

HARDINGE PAPERS RELATING TO PUNJAB

Edited and Annotated by
DR. KIRPAL SINGH



PUBLICATION BUREAU
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA

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HARDINGE PAPERS RELATING TO PUNJAB (*English*)

edited and Annotated by

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Departmental editor : Dr. Dhanwant Kaur

ISBN 81-7380-770-1

2002

First Edition : 1100

Price : Rs. 160/-

Production & Planning : Dr. Sukhdial Singh, *Head, Publication Bureau*

Layout and Design : Mr. Harjeet Singh, *Art Executive*

Technical Assistance : Mrs. Paramjeet Kaur, *M.A., M.Phil*

Laser-Type Setting : PERFECT GRAPHICS, Patiala, Ph. 280924

Published by B. S. Bhatia, Registrar, Punjabi University, Patiala
printed at Anand Sons, Delhi.

FOREWORD

'Hardinge Papers relating to Punjab' edited by Dr. Kirpal Singh is a welcome addition to the existing studies in history of Punjab. It explores the records and enriches the source material that play significant role in constructing an objective profile of history. Prof. Kirpal Singh has brought his ripe and comprehensive vision to locate and study the private letters of English rulers during their tenures in India. In this document he has edited the private correspondence of Governor General Sir later Lord Henry Hardinge (1844-48) and his grandson Viceroy Lord Hardinge (1910-16). The text of book brings into focus the important information which is not available anywhere else. The book offers fresh perspectives on the strategy of English rulers.

I trust this book will be welcomed by the researchers and students who are interested in the study of history.

**Punjabi University
Patiala**

JASBIR SINGH AHLUWALIA
Vice-Chancellor

Dedicated to
Late Sardar Partap Singh Kairon
Chief Minister, Punjab (1956-64)
who sanctioned my research tour
for England

DEPARTMENT NOTE

The development of Punjabi language, literature and culture is one of the statutory obligations of Punjabi University, Patiala. The Department of Development of Punjabi Language was established in 1965 to fulfil this obligation. The Department has launched several schemes to achieve the goal. Many original & translated works have been published under different schemes. In recent past, the Department envisaged a plan to involve the eminent scholars to produce source materials in different subjects. The scholars are also given the option to explore & write on the subject of their own choice. The present compilation 'Hardinge Papers Relating to the Punjab' by Dr. Kirpal Singh is amongst this series. The Department takes pleasure in publication of this title which, I am sure, will be of immense use & value to the students & scholars of the Punjab history.

Deptt. of Dev. of Pbi. Lang.
Punjabi University, Patiala

Dhanwant Kaur
Head

PREFACE

The personal and private correspondence form a separate category of records. It is more revealing as compared to the official records. It plays significant role in reconstructing the history. Sometimes the Governors General in India decided important issues by undertaking private correspondence with their superiors or friends and imparted important information to their near and dear ones. The private correspondence preserved with the various families in England indicates that the problems of administration, war and strategy were often discussed in these letters. Such private letters have been preserved at scattered places— in Bank lockers like that of Lord Roberts who was Commander-in-Chief in India (1887–1892), in Military Archives in the King's College, London— contains the private letters of Lord Ismay, the Chief of Staff of Lord Mountbatten. The Mountbatten papers are preserved at Broadland, Ramsay. In 1964, the writer of these lines utilised his research tour in England in locating and studying private letters relating to the Punjab history at various places. It was an uphill task because all the private letters do not pertain to India much less the Punjab history. With the help of some British friends, I was able to locate and have access to the Family Archives preserved in the village Penshurst, south of England in Kent County.

The personal and private letters of Sir (later Lord) Henry Hardinge, Governor General of India (1844–1848 A.D.) are important as they give information which is not available anywhere else. For instance Henry Hardinge intimated to his wife his understanding with Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu before and during the 1st Sikh War. This is not available anywhere in the official records. For leaking out this secret understanding with Gulab Singh in his book *HISTORY OF THE SIKHS*, J.D. Cunningham was dismissed by Lord Dalhousie, successor of Sir Henry Hardinge. J.D.

Cunningham died broken hearted and was buried at Ambala Cantonment.

The letters of Henry Hardinge and his two sons (one was his A.D.C. and the other his Secretary), who were also fighting during the 1st Sikh War alongwith their father, have never seen light of the day. B.J. Hasrat only published extracts from the "SELECTED LETTERS FROM HELEN LADY HARDINGE's" Selection of Letters in *The Punjab Papers* (Hoshiarpur 1970). His eldest son who served in India alongwith his father was elevated to be the 2nd Viscount of Hardinge. He wrote two books on India viz. (1) **RECOLLECTIONS OF INDIA**, and (2) **HENRY HARDINGE**. The latter was published as part of 'Rulers of India Series'. Henry Hardinge, grandson Charles Hardinge was elevated to Lord Hardinge of Penshurst who became the Viceroy of India (1910-16 AD). The Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge (1910-16 AD) has been characteristic of the removal of Lord Curzon's unpopular-partition of Bengal, transfer of India's capital from Calcutta to New Delhi, dealing with the Ghadar Movement in Punjab. The activities of Lala Lajpat Rai have been reported in those letters. Both the collections of letters relating to the Punjab are being published for the first time.

In 1964, the Punjab Government sanctioned my research tour to England as a result of writing of book entitled *PUNJAB'S PIONEER FREEDOM FIGHTERS* in collaboration with late Prof. M.L. Ahluwalia, which was subsequently published by Orient Longman, Calcutta. Since it was first visit to England, I made an effort to get guidance from all quarters. Late Col Sir Buta Singh gave me an introductory letter for Mr. Kewal Singh, Deputy High Commissioner for India in England who helped me to have interviews with the various dignitaries involved in the process of Partition of Punjab. These have been published in my book entitled *SELECT DOCUMENTS ON PARTITION OF PUNJAB*. Late Master Tara Singh gave me an introductory letter for his personal friend late Major J.M. Short who had served the Sikh Regiment and had been Recruiting Officer. I met Major Short at his village and he introduced me to Lady Helen of Penshurst who was the daughter-in-law of Viceroy Hardinge. The village Penshurst was near his village Birchden Corner. Major Short introduced me to Lady Helen to show me their Family Archives and give me necessary

facilities. This book deals with the documents preserved in the Family Archives of Penshurst. The village Penshurst has given India two Governors General – Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor General of India (1844–48) who fought the First Sikh War against the Sikhs and Viceroy Charles Hardinge (1910–16). Private letters of both the Governors General were preserved in their Family Archives. The private letters of Viceroy Hardinge had been recently donated to Cambridge University by the family. So I consulted them at the Cambridge University Library in England. I brought to India the microfilm and xerox copies of letters relating to the Sikhs and Punjab. These were subsequently deposited in the State Archives, Punjab, Patiala.

I am grateful to late S. Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab (1956–64) who sanctioned my research tour to England and enabled me to consult Hardinge Papers, late Major J.M. Short who helped me to have access to these records, as also Cambridge University Library for giving me necessary facilities to consult the records. I am thankful to the Department of Development of Punjabi Language, Punjabi University, Patiala who encouraged me to edit and annotate these letters and prepare its press copy. Last but not the least I am indebted to Dr. J. S. Ahluwalia, IAS (Retd.) Vice-Chancellor, Punjabi University, Patiala who has sanctioned its publication and has also written its Foreword Dr. Sukhdyal Singh took pains to get printed of S. Verpal Singh helped me in correcting the proofs and S. Ujagar Singh, typed the manuscript, I am thankful to all of them.

Feb. 10, 2001

Kirpal Singh

1288/15-B
Chandigarh

INTRODUCTION

Penshurst, a small town about fifty miles south of London in the Kent County is intimately connected with the history of India. It gave India two Governors-General—Sir Henry Hardinge who later on became Viscount of Lahore, was Governor General of India from 1844–48 and second was his grandson Lord Charles Hardinge Viceroy of India 1910–1916 A.D.

Henry Hardinge

Henry Hardinge was born at Wrothams in Kent on 30th March, 1785.¹ He received his early education at Durham before joining the army. In the early nineteenth century, he joined and participated in the Peninsular War and the campaign against Napoleon Bonaparte under Duke of Wellington.² He lost one arm. In 1820 he was returned to Parliament as a member from Durham. He was Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1830 and again in 1834. He was Secretary of War of Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet. In 1844 he was sent to India as Governor General to replace his brother-in-law—Lord Ellenborough. He fought the First Sikh War and concluded the Treaties of Lahore and Bhairawal as he was against annexation of Punjab. He governed India upto 1848 A.D. After his return he was made a Viscount. He died in 1856 A.D.³

Private Letters of Sir Henry Hardinge

Private letters of Sir Henry Hardinge are available at various places. Some of his letters addressed to Sir Robert Peel have seen light of the day as C.S. Parker writes in the Preface of his book entitled *Sir Robert Peel : A Third Correspondence of Singular Interest with Hardinge*. It exhibits two devoted friends, soldiers and civilian, separated by many thousand miles, each playing the chief part in desperate but victorious context, the one with foe abroad and the other with faction at home, yet finding time to watch with warmest sympathy the other's fortunes and exchange assurances of internal confidence and unalterable affection.⁴

The private and public correspondence of Sir (later Lord) Henry Hardinge, Governor General of India (1844–48 AD) relating to the Punjab can be categorised in the following way :

- i) Hardinge's private correspondence with Lord Ellenborough from September 1844 to June 1846 in Ellenborough Papers, preserved in the Public Records Office, London (No. PRO 30/12 (21/7);
- ii) Hardinge's private correspondence with Sir John Hobhouse (June 1846–February 1848), preserved in the British Library and Museum (Broughton Papers, MS No. 36475);
- iii) Official papers and despatches relating to the First Anglo-Sikh War published in London in 1846 under the title THE WAR IN INDIA, Despatches of Viscount Hardinge, Lord Gough, Henry Smith and Other Documents Comprising the Engagements of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Alival and Sabraon.

Hardinge's public despatches and official correspondence relating to the Punjab affairs are contained in the Blue Books : XXI, 1846 – Hostilities on the North–Western Frontiers of India; and XLI, 1847 – Papers Relating to the Articles of Agreement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar.

Ellenborough Papers, comprising Hardinge's private correspondence with Lord Ellenborough (1844–46), throw light on events leading to the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845–46. These documents provide information relating especially to the political conditions of Lahore during the prime-ministerships of Hira Singh and Jawahar Singh; Gulab Singh's overtures to the English; the march of the Khalsa army on Jammu for his chastisement; and the movement of British troops to Ferozpur, Ludhiana and Ambala.

Hardinge's private correspondence with Sir John Hobhouse, President of Board of Control, deals with the Peace Settlement after the Anglo-Sikh war and presents justification of his policy after the Treaty of Bhairawal. Hardinge defends his avoidance of the annexation of the Punjab in favour of a set-up which tightened the grip of the English over the Punjab without adding to their responsibility.¹

The book in hand deals with Hardinge Family Papers, Penshurst (Kent) compiled in 1850 by Emily Hardinge and styled as Helen Lady Hardinge's collection. Hardinge Family Papers contain

Hardinge's letters to his wife and relations and friends in England. These repeat some of the common myths, such as that Rani Jindan, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's widow, was a desperate woman who, fearful of the temper of the Khalsa army, sent it across the Sutlej to its destruction and that a 60,000 strong Sikh army, with 150 guns, invested Ferozpur, the ultimate concentration point of British troops for a war with the Sikhs.⁶

In order to justify British aggressive policy towards the Lahore kingdom, Lord Hardinge was wrongly blaming Rani Jindan. His contemporary Major Carmichael Smyth (Major in Third Bengal Light Cavalry) writes, "We have been told that the Sikhs violated the treaty by crossing the river with their army, but the question.... I only ask, had we not departed from the rules of friendship first? The year before war broke out, we kept the island between Ferozpur and the Punjab, though it belonged to the Sikhs..... Regarding the Punjab war, I am neither of the opinion that the Sikhs made an unprovoked attack or that we have acted towards them with great forbearance. If the Sikhs were to be considered entirely an independent state in no way answerable to us, we should not have provoked them, for to assert that bridge of boats brought from Bombay was not a *casus belli* but merely a defensive measure is absurd, besides the Sikhs have translations of Sir Charles Napier's speech as it appeared in the Delhi Gazette – an Anglo Indian paper, stating that 'If they (the robbers of Scinde) were left undisturbed while Scinde was quiet, they would become turbulent and troublesome when the British army was called on to move into the Punjab.' The Sikhs thought it well to be the first in the field. Moreover, they were not encamped in our territory but their own."⁷

That the British had been preparing in advance for such an eventuality is further proved from the following facts. Till 1838, Ludhiana was the only cantonment of the British near the Lahore frontier with only 3,000 men and 12 cannons. By the end of 1838 Ferozpur had been converted into a British cantonment with 5,000 men and 12 cannons. Cantonments were also established by the British at Ambala, Kasauli and Simla, and 14,000 European troops and 48 cannons were stationed there. After his arrival in India; Lord Hardinge further increased the strength of his forces in these

cantonments by 22,000 men and 28 cannons, while just before the First Sikh War, their total strength was increased to 44,000 men and 100 cannons.⁸ The Sikhs never denied the right of the English to make military arrangements as they pleased for the security of their own territories, but this concentration of British forces on the Sikh borders for no apparent reason was posing a great threat to the Lahore Durbar. To increase the apprehension of the Lahore Durbar many prominent British Officers had for long proposed the dismemberment of the Lahore Kingdom. Sir William Macnaughten proposed to break up the kingdom by bestowing Peshawar on Shah Shuja when the line of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was said to have come to an end with the death of Nau Nihal Singh, his grandson. Earlier it had been the desire of Sir Alexander Burnes to bestow the same tract of Lahore territory on Dost Mohammad Khan. Again during 1844 and 1845, the facts were whispered abroad and treasured up that the English were preparing boats at Bombay to make bridges across the Sutlej, that troops in Sind were being equipped for a march on Multan and that the various garrisons of the North-West provinces were being gradually reinforced while some of them were abundantly supplied with the munitions of war as well as with the troops. None of these things were communicated to the Sikh government but they were nevertheless believed by all parties, and they were held to denote a campaign not of defence but of aggression.⁹ Cunningham rightly concluded by saying that further inquiry will show that the policy pursued by the English themselves for several years was not in reality well calculated to ensure a continuance of pacific relations and they cannot, therefore, be held wholly blameless for a war which they expected and deprecated and which they knew could only end to their own aggrandizement.¹⁰ Lord Ellenborough who had been president of the Board of Trade and Board of Control had perceived that it would be possible to take over Ranjit Singh's dominion by the end of 1845.¹¹

The private letters of Sir Henry Hardinge relating to the First Sikh War are very important as these reveal the true working of his mind. He has not admitted his secret deal with Raja Gulab Singh anywhere else except in a letter to his wife, dated 2nd February, 1846 – a week before the battle of Sabraon, viz; 10th February 1846. He

writes, "I have a communication from Raja Gulab Singh which may lead to overtures for an agreement, he is to be made a minister and says he is ready to do whatever we like to order. I am obliged to be very cold and haughty, but I propose to allow him to come here to propose terms and make a beginning."¹² It may be noted that Captain J.D. Cunningham, the famous author of the '*History of the Sikhs*' was the first person who mentioned this agreement and he was heavily punished for leaking out this official secret. According to this secret understanding with Raja Gulab Singh, the following terms were agreed :

- i) the Sikh army should be attacked by the British army;
- ii) after being defeated, it should be abandoned by its own government;
- iii) passage of the Sutlej should be unopposed and road to the capital laid open to the victor.¹³

A year before, Raja Gulab Singh had been in correspondence with Sir Henry Hardinge and persuaded him to conquer Punjab. Sir Henry himself admitted this fact in a letter written to Lord Ellenborough. This letter is dated February 20, 1845 and had been written from Calcutta. Sir Henry writes, "Gulab Singh has again written to us, delighted to enter into terms with us. The first overture was a voluntary offer of his own through a confidential emissary. The letter I now allude to is in answer to the intrigue of a French man, Mons. dest. Amand, a great scamp, who took into his head to go to Jummo from Loodiana..." The Raja's letter by his own emissary had been previously received and rejected.¹⁴ In another letter dated 8th September, 1845, Sir Henry writes to Sir Robert Peel : "Major Broadfoot reports that the state of anarchy and fear at Lahore is such that the most 'influential chiefs' desire our interference and in his despatch he specifies their terms ... But the case now brought forward by Major Broadfoot is on the supposition that Sikh Government cannot be maintained."¹⁵ Here no name of the Sikh chief or chiefs has been mentioned, but 'influential chiefs' meant none else but Raja Gulab Singh.

In his correspondence to his wife preserved at Penshurst we find the name of Raja Gulab Singh occurring several times. In a letter dated 3rd December, 1845 before the commencement of hostilities

he writes, "Another competitor for power, Raja Gulab Singh is encouraging every kind of dissension adverse to Ranee's power. The troops are for the most part favourable to his pretensions." Writing just after the battle of Sabraon he stated on 19th February, 1846, "Well – I have the ablest scoundrel in all Asia close to my camp, the Wazir R. Golab Singh — a good looking, clever-eyed man of about 50 and yesterday he brought the little maharaja to my Durbar tent to make his submission and pay tribute." On the first of March, he wrote, "I cannot say whether my policy in dealing with the Sikh nation will be approved or not.... I have punished the Sikhs for their unprovoked aggression upon us by stripping them of 1/3 of their territory and making it over to a Rajput who is to be independent of them."¹⁶ Again he wrote to his wife on the 2nd March, "The man whom I have to deal with, Golab Singh, is the greatest rascal in Asia. Unfortunately, it is necessary to improve his condition, because he did not participate in the war against us and territories touching ours, we can protect him without inconvenience and give him a slice of Sikh territory, which balances his strength in some degree against their and as he is geographically our ally, I must forget he is a rascal and treat him better than he deserves."¹⁷

Henry Hardinge's eldest son and his Private Secretary, Charles Steward Hardinge who was himself present during the war, subsequently described the heavy loss suffered by the British army: "The battle of Ferozshah disclosed horrible mutilation amongst the British officers and men who had fallen into the enemy's hands". At another place he writes: "Never perhaps was so obstinate a contest carried on to an end, never before was such cohesion displayed in the ranks of Khalsa army."¹⁸

Perhaps Sir Henry was the first person who initiated a policy of communal poise in the Punjab. He gave Raja Gulab Singh Kashmir and wanted the Sikh army of Lahore Durbar to fight the Muslim tribes in the North-Western Frontier. He clearly stated that "... the native states kept up in these frontier countries ought to be Hindu, to act as our advanced guard of Mohammedan tribes who have for ages invaded India by this way of Lahore..."¹⁹

This policy of communal poise pitting one community against the other was openly followed by many British statesmen later on.

