-chief, however, was determined to give full play to an arm which he did not possess to an efficient extent in other hard-fought battles. It was reported, that the guns were to play for four hours at least; but there is some reason to believe, that the rapid firing had nearly exhausted the ammunition before half that time had elapsed; and it was once more to be proved, that the British infantry were not to remain mute spectators of a battle. "Notwithstanding," wrote the Commander-in-chief, "the formidable calibre of our guns, mortars, and howitzers, and the admirable way in which they were served and

aided by a rocket battery, it would have been visionary to expect that they could have silenced the fire of seventy pieces, behind well constructed batteries of earth, planks, and fascines, or dislodge troops covered either by redoubt or epaulments, or within a treble line of trenches.”*

The British artillery not expected to silence the Sikh batteries.

Tej Singh, by all accounts, maintained his confidence in the strength of his position when ~~the~~ attacked; and his French officer, Monsieur Mouton, is said to have assured him that it was utterly impossible for the British to make good their entrance. Compared with Feerozshuhur, the works at Sobraon were *fortifications*, in the construction of which no labour had been spared; the utmost ingenuity of the Sikhs and their European advisers was exerted to render this, their last stronghold, impregnable; and so the Frenchman believed it to be.

The confidence of Tej Singh, supported by his European adviser.

“The effect of the British cannonade was, as ~~has~~ since been proved by an inspection of the camp, most severely felt by the enemy; but it soon became evident that the issue of this struggle must be brought to the arbitrament of musketry and the bayonet.”*

The British cannonade severely felt, but the issue must be decided by the musket and bayonet.

Thus, notwithstanding the large field of artillery now possessed by the British; the same arm which had gained the fields of Moodkee and Feerozshuhur ~~was~~ to be again employed. It has been imagined that the artillery practice might have been longer continued, but there is reason to believe that the

British cannonade supposed by some to be of too short duration, accounted for.

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

want of ammunition presented an insurmountable obstacle: the elephants could not be made to bring up a fresh supply. Though the Sikh batteries continued to play, yet the firing on their part became fainter and fainter; and, instead of their guns being directed to the quarters in which the British artillery was placed, the cannon-shot appeared to be distributed amongst the infantry columns, which the Sikhs could easily distinguish in their front.

The cannonade of the Sikhs directed on the advancing columns.

Brigadier Stacey moves his brigade to the attack, supported by artillery troops, and batteries.

“ At nine o'clock, Brigadier Stacey's brigade, supported on either flank by Captains Horsford's and Fordyce's batteries, and Lieutenant-colonel Lane's troop of horse artillery, moved to the attack in admirable order. The infantry and guns aided each other correlatively. The former marched steadily on in line, which they halted only to correct when necessary; the latter took up successive positions at the gallop, until, at length, they were within 300 yards of the heavy batteries of the Sikhs. But notwithstanding the regularity and coolness, and scientific character of this assault, which Brigadier Wilkinson well supported, so hot was the fire of cannon, musketry, and zambooruks,* kept up by the Khalsa troops, that it seemed for some moments impossible that the entrenchment could be won under it.”†.

Success of the attack for some moments doubtful.

A check supposed by some to have occurred.

The temporary hesitation springing from this apparent impossibility, was, it is said, construed into a check; at least, by the Governor-general,

* Guns mounted on camels and carrying a pound shot.

† The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

who ordered Gilbert's division to advance, with a view, no doubt, of diverting the Sikhs from the right of their entrenchment, towards the centre and left. The matter is, however, differently stated by the Commander-in-chief, the highest authority in these matters. He continues, "But soon persevering gallantry triumphed, and the whole army had the satisfaction to see the gallant Brigadier Stacey's soldiers driving the Sikhs in confusion before them within the area of their encampment. The 10th foot, under Lieutenant-colonel Franks, now, for the first time, brought into serious contact with the enemy, greatly distinguished themselves. This regiment never fired a shot until it had got within the works of the enemy. The onset of Her Majesty's 53rd foot was as gallant and effective. The 43rd and 59th Native infantry, brigaded with them, emulated both in cool determination."* It may be here observed, that the four regiments so prominently mentioned in this place, had not, on any previous occasion, come in contact with the Khalsa troops, and it was a wise measure to select them for such duty at Sobraon, since the daring of the Sikhs at Moodkee and Feerozshuhur had left a vivid impression on the minds of the troops engaged there, both European and Native. The Commander-in-chief praised the four regiments alike, but an anonymous writer in the *Delhi Gazette* assumed for Her Majesty's 53rd the credit

Brigadier
Stacey enters
the entrench-
ment.

Gallantry of
the 10th and
53rd foot, and
43rd and 59th
Native infan-
try.

No distinction
made by the
Commander-
in-chief.

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

of having been the first to enter the entrenchment, and thereby to chiefly contribute to the success of the attack. As regards the 59th Native infantry, we had it from a gallant officer who witnessed their attack, that no troops could have behaved better, led as they were by their brave commander, Lieutenant-colonel John Thompson. The 43rd Native infantry, trained under the eye of the brigadier who commanded the attack, had always distinguished itself; and, without wishing to draw any invidious distinction, a better selection could not have been made for this attack, both as respects men and officers.

The attacking party well selected.

The advance of the 1st and 2nd divisions.

Doubts regarding the object of the advance of the centre division.

We must now turn to a very important point in the despatch: namely, the advance of Gilbert's division, as well as that of Sir Harry Smith. The Commander-in-chief says expressly that, "At the moment of this first success, I directed Brigadier the Honourable J. Ashburnham's brigade to move on in support; and Major-general Gilbert's and Sir Harry Smith's divisions to throw out their light troops to threaten the works, aided by artillery.*" It is evident, that previous to the advance of the 1st and 2nd divisions, and the 6th brigade, an advantage or *first success* had been gained; and Stacy's brigade had driven the Sikhs into their entrenchment, following at their very heels. There is no word about a check, but there appeared to be some doubt, for some moments, "that

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

the entrenchment could be won." It was deemed, therefore, advisable to order on more troops; and the accounts appear to agree in stating, that orders were sent to General Gilbert by both the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief. We happened to be with a portion of Gilbert's division when the order arrived from the Governor-general, and the troops immediately advanced. Onward they went; but if intended to support Stacey on the right of the enemy's position, they missed the object, for they unfortunately came in front of the centre and strongest portion of the encampment, unsupported by either artillery or cavalry. Her Majesty's 29th and the 1st European light infantry, with undaunted bravery rushed forward, crossed a dry nullah, and found themselves exposed to one of the hottest fires of musketry that can possibly be imagined; and what rendered it still more galling was, that the Sikhs were themselves concealed behind high walls, over which the European soldiers could not climb. To remain under such a fire without the power of returning it with any effect would have been madness: the men would have been annihilated. Thrice did Her Majesty's 29th regiment charge the works, and thrice were they obliged to retire, each time followed by the Sikhs, who spared none, and cut to pieces the wounded. Similar was the fate of the 1st European light infantry, who, in retiring, had their ranks thinned by musketry, and their wounded men and officers cut up by the savage Sikhs. To the latter, the nullah presented

Impracticable position against which the centre divisions advanced, and the bravery displayed under a murderous fire.

The great loss of the two European regiments.

Are led to the
right of the
entrenchment.

an admirable defence, for the slope was towards them, while the Europeans on the high bank were completely exposed. At length, the second division, which at Feerozshuhur had driven the Sikhs before them, capturing their guns at the point of the bayonet and entering their encampment, were led to the right of the entrenchment at Sobraon.

The battle
rages on all
sides.

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of continuing the vivid and animated despatch of the Commander-in-chief. "As these attacks of the centre and right commenced, the fire of our heavy guns had first to be directed to the right, and then gradually to cease; but, at one time, the thunder of full 120 pieces of ordnance reverberated in the mighty combat through the valley of the Sutlej; and, as it was soon seen that the weight of the whole force within the Sikk camp was likely to be thrown on the two brigades that had passed its trenches, it became necessary to convert into close and serious attacks the demonstration, with skirmishers and artillery of the centre and right, and the battle raged with inconceivable fury from right to left. The Sikhs, even when at particular points their entrenchments were mastered with the bayonet, strove to regain them by the fiercest conflict sword in hand. Nor was it until the cavalry of the left, under Major-general Sir Joseph Thackwell, had moved forward, and ridden through the openings in the entrenchments, made by our sappers, in single file, and reformed as they passed them; and the 3rd dragoons, whom no obstacle usually held

The Sikhs
fight sword
in hand.

formidable by horse, appears to check, had on this day, as at Feerozshuhur, galloped over and cut down the obstinate defenders of batteries and field works; and the weight of three divisions of infantry, with every field artillery gun which could be sent to their aid, had been cast into the scale, that victory finally declared for the British. The fire of the Sikhs first slackened, and then nearly ceased; and the victors pressing them on every side, precipitated them in masses over their bridge, and into the Sutlej, which a sudden rise of seven inches had rendered hardly fordable. In their efforts to reach the right bank through the deepened water, they suffered a terrible carnage from our horse artillery.

The united force of artillery, cavalry and infantry, required to overcome them.

The Sikhs retreat, and are precipitated into the Sutlej.

“ Hundreds fell under this cannonade; hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage.” This awful slaughter, confusion, and dismay, were such as would have excited compassion in the hearts of their generous conquerors, if the Khalsa troops had not, in the earlier part of the action, sullied their gallantry, by slaughtering and barbarously mangling every wounded soldier, whom, in the vicissitudes of attack, the fortune of war left at their mercy. I must pause in this narrative, especially to notice the determined hardihood and bravery with which our two battalions of Goorkhas, the Sirmoor and Nusseeree, met the Sikhs whenever they were opposed to them. Soldiers of small stature, but indomitable spirit, they vied in ardent courage in the charge with gren-

Vast numbers drowned.

The great slaughter accounted for.

The bravery of the Goorkhas.

diers of our own nation, and armed with the short weapon of their mountains, were a terror to the Sikhs throughout this great combat.*†

Capture of
Sikh guns.

Seventy guns were supposed to be in the Sikh entrenchment at Sobraon, and of these, sixty-seven were captured, with upwards of 200 camel swivels, (zambouruks), as well as numerous standards. Before noon this great battle was over, having lasted, without intermission, from day-break. It might be well termed a glorious fight, and complete in its results. The battles of Moodkee, Feerozshuhur, and Alleewal, though great ones, were less decisive; they had, indeed, weakened the power of the Sikhs, but that of Sobraon had completely broken it. Such a victory, however, could not be achieved without an immense sacrifice, and probably there is no action on record,

The victory
a complete
and glorious
one.

Great loss of
British officers
and soldiers in
some regi-
ments, parti-
cularly Her
Majesty's 29th,
31st, 50th, and
the Honour-
able Com-
pany's 1st
European light
infantry.

where so many officers were killed and wounded, as that which occurred on the 10th February. Witness the loss of killed and wounded in Her Majesty's 29th, and the Honourable Company's 1st European light infantry: the list of the former exhibits, 13 officers, 8 serjeants, and 167 rank and file; and that of the latter, 12 officers, 12 ser-

* The Commander-in-chief's despatch.

† These indomitable little men are armed with a formidable and deadly weapon named a *kookree*, sharp and narrow at the point, suddenly increasing in breadth, and thus presenting a great surface of cutting edge, which is rendered still more effectual by its bent shape and short edge. The Goorkhas generally drive the kookree into the abdomen, or belly, of their opponents, and thus rip them up with great dexterity and expedition—

Author.

jeants, and 173 rank and file. Her Majesty's 31st, a regiment which had fought nobly at Moodkee, Feerozshuhur and Alleewal, had 7 officers and 147 rank and file, killed and wounded at Sobraon. Her Majesty's two regiments who led the attack on the right of the enemy's entrenchment, sustained a less severe loss than the European regiments of the 1st and 2nd divisions. The list of killed and wounded in Her Majesty's 10th foot, comprehends, 3 officers, 3 serjeants, and 127 rank and file; and Her Majesty's 53rd foot, 9 officers, 1 serjeant, and 111 rank and file; while Her Majesty's 50th, or Queen's own, had 12 officers, and 227 rank and file killed and wounded. Her Majesty's 9th, and 80th, suffered little, as compared with their loss at Feerozshuhur; and the same is true of Her Majesty's 62nd. The loss in staff and mounted officers at Sobraon, was also trifling, as compared with that at Feerozshuhur and Moodkee. The gallant Sir Robert Dick fell in the attack on the entrenched camp; he had been present in many a hard fight, and the brave veteran was heard to say, "the bullet is not moulded that will kill Bob Dick." In the Peninsular war, Sir Thomas Picton had frequently escaped in a most miraculous manner, but at length fell by a cannon shot, on the glorious field of Waterloo; and Sir Robert Dick, who in the same campaign "bore a charmed life," was doomed to the death of a soldier, on the banks of the Sutlej. He died, as he had lived, a brave and gallant

Sir R. Dick
mortally
wounded.

warrior, who at Waterloo led the 42nd Highlanders in the thickest of the fight. Another gallant and meritorious officer, was also mortally wounded: we allude to Brigadier McLaren,* who was borne off the field when leading the 4th brigade of the centre division, against the strongest part of the Sikh entrenchment at Sobraon. He was beloved by the Native soldiers, and also greatly esteemed by the Europeans of the brigade. When confined to his bed, after the receipt of his wound, he said he *must* cross the Sutlej, with the gallant European light infantry, even if carried in a dooly! His mild, gentlemanly manners endeared him to every one who had the pleasure of serving under him; and his loss could not have been felt more severely, even by the "husseenees" (16th grenadiers), which he commanded, than by the 1st European light infantry, which he led at Feerozshuhur, and with which he entered the fatal field of Sobraon. The 29th foot had to deplore the loss of their commanding officer, Brigadier Charles Cyril Taylor. In him were united, in an eminent degree, the qualities of the soldier and the accomplished gentleman: he was universally esteemed for the urbanity of his manners, and none ever left his society, without being impressed with the opinion, that he was a superior man in every respect. The gallant bearing of Her Majesty's 29th, proved that a military spirit of no ordinary stamp had superim-

Brigadier
McLaren mor-
tally wounded.

His high
character.

Brigadier
Taylor killed.

* Since dead.

tended its organization. The drunkard found in Colonel Taylor, an officer who could never forgive the vice of which he was guilty, while the sober soldier looked up to him as his firm friend and gallant commander. His high character.

Fortunately for his country, Major-general Gilbert was only slightly wounded: any eulogistic remark regarding him from our pen is uncalled for; but the battles of Feerozshuhur and Sobraon will for ever be associated with his name, and the centre division of the army of the Sutlej will be fondly recollected by all men who served in it under Major-general Gilbert. The gallant veteran, Colonel Ryan of the 50th, was also wounded severely. For upwards of forty years had he served his country in all quarters of the globe; and though his state of health might well have excused his absence from any of the engagements, he could not yield to any one else the high honour of leading his fine regiment, where danger was to be met with, and glory won. It is needless to allude to the Colonel's gallant conduct at Maharajpore, where he joined Her Majesty's 39th, having hurried down from the hills, even in infirm health, and mixed in the conflict before he could reach his own regiment in the field. Major-general Gilbert slightly wounded. Colonel Ryan wounded.

But while thus noticing officers of rank, let us not forget the young and brave, who had for the first time entered the battle field. Poor Hamilton*

* Of the rifles.

was one of these. Left behind with the depôt of his regiment in a state of ill health, he no sooner could move than he proceeded with all haste, and at considerable risk, to join the head-quarters of the corps with the army of the Sutlej, but reached them too late to share the dangers of Feerozshuhur. His countenance used to gleam with delight when any of his brother-officers were describing that hard-fought field, and he longed for an opportunity of joining them in another battle. His wish was soon to be gratified. He left the camp on the morning of the 10th of February, the fine handsome rifleman; and ere the sun had attained its meridian height, he lay a lifeless, mangled corpse before Sobraon. He was wounded and could not retire, and in this helpless condition was cut to pieces by the ruthless and barbarous Sikhs, who spared none of the wounded. His sorrowing relatives have the melancholy satisfaction of knowing that he died the death of a brave and gallant soldier, beloved and esteemed by all his brother-officers.

Poor Davidson, of the same regiment, likewise received his death-wound at Sobraon. To the meekest, mildest spirit, he united the daring courage of a soldier: this was his second battle, for he had shared the danger and glories of Feerozshuhur. On receiving his wound this brave youth's only regret was that it had not at once proved fatal; but ere twenty-four hours had elapsed, he was mingled with the dead; and had a brother fallen

the grief could not have been more poignant, than was that of his young companion in arms who shared the same tent with him and also watched his departing spirit.

Lieutenant Shuttleworth* fell in the desperate charge on the centre of the Sikh entrenchment. This officer had previous to the campaign obtained leave to revisit his native land, and renew the ties of affection and friendship, after a residence of ten years in a foreign land. He looked forward with pleasure to the day when the cessation of hostilities would enable him to fulfil his intention, a day which had been necessarily postponed. But, alas! a fond mother or affectionate sister, while perusing the glad tidings of the proposed return of a son or brother, little dreamt that the object of their love was then marching to a field where he was destined to fall in the defence of his country, and that by the hand of a barbarous and inhuman foe who turned a deaf ear to the imploring look and feeble arm of a wounded man. But his body was not hacked to pieces like that of poor Frederick Hamilton; and both were interred by their brother-officers and men, with military honours, on the day following the battle. Shuttleworth was a modest, unassuming man, kind-hearted and a firm friend. While at Akhberwala an incident occurred which may be mentioned. Lieutenant Shuttleworth's company was warned for picquet duty at Little Sobraon,

* Of the right wing of the First Bengal European regiment.

but it had become dark before he left camp, and though the distance was short, he and his men missed the direction of the post, and the first challenge was from a Sikh sentry! To advance would have ensured their being taken prisoners; return they could not; and therefore retreating a little, they remained quiet until morning, when it was discovered, that the position was close to the place which he was in quest of. Others of this regiment received severe wounds, which afterwards proved fatal; among the rest, Lieutenant John Lambert. To speak of him as merely a brother-officer, would be doing injustice to his memory; he was *our* friend, the friend of the writer of these pages, and never have we known a more zealous and enthusiastic soldier, or one who more fully sustained the honour of his profession. He had talents of no ordinary kind; and had he been spared, poor Lambert would have been an honour to the fair town of Alnwick, which gave him birth; but he died the death he coveted,—fell fighting side by side with his gallant companions before Sobraon, universally lamented by his brother-officers, and by none more than him who offers this humble tribute to his memory.

One other officer must not be passed over in silence.

Though wounded at Feerozshuhur, Lieutenant Beatson did not dismount until his horse, wounded in three places, obliged him to do so. The wound experienced by Beatson was a severe one, but even this did not preclude the hope that he would soon

return to his post ; and while yet weak, and barely recovered, he rejoined the regiment of which he was acting quarter-master, and with it entered the enemy's entrenchment at Sobraon, where he was again wounded, but not dangerously, and there was no reason to entertain any fears for his recovery. He left camp, however, on his way to Feerozpoore, was seized with lockjaw, which speedily proved fatal, and thus his friends and the service were deprived of as gallant a young officer as the army could boast of. His mild manners and evenness of temper, combined with his gentlemanly bearing, under which was concealed the most daring courage, gained him the esteem of the regiment to which he was attached, and his own (the 14th Native Infantry) could not more poignantly lament his loss than did the 1st European light infantry.

If our readers do not forgive us for this seeming partiality, in introducing men unknown to fame, we trust the surviving friends of the latter will be more lenient. We do not mention them as having performed deeds which any other officers would not have done, but merely because we knew them personally. It would be a pleasing task for us to record the brave young soldiers of other regiments, were we as well acquainted with their claims and deserts. There is nothing that tends more to encourage the European soldier in the midst of battle, than the gallant bearing of his young officers ; and it so happened, that this particular regiment had scarcely any old officers present ;

many of the officers had but just joined, and had never heard a shot fired, nor seen the face of an enemy; but one and all behaved like true soldiers, and vied with veterans in undaunted courage and gallant bearing.

We have been rather particular regarding the 1st European light infantry, as many Queen's officers of high rank often exhibit but a very imperfect notion of the Honourable Company's European regiments. On one occasion a general officer in Her Majesty's service, actually asked "How many havildars there were in the 1st European light infantry, and if there were any Native officers?" Even the highest authority in India had some misgivings about the European light infantry, as to their equipment and fighting qualities; both of which he had an opportunity of witnessing on the march to Feerozshuhur, and during the eventful night of the 21st of December. To sum up in one word, every European officer who composed the army of the Sutlej, from the Commander-in-chief down to the youngest ensign, merited high encomiums. A braver spirit never pervaded an army. The battle of Sobraon may be justly termed the "Waterloo" of India; it was the last, and one of the hardest contested; like that great and ever memorable engagement, it completely broke the power of the foe.

Character of
the army of
the Sutlej.

Let us now turn to the Sikhs, who confident in their security amidst their triple walls and ditches, began the battle of the 10th with great spirit. The

firing of their cannon showed, that in that arm they were still far from despicable. 'Tis true, their shot did little execution compared with that of Feerozshuhur; as the centre division advanced, the cannons made more noise than mischief, for the shot passed harmlessly over the line, and even beyond Rhodawala. The ground was light and sandy, and where the ball struck, it lay embedded. But far different was the effect of their musketry and grape. Ranged behind their walls, between which there were numerous traverses, the Sikhs poured with impunity a deadly and incessant fire on the approaching enemy; not for a few minutes only, or in repeated volleys, but in one long continued roll. The devoted British troops, could not return their murderous fire with the least prospect of success. The nature of the strong entrenchment of the Sikhs left the centre and left portions impracticable to infantry, and as the British guns were chiefly directed to the right, where the attack was intended to be made, to that quarter the Sikhs first directed their defence, and with such energy, that it appeared impossible to force an entrance into their camp. Fortunately for the British, the right portion of the entrenchment was its most vulnerable point, owing to a passage or road leading to their bridge, being here, which (after our guns had done their work,) was discovered by the 53rd foot, and through this the other regiments of the respective divisions entered. Until the entrance of Brigadier Stacey, Tej Singh was perfectly satisfied that the

Conduct of
the Sikhs at
Sobraon.

Destructive
effect of the
Sikh mus-
ketry.

That of the
British rendered ineffective.

The impracticable nature of the centre of their entrenchment.

Assailable point in the right.

The discom-
fiture and
flight of the
Sikhs and
their com-
mander.

Passage by
the bridge cut
off.

Murderous
fire of the
British on
the fugitives.

The cause of
this.

British could not break into the entrenchment ; but no sooner did espy the British bayonets, than he fled in dismay, leaving his troops to defend themselves. This they did with their swords and muskets ; for the Sikh bayonet is nearly harmless in their hands, and they could not long withstand that never-failing weapon when wielded by a British soldier. They yielded, retreated, fled, plunged into the river, or attempted to cross the bridge. Whether with a view of preventing the victors from following them across the river, or more probably with the design of cutting off all hopes of retreat from the Sikhs, and thus obliging them to fight, one of the boats from the centre of the bridge had been let loose, and the passage by it totally cut off. In one dense mass of thousands, the discomfited Sikhs had no alternative but to take to the river breast-high ; their progress was necessarily slow, and their pursuers had ample time to give them volley after volley, while the horse artillery mowed down those at the greatest distance with murderous grape. The river was covered with dead and dying, the mass of the former actually formed a bridge in the middle of the stream, while as the musket and grape took effect, hundreds were seen raising their heads for an instant, and then disappearing for ever. The fire on a retreating foe in the field of battle is at all times injurious ; but when that foe not only turns his back, but is intercepted by a deep stream of water, he becomes a sure aim, and the carnage committed by his pur-

suers must be deadly beyond conception; and such
 it was at Sobraon. None were spared, for they had
 spared none. All shared the same fate.

No quarter
 given.
 Accounted
 for.

In the whole annals of warfare, no parallel can
 be found to the carnage at Sobraon, even when a
 battle has been fought under circumstances which
 gave every possible advantage to the victors. In
 vain did the Sirdars, (among whom was the brave
 old Sham Singh Attareewala, who died nobly)

Bravery of
 Sham Singh
 Attareewala.

endeavour to rally the flying Sikhs. Onwards
 they rushed, death and destruction following them,
 and the deep waters of the Sutlej ready to engulf
 their dead bodies, or finish what the musket and
 grape had half performed. Five days after the
 action, and when the walls of the entrenchment
 had been nearly levelled with the ground, the sand-
 bank in the middle of the river was completely

covered with dead Sikhs; and the ground on the
 left bank, and within the entrenchment, thickly
 strewed with carcasses of men and horses. Then

Great loss of
 the Sikhs.

all was quiet; the European soldiers had been
 carefully covered with earth, and at one spot near
 the dry bed of the nullah, no fewer than twenty-
 seven soldiers of the 1st European light infantry,
 lay interred in a single grave. The Sikhs had
 returned for their dead, and the Commander-in-
 chief generously allowed them to carry off the
 body of Sirdar Sham Singh, and other persons of
 note; but the task was found irksome, and hundreds
 of Sikhs were left as food for the jackal, the dog,
 and the vulture.

State of the
 dead.

The Sikhs not pursued across the river by the British.

No attempt was made to follow the Sikhs across the river, but while the bloody scene was being enacted at Sobraon, troops were passed over the bridge at Koonda Ghat. Had the British followed the Sikhs on the 10th, they might have made their way without resistance to Lahore, and there renewed the conflict; but such was not the intention of our sagacious commander, and the capital of the Punjab was destined to be occupied by the British, without the repetition of the struggles which had occurred on the left bank of the Sutlej, and in which the vaunted power of the Khalsa troops had been effectually destroyed.

The Commander-in-chief confident of the victory.

Previous to the battle of Sobraon, we find that the Commander-in-chief was confident of success, for he says, when speaking of the Governor-general, in his despatch to the latter, "I could not permit myself to doubt, that, with the blessing of Divine Providence, the victory would be ours." The plan of the attack had been submitted to the

Supported by the opinion of the Governor-general.

Governor-general, who, as an experienced General, could appreciate its merits, or defects, as a final attempt to overthrow a people against whom he had now been carrying on a fierce war for nearly two months. At the battle of Feerozshuhur, as we have seen, Sir Henry Hardinge had, as second in command, led the left of the British army, and by his skill, courage, and decision contributed to the attainment of that great victory. He was now about to share the dangers and glories of another

battle, in which the fate of the Sikhs would, in all probability, be decided, and a death-blow given to a war of their own seeking. He had the proud satisfaction of thinking, that he had long and scrupulously avoided war as a great evil, with a forbearance that few statesmen would have been inclined to practice; but when the collision was forced upon him, his energy, zeal, and courage, could not be surpassed. In the military operations of the army of the Sutlej, the Commander-in-chief found in Sir Henry an inestimable coadjutor, and he was not insensible of the great advantage. His Excellency expresses himself thus on the subject:—

“ I cannot describe the support which I derived from the circumstance of its (the plan of attack) details meeting your approbation. When a soldier of such sound judgment and matured experience as your Excellency, assured me that my projected operation deserved success, &c. Nor did your assurance stop here. Though suffering severely from the effects of a fall, and unable to mount on horseback without assistance, your uncontrollable desire to see the army once more triumphant, carried you into the hottest of the fire, filling all who witnessed your exposure to such peril, at once with admiration of the intrepidity that prompted it, and anxiety for your personal safety, involving so deeply in itself the interests and happiness of British India. I must acknowledge, also, my obligations to you, for having, whilst I was busied with

The decided effects likely to follow victory at Soobraon.

The invaluable aid of the Governor-general acknowledged by the Commander-in-chief.

The Governor-general exposed to all the dangers of the battle, and anxiety for his safety.

another portion of our operations, superintended all the arrangements that related to laying our bridge across the Sutlej, at Feerozpoore."

The Governor-general superintends the laying of the bridge across the river.

Major Abbott forms the bridge in an admirable manner.

Despatch regarding Sir Harry Smith.

Major-general Gilbert.

The bridge erected under the eye of the Governor-general, at Koonda, and constructed by Major F. Abbott, of the Bengal engineers, was of the most perfect kind. In fact, there were two bridges, along which guns, elephants, and troops could march with the same ease and facility as if no Sutlej existed, and they excited the admiration of every one.

In his despatch, the Commander-in-chief bore ample testimony to the bravery of the army at Sobraon, and the gallant conduct of the officers concerned. Regarding Sir Harry Smith, he remarks, "in his attack on the enemy's left, Major-general Sir Harry Smith displayed the same valour and judgment which gave him the victory at Aleewal. A more arduous task has seldom, if ever, been assigned to a division; never has an attempt been more gloriously carried through." The mention of Major-general Gilbert in such flattering terms, but nothing more than he deserved, proves him to be one of the ablest generals that India can boast of. The Commander-in-chief says, "I want words to express my gratitude to Major-general Gilbert; not only have I to record, that in this great fight all was achieved by him, which, as Commander-in-chief, I could desire to have executed; not only on this day was his division enabled, by his skill and courageous example, to

triumph over obstacles, from which a less ardent spirit would have recoiled as insurmountable; but, since the hour in which our leading columns moved out of Umballa, I have found in the Major-general, an officer who has not merely carried out my orders to the letter, but whose zeal and tact have enabled him, in a hundred instances, to perform valuable services in exact anticipation of my wishes. I beg explicitly to recommend him to your Excellency's special notice, as a divisional commander of the highest merit."

The noble daring of Her Majesty's 3rd dragoons, at Sobraon, has been already alluded to, in quoting the Commander-in-chief's despatch, and a well-merited eulogium is paid to the Major-general who commanded the cavalry division at Sobraon, and who had previously commanded that branch in the army of the Indus. "Major-general Sir Joseph Thackwell has established a claim, on this day, to the rare commendation of having effected much with a cavalry force, where the duty to be done consisted of an attack on field works, usually supposed to be the particular province of infantry and artillery. His vigilance and activity throughout our operations, and the superior manner in which our out-post duties have been carried on under his superintendence, demand my warmest acknowledgments."

Her Majesty's
3rd dragoons,
and Sir Joseph
Thackwell.

It was to be expected that the gallant conduct of the brigadier who led the attack at Sobraon would be prominently noticed, and accordingly the

Brigadier
Stacey.

Commander-in-chief brings Brigadier Stacey to the notice of the Governor-general in the following terms—"On him devolved the arduous duty of leading the first column in the attack, turning the enemy's right, encountering his fire before his numbers had been thinned or his spirit broken, and, to use a phrase which a soldier like your Excellency will comprehend, taking off the rough edge of the Sikhs in the fight. How ably, how gallantly, how successfully, this was done, I have before endeavoured to relate. I feel certain that Brigadier Stacy and his noble troops will hold their due place in your Excellency's estimation, and that his merits will meet with fit reward."

Brigadier
Orchard, C. B.

The officer next brought to the notice of the Governor-general, was one of those brave men who love the profession of arms for its own sake, and by whom dangers are relished as rich rewards for their labour. He had gone on leave before the Sikh war commenced, and, like many others, thought the Sikhs would never dare to cross the Sutlej. But though thus absent, the first rumour of warlike operations roused his spirit, and raised his desire to join in the coming strife. At a distance of fifteen hundred miles, the accomplishment of his wishes was no easy task, but he resolved to brave all difficulties, in the hope of sharing in the dangers and glories of his favourite profession. By great exertion he reached Kurnaul, and there he found his rapid progress arrested. Disappointed and chagrined at this delay, he was obliged to march with the siege train, in the full hope that he might yet

be in time. It is only necessary to state that every officer and man of his own regiment, lamented the absence of one who had often led them to victory. He reached Akhberwala on the 8th February, and his wish was no doubt to lead the brigade, to which his regiment belonged, into action; but this could not be accomplished, and the only regiment of the brigade to which he was appointed was attached to Brigadier Stacey's brigade. It was a matter of indifference to Brigadier Orchard, under whose command he served, and he accordingly joined the 53rd foot, and the result of the day proved how nobly he and his regiment fought. Many men would have been dissatisfied with any but the most extravagant eulogiums upon their services on the occasion; but the modesty of this officer, where his personal services are concerned, is as conspicuous as his bravery. He looked on his own exertions, on that memorable day, as a common-place occurrence, requiring no particular notice; he had done his duty, and expected every man to do the same. For thus acting, he neither required reward nor notice, but nevertheless he deserved both. The Commander-in-chief notices the brigadier in the following handsome and trite manner—"Brigadier Orchard, C. B., in consequence of the only regiment under his command that was engaged in the action being with Brigadier Stacey's brigade, attached himself to it, and shared all its dangers, glories, and success."