Since these letters were mostly written during the war, in some of the letters he disclosed to his wife the war strategy that he was following. February 10, 1846 was fixed for the battle which is subsequently known as battle of Sabraon. He explained to his wife in a letter, "On the 7th and 8th guns and ammunition arrived from the rear and the force under Sir Harry Smith which had been detached to Loodiana and had defeated the enemy returned to the camp on the 8th. On the 10th we determined to attack the enemy."²⁰ What happened on the 10th February, has been given in a nutshell in another letter : "We first commanded it for two hours and then let loose our brave infantry and in 2 hours we had gained the camp, destroyed the enemy and captured 67 pieces of artillery."²¹

Lord Charles Hardinge of Penshurst, the Viceroy of India 1910-16 A.D. was son of Charles Steward, second Viscount (1822-1894 A.D.) who was the eldest son of Lord Henry Hardinge Governor-General of India (1844-48). Charles Stewart served India as Private Secretary of the Governor and had fought the first Sikh War 1845-46 alongwith his father. His son Baron Charles Hardinge was born in 1858, joined service in 1880, served as Viceroy of India 1910-16 and died in 1944 A.D.

Lord Hardinge of Penshurst had recorded his own reminiscences of his life in a book entitled *OLD DIPLOMACY* from 1880 to 1922 A.D. His second book "*My Indian Years*" covers 1910-16 period of his Viceroyalty. He relates in his own words his views and experiences of those eventful times. In this book he refers to the places in the Punjab associated with his grandfather. He mentioned with warmth the places like Mudki and Ferozshah where his grandfather and father had fought against the Sikhs. He writes "From Delhi I visited my grandfather's battlefield in the Punjab in particular Moudkee and Ferozshahur. At the later place I had a great reception by the Sikhs". He said that his grandfather Lord Viscount Hardinge, Governor General, had bestowed upon the Sikhs the peace, security and civilization which had hitherto been denied to them."²²

About the Ghadar Movement in Punjab, he has noted the following. It is important to mention here that Defence of India Act was primarily passed for the Ghadrates who came from USA to free the country during the First World War. The Viceroy observed : "The

two provinces of India that created anxiety owing to the unrest that prevailed were Bengal and the Punjab, the former largely owing to the weakness of the provincial government, and the latter owing to the arrival and incursion of 700 Sikh revolutionaries from America. The government of Punjab succeeded in arresting nearly all the Sikh leaders on their arrival in the province, while the rest who started creating disturbances in the districts were caught by the Sikh villagers and handed over to the police. At the request of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lt. Governor of the Punjab, I authorized the seizure and detention in prison, under Regulation III of 1818 of more than 300 Sikh revolutionaries and the police surveillance of a good many more."

"In view of the situation in the Punjab and Bengal, I decided to introduce a law on the lines of the English Act for the Defence of the Realm, so as to make it easier to cope with crime in those two provinces. This was done and a far more drastic Act than DORA her English sister was submitted to the Legislative Assembly, which was passed with two trifling amendments."²³

Another place he has mentioned the revolutionary movement in Punjab. He observes :

"In fact, during 1915, there were also the conspiracies of Delhi and Lahore : the efforts made by revolutionary agitators to undermine the loyalty of the Indian troops, the return to India of the Sikh revolutionaries and the action taken against them, and finally the German conspiracy to organize rebellion in Bengal and elsewhere which was successfully scotched by the arrest of the ringleaders ten days before the plan was to mature."²⁴

LETTERS OF LORD HARDINGE OF PENSHURST

In the Private Papers of Lord Hardinge there are two types of letters : Firstly letters addressed by Governors and Lt. Governors of different Provinces and the members of the Viceroy's Council. At places, these letters have been addressed to the Private Secretary of the Viceroy but mostly these have been addressed to the Viceroy by name and marked confidential or private. Secondly, Viceroy's replies to the various kinds of letters noted above. At places, the Viceroy had taken initiative in starting correspondence. These papers are bound in several volumes. The volume Nos. 81, 82, 83 and 84 contain references to the Punjab affairs and throw a fresh light on

the various issues connected with political and social history.

The private letters of Viceroy Hardinge, covers a very wide range of subjects. Aga Khan's visit and his demands holding of Durbar in Lahore Fort, Raja Ganga Singh's letter referring to various Indian princes, Sir Jogindera Singh's letter relating to rural uplift etc. Lt. Governor of Punjab Louis Dane's raising of the question of *Jhatka* meat etc.

The Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge 1910-16 has been known for reversal of Lord Curzon's unpopular partition of Bengal, transfer of capital of India from Calcutta to New Delhi and revival of nationalist movement. During his state entry into New Delhi in 1912, he was wounded by a bomb. His private letters throw new light on the life of Lala Lajpat Rai and how he was chased everywhere.

A letter dated July 22, 1911 (addressed to Lord Hardinge by Mr. J. L. Henkins, member of the Viceroy's Council, proves that there were Britishers who admired Lala Lajpat Rai. One such gentleman was Mr. Mackarness who wrote to the Secretary of State for India against the prosecution of Lala Lajpat Rai and harassment of some Indian officials who had travelled with him. This set the ball rolling and the Punjab Government was instructed to prepare a note on the activities of Lala Lajpat Rai.

The note prepared by the Punjab Government was sent to the Viceroy through the Home Member of the Viceroy's council. Its opening sentences are: "Lala Lajpat Rai is by no means harmless philanthropist that Mr. Mackarness apparently believes him to be. He was described in the telegram from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State dated 8th May 1907 as a 'revolutionary and political enthusiast inspired by the most intense hatred of the British Government.'"²³

After making this general statement, the note gives instances to prove it. The report of his speech on December 13, 1905 is quoted in the following words : "Youngmen, your blood is hot, the tree of the nation calls for blood. It is watered with blood. The writing in heaven concerning the intellectual idea of Indian nation appears to have been inscribed in blood. The memory of your martyrdom will remain. The foundations of building have Khinger (a kind of overburnt brick) thrown into them to make them strong. Let us throw ourselves

with the foundations of the national edifice to serve the purpose of "*Khinger*." ²⁶

Quotations from Lala Lajpat Rai's correspondence with Bhai Parmanand were given wherein he advised the latter to supply revolutionary literature to Indian students which would lead to solid results. Lalaji had also expressed fear lest the outburst might be premature. ²⁷

The note gives us entirely different interpretation of his valuable services during the famine relief work in UP. It is stated there: "His efforts for the relief of famine in the United Province were inspired not by philanthropy but by hatred of the British and of the Christian religion. As he said himself, he feared lest the heart of the people should be drawn to the British officers and missionaries who were engaged in the relief of the famine-stricken unless something was done to prevent it." ²⁸

The note ends with the following words : "In fact, whatever Lajpat Rai may be now, there is not the slightest doubt that he has been a dangerous conspirator, responsible for much trouble and the crime by which India has been disturbed during the past few years." ²⁹

It is significant how Government officials were harassed by the British Government for talking to or meeting Congress leaders. On April 22, 1911 Lala Lajpat Rai visited Gurdaspur. At that time one Sansar Chand was appointed there as a District Judge. When Lalaji was returning from Gurdaspur, the District Judge accompanied Lalaji in the station and travelled with him for sometime. Similar were the reports regarding the Civil Surgeon of Hoshiarpur district and Munsif and a Clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's Office. All were asked to explain their conduct and were given a warning. But the District Judge's promotion was withheld and he was asked to apologise. ³⁰

However, Mr. Jenkin's note defends the government action. He writes : "The transfer of the District Judge, Rai Bahadur Sansar Chand from Gurdaspur had nothing whatever to do with Lajpat Rai's visit to the place. On April 11, eleven days before the visit the Deputy Commissioner wrote to the Chief Court recommending that Rai Bahadur Sansar Chand should be vested with higher powers, in order that the work of the District might be adequately dealt with. The Chief

Court did not consider him fit for the higher powers and arranged to appoint a more capable District Judge to the place, transferring Rai Bahadur Sansar Chand to another district."³¹

Mr. Jenkin's note gives a vivid description of some of the companions of Lalaji. It is stated there: "As a rule Lajpat Rai was more careful in his utterances, but his Lieutenant, Ajit Singh, was more outspoken and his speeches teem with exhortations to rise and slaughter the British oppressors."

At another place it is written: "His associates were Sunder Lal, who was convicted in the anti-European riots in the Punjab and Hardayal, one of the most notorious of the gang of conspirators and plotters of assassination established in Europe."³²

On account of awakening among the Sikhs and under the influence of Singh Sabha Movement the Sikhs insisted on *Jhatka* meat, viz., goat or sheep killed in Sikh way. The Viceroy wrote to Sir Louis Dane Lt. Governor of Punjab in his letter dated August 28, 1911: "A Sikh of some importance, who was the leader of the Sikh deputation to me at Lahore, came to see me the other day and complained that at the boarding houses at Lahore, the Mohammedans do not allow the Sikhs to have '*Jhatka*' killed meat. He asked me to get this remedied. I imagine by boarding houses he means the University. Will you kindly ask somebody to look into this matter."³³ In reply, Lt. Governor of the Punjab wrote, the next day, "I will find out if there is any special trouble about *Jhatka* meat at Lahore at present ... *Jhatka* meat is the meat of sheep or goats killed by being beheaded. Mohammedans cannot eat it, as it has not been killed in the name of God and they regard it as impure. Up till recently there was no question of allowing it in the boarding houses of schools and colleges and Sikhs and Hindus eat *halal* meat without demur. Within the last five years the neo Sikhs whose leading man is Sardar Sunder Singh have started an outcry for the use of *Jhatka* in the boarding houses, and the Hindus against the Mohammedans. Our general rule in dealing with questions of kine slaughter and *Jhatka* is not to allow any innovation, and as *Jhatka* had never been used in boarding houses, it is not ordinarily allowed. We have of late stretched a point, where there is real demand for *Jhatka*, where the space admits of this we have allowed separate kitchens for *Jhatka* cooking, provided that

the innovators are prepared to pay the cost of constructing such kitchens. More than this I do not think that we can well do though every case is carefully considered on its merits and general rules are not laid down as this is dangerous. I am afraid that much of the present agitation for *Jhatka* is *pour embeter les* Muslims, and in the Punjab where the Mohammedans form 53 per cent of the population this is a dangerous game. Perhaps your Excellency would refer your petitioner to me and I will have full enquiry made into this case."³⁴ The Viceroy does not appear to have taken any further action in this matter.

The Viceroy Hardinge was perhaps one of the few British statesmen who did not believe in communal balances and counter-balances. He reversed the policy of Lord Curzon who had partitioned Bengal to create a Muslim province of East Bengal. He wrote to Sir Ganga Singh of Bikaner in his letter dated 19th December, 1910 : "I am aware that the Mohammedans have been somewhat agitated by my speech at Bombay to the deputation of their co-religionists who presented me with an address, but I adhere to every word that concessions and special privileges to one class can only produce rancour and hostility among others and that is the very last result that I desire to achieve. It is a matter of sincere regret to me that there is at present so much hostility in the Punjab between the Hindus and Mohammedans and I only wish I could see way to removing it. I am afraid that this case only be done with time, but I devoutly hope that the time will be short and that friendly relations which hitherto existed will soon be restored."³⁵

Before Viceroy's visit to Lahore and proposed Durbar to be held in the Lahore Fort (Sir Louis Dane) Lt. Governor of the Punjab wrote to the Viceroy in a letter dated 13th March, 1911, "It is proposed to hold the Durbar in the Sish Mahal in the Fort where your grand father had two meetings with Maharaja Dalip Singh and Sikhs in January 1846. They have the account of these in the Foreign Department. I have ascertained that the Sikhs would not resent such a Durbar."³⁶ Here it may be pointed out that Henry Hardinge could not have met Maharaja Dalip Singh at Lahore before 10th February, 1846 when the battle of Sabraon was fought after which the British forces marched towards Lahore. Henry Hardinge came to Lahore

after 10th February. So the meeting with Maharaja was held in February, 1846 and not in January 1846 as mentioned in this letter.

In the same letter Lt. Governor wrote : "The Durbar will be held in the evening as it will be cooler and the light suits better. It was suggested that on returning from the Durbar your excellency might like to pass through the old city with the chiefs on elephants and rejoin your carriage at the Delhi gate. Lord Minto did this and was much interested. The Indian ladies all turn out and it is a pretty sight which cannot be matched elsewhere."¹⁷

In a letter marked private the Governor of Bombay (Sir George Sydenham) wrote to Lord Hardinge on January 22, 1911 regarding Sant Nihal Singh, a well known journalist (who was the elder brother of late Gurmukh Nihal Singh – ex-Governor of Rajasthan in Independent India. Sant Nihal Singh and Gurmukh Nihal Singh were the sons of Nihal Singh of district Rawalpindi (now in West Punjab – Pakistan). Sir George wrote : "The man who calls himself Sant Nihal Singh came to me with a recommendation from Dunlop Smith and I, therefore, did what I could for him though he did not impress me at all favourably. It now appears that he has written much dangerous nonsense and his connection with American papers may enable him to do a good deal of harm. I have no doubt that you will inform India Office this man's antecedents, so I will do nothing in this matter."¹⁸ What action the Viceroy took in this connection is not known from these papers.

The Private Papers of Hardinge indicate that the Viceroy took lot of interest in Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala (1900–1937). He has been referred to in about half dozen letters. In an intimate letter addressed to the Viceroy, B.M. Malabari wrote regarding Maharaja of Patiala in his letter dated 14th May, 1911 : "Your interest in the former (Patiala Chief) is likely to give a new turn to his life and to the lifeless administration of which he is the head. The boy was Punjab's forlorn hope till within the last two years when Dunlop Smith interested me in his behalf. It was an incredibly sad tale. Lord Lansdowne had told me something years ago about the boy's father which has helped me to keep him straight so far. Ganga Singh of Bikaner also told me of your interest in the young Sikh who could not have a better guide during his trip to Europe. Dholpur has gone

the same way – and old Nabha and others are already said to be at work to provide his heir with 'wives'. Cannot government save these little chaps from a much married existence which spells their ruin body and soul ?"³⁹

The Viceroy appears to have instructed Maharaja of Bikaner (Sir Ganga Singh) to look after the young Maharaja Bhupinder Singh. Sir Ganga Singh wrote him in a letter dated 6th May, 1911: "I beg to assure you I will do my best for Patiala. I had not forgotten Your Excellency's expressed wishes in Calcutta about Patiala, but last cold weather we could not fix up a meeting owing to my indispositions. However, he dined with me last night and we have agreed to pay visits to each other in the cold weather and I shall do all I can for him."⁴⁰ In a personal letter dated 24th August 1912, Maharaja Patiala wrote, "I beg to assure you again that it is my earnest wish to do all that I can to please you in every way, and I thank you from bottom of my heart for all the interest you take in me and here I may be permitted to say that I have powerful enemies both in the state and outside who have an organised system of misrepresentation and I have to request your Excellency not to give credit to all the rumours that may float across. I depend entirely on your support and I hope you won't forsake me."⁴¹ Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner informed the Viceroy, "I feel convinced that he (Maharaja Patiala) is a good sort and means very well and although he might (and probably did) at the outset, and in the extreme youth have given his ill-wishes and enemies a lever, I fear he has for the most part been more victim of intrigues, being alas, only too common amongst some of our state officials."⁴²

Since Lord Hardinge had shifted the Capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi and unified East and West Bengal, Lt. Governor of the Punjab Louis Dane, wrote to the Viceroy in his letter dated 20th December 1911: "As your Excellency is thinking imperially, you may perhaps wish to complete the readjustment of the map of India on which your Government has embarked... Baroda used to be under Bombay. It came under the Government of India after the attempted murder of the Resident, Colonel Phayre. The Foreign Department has never been able to control Baroda without identifying on Bombay for the service of two or three officers as the state is not compact block, but is scattered over Gujarat and Kathiawar. This seems rather

a suitable opportunity to restore Baroda to the Governor of Bombay who is in the best position to control the Durbar. With these additions Bombay would be unduly large. If the Punjab is to lose Delhi as well as Kashmir and the North Western Province, even our regenerative power may be unequal to make good the loss of our commercial capital ... Why not take this opportunity of uniting Punjab with port Karachi. The present arrangement caused much inconveniences. Suits are brought to the harassment of merchants in the province in which the defendant does not live. Friction is already beginning about the division of supply of water for irrigation and when the big Sukker Canals are started this will become acute unless both provinces are under the same government. Besides Sind has to depend on us largely for cultivations. Karachi, as your Excellency knows exists almost entirely on the Punjab trade, and it will never really develop until it is freed from Bombay. In 1878 the Union was decided and the draft notification was ready. It was the murder of Cavagnari that stopped the issue.

"This at any rate is the scheme that Sir Denzil Ibbetson and I favoured in 1906-07 and so I venture to bring it to your Excellency's attention."⁴¹

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**LETTERS FROM LORD HARDINGE AND
HIS SONS DURING THEIR RESIDENCE
IN INDIA**

Camp Umballa,
Dec., 3rd, 1845

My Dearest Wife,

During the last few days, we have had reports that the Ranee, the mother of the Maharaja of the Punjab¹, in despair at the state of affairs, and in fear of her own life from the ferocity of the troops (but above all anxious to save the life of her lover Lal Sing², whom she had appointed her Minister) had been using all her exertions to induce the army from Lahore to move down upon our advanced stations and invade our provinces³. Thus our ally and friend is

1. This refers to Rani Jind Kaur, the youngest wife of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799–1839 A.D.) and mother of Maharaja Dalip Singh, the ruler of Lahore Durbar (1843–49). In 1843 Lord Ellenborough, predecessor of Sir Henry Hardinge wrote to Duke of Wellington "The mother of the boy Dalip Singh to be a woman of determined courage" (Private correspondence relating to Anglo-Sikh War p. 464). This view was supported by Lord Dalhousie who described her as the only person having manly understanding in Punjab, op. cited, p. 66).
2. Lal Singh was son of Jassa Missar who had been employed in accounts of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. After the death of Jassa Missar, his son Lal Singh was appointed as Keeper of Cash and Property. After the death of Dhian Singh he was made the Chief Treasurer. Hira Singh during his Prime Ministership gave him the title of "Raja". Later on he became the favourite adviser of Rani Jind Kaur (see *Reigning Family of Lahore* for details.)
3. Regarding Rani Jindan, it was rumoured by the British that she had persuaded the Sikh army to cross Sutlej which is incorrect. The correct position is that the Sikh army of Lahore Durbar was clamouring for more pay. Since the treasury was almost empty, Jind Kaur addressed the army leaders and told them that a soldier in Lahore Durbar was getting more pay as compared to the salary paid by the East India Company. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, every new ruler has been giving an increment without adding to the sources. She asked the army to add to the sources by acquiring more territory so that they may have more salary. Moreover, Rani Jind Kaur was always hesitant to allow Sikh army to cross the Sutlej. But the pro-British courtiers led by Raja Gulab Singh and Bhai Ram Singh were pressurising the Rani to allow the troops to "move forward". After long deliberations with Raja Gulab Singh, she agreed. (Punjab Pioneer Freedom Fighters, p. 63).

endeavouring to cause the destruction of her own army in desperate expectation of saving her own life.⁴

Another competitor for power, Raja Golab Singh⁵, is encouraging every kind of dissension adverse to the Ranee's power. The troops are for the most part favourable to his pretensions. I feel pretty confident they will not be so rash as to move across the river, I have not allowed a man to move from our cantonments, and in a few days I expect that the troops being tired of camp, and sighing for the grog shops of Lahore (for the Sikhs are great drunkards) will move back probably terminating their foolish enterprise by the assassination of some unpopular general. I like this climate as well as that of Spain. The boys are in rude health. Charles better than I have seen him since he left England. We had a dinner in the large tent yesterday : Sir Hugh Gough⁶ and the civil and military authorities honoured the party. He is a fine soldier-like looking man and Lady Gough sensible and clever and I think we shall always get on well, as long as we are together. I have been incessantly writing since 5 of

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4. It has been admitted by the contemporary British writers like G. Carmichael Smyth and J.D. Cunningham that the British had been following an aggressive policy towards Lahore Durbar and they were first to violate the treaty of friendship of 1809. (For details see the Introduction).
 5. Raja Gulab Singh was the eldest of the Jammu brothers. Other two brothers were Raja Dhian Singh and Raja Suchet Singh. Raja Dhian Singh's son Hira Singh had been the favourite of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. After the death of Raja Dhian Singh, Hira Singh became the Prime Minister of Lahore Kingdom during the year 1844. Gulab Singh had joined the services of Maharaja Ranjit Singh as a soldier and rose to power in due course of time. He was the most powerful courtier after the death of the Maharaja as he had consolidated his territories in the Jammu region. Being a shrewd politician, he had come to understanding with Col. Lawrence who had given him assurance on behalf of British Govt. as early as Jan. 1842 that in case of dismemberment of the Sikh kingdom, he would be permitted to retain his present possessions (Prof. Sita Ram Kohli's Foreword to *"The Punjab on the Eve of Sikh War"* by Dr. Hari Ram Gupta. He had no interest in Lahore Durbar except to safeguard his territory. On the other hand, the rulers in Lahore Durbar wanted the territories of Raja Dhian Singh, Suchet Singh and Hira Singh who had died and according to Law of Escheat, prevalent in the Kingdom of Lahore, all these territories were to be lapsed to the State. Raja Gulab Singh had consolidated all these territories with his own possessions and he did not want to part with these. He wanted to retain them at all costs with the help of British.
 6. Sir Hugh Gough had been appointed the Commander-in-Chief.

the yesterday. I with a few hours sleep having a great variety of details on my hands in consequence of this Sikh folly, which on the way of presentation is as troublesome as if we were at War. I have a leave in an hour another despatch to write as the information comes in and I must therefore, make the boys write and I should be interrupted, which I am at every moment. Pray till coming home how I am situated. On the 6th I shall continue my march towards Ferozpur. The Commander-in-Chief remaining here and be very glad when the suspense caused by these foolish amusement is at an end. I rather think I must send the Delhi scarfs and a few trinkets to Walter as I cannot collect them for a month and before they reach London, you could be on your way from Nice. I am nearly as strong as in Spain, so bracing is this air, we don't omit our gratitude to God for these blessings, but we have at last got a Captain in the Camp. And I shall halt every Sunday to write to Mrs. Somerset and Her Majesty and to Peel and a Vol. to Lord Ripon – he supports me very cordially, and I am glad Lord Molcon is at the office, I have now, dearest, to write to the Chairman and if I go on writing to you, I fear I shall neglect him, I feel satisfied you will approve of the sacrifices I make, but I have really had so much to do the last 3 days that if had not been very strong, I must have given in. Love to Emily, alas, you have lost the others, but I am sure from your discernment, you have acted judiciously for their happiness and that is the main point.

Yours affectionately,

H.H.

II

Camp Umballa,
Dec., 4th, 1845.

My Dearest Mother,

I have just time to write to you a few lines before the mail goes out as we have all been very much occupied with the Punjab affairs, Mr. H has, no doubt, given you an honest account of all that has taken place and that although, the aspect of affairs is menacing,

there are still strong grounds for his adhering to his former opinion that no aggressive movement will take place, the present Govt. at Lahore is on its last legs and what we all expect that the Regent¹ and her party will be murdered. That Golab Singh, the only Chief who has any chance of being able to carry on the Govt. will be called in to take their place, that the revenue will then be regularly collected, which it has not been for several months, and that the soldiers will receive their pay as usual². This is all the latter wants, those that have received it have gone away contented, and the men who are urging the Regent and her Party to advance against us, are the discontented rabble who have not received pay. The Regent only consented to allow the troops to advance against the English to save their own life and life of her lover³. The soldiers hesitated, for some time, in consequence of the astrologers declaring that the day fixed was an inauspicious one. In spite of their predictions, they have marched 1200 men nearly half way between Lahore and our frontier and each account brings us news of an addition to their force. Our political agent has demanded an explanation of this Movement, and in consequence of the Durbar having sent no reply, the Vakeel or envoy from their Durbar has been dismissed. Sir H.'s impression is that when they find that we take no notice of their hostile movements, further than by asking for explanations, they will retrace their steps, under the heads of the existing govt. and bring on Golab Singh, the uncle of the young king. But this is only speculation. Sir Henry found the commissariat arrangements very defective. Sir Hugh Gough had really done nothing. In anticipation of our Frontiers being attacked and the plan of operations, which he laid before Sir Henry was anything but a good one. He is not the man to have charge of a large Force. My father is remarkably well, although all these matters must, of course, keep him in continual hot weather. The climate at this season in the upper province is so far superior to that of Calcutta, that it braces you up for the time and you find, you are able to go

1. This refers to Rani Jind Kaur.
2. Before the commencement of war, the British Govt. expected that Raja Gulab Singh would take over the administration of Lahore Durbar and work under the direction of the British.
3. This is the repetition. Already discussed in connection with letter no. 1. Here it refers to Lal Singh.

through more work and take more exercise, he takes his ride every morning and looks as vigorous and as energetic as ever. Ben is quite well and as amusing as ever. The Commander-in-Chief is pitched close to our Camp and the large force collected here extends for several miles in different directions. We gave a dinner of 80 yesterday to Sir H. Gough and today he returned the compliment. Lady Sale and her party are here and are always bothering me to know if we are going to have what she calls a scrimmage with the Sikhs. Lady Gough looks a very respectable Housekeeper but is a clever woman and Sir Hugh is a fine specimen of a soldier but nothing more. Then there are a host of women, also follow in their train, some pleasant, others the reverse. The country about here is a desert. Here is nothing to sketch expect figures, which are picturesque in the extreme. I enjoy the camp life amazingly and now that we are on the Frontiers and that every post brings news more or less exciting, it keeps one on the "querries" continually. In this climate, you cannot exist without some kind of mental excitement which act as a tonic to the system. Tell Fanny, I am very much annoyed not to write to her, but I must let a mail depart without giving you a Maharani's¹ resolution.

Love to all,

Your devoted son,
C.S. Hardinge²

This resolution
Charles religiously
kept.

1. This refers to Maharani Jind Kaur.

2. Charles Stewart Hardinge (1822-94) who later on became second Viscount, was the eldest son of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor General of India 1847-48. Born in 1822 he was serving as Private Secretary to his father for the whole time the latter was Governor General in India. He is author of two books, *Reflections of India*, published from his drawings, later on he wrote life of his father for "Rulers of India" series.

LETTERS AND NOTES OF CHARLES RELATING TO MILITARY
SITUATION CAMP 20 MILES FROM LOODIANAH ON THE
SUTLEJ : DEC. 13TH

My dear Halbi,

Since I last wrote to you we have all been on hot water, and everything now gives note of 'deadly prevention'. In my last letter, I told you that no answer had been sent to the letter of remonstrance despatched by our Political Agent in consequence of the order given to the Lahore troops to advance. Upto that time our actual hostile demonstration had taken place although everyone saw that the storm was gathering and the only event that could possibly prevent a collision was the murder of the present Government and the establishment of a new Government at Lahore. Each day past had brought us news, which has prepared us for the approaching crisis. The regular and irregular troops of the Sikhs have been moving by slow marches towards the Sutlej, but we have not withstanding reckoned on their pausing before they attempted to approach our Frontier, and strike the first blow, which they have now done at their peril. Sir Henry was walking before his tent this morning talking over matters with Major Broadfoot, the Political Agent in our protect states, when a courier leaped up bringing with him a scrap of paper sealed, which had been sent off by the Agent at Ferozepoor, and briefly stated that eight Battalions of the Sikh Army had crossed the river a little way above Ferozepoor and that the rest of the army were crossing at the time he wrote.

This had not found Sir Henry asleep on his part – for, although he did not anticipate that matter would so soon be brought to a crisis, he had been laying in supplies for the advance of the reserve and there are now assembled within 8 miles of this camp a force of 14,000 men in as fire order and discipline, as you would see any army in the world. The force has been brought up from Umballa within the last three days, consisting of two troops of Horse Artillery, 2 Light Field batteries, the Queen 3rd Light Dragoons, HH 80th and 30th Foot, 5 Native Regiments one native regiment of Regular Cavalry and one regiment of Irregular Cavalry. These regiments arrived at Umballa and looked ready and fit for any service. Sir Henry

has written over to the Commander-in-Chief's camp today to decide finally on the line of operations to be taken, which will probably be this. We shall join the commander-in-chief with our Camp, 2 Regiments of Cavalry and one of Native Infantry and march direct for Ferozepoor. Therefore, from Loodianah 7000 strong will join us half-way after having captured fort, which has threatened to oppose their advance. This will increase our number to about 18,000 men, and with this force we shall, I hope, give them good cause to repent of their territory temerity.

Yours
Charles

Camp-Dec. 16th
50 Miles from Ferozepoor.

This morning we left for last ground at 12 o'clock at night marching by moonlight to a fort, 28 miles on the Ferozepoor (27 road), when it was reported that a body of Sikhs had assembled and had given it out as their intention to stop all supplies for the advancing force. We marched with the Commander-in-Chief and Sir Henry Smith, who commands the advance Division and arrived under the walls of the Fort at 9.00 A.M. The people of the village still held out, and it was not until the Horse Artillery were drawn up on the front that they gave in and brought out grain and rice for the troops. The fort still held out and as the heavy guns are not up yet the 1st, 2nd Division will march forward tomorrow en route to Ferozepoor and owe it to the rear division to raze the fort to the ground.

We are still in the dark as to what has taken place on the Frontier. General Littler's instructions are to be on the defendant until the safety of the town require him to make a sally and with regard to the enemy's intentions, it is as yet doubtful whether they will attack him or scamper across the river again. We are in marching order and Bob and I sleep at night in a small hill tent and Arthur!

1. Arthur (1828-92) was brother of Charles. Later on he became Sir Arthur Edward Hardinge. He was the 2nd son of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor General of India (1844-48). He served as ADC to his father and participated in the battles of Mudki, Ferozshah and Sabraon.

sleeps in Sir Henry's. We have given up 300 camels and 60 elephants, which carried our immense baggage, for the use of the public service in carrying grain and ammunition. The sepoy's have been making forced marches and we are much fatigued. They have been told this morning that another day's march will probably bring them before the enemy. They answered with a cheer and said they were ready to march any distance, upto the moment Sir Henry has done everything as regards the moving of the troops and the commissariat arrangements. Gough is as gallant a soldier as ever but he does not anticipate difficulties.

Camp. Decr. 17

We are now within 37 miles of Ferozepoor. A Sepoy was brought into camp, who gave no intelligence. The enemy is 8 miles from Ferozepoor with 80,000 men. Our whole force, 18,000 men will be within 28 miles at Ferozepoor tomorrow, the 18th and on the 19th we shall fall in with and I hope make an example of these bold Sikhs. Since writing today, a letter has been brought in from General Littler who is at Ferozepoor with 10,000 men and who states that he has given up all ideas of attacking them with his forces. The odds being so much against him, he will consequently do his best to defend the town till relieved. His letter is dated the 16th (yesterday). He cannot be relieved before the 19th so that in all probability, they will attack on the 17th or 18th. The general opinion is that he can hold his own till attacked.

December 18th

We left camp this morning with the intention of marching to Moodkee, 20 miles from Ferozepoor. On arriving within about 4 miles of that place, our advanced general was attacked by a party of the Sikh Horse. These soon retreated before us leaving the village in our possession. We then heard that the Sikh Army was 10 miles off and meditating a night attack. Our men were so much exhausted by their forced marches, particularly the European troops, that a good

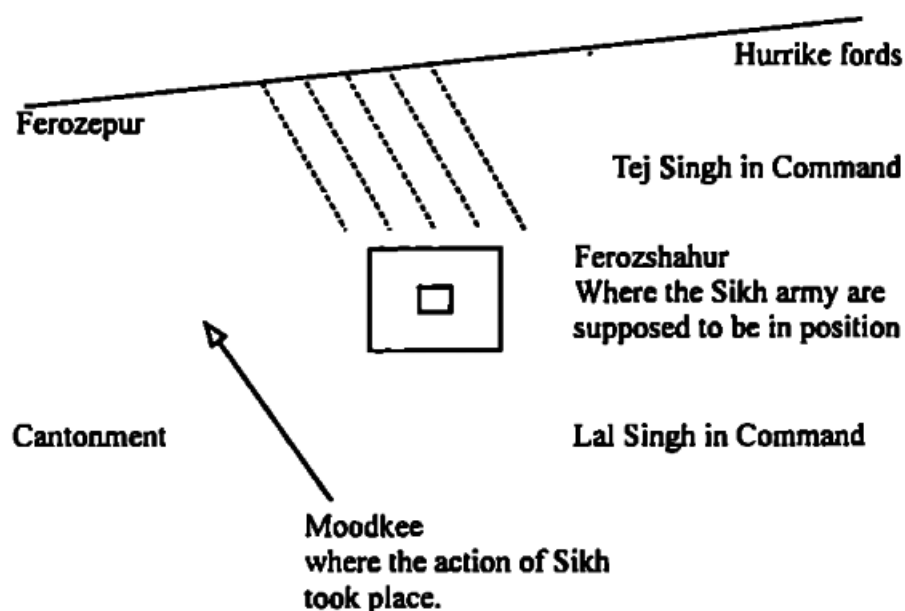
deal of confusion ensued for the time in the village. This was soon restored and the men were lying down on the ground quite knocked up when the enemy were reported to be only a mile off. The drums beat and took up arms immediately and as the news was heard first in our camp, Sir Henry mounted and rode to each regiment encouraging the men. The Commander-in-Chief very injudiciously advanced with Horse Artillery and Cavalry, unsupported by Infantry and for a moment exposing the latter to the sharp fire of the enemy's heavy guns. Very unnecessarily, they warned and this moment was a very critical one. Sir Henry saw this and opened a sharp fire on the enemy's front. Broadfoot, our political agent says this was the day and it was very necessary for Sir Henry to act in the Emergency in his own responsibility. The action commenced at 4 p.m. and at 5 the enemy gave way and as it was getting dark, our Europeans and Sepoys broke their line with a cheer, which I shall never forget. The day was now ours. The dust was so thick that we could hardly see a yard before us and we got fired at by our own men in the melee. Sir Henry has lost one aid-de-camp poor Harries. His head being completely blown to atoms. Munro on our staff is mortally wounded and Hillier, one of our ADC's has had his leg battered. Our loss has been very severe. General M.Corkill has been killed and Sir R. Sale dangerously wounded. Arthur carried an order through some very heavy fire and, thank God, escaped unhurt. At one time, the ball rattled about us so much that I thought we should have come home with broken bones. However, we luckily escaped unhurt, that is Sir Henry Bob, Arthur and myself, although horses and men were falling around us in every direction, and owing to the obscurity of the night one regiment was firing in the face of the other. We remained on the ground until midnight having ascertained that the enemy had fairly decamped and returned to camp to replenish the man and get some rest, Sir Henry is wonderfully well.