The brave and gallant Brigadier Taylor is thus Brigadier
C. C. Taylor.

noticed by the Commander-in-chief. "Brigadier Taylor, of Her Majesty's 29th, fell nobly, as has already been told, in the discharge of duty. He is himself beyond the reach of earthly praise, but it is my earnest desire that his memory may be honoured in his fall; and that his regiment, the army with which he served, and his country, may know that no officer had a higher place in my poor estimation for gallantry or skill than Brigadier C. C. Taylor."

The brigadiers of cavalry and artillery are all noticed in the despatch in the most favourable manner; and, also, the commanding officers of regiments, troops, batteries, and detachments, as well as the staff officers of the various departments.

Dr. W. B.
Macleod.

Dr. Macleod's exertions we had personally an opportunity of witnessing; and, as superintending surgeon, his labour was unwearied, and his attention to all most marked. There is, probably, no medical officer in the service who could have filled the appointment with more efficiency; and certainly none with more zeal. But it becomes us as faithful historians to refer to the appointment formerly alluded to, the incumbent of which is noticed along with the superintendent of the dépôt. Neither at Feerozshuhur nor at Sobroan was this gentleman present. On the one occasion he was at Moodkee, and on the other in Feerozpoore. It seems, as we have said, an anomaly that the field-surgeon should have been thus twenty miles absent

The field-
surgeon.

from the field on both occasions. We have endeavoured to account for the occurrence : at Feerozshuhur his presence, without instruments, might have tended little to render his aid efficacious ; but surely, after a lapse of nearly six weeks, the deficiency of *materiel* might have been supplied.

With regard to Dr. Walker, surgeon to His Ex-^{Dr. Walker.} cellency the Governor-general, we willingly acquiesce in the praise bestowed upon him by Sir Henry Hardinge. Before daybreak, on the morning after the battle of Sobraon, he came to offer his valuable assistance to ourselves in the necessary operations, all of which were performed before the men left the camp for Feerozpoore. The necessity for promptitude was well exemplified by what occurred in some regiments, where hardly an amputation succeeded when performed at a late period. In all engagements, in India at least, the sooner a limb is lost after it has been wounded, the greater will be the chance of success ; in fact, the amputation, if delayed, had better not be performed at all. Hence, the necessity of a field-hospital is an important point that will not, it is hoped, be overlooked in future wars.

Importance of early operations.

As every officer takes an interest in the welfare of his soldiers, a few remarks on the state of the wounded will, we feel assured, be acceptable to our military readers.

At Feerozshuhur, the grape of the enemy committed the greatest havoc ; and accordingly, the greatest number of wounds were inflicted by a

Wounds at Feerozshuhur chiefly from grape-shot.

At Sobraon
from mus-
ketry.

Dangerous
nature of
grape-shot
wounds in the
knee-joint.

Proper appa-
ratus for frac-
tures highly
necessary.
Limbs might
often be saved
by it.
Credit due for
saving a limb.

heavy iron bullet, which, on being extracted, left a large opening, and often caused severe inflammation in the surrounding parts. In the attack on the entrenchment at Sobraon, the musketry was the deadly weapon in the hand of the Sikhs, and the musket ball was oftenest met with; it was a small bullet, and caused but little harm if in a fleshy part; but when entering a knee-joint, the succeeding inflammation was such as often caused death; and from the experience gleaned at Sobraon, as well as at Feerozshuhur, there is little doubt (in fact, the point appears to be completely settled) that a *musket bullet or grape shot, lodged in the knee, requires immediate amputation.* This is an important point, and had it been fully appreciated, we should not have to lament the death of many men and officers thus wounded during the present campaign. Though a bone be simply fractured, and even a smaller joint, such as the ankle, injured by a gun-shot wound, recovery without loss of limb may occur, provided proper apparatus for treating such accidents be available. There is always much more credit due to the surgeon who saves a limb, than to him who cuts off legs and arms indiscriminately: but when saying this, it must not be forgotten that a gun-shot wound of the knee-joint or other joint, when the bones are much injured in the latter, demands immediate amputation; and delay, or as it is usually termed "giving a chance," is worse than useless, and puts the patient's life in jeopardy. In a military surgeon, decision is the

first quality : when he has decided on the propriety of operating, no time should be lost in putting the design into execution ; for a wound of a joint which at first appears simple and unattended with any danger, may in twenty-four hours assume an aspect which will render amputation too late. These remarks will be sufficient for our non-professional readers : the illustration of military surgery in India must be conveyed through another channel.

Importance of decision in the military surgeon.

Danger of delay when amputation is required.

Through the exertions of the commissariat and executive officers at Feerozpoore, all the wounded were borne to that place a few days after the battle of Sobraon, and the intention of the Governor-general, to send down the river all the survivors with stumps, to be conveyed to England with as little delay as possible, was eventually carried into effect ; the other wounded were sent to the depôt at Landour, to Subathoo, and a great number to Meerutt, so that when the remainder of the army of the Sutlej recrossed that river, on the 26th March, no wounded men except those of Her Majesty's 62nd and 80th remained there. Over this depôt, Dr. Graham was appointed Superintendent, and many young medical officers highly distinguished themselves for their skill and attention ; we need only mention the names of Stewart, of Her Majesty's 31st, than whom few more expert or zealous surgeons are to be met with in Her Majesty's service in India—Mackie, of the 9th foot—Thring, attached first to Her Majesty's 62nd,

Intentions of the Governor-general carried out.

The depôt for the wounded at Feerozpoore.

Ability of young surgeons.

and latterly to the 1st European light infantry, who, with many others, deserve the highest praise for their unremitting attention to the wounded.

Depôts for wounded useful.

Such depôts are, no doubt, useful, but the rule already inculcated should be strictly adhered to, and as many amputations as possible performed before the men are sent to them. Immediately after receiving a wound, no soldier offers an objection to lose a limb if he have confidence in the regimental surgeon: we ourselves incurred the high displeasure of a poor fellow, because, tired with numerous amputations after the battle of Sobraon, we wished to delay his until a future day!

Soldiers readily consent to early amputation.

In order, however, to secure every advantage to wounded men, the selection of a skilful surgeon, who has had experience with European soldiers, should be made at an early period, with strict reference to his capacity, and a field-hospital immediately formed, supplied with all requisite instruments. The selection of a field-surgeon is always made from the medical officers belonging to the Honourable Company's service, and it must not be supposed, that though they may be of old standing, they are necessarily best calculated for performing operations. Many such persons never did take off a limb in their lives, and are constantly at a loss when they find themselves appointed field-surgeon! To refuse the post would be paying but a bad compliment to those who selected them; but the responsibility is a fearful one, if they know

The field-surgeon.

Responsibility of the situation.

that their nerves and hands are not equal to the task which they are expected to perform.

Let the test be the success which has attended the surgeon's operations; his decision in operating, and the number of good stumps which he can exhibit, and not the favourable opinion of individuals formed by people high in office, who can be no judges of surgical skill. A medical officer may be an excellent physician, and a very indifferent surgeon; and the reverse is equally true. We are aware that many regimental surgeons suppose that it forms no part of their duty to operate on the field, and that this is solely the province of the field-surgeon. In Europe such may be allowed to be the rule; but in India, every regimental surgeon is called upon to do his best in attending to the necessary operations required by his own men, at least; and in cases of his vicinity to depôts for wounded men, thither also he should repair, when men are carried there from the field, as often occurred at Feerozshuhur.

The proper test of one.

Regimental surgeons expected to operate early on their own men.

Some commanding officers may wish the surgeon to be with the regiment, and in consequence, the latter instead of following his wounded, and commencing his operations immediately with every prospect of success, sends a young assistant, who cannot be supposed to be the best judge of what is required, even though an expert operator; and who, instead of acting on his own opinion, if he venture to form one, puts off a capital operation from day

Causes preventing this.

Regimental surgeons should be with the wounded.

The Governor-general's opinion on the subject.

to day, or confines his attention to the extracting of bullets and dressing wounds. In whatever situation a battle may take place in India, the duty of the regimental surgeon is to be with the wounded, no matter whether these be on the field or at a depôt near at hand, until all the capital operations be performed. During the present war, and when the Governor-general visited the wounded frequently at Feerozpore, his Excellency appeared to entertain the opinion here advanced; and even when the army crossed the Sutlej, no more than one medical officer was allowed to accompany his regiment, since his services were much more required at Feerozpore than with a healthy body of men, who no longer stood in need of medical aid.

The military surgeon's situation often a disagreeable one.

When performing his arduous and bounden duties, often under great privations, there can be nothing more galling to a man of any feeling than to find that his object is entirely mistaken by his commanding officer who fancies he is enjoying himself, and acting on this somewhat ridiculous idea, applies for another medical officer to take charge of his regiment; military men can hardly enter into such a feeling, but nevertheless the occurrence has happened, and may do so again. Nay more, while thus detached, and probably not in possession of a single dooly, the surgeon is all but reprimanded for not achieving impossibilities, and a threat held out, that the subject will be brought to the notice of higher authority!

Though the regimental surgeon has not the honour of leading men into the thick of battle and is enjoined not to expose himself unnecessarily, it will be readily seen, that his annoyances must sometimes make him wish that he did go where danger awaited him, rather than remain where his services were required, but are not appreciated and are even misunderstood.

His services
sometimes
misunder-
stood.

Since there exists such difficulty in keeping dooly-bearers at their post in the field, thereby causing loss of instruments at a time when they are urgently required, every medical officer attached to Europeans at least should be furnished with what is called a *surgical saddle*, and in which a case of amputating instruments, and one of medicines and dressing, supply the place of pistols, weapons rarely of any use to him.

The necessity
of supplying
surgical
saddles.

All these arrangements require but little foresight, and should be made before troops enter on active service. They are not the province of a Governor-general or Commander-in-chief; but they certainly lie within the province of a superintending surgeon, or the surgeon-general of the medical board, both of whom might urge their necessity with every prospect of success, though the regimental surgeon, in doing so incurs displeasure, so jealous are seniors of any interference.

The duty of
a superintend-
ing surgeon
and surgeon-
general.

As regards ourselves, we are not writing a treatise on military surgery, gun-shot wounds, or medical policy, and therefore may be pardoned for thus entering on forbidden ground; and we shall be

Object of the
foregoing
remarks.

satisfied if the observations here made shall render future arrangements in the medical department of armies in India more efficient than they were in the campaign against the Sikhs.

Further remarks on the subject.

Instead of a medical board and superintending surgeons being left to make the arrangements on which we here dwelt, a director-general on the field might be more useful in time of war and full power given to him to act according to circumstances in everything relating to the medical operations. In time of peace the appointment might cease, though to ensure efficiency and be prepared for sudden emergencies, it is worth the attention of a powerful government, like that of the British in India, to overlook a small outlay in order to secure a permanent benefit. Such an officer should be entirely untrammelled by any board, and communicate directly with the Commander-in-chief of the force, since much time is lost when the details of an important duty have to travel through various offices. Energy, dispatch, and efficiency are great requisites in everything connected with war, and they are just as essential in the medical as in the military department of an army. It will not do for one man to trust to another: he must have power to act for himself, and meet every emergency without loss of time.

Apology for introducing it.

We have by no means exhausted the subject, but the general reader may think he has had a sufficient share of medical tactics, and we shall therefore not again trouble him with any such details.

Before closing this chapter, a glimpse may be taken of the number of killed and wounded on the side of the British, for as on other occasions, that on the part of the Sikhs cannot be ascertained with any approach to correctness, but it may be safely advanced, that at Sobraon, their actual loss in men exceeded that of all their former losses put together. If fewer of their guns were taken than at Feerozshuhur, the cause is of easy solution; all left on the British side of the river at Sobraon had been already captured.

Great comparative loss of the Sikhs at Sobraon.

In the battle of Sobraon no fewer than thirteen European officers were killed, and one hundred and one wounded. The small number killed in comparison with those wounded, is to be accounted for from the wounds being chiefly inflicted by musket-bullets, instead of cannon-shot and grape, though it must not be supposed that great numbers were not struck by the latter, and many no doubt were killed and wounded by them.

Great number of British officers killed and wounded at Sobraon.

Among the Native officers eight were killed, and only thirty wounded.

Loss of Native officers.

The list of warrant and non-commissioned officers, rank and file, exhibits 301 killed, and 1913 wounded.

Of all ranks and denominations, the wounded amounted to 2063, and the killed to 320. The grand total of both was 2383.

Rank and file; total of all grades.

On the part of the Sikhs, several Sirdars fell as well as general officers; among the rest, Sirdar Sham Singh Attareewala, whose daughter married

Sham Singh Attareewala killed.

Nonehal Singh in 1837. He was an old and a brave soldier, one of those who had fought under Runjeet Singh during his warlike career. He was a fine fellow and a great favourite with the Maharajah : like most of the Sikhs, he was fond of his glass, and we well recollect on one occasion in the Durbar, his jeering his old companion-in-arms on the pitiful pittance of liquor meted out to them, compared to what they had both been accustomed to in former days. He determined to sustain his character to the last, and did all in his power to stop the flight of the Sikhs at Sobraon, until he fell in the struggle. It was said that it was he who had removed the boat from the Sikh bridge, thereby cutting off their retreat, and obliging them to stand to their arms.

Sirdar Kishen
Singh killed.

Sirdar Kishen Singh, a son of the late Jemadar Khooshyal Singh, was also killed ; he was younger brother to Ram Singh who died some years ago, and he had an adopted brother, Bishen Singh, who is still alive. The latter was educated at the missionary school at Loodiana, where he acquired a tolerable knowledge of the English language. He was the son of Lal Singh, brother to the Jemadar, who adopted him as his son, and in consequence Bishen Singh became a Sikh, though his own father adhered to the Hindoo sect, or caste of Brahmin.

His brother
Bishen Singh.

Other Sikh
Generals killed.

The others of note who fell at Sobraon were Generals Goolab Singh Kooptee, who was chiefly employed in watching the hill states in the west Jalindhur, Heera Singh, Jopee, Moobaruk Allee,

Ellabec Buksh, Shah Nuwaz Khan, son of Fultch Vodeen Khan of Kussoor, and many more of less note.

Thus terminated the last battle in the campaign against the Sikhs, who had crossed the river in the vain hope of conquering Hindostan, and had been employed for several months in bringing guns to the left bank, where they were said to have been hidden in grass and about villages previous to their being collected at Feerozshuhur ; at least, this was the explanation given by themselves when interrogated on the subject, and when surprise was expressed as to how they could possibly have transported so many pieces of ordnance across the Sutlej in so short a time. The arrogance of the Khalsa troops led them to rely with confidence on becoming masters of the British possessions, and a Governor of Benares had even been appointed ! Even this acquisition could not entirely satisfy their ambitious views ; for their ultimate destination was to have been London, by which they understood the British Empire ; but how they were to reach that remote kingdom, whether by a voyage round the Cape or by the Isthmus of Suez had not been definitely settled, and would, no doubt, have occupied their attention on reaching Calcutta ! They looked forward to the sacking and pillaging of Delhi, and because Nadir Shah had preceded them, their vanity led them to believe the same feat might be performed by themselves, forgetting that there was no British force to oppose that rapacious soldier !

The intention of the Sikhs on crossing the Sutlej, and the manner in which they possessed so many guns on the left bank.

Their absurd ideas of conquest.

CHAPTER X.

THE BRITISH ARMY CROSSES THE SUTLEJ.

The army
crosses, and
Kussoor
yields.

AFTER the battle of Sobraon and even during its continuance, the existence of a bridge at Koonda Ghat enabled the army of the Sutlej to cross that river in a few days, without the slightest opposition. The first place of any consequence was Kussoor, which had in former times twice defied the power of the Maharajah Runjeet Singh to reduce it to his subjection. It was held out against him, as formerly related, by the Mussulman family whose descendants now own Mumdhote on the left bank of the Gharra below Feerozpoore. Though then a strong and extensive fortification, it possessed but little strength when the army of the Sutlej reached it, and no opposition was offered. On the 17th February 1846, the siege-guns crossed the bridge along with the 4th brigade infantry, under the command of Brigadier Orchard, C. B.

From Kussoor the Governor-general of India issued his proclamation, which as giving a much

better idea of the great objects attained and contemplated by the British arms, than any words of ours can possibly convey, we make no apology for transcribing.

This proclamation of the Right Hon. the Governor-general of India is dated, Kussoor, the 14th February, 1846.

“ The Sikh army has been expelled from the left bank of the river Sutlej, having been defeated in every action, with the loss of more than 220 pieces of field-artillery.

“ The British army has crossed the Sutlej, and entered the Punjab.

“ The Governor-general announces by this proclamation, that this measure has been adopted by the government of India, in accordance with the intentions expressed in the proclamation of the 13th December last, as having been forced upon the Governor-general for the purpose of ‘ effectually protecting the British provinces—for vindicating the authority of the British government, and for punishing the violaters of treaties, and the disturbers of the public peace.’

The Governor-general's proclamation from Kussoor.

“ These operations will be steadily persevered in and vigorously prosecuted, until the objects proposed to be accomplished are fully attained; the occupation of the Punjab by the British forces will not be relinquished until ample atonement for the insult offered to the British government by the infraction of the treaty of 1809 A. D., and by the

Continued.

unprovoked invasion of the British provinces shall have been exacted. These objects will include full indemnity for all expenses incurred during the war, and such arrangements for the future government of the Lahore territories, as will give perfect security to the British government against similar acts of perfidy and aggression.

“ Military operations against the government and army of the Lahore state, have not been undertaken by the government of India from any desire of territorial aggrandisement. The Governor-general, as already announced in the proclamation of the 13th December, ‘ sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh government re-established in the Punjab, able to control its army and protect its subjects.’ The sincerity of the professions is proved by the fact, that no preparations for hostilities had been made, when the Lahore government, suddenly and without a pretext of complaint, invaded the British territories. This unprovoked aggression has compelled the British government to have recourse to arms, and to organize the means of offensive warfare ; and whatever may now befall the Lahore state, the consequences can alone be attributed to the misconduct of that government and its army.

“ No extension of territory was desired by the Government of India ; the measures necessary for providing indemnity for the past, and security for the future will, however, involve the retention, by the British government, of a portion of the country

hitherto under the government of the Lahore state. Continued.

“ The government of India has frequently declared, that it did not desire to subvert the Sikh Government in the Punjab; and although the conduct of the Durbar has been such, as to justify the most severe and extreme measures of retribution, (the infliction of which may yet be required by sound policy, if the recent acts of violence be not amply atoned for, and immediate submission tendered;) nevertheless, the Governor-general is still willing that an opportunity should be given to the Durbar and to the chiefs, to submit themselves to the British government, and, by a return to good faith and the observance of prudent counsels, enable the Governor-general to organize a Sikh government, in the person of a descendant of its founder, the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, the faithful ally of the British power.

“ The Governor-general at this moment of a complete and decisive victory, cannot give a stronger proof of the forbearance and moderation of the British government, than by making this declaration of his intention: the terms and mode of arrangement remaining for further adjustment.

“ The Governor-general, therefore, calls upon all those chiefs who are the well-wishers of the descendants of Runjeet Singh, and especially such chiefs as have not participated in the hostile proceedings against the British power, to act in concert with him, for carrying into effect such

Continued.

arrangements, as shall maintain a Sikh government at Lahore, capable of controlling its army and protecting its subjects, and based upon principles that shall provide for the future tranquillity of the Sikh states—shall secure the British frontier from a repetition of acts of aggression,—and shall prove to the whole world the moderation and justice of the paramount power in India.

“ If this opportunity of rescuing the Sikh nation from military anarchy and misrule be neglected, and hostile opposition to the British army be renewed, the government of India will make such other arrangements for the future government of the Punjab, as the interests and security of the British power may render just and expedient.”

Concluded.

The alarm at Lahore.

The Sikhs at Sobraon had every advantage on their side.

The terror and consternation produced at Lahore, by the tidings of the signal and complete overthrow of the Sikhs at Sobraon may be readily conceived. In this last battle, the Khalsa troops had fought with every advantage that a strongly fortified camp, defended by numerous artillery on the opposite bank and behind walls, where they could safely assail their enemy, could bestow.

Could never meet the British again.

This complete failure proved to a certainty, that the remnant of the Sikh force could never again meet the British army. The existence of the very kingdom was at stake, and it was felt that if the British should cross the Sutlej, the flag of the victors might in a few days be flying on the citadel of Lahore.

There was no alternative then, but to propose

terms, and endeavour to prevent the victorious army from crossing the Sutlej; for the Lahore government never anticipated that the battle of Sobraon would be the immediate signal for crossing the river.

The only alternative left to the Lahore government.

The Ranee was, no doubt, alarmed, though she foresaw from the commencement, what the issue of the war would be; and, as far as lay in her power, she endeavoured to provide for coming events, by sending emissaries, in conjunction with those of Goolab Singh, to the Governor-general before Sobraon.

Policy of the Ranee.

Summoned from Jummoo, by the Khalsa troops and the Ranee, the Rajah Goolab Singh had been sometime at Lahore, when the crisis arrived which he was expected to meet; and to him the Ranee referred the danger of her position, and implored his advice.

Asks the advice of Goolab Singh.

We have already explained the wily policy of Goolab Singh, and he was now to carry it through, at whatever sacrifice on the part of the Sikhs. He was, in short, to become the mediator between the falling state of Lahore, and the victorious Governor-general of India.

He becomes the mediator.

Not a moment was to be lost, in adopting measures for retarding the progress of the British army towards Lahore; for, once there, the Governor-general would dictate his own terms, and then the Rajah's position might, probably, not be an enviable one; at least, it would not be so agreeable as he desired. He accordingly proceeded with all

Endeavours to arrest the advance of the British army on Lahore.

expedition towards Kussoor, to endeavour, if possible, to arrest the progress of the Governor-general; but his intentions and hopes were doomed to meet with disappointment, for the Governor-general indignantly refused to listen to any arrangement, which would prevent him from sealing under the walls of Lahore, any treaty that might be made. *There*, and there alone, must the indemnity be paid for the expense of the war, and there alone atonement must be made for the blood spilt in the warfare brought on by a military force uncontrolled by its own government.

Is frustrated.

The Governor-general determined to treat under the walls of Lahore.

Changes produced in a few months in the aspect of Sikh affairs.

Goolab Singh bent on pursuing his object.

Resolves to bring the young Maharajah to meet the Governor-general.

The Rajah was alarmed at the posture of affairs, and saw, with mortification, that even his personal presence was not sufficient to insure the objects which he had in view. The British had crossed the Sutlej, their army was at Kussoor, and two or three days more, might see it occupying the plain of Meean Meer, which a few months before had witnessed the Khalsa troops collecting their strength, for the invasion of British India. What a contrast! and what a change had been produced by the fortune of war! Not that Goolab Singh expected any other result, and he was not the man to abandon his object. He was referred to Major Lawrence and Mr. Currie, and recommended by the Governor-general to make his proposals to them, as they were in his confidence. But having failed in preventing the advance of the British, Goolab Singh now changed his tactics, and determined on bringing the young Dhuleep Singh to meet the Gover-

nor-general. He saw plainly that little was to be done with the major and secretary; one falling asleep on his bed, and the other leaving the Rajah alone; Goolab Singh accordingly returned to Lahore, to fetch the young Maharajah. The result was, a meeting between the Governor-general and his youthful Highness, at Lulleana. Out of respect for the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and the tender years of his grandson, the Governor-general received Dhuleep Singh with the utmost kindness, and repeated to him, that his wish still was, that a government should exist in the Punjab, under the descendant of a man who had preserved a strict and lasting alliance with the British for a period of thirty years.

Received kindly by the Governor-general, and the reason of this.

The first point in any treaty to be now concluded, was the indemnity for the expense of the war, and that was laid at a crore and a-half of rupees, (a million and a-half sterling.) The demand may have been greater, since in addition to the money part of the question, the Doab or Bist Jalindhur was added. The Sikh guns which had been pointed against the British by the Sikhs, and were still in possession of the latter, were to be given up. The rebellious troops and their turbulent leaders disbanded. These were the principal stipulations, to all of which a willing assent was given. Still it was insisted that their ratification should take place under the walls of Lahore.

The terms of the Treaty.

Readily agreed to by the Lahore government.

The Maharajah was now conveyed back to his palace at Lahore, by a large escort from the British

Dhuleep Singh returns to Lahore.

army, there to await the arrival of the dictator of the terms of peace to the haughty Sikhs.

The stability of the Sikh government wholly dependent on the British.

On the return of her son, the Ranee's mind was greatly relieved; she, however, foresaw that her own power and Dhuleep Singh's reign, were entirely dependent on the British, and she never regarded the concessions which had been made, as more than equivalent to the preservation of a government which might have been entirely overthrown.

The complete subjugation of the Punjab impracticable, and the reasons.

The politicians who view the proclamation of the Governor-general at Kussoor as too temperate in tone, and who are inclined to blame him for not, at once, subjugating the Punjab, will have reason to confess, that such a step was impracticable; except at the risk of destroying the European portion of his troops, by exposure to a burning sun, during the hot and rainy months. Never for an instant could the idea of such a sacrifice enter the mind of a statesman, who throughout the campaign had evinced the warmest interest in the welfare of his European soldiers. He deeply lamented the great loss already sustained by them, in nobly fighting against a desperate foe; but the latter subdued, his immediate object was attained, and no further exposure was necessary. Sir H. Hardinge did not want territory: the portion ceded between the Sutlej and Beas, and annexed to the British possessions, had probably been forced upon him as an equivalent for some part of the required indemnity, and this could be retained by Native troops

alone. The terms of the treaty were so couched, that while the Sikhs were rendered unable to make further aggression, for some time at least, the nation might still be able to maintain a government of its own, capable of controlling its military force and protecting its subjects, which was all that the Governor-general desired.

Had the Sikhs contented themselves with waging war in their own country, and the army of the Sutlej entered the Punjab with hostile purposes, the turn of affairs might have been different. The Sikhs might, in that case, have opposed the British, not in the open field as at Moodkee and Alleewal, or in the temporary entrenchments as at Feerozshuhur and Sobraon, but at Umritsir, shutting the gates and placing their guns in that fortress and the still stronger adjacent one of Govind Ghur. Several months might have been required for the subjection of those strongholds; and the Sikhs would, in all likelihood, have often crossed the Ravee, and even the Chenab and Jelum, pursued by the British. But conquest, and not defence, was the object of the Sikhs; and they came to risk the fortune of war on the left bank of the Sutlej, where a speedy blow was struck at all their hopes; and they were driven back across that river. They were now at the mercy and clemency of their victorious foe; their pride humbled, and the very government of the country tottering to its base.

The effect of the forbearance of the British Government, and the prudence and energy displayed

Aspect of affairs might have been altered,

And a protracted war taken place,

Had the Sikhs not crossed the Sutlej.

Effects of forbearance visible.

by the Governor-general, were now conspicuous in the completion of a war which could not possibly have been confined to a few months' duration, had the British been aggressors, and the Punjab the scene of the struggle.

Lord Ellenborough's views regarding the Punjab.

It is highly probable that Lord Ellenborough had resolved to invade the Punjab with a powerful and overwhelming army, had any sufficient provocation been offered; and if the Sikhs had been taken unawares, conquest might have been rapid and complete. But even in that case, had his Lordship begun his campaign in October, instead of December, the triumph of his design would, in all probability, have involved the necessity of retaining a strong force of Europeans in the Punjab, thereby endangering their lives by exposure. Under this view of the case, therefore, it is a matter of congratulation that the campaign against the Sikhs did not occur in 1843-44, instead of 1845-46; but those who look to the entire subjugation of the Punjab, as the only means whereby rule and order can take the place of anarchy and confusion in that country, would probably support the views of the former Governor-general. There is, however, one point connected with the present campaign that throws the balance into its favour, and forms a pleasing contrast to the wars formerly carried on in India and other countries.

Feature of the present campaign.

Contrasted with that of Afghanistan.

Our invasion of Afghanistan was undertaken to serve a political purpose, to replace a king on the throne of Cabul who had been expelled by a man

far superior to himself in energy, bravery, and intellect, and in every way adapted to the control of a fierce, disorderly race. This imbecile, fugitive king had remained for nearly thirty years dependent on the generosity of the government of India : he had made two unsuccessful attempts to regain his throne, and was forced to return to his asylum at Loodianah ; no aid was afforded him in either of his attempts, and whether he had any right to expect it, is a matter of doubt. But his right to the throne of Cabul was as strong in 1812 as in 1839 ; and when in the latter year, the army of the Indus took the field, in order to re-establish Shah Soojah-Ool Moolk, the plea was not stronger than it would have been when he first took up his abode at Loodianah. The invasion of Affghanistan was hardly sanctioned on the principle of right ; it failed ultimately, and a catastrophe befell the British which will be ever memorable in the annals of British rule in India. The annexation of Scinde, Mysore, the Carnatic ; in short, of the whole of the British possessions in India might, perhaps, be disputed on the same principle ; but, not so, the annexation of a portion, or even the whole, of the Punjab. A people making an unprovoked aggression in defiance of treaties of peace and alliance, justly subject themselves to the loss of their territories ; and if they suffer all the horrors of war and bloodshed, they are alone to blame for the issue. The victors have every right to deprive them of the means of repeating such outrages. The Sikhs did not appear to un-

War with the
Sikhs justifi-
able.

derstand this view of the matter, and previous to their final overthrow at Sobraon, expressed some hopes that their captured guns would be returned to them. Even the annexation of the Jalindhur Doab to the British territories was looked upon by many of them as a hardship; and they blamed Goolab Singh and the Ranee for yielding up a portion of their country, never taking into account that their very existence, as a nation, was at stake.

Lal Singh's pretensions to the office of Wuzeer.

On the restoration of young Dhuleep Singh to the head of the government, Goolab Singh was appointed Wuzeer or prime minister; but it was speedily seen that Lal Singh, the favourite of the Ranee, envied his position. Goolab Singh himself was not quite at ease. The office which he held was one which did not exactly suit his views, and he seemed anxious to be relieved. He was indifferent who his successor might be, though, had he possessed a choice, it would not have fallen on a man who had no pretensions to the Vuzeerut, except those founded on the somewhat questionable character of paramour of the Ranee.

The Khalsa troops, when taking the field against the British, insisted on the presence of Lal Singh, not from any high opinion they had formed of his fighting qualities, but solely because while they held possession of him, the Ranee was less likely to compromise them with the British. The command of their army was neither in the hands of Lal Singh, nor Tej Singh, but invested in the Panches or counsellors of the Khalsa troops, chosen from their

own body, and by whose advice they bound themselves to act. The government of Lahore was merely a shadow, neither the Ranee nor the Sirdars had any but a nominal power in all that related to military operations. These Panches or Punts were all powerful among the Sikhs; and, guided by them, the system of government partook somewhat of the feudal character. It is a weak system of government, and has always yielded to a monarchical form. In this respect, the kingdom of Lahore, under the reign of Runjeet Singh, was far stronger than the same under the management of the Punts; the latter rendered it one of military anarchy, disobeying any orders given by the head of the government, and paying no respect to treaties of alliance, which they neither willingly made nor were likely to preserve.

Military government of the Sikhs.

The government of India, represented by the Governor-general, was perfectly aware of the unstable nature of such a system, and wisely refrained from entertaining any negotiations emanating from such a source. A government must be established, and with it alone could the Governor-general treat. Sir Henry Hardinge wished to see a descendant of its original founder seated on the throne of Lahore.

The Governor-general wishes for a firm government.

Dhuleep Singh, after his visit to the Governor-general, was, as already stated, sent back to Lahore under a strong escort from the army of the Sutlej; and the latter precaution was by no means uncalled for, since the Khalsa troops, still in the field, were

Dhuleep Singh returns to Lahore.

watching with a jealous eye the movements of the Ranee and her young son, as well as those of Geolab Singh, for these were the only persons connected with the Lahore government recognized by that of the British. Through them alone could peace and order be restored.

Goolab Singh's
views and
designs.

The steps adopted by Goolab Singh to bring about a reconciliation between the British and the Sikhs, though they might appear hard to the latter, were still those which necessity demanded; and however great the sacrifice might be, it could not affect the Rajah's prospects: on the contrary, if the demand were exorbitant, and such as the Lahore government was not prepared to meet, an opportunity was thereby offered of his liquidating a portion of the indemnity, and as an equivalent, securing to himself not only the stability of Jummoo, over which he would rule as an independent prince, but likewise of becoming master of the rich province of Cashmere, which he had long coveted. But all these advantages must necessarily emanate from the victors, who had now become the power paramount, and could dictate whatever terms they pleased, without a chance of their being refused by the treating powers. The unruly Sikh Sirdars and discontented soldiers might view the matter in a different light, but to remove any chance of further annoyance from them, the leaders of the remnant of the Sikh army were called upon to return to their allegiance, and a powerful incentive for ac-

quiescing in the call was the approach of the British army to the capital of the Punjab.

On the 20th February 1846, the Commander-in-chief with the army of the Sutlej, was encamped at Meean Meer, in front of the military cantonments of Lahore, and the tents actually occupying the parade ground, on which the Khalsa troops had assembled, previous to invading the British territories. What a change had a few months produced! Then, inflated with pride and confidence, they looked upon their success on the left bank of the Sutlej as certain; with the glittering prospect before them of the possession of Hindostan! They would listen to no advice, nor consider for an instant the danger of the steps they were about to take. Their army was numerous, their guns of a calibre and numerical extent to render the Khalsa troops capable of routing any foe who might oppose them. No persuasion could induce them to believe that they were not a match for the British. Where were the Khalsa troops now? The miserable remnant of them dared not visit the place they so lately paraded with such confidence. Where were the guns, almost innumerable, which they looked upon as a bulwark against all enemies? Out of the whole number they had now only about thirty remaining, all the rest, amounting to upwards of 200, had been wrested from them, and were now safely lodged in a fortress belonging to the British, and within a few days' march of their own capital.

The British army reaches Lahore on the 20th February.

A sad contrast in the condition of the Sikhs.

The uncertainties of war.

It was almost beyond the power of belief, on the morning of the 10th February, that in ten days more the army which was then about to attack the strong Sikh-entrenchment at Sobraon would be encamped at Lahore, and that fortress be in the possession of the British! But such are the glorious uncertainties of war—which in a few hours change the destiny of nations, and produce results which no previous calculation nor foresight could anticipate!

The remnant of the Sikh army obliged to yield.

When the army of the Sutlej had crossed the Punjab without the slightest opposition, the Sikh-troops who were still in the field could not meet the British; their power was broken, and they were a miserable, starving rabble, glad of any security whereby their entire annihilation might be prevented. Accordingly when their leaders were ordered to return to their allegiance, and disband their soldiers, as well as deliver up all the guns still in their possession, which had been pointed against the British, little or no difficulty was opposed to a compliance with the measure, which dire necessity forced upon them. The Sirdars, though obliged to join and lead the Khalsa troops, were in general averse to the war, and now that the result of the struggle had completely broken the warlike or rather the disorderly spirit of the Sikhs, they were not unwilling to embrace an opportunity of being restored to their homes and families. Lal Singh trusting to the power of his mistress, the Ranee, was no doubt glad to exchange the toil and trouble

Lal Singh readily returns to his allegiance, and this easily accounted for.

of a campaign, for the quiet enjoyment of peace in the palace of Lahore; he had left the palace, not from his own wish, but the necessity of complying with the repeated demands of the Khalsa troops, who were the ruling power.

Though Goolab Singh might for a time be invested with the Wuzeership, yet Lal Singh knew that the ambitious views of the Rajah would not stop short at even such an honour, and the vacancy in the management of affairs would no doubt be therefore soon filled by himself.

Tej Singh, who had from the first discouraged the wild and disorderly Khalsa troops, whom he could lead, but not control, willingly embraced the summons to return to his allegiance. Runjoor Singh, somewhat elated with the only advantage (and which he magnified into a victory) that had been gained over the British, namely, the capture of some of Sir Harry Smith's baggage at Buddeewal, was probably averse to peace, for he dreaded the displeasure of the British, on account of his burning the barracks of the 50th at Loodianah, and no doubt anticipated the confiscation of his property.

Tej Singh's submission.

Runjoor Singh averse to peace, and his reasons.

On the 24th February, it was announced that the whole of the British army employed against the Sikhs, would receive a donation of twelve months batta, and the glad tidings were acceptable to all. The share of a Lieutenant-colonel would be about £900 sterling, that of a major upwards of £700, a captain about £200, and a lieutenant £150 ster-

A donation of twelve months batta bestowed on the army of the Sutlej.

Its payment
suspended for
some months.

ling. These respective sums do not appear much when converted into English currency, but there were so many to share, that the total amount required was upwards of £700,000 sterling, or seventy lakhs of rupees. The payment of this batta was understood to be immediate, and every one endeavoured to obtain his share, but in vain! Some no doubt succeeded, but the demand for cash became so great, that the payment was actually postponed for some months. It was reported that the Ranee had offered to pay a similar amount to the British troops, and as far as promises went, she might have done so; but the difficulty experienced in raising the first instalment of the indemnity to the British, (amounting only to fifty lakhs, or half a million sterling,) proved that much could not be expected from the royal treasury, and the report had probably no just foundation.

The Sikhs
endeavour to
substitute
spurious guns.

Only those guns which had been pointed against the British were required to be given up, and they were consequently with the Sikh troops, in the vicinity of Umritsir, and from whence they had to be brought to the camp of the Governor-general at Lahore. On one occasion, it was said, that instead of serviceable guns and the real ones employed in the war, some old honey-combed pieces of ordnance were brought, but the trick was readily discovered, and it was not likely that the sharp eye of the commissary of ordnance* would allow such a substitute to be made.

* Captain Warner.

It was soon found that the expense of the war had drained the treasury of Govind Ghur, and instead of fifty lakhs being available from such a source, it was deemed necessary to appeal to the Sirdars for their contributions, and some angry discussions in the Durbar were the natural consequence. A few who had received immense sums from the state, pleaded that their property had been confiscated, others urged their poverty. Many, however, were too glad to see order and rule established to grudge their share, and among others Chuttur Singh Attaree Wala.

The royal treasury unable to pay the first instalment.

In the first account of the treaty, the Jalindhur Doab, including the portions in the hills and plains, was annexed to the British territories, but afterwards it would appear that the rich province of Cashmere was included, probably in lieu of the fifty lakhs, and thus the Sikh government was actually obliged to sell its possessions piecemeal. The Rajah Goolab Singh, who had no doubt hoarded up immense wealth at Jummoo, became a ready purchaser of this tract, paying the sum demanded, namely, fifty lakhs, or half a million sterling. This money could never have obtained that country from the Sikhs, and he was not in a condition to wrest it from them by force of arms; but now he obtained the completion of his wishes, and that on a footing which secured a firm and indisputable hold of a place which he had long coveted.

Goolab Singh becomes the purchaser of Cashmere.

Perhaps those who have only heard of Cashmere,

Regret at parting with Cashmere.

through the pages of a romance, might think there was no province belonging to the Lahore government, which might be more prized by Europeans, and it is not unlikely that the cession of that fruitful valley may cause regret, among those who view it as possessing all the requisites of an earthly paradise. But unless Sir Henry Hardinge had subjugated and annexed the whole kingdom of

Impossibility of retaining it.

Lahore to the British possessions, he could not possibly have occupied Cashmere, insulated as it is from the Punjab, and at such a distance from the British frontier, subjected to the attacks of refractory hill-chiefs, and a convenient bait for the Rajah of Jummoo; and it was no doubt considered wiser policy to give the latter a place which he might have seized, for a consideration, than leave it at his mercy, to become a bone of contention between him and the British. The territory annexed to the British lay convenient to their present frontier; the Jalindhur Doab could be taken possession of by their troops; while the hill-portions of it had already thrown off the Sikh yoke, and offered allegiance to the British. The confiscated Sikh-territory on the left bank of the Sutlej became thus defended by our troops in advance between the Sutlej and Beah, and would soon be in as settled a state as any of the other British provinces.

Wise policy of giving it to Goolab Singh.

The advantage of possessing the Jalindhur Doab.

Difficulty of obtaining a successor to Major Broadfoot.

When Major Broadfoot was killed at Feerozshuhur, the selection of an officer to fill his place was a task of some difficulty, since there were few who knew much about Sikh affairs of sufficient

rank and standing to fill the post held by such men as Clerk, Wade, Richmond, and Broadfoot. The only two individuals who could be chosen for such an important charge were at a great distance from the scene of action. These were Major Lawrence, resident at Katmandhoo in Nepaul, and Major Mackeson, who held the appointment of superintending the collection of taxes at Sirsa. The merits of both these officers were acknowledged by every one who had had opportunities of witnessing their career. Major Lawrence, it is well known, was the author of a work termed the "*Adventurer in the Punjab*," which, under the mask of a somewhat romantic love story, gives a true and exact account of the Punjab, its late ruler Runjeet Singh, his physician and secretary Azeezodeen; in short, supplies a most valuable mass of information regarding the politics and government of the country. He had also taken a prominent part during the operations in Affghanistan; and his labours were eminently useful in assisting General Pollock to force the Khyber pass. Possessed thus of an intimate knowledge of the Sikhs and their country; endowed with a persevering industry, combined with firmness and decision, the Governor-general could have no hesitation in making choice of him as a successor to Major Broadfoot.

The selection
of Major
Lawrence.

His qualifica-
tions.

But while thus selecting an officer every way fitted for a high appointment, it was not forgotten that the claims of Major Mackeson rested on an equally firm basis.

Major Macke-
son.

For a period of fifteen years had this talented officer been employed in various situations on the north west frontier, sometimes, it must be confessed, of little importance in a political point of view, and still less in a pecuniary one; but whether as superintendent, of the navigation of the Indus in the hot and sickly locality of Mittenkote, commanding a band of unruly Sikhs in Afghanistan, or employed in the humble capacity of tax-collector in the desert, Major Mackeson invariably manifested the same zealous and conciliatory disposition. When returning from Afghanistan, where his conduct had been rewarded by a brevet-majority and a companionship of the Bath, so little was his intimate acquaintance with Sikh affairs appreciated, that he was not even appointed to a subordinate place in the political arrangements of the north west frontier; but obliged to fall back upon the only appointment which he could hold as a regimental officer: namely, interpreter and quarter-master to a Native infantry regiment. This would have disgusted most men, but a patient forbearance and determined zeal were strong features of his character. He made no remonstrance, but submitted patiently; and had it not been for the efforts of Mr. Clerk, Major Mackeson, C.B. might actually have been interpreter and quarter-master of the 14th regiment of Native infantry, to the present moment! Through the influence of Mr. Clerk, however, he obtained the appointment already alluded to at Sirsa, which he retained until the serious aspect of affairs on the

His eminent
qualifications
for political
employ.

north west frontier appeared to open a field wherein he might be usefully employed.

He was now brought from his seclusion, and the whole management of the confiscated Sikh states, on the left bank of the Sutlej entrusted to him. That he was well adapted for this important office no one can doubt; but we suspect had his own wishes been consulted, he would have preferred the management of affairs with the Sikhs.

Of the officers appointed as assistants to Majors Lawrence and Mackeson, several are in every way fitted for the charge; we need only mention the name of Major Macgregor, whose conduct, both in a political and military capacity at Jellalabad, during the trying period of its defence, elicited the warmest thanks of General Sale. Major Macgregor's, as well as Major Mackeson's merits were somehow overlooked by Lord Ellenborough, but this did not prevent the gallant Sale from acknowledging them publicly at Feerozpoore in 1842, when proposing the health of the former officer at the Governor-general's own table! Captains Mills and Cunningham, with Lieutenant Edwardes, Messrs. Vansittart, Agnew, and Cust, now complete the *corps diplomatique* for the management of the north west frontier of India, while Mr. John Lawrence has been appointed a commissioner in the newly acquired Doab of the Jalindhur. Other political officers for the management of Sikh affairs. A Their efficiency. more efficient body of men could not have been selected. Their appointment reflects the highest credit on the discrimination and judgment of the

Governor-general; for on merit alone, did he rely in his choice.

The Ranee will not entrust her own and her son's safety to the Sikhs.

Notwithstanding this complete arrangement as regarded the political management of Sikh affairs, it was speedily seen by the Ranee that the only power on which she could rely for the stability of her son's kingdom, and her own and his personal safety, was the British army. The unruly Sirdars, and still more unruly soldiers, might give a tacit consent to the treaty which had been entered into, and even promise to preserve order and rule; but she knew well, from past experience, that if the British troops were withdrawn, her safety and that of the Lahore government would be endangered. In fact, so convinced was she of this, that she hesitated not to announce to the Governor-general, that if he left her and her son to the mercy and forbearance of the Sikhs, he had better at once remove both to the left bank of the Sutlej, or locate them in the Government-house in Calcutta!!

A little reflection was sufficient to convince the Governor-general of the justice of the request on the part of the Ranee; though he no doubt regretted the necessity that existed for exposing troops to the inconvenience of remaining several months in Lahore, instead of returning to their respective cantonments during the hot and rainy seasons. There was no alternative, however; and he must either annex the Punjab to the British territories, which, as had been shown, he could not possibly do without the risk of destroying his

European soldiers by exposure to the heat of the Punjab, or he must enable the government which he had sanctioned to maintain itself, at least, for a few months, when he could, if required, complete the subjugation, and annexation of the Punjab.

The British allowed to remain at Lahore, and the absolute necessity of such a measure.

By people unacquainted with the posture of affairs, and living in the temperate climates of Europe, the forbearance of the Governor-general has been already blamed, but his policy was founded on a careful view of the difficulties which opposed the complete annexation of a country which he had in reality subjected to his sway, and whose government looked to him for advice and protection.

The Punjab virtually subdued.

There will, no doubt, be a numerous class of *croakers*, who might see, in thus leaving a garrison in Lahore, the seeds of a repetition of the Cabul tragedy! But the parallel was in no respect similar; and with a force in the Jalindhur Doab ready to act with, and in fact forming a part of the Lahore force, no sudden emergency, likely to be followed by disastrous consequences, could be even dreamt of by the most confirmed alarmists. The only drawback to the efficiency of this force was its containing but one European regiment, and there were no others in the Doab.

Leaving a force to garrison Lahore not likely to be followed by any disastrous consequences.

The delight of the Ranee and her son may well be conceived when thus placed under the protection of a strong British force. They could now repose in comfort in their own capital, a place which they no longer considered one of safety unless guarded by British troops.

The Ranee's confidence in the British troops.

The garrison and guns of Lahore entirely under the British.

Place amply provided.

The latter causes some delay of the Commander-in-chief at Lahore.

Sir Charles Napier's arrival at Lahore.

The troops drawn out for his inspection.

The grand sight.

In order to prevent any sudden insurrection on the part of the disaffected Sikh Sirdars and their followers, the guns belonging to the fort of Lahore were put in possession of the British; and to secure comfort for the troops, European and Native, a plentiful supply of grain and other articles of food was laid in by the commissariat. The time occupied in this, detained the Commander-in-chief and the European regiments at Lahore until the 23rd of March, when this portion of the army of the Sutlej with their gallant chief left Lahore, and re-crossed the Sutlej on the 26th at the Nuggar Ghat by means of an excellent bridge erected there by Major F. Abbot, Lieutenant Goodwyn, and other engineer officers.

We must not omit to mention that Sir Charles Napier, the governor of Scinde, reached Lahore in time to witness the final settlement of the treaty.

The army of the Sutlej was drawn up for Sir Charles's inspection, and among the other regiments then present was his own, the gallant 50th or Queen's Own. He was introduced to it by the Governor-general; and his feelings on the occasion were so overpowering, that he could scarcely address the companions of many a hard-fought battle in the Peninsula. It was a noble sight to see the whole army march past, with the huge elephants dragging the siege guns in front. It might well recall the days of Porus with his hundreds of majestic elephants, harmless as they were, however, compared

with those which dragged after them such terrible instruments of war. None of the Sikhs attended on this occasion; it would have been too humiliating a sight for them; but on a subsequent day, after affairs were settled, the instalment paid, and the hostile guns delivered up, there was a similar review of the whole troops for the young Maharajah and the Sirdars who had now returned to their allegiance. In passing along the line, Sirdar Lal Singh remarked the weakly state of the 1st European light infantry, observing, that the regiment must have suffered severely; and truly so it did, for in the two battles of Feerozshuhur and Sobraon, two-thirds of the men at least were killed and wounded; and out of twenty-seven officers who left Subathoo on the 11th of December, only seven escaped the same fate.

Another review for the Maharajah.

The great loss in the 1st European light infantry.

Lal Singh wore a suit of armour, which he remarked was not adapted for modern warfare.

The escort of cavalry and infantry attached to the Maharajah formed a sad contrast to that which used to accompany Runjeet Singh; and it is probable that neither these branches, nor the Sikh artillery, will ever attain the discipline which distinguished the Aeen troops in the time of Runjeet Singh, and even after his death, down to the disastrous war with the British.

Shabby appearance of the Maharajah's escort.

When gun after gun was being delivered up, the sight was too much for Sooltan Mahmood, the commandant of artillery. He shed tears of pity and chagrin, deploring at the same time his own

The sad plight of Sooltan Mahmood.

downfall; while those who had known him in better days, jeered and laughed at the old warrior.

We have now given a brief and imperfect sketch of the war between the Sikhs and the British during the latter portion of the year 1845 and the early part of 1846. The objects attained, and the treaties formed, will be best understood from the proclamations of the Governor-general, which are transcribed and given below.

“ GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATIONS.

“ Foreign Department, Camp, Umritsir,
“ the 16th March, 1846.

“ The Right Honourable the Governor-general of India has been pleased to direct the publication, for general information, of the subjoined extracts from the proceedings of the government of India, relative to the re-establishment of amicable relations between the British Government and the State of Lahore, and the recognition of the independence of Maharajah Goolab Singh.

“ *Note of conference between F. Currie, Esquire, and Major H. M. Lawrence, on the one part, and the Minister and Chiefs of the Lahore Durbar on the other, 8th March, 1846.*”

The minister and chiefs having assembled at the tent of the Governor-general's agent, for the pur-

pose of signing the treaty, the conditions of which had been previously discussed and determined, produced, on the part of the Maharajah, a letter addressed to Major Lawrence, the Governor-general's agent, of which the following is a translation :—

“ The feelings of consideration, kindness, and generosity which have been evinced towards the Lahore State by the Right Honourable the Governor-general, and his Excellency's respect for the former friendship of the British government with the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, have been communicated to me through Mr. Secretary Currie and yourself, and have caused me to feel most grateful.

“ Certain important matters will now be represented to you by the following confidential persons :—

“ BHAEE RAM SINGH.
 RAJAH LAL SINGH.
 SIRDAR TEJ SINGH.
 DEWAN DEENANATH.
 FUQUEER NOOR-OD-DEEN.

And you, who are the guardian of the perpetual friendship of the two governments, will represent these matters to the Governor-general, and will, doubtless, use your endeavours to procure a favourable decision regarding them.

“ The Lahore government, it is known, is endeavouring to arrange its affairs ; and it is necessary that effectual measures should be taken to

prevent the recurrence of any disturbances. With this view, it is very desirable that some British regiments, with artillery and officers, should be directed to remain at Lahore for a few months for the protection of the State. After affairs have been satisfactorily settled, and the period which may be fixed upon expired, the British troops will then return."

To the above paper the following reply was made verbally, and was, at the request of the minister and chiefs, written down and given to them :—

" The letter from the Maharajah to Major Lawrence, expressing gratitude to the Governor-general, has been read in presence of the minister and chiefs of the Durbar. At the close of that letter, it is requested that a British force may be left at Lahore for a limited period.

" Upon this it is to be observed, that from the wording of the letter, it is not evident that the retention of a British force at Lahore is sincerely and urgently desired by the Lahore government, and the nature of the disturbances which are to be provided against, are not specifically described. In so important a matter, general expressions are out of place. The British government desires to exercise no interference with the government of Lahore, after the treaty of peace is concluded; and the Governor-general is not willing to have any concern with the Lahore government, or to accede to any measures not provided for by the

treaty. This has been repeatedly explained to the Lahore Durbar. If, therefore, for any special reason, and on any particular account, the assistance and intervention of the British government are desired by the Lahore Durbar, the fact should have been more distinctly stated in the Khurreeta, and the causes which render such aid indispensable, should have been given in detail. However, as the Maharajah has authorized the chiefs named in the Khurreeta, and who are present, to make known all the particulars of the case, they should now state all the circumstances in full."

The minister and chiefs, after consultation, read aloud the substance of the paper, of which the following is a translation, but requested that it might be put in the form of a Khurreeta from the Maharajah, and sent in the evening. A communication was then made to the Governor-general, who determined that a British force should, under certain conditions to be entered in a separate engagement, occupy Lahore for a limited time; the treaty was then signed by the commissioners, and the meeting broke up.

Translation of document alluded to in preceding paragraph, afterwards sent from the Durbar as a formal Khurreeta, with the seal of the Maharajah.

"All the circumstances regarding the disorganization of the government of Lahore, since the

demise of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, until the present time, are well known to the British government.

“ The satisfactory settlement of affairs, the discharge of the disturbers of public peace, and the re-organization of the army, under the stipulations of the new treaty, are now engaging consideration. But lest, after the departure of the British forces, the evil disposed should create fresh disturbances, and endeavour to ruin the State, it is the earnest and sincere desire and hope of the Lahore Durbar, that British troops with intelligent officers should, for some months, as circumstances may seem to require, be left at Lahore for the protection of the government, and the Maharajah, and the inhabitants of the city. When the affairs have been satisfactorily settled, and the period prescribed for the stay of the British force shall have expired, the troops may then be withdrawn.

The object of retaining British troops at Lahore.

(True note and translation,)

(Signed) “ F. CURRIE,

“ Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-general.”

“ *General Order by the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India.* Foreign department ; Camp, Lahore, the 8th March, 1846.

“ The treaty of peace between the British government, and that of His Highness the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, has been signed.

“ The treaty will be ratified by the Governor-

general, in presence of the Maharajah and the Sikh chiefs, to-morrow afternoon, the 9th instant, at 4 o'clock, in the Governor-general's tent.

“ The Governor-general invites His Excellency the Commander-in-chief, His Excellency the Governor of Scinde, with their present staff, to attend on this occasion, also the generals of divisions, the brigadiers, the head of each department, and all officers commanding corps, with one Native officer from every regiment.

“ His Highness the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh will be received by a salute of twenty-one guns. The street leading to the Governor-general's tent, will be lined by detachments of regiments, according to the orders which His Excellency the Commander-in-chief will be pleased to issue.

“ The following day, the Governor-general will pay His Highness the Maharajah a visit of congratulation, on the restoration of peace between the two governments, and will leave camp for that purpose at 3 o'clock. The escort will be fixed in the general order of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief.

“ The thirty-six pieces of Sikh artillery, which were pointed against the British army, have been surrendered and brought into camp. The disbandment of the Sikh army, its reorganization, on the same rate of pay as in the time of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and the limitation of its numbers, have been settled by the treaty.

“ At the earnest solicitation of the government of

the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, the Governor-general has consented to occupy the citadel and town of Lahore, by British troops, for a limited period, that opportunity may be afforded the Lahore government of completing the reorganization of its army, according to the stipulations of the treaty.

“ If by the good offices of the British government, peace and order can take the place of the military anarchy and misrule, by which the Sikh nation has been brought to the verge of dissolution, the Governor-general will rejoice that the co-operation of the British government, by the aid of its faithful army, shall have been successful in effecting that object. It is the strongest proof which the British government can give, of the sincerity of its desire to see a Sikh government re-established. The British government having afforded the protection desired, the troops will be withdrawn before the end of the year. The details of the force will be determined between the Governor-general and His Excellency the Commander-in-chief. During the period of occupation the Native troops will continue to receive Scinde pay and allowances.

“ It is by the valour and discipline of the British troops, led by their distinguished commander, that these important and complete successes have been gained; and the Governor-general is confident, that during the temporary occupation of the fortified town of Lahore, the troops will prove by their good conduct, that they are as generous and

humane after victory, as they are brave and invincible in the field of battle.

“ By Order of the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India.

(Signed) “ F. CURRIE,

“ Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-general.”

Memorandum of the proceedings of a Durbar, held at Lahore, on the 9th March, 1846.

“ At four P.M. of the 9th March, a public Durbar was held, in the state tent of the Right Honourable the Governor-general, at which His Excellency the Commander-in-chief and staff, His Excellency the Governor of Scinde and staff, with the British and Native officers invited in the Governor-general's order, dated 8th instant, attended.

“ The Young Maharajah of Lahore, attended by the Minister Rajah Lal Singh, Rajah Goolab Singh, the Commander-in-chief of the Lahore army, Sirdar Tej Singh, and about thirty other sirdars and civil officers, with their suites, being present.

“ After the treaty of peace was ratified and exchanged with the usual ceremonies, the Governor-general addressed the chiefs in the following terms; the address being translated, sentence by sentence, by the Secretary to the government of India, Mr. F. Currie.

“ On this occasion of ratifying the treaty of

The Governor-general's address to Dhuleep Singh and the officers of the Lahore State, military and civil.

peace between the British government and the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, in the presence of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief, His Excellency the Governor of Scinde, and the officers of the British army on the one hand, and of the Sikh chiefs on the other, I have to repeat the assurances which have been so often given by me and by my predecessors, of our desire that peace and friendship may always subsist between the two governments.

“ ‘ The British government desires to see a Sikh government re-established, which may be able to control its army, protect its subjects, and willing to respect the rights of its neighbours.

“ ‘ By this treaty, the Lahore government has sufficient strength to resist and punish any Native power which may venture to assail it, and to put down all internal commotions.

“ ‘ Wisdom in council, and good faith in fulfilling its engagements, will cause the Sikh government to be respected and enable it to preserve its national independence.

“ ‘ For forty years it was the policy, in Runjeet Singh's time, to cultivate friendly relations between the two governments, and during the whole of that period the Sikh nation was independent and happy. Let the policy of that able man towards the British government, be the model for your future imitation.

“ ‘ The British government in no respect provoked the late war. It had no objects of aggrandisement

to obtain by hostilities. The proof of its sincerity is to be found in its moderation in the hour of victory.

“ A just quarrel, followed by a successful war, has not changed the policy of the British government. The British government does not desire to interfere in your internal affairs. I am ready and anxious to withdraw every British soldier from Lahore. At the earnest solicitation of the Sikh government, I have reluctantly consented to leave a British force in garrison at Lahore, until time shall have been afforded for the reorganization of the Sikh army, by which assistance the stipulations of the treaty may be more easily carried into effect.

“ In no case can I consent that the British troops shall remain in garrison for a longer period than the end of this year.

“ I state this publicly, that all the world may know the truth, and the motives by which I am actuated in this matter.

“ The Sikh army must, according to the treaty, be immediately reorganised by reverting to the same system and rate of pay as in Runjeet Singh's time.

“ If the friendly assistance now afforded by the British government be wisely followed up, and honest exertions made by the chiefs without delay, you will become an independent and prosperous state.

“ The success or failure is in your own hands : my co-operation shall not be wanting ; but if you

neglect this opportunity, no aid on the part of the British government can save the State.

“ ‘ I leave my political agent, Major Lawrence, assisted by Major McGregor and a most able general officer, Sir John Littler, to command the British' troops. These officers possess my entire confidence.

“ ‘ Again I repeat, my anxious desire is to see a Sikh government strong and respected, an obedient army, patriotic chiefs, and a happy people.

“ ‘ I trust the reign of the Maharajah will be long and prosperous, and celebrated for the happiness of his people under a just and pacific government.’

“ At the close of this address the Sirdars expressed in warm terms their gratitude to the Governor-general, and their resolution to follow the advice His Excellency had given them.

“ The usual presents were then given, after which the Durbar broke up.

(Signed) “ F. CURRIE,

“ Secretary to the Government of India,
“ with the Governor-general.”

Treaty between the British government and the State of Lahore.

The treaty. Whereas the treaty of amity and concord, which was concluded between the British government and the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, the ruler of Lahore, in 1809, was broken by the unprovoked aggression on the British provinces, of the

Sikh army in December last, and whereas, on occasion, by the proclamation, dated 13th December, the territories then in the occupation of the Maharajah of Lahore, on the left or the British bank of the river Sutlej, were confiscated and annexed to the British provinces, and since that time hostile operations have been prosecuted by the two governments, the one against the other, which have resulted in the occupation of Lahore by the British troops; and whereas it has been determined, that upon certain conditions, peace shall be re-established between the two governments, the following treaty of peace between the Honourable English East India Company and Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, Buhadour, and his children, heirs and successors, has been concluded on the part of the Honourable Company by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, by virtue of full powers to that effect, vested in them by the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B. one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-general, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and on the part of His Highness the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, by Bhaee Ram Singh, Rajah Lal Singh, Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Chuttur Singh Attareewala, Sirdar Runjoor Singh Majethea, Deewan Deena Nath, and Fukeerhoor Oodeon, vested with full powers and authority on the part of His Highness.

Article I.—There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the British government on the one part, and Maharajah Dhuleep-Singh, his heirs and successors, on the other.

The territory on the left bank of the Sutlej renounced.

Article II.—The Maharajah of Lahore renounces for himself, his heirs and successors all claim to, or connection with, the territories to the south of the river Sutlej, and engages not to have any concern with those territories or the inhabitants thereof.

The Jalindhur Doab ceded.

Article III.—The Maharajah cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories and rights, in the Doab country, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Beas and Sutlej.

All the hill territories between the Beas and Indus given up.

Article IV.—The British government has demanded from the Lahore state, as indemnification for the expenses of the war, in addition to the cession of territory described in Article III. payment of one and a half crore of rupees; and the Lahore government being unable to pay the whole of the sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British government, for its eventual payment, the Maharajah cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights, and interests in the hill countries which are situated between the rivers Beas and Indus, including the provinces of Cashmere and Hazarah.

Fifty lakhs of rupees paid.

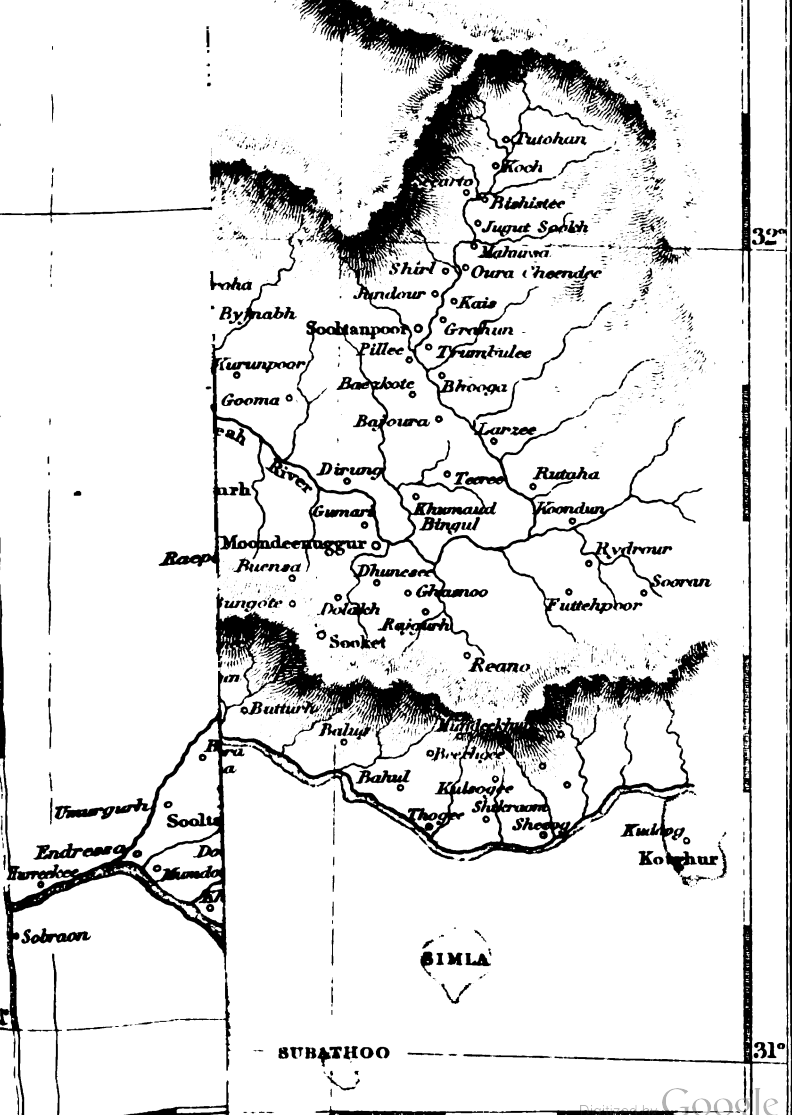
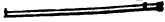
Article V.—The Maharajah will pay to the British government the sum of 50 lakhs of rupees on or before the ratification of this treaty.