December 19th

This morning we rode out at sunrise to visit the scene of yesterday's operations. It was a sad one. Our infantry soldiers were

lying close to the Sikh guns, where they had been evidently engaged hand to hand with their artillery-men. The latter had stood to their guns nobly. In fact natives worship their guns and are known never to desert them. On the other side of this sheet, I have drawn a map of the country this side of the river and of the position which the enemy are supposed to have taken. They evidently intend to come down upon us with their whole force, and not attack Ferozepoor.

R. Sutlej



Since I have written the above, our pickets have come back with the intelligence that Sikh cavalry are in front. The drums have beat to arms. The artillery has been moved into position and so rapidly was this movement effected that in half an hour, every soldier was drawn up in line. The enemy, however, did not advance within range of our guns, but opposed in such force as it intends to compel us to be under arms the whole day till sunset when we returned to camp. You would be amused if you could see our system of barracking instead of sitting down to French dishes. The Governor General is

now seen eating sandwiches under the nearest tree, and members of his staff stopped foraging in the best way they can. We sleep in our clothes at night and as far as health is concerned, are infinitely better than we were in Calcutta.

This morning we buried poor Harries in his tent. We shall all feel his loss greatly. Today we have better to allow regiments who are coming up, to join and tomorrow we expect to be with Littler's forces and attack the Sikh Army co-jointly. This morning Sir Henry tendered his services to the Commander-in-Chief in any way he might think proper to avail himself of them and the result has been that he has been appointed second in command of the army. Gough has really done nothing upto the present moment. Since October last, he has had every facility afforded him for making arrangements in the Commission and now at the eleventh hour every thing is defective. He never thought of reinforcing the Umballa force by taking away that from Loodianah, but would have gone to the Sikhs with 10,000 men and would probably have been annihilated. Sir Henry foresaw this and ordered down the Loodianah force to effect a junction with that under the Commander-in-Chief, which, with the Ferozepoor Force, amounted only to 18,000 men. The enemy's force being estimated at 60,000 and 200 guns—some people may think that there was some delay in ordering the troops to move, but the necessity of exercising moderation to the last and of giving the Lahore Government every opportunity of altering the tone of the correspondence and made it advisable to delay the march of the troops until further delay was rashness, as it was the troops marched from Umballa before a Sikh had set his foot on the Cis-Sutlej Territory. Tomorrow we march at 4 in the morning and hope to have given an account of the Sikhs by sunset.

Camp Moodkee
Decr. 20th 1845.

Dearest Emily,

We had a sharp affair with some of the Sikh forces on the

evening of the 18th instant, we beat them back and took 17 pieces of cannon. I placed my A.D. Camp at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief and he praises our dear boy for his gallantry and intelligence. Thanks be to God he is not hurt.

We marched from Umballa on the 6th and on the 11th the army was ordered to move forward as there was every indication of the Sikhs passing the Frontier and overwhelming Ferozepoor. We arrived at this post on the 18th and shortly after we got in the enemy attempted to surprise us. We shall reach Ferozepoor tomorrow and form a junction with J. Littler, who has 10,000 men under his command. There never was a juster quarrel on a more unprovoked aggression. War has been forced upon us and we must now do our duty. I wanted, Dear Charles to retire and keep out of fire, but he said where you go, Sir, I will certainly attend you. They are very fine fellows and both much beloved. I am much fatigued, but we are in excellent spirits, all in the best of health. You have too much spirits as a soldier's wife, not to endure this anxiety with a confidence trust in the mercy of God and the reflection that those who are dearest to you are doing their duty. I will write again after tomorrow, ever my Dearest Wife, till the last hour of my existence.

Yours devoted and attached,

H.H.

December, 21

We marched at the time appointed—very cold and I must first tell you that Sir Henry had yesterday suggested to Sir Hugh the propriety of leaving our baggage at this place in the Fort with a regiment and 2 guns to protect it.

As the impediments attached to an Indian army on the march are enormous, Sir Hugh assented and the result proved that had we not done so, the consequences might have been disastrous. The brigades marched in beautiful order—left front in advance—and by

12 O'clock we had turned the enemy's position, now about 5 miles off. I rode in advance with Broadfoot some way to reconnoitre as there was a cloud of dust seen in the direction of Ferozepoor and shortly came close to what we thought were some of the enemy's vedettes before closer inspection, they turned out to be the pickets of Littler Forces. Sir John Littler came up very shortly and it was arranged that he should attack the Sikh Camp on the left while the Commander-in-Chief's force would divert on its centre. Only conceive Sir Hugh begging Sir Henry before Littler joined to allow him to attack the Sikh Army with his own force. Sir Henry positively refused. Had he given way, India would have been lost. By 3 P.M. our line was formed and at half past 3, our troops advanced steadily into action under a galling fire from the enemy's batteries. Littler, as arranged, attacking on the left. Sir Henry leading the centre—Gough the right. I remained by Sir Henry until several of the staff were wounded and the common shot was telling pretty severely among men and horses, when he desired me to retire saying that I was not in the army. I had no business to be there. I ventured to tell him that I thought he was exposing himself too much to the enemy's fire and begged to remain at his side. Broadfoot and others came up and said that my presence would distract him from his duties and begged me to leave him under these circumstances. I considered myself bound to do so, but I must say I regret that I did not disobey orders. However, I had seen the whole of our action, and as it was, I saw a good deal of this. Soon after I left Sir Henry I remained with the reserve which I had difficulty in joining as I had got under range of the enemy's guns and had several narrow escapes. Darkness soon set in and I determined to push on in advance and attempt to rejoin Sir Henry, but soon after fell in with the artillery and cavalry, who were falling back upon a village for water and who told me it would be madness to go any further. The result of the day had been that Littler had failed in the left Sir Hugh Gough had maintained his position on the right and Sir Henry's Division of the Army had carried a position of the enemy's camp and entrenchment when they were barracking for the night. I barracked with the cavalry and artillery in a village on the left and never passed a more wretched night, very cold – no water to be had ascertain what turn the affairs would take the next morning, fancying

that some of our dearest friends had fallen. All things conspired to make the night a most miserable one. I tried to sleep but the enemy's guns were playing all night on the centre division where I knew Sir Henry was posted and where owing to the darkness of the night I could not join him. In the morning I went upto the position with the Cavalry and Artillery visited at the close of the brilliant attack, which our infantry made on the Sikh Camp by which they completely wanted their capturing 90 pieces of cannons. Sir Henry had passed an equally wretched night. The Division of the army under his command had succeeded in driving the enemy from part of their entrenched camp but in doing so the camp had caught fire and had caused several miles and some of our Thumbrils to explode, by which many lives were lost on our side. Many of the officers and among them the Commander-in-Chief urged him to retire to Ferozepoor, saying if anything were to happen to the Governor General, the consequences throughout India would be fearful. Sir Henry agreed that our men were a little distance and their position critical and already started it to be his intention to attack the enemy at day break, if the Commander-in-Chief approved, determining in his own mind, or he told me afterwards, to be successful or perish in the attempt. Such noble qualities are seldom found, such conduct is unparalleled on the pages of history (it is) proved, indeed. May we be worthy of one, who I may safely say, has by his sound judgement and cool intrepidity saved India. Had it been left to the Col. than whom a gallant soldier does not exist, the result would, I fear, had been a different one. Sir Henry, I believe, intends to send you a copy of his letter to Lord Ripon. The attack at daylight may be described in a few words. Our infantry charged their guns and carried their position at every point, forming afterwards in beautiful order as at a field day. The enemy had been thrown to confusion and deserted their camp flying in much confusion. I must tell you that in the night, Bob Wood distinguished himself heading the 80th in the attack upon some guns, which were for firing upon their bitumen and which were soon taken. Bob Wood was slightly wounded in the thigh and is doing very well. Sir Henry headed the left flank of our troops and the C-in-C the right. It was a great mercy neither of them were touched as the grape and musketry told pretty severely among our men. I was not able to

join him again and reached the ground about 10 o'clock. At 11 the enemy came down and attempted to retake their camp. Our infantry were thrown out, supported by the cavalry to repel it, which movement was successful. They answered us however a good deal with their swivels which are mounted on camels and carry two or three hundred yards doing much execution. This attack was expected three times and each time was unsuccessful until the whole Sikh Force were seen to retreat in much disorder towards Sutlej and men were too much knocked up to join in the pursuit not having tasted food or had any water for 2 days so that we were obliged to remain and hold the Sikh camp. One circumstance shortly afterwards occurred which does not reflect any credit on our cavalry and artillery. Capt. Lamby, the Deputy A.G. ordered them all off to Ferozepoor on his responsibility leaving the infantry to guard the Sikh camp at Ferozeshahur quite unprotected. Had the Sikhs come down during the night, we should have been annihilated. We immediately rode off to Moodkee to have our wounded brought up with and baggage and provisions, which were very acceptable and afterwards having rolled ourselves up in hard blankets got a good night's rest. Sir Henry the next morning rode into Ferozepoor to make arrangements for the supplies and for the next four days, it was reported that the Sikh Army was in position on this side of the river and had determined to make a final stand before they crossed the river. This however, proved to be a false report. They had thrown out cavalry to support their retreat, which however, they believe that they were still in position. Now there is not a Sikh on this side of the river and today the CC is expected in Ferozepoor. The army will be distributed here and therefore the purpose of being better able to get supplies, which is no easy matter as the country has been plundered by the Sikh Army. For the last six days we have all been hard at work getting the despatches ready and I have had plenty of work at my hands. Not a Sikh now remains on this side of the river. When I reflected upon what Sir Henry has done himself alone, all men must allow that were to be done tomorrow, he would do so with the reputation of having saved India. Who ordered the Lodhiana force to march upon Bussean to join that from Umballa? Who invited the army abandoning its baggage and moving to the attack free from all impediments? Who instructed Littler to feel his way

and effect a junction with us on the 21st and who prevented the CC from attacking the Sikh camp with the Umballa force alone ? Where should we have been, had the measures not been adopted? It is quite fearful to think of the consequences, which would have ensued, had there been a civilian at the head of the government of India, who would have allowed Gough to have his own way. All Sir Henry did was rather in the face of Gough's suggestions and options, in fact where the march of troops was concerned, it was with great difficulty that he could be persuaded to give way. Our European troops are so crippled by the later actions and our Commissariat arrangements are at present so defective that I doubt very much whether we shall be able to enter the Punjab this year. You will all be glad to hear that Sir Hugh Gough has mentioned Arthur in his despatches as a worthy son of his parent and has given him a Lieutenancy in the 80 R Lord's Regiment. This (blank of the original) he deserves for he is as fine a little fellow as ever breathed. It was quite surprising that he escaped. Sir Henry was also exposed to a most severe fire of the cannon and musketry. Indeed he tells me, he never recollects being under more galling cannonade in any of the Peninsular actions.

We are all well and in high spirits, we eat minced pies everyday and filled bumper to friends at home and dare say you did not forget us the same evening in old England.

God grant me may all meet these in due course of time and spend many happy days. Love to dear Parsh and the baby. This letter is for her as well as you and as I may not have time to finish my letter to my mother you can send her this.

Ever your affectionate brother,
C.S. Hardinge.

1. This refers to Charles and Arthur. Both were his sons. The former was his P.A. and the latter was his A.D.C. Both participated in the war alongwith their father Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor General of India.

Note : This letter from Lord Hardinge should have preceded Arthur's being dated Camp Christmas day, Ferozepoor.

My Dearest Wife,

We have just said our prayers in our large tent and offered our thanks givings to God for the victory. I send you the notification I wrote this morning, which will give you the result of our proceedings and you will have the joy to find your two noble sons¹ quite safe, in excellent health, and beloved and admired by everybody. Arthur is universally praised and I thank you again and again for giving me sons who inherit your spirit combining with great personal courage with the moral fortitude of the Christian soldier. We have captured 91 guns, the whole of the Enemy's camp, defended by 60,000 men who are in full retreat across the Sutlej. These great results will enable us to be quiet and put the Lahore District on this the British side in order. There are a dozen of forts to be taken, the greater part of which will surrender to our summons, but before I say a word more of our success, let me observe that the Indian Govt. never had a more just quarrel¹ never was there a more unprovoked aggression, by one neighbour on the territory of the another. Their army was dissatisfied and mutinous. The Govt. would not pay it and consequently could not command its services and being afraid for their personal safety, they instigated the army to seek a quarrel with us, in order to divert its attention from them to us. The Lahore govt. without any explanation or declaration of hostilities crossed the river with a large army of 60,000 men and 150 guns. They invested the advanced post of Ferozepoor in which I have placed very fortunately a large force. When I heard of these proceedings at Umballa 150 miles off, I prepared our army to move upon, but I never could credit that their audacity would go to the extent of moving their whole army across, it was expected that they would cross over with Cavalry to plunder and then compel us to interfere, which we wished to avoid.

We marched very rapidly from Umballa, took up the Loodiana

1. This is only one sided version. Actually the British had been following an aggressive policy towards Lahore Durbar which is more evident since the times of Lord Ellenborough, the predecessor of Lord Hastings For details see the Introduction.

force on our way, and after the battle of Moodkee moved past their entrenched camp and joined with the Ferozepoor force giving us the addition of 5000 men and 21 guns and thus reinforced attacked their entrenched camp, took it, and 4 guns and are now here having succeeded completely in our operations. Sir Hugh Gough is delighted with Arthur and I shall send you extracts of his despatches, if he mentions your dear boy, Charles is equally brave and gallant and insisted on remaining with me, but on going to the attack of a battery, I besought him to go away as he prevented me doing my duty, and at last he reluctantly obeyed my command, I will not give you details of war, the loss of my staff has been great, Munro, Somerset and Herries killed, Wood Hillierie Roberts has distinguished himself and is a very fine affectionate fellow. I had at last only my dear Arthur left by my side, and in a long disagreeable night that we passed near the enemy, he lay almost in my arms and we never separated but on horseback, conceive me 36 hours on horseback, fasting nearly the whole of that time. God is merciful and in his trials gives me strength to perform my duty and our cause is so just, that my conscience is clear and incompatible. I have so many important duties to perform that I will break off, but on this day and after my prayers the best offering I would make, was to write dearest to you.

Ever Yours Affectionately attached Husband,

H.H.

Camp Ferozepoor,
New Year's Day
3 A.M. Morning, 1846

My Dearest Wife,

Many happy new years to us and our dear children round a cheerful hearth at D.South Park when we may talk over our Indian adventures and contrast. The happiness of domestic life, with the unhappy strife of Asiatic wars. My time as occupied during the day in long despatches, general orders and instructions without end and I am up every morning by 4.00 A.M. this morning I was called at half past 2.00 A.M. and have just closed a short letter to the Duke. And

by close applications till 5 this evening I hope to get through my correspondences for the Mail. Your last letters and my official despatches, without the Governor General's bag have been destroyed by robbers on the road. This is most provoking, but order and peace are now restored in our rear, and it will not happen again. I have been visiting the hospitals, taking care of our poor wounded men, and mitigating the horrors of war, by the most active exertions of skill in the doctors and nurses and these duties are most pleasing. I show a poor fellow my arm and he is consoled for the loss of his own and so on we have no letters or explanations from Lahore. We are quiet and so are they. Poor Somerset dead in Charles's arms, his wife is 200 miles on the rear, I would not allow any woman to accompany the army. I have written to the relations of all the friends I have lost. I find no labour too great to do their memories justice, but I shall be glad when the mail is despatched for I begin to feel the worth, which will cease in a great measure when the home papers are finished, I shall make other copy of Gough's letter to L.F. Somerset. Tell Emily, it does not make him proud. He is as playful and gentle as if he had never heard a cannon roar, and I rather have faith in the belief that those, who see war and know its horrors, have their hearts softened to allay its miseries. I really wish (the mail was off), I wrote to the parents of the friends I have lost and it brings the G.G.L. under contribution for tears, which flow more freely when I contrast their grief with my job and having both our boys sound and safe. The camp is still and I like to write to you without the constant interruption to which I am subjected. It must console you now that I am of necessity here, to know that you could not have accompanied me. If you had mastered the sea voyage route you would have been bound to the Bengal climate. Thus God Almighty disposes everything for the best and if in my declining years, I may have rendered my country some services, I must more contentedly shall spend my days with you at Sipach, then entangled in the politics of friends forsaking their leader. Peel's expansive mind will lead his party in the right way, but I believe I can do more service than in England. Our finances are not quite flourishing. Here I keep open house all the wounded officers are supplied. It is the most grateful hospitality I ever dispensed. Bob Wood has had a little fear but is now as usual and in a month will be

able to walk. I have written to his father. My affectionate all love to Dear Emily. I know she will prove herself a treasure to us whether in the single or wedded state. The shawls shall be sent in a month and will be in England in April.

Ever Dearest your affectionate devoted.

H.Hg.