75°

77°

MAP OF BIST JAL

English
10



32°

31°

75°

77°

Article VI.—The Maharajah engages to disband the mutinous troops of the Lahore army, taking from them their arms, and His Highness agrees to reorganise the Regular or Aeen regiments of infantry, upon the system, and according to the regulations as to pay and allowances, observed in the time of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh. The Maharajah further engages to pay up allowances to the soldiers that are discharged, under provisions of this article.

The army of Lahore to be reorganised.

Article VII.—The regular army of the Lahore state shall henceforth be limited to twenty-five battalions of infantry, consisting of 800 bayonets each, with 12,000 cavalry; this number at no time to be exceeded, without the concurrence of the British government; and should it be necessary at any time, for any special cause, that this force should be increased, the cause shall be fully explained to the British government; and when the especial necessity shall have passed, the regular troops shall be again reduced to the standard specified in the former clause of this article.

The future strength of the army.

Article VIII.—The Maharajah will surrender to the British government all the guns, thirty-six in number, which have been pointed against the British troops, and which, having been placed on the right bank of the river Sutlej, were not captured at the battle of Sobraon.

The hostile guns to be surrendered.

Article IX.—The control of the rivers Beas and Sutlej, with the continuations of the latter river, commonly called the Garrah and Punjund, to the confluence of the Indus at Mithunkote, and

The control of the navigation of the Indus and tributaries to rest with the British.

the control of the Indus, from Mithunkote to the borders of Beeloochistan, shall, in respect to tolls and ferries, rest with the British government. The provisions of this article shall not interfere with the passage of boats belonging to the Lahore government, on the said rivers, for the purposes of traffic, or the conveyance of passengers, up and down their course. Regarding the ferries between the two countries respectively, at the several ghats of the said rivers, it is agreed, that the British government, after defraying all the expenses of management and establishments, shall account to the Lahore government, for one-half of the net profits of the ferry collections. The provisions of this article, have no reference to the ferries on that part of the river Sutlej which forms the boundary of Buhawalpore and Lahore respectively.

The passage to be allowed to British troops through the Punjab.

“ *Article X.*—If the British government should, at any time, desire to pass troops through the territories of His Highness the Maharajah for the protection of the British territories, or those of their allies, the British troops shall, on such special occasion, due notice being given, be allowed to pass through the Lahore territories. In such case the officers of the Lahore state will afford facilities in providing supplies and boats for the passage of the rivers; and the British government will pay the full price of all such provisions and boats, and will make fair compensation for all private property that may be endamaged. The British government will, moreover, observe all due consideration

to the religious feelings of the inhabitants of those tracts through which the army may pass.

“ *Article XI.*—The Maharajah engages never to take or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American state, without the consent of the British government.

No foreign subject to be entertained by the Lahore government without the consent of the British.

“ *Article XII.*—In consideration of the services rendered by Rajah Goolab Singh, of Jummoo, to the Lahore state, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British governments, the Maharajah hereby agrees to recognise the independent sovereignty of Rajah Goolab Singh in such territories and districts, in the hills, as may be made over to the said Rajah Goolab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British government, with the dependencies thereof which may have been in the Rajah's possession since the time of the late Maharajah Kurruk Singh; and the British government, in consideration of the good conduct of Rajah Goolab Singh, also agrees to recognise his independence in such territories, and to admit him to the privileges of a separate treaty with the British government.

Goolab Singh's independence to be recognised in the hills.

“ *Article XIII.*—In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore state and Rajah Goolab Singh, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of the British government, and by its decision the Maharajah engages to abide.

Differences between him and Lahore, to be settled by the British.

“ *Article XIV.*—The limits of the Lahore terri-

tories shall not be at any time changed, without the concurrence of the British government.

“ *Article XV.*—The British government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore states, but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British government, the Governor-general will give the aid of his advice and good offices, for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore government.

“ *Article XVI.*—The subjects of either state shall, on visiting the territories of the other, be on the footing of the subjects of the most favoured nation.

“ This treaty, consisting of sixteen articles, has been this day settled, by Frederick Currie, Esq. and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B. Governor-general, on the part of the British government; and by Bae Ram Singh, Rajah Lal Singh, Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Chuttur Singh Attareewala, Sirdar Runjoor Singh Majethea, Dewan Deena Nath, and Fukea Moorooddeen, on the part of the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh: and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-general, and by that of His Highness Maharajah Dhuleep Singh.

“ Done at Lahore, this 9th day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and forty-six, corresponding with the 10th day of

Rubbee-ool-awul 1262, Hijree, and ratified on the same day.

(Signed) “ MAHARAJAH DHULEEP SINGH, (L.S.)
 H. HARDINGE, (L.S.)
 BHABEE RAM SINGH, (L.S.)
 RAJAH LAL SINGH, (L.S.)
 SIRDAR TEJ SINGH, (L.S.)
 F. CURRIE.
 SIRDAR CHUTTUR SINGH ATTAREE-
 WALA, (L.S.)
 SIRDAR RUNJOOR SINGH MAJEETHEA,
 (L.S.)
 DEWAN DEENA NATH, (L.S.)
 H. M. LAWRENCE.
 FUQUEER MOOROODDEEN, (L.S.)

“ By Order of the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India.

(Signed) “ F. CURRIE,
 “ Secretary to the Government of India,
 with the Governor-general.”

“ *Memorandum of a State Visit paid by the Governor-general, to the Maharajah of Lahore, in His Highness's palace, on the 10th March, 1846.*

“ ON the afternoon of the 10th March, the

Governor-general, attended by His Excellency the Commander-in-chief, His Excellency the Governor of Scinde, and the British officers who were present at the ratification of the treaty on the 9th instant, paid a visit of congratulation to the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, at the palace in Lahore. On this occasion Dewan Deena Nath, by direction of the minister and assembled chiefs, read from a written paper an address, of which the following is a translation :—

“ It is impossible for us adequately to express the gratitude which we feel to the Governor-general, for his having determined to continue the ancient relations which existed with the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and for his generosity, kindness and mercy, in maintaining this government.

“ For the excellent advice which was given yesterday, through kindness and friendship, to the assembled Sirdars, exhorting them to unanimity, prudence, and good government, we are also most grateful. We consider this good advice as having a direct tendency to effect the re-establishment of the government of the country. We have further to express our gratitude, for arrangements having generously been made, in compliance with our solicitations, for leaving a garrison in Lahore of British troops, with Major Lawrence and other trustworthy officers, for our protection and that of the city.

“ These troops will assuredly be honourably dismissed towards the Sutlej, upon a satisfactory

settlement of affairs being effected, within the period prescribed for their stay.

“ ‘The various acts of generosity shown by the Governor-general on the present occasion, entirely satisfy us, that His Excellency will ever maintain the same magnanimous and generous policy towards this state, and that taking compassion on the extreme youth of the Maharajah, His Excellency will maintain all those friendly relations which existed in the time of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh.’

“ After the presentation by the Maharajah of the usual offerings, the Governor-general and suite returned to camp.

“ (True memorandum and translation,)

(Signed) “ F. CURRIE,

“ Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-general.”

“ *Note of the proceedings of a meeting of the Minister and Chiefs of the Lahore Durbar, and the British Commissioners, held at the tent of the Governor-general's Agent, on the 11th March, 1846.*

“ ON the forenoon of the 11th instant, the minister and chiefs of the Durbar attended at the tent of the Governor-general's Agent, when the following agree-

ment was concluded, and subsequently confirmed by the Right Hon. the Governor-general.

“ Articles of Agreement concluded between the British government and the Lahore Durbar, on the 11th March, 1846.

“ WHEREAS the Lahore government has solicited the Governor-general to leave a British force at Lahore, for the protection of the Maharajah’s person and of the capital, till the re-organization of the Lahore army, according to the provisions of Article VI. of the treaty of Lahore, dated the 9th instant. And whereas the Governor-general has, on certain conditions, consented to the measure. And whereas it is expedient that certain matters concerning the territories ceded by Articles III. and IV. of the aforesaid treaty should be specifically determined, the following eight Articles of Agreement have this day been concluded, between the aforementioned contracting parties.

The force left at Lahore, to be withdrawn within the current year.

“ *Article I.*—The British government shall leave at Lahore, till the close of the current year, A. D. 1846, such force as shall seem to the Governor-general adequate for the purpose of protecting the person of the Maharajah, and the inhabitants of the city of Lahore, during the re-organization of the Sikh army in accordance with the provisions of Article IV. of the treaty of Lahore; that force to be withdrawn at any convenient time, before the expiration of the year, if the object to be fulfilled shall,

in the opinion of the Durbar, have been attained; but the force shall not be detained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year.

“ *Article II.*—The Lahore government agrees that the force left at Lahore for the purpose specified in the foregoing article, shall be placed in full possession of the fort and the city of Lahore, and that the Lahore troops shall be removed from within the city. The Lahore government engages to furnish convenient quarters for the officers and men of the said force, and to pay to the British government all the extra expenses in regard to the said force, which may be incurred by the British government, in consequence of their troops being employed away from their own cantonments, and in a foreign territory.

The force to have full possession of Lahore.

“ *Article III.*—The Lahore government engages to apply itself immediately and earnestly to the re-organization of its army, according to the prescribed condition, and to communicate fully with the British authorities left at Lahore, as to the progress of such re-organization, and as to the location of the troops.

“ *Article IV.*—If the Lahore government fails in the performance of the conditions of the foregoing article, the British government shall be at liberty to withdraw the force from Lahore, at any time before the expiration of the period specified in Article I.

“ *Article V.*—The British government agrees to respect the bonâ fide rights of those Jagheerdars

within the territories ceded by Articles III. and IV. of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th instant, who were attached to the families of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, Khurruk Singh, and Shere Singh, and the British government will maintain those Jagheerdars in their bonâ fide possession, during their lives.

“ *Article VI.*—The Lahore government shall receive the assistance of the British local authorities, in recovering the arrears of revenue justly due to the Lahore government from their Kardars and managers in the territories ceded by the provisions of Article III. and IV. of the treaty of Lahore, to the close of the Khurreef harvest of the present year, viz., 1902 of the Sumbut Bikramajeet.

“ *Article VII.*—The Lahore government shall be at liberty to remove from the forts in the territories specified in the foregoing article, all treasure and state property, with the exception of guns. Should, however, the British government desire to retain any part of the said property, they shall be at liberty to do so, paying for the same at a fair valuation; and the British officers shall give their assistance to the Lahore government, in disposing on the spot of such part of the aforesaid property as the Lahore government may not wish to remove, and the British officers may not desire to retain.

“ *Article VIII.*—Commissioners shall be immediately appointed by the two governments, to settle and lay down the boundary between the two states,

as defined by Article IV. of the treaty of Lahore,
dated, 9th March, 1846.

(Signed) “ MAHARAJAH DHULEEP SINGH, (L.S.)
H. HARDINGE, (L.S.)
BHAREE RAM SINGH, (L.S.)
RAJAH LALL SINGH, (L.S.)
SIRDAR TEJ SINGH, (L.S.)
F. CURRIE.
SIRDAR CHUTTUR SINGH ATTAREEWALA,
(L.S.)
SIRDAR RUNJOOR SINGH MAJEETHEA,
(L.S.)
DEWAN DEENA NATH, (L.S.)
H. M. LAWRENCE.
FUQUEER NOOROODDEEN, (L.S.)

“ By order of the Right Honourable the Govern-
or-general of India.

(Signed) “ F. CURRIE,
“ Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-general.”

“ *Treaty between the British government and Maha-
rajah Goolab Singh, concluded at Umritsir, on
the 16th March, 1846.*”

“ TREATY between the British government on the
one part, and Maharajah Goolab Singh of Jummoo
on the other, concluded on the part of the British
government by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and

Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-general appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Maharajah Goolab Singh in person.

Article I.—The British government transfers and makes over for ever, in independent possession, to Maharajah Goolab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravee, including Chumba, and excluding Lahool, being part of the territory ceded to the British government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV. of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

Article II.—The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharajah Goolab Singh, shall be laid down by commissioners appointed by the British government and by Maharajah Goolab Singh respectively for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article III.—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs, by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharajah Goolab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees, (nanukshahee) fifty lakhs to be paid on the ratification of this treaty, and

twenty-five lakhs on or before the 1st of October of the current year A.D. 1846.

Article IV.—The limits of the territories of Maharajah Goolab Singh shall not be, at any time, changed without the concurrence of the British government.

Article V.—Maharajah Goolab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring state, and will abide by the decision of the British government.

Article VI.—Maharajah Goolab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join with the whole of his military force the British troops when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article VII.—Maharajah Goolab Singh engages never to take, or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American state, without the consent of the British government.

Article VIII.—Maharajah Goolab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V. VI. and VII. of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

Article IX.—The British government will give its aid to Maharajah Goolab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article X.—Maharajah Goolab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British government, and will in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

“This treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B. Governor-general on the part of the British government, and by Maharajah Goolab Singh in person, and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B. Governor-general.

“Done at Umritsir this 16th day of March in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rubbee-ool-awul 1262, Hijree.

(Signed) “GOOLAB SINGH (L.S.)

H. HARDINGE (L.S.)

F. CURRIE,

H. M. LAWRENCE,

“By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India.

(Signed) “F. CURRIE,

Secretary to the government of India,
with the Governor-general.”

(True Extracts)

(Signed) “F. CURRIE,

Secretary to the government of India,
with the Governor-general.”

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL REMARKS.

THE chief features in the campaign which we have endeavoured to describe in the foregoing chapters, were the suddenness of its commencement; the desperate resistance on the part of the Sikhs; the fearful loss among the European officers and soldiers; and the short duration of the operations under which the capital of the Punjab was taken possession of by British troops, and terms dictated to a proud and overbearing people by the Governor-general of India. But these were not the only striking points. A new territory had been acquired; the cis-Sutlej Sikh possessions confiscated; and the far-famed valley of Cashmere bestowed on a vassal of the government of Lahore as a reward for services performed to that state; add to which, an indemnity of a million and a half had been levied on the Lahore government. Such were the objects attained, but the moral effect of the victories over the Sikhs was not confined to that nation alone,

Chief features
of the cam-
paign.

General effect
of the victories
over the Sikhs.

but to every state in India and its vicinity, from Cape Comorin to Cabul. The protected Sikh states on the left bank of the Sutlej wavered in their allegiance while the contest lasted, but no sooner had the army of the Sutlej crossed the river than confidence was restored, and these states became removed as it were from the frontier into the centre of our provinces. The Sutlej was no longer the boundary line; nor did the mountain tribes of Soochat, Kooloo, and Mundee continue to dread the Sikhs: they felt that they were now the subjects of a power under whom they could enjoy peaceful possession of their mountain homes.

Suddenness of
the invasion.

With regard to the apparent suddenness of the commencement of the Sikh campaign, it would seem that the Sikhs had been employed for months bringing their guns across the river and concealing them. The reports long spread about their intended invasion of the British territories were not credited, though the news-writers at Lahore continued to furnish almost daily tidings of what transpired in the Durbar; dwelling on the inability of the Ranee and the nominal government, to control the unruly Sikhs, who had come to a full determination to cross the Sutlej. One reason for disbelieving such reports originated in the Sikhs having used the same menace before, in 1843. But since that period the frontier had assumed a very different aspect, and a bridge had even been prepared for the purpose of passing over a British force into the Punjab. The Sikhs now wished to

anticipate us in crossing the boundary line, and if they ever believed that we meditated the subjugation of their country, it was not a bad stroke of counter-policy to resolve to effect a similar purpose by annexing Hindostan to the empire of the Punjab. The outbreak was not in reality, therefore, so sudden as may have been supposed from the tone assumed by the Sikhs and the futile attempt of their government to control them. It has been said, that the cession of the Sikh states belonging to the Lahore government on the left or British side of the Sutlej had been demanded, and that such a proposition had given dire offence. If the proposal were really made, it might have been expected, that a force capable of taking possession of the states in question would have been in readiness in case of refusal. Alleged cause of invasion.

In resolving, therefore, to cross the Sutlej, the least that the Sikhs could expect was the restoration of their old boundary line, the Jumnah; instead of yielding any territory to the British, they were fully bent on regaining possession of all the protected Sikh States on the left bank of the Sutlej, as well as the small tract of country about Feeroz-pore, which had merged into our possession by the death of the Sirdarnee, much to the annoyance of the Lahore government. Sikhs resolved to regain the Malwa Doab.

The next feature in the campaign, namely, the desperate resistance on the part of the Sikhs, might have been expected. Had the Sikh army, however numerous its ranks may have been, met the British Desperate resistance on the part of the Sikhs to be expected.

in a fair field, the contest would have been of short duration, though the loss of life would, no doubt, have been great if the guns had been taken at the point of the bayonet, as occurred at Maharajpore. But the Sikhs had before their eyes that famous engagement with the Mahrattas; and they were perfectly aware that they could not calculate on the chance of victory without entrenching their position. Having formed such an entrenchment at Feerozshuhur, the loss of European officers and soldiers was necessarily great, when exposed to the murderous fire of upwards of a hundred guns dealing out the deadly grape upon a comparatively small force of Europeans. Again, at Sobraon the entrenchment assumed the form of a regular fortification, and the troops opposed to the portion where an entrance was impracticable, must have suffered severely in killed and wounded; and the result of the attack by the first and second divisions shows how terrible the loss was against impregnable walls lined by Sikhs in triple rows.

And the loss
of life great.

Causes of the
shortness of
the duration
of campaign.

When the campaign first began, most of those engaged in it were of opinion that two years, at least, would be required for its completion; and had affairs taken another turn—had the Sikhs, after the battle of Feerozshuhur, remained on their own side of the river, and opposed the passage of the British across, we should, after forcing the Sutlej, have followed them to their capital or to Umritsir and Govindghur, and the campaign would have been prolonged to one or two years, instead

of being finished within four months. The circumstance, therefore, of the war being carried on, on the left bank of the Sutlej, was the chief cause of the shortness of its duration.

The features of the campaign are, therefore, readily accounted for, and need not surprise any one who takes the trouble of inquiring into all the bearings of the case; and we trust the details given in the present work will enable those who take an interest in the affairs of the Sikhs to understand their present position and future prospects; regarding both of which, however, a few observations may be offered:—

The kingdom of the Punjab, as established by the conquests of Runjeet Singh, no longer exists. It has been shorn of its fairest territories; the **Bist Jalindhur**, looked upon as the garden of the Punjab, has been ceded to the British. The states on the left bank of the Sutlej, formerly owning the supremacy of Lahore, have been confiscated by the same power, and the beautiful province of Cashmere has been sold to Goolab Singh, a vassal of Lahore.

What, it may be asked, now belongs to the government of Lahore? We have taken the richest **Doab** of which the Punjab can boast. The country no longer lays claim to five rivers; it is bounded on the east by the **Beas**, and on the west by the **Indus**. But all the hill or mountainous tracts have been yielded up; not only those included in the **Bist Jalindhur**, but likewise those from the **Beas** to the **Indus**; and over this last tract, Goolab Singh

Features of the war easily accounted for.

The kingdom of the Punjab broken up.

The Punjab, as a kingdom, no longer exists.

Goolab Singh an independent sovereign.

reigns an independent king, unless his annual present "of one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed, (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls," can be construed into tokens of the British supremacy.

The government of Lahore may be said to be annihilated. In appearance, it exists: there is a king, a prime minister, and an army. But one and all are dependent on the British power! The capital of the country is not garrisoned by Sikhs. It is entirely in the hands of the paramount power, whose soldiers are lent for a time to preserve the semblance of a government, but in reality to keep possession of the advantages already gained, until the season of the year shall enable the Governor-general to annex the whole country to the British possessions, if such a step be deemed necessary. It is in vain to dissemble the fallen condition of the Punjab. Already has rebellion broken out in several places; and there is reason to fear that even the possessions belonging to the Lahore government across the Indus, will be wrested from it by Dost Mohummud, if not yielded without a struggle. The kingdom founded by the Maharajah Runjeet Singh is thus being broken up; and already have the richest portions of it been parcelled out and sold! The respect which the tributaries of Lahore showed to its government is now turned into contempt, for the sovereignty is virtually extinct. Dhuleep is, indeed, *king of the Sikhs*, his mother is Ranee, and both are supported by the British!

Peshawur likely to be lost.

The Lahore government merely a nominal one.

True, but the very fact of being "*supported*" by a foreign power proves, in the plainest manner, the weakness and nominal character of the government. Dhuleep Singh, king or Maharajah, is under one or both titles a mere puppet; possesses no real power, and is wholly a dependent on the British, who are now in reality the rulers of the Punjab. It will be a fortunate event if, by the arrangements and treaties set forth in the Governor-general's proclamations, the people of the Punjab can be made to believe that they *have* a king and government; but it is not likely that the turbulent Sikhs, who yielded no allegiance either to Dhuleep Singh or his mother before their invasion of the British provinces, will now pay them homage, degraded as they conceive mother and son to be by the treaty formed with the British; whereby the kingdom gained by their great ruler, Runjeet Singh, has been divided among strangers, and the richest province belonging to it bestowed on a man who once owed to the Lahore government allegiance as a vassal.

The British virtually paramount in the Punjab.

Disgust of the Sikhs.

The fortune of war has deprived the Sikhs, for the present, of the means of showing how irksome, degrading, and humiliating their position is; but it would argue a very imperfect knowledge of the character of the Sikh, to suppose that he will long yield even a seeming obedience to the present government. Any change would be preferable, and it is not improbable that before many months have elapsed, there will be a new head of the government. At all

The present government cannot last long.

events, discord and anarchy must soon result from the present condition of the Punjab: there may be a king at Lahore, but how far does his power extend? Can he leave that fortress, and trust himself to his own troops, or can his mother retreat from her stronghold without the risk of being murdered?

The weakness of the Lahore government before the invasion.

Goolab Singh appears, at present, a firm ally of the Lahore government, and sincere in his endeavours to arrange matters between it and the British; but such mediation is only nominal on his part. Had the Lahore government been guilty of instigating the Sikhs to their invasion of the British territories, the heads of it might justly have dreaded the displeasure of the latter. But we have shown, and the government well know, that neither the Ranee, nor her son, had sufficient control over the soldiery, to restrain their desire to invade India. Had it been otherwise—had they instigated the hostility of the Sikhs, the Governor-general would have entered into no treaty with them. The opportunity was favourable to Goolab Singh's intervention as a mediator, since there was no other influential person who could undertake the task with any prospect of success; for the Sirdars were all, more or less, implicated in the invasion; whereas Goolab Singh had stood aloof throughout the contest. He was thus the only person connected with Lahore, that could be called to the aid of the Ranee and her son, at a time when the safety of both, as well as the existence of the Lahore government, was at stake. The

Favourable opportunity for Goolab Singh's interference.

Rajah deserves credit for the able manner in which he arranged matters between the two governments; but he never supposed that out of all he effected, any permanent good could arise. Before the Sikhs invaded the British territories, the Rajah of Jummoo knew that the force which he could bring against us was unequal to the contest, and this was one of the reasons why he forbore to aid his countrymen—But what could have induced Goolab Singh to come to Lahore and risk his life, if he had not some great object to gain? We have attributed his motives to the thirst for revenge on the murderers of his nephew and son; and the terms he proposed before he would accept the Wuzeer-ship, appeared to confirm this view; but the Rajah, in visiting Lahore, wished also to impress on the Khalsa troops, that he was their friend and ally; and they believed him, nay, relied upon his aid in the time of need. This was the impression he wanted to make, and calculating on the favourable opinion entertained of him by the Sikhs, he returned to Jummoo, there to await the coming struggle, which he foresaw would lead to his being called for at a time when nothing could save the Lahore government but his own interference and mediation.

Goolab Singh's
political calcu-
lations.

Goolab Singh became Wuzeer, because in that capacity he could more easily and expeditiously arrange the terms of treaty as regarded the Lahore and the British governments; but when the critical time arrived, he found it convenient to quarrel

His views pro-
moted by be-
coming
Wuzeer.

His independence to be gained.

The invasion of the Sikhs favourable to him.

with the Ranee, and vacate an appointment which he had accepted merely to suit his own political views. From being a vassal of Lahore, he was now about to become an independent Rajah, not only of his own territory of Jummoo, but of the whole mountainous tract between the Beas and the Indus; and this accession of authority and influence arose from a war which he himself had secretly fostered, with a view of reducing the power of the Lahore government, and rendering it wholly dependent for its existence on one with which he knew he could make favourable terms for securing his own independence.

The cession of Jalindhur a matter of necessity.

The same remark true of Cashmere.

But in accomplishing his own end, to what a degraded condition has he reduced the government of Lahore! We believe that few will be inclined to doubt what we have asserted, namely, that in reality no independent government now exists in the Punjab. Through the fortune of war, the Sikhs were so completely humbled by the British, that the means of governing their vast kingdom no longer existed; and it has been shown, that long before the Jalindhur Doab was ceded to the British, the hill tribes, occupying the mountainous districts of it, had thrown off their allegiance to the government of Lahore; so that our taking possession of this Doab was a mere matter of necessity, forced upon the British in consequence of having weakened and broken the power which had, heretofore, been paramount in this Doab. The same reasoning applies to Cashmere, and other hilly

districts made over to Goolab Singh. Had the latter not thus received them, there is every probability that he would have seized upon them by force, if they had remained as portions of the kingdom of Lahore. A government, though not entirely overthrown, may be so far weakened, as to be incapable of defending itself against internal disorders and anarchy; and this has been the position of that of Lahore, not only since the campaign with the British, but from the day of the death of Shere Singh and the Prime Minister Dhyan Singh. The Lahore government weak since the death of Shere Singh. The government of the Punjab has been, virtually, in the hands of the soldiery, who plundered the state as long as anything remained; and when the treasury was exhausted, and the disaffected troops saw no prospect of their being longer maintained, they resolved to hasten a crisis, whereby the independence of themselves and their government would be compromised, or their ambitious views realized. But they cared not for consequences: they were reckless and determined to fight; and though their several defeats have taught the Sikhs a lesson, yet their return to order and peace is far Military anarchy likely to continue. distant. Their progress has been arrested and themselves beaten and destroyed in great numbers; but the Punjab is a populous country, and it is not likely that those men who have been disbanded, The reason why it should. will all at once settle down quietly; they must have employment, but they will not exchange the sword for the ploughshare, and therefore their only means of procuring a livelihood must depend on

the former. If there be no public enemy against whom they can wield it, nor any government capable of maintaining them as soldiers, what alternative remains for them, but to turn their arms against each other ?

The degraded state of the Punjab.

The present condition of the Punjab is as degraded as it was when the Mussulmans conquered the fierce and barbarous hordes of Sikhs led by the fanatic Byrojee Bunda; the only difference being, that on the latter occasion, the Sikhs had never had a king, while on the present, they have one in name at least, if destitute of the other attributes of sovereignty. There had never been a man amongst them who could not only assert his own independence as a Sirdar, but overcome all his peers, and form a kingdom, until Runjeet appeared on the stage, and effected an object which must ever impress us with the highest opinion of his energy, courage, and judgment. Even aided by a British force, the government of Lahore is feeble, and could not exist a day were the garrison of Lahore withdrawn.

The great character of Runjeet Singh.

Unaided by the British, the government of Lahore cannot exist.

The present arrangement in the Punjab is an experiment which may prove successful, and every one who wishes to see order and good government take the place of misrule and anarchy, must wish for its success. We have had quite enough of warfare.

State of Lahore contrasted with that of Bhurt-pore.

It may be said that other states have been similarly situated, for instance, that of Bhurt-pore; and that after leaving a regiment, or even half a one,

for a few months for the protection of the young Bulwunt Singh, the state has remained in a peaceful and flourishing condition for a period of twenty years. But in making this comparison, we must not forget, that the strong fortress of Bhurtpore was dismantled, and its walls so far destroyed as never again to offer a resistance which had twice defied the power of the British. In the Punjab, the strongholds of the Sikhs remain entire: no breach has been made in the walls of Lahore, Umritsir, or the still stronger fort of Govind Ghur; and though one of these is at the present moment in possession of a British force, and the others nominally in the power of the government, it would be no difficult matter for the Sikhs to render both Umritsir and Govind Ghur strong garrisons, capable of standing a siege. That the British have taken all the guns that had been pointed against them is true, but there is every reason to believe, that there are many more in Govind Ghur and Umritsir. The treasury of Lahore may be exhausted, but what has become of the vast wealth amassed by Runjeet Singh? A great deal, no doubt, fills the coffers of the Rajah of Jummoo, but much of it must be in the possession of the various Sirdars of the Punjab, and it only requires a coalition amongst them, to raise the means of arming their followers, and rendering them once more formidable even to the British. The wealth and strength of the government itself have been exhausted or destroyed, but the private resources of the

State of the
Sikh garrisons.

The Sirdars
still wealthy.

Poverty of the
Lahore government.

Sirdars have been left almost untouched, though for form's sake, they were called upon to contribute in raising the indemnity which Deena Nath, Chutter Singh, Bhaee Ram Singh, or Tej Singh, could readily have paid out of their own coffers !

The wealthy Sirdars not likely to respond to further demands for money.

If the government of Lahore found so much difficulty in raising half a million of money, at a time when the repeated overthrows of its troops left no alternative, how much more will this difficulty be increased when a similar sum is demanded? The government itself will not be in a condition to respond to the call, and the Sirdars will turn a deaf ear to the renewed demands made on them. They will rather trust to the fortune of war, and stake their wealth on the hazard of the die, than yield it for the support of a weak and imbecile government.

A renewal of war likely to occur.

The war cry has ceased for the present; there is an ominous lull; the recollection of their loss weighs heavily on the Sikhs at this moment, and may continue to do so for some months, or even until the withdrawal of the British force which now garrisons at Lahore, but sooner or later the day must come when the British standards will be again unfurled, and the Indus, and not the Beas, become the frontier barrier of her possessions in the east.

Present position and future prospects.

Such is the present position of the Punjab, and such the shadows of the future, and it therefore becomes a subject of the first importance, to consider how the latter are to be guarded against; in other words, how the British are to hold possession

of a country boasting a numerous population of warlike and unruly men like the Sikhs! They cannot be driven out of the country, for where could they go, unless they crossed the Ravee, Chenab, Jelum, and Indus, pursued by the British? And this leads us to advert to the measures to be adopted, in case it becomes necessary for the British to subjugate the whole of the Punjab.

The campaign which has just been terminated, proved incontestibly, that the only efficient arm that could maintain an equal contest with the Sikhs, was the European infantry and cavalry. If ever the Khalsa troops therefore re-assemble and wage war on the British, the army of the latter must be composed of a much larger force in Europeans, than it can at present boast of. The present Anglo-Indian army is required for the protection of the territory which we already possess; and though the great moral effect of our late victories over the Sikhs, may render it a safe measure to leave 20,000 troops beyond the Sutlej, yet this impression, like every other, will daily become fainter. If, then, the present strength of this army is needed for the security of the British territory in India, the acquisition of the four remaining Doabs lying between the rivers Beas, Ravee, Chenab, Jelum, and Indus, will necessarily require a great addition, not perhaps for the acquisition of these extensive tracts of country, but for retaining them. It is no doubt true, that the British government do not want more territory, but it will not do for us to take merely

The importance of more European troops.

The accession of more territory unavoidable.

Increase of
irregular
cavalry.

a slice or two from the loaf; the whole must be devoured for security's sake. As yet, the only increase to the army has taken place in the irregular cavalry branch: the proposed augmentation in the Native infantry has been for the present abandoned.

Superiority of
the European
soldier.

The cause of the outcry against raising new regiments of European infantry or cavalry is the *expense*; but surely if the European soldiers be more efficient than thrice the number of Natives, or rather, if the former possess qualities which are looked for in vain among the latter, it is obvious that the European soldier must be less costly than the sepoy.

Already the Anglo-Indian army of Bengal numbers seventy-four regiments of Native infantry, but possesses only two of European infantry. The Queen's government allows a certain number of regiments for India, because in all probability some doubts formerly existed in England, as to whether the European soldier, disciplined under officers who never leave India, could be equal to the men drilled in Europe. There is no longer any ground for this opinion. The Bengal European infantry was proved in the late war to be equal to the regiments in Her Majesty's service.

The efficiency
of Native ar-
tillery.

Now, it will be seen from what occurred in the war with the Sikhs, that Natives may be made as efficient artillery-men as Europeans, and the Sikh artillery proved that this branch of their service could not have been better served, or have done

greater destruction, had their gunners been Natives of Europe, instead of the Punjab. The efficiency of the Native artillery in our own service, likewise confirms the high character of this branch of the army, whether the gunners be Native or European. The former are proud of this branch of the service, they love their guns as they do their brothers, and never desert them but in death. The same feeling was strongly evinced among the Sikh artillery-men, on several of them being disbanded. They were offered service in the line; but they, one and all, refused to serve as infantry soldiers.

The Native of India forms his own opinion re-^{The reason of this.} garding the efficiency of his weapons, and while the Native cavalry-soldier longs for a heavy cutting sword, instead of one meant merely for the thrust, and the infantry soldier may also wish for some other weapon in lieu of the bayonet, the artillery-man has nothing further to demand; there is his noble gun, which, if properly served, needs no further assistance; once in position, it deals out its murderous contents with certainty and terrible effect. A sword or a lance may fail in penetrating the quilted clothes, of the Sikhs, but not so the shot or grape! The arm is perfect in itself, and is not feeble when exposed to the indomitable charge of the British bayonets. Allowing therefore, every weight to this important arm, we yet see that it must yield the palm to European infantry, and the charge of the latter against the Sikh guns, sustains the character in the nineteenth century, that the

^{Inferiority of Native artillery to European infantry.}

Macedonian phalanx did when led by Alexander the Great against Porus.

European infantry certain of victory under any circumstances.

From what has been said and shown of the European infantry, it may be inferred, that to possess strength in this arm, is to secure victory under any circumstances. Hence the necessity for raising more European regiments than at present exist in India.

But while allowing its full weight to the European infantry, it must not be overlooked that the cavalry is equally important and requisite. We have in a previous chapter discussed the merits of regular and irregular Native cavalry; but whatever their respective merits may be, it is an undeniable fact that neither are at all equal to European cavalry: we do not deny that the regular Native cavalry have often charged gallantly, and vied with the Europeans; and as far as the knowledge of the sword is concerned, there may be superiority in many instances on the side of the Native horseman; but where a combined, irresistible heavy charge is required, the great superiority of the European cavalry must be allowed. In the Native infantry, there are numerous individuals who in single combat would triumph over a European foot-soldier, for the Native is skilful with his sword; but there is something in the European when highly excited on the field of battle, allied to madness, which nothing can resist; all his milder feelings give way to a fierce and terrible impetuosity; the quiet, orderly soldier becomes at once a daring and despe-

The importance of European cavalry.

The fierce bearing of the European soldiers in battle.

rate warrior. At Feerozshuhur, nothing could exceed the individual courage of the European soldiers; the havoc committed by individuals is hardly to be credited. One remarkable case may be noticed, that of Drill-serjeant Snooks, a quiet and inoffensive man, but an exceedingly smart and strict disciplinarian, who was so excited at the battle alluded to, that he actually killed eleven men with his own hand! Some he shot, the brains of others he knocked out with the butt-end of his musket, and several were bayoneted. This feat, as witnessed by an officer who related the circumstance to us, was one of the most extraordinary that can be well conceived; the man more resembled a demon than a human being. But indeed, in this he was not singular; the fierce spirit exhibited by the 3rd dragoons at Moodkee, for example, impressed the Sikhs with the idea that they were something akin to fiends, if not entirely supernatural!

In all great engagements, however much the infantry may do, the victory can never be complete without an efficient force of cavalry; not such cavalry as the Sikh Ghoorchurras, but brave, dauntless fellows like our European dragoons; and the want of this branch was sadly felt at the commencement of the late campaign, particularly at Moodkee and Feerozshuhur.

The necessity, therefore, for raising European cavalry regiments who may be at all times available is obvious. Our strength in regular Native

An army not efficient without cavalry.

The necessity for two or more regiments of European cavalry.

cavalry is sufficient; and so it will be in irregular cavalry when the number of the latter shall equal fifteen regiments; but surely there ought to be two complete regiments of European cavalry in the Company's service, or even more; and the men enlisting into the Company's service would furnish numerous candidates for this important branch.

Three more regiments of European infantry required.

In the event of the Punjab being annexed to our territory, there will necessarily be required five complete regiments of European infantry and one of European cavalry for *each* Doab, in addition to a considerable force of Native infantry, cavalry, and artillery; at least, until the refractory spirit of the Sikhs should be completely broken. The European regiments of infantry, making five in all, should each be kept complete to the strength of 1000 bayonets.

No clemency or pity to be expected from the Sikhs.

It may be here observed, that it is alleged, the expense of maintaining such a force in the Punjab would more than counterbalance any immediate advantage to be derived from its possession. This may or may not be true; but the aspect of affairs is so completely changed in that country within the short period of six months, that force alone can maintain its tranquillity; and before annexing it to the British possessions, it may be necessary to annihilate the whole race of disorderly Sikhs who live by the sword alone. Such a war of extermination will of course be avoided if possible, for humanity shudders at the bare idea of extensive bloodshed;

but the fierce and barbarous character of these people must be taken into account; and if any one is inclined to believe that clemency would be shown by the Sikhs, were any untoward and unlooked-for event to cause our troops to fall into their hands, he is more mistaken than if he looked for it from the Affghan in the defiles of the Khyber Pass. The Mussulman will spare, as was evinced in the case of Akhber Khan, but such pity is not to be expected from the followers of Gooroo Govind. How did Biddulph escape? Merely through the kindness of the Mussulman artillery-men. Does any one suppose that Dr. Banan and the men of the 31st would have escaped death if the Sikhs, under Runjoor Singh, had got possession of them? No wonder, then, that the British government should feel disinclined to have any thing further to do with the Sikhs beyond endeavouring to re-establish rule and order, and assisting their government in obtaining and preserving control over its own subjects. Rather than come in contact with this sanguinary people by keeping possession of Cashmere, this fertile tract has been made over to Goolab Singh, who, though not a Sikh himself, is yet, from experience, well adapted for defending his own possessions against their assaults.

The Sikhs contrasted with the Mussulmans.

The cause of forbearance on the part of the British.

There is some reason for believing, that sooner than annex the whole of the Punjab to the British territories, the country might be placed in the hands of the Rajah of Jummoo and Cashmere. But Goolab Singh cannot live for ever; the lives

of the Ranees and her young son are very uncertain also; and if these three individuals should disappear, what is to become of the Punjab?

If such a crisis should occur, the Sikhs might probably look to a son of Shere Singh as the rightful heir to the throne of Lahore; but still British interference would be required to support him. Such a weak kind of government could not exist long; and, therefore, the only alternative, short of subjugation, is the adoption of the system of supporting the government by a contingent or subsidiary force. The Sikhs, if regularly paid and entertained as soldiers, might, no doubt, be made serviceable in this way; but the feudal system in force would throw great obstacles in the way of this arrangement, and render the attempt at supporting a king at Lahore as nugatory as was that of maintaining Shah Soojah Ool Moolk on the throne of Cabul. Like that imbecile man, the person seated on the throne of Lahore might for a time appear grateful for our aid; but sooner or later he would find our presence irksome, and endeavour by every means in his power to rid himself of the very people to whom he stood indebted for his exaltation.

Contingents.

Difficulties opposed to them.

Probable results.

A firm government not to be looked for.

The present aspect of affairs in the Punjab differs widely from that in Affghanistan during the short reign of Shah Soojah. No ruler has been dethroned to give place to another. The present Maharajah of the Sikhs is tacitly allowed to be the rightful heir of the throne of Lahore, and there appears to

be no other candidate who wishes to dispossess him. Still a weak government will ever have secret enemies, and when its head requires the assistance of a foreign power, it is impossible for him to secure the esteem or firm adherence of his subjects.

It may be a point for consideration, whether the Punjab be worth annexing to the British territories. Is the country worth annexing? At first, the expense of securing it would probably more than counterbalance the revenual advantages accruing from the possession; but the affair is not entirely one of profit and loss. Here is a large and populous nation without any efficient government. If the support of the British be withdrawn, the return to anarchy and misrule is certain, and we must either allow the contending powers to settle matters by a civil war, or seize at once the country and bring it under British rule; or suffer some other contiguous power to interfere for its settlement. This last alternative cannot, on broad and obvious political grounds, be permitted. The British must be prepared for such an event. The complete annexation of the Punjab will, therefore, sooner or later be forced on us, and though attended by great outlay, the rich tracts of country might, under careful British rule and management, eventually be made to yield a rich return. Let us then be prepared for the emergency. No means must be overlooked for curbing the disorderly and treacherous spirit of the Sikhs; by force, and force alone, can this be accomplished, and in adopting

the necessary measures let the principle of economy for a time be overlooked: the acquisition of the Punjab, with the Indus forming our boundary on the west, will no doubt tend to consolidate our vast empire, and ensure a permanency of peace and its countless blessings.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BRITISH GARRISON AT LAHORE.

THE Natives of India, using the words in their most extensive sense, have always admitted the indomitable valour of the British arms. They surmount obstacles and overcome difficulties which are ordinarily deemed impracticable by oriental nations. Rivers, mountains, rugged defiles, offer but a temporary resistance to a British force.

Valour of British troops universally allowed in the east.

Observe the campaign of the army of the Indus. That river had previously been regarded by the Natives of Hindostan as a natural barrier, beyond which it was unsafe to pass. They had a horror of the bare act of using the water of a stream which they hold in no esteem. Unlike their favorite Ganges, the sluggish waters of which flow, after leaving the mountains at Hurdwar, in a calm and an uninterrupted current to the sea, fertilizing the countries through which they pass, and bearing on their bosom numberless boats freighted with the produce of India as well as foreign articles of trade

Instances of it.

and traffic; the Indus, rising in a wild and desolate region among the unexplored fastnesses of the Himalayan range, and winding its rapid course through mountains and defiles, reaches the plains of the Punjab in a rapid current, and in its course towards the ocean receives the tributary streams of the five rivers. Its banks, in many places, are peopled by a fierce and lawless race who inhabit the almost inaccessible countries in its neighbourhood, and instead of following the peaceful arts of agriculture and commerce, wage continual war with their neighbours, and not unfrequently turn their arms against each other. Such was the river which bore the fleet of the great conqueror Alexander to the ocean, when his veteran troops, tired and worn out with conquest, refused to advance further in their victorious career towards the east, and such is the river which now bears the steamers of the British nation through regions which only a few years ago were possessed by the bigoted and insolent Ameers of Scinde, who ventured to arrest the progress of another Alexander, Sir Alexander Burnes, not attended by a numerous army like the first of his name, but the peaceful bearer of a noble present for the great ruler of the Punjab.

The army of the Indus crossed this great river, threaded the Bolan pass, reached Candahar, and pursued its victorious progress to Cabul after seizing Ghuzni, the stronghold of the Affghans. This was a great achievement, and the nation

capable of performing it was looked upon by the fierce and warlike tribes of the country as invincible. 'Tis true there were no organised troops to arrest the progress of this army, nor could the Affghans oppose it with any force of artillery like that brought into the field by the Sikhs; still, the occupation of Cabul by the British was a great enterprize. That such a task was accomplished by sheer bravery and perseverance, no one will deny who has read the records of the campaign. The capture of the chief fortress of the Ameers was a fitting sequel to the deeds of high emprise enacted in Affghanistan, and the victory on the Sutlej capped the whole. Thus, in a period of eight years, did the British troops under a Keane, a Napier, and a Gough make themselves masters of Cabul, Hyderabad, and Lahore. Ten or twelve years ago, such feats were hardly dreamt of, and the policy of Lord William Bentinck in 1831 would have shrunk from such acts of daring. And how was it that this enlightened governor never contemplated such conquests? Not, certainly, from any dread that the army of India could not accomplish them; but solely from his unwillingness to risk the lives of his own countrymen, as well as those of the Natives of India, in a warfare for the possession of territory which he had the sagacity to perceive would entail endless trouble and expense on its possessors.

The experiment was made by his successor of placing a dethroned and imbecile king on the throne of Cabul; and for what purpose? The

Valour evinced in taking possession of Cabul, Hyderabad, and Lahore.

Lord William Bentinck's policy.

Lord Auckland's policy in restoring Shah Soojahool Moolk,

dread of Russian invasion had given rise to suspicions regarding the ruler of Afghanistan ; he was supposed to be friendly to Russia. He was also hostile to our old and steady ally Runjeet Singh. He must be dethroned, in order to secure the aid of a man who could not of himself maintain a government, and who, restored to his lost throne, would be the first to prove his ingratitude, by destroying the very people who had placed him there. Shah Soojah ool Moolk was once more king of Cabul, his claims were tacitly allowed, his capital was held possession of by those who had restored him to his kingdom. The army which had accomplished this, was then reduced in strength, and the safety of Afghanistan entrusted to a force composed chiefly of natives of Hindostan, whose only wish was to return to their own country. With the fierce spirit of the Affghans unbroken, and thirsting for the blood of the invaders of their country, what was then to be expected ? Could it ever have been contemplated that such a people would allow any opportunity to pass of expelling the invaders ? Was it not rather to be looked for, that by the sword, and the sword alone, our dominion and power were to be preserved ? Could any arrangement of a peaceful nature, with the hostile tribes whose country had been invaded, and a ruler forced on the throne whom they despised, ever have been calculated on ? Could the bare retreat or withdrawal of the British force satisfy the Affghans for the insult and injury heaped on

them? No. Nothing less than the destruction of their invaders, offered a balm to their outraged feelings.

The invasion of a country without due provocation, is to be avoided as an evil in itself, and fruitful of disastrous consequences. A people may be conquered, but their conversion into obedient and loyal subjects is always difficult—often impossible. The dangerous experiment of invasion was, therefore, wisely avoided by the present Governor-general of India. He was averse to war under any pretext short of the defence of the British territories, and his forbearance led him to await aggression on the part of the Sikhs. War was forced on him; he adopted hostility as an unavoidable evil; and he triumphed over the foe who rashly attempted invasion. From motives which cannot be misconstrued, the Governor-general in the moment of victory, expresses an ardent wish for the restoration of peace and order among the very people who had threatened to wrest the British possessions in India, out of his hands.

Though thus conquered and discomfited, the Sikhs, like the Affghans, cherish the hope of yet retaliating on their conquerors, and the spirit which urges them to seek for the lives of the British, has already manifested itself; not emanating, it is true, from the head of the government, but in the personal malice of the people. In the bazaar of Lahore, the bunniahs, or merchants, have dared to ill-treat the political functionaries, while they were

The invasion of a country a dangerous experiment.

The forbearance of the British conspicuous.

Hostile spirit of the Sikhs.

in the act of endeavouring to restore peace and order.

The ringleaders were seized. But what did that amount to? Merely to a demonstration on the part of the Lahore government, that it is ready to redress any insult offered to the paramount power. But does any one believe that Lal Singh, while thus punishing the bunniahs and other disturbers of the public peace, was annoyed at the occurrence? Quite the reverse: Lal Singh, with Tej Singh, Runjoor Singh, Chuttur Singh, Bhaee Ram Singh, and Nooroodeen, the worthies who signed the treaties, were rejoiced at an event, which could in any way degrade a British officer; for while with one hand they would deal out punishment, with the other they would reward the offenders for the attempt to bring disgrace on British authority. There is a well known prejudice in favour of the cow among the Sikhs, and the same prejudice extends to her offspring. It appears, that an artillery-man, while on sentry duty, found two of the latter in his way, and pushed them aside rather rudely. On this the whole bazaar of Lahore is in an uproar, and the shops are shut! The latter proceeding is a favourite one on the part of these bazaar bunniahs, or venders of grain, to mark their contempt for the public authorities. It has occurred in our own bazaars. At Loodianah, an occurrence of the kind took place on the occasion of a horse-dealer killing a cow for the purpose of supplying food to his servants. The animal was slaughtered

Prejudice in favour of the cow.

The bunniahs shut up their shops.

by the unsuspecting Mussulman in broad day, and close to the city of Loodianah. The result was, that all the shops were closed, and the owners resolutely refused to sell grain or any other commodity to the soldiers cantoned there. This farce was being enacted for the space of two days, when the circumstance was brought to the notice of the author of this work,* by the commanding officer, with an appeal to the effect, that if grain was not obtained the Sipahes must starve! The remedy for such an evil being extremely simple, an order was issued to the kotwal, or chief Native magistrate, to proclaim, that "if in a certain space of time the shops were not opened, the owners would be expelled from the bazaars, and their property confiscated." This proceeding had speedily the desired effect, and the shops were opened.

A simple means of opening them.

This powerful prejudice regarding the cow led the authorities at Lahore, during the stay of the army of the Sutlej, to forbid the slaughter of cows or bullocks for the supply of beef to the European troops. How far the order was carried into effect in the commissariat department, we are unable to say with any degree of certainty; but this we can vouch for, that at private messes the beef never appeared in better order, and was never more relished. For an army to be thus dictated to by its prostrate foe, appears somewhat absurd. Had the British been at Lahore on a visit of ceremony, such

The slaughter of cows and bullocks forbidden at Lahore:— only partially attended to.

* He was officiating for the political agent, during the temporary absence of that functionary.

as happened in 1837, when the Commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Fane, attended the nuptials of Nonahal Singh, the abstaining from the slaughter of cows might justly have been expected; but to deprive the British soldier of his *roast beef*, to suit the caprice and prejudice of the Sikh government in 1846, is somewhat unreasonable, to say the least of it, and impresses the Sikhs with a belief that our present position at Lahore is one of sufferance. They would dictate to us, even in their prostrate condition; and, therefore, they ought to be reminded that we are able to render the execution of our wishes absolute, without any reference to their absurd prejudices. We are sufficiently acquainted with the firm and determined character of Major Lawrence, to be assured that the Sikhs will not dare to tamper with him; and they may rely upon it that he will not allow any of their absurd notions to interfere with the execution of his arduous duties. One of his assistants was actually struck severely on the head by a brickbat! Hardly a month had elapsed after the ratification of the treaties dictated by the Governor-general, when his representative was grossly assaulted in the streets of Lahore!! The Natives of India smile at such occurrences, and with a shake of the head exclaim, the "*Ungrex Bukadur can conquer all, but they do not know how to govern!*"

British political authorities insulted.

Idea of the Natives regarding our government.

Lahore accustomed to pillage.

The city of Lahore has been so accustomed to be pillaged, that the inhabitants, particularly the bunniahs, or merchants, could not account for the

forbearance of the British on any other ground than the fear of Sikh resentment! Had the cities of Lahore and Umritsir been given up to pillage, a more lasting impression of our strength would have been produced than by the act of garrisoning one or both with British soldiers. The Native soldier, moreover, was sadly disappointed at the forbearance shown by the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief. When tired and fatigued with the long march, the sipahee exclaimed, "Oh! sir, only let us *loot* (pillage) Umritsir for three days, and we shall be amply repaid for all our sufferings!"

The Native soldiers disappointed.

The British garrison at Lahore has an ample supply of food for a considerable period. In case, therefore, of a repetition of the insult offered by the bunniahs, the political agent might dispense with them, and make over the contents of their shops to the government; supplying their place with his own bunniahs, protected by the British force.

The Lahore bunniahs might be dispensed with.

Though placing every confidence in the zeal, talent, and energy of Major Lawrence and his assistants, we are, nevertheless, doubtful of the propriety of entrusting the management of a nation like the Sikhs to political deputies. The latter signally failed at Cabul, and would have probably been equally unfortunate in Scinde, had not the military skill and decision of Sir Charles Napier been called into action at a critical moment. We do not mean to insinuate for an instant, that

Political authorities of doubtful efficiency.

Dependent on
military force.

Colonel Outram was not fully capable of managing affairs at Hyderabad in a military capacity, but the very constitution of political diplomacy is inert as regards the semi-barbarous nations of the East. They pay no respect to civil institutions, and regard the exercise of the functions of a political agent as entirely dependent on the military force at his command. Without a demonstration of this power his orders are disregarded; and, therefore, it might be more effectual were orders to issue at once from the military commandant.

The contrast
between mili-
tary and poli-
tical diplo-
macy.

The disaster at Cabul is fresh in the recollection of all. The splendid success in Scinde is equally so. With two such glaring examples before our eyes of the respective value of political and military control, the choice was apparently easy. The Governor of Scinde was at Lahore, and it becomes a question whether it would not have been more advisable to entrust Sir Charles Napier with the full and complete command of the newly acquired territory in the Punjab, as well as the garrison of Lahore and our political relations with the Sikhs, than to send him back to a country which he had already brought into a state of order and good government. It may be urged, the one command was inferior to the other; but this we are disposed to deny. The country of Scinde was under the rule of Mussulman Ameers, with a half-disciplined army which could never have opposed the disciplined troops of Runjeet Singh. The kingdom of the latter has been virtually subdued by the British,

The eligibility
of Sir Charles
Napier for the
management
of Sikh affairs.

but the complete subjugation of it delayed. A task yet remains of more importance than even the reduction of Scinde; and there appears to be no one so well calculated for its performance as the gallant officer who chastised the insolence and bad faith of the Ameers and the wild tribes of Beloochistan.

The appointment of Sir Charles Napier to com- His character.
mand the Punjab would have rendered political agents quite unnecessary. He would have enforced his orders at the point of the sword. Such is his practice in Scinde. There is thus no appeal from his mandates. No doubtful controversy interferes with his movements. No delay takes place in carrying out his measures. He forms his own opinion of the necessities of the moment; and his object being to secure firm possession of territories once acquired by the sword, his resolve is carried into immediate execution. These are the leading principles by which he has conquered and retained Scinde; and had such principles directed our affairs in Affghanistan, the disastrous events which blemished the fair fame of the British arms would never have occurred.

At Cabul, the management of affairs was entrusted to a political agent or envoy, whose energy and spirit were conspicuous, not as a political leader, but as an adviser in military matters! In the former capacity, he allowed himself to be overreached by the wily Affghan, and he could only have been extricated by the decided and prompt measures of the military force, but this was in the

The pernicious effects of political diplomacy at Cabul.

hands of another, who considered himself in a great measure the judge of the necessity for its employment. Vacillation was the consequence. The man who knew what was required could not command the resources imperatively called for, and he who ruled these did not understand the critical position in which affairs had been placed, and hesitated to render the necessary assistance. He who conducts political matters in a newly acquired territory ought to have troops at his sole command. His calculations may embrace certain political arrangements, which nothing but a strong military power will enable him to carry out; and unless he possess the full power and management of the force, his plans may be followed by disastrous consequences.

For these reasons we advocate the expediency of a military ruler who shall be invested with full political authority. True, it may be said, a military commandant has only to act under the direction of the political authority; but if measures are recommended which professional experience teaches him are sure to miscarry, his proud and independent spirit will probably spurn the idea of allowing misfortune and disaster to follow any proceeding which he has it in his power not to adopt.

The policy in Scinde.

The British policy in Scinde has been a matter of dispute. While some writers applaud Sir Charles Napier's energy, others have endeavoured to vindicate Colonel Outram. What the effect of the measures recommended by the latter would have

been it is now difficult to say, but from the well-known character of the Natives for prevarication, cunning, and deceit, we are induced to believe that the Ameers of Scinde would have proved faithless to their engagements, and disastrous consequences might have followed. We have been somewhat unwillingly led to discuss the affairs of Scinde and Cabul; but in treating of the relative advantages of vesting authority in diplomatists and soldiers, the latest illustrations that presented themselves were naturally adopted. We now repeat, we are warranted, in so far as past experience can guide us, to draw the conclusion, *that in governing a country whose inhabitants are decidedly hostile to us, and only wait for an opportunity of expelling and destroying our servants and troops, surely military power is the best adapted for preventing both disasters.*

A military
power prefer-
able.

Poor Burnes imagined he knew the Affghan character sufficiently to make him despise the tumult which resulted in the loss of his own life, and eventually in our disasters in Cabul! And the officer who conducts our political affairs at the court of Lahore may see little in an *emeute* in the bazaar to require more than a reference to the Durbar. A recurrence of such an event, however, must be put beyond the range of possibility, and instead of referring to a weak and merely nominal power, the resident should be in a position to vindicate his own authority. The Durbar of Lahore is certainly bound to punish the inmates of

the bazaar, but what gives it the power to do so? The British garrison. Then why not take the strong ground at once, and without any appeal to another party, inflict condign punishment on all offenders? Had the bunniahs of Lahore, instead of directing their brick-bats at the head of the political agent and those of his assistants, aimed them at Lal Singh, Tej Singh, or Bhaee Ram Singh, what would have been the consequence? But it is needless to indulge conjectures on such a subject. Any outrage against these worthies is not likely to assume so mild a form as a flight of brick-bats!

The Sikhs likely to insult the Europeans.

We would fain persuade ourselves that such commotions as that at Lahore are not likely to recur; but from what is known of the Sikh character, we should say they will not allow any opportunity to pass of insulting the Europeans; and as for the Ukalees, the genuine remains of the true followers of Gooroo Govind, they will never be made to respect people of any other religious creed than their own. During the late war, this tribe of religious fanatics fled to their homes. The Ukalee is only needed in predatory warfare, and succeeds much better in burning and pillaging than in making a fair stand on the field of battle. But though the Ukalee has fled, there can be little doubt that he will speedily return to his favorite haunt, Umritsir; and there the disaffected Sikhs are most likely to congregate and discuss their affairs over the sacred tank of the Gooroos.

The Ukalees.

The poverty of the government of the Punjaub The poverty of the Lahore government. is apparent from the demands made on its officers to restore all horses formerly bestowed as presents, and to render account of money, which had been expended by individuals in the general cause. Lal Singh, the prime minister, or wuzeer, has a difficult part to play, and is determined to institute the most economical and rigid measures with a view to recruit the public treasury. He is the medium The position of Lal Singh. of communication between the Sikhs and the British government, and so long as the latter supports him, he may continue to hold his place and maintain his authority.

What will appear odd, to an English reader at least, is the circumstance, that a slave usurps the place of royalty at Lahore, gives advice on matters of state, and inspects the troops! This is a female named Mungloo, who is the favourite of the boy Dhuleep Singh, and occasionally takes his place in the management of affairs. The interests of Lal Singh are intimately mixed up with those of the Ranee and her son, and it may be somewhat offensive to his pride and self-conceit, to be thus under the surveillance of the favourite slave. But such influence as that enjoyed by Mungloo at Lahore, is no unusual occurrence at oriental courts; and at one time it was thought, this woman would exercise considerable power over the councils of the Lahore Durbar.*

* The power of this slave appears to be already on the decline, as she has made over her jagheers, or lands, to Lal Singh.

The necessity
of energetic
measures.

Weakly and
unsettled state
of the Punjab.

The grasping
nature of the
Maharajah of
Jummoo and
Cashmere.

The garrison of Lahore must be prepared to crush every disturbance in the very bud, no matter from what source it may originate. The members of the Lahore government will carefully abstain from giving any direct cause of umbrage. They will assiduously endeavour to meet the wishes of the British, but all this apparent good will and friendly feeling are not to be trusted. Every tumult that may occur, will, in all likelihood, originate in a wish on the part of the Sikh government, to show that it is still capable of managing its own affairs, and so long as the garrison at Lahore is composed of British troops, the government will no doubt last. At the present moment, it is with the greatest difficulty that the revenues can be collected,* and the order to deliver up the fort of Kangra to the British authorities, was at first disregarded.† The settlement of boundary lines has been at all times a fertile source of discord, not only between individuals, but between nations. Goolab Singh is already anxious to possess portions of the hill states, which the Sikhs contend are the property of the Lahore government. A dire spirit of enmity exists between the Sikhs and this independent chief, and it is easy to see how unsettled an aspect

* Among the first to dispute the power of the Durbar, was the governor of Moolton, Moolraj, the son of the late Saroum Mul; but the presence of a British garrison at Lahore has had the effect of bringing him to a sense of his duty. It is probable that he will not be slow in withdrawing his allegiance when they are deprived of that garrison.

† And it was not until a large British force had reached Kote Kangra that the killadar surrendered.

the posture of affairs between them will speedily assume. Goolab Singh has promised to pay seventy-five lakhs of rupees for the sovereignty of Cashmere and other hill provinces; and the money left by his brother Soochet Singh, and lodged at Feerozpoore, has been assigned to him as nearest of kin. This grant in his favour will enable Goolab Singh to liquidate the balance with greater ease. The money is already on the left bank of the Gharra, and can be more easily conveyed to the Honourable Company's treasury than if it were in the stronghold of Goolab Singh at Jummo.

Goolab Singh allowed to be the heir of his brother Soochet Singh.

Goolab Singh will speedily make the people of Cashmere and his other hill territories, make up the balance which he owes to the British, and possessing as he does the protection of the latter, none can dispute his claim with any chance of success. It is to be hoped, that he will exert a mild government in Cashmere, for the resources of this fruitful valley might be greatly increased. It is only through the rapacity of the Sikhs, that its inhabitants have been induced to flee from their native country, and endeavour to gain a precarious livelihood at Umritsir and Loodianah. Were there any inducement held out to these poor people, they would, one and all, return to Cashmere; and, therefore, it is to be lamented, that the British rule cannot prudently be extended over that province.

The miserable condition of Cashmere.

The manufacture of shawls is carried on to a considerable extent at Umritsir and Loodianah, and there is no reason why the quality of the manufac-

ture at both places should not equal that produced at Cashmere. The wool is not indigenous to the valley, but brought from Ladakh, and provided the quality is good, the same wool might be spun into as fine and elegant threads at Umritsir and Loodianah as at Cashmere, even though the weavers of the shawls, and the other people concerned in the preparation of the raw material, who resort to these places, may be inferior to those in Cashmere. There is no doubt, that the emigrants employed in the manufacture of shawls, are unhappy; they look in vain for their green plots of land, the lakes and cool streams which give fertility and beauty to Cashmere. Immured in the narrow, close, dirty lanes of Umritsir, they pine in misery and indigence. Hundreds of these poor creatures are carried off annually by fever, cholera, and other epidemic diseases. Were an inducement held out to them to return to Cashmere, and there prosecute their labour in the manufacture of shawls, and the cultivation of the soil, under British rule, we might again see the "earthly paradise," peopled by a happy race, but neither under the Sikh government nor that of Goolab Singh can such be expected.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE communications addressed by the Governor-general to the Secret Committee, having been laid before Parliament, we are enabled to avail ourselves of many particulars regarding the origin of the Sikh campaign, which were previously beyond our reach. In the concluding paragraphs of Minute No. 10, the Governor-general expresses himself thus, " My own impression remains unaltered ; I don't expect that the troops will come so far as the banks of the Sutlej, or that any positive act of aggression will be committed." This Minute is dated, Camp, Umballa, 4th December, 1845, and shows plainly that the Governor-general did not anticipate the approaching invasion ; but he adds, " It is evident that the Rajah and Chiefs, are, for their own preservation, endeavouring to raise a storm, which, when raised, they will be powerless, either to divert or allay." His next Minute is dated from Feerozpoore, 31st December, 1845, after the battles

The Governor-general's impression regarding the Sikh invasion.

He does not expect that the British army will be wanted in the field.

Is nevertheless prepared for a movement on the frontier.

of Moodkee and Feerozshuhur had been fought and won. In the month of October, the Governor-general in his letter, dated, 24th October, 1845, to His Excellency the Commander-in-chief, says, "In the present state of our relations with the Lahore government, your Excellency is aware that I do not anticipate the probability of any emergencies arising, which can require the army under your Excellency's orders to take the field this autumn." If by the word 'autumn,' the Governor-general meant the months of August, September, and October, he was certainly correct in the opinion he here expresses; but there is every reason to conclude, that the word is to be understood in a more extended sense, comprehending the cold season to which the term winter is seldom or ever applied, in the plains of India at least. "Nevertheless," the Governor-general continues, "having to deal with a mutinous Sikh army, which has usurped the functions of the government, and whose caprice may at any time force on a rupture with our forces on the frontier, I have deemed it advisable to be prepared with the means of movement to the extent noted in the margin: viz., seven troops of horse artillery, six companies of foot artillery, four light field batteries, two regiments of dragoons, three regiments of light cavalry, five regiments of European infantry, thirteen regiments of Native infantry, six companies of sappers and miners, and two regiments of irregular cavalry; and as it is desirable, that the arrangements should be made on the

most economical scale, the whole will be hired at the halting rates."