Ferozepoor

Jany. 14th, 1846

My Dearest Mother,

I am very much annoyed. A long letter I wrote to you for the last overland Mail missed going for which you must lay all the blame at Charles's door. However, I will not let you off, but try to give you as clear an account as possible of the interesting events that have taken place within the last month, you will have seen by this time Sir Henry's Proclamations, declaring that the uncalled for provocation of the Sikh army in crossing the Sutledge, had cancelled the amicable treaty made with Ranjeet Singh. From their entering our territories and having the impudence to be the aggressors it was naturally supposed that their primary object was to lay siege to Ferozepoor, then only garrisoned by a force of 5000 men, commanded by General Littler. The Governor General somewhat alarmed for the safety of the town and Cantonment of this place bringing along with him the Loodiana Garrison leaving there only one regiment to protect the Fort, pressed forward the troops by forced marches to which the heavy baggage of an Indian army was a very great impediment as after one of these tedious marches 24 miles, rendered more harassing by a heavy sandy route, our force arrived at Moodkee. In the afternoon of the 10th, the men exhausted for the want of water and food, and their feet sore from the repeated exertion of double marches. It was here that we were informed by our spies that a considerable portion of the Sikh army was in movement within 8 miles of us, and that it was their intention to take our camp by surprise during the night. The latter parts of this information proved incorrect, for at least

about 3 P.M., while we were reoccupying our strength with Beer and Sandwiches, the fact of their advance was ascertained. The alarm was given while the camp was in some confusion, while our soldiers were still unfit for action, and consequently some disorder (not owing to any unwillingness) took place in getting the men under arms. Sir Hugh Gough to whom I was attached, ordered the artillery to the front, and I carried the order for the Infantry, which from previous fatigue was some time in coming up to support the artillery. The Governor General who had been employed in getting the troops into order, here joined the C-in-Chief, who was evidently jealous of Sir Henry's interference and placed a stubborn confidence in his own generalship. The field of battle was bush jungle and the dusk of the evening was already setting in before we commenced. Our artillery told less than it should have done. Our lines, however, advanced steadily until a close fire of musketry from the enemy on our left flank rather disturbed our sepoy regiment who began to break back at this crisis. Harris, one of my brother ADCs, called to me to assist him in rallying the 2nd Reg. N.I. who has dispersed, in which he partly succeeded but was shot by my side as he was leading them on. Not far from this Hillerie Land and Munro both ADCs to my father, were wounded. We were now within 50 yards of the enemy's guns which were pouring grape into us very sharply, parts, however, of their fire were diverted toward the 3rd Dragoons, who had made a vigorous charge on the enemy's left flank. I was with Somerset, a most determined fellow who was cheering up H.M. 31 to charge with their bayonets the Sikh Batteries. But from the restiveness of my horse, got too much in front of our own line and was carried with the current between two Sikh guns, and had to run the gauntlet of an ambushade, but somehow escaped being hit, though the bullet went through my scabbard, and having rejoined our line, had the satisfaction of seeing the guns taken on ground style. The Sikh gunners, however, without one single exception all died by their guns and the next morning you could see British and Sikhs fallen one over the other.

It was now perfectly dark and Sir Henry's feeling convinced that our own troops were firing on each other, ordered the buglers to sound, to cease firing and it was then found that the enemy were in full retreat. We counted 17 pieces of Sikh Cannons, which we had

captured and having taken the precaution of having them spiked. We returned to our camp, which we had left in our rear. Hillerie and Munro were brought in during the night, Hillerie's wound proved not dangerous, but my poor friend Munro had been shot through the shoulder and the ball had lodged near the spine so that he only lingered a few days. I cannot tell you how much we all feel his loss. He was my greatest friend in India and no less a favourite with my father.

The next morning we buried poor Herries, who was also very generally liked and an excellent officer. I must not forget to tell you that Charles and Prince Waldeman insisted on accompanying my father all through the action and sometimes under very heavy fire. The disadvantage of having attached them so late at night was in this instance unavoidable. Our loss was heavy, particularly among the officers owing to the Sikh skirmishers having concealed themselves in the bushes. We were obliged to halt the following days in order to refresh the men and cattle and repair the damage that had been done to our artillery. Our next information was that the Sikh army 60,000 in number with 100 pieces of heavy cannons had entrenched themselves about 10 miles to the right of Ferozepoor. Accordingly on the morning of the 21st at half past three we marched towards Ferozepoor and having sent messages to Littler if possible to come out with his force to join us. The Commander-in-Chief was impatient to attack them without this reinforcement and unwilling to deviate out of his route to meet Littler and subsequent event proved how right Sir Henry was in resisting this imprudence although some tiresome delays occurred which made half past four, before we could commence operations. We had again to encounter the disadvantage of making an evening attack, when it was too late to follow up a victory, yet had we hung back the following morning our men, who had started on the morning at half past three would have been all night without water and our camp and the wounded, whom we had left at Moodkee, would have been liable to have been cut off by the Sikh Cavalry.

We had again to advance through a bush jungle against an enemy disciplined by French Officers in an entrenched position defended by 108 heavy guns, the Sikh army was 60,000 strong and

had water supplies close at hand. Our force amounted 16,000 men and 50 Field guns with the exception of two batteries all 6 pds., we advanced in line, Littler was to attack the enemy's right flank. General Littler's division unfortunately got separated from the main body and was forced to retreat after having made an unconnected attack on the enemy's right in which the 3rd Dragoons again distinguished themselves and succeeded in penetrating into the Sikh camp. But their horses getting entangled amongst the tent ropes they were obliged to retire with great loss. Sir Henry, who had appointed himself second-in-command superintendent the advance of the centre division, under very heavy fire upto the entrenchments. I found myself a second time close to Somerset, but as we were scrambling over the bank that had been thrown up, a volley of musketry hit Somerset and killed my horse. I picked up Somerset and found that he had been shot through the lungs and having seen him carried to the rear, I dismounted a Dragoon and caught up the line. Broadfoot, the political agent, was shot through the thigh while talking to Sir Henry, but regardless of his wound, he remounted his horse, but another shot shortly afterwards killed him, Hore, also, who was acting ADC for the day, was killed close to my father. Night came on and we found ourselves in part of the Sikh camp, but from a succession of mines blowing up all around us, our troops were separated and it was with great difficulty that Sir Henry collected the remnants of 3 European Regiments. Our bugles sounded the assembly and a few stragglers every now and then joined us.

Littler's Division had fallen back on a village about three miles off. No one knew what has become of Smith. We could hear the Sikh drums and their cheers all around us, which they kept up all night, and having a suspicion of our helpless state, they brought down some field guns against us, and opened a very sharp fire within 50 yards of us, which of course did great execution. Sir Henry had ordered the men to lie down, both that they might rest themselves and avoid the enemy's fire and was himself wrapt in a cloak and lying on the ground by my side. But when he saw the damage the close fire of the enemy was doing to our handful of men, he mounted his horse and said to the 80th that those guns must be taken and that they were the boys to do it, without a murmur, without a word, they all got up and supported

by H.M. 29th and 31st three times charged the guns with their bayonets and succeeded in driving back the Sikh infantry, who had come up to support their artillery and having spiked the guns, retired and laid themselves down as if nothing had happened. Bob Wood was wounded in the thigh during this charge, but remained on horseback. This repulse prevented their bringing any more pieces lower upon us, but still they continued keeping up a sharp fire from these batteries and kept us in anxiety the whole night.

At about 4 A.M. in the morning, Sir Henry insisted upon sending Robert with Prince Waldemar and his companions (one of whom the doctor had already been killed) into Ferozepoor, I need not tell you that Robert although disabled and faint from his wound, was most reluctant to obey this order and with great difficulty at last complied with my father's wishes. All the officers in command of regiments came to my father and told him their men and horses were completely done up and that the artillery had expended all their ammunition and that to attack so formidable an enemy in such a state would be a reckless sacrifice of human life and that the only place was to retire to Ferozepoor. They reorganize the troops and then to try the chances of battle. Sir Henry smiled at all these propositions and told them he had determined to attack in the morning. Even the sanguine Sir Hugh was wavering as to what line to adopt. I took an opportunity of asking my father what were his own impressions and he told me that he thought that it would be a desperate struggle, but in case of failure, he was determined never to survive. He gave our Doctor, whom he sent into Ferozepoor with Robert, his Napoleon's Sword and Diamond Star to take care of, and his watch to me to give you in case of any accident happening to him. Notwithstanding all these very unpleasant preliminaries I felt quite easy in my mind, as I was convinced Sir Henry was right in his determination, and I hoped that things might yet turn out well, although had made up my mind for the worst.

My father after having given the necessary instructions to the different officers, rolled himself into a large cloak and we made pillows of some of them so that we managed to keep out the cold and we had a long talk about South Park and your nice party. Every one admired my father's coolness. The intrepidity with which he

contemplated the responsibility of making an attack, which was generally considered hopeless and I must say that his position for the last few days had been very trying as he had to deal with an obstinate old man, but who was so personally gallant and amicable that it would have been painful to hurt his feelings. But as this was not the time to consider individuals, my father told Sir Hugh that he could not take the responsibility without also taking the command. Out of 11 ADC, I was the only one that remained with my father, five had been killed and the others wounded, a pretty good proof that the Governor General had not remained in the rear.

The day that was to settle our difficulties was now dawning. Our men scarcely one division, formed into line, while our artillery fired into the Enemy the few rounds and grape that remained. Sir Henry rode in front of the line, telling the men not to fire but to charge with their bayonets. The soldiers feeling confidence in the Governor as they call him, advanced in a most determined manner, under a very hot fire of grape. I kept close to my father and we were the first that got into the front battery of the Enemy's guns, having as companion a young infantry officer with a cigar in his mouth, who mounted the largest of their cannons and gave some very hearty cheers. Our line swept the camp from one end of it to the other, taking no less than 91 guns, some very fine ones. The troops then halted and saluted Sir Henry as he rode down the line with loud cheers. Had it not been for the dead bodies strewn here and there and the groans of the wounded one would have thought it was only a raving. Everyone came up and congratulated Sir Henry and even the Commander-in-Chief's staff allowed that it was my father's victory, and one of no slight importance, as it was one on which the fate of India depended, our men were too much fatigued to be able to pursue them and were ordered to rest themselves but to keep on the alert. One of the Sikh tents that was found in the camp was made of Cashmere shawls and the poles of it were silver. Some arms, however, that exploded afterwards nearly burnt the tent of about 1 P.M. A fresh Sikh reinforcement with 60 Field Pieces under Tej Singh, advanced against us, and did some little mischief although they kept at a respectful distance, I must now come to the worst part of the business, an idiot by name Capt Lunley got panic struck. God knows

at what, and assuming the authority of Lt. General gave orders to the Cavalry and artillery to retreat to Ferozepoor, which order, I am sorry to say, some of our Native Infantry, cavalry were too glad to obey. The 3rd Dragoons remained refusing to leave the infantry, who had won the battle, and taken 81 pieces of Cannon, in the lurch. Towards evening, we found that all the Sikhs had retreated towards the river and Sir Henry rode into Ferozepoor. The next morning and we met Lunley at their head and I can assure you, Sir Henry did not spare him. There were also some other officers who were no great ornaments to the army. As on entering Ferozepoor, we found that Lunley had been spreading reports that the British Army were completely routed, which drove the Prince post haste down to Scinde, little or nothing has happened since this. The Sikhs have recrossed the Sutledge and pitched their camp on the banks of the river. Our army, which is reinforced by the Meerut Troops and vis-a-vis their defeat has cowed the Sikh army, though they talk of recrossing, but this is a mere vaunt, and they say there is great dissatisfaction and disunion among them. Roberts Wood and Hillerie are recovering their strength and stump on formerly on their crutches. The former has succeeded poor Somerset as Military Secretary, I think Somerset was one of the finest fellows I ever knew and a perfect gentleman, his poor wife on hearing that he was wounded, started a horseback from Umballa to join him, the poor woman was stopped by the news of his death. I have got my Lieutenancy, I have seen what everyone wishes to see. I came and that too in the capacity of A.D. Camp and notwithstanding all these advantages I am quite sincere when I say, I would give them all up to see the friends, I have lost alive again. Poor Munro's vacancy is filled by a relation of Sir R. Peel, and Herries by Lord Arthur Kay, son of Lord Freedale, I have got a beautiful little dog which belonged to poor Herries, which I pet very much. I am delighted to hear you, my dearest mother, are in such good spirit and I am sure the contents of this letter ought to make you very proud of your husband and resigned to your present separation when you think his presence saved the fate of India. I am so afraid you will feel disappointed in not having heard from me by the last mail that I shall be quite afraid to open my next news packet as I anticipate some affectionate reproach for my carelessness in

not sending my letter in time. I am sure Emily will take my part and make some ingenious excuses for me. Tell her I have got a turquoise Necklace for her but do not know how to send it in these disturbed times. My father is in capital spirits and I never saw him better in health, Charles is getting up some races as the reaction after the excitement of war and we are not content to repose upon our laurels, but wish to earn new ones on the racing course. As I hope that you will allow that nothing but the immensity of my love for you could have made me persevere in getting through such a long letter at one sitting.

Ever my dearest mother,
Your affectionate son,
A.R. Hardinge

From : Charles

Ferozepoor January 15, 1846

My Dearest Mother,

Since I last wrote to have remained here recruiting ourselves, after the hard work we have had. I think I told you on my last that the remnant of the Sikh Army had crossed the river and made a precipitate retreat. They have since taken up a position on the other side and have been talking of coming over and attacking us again, but I think they have had enough of it, they have cried wolf for so long that we have ceased to believe their reports. However yesterday 10,000 men on the advance of our line with some heavy ordinance they retreated back leaving about 3000 men in a blockade, on this side, protected by the range of their heavy guns on the opposite side of the river. Their policy is to keep us continually on the "*Qui vive*" and to gain time as they know that by the end of March, the hot winds set in and all operations on our side must end. The policy of the Ranee on the other hand is to have her army cut up as she is very well aware that if they return to Lahore, they will cut her throat and she is in hopes that they will gradually disperse and daily become more disorganised when she says, she will come and throw herself at the Governor

General's feet.¹ With regard to our movements, I very much doubt, whether we shall be able to cross before the next autumn. Our policy has been strictly pacific, we have been prepared to act on the defensive not on the offensive, and we should have got into disgrace with the Home authorities, had we encouraged a rupture by bringing up heavy guns to the frontier. The consequence is that now the siege train will not be here before the middle of February, our Engineers and Officers moreover have met and given it as their unanimous opinion that with 3 fortified towns, Lahore, Gobindgarh and Umritsur, the latter stronger than Bhawalpur, it would be highly imprudent to cross the Sutledge with a less additional artillery and 70 Field Guns and 50,000 pounds of ammunition. The demand is virtually a postponement of the campaign till next autumn, and in my opinion considering that old Gough is perfectly incompetent which all his own staff allow and which is attested by the fact, that they have come to Sir Henry several times begging him to assume the command. I think such a measure under existing circumstances would be expedient. By next autumn, their army will have become considerably more disorganised, ours on the other hand will be reinforced with recruits and a considerable addition to our artillery. Indeed so rapid are the changes that take place, occasionally in the Govt. of these native states that for what we know by May itself next year fall into our hands without much further resistance. Sir Henry has done every thing as yet, and undone many of old Gough's rash and reckless intentions but in his very delicate position as the nominal successor of the present GGI, it requires the greatest tact and forbearance to manage the obstinate old man, who thinks of nothing but "batting the Sikh", and does not reflect upon the loss of life, which lies desperate movements entail. We are now in great want of ammunition and contrary to Sir Henry's special advice, there he was the other day firing it away against the enemy's camp on the other side and doing, of course, very little damage among them. Your dear husband is

1. All this was wishful thinking. Rani Jind Kaur as proved subsequently was of different nature. According to Lord Ellenborough, "She was a woman of determined courage" and Lord Dalhousie wrote, "She was the only person of manly understanding in the Punjab". *Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, Orient Longman, page 79, Footnote.

wonderfully well inspite of all his anxieties. He remarked to me the other day that his judicial duties were rather different from his gardening operations at South Park. I told him that the day was not far off, when he would exchange his sword into a pruning knife and enjoy in repose the fruits of all his labours. With regard to myself, I consider myself a most unlucky dog in not having a red coat to my back in these times, although I have had the satisfaction of being with Sir Henry and seeing what war really is. I dare say you will think me very selfish. But you know I always had a hankering after the army, and had I not been influenced by your wishes, I should long since have been wedded to a profession, for which I always had a decided taste, we have certainly had sharp work.* Indeed Sir Henry says he was never under more galling fire in his peninsular days. I have told him that he must not on future occasions expose himself in the way he did as on the 22nd. It was necessary that he should give confidence to the troops by his presence, but his life is really too precious to the state and his friends to be exposed to imminent danger. When circumstances do not require it, had he been even slightly wounded on that day, the consequence might have been felt, throughout the whole of British India, but I feel confident myself and that he will not do so unless emergent circumstances required it when no friend of Arthur would wish him to shrink from the duty. Ben is in high spirits and enlivens the camp with his jokes. By mistake the extract from Sir H. Gough's despatch was not sent to you in which he speaks of him in high terms and you have every reason to be proud of your son, he is Sir Hugh says "a chip of the old block". I will do credit to his name. Robert Wood is now able to get about crutches and in about a week may put his foot to the ground. He is now Military Secretary with the Lt. Col. pay which will give him 3000 a year. Sir Henry has recommended him for a C. Bishop. What a lucky fellow he has been. We have spent a tolerably merry Christmas though alas, some of our staff were missing. Sir Henry ordered 1500 ounce pieces to be made and distributed among the wounded men, who were delighted with the attention.

Ever your devoted son,
C.S. Hardinge.

* This refers to his brother Arthur.

Ferozepoor Camp,
January 31st

Dearest Wife,

At about 70 miles from this place and towards our rear, a part of our force detached to Loodiana, met the Sikh army, attacked it, and drove them into the river and captured 50 guns. This result has been of much importance in securing our communications to the rear and protecting our ammunition and guns treasure. We have thus taken 150 guns from the enemy since the campaign commenced. In 6 weeks it will be over and I shall be most happy to have less anxiety on my mind for I assure you confidentially that the responsibility rests upon me of military movements, over which I have not the control with military details, which belong to the C in C. He is a brave fine old Irishman and although I do not always admire his military combinations, I respect him for his intrepidity and many other excellent qualities.