In consequence of this communication, the Commander-in-chief warned the troops on the frontier, including the 2nd European regiments in the hills, to hold themselves in readiness. The Meerut force was likewise furnished with the same instructions. We are not certain whether the Commander-in-chief actually gave the order for the troops to move, on these data, or merely warned them to be ready. That the Governor-general deemed the steps already taken sufficient to meet coming events, is gleaned from his Minute No. 9, dated December 2nd, 1845, previous to which a meeting had taken place between him and the Commander-in-chief, at Kurnaul, and at which it was surmised, that the steps taken by the Commander-in-chief, in consequence of a letter addressed to him by Major Broadfoot, had not exactly met the views of the Governor-general.

In the Minute alluded to, the latter says, "The precautions already adopted to provide against the possibility of our forces being unprepared to meet any movement of the Sikh army this season, and the arrangements of the Commander-in-chief on the receipt of Major Broadfoot's intelligence, rendered it, in my opinion, unnecessary to allow these reports of invasion to make any change in my movements." What the arrangements herein alluded to were, as having been made by His Excellency the Commander-in-chief, will be best learned

Troops warned.

The Governor-general and Commander-in-chief meet at Kurnaul.

The Governor-general places little stress on the report of an intended invasion.

from his own letter to Major Broadfoot, dated the 20th November, six days before the meeting took place between the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief, at Kurnaul. The extract just made from the Governor-general's Minute, shows clearly, that so far from disapproving of the arrangements made by the Commander-in-chief, the Governor-general coupled them with his own, and adds further, "I had the satisfaction of concurring in all the orders which His Excellency had given."

Concurs in the arrangements made by the Commander-in-chief.

The clear and distinct instructions given by the Commander-in-chief.

The Commander-in-chief thus writes to Major Broadfoot, from his Camp at Umballah, 20th November, and we are sure our readers will forgive our extracting the whole letter, as it exhibits a clear and valuable document regarding the steps to be adopted, to meet the emergency which might be anticipated.

Copy of his letter to Major Broadfoot.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt, this moment, of your letter of this date, conveying to me intelligence of the hostile attitude which has been assumed by the Lahore Durbar.

"Under the circumstances, I have ordered the following preparations to be entered upon immediately, to meet whatever may take place.

The 9th lancers to move to Umballah.

"Her Majesty's 9th lancers to move at once from Meerut to Umballah.

The Meerut force to be in readiness.

"To be held in readiness to move from Meerut to Kurnaul, on the shortest notice, two troops of horse artillery, Her Majesty's 16th lancers, the 3rd regiment of light cavalry; Her Majesty's 10th foot,

save one company ; the corps of sappers and miners ; all save one of the regiments of Native infantry.

“ The 9th regiment of irregular cavalry, will likewise be held prepared to move from Hansi to Kurnaul, and the Sirmoor battalion from Deyrah to Saharunpore, where it will be centrally situated and ready to be moved wherever it may most be required ; the 4th regiment of irregular cavalry will be brought up from Bareilly to Meerut.

Also the 9th irregular cavalry and Sirmoor battalion.

“ I beg that you will instruct the civil authorities at Simla, to place themselves in communication with the officers commanding European corps in these hills, and ascertain from them what number of coolies will be required to enable the regiments to move, in order that they may be collected at once. Supplies for the corps in the hills, will be required to be laid in on the road leading thence to Sirhind.

Measures to be adopted for moving Her Majesty's 29th and the Honourable Company's 1st European light infantry.

“ I shall direct the other corps of all arms in this division, to draw their carriages into cantonments, in view to the troops being prepared to act on the shortest notice.

The rest of the Sirhind division to be in readiness.

“ Previous to adopting any further measures at present, I would await a communication of the views of the Governor-general.

Further steps to be regulated by the Governor-general.

(Signed) H. GOUGH.”

This letter points out in the clearest manner possible, not only that Major Broadfoot anticipated the coming event, but that the Commander-in-chief had taken efficient measures for meeting it.

Counter orders.

The European regiments in the hills were ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and the Meerut force had actually marched; when, after some days, and probably subsequent to the meeting between the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief, the urgency of the preparations seemed less, and the Meerut force moved back, while the hill corps were countermanded.

Though the Governor-general states distinctly, that he concurred in the arrangements adopted by the Commander-in-chief, and which are detailed in his letter, he evidently did not see the necessity of putting them into immediate execution.

An anomaly.

This is a form of etiquette, we suppose, in conducting great political and military arrangements, but to plain-thinking people, there appears to be a want of concurrence, where an object to be obtained by the arrangement of one authority, is delayed by the advice, order, or suggestion of another.

The movements delayed.

All idea of a campaign given up.

The 9th lancers did not move on Umballah, and the 16th lancers remained with the 3rd light cavalry, horse artillery, Her Majesty's 10th, and Native infantry regiments at Meerut. Instead of the hill regiments leaving their cantonments at Kussowlee and Subathoo, and encamping at the foot of the hills, both gave up all idea of their services being required; and just before the express reached Subathoo, on the evening of the 10th December, bets were offered that there would be no movement downwards! It was thought that

considerable delay might occur in getting coolies for these regiments; but when the demand did arrive for their services, they were able to leave their respective cantonments in twelve hours after receiving the notice, and had not a halt taken place at Muneemajirah, both Her Majesty's 29th and the 1st European light infantry would have joined the Commander-in-chief at Kuna, and thus been present at the battle of Moodkee, on the 18th of December.

Celerity with which the hill-regiments left their cantonments.

We have, in discussing the events of the war, endeavoured to shew that out of apparently untoward affairs, success arose; but the movement of the Meerut force, when ordered by the Commander-in-chief, would have greatly contributed to render both Moodkee and Feerozshuhur more complete victories, since the want of European Cavalry was felt at both, particularly the latter.

The Meerut force greatly wanted at Moodkee and Feerozshuhur.

The contrast exhibited on this occasion between our present Commander-in-chief and Sir Henry Fane, who commanded the army of the Indus in 1838, is very striking. Though, no doubt, annoyed at the arrangements ordered by him having been delayed, (for we cannot say they were disapproved of), yet Sir Hugh cordially and zealously co-operated with the Governor-general; while Sir H. Fane, when disappointed in procuring the full amount of force he required, withdrew from the scene of action, and left the management of the campaign to others. The gallantry of Sir Hugh Gough in the field of battle is not more to be admired than his conduct

A favourable contrast.

on this trying occasion, where he appears to have displayed a moderation and forbearance for which in some quarters he has not obtained credit.

The Com-
mander-in-
chief prepared
for the inva-
sion.

In the discussions which have taken place in the Parliament of Great Britain, regarding the splendid results of the campaign, all mention of the policy of the Governor-general is carefully avoided; but had it been discussed, the measures adopted by the Commander-in-chief would have shown at once that he was prepared for the coming invasion, and had taken steps to meet it.

The energy,
zeal, and
courage of the
Governor-
general when
the crisis did
happen.

The wish not to be the aggressor, and to avoid all appearance of hostilities, coupled with the impression on the mind of the Governor-general, led him, no doubt, to delay the active measures suggested by the Commander-in-chief; but when the crisis did arrive, and the Sikhs actually crossed the boundary, then the zeal, talent, and energy of the Governor-general were such as to excite universal admiration. The rapidity in the movements of the troops was such as must have elicited the approbation both of Sir H. Hardinge and the Commander-in-chief; and there is not, perhaps, on record, a more marked instance of zeal, determination, and courage on the part of troops, than was exhibited by those composing the Sirhind division when called on to move. Longer marches may have been executed, (without adducing that of Cæsar, of a hundred miles), but the daily forced marches of the troops from Umballah and the hills, from the time of leaving their cantonments, until their arrival at Mood-

Rapidity of
the move-
ments of the
troops.

kee, will bear comparison with any succession of operations in modern times. The rapid movement of the Loodianah force was equally conspicuous. In one day, Brigadier Wheeler reached Busseean, a distance of thirty miles! Such marches in Europe might be looked upon as nothing extraordinary: but we must take into account the hot, burning sun of India, which even in December is very trying, and apt to induce fatigue; and the nature of the roads must not be lost sight of, when speaking of marches in the north-western provinces of India. None but those who have traversed the roads leading from Umballah to Loodiana, and from thence to Feerozpore, can estimate the labour and toil of walking ankle-deep in sand for a succession of days with a hot sun over head; and the incessant calls for the bheesties or waterman's water-bag, showed how harassing such marches were.

Difficulties of marching in the north-western provinces.

The successful prosecution and termination of the war were the themes of the British Parliament, when voting thanks to the Governor-general, Commander-in-chief, and the army of the Sutlej. Nor were the bravery and endurance of the Governor-general passed over in silence. These, though known to eye-witnesses on the field of battle, were disclosed to the people of England through the means of a private communication, very happily introduced by Sir Robert Peel in a most eloquent and brilliant speech on the occasion; and we are glad to see the weight attached by the Governor-

Beneficial effect of the attention of the Governor-general to the wounded, and his cheering address to the troops on the night of the 21st December.

general to his attention to the poor wounded men at Feerozpoore, a subject to which we have endeavoured to attract notice. His cheering words to the European soldiers on the night of the 21st of December, had, no doubt, a most beneficial effect, coming as they did from the ruler of India, who had thrown off his state for the nonce, and shared all the privations of the common soldier, bivouacking on the field of battle after a hard-fought action. His determination was, as already stated, to leave the field a victor, or not at all; and, however much the original delay and forbearance of Sir Henry Hardinge may be blamed, there is no one who possesses a spark of good feeling, but must be proud of the gallant and invincible bearing displayed by him in the Sikh campaign when "hard blows" were to be dealt.

Policy of Sir H. Hardinge defended by Sir Howard Douglas.

Sir Howard Douglas, in his place in the House of Commons, showed, that, notwithstanding the forbearance of the Governor-general, "though pushed so far as to have exposed Sir H. Hardinge and the Commander-in-chief to a surmise, that a policy so forbearing was not consonant with the rules of tactical and stratagetical science," no errors had been committed. The grounds of his explanation are not given in the report of his speech, but they appear to have been satisfactory; and when we see success attend every step, by which complete victory was obtained, we may rest assured that the operations were such as suited the crisis. War has

Success the true criterion of its correctness.

been called a Comedy of Errors, and the greatest commander is he who commits fewest.

According to the documents laid before Parliament, Major Broadfoot appears to have been most zealous throughout, and endeavoured by every means in his power to gain correct information. It is now clear, that from his communication to the Commander-in-chief, on the 20th November, his Excellency was led to adopt the arrangements he did. Neither Major Broadfoot nor the Governor-general could have said with certainty that the Sikhs would advance to and cross the Sutlej; but the public duty of the former was fulfilled, when he gave such information as induced the Commander-in-chief to make preparations. We are glad, before closing our labours on the present occasion, to have the opportunity of placing Major Broadfoot's exertions in their true light; and equally so, at finding this gallant and deserving officer bearing ample testimony to the intelligence and zeal of the late Captain Nicholson.

The great zeal of Major Broadfoot.

In the beginning of 1845, Major Broadfoot estimated the Sikh force at 16,000 men: this must have been an error, for at no time had the Sikh infantry fallen below 30,000 men, since the days of Runjeet Singh. That the army was scattered, may perhaps, have been true, but the force at all times available in the Punjab could not have been less than 30,000 men. In the beginning of 1843, when the Sikhs threatened to cross the Sutlej, their force

Erroneous idea regarding the strength of the Sikhs in the beginning of 1845.

probably exceeded that number; to meet which there was only a European regiment with a portion of artillery, and a couple of mutinous corps at Feerozpore, and something of the same kind at Loodianah; on the fortress-walls of which place serious intentions one night existed of planting two guns.

Though Major Broadfoot's intelligence regarding the strength of the Sikh army in January 1845, may have been erroneous, yet in November of the same year, before the invasion actually took place, his estimate was correct, for he then describes it at 50,000 or 60,000 men, or of seven detachments of from 8,000 to 10,000 each.

On a review of the late campaign, we are hardly justified in supposing that the Governor-general wished the war to be carried on in the British provinces, or even on the left bank of the Sutlej; the thing was unavoidable. The weak government of Lahore, glad to get rid of an unruly soldiery, which had exhausted its treasures and obeyed no laws, was anxious to force the Sikh army across the river, in order that the spirit of anarchy which existed in it might be broken by the British, and thus the power of the Sikh government be again established.

Object in sending the Sikh army across the Sutlej.

Friendly intentions of the Lahore government.

The Governor-general and Major Broadfoot were so convinced of the wishes and intentions of the Lahore government, that so long as they believed the latter capable of sustaining its power, they would not credit the reports of an invasion, but the Governor-general explicitly says, "In the present

state of our relations with the Lahore government, your Excellency is aware, that I do not anticipate the probability of any emergencies arising, which can require the army," &c.

Up to the latest period, the relations between the two governments remained of the same friendly character, and to the last moment the Governor-general drew a just distinction between the intentions of the people and their rulers.

He remarks, " Having to deal with a mutinous Sikh army, which has usurped the functions of the government, and whose caprice may at any time force on a rupture with our forces," &c. Here is a candid view of the case: the Lahore government, with which he had hitherto maintained friendly terms, no longer existed; " its functions were usurped by a mutinous Sikh army," and hostile results might be anticipated. It was not the Lahore government then, that made war upon the British, and invaded the territories of the latter, but " a mutinous Sikh army."

A mutinous Sikh army usurps the functions of the government.

Though the anomalous state of the Lahore government with regard to its army, was thus known to the Governor-general and his agent, it is very probable, that the Commander-in-chief required no other justification of his arrangements, than the risk of our territories being invaded by a hostile army. It was a matter of indifference to him, whether such an army was a mutinous one, usurping the functions of its government, or acting under the orders of the constituted authorities.

Arrangements of the Commander-in-chief warrantable.

Forbearance justifiable on the part of the Governor-general.

We can, however, easily conceive, that the Governor-general, knowing the disposition of the Lahore government towards the British, should be averse to any hurried arrangements indicative of war, confining himself to the means of movement of a certain force detailed in his letter to the Commander-in-chief.

Reasons why Major Broadfoot should be incredulous regarding an invasion.

It is more than probable, that in its negotiations with Major Broadfoot, the Lahore government cautiously concealed its weakness, thereby leading him to believe, that it possessed the power of controlling its army; and if the agent was so deluded, we can understand how he should be incredulous of any invasion from troops which belonged to a government professing the most friendly feelings towards his own.

Causes operating to produce a belief in an approaching war.

So long as the Vakeels of the Lahore government received and transmitted the friendly correspondence between it and the agent of the British, the latter could not believe that a rupture would take place. But when no answer was received to his letters, demanding explanations regarding the large numbers of Sikh troops moving towards the Sutlej, his suspicions were roused, and he then learnt that a "mutinous Sikh army had usurped the functions of the government."

Helpless condition of the Lahore government.

Such being the humiliating and feeble nature of the Lahore government, what answer could be expected from it, unless to confess, what the Governor-general already knew, that it was helpless, and in the hands of a lawless and mutinous soldiery!

There was no cause for the Lahore government to make war on the British, and yet it was compelled to countenance hostilities ; but in doing so it must have anticipated that the army would be overthrown and destroyed by the British, and the authority of government then be restored. That the Rajah and Chiefs hurried on the war as a means of directing the army to other objects than themselves, and for their own preservation, the Governor-general was perfectly aware ; and he knew equally well, that when once war was declared, this government would be unable to arrest its progress.

The Governor-general did full justice to the pacific intentions of the Ranee and her son ; but as a consequence of their seeming participation in the acts of aggression which led to the war, he, in his proclamation of the 13th December, very justly confiscated the possessions of Dhuleep Singh, on the left or British bank of the Sutlej.

As before hinted, the forbearance of the Sikhs as regards Feerozpore would seem to have been premeditated by Lal Singh, whose object was to keep his troops in one place ; and it is very doubtful whether the burning of the barracks at Loodianah was ever authorised by Runjoor Singh, but rather might not have been the work of Ajeet Singh.

The circumstances of the Sikh army not destroying Feerozpore as well as Loodianah, neither molesting our troops, nor stopping our supplies, appear inexplicable on any other ground, than the sole wish of the leaders of the Sikh army to get that body

Objects of the
Sikh leaders.

Determination
of the Sikh
soldiers.

destroyed without making any uncalled-for aggression on the British. But though allowing this spirit of forbearance to the leaders and chiefs, there existed no doubt as to the determination on the part of the Sikh soldiers, to do their utmost to conquer the British and exterminate them if possible. They probably did not dive into the state policy, and never imagined that Lal Singh, in sending a detachment of them towards Moodkee, had any other object in view than that of surprising the British.

It is easy to foresee, as we have said before, that as long as our troops garrison Lahore, so long may the government of Dhuleep Singh exist, but no sooner will they be withdrawn than anarchy and discord will be once more rife in the Punjab. In fact, so thoroughly convinced must the Ranee and Lal Singh be of the utter impossibility of conducting a government of their own without the aid of the British, that it becomes a doubtful question, whether they will ever attempt it. The probability is, that the Ranee will decline putting the government into the hands of her young son, unsupported by the British; and then, if we are not prepared to annex the country, a strong contingent must be left in the Punjab for the support of its feeble rulers.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE Sikh government had sent orders to the killadars of Kote Kangra and other hill forts in the Jalindhur Doab, to deliver them up to the British authorities.

Orders issued on the subject.

At first a message to this effect was dispatched by some horsemen, but the killadar of Kote Kangra paid no attention to the order. He despised the Sikh government, and though by the articles of the treaty, the latter had surrendered a portion of the Punjab, this man vowed that "unless the Maharajah Runjeet Singh himself came to demand the keys, he would keep possession of his stronghold."

Determined refusal on the part of the killadar of Kangra.

The fort of Kangra is one of those which is strong from its position: it is built near the conflux of the Ban Gunga with the Beas, and is bounded, for the most part, by precipices nearly perpendicular; and where the declivities are less formidable, the aid of masonry has been had recourse to, so as to render the place, in the opinion of Vigne, impregnable under European engineers. It was once attacked

Strong position of this fort.

Purwannah's messages and threats disregarded.

by the Goorkhas, when in possession of Sunsar Chund, who defended it against them for four years, and then delivered it up to Runjeet Singh. Runjoor Singh, who was on escort duty with Captain Cunningham, sent for the purpose of taking possession of the fort, sent his purwannah to the commandant to deliver it up, but without success. A moonshee was then dispatched to receive a written answer from the killadar; but the latter replied that his only answer would be "shot and powder," or "gooleebarood." A party of soldiers was then sent to reconnoitre, when the guns were opened on them, and they were obliged to retreat. The occupants of the fort were believed to amount to about 500, chiefly Ukalees, and the guns were said to be ten in number.

Fort occupied chiefly by Ukalees.

Refuse to deliver up Kumlagurh and Hurreepore.

Not only did the Sikhs refuse to deliver up Kote Kangra, but also the forts of Kumlagurh and Hurreepore, and the circumstance was duly represented to the Sikh government, which dispatched reiterated orders to comply with the wishes of the sirkar, and threats were held out, that the friends and families of the refractory killadars at Lahore would be imprisoned. On Major Lawrence representing the necessity of his proceeding towards Kangra, the Ranee expressed a wish that he would remain at Lahore and allow the Sikh troops to take possession of the fort. The political agent having however other matters demanding his presence in the hill territories, departed.

The Ranee unwilling that Major Lawrence should leave Lahore.

The disturbance alluded to in a former chapter, whereby the political authorities had been assaulted, had been strictly enquired into, and the ringleader, a brahmin, was seized, and hung in the presence of seven of his accomplices and a vast crowd of spectators. This was the sentence of Lal Singh on the brahmin, Dutt, and being made known to the British agent, the latter apparently coincided in the stringent measures adopted. Lal Singh was no doubt glad of an opportunity of convincing the British that the disturbance did not originate with the Sikhs.

“According to Native reports, the disturbance originated in a European wounding a cow. The owner ran off to the brahmins in the Behoowallee and complained to them of the outrage. The brahmins immediately came into the bazaar and created a disturbance. Some of them ran off towards the fort, threatening Lal Singh with death, for having, as they said, made over the town to the British. They were prevented from entering the fort, and returned to a baolee situated near the Soneree Musjid (Golden Temple) Here they collected a number of brahmins and fukeers; also many khutrees who closed their shops. Some of the Mussulman shopkeepers likewise closed their shops. Major Lawrence having heard of the disturbance, went out attended by some other gentlemen and some sowars, (horsemen) and proceeded to quiet the rioters, promising to make every enquiry. The brahmins and khutrees

The ringleader of the disturbance hanged.

Native account of the disturbance which took place at Lahore on the 21st April.

would hear nothing, but declared that rather than put up with such an outrage, they would destroy themselves. They then began to throw bricks at him, and one of the gentlemen with him, and wounded also some of the sowars; but the agent, instead of setting these on the rioters, kept them back and passed quietly along the streets. He had however, no sooner reached his home, than he wrote to the general to have all the troops out, to close the gates, and to shoot the first man who attempted to attack the troops.

The troops
turned out.

“Major Lawrence told Lal Singh, when the latter waited on him, that the only thing required was, that they should forthwith produce the originators of the disturbance.” *Delhi Gazette, 2nd May.*

The above riot occurred on the 21st April; and on the 24th, the kotwal's exertions had been carried on so actively, that the ringleader was discovered and hung.

In trying to assuage the feelings of the British, the Lahore government offered money. Major Lawrence spurned every offer and explanation, and insisted on the originator being given up. This trait in his management will cause the brahmins and khutrees to be more cautious in fomenting riots and disturbances; but the deep-rooted hatred of the Sikhs remains the same, and a constant watchfulness on the part of the British garrison at Lahore is rigorously required, to check every disturbance in the bud, and punish the authors of it, whether the latter be brahmins or Sikhs.

In the discharge of his arduous duties, Lal Singh

is necessarily the object of dislike to those men who have been disbanded, and it appears clearly, that previous to the Sikh invasion, such a large body of foot and horse had been engaged by the Sikhs, that the payment of their full arrears of pay was out of the question. They had received money in hand, with a promise of more when the Khalsa troops should reach Delhi and Calcutta. Frustrated in their thirst for conquest, these disappointed hordes being discharged, agreeably to the treaty, are loud in their demands for arrears, and have occasionally asked the aid of the agent, who, in remonstrating with Lal Singh, appeared to excite the displeasure of the latter, who plainly told him that the treasury of Croesus would not satisfy the cupidity of the disbanded troops. He added, that he considered the agent's business was to assist the Sikh government in putting down the refractory troops, and not to interfere in matters of payment.

Impossibility
of paying
arrears of pay.

Lal Singh's
view of Major
Lawrence's
position.

As the mutinous Sikh army crossed the Sutlej against the wish of the government, whose treasury it had exhausted, and in the full hope of procuring means of supporting itself in the British territories, it appears somewhat unreasonable that the Sikh government should now be expected to settle the arrears; such a compromise would defeat the ends of justice. If discontented and unruly subjects chose to engage in war, in defiance of the government, they must expect the just reward of such conduct, by either falling in the field of battle, or receiving their discharge with ignominy.

Disbanded
Sikhs not en-
titled to
arrears.

Discontent must, of course, follow the measures

Lal Singh necessarily unpopular with such people.

necessarily adopted by Lal Singh, to meet the emergency which has overtaken the government. With the most rigid economy, he can only hope to keep up a small army for the support of the nominal government.

The reductions already effected in the revenues of the sirdars and their followers, have caused a loud cry of discontent, and these disbanded and refractory Sikhs will readily raise their arms against a government from which they can expect nothing.

The force sent against Kangra.

The force sent against Kote Kangra under Brigadier Wheeler, consisted of the 2nd, 11th, 41st, and 44th, and a wing of the 63rd regiment, Native infantry; with a siege train of three eighteen pounders, two eight-inch howitzers, and six mortars, under Colonel Wood, with Captain Fitzgerald's battery.

Ajeet Singh again.

Our old friend the Ladwa Rajah Ajeet Singh does not appear inclined to abandon his hostile intentions against the British, for he is stated to be in Kote Kangra, urging the garrison to offer a determined resistance to both the Sikhs and British. He has now become desperate, having lost his paternal estate of Ladwa, and forfeited his jagheer of Buddewal. Should he fall into the hands of either the Sikh or British government, he will doubtless receive the just reward of the malice he has displayed towards his former protectors in particular.

It would be highly injudicious on the part of the British, to expend their shells and shot on a place

which they cannot hope to storm. The obtaining possession of it might have been left with great propriety to the Sikhs, as suggested by the Ranee. The 44th regiment, Native infantry, has taken possession of the fort of Mulkhera, and occupied the town of Kangra. The country people were favourable to the claims of the British, and a neighbouring Rajah lent them three guns.

The reduction of Kangra might have been left to the Sikhs.

The Ranee, who may justly be considered at the head of the present government of Lahore, has been seriously indisposed of late, and her illness is said to be caused by one of those untoward events which cast doubts on the integrity of the people about her person. Should the Ranee eventually be removed from the scene, it is not likely that Lal Singh will long hold his place as prime minister, and even Dhuleep Singh may be supplanted by a son of Shere Singh, who has certainly as much right to the throne of Runjeet Singh as its present occupant, for his father once sat upon it, which is more than we can venture to say as regards Dhuleep Singh.

Indisposition of the Ranee.

Claim of Shere Singh's son to the throne.

On the 28th April but little progress had been made in inducing the killadar of Kangra to deliver up the keys, even though a royal purwannah had been carried to him from the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh. The exposure of men at such an inclement season of the year, with the thermometer at 97°, must produce sickness among the European portion of the force sent against the place.

Kangra holds out.

Nothing can more clearly show the weakness of

The Lahore government unable to enforce its orders.

a government, than the refusal of its servants to obey its orders. Here, at no great distance from the capital, we see the commander of a fort putting his government at defiance; and, therefore, instead of receiving the fort of Kote Kangra from the Lahore authorities, we were absolutely obliged to send a force against it.

Probable reasons for Kangra holding out.

We are almost inclined to adopt the belief, that already has the Lahore government repented of its having given up the Jalindhur Doab into the hands of the British; and though the towns in the plains of this Doab, such as Jalindhur itself, Hooshyarpore, &c. could offer no resistance, yet the hill forts of Kangra, Kumlagurh and others, may have received a hint, that necessity alone caused their surrender to the British. If such be the case, it cannot be wondered at, that the killadars take upon themselves the responsibility of holding out against the latter.

Would Govindghur and Umritsir yield to the British?

It is true that the capital of the Punjab is at present garrisoned by British troops, but would the killadar of Govindghur, if ordered to do so by Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, deliver the keys to the British? Or would the commandant of Umritsir comply? One or both might have done so when the army of the Sutlej was encamped at Meean Meer, on the 25th March, but it is doubtful if these authorities would yield on the 25th June.

It may be said, that the British have not conquered the Punjab, though the army of the latter has been beaten in four engagements. And there-

fore it would be unreasonable to demand the sur-
 render of such places as Umritsir and Govindghur,
 which are in possession of the Lahore government,
 and the continued existence of which, under Dhuleep
 Singh, we acknowledge and support.

Unreasonable
to expect such.

The experiment might, no doubt, be a dangerous
 one ; but we venture to predict, that if the royal
 purwannah were sent to deliver up Govindghur to
 the British, it would be spurned as that for Kote
 Kangra has been. The British are at present
 looked upon in the light of intruders, not only as
 regards Lahore, but also as relates to the Jalindhur
 Doab, and the confiscated possessions on the left
 bank of the Sutlej, and it will be a long time before
 the Sikhs can reconcile themselves to the idea,
 that these provinces must belong to another power
 as the necessary result of conquest.

The British
considered
intruders.

The Sikhs have experienced defeat and disaster
 on the left bank of the Sutlej, and will not therefore
 readily take the field again. But in a country like
 the Punjab, abounding in forts, some of them of
 great strength, there is every probability that the
 Sikhs, sooner or later, will assume a mutinous
 spirit, and shut themselves up in their strongholds.
 The disbanded soldiers have nothing to lose, and
 by raising the standard of revolt against the British,
 their situation could not be rendered more des-
 perate, and might be temporarily ameliorated. The
 Sirdars are already disaffected towards the govern-
 ment of Dhuleep Singh, or more properly that of
 the British, and many of them would willingly join

The Sikhs
likely to de-
fend their
forts.

in a hostile coalition, whereby the British might be expelled from the Punjab.

Deenanath
reaches Kan-
gra.

About the middle of April last, Deenanath arrived at Kangra, bringing positive orders to the killadar Soondur Singh to deliver up the fort to the British. But though thus called upon by a most influential person of the Lahore Durbar, Soondur Singh not only refused to comply, but treated the bearer of the purwannah with the utmost disrespect, telling its bearer to call in the evening for an answer.

Major Law-
rence fired at.

It would appear that in the evening Major Lawrence, having reached the place, went towards the fort, expecting a reply from the killadar ; but instead of this being a favourable one, he was saluted by a round shot, which hit the ground or rock close to him.

Suspicious of
foul play.

Such behaviour on the part of the killadar of Kangra, could not fail to raise suspicions of foul play. Major Lawrence remonstrated with the Lahore Durbar, and the latter threatened to imprison and otherwise punish the relations and friends of the refractory killadar, but without any other apparent effect than rendering the obstinacy and determination of Soondur Singh more marked.

Importance of
defending
their forts in-
stead of en-
trenchments.

If a single fort with a few guns, can thus bid defiance, not only to the Sikh government, but the British authority, what a desperate resistance might the Sikhs not have offered to the British troops, had they, instead of placing their numerous guns in the entrenched camps of Feerozshuhur and

Sobraon, planted them in Govindghur, Umritsir, and Kote Kangra! One difficulty, however, was opposed to this plan of operations, and that was the determination of the British not to invade the Punjab; at all events, not to be the first aggressors. The Sikhs might, however, have drawn them into the territory, if after the reverse and defeat they experienced at Moodkee and Feerozshuhur, they had retreated across the Sutlej and manned the forts of Govindghur, Umritsir, and Kote Kangra. Had they done this, instead of risking their fate in entrenched camps, the war now concluded would have been greatly prolonged.

Difficulty of accomplishing this on the part of the Sikhs.

To return to Kote Kangra. The obstinacy with which the killadar defied both the Sikh government and the British authorities, was quite unlooked for. The British agent naturally began to suspect foul play in some quarter, and his first act on reaching Kangra was to dispense with the presence of the Sikh troops. It will probably be ascertained, should the fort of Kangra yield to Brigadier Wheeler's force, how far the obstinacy of the killadar was to be attributed to himself, or to secret orders received from the Lahore Durbar; of course, the latter will deny all reports prejudicial to its own interest, or likely to displease the British government. What weight may be attached to the assurance, however, after such a glaring instance of disobedience on the part of its own subjects, is another affair; but certainly the refusal on the part of its commandant to surrender Kote Kangra, is

Resistance of Kote Kangra unexpected.

Sikh troops ordered away from Kangra.

The good faith of the Sikh government doubtful.

an untoward occurrence, at a season of the year when the exposure of both European and Native troops may be attended with sickness and mortality.

Melancholy loss of life at Loodianah in Her Majesty's 50th regiment from the destruction of their temporary barracks in a north-wester.

It has been mentioned in a former portion of this work, that Sirdar Ajeet Singh had set fire to the barracks of Her Majesty's 50th regiment, or Queen's own, at Loodianah. This gallant regiment suffered severely, in killed and wounded, during the late campaign, and it was destined to suffer in even a more marked, awful, and totally unlooked for manner. In one of those violent storms denominated "north-westerns," and which fill the atmosphere with dust, converting day into night, the temporary barracks of this gallant regiment were blown down, and the inmates buried in the ruins. The loss of killed and wounded was truly melancholy, amounting to no fewer than 210 men, women, and children. This melancholy catastrophe occurred on the evening of the 20th of May.

These barracks were erected in the beginning of 1844, for the reception of a wing of the Honourable Company's 2nd European regiment, as a temporary residence in the hot weather and rains. During these seasons the buildings stood and served the purpose for which they were originally intended. But instead of their places being afterwards supplied by permanent barracks, Her Majesty's 50th were placed in them after the departure of the 2nd European regiment for Scinde. During the year 1845, the European soldiers at Loodianah, like

those at other stations on the frontier, suffered severely from cholera; and while yet in a weakly condition, the 50th regiment was obliged to take the field in December against the Sikhs, where it maintained its well-earned character for bravery, experiencing a great loss in killed and wounded. Such a regiment ought to have been cared for, but on its return from the field it was placed in the rickety cantonment; and in the midst of their families, the gallant fellows who had escaped the grape and swords of the Sikhs were, in an instant, hurried into eternity. Were a ship of inferior structure to be launched, and from its frailty, fall a prey to the waves, when others of a stronger build would escape, the catastrophe would not be attributed to any other cause than the original fault in her construction; and if temporary barracks are blown down in a north-wester, which more substantial ones would have weathered, the cause of the calamity is plain enough.

Putting aside the fearful destruction of life among the women and children, as not entailing actual loss on the state, we have here a sacrifice of no fewer than fifty fighting men. The value of each, in a pecuniary point of view, is one thousand rupees. Thus, a loss has been sustained of £5000 sterling, at the lowest estimate. Not only, however, must the individuals who were actually killed, be taken into the account, but many of those who were so maimed and contused as eventually to be rendered unfit for service. Could such an accident have been prevented?—is the

natural question asked by the friends of humanity. In all human probability and calculation, it could. There is, however, little use at present in commenting on such a melancholy occurrence, unless to draw the attention of government to the cruelty and impolicy of trusting the lives of their brave soldiers to temporary habitations.

It would have been a fortunate circumstance, had Ajeet Singh completed the work of destruction he began, and burned the whole barracks. Such would have been considered a grievous calamity at the time; but, like many other events during the late campaign, viewed in the same light, most favourable and providential results would have followed.

Fall of Kangra. Since this chapter passed through the press, we have learned that Kote Kangra has surrendered, and that, unconditionally. The killadar having so long defied his own government and that of the British, ought to have fought to the last, and thus gained a name for himself; but his conduct is another exemplification of Sikh courage, which is mixed up with a considerable portion of bravado. The fall of this important fortress will, as in former times, have the effect of rendering the hill tribes more submissive to the paramount power in the Punjab.

CHAPTER XV.

As the battle of Sobraon was the last and most complete during the campaign, any further particulars regarding it will, we feel assured, be acceptable to our military readers; at least, we owe the information which we are now enabled to give, to the politeness of a gallant officer who took a conspicuous part in the conflict; and his description is so full, plain, and easy of comprehension, that the details cannot fail to throw considerable light on the movements of the cavalry.

Importance of
Sobraon.

In the Commander-in-chief's despatch regarding Sobraon, he alludes pointedly to the gallant feats of Her Majesty's 3rd light dragoons, in a situation and under circumstances where cavalry is not expected to act with much effect; namely, "entering an entrenchment in single file and forming up inside."

The gallant
conduct of the
3rd dragoons.

Before entering into the particulars of Sobraon, however, it is necessary to observe that the 3rd

dragoons had distinguished themselves highly at Moodkee and Feerozshuhur ; and though reduced, at the latter place, to a mere handful, the indomitable spirit and bravery of the men were as conspicuous as in their first encounter with the Sikhs at Moodkee. There they had contributed greatly to the overthrow and flight of the Sikhs ; and their example was not thrown away on the Native cavalry, both regular and irregular, each vying with the other in charging the Sikhs, who were astonished at the overpowering gallantry of the European dragoons, whose prowess they had never before witnessed.

Ardent wish of officers to join their regiments and commands.

Sir Joseph Thackwell.

We had occasion, when speaking of Sobraon, to allude to the zealous wish of officers, on leave of absence in India, to join their regiments ; and we may now be allowed to give an instance of the same feeling displayed by officers in England. Major-general Sir Joseph Thackwell, who commanded the cavalry in the army of the Indus, though deeming it necessary to proceed to England, was so well convinced of the approaching collision with the Sikhs, that on his reaching Bombay, in February, 1845, he sent back his horses to the 3rd light dragoons at Umballah, in order to be in readiness for him. He reached England in April, and after a short stay of four months, he again embarked at Southampton on the 20th of August ; and in little more than two months, or on the 30th of October, reached Cawnpore. Even then, the reports of a Sikh war were considered so

well founded, that the major-general applied for leave to proceed to Umballah, to be as near the seat of war as possible. Had his wishes been complied with, he would have been on the north-western frontier in time to assume command of the cavalry when the army left Umballah. From the earnest wish on the part of the Governor-general to avoid all premature hostile preparations, however, it was not deemed advisable to comply with the request, and Sir Joseph Thackwell was obliged to wait patiently until he received his orders to join the army, which he did on the 17th of December, the day before the battle of Moodkee. He could not lay his dak before the 20th, when both he and Sir Robert Dick started from Cawnpore, and Sir Joseph Thackwell reached Umballah on the 26th. It may be easily conceived that the major-general, who there heard of the battles of Moodkee and Feerozshuhur, had no wish to prolong his stay at such a distance from the seat of war; and though the road, through the protected Sikh states, was very unsafe at this period, he started on the same day, taking the route through Pattealah, Naha, Busseean, and Moodkee, and reached the head-quarters camp, at Hurruf, on the 1st of January, 1846. It may be here noticed that his aide-de-campe, Lieutenant Roche of the 3rd light dragoons, accompanied him from Meerut. It was doubtless a source of gratification to the major-general to learn the gallant deeds of the European dragoons at Moodkee and Feerozshuhur; mixed, however,

Sir Joseph
Thackwell
reaches head-
quarters.

with regret that he had not been himself an eye-witness of them.

Assumes command of the cavalry.

The affair of the 8th light cavalry at Feerozshuhur.

Captain Lumley.

On his arrival at head-quarters, Sir Joseph Thackwell was at once appointed to the command of the cavalry division which had been under Brigadier Harriot at Feerozshuhur. Here we may again allude to the 8th light cavalry at the last named engagement. On that day the regiment was on the road to Feerozpoore; but it halted repeatedly, with the ostensible view of awaiting the result of the fight, which was still being carried on; and it was only when the firing ceased, and the battle concluded to be at an end, that this regiment moved forward towards Feerozpoore, at the time when the several troops of horse artillery were moving in the same direction. Our own impression is, that Captain Lumley, before ordering Brigadier Harriot to Feerozpoore, was satisfied that the regiment was no longer required; and he, therefore, merely committed an error of judgment. We have no other interest in giving what may be conceived a favourable opinion of the parties concerned, than the earnest wish, natural to true historians, to place the matter in its proper light; which our position, while sitting under the shade of a tree waiting the result of a battle, and with a view of lending our aid to the wounded, enabled us to do. The feelings of Sir J. Lumley, the gallant father of Captain Lumley, on hearing of his son's error, while holding his own place as adjutant-general, may be more easily conceived than described. To Captain Lum-

ley's bravery in the field, however, all who witnessed it can bear ample testimony; and his Excellency the Commander-in-chief willingly gave his meed of praise. Few men ever filled the post of adjutant-general to the army with greater ability than the lamented General Lumley. ^{Major-general Lumley.} Though in a delicate state of health, and such as might readily have prevented his accompanying the Commander-in-chief from Simla, this worthy man and zealous officer could not allow the opportunity to pass, of lending his aid to those who might be called upon to supply his place in the field; and he, no doubt, fondly anticipated that in a son, and in an officer whom he almost loved as one, the important duties of his office would be zealously and efficiently attended to. The result at Moodkee amply proved that he had every reason to be satisfied. In that bloody engagement, the acting adjutant-general was severely wounded, and Captain Lumley was called upon to take his place. The 21st of December must have been an anxious day for the general. Left behind at Moodkee, and unable himself to assist his son with his advice at a time when an inexperienced soldier most needed it, his illness must have been sorely aggravated. The day passed, and the night approached, but still the battle raged. The morrow saw the fight renewed, and witnessed the defeat of the enemy; but with the news of victory came the sad tidings of the son's fatal error. The shock was too much for the gallant old soldier, who had hoped to see his friend

supply his own place, and his son placed the next in the department. His health was feeble; and in his sorrow he is said to have exclaimed, "I have lived a day too long." But his end was approaching; and though he resigned the high appointment which he had so ably filled for many years, he was not destined to hear the just and high eulogium paid to his worth and services by one who could so well appreciate both: we allude to the order of his Excellency the Commander-in-chief on the occasion of General Lumley's resignation.

His character. It may be safely asserted, that never will the Bengal army have an adjutant-general who more zealously and ably performed his duties; nor one who, without ostentation, had the welfare of the army more at heart than the late General Lumley. He was not only an able, zealous officer in his public capacity, but no one who had the honour of calling him his friend, had to complain that he ever forgot his promise, or deserted him when his advice or counsel was required.

We cannot now deny ourselves the pleasure of giving the history of the cavalry division, after it was put under the command of Major-general Thackwell; and for this we are altogether indebted to that gallant officer. It may be said, that other branches of the army claim equal notice, and we believe few will blame us for what we have recorded of the infantry. It is a source of gratification to us, that we are now enabled to do equal justice to the cavalry; and if sufficient notice has not been

taken of the artillery, it is not from any wish to conceal its merits, but from inability to give any particulars. Fortunately, this branch needs no remark from our feeble pen:—the Bengal artillery has ever maintained its character as a service equal to the same branch in any army in the world.

On assuming command of the cavalry division, General Thackwell found it to consist of the 4th, 1st, and 8th regiments of Bengal light cavalry; the 3rd, a wing of the 2nd, the 8th and 9th irregular cavalry, and the body guard. On the 2nd January picquets of irregular cavalry were established watching the Nuggur, Meetawallee, and Tilleewallee ghauts on the Sutlej. The 8th irregular cavalry joined General Sir Harry Smith at Mullawal, about five miles to the right of the head-quarters' camp, watching the bridge then being constructed by the Sikhs, and the ford of Sobraon. On the 6th January, Sir Robert Dick, with the 9th and 16th lancers, (Queen's) 3rd light cavalry, and 4th irregular cavalry, arrived; and the three last corps belonging to Brigadier Cureton's brigade: they were detached to the right of Sir Harry Smith's division; and the Queen's 9th lancers were encamped near Jumalwal to keep up the communication between the main army and the division on the right, the body-guard were also sent to join Brigadier Cureton's brigade. Most of the boats up the ghauts mentioned had been sunk by the Sikhs, but a few serviceable ones were still on the other side of the river. Sir John

Cavalry division.

Cavalry picquets established.

Meerut cavalry arrive.

Disposition of the cavalry division.

Grey, with two battalions, arrived at Attaree on the 8th, and the 8th light cavalry were sent to join him; the 3rd irregulars having been previously sent to watch the Khoonda ghaut near Feerozpoore, and the 8th and 9th irregular cavalry were posted at Kumulwalla, the latter corps having been detached in the first instance with Sir Harry Smith's division.

These regiments had strong picquets at Rhodawala, Asyah, and Aleewallee, watching the Sutlej on the left and the sick encampment.

There were strong rumours of an attack by the Sikhs, on the morning of the 10th, but they were considered unfounded. On the 12th, the army took ground to the right, and the head-quarters were established at Bhoota wala; the 3rd and 2nd divisions of infantry extending from Jilleewala along the line of the nullah towards Kumulkee; the first division of infantry, and Cureton's brigade of cavalry on the right, near Tilwundee, watching the Hurreekee ghaut; the 9th lancers and the 2nd irregular cavalry under Brigadier Campbell were posted on the left of Jilleewala; the 4th and 5th light cavalry, under Brigadier Scott, in front of Mullawal, in support of the left, and the picquet at Zilleewala; and a Résaláh of the 9th irregulars was near Hurreekee, preserving the communication with the Nuggur ghaut and Sir John Grey's camp.

On the 13th and 14th there was some exchange of cannon-shot, but nothing of consequence occurred, except the bursting of one of our 24-pounders on

the latter day, fortunately without doing any more harm than wounding a gunner. As the Sikhs displayed a considerable force, two divisions of infantry and some cavalry were brought near Rhodawala, but soon after 4 p.m. the Sikhs and their light guns retired across the river; but little loss being sustained on either side. On the 17th Sir Harry Smith, with the 1st brigade of infantry, and part of the 4th irregular cavalry, moved from their camp towards Dhurrumkote, and on the following day, Cureton, with the 16th lancers, 3rd light cavalry, and the remainder of the 4th irregulars, marched to overtake Sir Harry Smith. The 9th lancers were moved towards Tilwundee, and on the same day, the 3rd light dragoons marched from Feerozpoore, where they had gone to refit after Feerozshuhur, and joined Brigadier Scott's brigade at Mullawal, and on the morrow encamped on the ground left by the 9th lancers, on the left of Jilleewala. On the 20th, Major-general Sir J. Thackwell removed the cavalry head-quarters from Mullawal to Jilleewala, and strong picquets of the 2nd and 9th irregular cavalry were posted to support Chota (little) Sobraon, the line between that place and Rhodawala, and the advanced post at the watch-tower, besides those before-mentioned, and those on the right, watching the Hurreekie ghaut, and the road by Murko. On the 24th, the 5th light cavalry marched from Mullawal to join Brigadier Wheeler with his two battalions, and the body-guard marched to reinforce Sir Harry Smith;

Sir H. Smith
marches on
Dhurrumkote.

The 3rd dra-
goons rejoin.

Movements of
cavalry.

the 4th light cavalry moved to replace the body-guard, and Brigadier Scott assumed the command of the two regiments of this brigade at Jilleewala and Kumulwala, to which were attached the 2nd and 8th irregular cavalry. The country between General Thackwell's camp and the Sikh bridge was chiefly a low tamarisk and grass jungle, which gave the enemy every advantage in assailing the outposts with infantry and sowars; and scarcely a day passed without skirmishing, which caused some casualties. On the 23rd, Sir Joseph Thackwell's red jacket attracted much attention, and in passing the line from Chota Sobraon, towards Rhodawala, forty or fifty shots were fired at the General, who imagined the enemy's sowars intended to drive the picquets in. On the 24th the enemy's sowars made a rush on the picquet at Sobraon to turn their right, but the 2nd irregulars composing it drove them back in good style. The posts at Chota Sobraon and the watch-tower were day-posts, as they afforded great facilities for viewing the Sikh proceedings; the infantry occupying them returned to camp at night, and nothing was left there but the cavalry picquet. The Sikhs, as previously observed, had become acquainted with this, and on the night of the 26th occupied both posts in force, and it was not deemed expedient to dislodge them, although there was an idea of doing so. On the morning of the 28th, about 10 A.M. Sir Harry Smith's guns and those of his opponent were heard at Allewal, and about mid-day the picquet at

Advantage
possessed by
the enemy.

Sir Joseph
Thackwell
fired on.

The Sikhs
occupy our
out-posts.

A British
picquet dis-
lodged, and a
village burned.

Alleewala, of about fifty men, was driven from the village by 500 or 600 Sikh infantry and sowars, and the village burned.

Major-general Sir J. Thackwell sent a squadron of the 3rd dragoons to support, and soon after marched with the remnant of the regiment, a troop of horse artillery, and two battalions of infantry, to repulse any force which might be endeavouring to turn our left flank; but before the general could reach Asyah, Captain Becher had reinforced his picquet with fifty men of his corps, (the 8th irregulars,) and the enemy were driven out of the village, and chased to near their own lines, with the loss of from twenty to twenty-two men, the British having only lost one man. The general had posted an additional picquet of cavalry in rear of Guttah from the 4th light cavalry, when the wing of the 2nd irregulars marched with Brigadier Taylor's brigade towards Dhurum Kote. On the 7th, Sir Harry Smith's force returned to their camp near Tilwun-dee, Cureton having left the 4th irregulars at Loodianah. His brigade was still on the right; the 4th and 5th light cavalry joined their brigade on the left at Jilleewala, to which Lane's troop of horse artillery was attached, and the 2nd brigade of cavalry having also Campbell's troop of horse artillery attached, encamped in front of Brigadier Scott's left, and the village of Kumulwala, where there were the 8th and 9th irregulars.

Enemy driven out of the village by Captain Becher.

Sir H. Smith returns to camp.

The last few days the outposts had been on very friendly terms, the sowars talking freely with each other.

The picquets on friendly terms.

Anecdotes.

other. An officer asked one, "Why the Sikhs did not leave their entrenched camp?" His reply was, "They were waiting for Goolab Singh," and added, "Why don't you attack it?" The officer replied, perhaps not prudently, "We are waiting for some heavy guns." On the 9th (February,) the generals of divisions and brigades waited on the Commander-in-chief, and received his orders relative to the attack on the Sikh army on the following morning.

Sir Joseph Thackwell attaches himself to Brigadier Scott's brigade at Sobraon.

The 3rd brigade of cavalry was five or six miles to the right, and the 2nd brigade in rear of Chota Sobraon was far away to the right. The Major-general, therefore, attached himself to the cavalry on the left, viz., Brigadier Scott's, consisting of the 3rd light dragoons, 4th and 5th light cavalry, and the 8th and 9th irregulars. These extended in an oblique line, the right nearly in front of Asyah, and supporting the two left brigades of the 3rd division. During the cannonade by the heavy guns, some of the enemy's cavalry moved out of their entrenchment on their right, but on the 8th irregular cavalry and a squadron of the 3rd light dragoons being detached to keep them in check, they soon returned to their camp. When the firing of the heavy guns ceased, and the brigades on the left were ordered to advance, the cavalry supported them most effectually; and on the entrenchments on the enemy's right being carried, Sir Joseph Thackwell rode back to the brigade, to order a part of it to advance, and enter the entrenchment which had been carried; but at that moment, Bri-

The enemy's cavalry driven back to their entrenchment.

gadier Scott had received an order from the Governor-general to move to the right, and support the 2nd division of infantry. The general then placed himself at the head of two squadrons of the 3rd light dragoons, followed by the 4th and 5th light cavalry, and the remainder of the 3rd light dragoons; the 8th and 9th irregulars being left in support of the 3rd division. On moving in front of, and to the right of the watchtower, the battalion on the right and within the entrenchments was observed by the general to be making no progress, and the Sirmoor battalion on the left of the 2nd division, checked and eventually losing ground: the latter circumstance was pointed out to him by Captain Tucker, of the adjutant-general's department; and the general spoke to the Governor-general on the subject. On this, Sir Joseph Thackwell trotted down to the ditch of the entrenchment, and along the glacis, but could not discover a place to cross the ditch. He halted the two squadrons of the 3rd, and galloped on to where, just in rear of the battalion on the right, he discovered a band across the ditch, passable in single file, with no ditch within the rampart. This was within sixty yards of the Sikh right, and 150 of a flanking battery of three guns, the grape from which was too elevated to do much damage. Sir Joseph brought the 3rd light dragoons forward, and the Sirmoor battalion passed among the horses into the trenches. He led the 3rd in single file into the entrenchment, but no sappers were there to fill the ditch, (as quoted

Sir Joseph Thackwell places himself at the head of two squadrons of the 3rd dragoons.

Discovers a passage to the Sikh entrenchment.

The dragoons enter in single file, form, and attack the Sikhs.

Repeated charges of the dragoons.

in the Commander-in-chief's despatch.) The right of the Sikhs lining the ramparts, began to give way as they approached; and when the first squadron was formed, it was led by the general over difficult ground, and down a steep bank, and it charged the retreating Sikhs to near the ford; the retiring masses obliged it to return up the bank, by which time another squadron was formed, and the general led them again against the retreating masses, but numbers obliged them to leave the road to the ford clear, and return to support the remainder of the cavalry under Brigadier Scott, who had entered the entrenchments more to their left; after which, several other charges were made, until the whole of the enemy's left were driven into the ford. The Sikh infantry behaved bravely, and would not run. Sir Joseph Thackwell witnessed some of the dragoons fairly cut off their horses; and one, a fine fellow, was on his legs immediately, and attacked the Sikh manfully, and would have slain him, had not that work been done by another dragoon.

Bravery of the dragoons.

When all was well over, the cavalry returned to camp, some irregulars only being left for the security of the wounded on the field and in the entrenchments.

The cavalry move to the bridge.

On the morning of the 11th, at 3 A.M. the 1st brigade of cavalry marched to Attaree, followed by the 2nd and 3rd brigades, and on the 12th these brigades of cavalry encamped near the Khoonda ghaut, to be in readiness to pass the bridge of boats on the morrow, the passage of the first divi-

sion of infantry that evening making it impossible to do so sooner.

On the 13th, these brigades of cavalry crossed the Sutlej, and the 1st brigade arrived at Kussoor at 10 A.M. and took up a position on the Lahore side of the town, and in the course of that day and the following, nearly four brigades of cavalry were in position there. And cross the Sutlej.

On the 20th the cavalry reached Lahore and were encamped; the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd brigades on the right of the army, and the 4th brigade on the left. On the 23rd March, the cavalry for the provinces began its march from Lahore, and on the 26th recrossed the Sutlej at the Nuggur ghaut, and on the following day marched to their several destinations. Reach Lahore. Leave Lahore, and recross the Sutlej.

We have nothing to add to the foregoing interesting account of the cavalry division, from which it will be seen that on picquet duty the cavalry were actively employed. The subject was indeed prominently noticed by the Commander-in-chief when commenting on Sir Joseph Thackwell, though the Major-general's conduct in gallantly leading the two squadrons of the 3rd light dragoons at Sobraon is not alluded to. The deficiency is now supplied: All the cavalry, both regular and irregular, appear to have done their duty while under Sir Joseph Thackwell's command.

CHAPTER XVI.

Some further
particulars
regarding the
British
artillery at
Feerozshuhur.

As we have in the last chapter given some particulars regarding the cavalry movements, both at Sobraon and previous to that battle, we may be allowed to point out some particulars not generally known, with respect to the artillery at Feerozshuhur. In our own observations regarding that action, we commented fully on the small number of our guns, and also their small calibre, as compared with those of the Sikhs. From the statement of a writer in the *Delhi Gazette*, it appears that after Sir John Littler had joined the main army on the 21st December, there were forty-two 6-pounders of 6 cwt., and twenty-four 9-pounders of 10 cwt. each. The writer asks if the royal artillery have any heavier. Though, when thus opposed to the Sikhs, there were sixty-six guns of the calibre mentioned, the firing from the Sikh entrenchment made the bystander suppose that the odds in favour of the latter were great; and as they

possessed upwards of 100 cannons, many of them of battering calibre, the British guns were not a match for them. But there were also, according to the same writer, two iron 8-inch howitzers, with shrapnell shell ammunition filled with $4\frac{1}{2}$ oz. balls.

It would seem that the British guns did not commence their fire at such long distances as 1,200 and 1,000 yards, but they were felt at a distance beyond 600 yards, contrary to the opinion entertained by military men in England. The writer next quotes the report from the artillery in the left wing, commanded by the Governor-general. It runs thus:—"We opened to cover the line at about 900 or 800 yards, when the line coming up went to 500 yards; and again to about 250 yards, less rather than more; at this time our grape told so well, that the enemy's fire slackened: here we were raked by two of their guns a long way off." The account continues, "The artillery of the right wing had the howitzers and rockets in front of the centre; also the 9-pounder batteries in reserve of, but close to the line. The heavies opened at about 1000 yards." In a note the writer here adds: "The two first shells thrown were the first pieces fired on either side; these were seen to burst just over the nearest line of the entrenchment, sweeping clear the space beyond for a considerable way; the enemy's fire instantly opened—no more could be seen." The account of the artillery on the right continues: "They were advanced from 200 to 360 yards, and there joined by the 9-pounder

batteries coming into action ; the line coming up, the artillery were advanced 300 yards, and the reserve troops of horse artillery brought up into action. A further advance brought the whole close to the enemy's entrenchments, where the fire was continued until the line passed on, when, in attempting to follow, a mine was sprung in the midst of the 6-pounder and 9-pounder batteries, which caused a fall-back to watch for required support. After-enquiries, from the Sikhs themselves, shew that on all occasions the ricochet fire of our light artillery, and the shell of the heavies, were felt by the enemy to be as destructive as we felt theirs to be to ourselves."

The chief object of this writer appears to be, to correct some statements made by Sir Howard Douglas ; and his letter proceeds, " It may not be amiss to acquaint Sir Howard Douglas that our 9-pounder makes certain practice up to 800 yards, and that our 6-pounder only commences to be soiled at 500 yards. * * * * Our experimental practice tables will show Sir H. Douglas, that with 1 lb. 8oz. charge, and two degrees elevation per quad., our 6-pounder will give a first graze at 900, and ricochet to the extreme distance of 2,100 yards." From these details, the writer concludes that much weight is not to be attached to the opinions entertained and promulgated by military authorities, both in England and India, regarding the effect produced by the British artillery at Feerozshuhur. He adds, " Our 9-pounder (of

10 cwt.) will, with a charge of 2 lb. 4 oz. with two degrees elevation by quad., give one graze at 900, but ricochet to the extreme distance of 2,500 yards."

It would appear that the newspaper editors made remarks on the artillery, which in the opinion of the above writer were not warranted by the circumstances. He accounts for the want of ammunition at Sobraon from the shortness of time that elapsed between the arrival of the siege train on the 7th, and the evening before the battle on the 9th February.

Further particulars regarding the artillery.

There can be little doubt, that to the hurry of the movements previous to Ferozshuhur, and the want of time after the train arrived, is to be attributed the apparent ineffectiveness of the artillery.

The movement of infantry with their pouches filled, and their ammunition close to them and ready for use, renders the full effect of this branch of the army a much easier matter than that of the artillery, where great labour is required for preparing of shrapnell, which is not stored in the magazine. To provide the means of sustaining a constant discharge of shot and shells for even the space of two hours, as occurred at Sobraon, required no small exertion on the part of those employed in preparing the missiles. Had the siege train arrived earlier, and more time been thus allowed, the Commander-in-chief might have completed his original intention of giving the Sikhs the full force of his artillery for four hours. There appears to be a feeling

of disappointment in the artillery employed in the late campaign ; not at any want of success with the means at their disposal, but that their efforts were not justly appreciated. Though willing to give every credit to a branch which has always been the dread of our enemies in India, there is no disputing that a war may occur in so sudden a manner as to preclude the possibility of this great arm being brought into play. Such was the case in the late campaign against the Sikhs. Totally unexpected in its commencement, the magazines, instead of being at Umballah and Feerozpoore, were at Delhi, Agra, and Cawnpore. Great delay was necessarily incurred in bringing the heavy ordnance and stores to the frontier ; and when they did arrive, the urgent necessity of employing them almost immediately, prevented their being of that incalculable use which might have been expected from them under more favourable circumstances. The infantry was in consequence called upon to perform feats which are seldom expected from it ; namely, capturing guns at the point of the bayonet. We have, on former occasions, discussed these matters ; but we are glad to have an opportunity of recording the sentiments of an artillery officer, which may tend to remove erroneous impressions from the minds of those who expected effects which could not result from the means employed.

The artillery
at Sobraon.

His Excellency the Commander-in-chief bears ample testimony to the effect of the British artillery at Sobraon ; and it is to be regretted that this

branch had not an opportunity of playing on the Sikh's entrenchment, until such breaches had been made as would have admitted the infantry divisions at several points, and so spared the second division the galling and destructive fire from the centre of the entrenchment.

Had the second or centre division been placed in support of the third, the dreadful loss sustained by the former might have been avoided; but it was not intended that this division should be engaged at all; and when it moved forward against the centre of the entrenchment, the strength of the position might not have been anticipated. The idea that Gilbert's division was brought up to cause a diversion from the right of the Sikh entrenchment, and against a position which infantry could not carry, and to be consequently exposed to a murderous fire which could not be returned, is absurd. The check, if any did occur, was on the left of the British line; and on that point, the second division might naturally have been directed: an easy matter had it originally been placed in support of the attacking division. Time and many lives were lost by the straight-forward advance of this division to the centre of the entrenchment.

It is, however, an easy matter to find out errors after events have occurred. All things considered, the plan of attack on Sobraon was, no doubt, skilfully arranged in the main, and ably executed.

It is pleasing to observe the well-merited honours bestowed on the army of the Sutlej, and

The second division at Sobraon.

Honours bestowed on the army of the Sutlej.

the warm thanks returned by both Houses of Parliament, as well as the Honourable Court of Directors.

The Governor-general has earned his peerage; and the gallant Commander-in-chief who has fought and conquered, not only in India, but in China, has been rewarded for his gallant deeds in a manner that must be gratifying to the army which fought under him. The battle of Alleewal has gained for its hero the grand cross of the Bath, and a baronetcy. The gallant Major-general Gilbert has justly earned his honours of K.C.B., and the commanding officers of regiments have received promotion or suitable honorary distinctions. All these honours, and a donation of twelve months' batta, are the reward of many; and those whose rank and standing do not entitle them to the former have the prospect of participating in some future day.

The Jalindhur Doab. As the Jalindhur Doab, or as it is generally named the "Bist Jalindhur," must now possess considerable interest in the eyes of Englishmen, as forming a rich province of the British possessions in India, we are glad to have been enabled, through the kindness of a friend, to present our readers with a very complete map of this Doab, which is looked upon by the Sikhs as the "Cashmere" of the Punjab. In the introduction to this history we have given a few particulars regarding it; and from all accounts, the troops stationed in it are highly pleased with the climate, which, in the

higher parts, partakes of that of the Himalayas, being cool and beautifully wooded; while the gurgling streams give a freshness to the vegetation, looked for in vain in the arid plains of India. In the hilly tracts of this Doab, patches of table land might be found capable of forming eligible cantonments for European troops; and already several such spots have been pointed out. With a view of ascertaining the natural resources, as well as the climate and other particulars, Mr. Corbyn, the zealous and talented superintending surgeon of the Punjab division, has been calling on medical officers for topographical accounts of their respective stations; so that, ere long, the country will be as well known to us as are the other Doabs.

The Jalindhur Doab is famous for the manufacture of various kinds of cloths; also for a breed of horses; while the common grains are cultivated to a great extent. It appears to be remarkably well adapted for the growth of fruit trees, and the mangoe flourishes there in great perfection.

In the records of the Punjab, it is stated that a great flood destroyed the whole country from the Sutlej to the Chenab, and that the Bist Jalindhur was the first tract that was again inhabited. At what period this happened is not exactly known but its occurrence can be readily believed in the event of the rivers overflowing their banks to a great extent. :

The revenues of the Bist Jalindhur, even under

Sikh management, are considerable; and as the rule of the British is already popular, there is no doubt but the resources of the country will be greatly increased in a few years.

Though the ryots, or cultivators of the soil, be thus friendly to the British, the idle and unruly Sikhs are still thirsty for revenge, and will threaten our position when the rivers of the Punjab rise; but with Sir John Littler's force at Lahore, there is not much to be apprehended. Nevertheless, it behoves the Lahore force, and that in the Bist Jalindhur, to be on their guard against any sudden outbreak.

Doings at
Lahore.

Accounts from Lahore to the 21st May, are to the effect that a party of officers belonging to the garrison having crossed the Ravee for the purpose of searching for game, their servants were attacked on their return, and all their master's guns taken possession of by a body of Sikhs, armed to the teeth! This outrage, for it surely deserves such a name, was not probably perpetrated under the sanction of the government; but it clearly exhibits the feeling that prevails towards the British. The party was conducted by some Sikhs to the shooting ground! The plan was no doubt, a concerted one, and with a view to prevent the recurrence of it an order had been issued forbidding parties crossing the river.

If the officers of the garrison of Lahore ever suppose that the Sikhs will be on friendly terms with them, they are much mistaken; a few there may be among the sirdars, whose friendship and

good feeling may be sincere, but the popular dislike of the Sikhs to the British will manifest itself on every fitting occasion; and there is the greatest necessity for being at all times prepared to avoid giving them such opportunities.

It is not at all unlikely that, should any hostile rising take place, this Doab will be selected; and the plan of the Sikhs will be to cut off all communication between the garrison at Lahore and those troops in the Doab, as well as between the latter and the British on the left side of the Sutlej.

When the rivers of the Punjab are swollen by the periodical rains, the troops at Lahore and in the Doab will be perfectly insulated. At present, when a free passage is easily accomplished across the Sutlej and the Beas, such a statement may appear incomprehensible, but the aspect of the country is completely changed in the rains, and the land in the vicinity of the Beas, stretching from the latter to Kapoorthullah, is a complete swamp, which would render the march of troops a matter of the greatest difficulty, and the transport of guns an impossibility. At such a period, therefore, the garrison of Lahore and the troops in the Bist, must be prepared to act independently of each other, and it would be well to concentrate the latter, and carefully provide for the safety of detached regiments. The obstacle to crossing the rivers of the Punjab in the rains has, no doubt, heretofore operated in preventing the Sikhs from making aggressions on the British territories on the

Difficulty of communication between the Doabs in the rains, a matter of importance.

left bank of the Sutlej; for we can in no other way account satisfactorily for their selecting the cold weather, when every likelihood existed of our being prepared for them. A similar obstacle will present itself to the operations of the British, should any necessity exist for movement in the rainy season, and it will therefore be a fortunate circumstance if the unruly spirit of the Sikhs can be kept under due restraint until the cold season. They make no secret themselves of their intentions, and it need not consequently be matter of surprise if the attempt be made when circumstances are in its favour.