But first let me tell you that our boys are in excellent health, in high spirits, and in every quality to be loved by us and respected by the rest of the world. Charles is in the very best of health. He has once expressed to me since the fighting began that he still wished to enter the army. I discouraged it and he has submitted. The Supreme disposes of events, may interfere in the fate of such worms as we are because we are the instruments of His will, but after his loss of a limb and having witnessed the reckless courage he shows in action, I think it quite out of the question that he should be risked in the service. Dear Arthur is a contribution I make to the profession, trusting in the mercy of the same Providence which has shielded me from many dangers. You may rely upon it, I will not allow Charles to wear a red coat excepting in Leicester Shire with the Fox hounds for he rides admirably. I assure you I get on very fast riding 25 miles to breakfast or dinner without inconvenience in 2 hours. I had an accident the other day in riding a horse. In the dark he put his foot in a hole and came down on his side with my knee under him, I had the thigh crippled and leeches and now quite sound and ready for any exertion. The leeches were very unpleasant and for the 2 hours they were feeding upon me I thought how much you suffered from them when you sprained your ankle just before Emily was born and then I

traced all the children and their dear mother upto the present hour rapidly in my mind and when paper and ink were brought to go on with my work, I had passed in review several years of our happy union and blessed you and thanked God that this accident was so slight at a time I cannot offered to be idle.

Sunday.

I have just returned from Church in my tent and our dear boys are punctual in duties which their dear mother instilled, from their youth. I have been starving for 3 days and having taken no exercise, it agrees with me. Rely on my taking great care of my health, if I had ridden my favourite Arab Meance he would have born me gallantly, but the Mougul I was riding was a new purchase and I had safe on the road he goes, as if he would come down. The papers attack me so much for exposure in the battle that the danger will not be insurrectional again, but it is in a serious predicament to be placed in. If Gough was killed, I am the next moment C.C. and then I must be in and directing the field of battle and this duty imposed by Her Majesty warrant so I know that you will justify me and not consider that I was led away by any heat of blood to do what was unnecessary. To kill a G.GL or Lord Sahib would have been a victory, if we were fighting, which I do not expect. I should be as prudent as my great master in Spain, who never exposed himself without a necessity. I say these things for your satisfaction. The Supreme Power disposes of all events. I escaped a severe hail of grape-shot and am laid up by a fall from under my horse, which might have snapped my thigh. True, piety and wisdom is to rely on a merciful God, not to tempt danger unnecessarily but to be resigned to his Will, in whose hands are the chances of life and death.

I have just been issuing an order improving the pensions of our sepoys who lose their limbs or are obliged to leave the services on account of wounds. To say the truth, I am rather disappointed in their style of fighting but they are willing good troops. But in any difficulty, Mr. Ball comes forth in great splendour. The black guard is merged in the hero and he fights to the last moment.

I see by the state of the common law question that our friend¹

1. This refers to Sir Robert who was the Prime Minister of England.

is in great difficulty. If he assents to a free trade in Commons, I doubt his getting through the session. I shall patiently wait to hear from him, I must go through this most difficult affair on my hands and then wait events. If I am not fairly supported, I shall resign, the kings will be anxious to appoint some friend of their own. They are welcome, if I return with an honourable character having carried our army victoriously to Lahore, under very difficult circumstances. I shall return to you and be a pruner of roses. Having fairly given to the public the best years of my life, having for the few which remain in the bosom of my family and grateful if the trials to which I am exposed shall have been creditably overcome. I expect every hour interesting news from Lahore, after the defeat of the Sikh troops on the 28th January. But they are so treacherous and cunning, it is impossible to rely on their assurances. I do not send you the letters of praise I get, I am ashamed to show them. The boys think my nerves are on occasions very firm, I hope they (my sons) will inherit my scanty good qualities, and none of my bad, I am very proud of them both.

February 2nd

I have a communication from Raja Golab Singh, which may lead to overtures for an arrangement; he is to be made minister and says he is ready to do whatever we like to order. I am obliged to be very cold and haughty, but I propose to allow him to come here to propose terms and make a beginning. It is indispensable that the Sikh army should be disbanded. Their state of anarchy and mutiny is the cause of all the mischief. India is already so overgrown and large that we do not want territory. We shall keep what we have confiscated on this side, make them to pay the expenses of the war, clip their wings and lessen their power, but I have always been averse to annex the territory that I still hope to keep up a Sikh nation. That is a Hindoo people as contradistinguished from a Mahomedan.¹

I do not think well of things in Downing Street and if I am to have whigs for my master to render my position irksome and uneasy,

1. He exposes his ignorance of Sikhs and seems to think that anybody who is not a Muslim must be Hindu.

I shall, if I am with honour, retire after I have closed the war. Bob Wood is nearly recovered from his wound, he rode with me 30 miles the other day, Hillier is well but still lame, a young-officer and nephew of Sir R. Peel was on a visit to me and was wounded, respecting very thing of the name, I made him my A.D. Camp. George Hardinge is here in camp with his regiment, he must serve one year before he can be placed on the staff. I have also placed Revt Freedala's son on my staff. Come what may, I am prepared for every event. I do not care for popular praise but if the Duke and Bel the greatest, wisest and best men of the day are satisfied with me, I shall retire in peace and happiness.

Tell the dear Gills, I hope to send them the trinket when our rear is more clear. I have 150 miles of Sikh country on my rear and every village is a little fort. What a magnificent sight it is to see 145 pieces of captured artillery! These people were trained and organised by French Officers. What do they say to 5000 British and 14000 sepoys attacking 60,000 and taking 90 pieces of fine artillery. Our total loss in our brave countrymen in all the battles will not exceed 1000 men. By the Cholera, we lost more in 1845. I believe I must gratify my military vanity by bringing home one Sikh gun to S. Park for posterity. I am anxiously expecting news of dear Sarah. God grant her a son, She is most affectionate and attached to us. Kiss Emily for me, the Shawls will be sent next month.

Ever your affectionate Devoted.

H.H.

* Posterity has been in the Hall given by the Court of Directors.

From Charles

Governor General's Camp
Ferozepoor Feb. 2nd

My Dearest Mother,

We are still in Ferozepoor nearly choked with dust since I last wrote to you. No great change has taken place in the aspect of affairs up to within the last few days, which have brought us the intelligence of another victory over the Sikhs. The Sikh army

encamped opposite to the C.C. and has given Sir Henry little or no cause of uneasiness. They will not attack us and we cannot resume the offensive until our heavy guns and siege train arrive. When I hope we shall astonish their weak minds. No further intercourse now takes place between the two armies beyond skirmishes which occasionally occur between our videtees and theirs. We have ridden out twice to the army and remained a day or two as the presence of the Governor General among the troops gives confidence more especially when the present CC is a man in whom they have little or none. The Sikh Camp looks more like a German fair than anything else. The soldiers are seen assembling in knots presently very much at their ease. Although our late success must have tended to depress them, but to come to the point, I must tell you that while our whole army has been concentrated here, watching the enemy opposed to us, a Sikh force which has for the last month been threatening Loodiana, some 30 miles from this on the river, has occupied Sir Henry's serious attention, as he had left a small force. In the fort their women and children had been placed there leaving the cantonments open to the incursions of any predatory band. The reason of this requires explanation. When on the 13th of Dec. last we first heard that the Sikhs had crossed with 60,000 men and 100 guns over the Sutlege, it became necessary to unite our forces in order to render as effectual as possible our resistance to their unprovoked aggression. Nearly, the whole of the Loodiana Force was detached by Sir Henry to join the main army contrary to the wish of Sir Hugh Gough and what has been the result. Why that with the Loodiana, Umballa and Ferozepoor forces, we have had a hard battle of fight against the disproportionate numbers opposed to us. But to go on with my story, I must tell you that the Sikhs finding that the cantonments at Loodiana, were exposed, their plundering bands crossed over a considerable forces in the neighbourhood with guns and burnt some of the houses on the town. They have since that time been entrenching the guns, and attempting to cut off the supplies which were coming upto our army from the rear. Under these circumstances, it became necessary and it was by Sir Henry's suggestions determined to detach a portion of the main army under Sir Harry Smith to send these fellows across the river with as little delay as possible. As our siege train was coming up and

for what we know they might get intelligence of that and attempt to interrupt it. The detached force marched to relieve Loodiana on the 18th. When on coming to a fort on the high road between Loodiana and Busseana village in our rear, where our stores were collected, they heard that the Sikhs were in force close to the force and intended to dispute the passage. Sir Harry Smith seems here to have made mistake, he went too near the Fort instead of giving the Sikhs a wider berth. The consequences were that he was exposed to a heavy cannonade, without the means of replying to it as they were in such force that it would not have been prudent to attack the fort. Sir Harry Smith retreated towards Loodiana on the best way he could but with considerable loss, both of lives and baggage. The next day the Sikhs hearing that reinforcements were marching up to relieve Smith made off towards the river, but Sir Harry's forces were rather too much crippled owing to the loss of their baggage to pursue them. However, after the delay of a few days and waiting for another Brigade to come up, the order of the attack was given. On the 20th, our troops advanced and found the enemy occupying a village from which they were quickly driven and their flank being at the same moment turned the last engagement. They say hardly a man escaped, and in attempting to cross the river many of these unfortunate fellows were drowned. The whole of their artillery 54 guns and camp fell into our hands. In short, the victory was complete and gained with very little loss on our side, only 3 officers being killed. The addition of 54 to the number of our already captured guns must seriously cripple their resources and we are daily expecting to hear that the Durbar at Lahore are anxious to come to terms. Before any (terms) can be entered into, the disbanding of their army must be insisted upon and they must be limited to a certain number of pieces of artillery otherwise we should always be liable to a renewal of hostilities. If they do not show any anxiety to come to terms, the general opinion seems to be that one more general action would completely upset and disperse their army. I only hope it may prove to be the case. Sir Henry has ordered up Sir C. Napier with the intention of appointing him 2nd in command. Indeed it is very far from desirable that a man in his position should be exposed to the slightest risk, but in the late operations, there was a necessity for it. Sir Henry felt it to be his

duty to interfere and to him is to be attributed the success that attended our efforts. Lord Ripon wrote confidentially by the Mail that matters were in such a state that a change of Ministry might be expected on the arrival of the next mail. For Sir Henry to resign at the present moment would be impossible. But I think as soon as the Punjab is settled, he will be very unwilling to serve under a Government in which Peel was not the leader and head. Ben is quite well. Sir Henry's horse fell with him the other evening and slightly bruised his knees, but he experienced no other bad consequences from it. I shall not allow him to mount the horse again, or to ride so fast in the dark. He is wonderfully well, although he has suffered much from anxiety owing to this Loodiana affair which was luckily turned out so well. Love to Emily and believe me.

Ever your devoted son,
Charles.

From Arthur

Camp Ferozepoor
February 2nd, 1946

My own Dearest Mother,

You see we are still condemned to inhale the dusty atmosphere and endure the tedious monotony of this dreary place and we all find this kind of life, the more insupportable as it succeeds, turns such stirring excitement. We relieved our depressed spirit by occasional excursions out to the C. Chief's camp, which seems our mass of life, for the tents extend to the length of 3 or 4 miles, and the interminable groups of figures, the variety of colours amongst which 'the Red' predominates, the streaming of the barracks, the stern array of our artillery, elephants, horses, camels, bullocks, all combine to give the camp a most cheerful appearance which is emblematical of the feelings of our men for they are all in the highest spirits. The Sikh army is vis-a-vis about one mile and 1/2 off, but declines to commence the offensive from a prudent disinclination to come out from behind their entrenchment. While our troops with difficulty

curb their pugilistic impatience until our heavy guns which are now daily expected shall have taken place, in which of course as in everything else, we have had the best of it and these pretty successes although they can decide nothing have the effect of checking the enemy's insolence, which has of late been very much subdued by the news of the victory, which Sir Harry Smith has gained over Ranjoor Singh at Aliwal.

This Chief with a large detachment of the Sikh army and also reinforced directly from Lahore, crossed the Sutlege opposite to Loodiana, for the object of intercepting our siege train and ammunition, which is marching up here from Delhi, protected only by a small escort. It became very necessary to detach a Division of the army and send it with Sir Harry at its head to counteract this menace. This defensive movement succeeded perfectly and although some unaccountable mismanagement, some of our baggage was allowed to be cut off and some men killed (and amongst the number the son of Sir Colin Campbell), Smith's force entirely routed the army, captured 54 guns, some of them 12 pounders and pursued its victims to the banks of the Sutlege where a horrible scene of carnage ensued, for the fugitive becoming panic struck jostled each other in their hurry to cross the forces and many consequently found a watery grave, while those who reached the further bank were fired upon by our artillery.

We shall derive great benefit from having so successfully crushed this force and that too with but little loss to ourselves. As our communication with our rear will now be opened and the difficulty of procuring grain and forage for this army greatly diminished and from having but now one enemy to watch, we shall be able better to concentrate our forces.

My father has recovered his bruises and I never saw him so well. He rides out to camp before breakfast a distance of 25 miles and returns the same evening on horse-back without feeling the least knocked up. If this war does not soon come to a close, I shall become quite bear. I do not think I have spoken to a lady since Sept. 6th.

Yours my dearest mother very affectionate
A.E. Hardinge

Kusoor about 32 miles
from Lahore

My Dearest Wife,

When our ammunition and siege trains arrived, it was necessary to strike a blow and pass the Sutlege, Beas and endeavour to terminate the war before the hot weather set in.

On the 7th and 8th our guns and ammunition arrived from the rear and the force under Sir Harry Smith, which had been detached to Loodiana and had defeated the enemy returned to camp on the 8th. On the 10th, we determined to attack the enemy. We first commanded it for 2 hours, then let loose our brave infantry and in 2 hours, ~~we~~ we had gained the camp, destroyed the enemy and captured 67 pieces of artillery. This was a great exploit for 14,000 infantry to achieve against 35,000 of the enemy regular forces covered by breastworks and defended by a large number of guns. The enemy's loss is 10,000 ours 2380. You will be glad to hear that in an action of this nature, the staff were not much exposed and that both our boys are well and unhurt. Charles was in the midst of the affray as eager as Arthur and very useful. I have written a general order thanking the troops and that document with the CC's despatch will give you all the details of these proceedings. We passed the river the same night and are now on our way to Lahore where I hope on the 21st to dictate terms of peace. Golab Singh, the Minister, came to my Camp and day before yesterday, I received him in Durbar seated and merely rose as he came up, and I desired him to be told that he was a welcome ambassador, because he had had the prudence not to participate in the atrocities perpetrated against the British Government.

The Sirdars then offered me presents from the Maharaja, a horse with a gold saddle for me. Another with a silver saddle for the Cr. Chief and so on. I declined to receive presents or to place myself on a footing of friendship till the Sikhs had submitted themselves to the clemency of the British Govt. until the blood of my countrymen so treacherously spilt had been vindicated by punishing the army by disbanding it, by taking a portion of the Sikh territory as indemnity, by making the nation pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling for the expense of the war and several austere and rigid conditions.

These I speak in an authoritative tone in English. They are repeated by the political secretary in Persian, the staff and officers of state being present and after a certain degree of public representation, these barbarians with the most polished manners retired and the Secretary and the Political Agent then meet the Wuzzier and his Diwan and the real business is done. Tomorrow we march 21 miles on the road to Lahore and on the 21st, I expect to be there.

The Maharaja or King is to come into my camp tomorrow to submit himself to my generosity and will proceed to Lahore with me.

I shall require him to present the keys of Lahore and Gobindgarh and to surrender every piece of cannon that has been pointed against the British army. I take from them a fertile district which improves our frontier, $1\frac{1}{2}$ million of money and as they have shown themselves too strong I hope to take away Cashmere and the Hill districts declaring them independent of Lahore.

The army shall be limited in number and reduced in pay and various conditions imposed, which may enable the Govt. to keep it in order. We have captured 220 very fine brass guns and we must not allow of such immense establishment in future. Thus, without annexing the whole of this immense territory to our over-grown empire (already too large), I hope to re-establish a Sikh government that is a Hindoo Nation as our neighbour, keeping down the Mohammedans weakened by these concessions of territory and by the mode adopted to get rid of what is termed the subsidiary system, that is, keeping an army at Lahore to coerce the people ill-used and plundered by their native rulers, who when by their oppression have excited the people into rebellion, call upon us with B.B. Bayonets to put down the insurrection. This is a detestable system.

I propose to punish him once for all and not be required to interfere in their affairs. If this arrangement so moderate and forbearing considering the enormity of their offence, does not answer then on the next occurrence, we must annex the country, which I consider a great misfortune as far as the true interests of India are concerned.

I know not how far my policy may be approved at Home. I act for myself. Gough is a mere soldier and can give me no opinion and

my only aid is in the prudence and ability and experience of my political secretary, Mr. Currie. I have a thousand things in hand. I will close this letter when I have seen the prince.

H. H.

From : Charles
Kusoor in the Punjab

My Dearest Mother,

You will see by the date of this letter that we have put foot on the hostile soil. The Sikh army may now be said to be no longer in existence and tomorrow, we march, to Lahore to dictate terms at the Capital.

This you will allow is good news, but I must first tell you how this state of things has been brought about.

On the 9th February, the long expected siege train arrived and Sir Henry had for 3 weeks previous been in communication with the C.C. as to the necessity of attacking the enemy's entrenched position on this side of the Sutlege. It was determined that if the attack was made on the weakest flanks and with a river in their rear, they could have no chance. It was on the other hand alleged that with heavy guns on the opposite side, they would annihilate our troops as soon as they entered the enemy batteries. After much deliberation and hesitation on the part of the engineers and artillery officers, Sir Henry strongly advised the C.C. to strike a decisive blow, and at the same time gave him his plan of attack, which the C. C. adopted with one exception, which it was afterwards evident, ought to have been acted upon.

It was determined to shell their camp in the first instance with mortar and hostages until they had made a tolerably strong impression and then to storm the works with infantry. The attack commenced at 7½ when the Engineers reported that the effect produced had not come upto their expectations any delay on our part to attack would have immediately construed into a defeat by the Sikhs and at 9 A.M. the order to advance was given. Sir Henry then still suffering a little from the bruises on his knees, got upon his horse and we rode down

towards the batteries with the infantry. The attacking brigades advanced steadily upto them without firing a shot. The 52nd being the first regiment in. On coming up to the first line of breast works they were for the moment checked. Sir Henry immediately ordered the division drawn up in front of their entrenchment to move down and support them by a simultaneous attack in front. This check was owing to the reserve of the attacking brigades not being strong enough, on which point Gough had declined taking my father's advice. However, it was soon remedied for the attacking brigades, seeing the division coming to their assistance, rallied and carried everything before them.