Once in possession of Umritsir and Govindghur, the route between the Jalindhur and Lahore would be in their power; and neither place could be taken at a season of the year when a battering train could not be moved across the Beas, and when European troops would have to take the field destitute of the implements of war and provisions.

CHAPTER XVII.

IN a preceding chapter, we alluded to the sur- render of Kote Kangra. We are now enabled to borrow from the newspapers of the day, some particulars respecting the event which may be of interest. The following are contained in the "*Chronicle*," published at Agra, 3rd June, 1846.

Further parti-
culars regard-
ing Kote
Kangra.

"Kangra, 26th May, 1846. The fort holds out, but the guns are all up, and will probably be in battery in three days, when the garrison may discover, that their defiance of the English is more honoured in the *breach* than in the observance."

"Camp, Kangra, 27th May, 1846. Since my last, the force has been increased in artillery, by the third troop, 1st brigade horse artillery, and No. 9 light field battery, from Jullinder, having joined. The siege force arrived here on the 25th, having surmounted great difficulties—the road most difficult for heavy guns, the ghauts steep, and between Na-

Difficulties of
bringing up
the train.

gatal and Putteewalee it had to cross the Guy river between two and three feet deep, nearly fifty times. The Sikhs still hold out, and batteries by the engineers are in the course of erection. Several formidable positions have been decided for batteries, distant not more than 400 to 600 yards; we expect to open fire about the 1st proximo. The scenery is the most beautiful I have seen in India; the fort strong, but I think it cannot stand long against the heavy fire that will be on it. The three infantry regiments, the 2nd, 11th, and 44th, with Her Majesty's corps and artillery, are encamped together, and all anxious for the fray."

"Camp, Kangra, 27th May. After miraculous exertion, a feat has been accomplished reflecting everlasting credit upon the artillery. The train arrived at the top of the last climb to camp on the 25th, with three 18-pounders, two 8-inch howitzers, four 8-inch mortars, two batteries of nines, and a troop of 6-pounders, and six 5½-inch mortars. The garrison still holds out, and the rascals pop at us whenever we show our noses. We have not yet got a single gun or mortar into position, nor are the batteries prepared; fascines and gabions are making, and a sheltered communication will be made between the batteries, and in about a fortnight, I suppose we shall begin. The place is very formidable, and our shells are likely to make it very uncomfortable, and as we can get our heavy guns within 250 yards, and cover the advance of a storming party by the rapid fire of our small guns,

Strength of
artillery.

and even musketry, it would appear simple, but it is no such thing; there are eleven defences, I believe, to get through before we reach the citadel. I do not think we could get possession in less than ten days after we commenced, and by that time, the rains will be fairly upon us, and as we came by a mountain torrent, we can't get back that road, and our baggage can't get back by the other, so we are in a fix! This is a beautiful place, with a high range bespeckled with snow close to us, from which we get snow for our beer, if we had any beer for our snow, but it is very scarce. The thermometer ranges from 66° at sunrise, to 102° in the day-time in the tents; yet I am alive and well."

Strength of
the place.

From this last extract, it would seem, that the writer considered the place of great strength, and likely to stand a siege of ten days at least, thus rendering the position of the force very uncomfortable, and its return to the plains a task of some difficulty. The toil of bringing guns up the bed of a river, or nullah, can only be conceived by those who have travelled up the ascents to Malown in Nepal, where the late Sir David Ochterlony planted his two guns, much to the wonder and dismay of the Goorkhas, and to the no small surprise of the late Fukeer Azeezodeen, who was then in Sir David's camp. Probably the killadar of Kangra anticipated that we should experience insurmountable difficulties in bringing guns and mortars against his strongholds, and so preserved his determination of holding out until he should see them. The follow-

ing extract from the *Delhi Gazette* will show, that Soondur Singh soon made up his mind when he was aware of the arrival of the British guns.

The surrender
of Kote Kan-
gra.

“ The guns (heavy) commenced the ascent of the Mulkerahill to proceed to their respective batteries in the town, on the morning of the 28th. This fact became known for certain, to the garrison about 10 o'clock. They ceased their fire, and sent a messenger to Deenanath to intimate their inclination to surrender, if their lives were guaranteed to them. The agent to the Governor-general declined any other terms but an unconditional submission. An hour was allowed them to come out and lay down their arms. Within this time, about 3 o'clock the killadar (Soondur Singh) accompanied by his sirdars came out; they laid down their arms at the gate, and were made over to Captain Goddard commanding the town, who had previously received the necessary instructions; by him, they were immediately conducted to the presence of Major Lawrence, who had arrived to receive them. Even then the garrison were wavering, and brought a gun to bear on the party, suspecting treachery. Soondur Singh, however, proceeded to tender his submission on the part of the garrison, and the same being accepted, he and his followers were immediately permitted to return to the fort, and acquaint the inmates that each person would be allowed to bring out one bundle, but nothing more: In an hour's time, men, women, and children, and bundles in great numbers, made their appearance;

the men laying down their arms as they came out and giving up their names. * * * * They then all passed through the town with their bundles (containing clothes and cooking utensils) on their heads, protected by extended files of sepoy, to an appointed place of rendezvous under fort Mulkera. Captain Goddard with three companies then marched in, and the British colours were hoisted upon the highest point.

“ All this was so sudden and unexpected among the Native part of the community, that their astonishment is said to have been indescribable. Soondur Singh is represented as rather a fine but debauched-looking man. The British force, we hear, was to break up about the 31st May; officers and Europeans much disappointed at this result.

“ The fort was inspected by the political authorities immediately after its surrender, and found to have ten gates; the masonry massive but dilapidated. It is believed that some guns and a party of sappers and miners would be left with the 44th Native infantry. The 2nd grenadiers to escort the guns back to the plains.”

Thus terminated the gallant defence of Kote Kangra, much to the annoyance of the force sent against it; and which, after encountering so many difficulties in wending its way through rugged and difficult roads, was obliged to return without firing a shot! To the artillery the disappointment must have been great, thirsting as they naturally were for an opportunity of showing the Sikhs what Bri-

tish guns can do. The surrender of this strong fort, which held out under Sunsar Chund against the Goorkha chief, Unmur Singh, for four years, must have created wonder among the Natives; but Soondur Singh knew well how little chance there existed of his being able to follow the daring example of the Kutoch Rajah, against a British force complete in all the implements of war. He considered prudence the better part of valour. As we before surmised, Major Lawrence was not likely to accept any thing short of an unconditional surrender; though it would, no doubt, have pleased the Sikh government better had less stringent terms been enforced. The energy and determination displayed by Major Lawrence, have been conspicuous on all occasions; and the Sikhs have already discovered that the Governor-general's agent is not to be tampered with, or talked over by their smooth words and deceitful promises. Such a man is alone capable of sustaining our supremacy among a people who thoroughly detest us, and who will lose no opportunity of indirectly thwarting the British authorities. Soondur Singh may probably be able to enlighten the agent, regarding his conduct in refusing to obey the repeated orders of his own government; and it may transpire, that he was merely an instrument for the execution of a measure which has entailed great trouble and expense on the British Government. Be this as it may, the fall of Kangra will have a most beneficial effect on the hill tribes, who will

now have no difficulty in believing that their new rulers are of a very different character from the Sikhs, whom they detest and despise.

Every account agrees in describing the country about Kangra as exceedingly beautiful and picturesque ; and so must every place be within view of snow-clad hills ; for it is associated in European minds with the idea of a cool climate, so much more congenial to northern constitutions than the hot, sultry, sandy plains of India. There can hardly be any feeling more delightful to the sojourner in the east, than that produced by an approach to the mountains, where he once more finds himself in possession of the full faculties of mind and body ; and views around him trees, shrubs, plants, and gurgling brooks, which bring vividly before him the scenes of his early years. The European soldier is a callous being ; and provided he gets his daily food and liquor, cares but little in what climate he is placed, even though his health becomes impaired, and he is eventually rendered unfit for service. But the European officers who have spent much of their time in the plains, find in the climate of the hills an approach to an equivalent to a trip to their native country.

While on this subject, it may not be out of place to allude to the generous and praiseworthy endeavours made by Major Lawrence, to establish a school for the children of European soldiers in the hills. He has contributed largely to the funds himself, and by great exertions obtained many

Delightful feeling associated with the hills.

Proposed establishment for educating the children of European soldiers in the hills.

supporters of his plan. The European soldier, however, is not sufficiently alive to the blessing opening to his child. Deriving some pecuniary advantage from his children, more than sufficient to maintain them under his own eye, his views extend no further than to see them in the ranks ; and he deems even a limited education calculated to render his son discontented with his lot ! The same contracted views influence his conduct towards his daughters, whose highest ambition is to marry a non-commissioned officer, or perchance a conductor ; indeed, in either case, he imagines that too much learning would instil into his offspring notions of gentility incompatible with their sphere in life. Acting on such ideas, he is perfectly satisfied with the efforts of the regimental schoolmaster or mistress. But, independent of the enlarged views of Major Lawrence as regards education, he places considerable stress on the advantages of climate which such an institution in the hills would confer. On this point there can exist no doubt in the minds of those who have witnessed the pallid, sickly countenances of the children of both European officers and soldiers in the plains of India, where the mortality is great among both.

Its advantages.

The improved morals of the children are, however, the chief advantage which the Major contemplates ; and there can be little doubt that these would attain a higher standard in the hills

than in the barracks. But the parents of such children argue that their return to a barrack would speedily efface all the advantages of such an institution. This is, however, more plausible than just; for when the principles of religion and morality are engrafted on the young mind by precept and example, they are not liable to be very quickly effaced, even in a barrack; and it is well known that a religious and moral soldier is not an uncommon character among our European troops in India. In all these respects the plan is worthy of support; but there is one consideration connected with Major Lawrence's scheme which has already raised serious objections, and that is on the score of religious instruction. In most European regiments in India, the number of Roman Catholics is equal to that of the Protestants, and in many the former are in excess of the latter; and as the scheme only contemplated the instructing of children according to Protestant principles, the Catholics are necessarily excluded from the benefits of the institution. To overcome such an obstacle is no easy matter, and every suggestion tending towards such a result must, therefore, be acceptable.

The exclusion from the proposed institution of all children born of a Native mother, is another measure which appears to have caused considerable disappointment among the soldiers. Many of the men have children by Native women, to whom

they are married. We are not sure that the prohibition does not extend to the children by half-caste or Eurasian mothers.

It would almost appear from Major Lawrence's scheme, that considering the Roman Catholic religion as heterodox, he was inclined to put a complete bar to its adoption by the rising generation. We do not mean to insinuate that he wishes to make converts of the Roman Catholic children; but as no religious instruction is provided for them, it is naturally to be supposed that their young minds would readily imbibe the established religious worship of the institution. Should no mode of removing this obstacle be devised, we fear the establishment of this school must be partial in its operation, and its advantage confined to the offspring of Protestant parents.

The history of battles is a matter which seems to be never correctly given at the time of their occurrence; and Feerozshuhur is no exception.

More particulars regarding Feerozshuhur.

In the general account which we were enabled to give from the Commander-in-chief's despatches, and other sources, the impression to be conveyed is, that Sir Harry Smith's division participated in the storming of the Sikh entrenchment, and also in the capture of the city or village of Feerozshuhur. That a portion of his division entered the village admits of no doubt, but the fact is equally well established, that it was the 2nd, or Gilbert's division, which entered the entrenchment first. In our account of the battle, it is stated that Sir

Harry Smith during the night of the 21st was exposed to the fire of the enemy, and caused the men to take off their white cap-covers. Now if this account be correct, the gallant general could hardly have been in the village of Missreewallah, which was nearly two miles in rear of the position occupied by the 2nd division; and yet it is perfectly true that Sir Harry Smith advanced from that place early on the morning of the 22nd, as he was heard giving strict orders to the sipahees scattered about the rear, not to discharge their muskets, which they were in the habit of doing, throughout the night; thus tending to lead the enemy towards their defenceless position, had not the attention of the Sikhs been wholly directed to the portion of the army which occupied their entrenchment. At what particular time the 1st division, or a portion of it, entered the entrenchment and Feerozshuhur, we do not know; but that the 2nd division (which suffered no check,) preceded it, is beyond a doubt; for on the blowing-up of the great mine, and when fears were entertained that the 1st European light infantry had been annihilated, there were none of the 1st division in sight. It is therefore probable that Sir Harry Smith, with a portion of the 1st division, had become separated from his main body, and took up his position at the village of Missreewallah, where he might have remained during the night of the 21st, and from thence advanced at day-break on the morning of the 22nd. Several troops of horse artillery were

at the same village, and the presence of the 1st division with Sir Harry Smith, could not have been overlooked or mistaken by the artillery officers who mentioned the fact. That Sir Harry Smith wished to join the advanced division in the entrenchment, there is no doubt, from the marked displeasure evinced by him towards the late Colonel Ryan, who advised him to remain in the position until daylight. It is, notwithstanding, difficult to conceive how Sir Harry Smith, when once in the entrenchment, could have withdrawn to the village of Missreewallah, as is so confidently asserted by a writer in the *Delhi Gazette*, under the signature of "BENGAL FUSILIER." "Bengal Fusilier" also alludes to the spiking of the "grape-belching gun:" that feat was performed by Her Majesty's 80th foot, though he is perfectly correct in associating his own regiment with the event, as it was formed up for that purpose by the Governor-general himself; and the gallant charge only proved, that however formidable the gun might have been, it needed not for its capture two regiments of Europeans; and the light infantry had no wish to rob the 80th of the exclusive glory. But as regards the advance of Gilbert's division without a check, and its first entrance into the Sikh entrenchment, the writer and every one connected with the division are fully satisfied; and it is a pity that the conduct of this gallant division was not placed in a clearer light in the despatches. Had the Sikhs been completely dislodged, and put

to flight on the 21st, the 2nd division would, doubtless, have received its full meed of praise.

On referring to an officer of the 2nd division, who got mixed up with the 1st, regarding the position of Sir Harry Smith and Her Majesty's 50th, during the night of the 21st, he states, "I should say it was between 1 and 3 A.M. on the 22nd, that he (Sir H. Smith) moved out of the entrenched camp, having been under a desperate fire all night up to that time, and quite separated from the rest of the army. He was in the very centre of the enemy and pitched into on all sides."

This statement coming from one in no way connected with the 1st division, further than that he was accidentally mixed up with it, is conclusive as to the point at issue.

All that the second division contended for, seems to be their priority in entering the entrenchment, and this, considering it was the attacking division, and met with no check in capturing the Sikh guns, was naturally to be expected; and if the first division claim the honour of first entering the entrenchment, the mistake could only have arisen from its not seeing the second division, which had previously established itself in the entrenchment.

It may be asked, what would have been the effect had Gilbert's division been withdrawn during the night? The question is easy of solution. The Sikhs would have regained their original position, and the most disastrous consequences would have ensued, as Tej Singh, instead of bringing up his

30,000 Ghorchurras on the morning of the 22nd, might have done so immediately and driven the British army in disorder on Feerozpoore; in fact, the safety of India depended on Gilbert's retaining his position, and preventing the advance of the Sikhs during the night of the 21st, and we have good reasons for believing that this was the opinion of both the Governor-general and Commander-in-chief; and therefore the little notice taken of General Gilbert on this momentous occasion, is one of those anomalies in warfare which are not easily accounted for.

These particulars are of little interest except to the parties concerned, but it becomes the duty of an historian to reconcile as far as possible conflicting accounts, and to render due honour to gallant troops engaged in a hard-fought battle, by assigning to each the proper meed of praise without detracting from the merits of others, and this has been our aim throughout this work. We have alluded to every thing which might in the most remote degree elucidate the subject, and if we have overlooked individual claims to distinction, we shall be ready to remedy the omission if the parties concerned will give us such information as may lead to just and unbiassed conclusions.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SINCE the accounts promulgated regarding the movements of the first division at Feerozshuhur are of a conflicting nature, we resolved to have recourse for accurate information to the general commanding it; and Sir Harry Smith, with a ready compliance which claims our warmest thanks, put us immediately in possession of the particulars which we sought. We are sure they will be interesting to our military readers. We wished in the first place, to ascertain the period at which the general entered the entrenched camp, and put the following query on the subject.

“ Was it before or after the blowing-up of the great mine that you advanced with the first division, or a portion of it, including Her Majesty’s 50th, Queen’s Own ?”

Queries regarding the first division at Feerozshuhur.

“ As the 50th crossed the trenches, the mine blew up—the mine exploded some short distance to our *right* and front. We were all momentarily

Queries con-
tinued.

staggered by the explosion." This answer shows that the 50th passed the trenches soon after the attacking division.

The next query related to the further progress of Sir Harry Smith and the 50th.

"Did you pass through the village of Feerozshuhur and take up a position in advance of it nearer the enemy?"

"Yes—the first person who entered the village was* Sir Harry Smith, followed by the colours of the 50th, and a few of the 1st European light infantry. We drove the enemy through it, and many sought refuge and barricaded themselves. A position was taken up *beyond* the village towards the enemy, and the troops formed in a crescent as well as the darkness admitted." It was stated by the anonymous writer in the *Delhi Gazette*, "That Sir Harry Smith had left the entrenchment soon after nightfall on the evening of the 21st;" and we were particularly anxious to receive correct information on this point, since others asserted that the occurrence took place at 9 o'clock P.M., though no one, as far as we can learn, even insinuated that Sir Harry Smith himself was seen at Missree-wallah before 3 A.M. on the morning of the 22nd.

"How long did you maintain your post, and at what time did you leave it?"

"The day had closed in when we first took up

* These answers were furnished by Captain Lugard, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-general of the first division, and their accuracy is vouched for by Sir Harry Smith.

the position, and we left it a little after 3 o'clock on the morning of the 22nd." This settles the point regarding the time when Sir Harry Smith left the entrenchment. Queries continued.

We next wished to ascertain the object which the General had in view in leaving the post, and the following question was put.

"In leaving the advanced position thus gained, was your object to effect a junction with the main body of the army, or to take your troops to a place of greater safety?"

"Most assuredly to effect a junction—our ignorance of the exact position of the main army, and the untenable post we held (unsupported,) obliged us to fall back. The enemy had discovered our isolated situation, and every fresh gun that opened upon us, showed their intention of cutting in between us and where we imagined the main army to be. Long before we left, we had been under a cross fire, which dealt death to many at nearly every discharge. Hull, a noble soldier, Griffin, and others, were killed there. Lieutenant Galloway, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-general, had his horse shot under him, and was himself badly wounded."

From what is stated in giving a general account of the battle, the situation of Sir Harry Smith was a most critical one, and unsupported as he was, there was every chance of his being cut off from the main army had he not fallen back. If Sir Harry Smith had left the entrenchment early on

Queries con-
tinued.

the night of the 21st, it was naturally to be supposed, that he would have bivouacked at Missreewallah, and we therefore put the next question.

“ In not effecting a junction with the rest of the army, at what place did you afterwards bivouac, and was it at the village of Missreewallah, about two miles in rear of the field of battle ? ”

“ We did *not* bivouack any where after leaving Feerozshah, till we joined the main army. In falling back we had nothing to guide us, and made for the first fires that came in sight, imagining they belonged to the army. They proved to be Missreewallah, where stragglers from *every* corps had collected. After enquiries had been made as to the direction of the main body, and when the men who fell out in search of water, as also the stragglers found there, had been got together, we moved on to form a junction, and the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-general was ordered to gallop in the direction of the firing, and report our being ready to support. The day had well broken by this time. The Deputy Assistant Adjutant-general found the Governor-general and reported our advance, and received orders to move on steadily.”

The next point was to ascertain how long Sir Harry Smith halted at Missreewallah, and this question was accordingly put.

“ After how long an interval did you again move forward to join the Commander-in-chief ? ”

“ We halted at Missreewallah. The men fell out to get water, and some grog coming up was served

out. The general sought for those who could give information of the main army. Captains Lumley and Christie were found at one of the bivouac fires; the former urged a march towards Feerozapore. Sir Harry replied, he wanted but one piece of information, 'Where was the Commander-in-chief, as there he would take his men.' Captain Christie, commanding the 9th irregulars, finally volunteered to show the way, the day broke just about this time, and as soon as the men could be collected, we moved off to form the junction."

Queries continued.

In addition to the foregoing replies, which satisfactorily settle the points at issue, namely:—

Conclusions.

1st.—That Sir Harry Smith entered the entrenchment after the 2nd division, which was in it when the mine blew up;

2nd.—That he passed through the village of Feerozshuhur, and took up a position in advance of it, nearer the enemy;

3rd.—That he did not leave his position until the latter became untenable, and a risk existed of his being cut off from the main army;

4th.—That he did not leave his position until three A. M. of the 22nd, and then with the intention of joining the main army, which he could not at that time effect, but halted at Missreewallah; again advancing at day-break on the morning of the 22nd under the guidance of Captain Christie,—we were also furnished with an interesting Memorandum of Operations of the 1st division of the army of the Sutlej, on the 21st and 22nd December, 1845."

by the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-general of that division, the accuracy of which is attested by Sir Harry Smith.

Movements of
the 1st division
at Feerozshahur.

“ The 1st and 2nd brigades, 1st division, late in the afternoon of the 21st December were drawn up in line, separated by the whole of our artillery; the 1st brigade on the right, and the 2nd on the left.

“ The 2nd brigade was just formed, and but a moment before had been joined by the Major-general commanding the division, (who had been seeing his 1st brigade properly placed for attack,) when orders were received to move forward. As we advanced, the round shot told heavily on our men.

“ Upon nearing the trenches, a heavy and most destructive fire was poured upon the brigade from the batteries immediately in front. The Governor-general was at this time with the brigade, and under the fire I allude to, he spoke to and encouraged the men. As we closed the battery, Major Broadfoot rode up to Sir Harry Smith, and told him that several battalions (four I think) of Avitabili's troops were moving down from our left to attack us.

“ The right of the 50th foot was brought up as much as circumstances would allow, and a storm of musketry announced the attack. Here the much-to-be-lamented Major Somerset received his mortal wound; he was close up in rear of the centre of the 50th at the moment. One cheer, with a charge headed by the Major-general, repulsed and drove back the Sikh battalions; the battery was carried at the point of the bayonet, and the charge was

continued through the camp up to the village of Feerozshah, where the head-quarters of the enemy had evidently been established, for the village was filled with richly caparisoned horses, tents, &c., &c., and men who sought refuge in the houses and walled enclosures.

“ A desultory attack was forthwith made, and many lives lost on both sides ; for the entrances to some of the houses were most intricate. Much confusion ensued, owing to the darkness of the evening having closed in ; the 50th foot, however, were formed by the Major-general as well as circumstances would admit, and posted beyond the village. The various detachments, from nearly every regiment in the army, that now joined us, were posted and got into as much order as possible ; parties of men, some without, some with officers, came straying in from the enemy’s camp, that had been carried, and which was now burning in all directions. Amongst others too numerous to mention, were a party of the 9th foot under Major Barnwell, Captain Bethune, &c. ; of the 16th Native grenadiers under Major Hull ; of the 26th Native light infantry under Captain Taylor, and Lieutenant Hall ; and of the 1st Europeans under Captain Seaton, and other officers of the 62nd foot, &c. Lieutenant Peel, of the Governor-general’s staff, was also there.

“ Hardly were we in position, when an alarm was given of the enemy’s cavalry, and a body did come down on our right ; they, however, drew off on seeing our force ready, which they could by means of

the many large fires kindled about, though the night was pitch-dark. By the same means the enemy's artillery became aware of our vicinity, and after a few wide shots, brought a gun to bear upon us with great accuracy, dealing death at every discharge throughout the night. Poor Major Hull who had exerted himself to the general's admiration in endeavouring to form up the sepoy's, here received his death-wound, (when in the 50th square.) Brevet Major Griffin, too, was here killed, and many other officers wounded; nearly every mounted officer had his horse killed.

“ The general alone, as if bearing a charmed life, escaped untouched, both himself and charger.

“ Throughout the night the brigade remained on this spot under arms, and under a destructive fire. When towards morning, the enemy got a gun to bear more on our right flank, and were evidently creeping round our position as if to cut us off from the main army, of which we had not heard, as to what had become of it, what it had accomplished, or what it was then doing!!

“ Our position was becoming untenable, Sir Harry Smith, therefore, a little before 3 o'clock, apparently with great reluctance, gave the order for the force to fall back in the direction we had attacked. The 50th and other Europeans were got into the best order for repelling an attack, and thus we traversed the enemy's camp; after leaving which, we directed our course towards a large fire, where it was expected the army might be bivouacked; this we discovered to be the field hos-

pital of the 62nd foot and other regiments ; but no direct intelligence could be obtained here of the army. Some short distance further on we came to the village of Missreewallah, where cavalry, artillery, and various detached parties of infantry had, apparently, bivouacked. Here the men sought for, and procured some water, and grog was served out ; they were nearly exhausted from the night's fatigue.

“ After some delay, caused by enquiries as to the direction of the main army, and the dispersion of the men in search of water, they were finally got together ; and under the direction of Captain Christie, commanding the 9th irregulars, who kindly offered to shew the General where the Commander-in-chief was, we again moved off to join the army.

“ It was now broad day-light, and the troops were fagged, and our progress was slow in consequence.

“ We came in sight of the other troops just as they had carried the batteries. Our 1st brigade was part of this force, and the 31st Queen's greatly distinguished themselves in the morning's fight. They lost on the 21st and 22nd, two officers, and seventy-eight men killed, with five officers and ninety-six men wounded ; one of the officers and many of the men died shortly after, of their wounds. The 50th had fifty-four men killed, and six officers and ninety-one men wounded.

“ The 2nd brigade, with the numerous detachments, formed on the extreme left of the remainder, and were about to deploy when the attack of Tej

Singh commenced. The enemy's second shot fell into the 50th column, and the regiment lost many men."

General
remarks.

Here ends Captain Lugard's interesting account, and as we surmised in a former chapter, the 1st division saw nothing of the 2nd, nor knew what the "rest of the army had done, or were doing," though the burning of the Sikh camp showed that the army had been in it; and had Sir Harry Smith fallen back on the right of the village, he would have found the main army to the right and rear, but the darkness of the night precluded his taking this route; and yet it is strange that he did not come in contact with the cavalry in rear of the advanced columns; but it was only the bivouack fires of the field hospital that could be seen after leaving the field, and it is surprising that none of the enemy's horse made a descent on the former, which they might have easily done.

From this account, Sir Harry Smith left his position with "apparent reluctance," but still our opinion remains unaltered, that to the circumstance of the 2nd division retaining *its* position, may be safely attributed the check of the Sikh army.

It was, perhaps, fortunate that Sir Harry Smith occupied the position he did during the night of the 21st, had it only been to collect the parties from the various regiments which strayed around him, though, it is probable, that these would have found their way to Misreewallah, where the numerous fires would have directed their steps. His position

appears to have been untenable, and had he fallen back earlier, his loss might have been less severe, but still, it is to be regretted, that he should have been obliged to retire without being able in so doing to rejoin the main army. We are not sure that it is agreeable to the tactics of war for the reserve to push forward and take up an advanced position; but if such a feat be accomplished, the advantage is lost by being obliged to fall back; and had the 1st division kept its place, and supported the 2nd division throughout the night, the advantage would have been more conspicuous. Sir Harry Smith's refusal to march on Feerozpoore, or in any direction save that where he might find the Commander-in-chief, at once shows the determined courage of the General and forms a striking contrast to the officer commanding the cavalry division; it is true, that the latter received an order, while Captain Lumley's advice to Sir Harry Smith was merely a suggestion.

It may be said, that the Commander-in-chief and Governor-general were, in reality, at the head of the portion of the army which captured the Sikh guns, entered the entrenchment, and maintained its position during the night of the 21st, and that Gilbert in consequence held a secondary command; yet, we are struck with the despatch of the latter, and had we not known that the Commander-in-chief and the second in command were present, it would have seemed that General Gilbert was really the leading spirit in the affair.

It may be said, that in making such remarks on military movements we have forgotten the maxim "*Sutor non ultra crepidam*," and that none but military men versed in the tactics of war are competent judges. This may be true, as regards modern warfare, but our contest with the Sikhs partook of the ancient mode of fighting, on our side at least; and if we substitute the word bayonet for pike or halbert, the British attack on the guns at Feerozshuhur, and the storming of their entrenchment, resembled closely what might have been expected from the Roman legions under Julius Cæsar, or the Macedonian phalanx under Alexander the Great! Such being the case, those who have perused the commentaries of the former, or the records of Arrian and Quintus Curtius, though not military men, can form a pretty accurate judgment regarding the importance of keeping in a close body when the bayonets are the never-failing weapons, and not to expose a body of men thus armed to a murderous fire from cannon, such as Sir Harry Smith experienced on the night of the 21st of December. His driving the enemy before the bayonets of Her Majesty's 50th through the village of Feerozshuhur, was consonant to ancient warfare; a Cæsar himself would have done the same with his pikes and halberts; but having accomplished this, he would not have taken up a position in the darkness of night with an enemy's guns playing on him, entirely ignorant of where he was, and totally isolated from the rest of the army; and though his

10th *legion* could not have been braver men than the Queen's own, yet, neither the one nor the other could be expected to withstand round-shot and grape, when unsupported. In pursuit of a flying enemy, the advance of Sir Harry Smith might have been attended with the happiest effect, but though deprived of many guns and obliged to retire, the spirit of the Sikhs was unbroken, and they kept possession of a part of their camp during the night, and but for the obstinate stand of the 2nd division would, in all probability, have regained the whole of their entrenchment.

If the battle of the 21st December resembled one of the ancient conflicts, that of the 22nd was in complete accordance with it, where British bayonets were alone the weapons used by our troops, no artillery being available! The British formed their infantry in a body and attacked the whole Sikh army, though 30,000 Ghoorchurras appeared in support of the latter. The reason why the Sikh cavalry did not charge our infantry, can only be accounted for from witnessing the determined bravery of the latter in capturing guns at the point of the bayonet, and advancing against them unsupported by artillery. The result of Feerozshuhur on the 22nd, proves that it is not altogether to the weapons employed that victory must be looked for, but to the indomitable courage of troops; for we here see that the Sikhs, though, possessing all the implements of modern warfare, guns, cavalry, and infantry, opposed to British

infantry alone, were obliged to yield to the latter. Had the two forces changed sides, and the guns and cavalry been on our part, the Sikh infantry would have been annihilated, as they nearly were at Sobraon ; for, as before stated, it was not artillery opposed to artillery, nor cavalry to infantry, but a body of European infantry fighting against all the three arms : such was the battle of Feerozshuhur, and such its glorious result under gallant leaders and indomitable troops, maintaining the name and valour of British soldiers against fearful odds.

Conclusion.

It was not our original intention to have entered into the full particulars of the late engagements with the Sikhs, but we found ourselves compelled to give as much information as we could collect ; for it is not from general statements that the true nature of battles is to be gleaned ; and though Waterloo was fought thirty years ago, it is only of late that the researches of Captain Siborne have enabled us to come to a true knowledge of the particulars of that great battle. We are, therefore, vastly obliged to Sir Harry Smith and Sir Joseph Thackwell for the information politely furnished by them regarding Feerozshuhur and Sobraon ; and should the present work ever see a second edition, we have do doubt that time will enable us to correct errors, and add many more facts regarding the Sikh campaign of 1845 and 1846.

TABLE shewing the loss of the Army of the Sutlej in the Campaign of 1845 and 1846.

NAMES OF BATTLES.	KILLED.					WOUNDED.				
	European Officers.	Native Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, Rank and File.	Lascars and Syces.	TOTAL.	European Officers.	Native Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, Rank and File.	Lascars and Syces.	TOTAL.
At Moodkee . . .	14	2	192	8	216	39	9	588	21	657
At Peerozshuhur . . .	39	17	654	10	720	86	19	1,665	12	1,782
At Alleewal . . .	4	3	144	0	151	25	6	382	0	413
At Sohraon . . .	13	3	301	3	320	101	39	1,913	10	2,063
TOTAL . . .	70	25	1,291	21	1,407	251	73	4,548	43	4,915
Grand total killed and wounded 6,322										

Brewster & West, Printers, Hand Court. Dowgate.