The day was then won, although the Sikhs fought desperately to the last and their loss must have been tremendous, being estimated at 10,000. The Sutledge was choked with the dead and dying, 67 guns have been captured and their army is on its way to Lahore in a complete state of disorganization on the same evening (the 10th) 6th British Regiment crossed into the Punjab and on the 13th the whole of the British Force was concentrated at Kussoor which had been evacuated immediately after the battle. Yesterday we received intelligence that Golab Singh, who has lately been appointed Minister at Lahore and who has been keeping aloof from the war party there was coming to throw himself on the clemency of the Governor General and late in the afternoon he arrived in camp with all his Sirdars to arrange terms presenting Nazzurs.

Your devoted son.
C.S.H.

Lullianee 24 miles from
Lahore

Dearest Emily,

The Prince or Maharaja, is to come to my Durbar at 4 of this day, I have just come in from Kussoor, the tents not pitched and waiting in my little carriage, for I am still so lame I cannot ride. The tendon of the knee has been hurt by the weight of the horse lying

upon me and I shall be obliged to be quiet for another week. But I walk pretty well and am getting slow and sure. We shall march again tomorrow morning and be at Lahore the 21st. Thus in less than 3 months, we shall have closed the most active campaigns ever made in India. I hope our European friends will be satisfied. I have had much cause for anxiety. But then I am convinced I have done my best and have omitted no labour or precaution, I trust to the blessings of Providence and certainly the Almighty's mercy and protection have been much saved to me and mine in an especial manner.

I hope I am sufficiently grateful. We have around us 20,000 troops, and 80,000 camp followers non-combatants, thousand of camels, horses and ponies and bullocks. These are all encamped in a sandy plain not a potato or blade of grass for man or beast, and yet we live luxuriously for a camp. Arthur is near me, looking very interesting in a cap with a white shawl wound around it as a turban to keep off the sun, for the heat is great already. Charles has been writing to Walter and so have I. At 3 of this morning, I wrote 5 sheets to the Queen before we march. If I put off the Mail for a few hours, I will write to you at 3 A.M. on the 19th. Before we march, I require very little sleep. This attitude at full length in the carriage is rather awkward. I shall wait to see any Prince¹ before I proceed further.

H. H.

Khana Kutch
19th

We have just marched in here, 14 miles from Lahore. The Maharaja came to my tent yesterday. He is a beautiful boy of 8 years old and a very brave little fellow, he was brought through the throng of troops in arms. I embraced him, and he smiled, and when seated in a fine chair next mine, we became very good friends. The talk was of Runjeet and good advice and a few political maxims. Then 50 trays of presents, he having thrown purses of money at my feet as a recognition of his submission and after a long galaxy sitting, presents

1. This refers to Maharaja Dalip Singh.

and compliments, we parted giving him a salute of 21 guns from our 24 Pounds.

We have heard more firing near Lahore since we came in, but whether it is a salute or a quarrel between contending factions, we do not know. I have told them, we shall make them pay $\frac{1}{2}$ million for any battle or siege and I hope the last shot with ball was fired at Sobraon on the 10th. I hope to be on my way to the hills on the 20th March. My knee is easier today and I shall be quite right in a fortnight. I must dare close my letter and am ever in the midst of all this turmoil.

Yours affectionate and devoted Husband
H. H.

From Arthur

Lullianee Head Quarter
Camp February 19, 1846.

My Dearest Mother,

Here we are encamped in the Punjab. This news will put an end to all your anxieties for I dare say you have been begetting yourself after hearing the accounts of our warlike proceedings. Can you not participate with us in the immense satisfaction of driving back an aggressive enemy into their own country and enjoying the great gratification of humiliating the scoundrels, who for the last half a century have been twirling their long moustaches in contempt of the English. All these advantages are the result of one day. For on the 10th of this month, Sir Henry determined to attack the Sikhs' position, which the arrival of our heavy guns from Delhi had non-rendered practically the dangerous, far from the delay of waiting for these engines of war, we had given time to the enemy to strengthen their position in a very formidable manner.

Sir Robert Dick's Division attacked their right flank, while Gilberts and Smith's Division threatened the centre, our artillery having previously given the Sikhs the advantage of an hour's shelling. Nothing could equal the brave behaviour and steadiness of our troops, who notwithstanding their repulse (in the first instance) from the

immense strength of the fortifications, rallied again; and swept everything before them. The 53rd leading the way, nothing would have been more complete than our Victory, nothing more disastrous than the fate of the enemy, who retreated into the rear, which really seemed choked up with bodies, and few escaped the double chance of being killed by our artillery (which continued firing upon them as they crossed the fords) or being drowned in the Sutledge. The Sikhs themselves estimate their loss at 9000 killed in this action. Our list of killed and wounded is swelled to upwards of 2000, but of these I am happy to say only 350 are killed. But our staff which on former occasions suffered so severely was unusually lucky and both Flowers and Mears escaped, Dick was killed in the entrenchments, but with this exception no other officer of rank fell. My father, who was still suffering from his bruised leg, mounted his horse and forgot all about the pain it must have given him in the engrossing excitement of the fight.

Two days after this battle, the army of the Punjab crossed the Sutledge and we are now only 26 miles from Lahore. Golab Singh, who during all these disturbances had stood aloof and has lately been made Wuzzeer, has submitted himself to the British government and has agreed to our treaty, which appropriates to ourselves all the Sikh possessions on our side of the Sutledge and a large slice of the Punjab, which together yield upwards of 45,000 revenue, in addition they are to indemnify us for the expenses of the war, limit their army to a certain number and to give up any cannon we have not taken. These will be very few in number, as we have captured 230 of their guns in the field. Every one is prodigal on their praise of your husband, who has been placed in a more difficult and critical position than any former Governor General, and who has so brilliantly extricated himself from this unexpected attack on our frontier.

The explanation of this invasion by Golab Singh is that the army had become (through the Panchayats) so republican that it would not obey the government and having 80,000 men good troops of which 50,000 were round Lahore, with 200 pieces of Field artillery quite as good as our own and Jawans of Cavalry, they imagined since the Cabul Disaster that they would by a sudden eruption, sweep off four frontier posts and carry their successful arms to Delhi, and become

a Great Hindoo Power, while if they failed, the Ranee and the Chiefs would get rid of a turbulent army by means of our bayonets. They did not unfortunately reckon on the terms, on which we insist as they were anxious for a subsidiary system.

I have been copying letters all the morning and must now go and dress on very hot gardiner clothes, to go out and meet the Maharaja, who is coming to the G.G. Durbar today to pay his respects. See that Emperors obey the nod of the Governor General. Old Peel however, will be an agreeable substitute for these orientals.

Yours affectionate son,
A.E. Hardinge.

To Sarah From H. Hardinge
Lollianee-24 miles from
Lahore, Feb. 19th
5^oCl. a.m.

Well – I have the ablest scoundrel in all Asia close to my camp – the Wuzzier R. Golab Singh – a good looking clever eyed man of about 50 – and yesterday he brought the little Maharaja to my Durbar tent, to make his submission and pay tribute.

Conceive a beautiful little boy of 8 years old, brought into the midst of Feringees amongst strangers represented as Monsters, who eat cows and destroy Sikhs by thousands – the brave little fellow showed no fear; I embraced him and made him laugh, a gt. Eastern indecorum, gave him a musical box with a bird and trays of presents which he looked at with curiosity. Our talk was diplomatic of old Runjeet his father (who was not his father) and after an hour the boy retired with a salute of 21 guns from our loud 24 pounders and now I am about to dress and proceed to Lahore.

Camp
Lahore, Maron
1st, 1846

Dearest Wife,

We have just said our prayers in my large Durbar tent and I am grateful to God for the important success, which have attended our arms and for the safety of our dear boys in the midst of such severe conflicts.

I hope to sign the treaty on or before the 10th and on the 12th to be on my way to the hills at Simla.

I cannot say whether my policy in dealing with the Sikh nation will be approved or not, I had already explained to the Cabinet that I considered the annexation of all the Sikh territories to the Indus great misfortune and that if possible it ought to be avoided. I had also explained in the same letter upwards of year ago, that the subsidiary system of hiring a British Force to coerce the people driven to desperation, a most cruel and dangerous policy on our extreme frontier, bad and wicked, everywhere but perilous here. I also had explained that the native states to be kept up in these frontier countries ought to be Hindoos and not Mohamedans and Hindoos act as our advanced Guard of Mohamedan Tribes, who have for ages invaded India by this very country of Lahore, as far back as the time of Alexander. For Porus was a Sikh King¹ and the river which we have passed is in the Greek Histories called the Hyphasis. Our policy is therefore, to uphold Hindoos and not Musselman. We have given these Sikhs a great beating and taken from them 220 guns and 36 more are to be surrendered, because they were fired at us. We think they may be more submissive after this trial of strength and I have not only confiscated the Sikh territories on the left bank of the Sutledge. But I have annexed a very rich district bounded by the river Beas to the Indian Empire, chiefly to improve our Frontier, as well as to weaken the Sikh Nation by the loss of so valuable a district. I have insisted on the payment of 1 million and a quarter of money to

1. Sikhism came into being in the last quarter of the 15th century, while Porus was a king of Alexander the Great's times.

be paid down and the rest in a few months. I have made all the hill tribes touching our hill frontier independent of the Sikhs for nearly 300 miles in extent touching upto Attock on the Indus, taking in Kashmere. I have placed all these countries under a Rajpoot Dynasty or Chief called Rajah Golab Singh, who is by religion a Hindoo. Thus I have punished the Sikhs for their unprovoked aggression upon us by stripping them of 1/3 of their territory and making it over, to a Rajpoot who is to be independent of them. This territory it would have been most inconvenient for us to occupy with troops. We occupy their citadel, their Prince has come before me in Durbar and implored pardon, the expenses of the war will be defrayed by Sikh money. Our new territories are useful to our frontier and the revenues from our conquests will pay all expenses. We give the Sikhs another trial if they can control their army with 1/3 of their territory taken away. They are still strong enough to beat any native power that can assail them, but too weak again to invade us. I propose to march our 220 captured cannons through India, down to Calcutta. The sight will convey a much stronger impression than the gates of Somnauth. Lord Ellenborough may object to this policy that having conquered Lahore I have not made the Indus our Boundary. The government at Home, Whig and Tory never would, I believe, accede to this annexation of Lahore. With my small means it would have been impossible at this season of the year, I have acted with moderation and I believe my policy to be the best. Fighting one day and negotiating the next is very captivating, if I had not my two boys by my side, inspite of good nerves, I have gone through much anxiety and have had many difficulties to contend against, which at some future time I can explain.

Sir Hugh Gough is fine old veteran, ready to fight on all occasions with many very excellent qualities. Sir C. Napier will be here on the 3rd, but too late, which I much regret for all our operations are over. When the Treaty is signed, I shall retire to Simla and endeavour to employ myself in internal improvements, after rewarding the army in every way that justice and policy can devise. I hope Peel and the Duke will be satisfied. You and Walter will see that our quarrel was most just and was a case of self-defence and that military operations have not made me defect from the line of policy, which before the war, I considered most expedient for the

true interest of India. If the Peel Govt. cannot stand I shall be quite ready to return. But if I am honourably treated and my recent conduct approved, I should not be justified in sacrificing the public service to gratify party feeling or my extreme desire to return to you. My strength, my head, my frame, and nerves are equal to the service. I have had to perform in this campaign at this the cold season of the year. But any long residence in a hot or moist region like Calcutta would be very prejudicial.

The reflection that I shall leave our children in circumstances suited to their station and comfort relieves me in the midst of my labours. I think of them and of you the first moment I awake and call for lights. Which is at 4 A.M.

Yours ever,
H.H.

Lahore, March 2nd

Dearest Wife,

I am in the midst of negotiations and movements of troops, but by being regularly called at 4 in the morning, I get through a good deal of business, but when I return to you, I shall do nothing but lounge away my time in remembrance of you. We have paid off Sikh soldiery or rather the Minister is doing it, and we hope to reorganize 20,000 men before we go. I do not intend to leave any garrisons in the Sikh territories, but a strong force on the frontier. I wrote to Home last mail. I do not think I have gossips enough for another letter this time. Charles and Arthur are flourishing. My knee is very nearly well and I am in good health. When Nassir arrives, I give the C.C. a great dinner in the Durbar Tent which will hold 150 guests. I am afraid the campaign has been unfavourable to economy. My camp has been a large hotel, but it is proper to be hospitable on these occasions and at Simla I shall be very quiet on my way. There I have a dozen Princes to receive at Loodiana some to chide with words of reproach, others to praise and reward and yet with all this power which I endeavour to use with honesty and impracticability, I should be delighted to be in the Tingle or the oak room receiving my

neighbours instead of these Rajas. If I had been a bachelor and not humanized by a wife and children, I am sure I should have been very ambitious but my opportunity occurring late in life I am discreet and moderate and somewhat of a philosopher, I rather like diplomacy, when regulated by integrity and I am in every step anxious that the mode of accomplishing my object should be above all suspicion. The man, whom I have to deal with, Golab Singh, is the greatest rascal in Asia unfortunately. It is necessary to improve his condition, because he did not participate in the war against us and his territories touching ours, we can protect him without inconveniences and give him a slice of the Sikh territory, which balances his strength in some degree against theirs, and as he is geographically our ally, I must forget he is a rascal and treat him better than he deserves. However, having by force of arms complete power, I have used it leniently, but in language that cannot be misunderstood. I have proclaimed to all Asia that any further relapse on the part of the Sikhs, will be their destruction.

Let me know what you think and what you hear of all my proceedings and 'nothing extenuate' and if the Lord of the Admiralty condemns, bear it patiently. Love to dear little Emily.

Ever your devoted, attached,
H.H.

My Dearest Wife,

I have nearly settled the treaty and expect to get away by the 10th or 12th. The army will return about the same time and war alarms will not be turned to merry meetings. I have liberally rewarded troops, but without seeing their applause I believe my measures for their welfare and my presence amongst them in danger have attended to make them consider me as their friend. By no other means do I look popularity and my training in the House of Commons' has made me callous to censure unless applauded by those I respect. Our field operations must be approved. My diplomacy satisfies my conscience,

1. Sir Henry Hardinge had been member of Parliament years before joining as Governor General of India.

and gives me very little anxiety. Upon the whole I am satisfied that by the blessing of God, we have brought this affair to an honourable and satisfactory conclusion.

Charles has made some sketches of Lahore and some of those he had lost have been found and his collection to his family members will really be very valuable.

Your neighbour at Penshurst will be surprised that your old man should so suddenly have changed his pruning knife for a sword, and have taken an active part in all this turmoil but I shall now have a peaceful govt. of two years carrying out my plans of education and interior improvement without interruption.

Providence has protected and guided me and given victory as the reward of my previous moderation and reluctance to draw the sword. Our quarrel was most just and the atonement I have exacted is lenient compared to the offence, I much wish to see the Ranee but I fear what I shall feel. I intend that the little Maharanee and his Ministers should come to my Tent and sign the treaty, my officers, generals and staff ranged on one side and the Black Sirdars on the other.

The only point on which I am not quite satisfied is the turn which affairs may take when we go away. This is inevitable. We leave the govt. and the nation independent and if a severe moral lesson be disregarded, and our advice slighted, they must take the consequences.

This campaign of 60 days is an interesting epoch in my life. I forget my fatigues and responsibilities, but I gratefully remember every day the infinite mercies of the Supreme Governor of all nations, and I am confident I shall die a better man than if I had toiled out the remainder of my days in the heat and anxiety of party strifes.

I got on my horse this morning for the first time since the 10th and bore it very well. Everything is prosperous with us and now that all your alarms are over, I hope to hear that you are happy enjoying our triumphs and grateful for the merciful interposition by which our puny efforts have been rewarded by Victory.

Ever your devoted,

H.H.

**PRIVATE LETTERS OF
LORD CHARLES HARDINGE, VICEROY
LORD OF PENSURST**

***From Penshurst Collection
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England***

**TO COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS
MAHARAJA SIR GANGA SINGH BAHADUR,
G.C.S.I. of Bikaner¹**

Govt. House, Calcutta, Dec. 19, 1910

My Dear Maharaja,

Very much thanks for your very kind and friendly letter of the 10th instant, which it was a great pleasure to me to receive. It is my aim and object to establish such relations of confidence and friendship between the Ruling Chiefs and myself that they will not hesitate to call my attention to matters of interest and of Imperial concern which might be of advantage or disadvantage, as the case may be, to the interest of good Government and Administration. You have done this in the case of Mr. Gait's circular and I am very grateful to Your Highness for having done so, as it is a proof to me of your confidence in my good intentions to mete out even-handed justice in administering this great country. I am glad to be able to say that it is now three weeks ago that my attention was drawn to the agitation that was going on in the press in connection with Mr. Gait's circular, and I at once sent for Mr. Butler, whose Department is charged with the Census arrangements, and after discussing the matter with him, told him that the Circular should not be enforced and that all cause for agitation amongst the Hindus must be removed. I even suggested that a reassuring communique should be inserted in the *Pioneer*, and this I understand has been done. It appears to me to have had the desired effect since the flow of telegrams of protest that I was receiving has entirely ceased. I am quite confident that Mr. Butler will take good care that such a mistake is not repeated.

I am aware that the Mohammedans have been somewhat agitated by my speech at Bombay to the deputation of their co-religionists who presented me with an address, but I adhere to every

1. Hardinge Papers, Cambridge University, Vol. 81, Part I, Letter No. 36.

word that I said on that occasion, and I am convinced that concessions and special privileges to one class can only produce rancour and hostility amongst others, and that is the very last result that I desire to achieve. It is a matter of sincere regret to me that there is at present so much hostility in the Punjab between the Hindus and Mohammedans, and I only wish I could see my way to removing it. I am afraid that this can only be done with time, but I devoutly hope that the time will be short, and that friendly relations which have hitherto existed will soon be restored.

I was very much interested in the account of your duck shoot. The bag was amply prodigious. I have never heard of a better shoot anywhere. I was also greatly interested by the individual scores.

I have not forgotten your very kind invitation to me and Lady Hardinge to pay you a visit at Bikaner some time next year, and if I can possibly manage to do so next cold weather I will certainly come. I shall look forward very much to seeing you and that fine young son of yours.

I have not yet heard any details of their Majesties' visit to India for the Durbar. I rather anticipate that the King Emperor will shoot in Nepal, where he was to have shot five years ago but was prevented by an outbreak of cholera. I know that the Maharaja wishes him to shoot there, but I do not yet know His Majesty's intentions.

I thank your Highness very warmly for all your good wishes for Xmas and the New Year, and I wish you and your family and your State much happiness and prosperity in the forthcoming New Year.

Believe me, your very sincerely,
(Sd) Hardinge of Penshurst.

**From H. E. Hon'ble Sir George Sydenham Clarke,
G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Governor of Bombay¹**

Bombay, January 22nd, 1911

(Private)

My dear Lord Hardinge,

It was very kind of you to tell me the decision about the Jam's nazarana. I think he ought to be satisfied.

The Aga Khan came to see me on Thursday last. I find he, too, is most anxious that something should be done to mark the King's visit. He will doubtless speak to you about this question when he goes to Calcutta. It is not easy to estimate how far he represents Mohammedan opinion, as he is only the head of a sub-section of a section of a branch of the community; but his knowledge of affairs and ability undoubtedly give him power over Mohammedans generally and he has means of ascertaining opinions which are denied to us.

The man who calls himself Saint Nihal Singh² came to me with a commendation from Dunlop Smith, and I therefore did what I could for him, though he did not impress me at all favourably. It now appears that he has written much dangerous nonsense, and his connection with American papers may enable him to do a good deal of harm. I have no doubt that you will inform the India Office of this man's antecedents, so I will do nothing in the matter.

Sir Dorab Tata came to me with a request that I would approach you in regard to his desire that the memorial to his father should be unveiled by the King. The father was certainly the greatest Indian pioneer of industry; but I do not think it would be fitting that His Majesty should perform a ceremony of this kind, and I did not hold out any hopes. Perhaps it would be best if I told Sir Dorab that it cannot be arranged.

Among other matters mentioned to me is a desire that there should be a large and representative gathering of school children to greet His Majesty in Bombay. If he stops a few days here, I should

1. Cambridge University Library, Hardinge Papers Vol. 81, No. 1165.

2. Sant Nihal Singh was elder brother of Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh of Delhi. He was journalist and used to write for American papers.

like this to be arranged, if you think well of the idea. I hope I shall have an early intimation as to his stay, if any, as I should like decoration on the route, etc. to be thoroughly well done. They were miserably ineffective in 1905.

We had a delightful tour and found the people wherever we stopped extremely cordial. My council meets on Thursday, and there is a deluge of questions which causes much pressure on us all, but may be a useful means of getting off a little steam.

I hope that you had a very interesting visit to Allahabad.

I forgot to say that the Aga Khan thinks half a million grant from the Home Treasury would suffice, and that at least an equal amount would be forthcoming in India. I do not believe that any opposition would be raised in Parliament in any quarter that counts; but ministers are often too timid in these matters, and I have often noted that the opinion of the whips has been in fault.

I do not quite like the recent Russo-German negotiations. So far as I understand them, they do not affect our interests prejudicially, but they seem to indicate a tendency to treat us and the French as negligible factors which is not pleasant, though possibly true. Until the political situation clears at home, I fear we are non-concours.

With all kind wishes to your excellencies,

I am, yours very sincerely,
Sd/-G.S. Clarke

TO THE HON'BLE SIR LOUIS DANE,
K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lt. Govr. of the Punjab¹

Govt. House, Calcutta, March 10th, 1911

My dear Sir Louis,

I understand that amongst the functions that will take place at Lahore during my visit to you will be a Durbar, and I presume that I shall be expected to make a speech on that occasion. The connection of my family with the Punjab will afford a certain amount of material

1. *Ibid.*, Letter no. 149.

for my speech, but I should be glad of any suggestion or ideas that you could offer to help me in preparing a speech. I might endeavour to depict very briefly the immense development of the Punjab since the days of the Sikh wars, emphasising the debt of the country to the British Government in this respect. I should be most grateful to you for any suggestions, and would be glad to have them as soon as possible.

I am looking very much to my visit to you,

Yours very sincerely,
Sd/- Hardinge of Penshurst

FROM THE HON'BLE SIR LOUIS DANE,
K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lt. Govr. of Punjab¹,

Lahore, March 13, 1911

Dear Lord Hardinge,

I sent yesterday to Mr. DuBoulay, a note containing suggestions for topics which your excellency might like to mention. I also sent a copy of a speech which I made at the Lahore Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition in December 1909, as this gives some account of the development of the Punjab in the past and shows what problems are now concerning us here. I have also added my appeal for our very successful King Edward Memorial. We have collected over 14 lakhs, and hope to get in 15. I had hoped that Your Excellency would be able to lay the foundation stone of the new college, but there are difficulties about the site which I may not be able to get over in time.

It is proposed to hold the Durbar in the Sish Mahal in the Fort, where your grandfather had two meetings with Maharaja Dalip Singh and the Sikhs in January 1846. They have the account of these in the Foreign Deptt. I have ascertained that the Sikhs would not resent such a Durbar. In fact, we now hear the two Sikh wars are merely the necessary heating up for the welding of the Punjab again into the Indian Empire.

The Durbar will be held in the evening, as it will be cooler and

2. *Ibid*, Hardinge papers no. 180.

the light suits better. It was suggested that on returning from the Durbar, Your Excellency might like to pass through the old city with Chiefs on elephants and rejoin your carriage at the Delhi gate. Lord Minto did this and was much interested. The Indian ladies all turn out, and it is a pretty sight which cannot be matched elsewhere. Maxwell thinks that it may spin out things too much, and there is of course this objection, I know too well how very arduous is a Viceroy's tour. We have therefore cut out the passage through the city. If, however, it is desired to retain it, and Maxwell telegraphs, we can still get in the elephants in time.

There was every prospect of a bumper harvest, but we are now having heavy rain and thunder storms, which, if general, may do a great deal of harm, though they are keeping it wonderfully cool, I trust that it will not heat up too much before the 31st, as, if it is cool here, I think that you will like Lahore.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Louis Dane

TO THE HON. MR. S. H. BUTLER,
C.S.I., C.I.E., Member of the Viceroy's Council¹

Viceroy's Camp, April 9th, 1911

(Private)

My dear Butler,

Very much thanks for your interesting letter of the 4th, which I received last night.

I enclose you a letter which has been forwarded to me by Lord Morley from a missionary society interested in mission work in Madras. Would you very kindly look into the matter and let me know if there is any reply that I should give and what it is ?

I am very glad to hear that your negotiations respecting the Mohammedan University are progressing satisfactorily. I have been very careful in my references to the subject in the replies that I have made to Mohammedan addresses. I am sure you will be able to keep

1. *Ibid*, Letter No. 182.

in touch with the Mohammedan leaders who are ready to accept Government control. I was aware that there was an opposition to the Aga Khan's movement in Bengal and Eastern Bengal, chiefly owing to the fact that they wanted money spent on Mohammedan education in those two provinces rather than on a Mohammedan University elsewhere. It was pointed out to me on more than one occasion by people from Eastern Bengal that the movement in favour of a Mohammedan University was only supported by a certain section of the Mohammedan community, and that I had only to hold up my little finger to encourage the Mohammedans of Eastern Bengal and Bengal to have nothing to say to it and to wreck the Aga Khan's scheme. Of course I would never do anything of the kind—certainly without consulting you—and it would I think have been a very dangerous step to take. It would probably have alienated from us the largest and most important section of the Mohammedan community. Moreover, it would not have been playing straight with the Aga Khan.

I saw a good deal of the Mohammedan community at Lahore, and I was very much impressed by their loyal bearing. I was careful to pay some attention to them and I visited their Anjuman, and also their Islamiya school, expressly because the Durbar which I held in the Fort was practically a Sikh Durbar. I did not want the Sikhs to go away with greater swelled heads than they already have, and that they should be able to say that they were the only people to whom I thought it worthwhile to pay any attention.

I do not think we need bother about the Hindu University until we see the idea is making progress, but that it will come there can be no doubt whatever.

I am very much interested in and obliged to you for your opinions about the situation in Dacca and Eastern Bengal. What you say about the start that has been made in that province corresponds exactly with what everybody has told me, and particularly the great progress made there in education. I understand that the failing at present in that province is to find sufficiently educated people to hold the various official posts, but that they are doing their utmost to make the leeway that they have lost in the past. The demand for a High Court will undoubtedly have to be satisfied before long, but I shall certainly wait until the demand becomes an overwhelming one,

in view of the hostility to such an idea that would be developed in Calcutta.

I am very grateful to you for your views as to the necessary measures for strengthening the police. The fact that so many dacoits go on in Eastern Bengal without apparently any prevention or detection by the police shows that the state of the police is absolutely rotten, and I am convinced in my own mind that we shall not obtain any improvement until a few outsiders are drafted in from elsewhere. But I think that your ideas as to what is necessary are so good that I should be grateful if, after a talk with Jenkins, you would bring them up in Council at Simla and let us all discuss the question together.

I am enjoying my stay in Quetta very much. It is far more peaceful than my visit to Lahore, and more restful than my visit to Karachi will be. I am glad to hear that my speeches have made a good impression outside the Punjab, as I had to steer a very careful course amongst many dangerous shoals.

The weather here is perfectly lovely—cold and bracing, and makes one feel extraordinarily fit. We were very glad to get a glimpse of Mrs. Butler one evening at Lahore.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Hardinge of Penshurst.

No. 182 a.

To : The Hon'ble Sir Louis Dane,
K.C.I.E., C.E.I., Lt. Governor of the Punjab.

Vicroy's Camp.,
April 10th, 1911

My dear Sir Louis,

I cannot help thinking it was a peculiarly happy idea of yours to bring into Lahore the fine body of retired Native officers I reviewed on Tuesday last. As you no doubt have become aware, I have not only a very large sympathy for soldiers, but hold strongly that, as they exist in the Punjab which produces the finest fighting material in India, they form a political element whose influence, for good or for evil, will much depend on the nature of our treatment of them—particularly of those who, having served long and faithfully, have retired as pensioners.

Now it is with references to this treatment that I wish to speak to you. Having heard a great deal from various sources of the increasing lack of consideration shown to retired Native officers in the Punjab, who complain that their izzat is waning, I could not help noticing how, at the parade, large groups of officers were allowed to come unaccompanied by the Deputy Commissioner of the District, and who consequently had no one to introduce them, nor tell me the history of any particularly distinguished among them. On the other hand, I noticed that when, as in the case of the Jhelum contingent, it was accompanied by the Deputy Commissioner, the number of men who came appeared to be greatly in excess over those of any other district, except perhaps that of Lahore, which again had their Deputy Commissioner.

Maxwell tells me that a great many of the old gentlemen appear to have had rather indefinite information as to the hour and date of the reception, and that they began to arrive two or three hours before the time fixed and had to wait outside govt. house gates – an object-lesson again being afforded by the appearance of the Jhelum Deputy Commissioner with his contingent, which under his auspices swept in without demur or delay. Surely, if izzat is the talisman, it appears to be, those that came in with Major Fox-Strangways had their need of it, while those without a shepherd and kept waiting outside, had not.

If you agree with me so far, and I feel sure by your action in summoning these pensioners you will, perhaps you could find some means of letting absent Deputy Commissioners know that I regretted their non-appearance with what I consider a very important section of the community committed to their charge, and that I feel this regret, inspite of my knowledge that they have in general to work at high pressure.

Having written at some length on what has come under my personal notice at Lahore, may I briefly pursue the subject into the country-side? Could Deputy Commissioner be given a hint to show more attention generally to these retired officers? These latter should form good material in many cases for Honorary Magistrate (I saw but two amongst the 500 odd assembled in your garden) when Panchayats come to be formed, strong representation on them should be possible, while District Boards again give an opportunity for such men to do useful work and to come in contact with the Sahib – the

chief means, as I understand, by which izzat is attained. That there is feeling of soreness I feel convinced, and if, as it has been said, it has arisen, or at any rate increased in proportion as the soldiers of the old Punjab Commission diminish, it is time that the young civilian was clearly told that the Punjab is a province with the strongest military instincts, and that to deny sympathy to the soldier or ex-soldier is not only unjust but impolitic to the last degree.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Hardinge of Penshurst

From B. M. Malabari, Esq.

Bandora Hill, Bombay, May 3rd, 1911.

Dear Mr. DuBoulay

Pray render my hearty thanks to the Viceroy for his kind message.

His Excellency's remarks on the absence of permanent medical supervision at Dharampore are perfectly just. There are other shortcomings, too, of which I am painfully conscious. But you know how difficult it is in India to work up large schemes.

Will His Excellency add to the value of his support by sending me a small letter, not for publication but for circulation with an appeal to leading men? Few in India care for charity unless backed by heads of society. But for Lord Minto's generous and constant attention, neither the Seva Sadan nor the King Edward Sanatorium would have prospered even to this extent. I wish both to be firmly established before the King and Queen reach Delhi.

Our sanatorium stands on an ideal site, amid ideal conditions. Patiala will give us a qualified medical man as soon as the Hardinge Hospital is ready. Meanwhile I am arranging for a small nursing staff at my own expense.

It would be far better for India to have one institution like ours, large and well-equipped, than to go in for several straggling little things over the country, without adequate provision and on indifferent sites.

A few lines to this effect from His Excellency will enable me to get substantial aid from those who have been hanging back, as is their wont in such matters. But please note this is subject to your own approval.

I enclose Patiala's letter to me, written shortly after the Lahore interview. You will see the lad feels His Excellency's kindness. I only hope your own reports about him are not discouraging.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-B. M. Malabari

From B. M. Malabari, Esq.¹

Bandora Hill, Bombay, May 14th, 1911.

Dear Lord Hardinge,

It is most kind in Your Excellency helping the King Edward Sanatorium in so many ways. You were really helping a great work. I have striven every nerve to secure a good doctor and a nurse. Patiala has offered to aid my efforts, and so has Gwalior.

Your Excellency's interest in the former is likely to give a new turn to his life and to the lifeless administration, of which he is the head. The boy was Punjab's forlorn hope till within the last two years when Dunlop Smith interested me in his behalf. It was an incredibly sad tale. Lord Landsdowne has told me something, years ago, about the boy's father, which has helped me to keep him straight so far.

Ganga Singh of Bikaner, whose mother I have stood in the relation of a brother, also told me of your interest in the young Sikh, who could not have a better guide during his trip to Europe. Ganga Singh is perhaps the finest Rajput of the present generation.

Government must be considering the future of Jodhpur – Marwar. If I may venture upon a word of advice, little short of a Council of Regency, with a European at its head, will meet the requirements of the case. Jodhpur has never been happy since Colonel Powlatt (whom I did not know) left it. Sardar Singh, who died the other day, was not a bad sort, but already played out. Lord Curzon

1. *Ibid.* Letter no. 254.

made a mistake in sending that feeble minded boy to Europe with a European companion himself bent on pleasure. The result was disastrous for our easy-going Rajput. And on his return, Lord Curzon threatened to depose the victim. It was with some difficulty that this second mistake was averted. But Sardar Singh lost heart and never rallied again. He came to me last year, a man only in name, and has now succumbed to a disease from which very few of his class are free.

Dholpur has gone the same way – and old Nabha and other are already said to be at work to provide his heir with "wives". Cannot Government save these little chaps from a much-married existence which spells their ruin, body and soul? I should be slow to follow Nabha's advice about Patiala and Dholpur, or Idar's about Jodhpur. They stand too near to the boys, and probably dislike their growing to honest, healthy manhood. It is not every Englishman that can realise the situation; my poor friend Dunlop did not.

This is a longer yarn than I meant it to be. But both Your Excellency's Private Secretary and Foreign Secretary are new to this category of questions which I have had the privilege of discussing with most of your predecessors since Lord Northbrook's time. I may therefore, perhaps be forgiven the liberty, especially as I never pit my advice against that of your responsible advisers, nor wish it to be accepted without proper sifting. And even then it is no concern of mine if the advice is rejected.

With best wishes for your health,

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- B.M. Malabari

Hardinge Papers Vol. 82

No. 37 a.

From Sardar Jogendra Singh, Home Minister of Patiala

Simla, June 21st, 1911.

My dear Mr. DuBoulay

Apropos of our conversation regarding some of the Indian questions, I think it is better for me to place my views before you in writing. Possibly you may find them of some interest.

1. My objections against separate electorate are that they go against the spirit of British rule, which has hitherto made no distinctions of castes and creeds, so much so that it did not claim any special privilege even for the Europeans. If I may be permitted to say so, the success of the British Rule is due to its unsectarian character and even-handed justice between man and man. The Government has so far utilised the services of those, who were best fitted by education and temperament to carry out the high ideals of British administration whether they happened to be Hindus, Mohammedans or Christians. I take it that the competitive examinations for higher service have not been opened in India, because it has been considered desirable to employ only those in high offices, who by a long residence in England have outgrown narrow and parochial views of life, and are thus fitted to be the members of the British administration. I feel that the introduction of communal representation goes directly against those principles of the government, which have been successful so far. The indirect result of the separate representation has been that it had given rise to ill-feelings between the two communities inhabiting India, so much so that many Hindu Judicial officers are not able to do justice in the cases of Mohammedans, and the Mohammedans in the case of Hindus. It may be said this has nothing to do with separate representation, but that it is the indirect result of this new departure cannot be denied. On the whole, the recognition of special claims is a new departure, and a sufficient time should be allowed to elapse before it is carried any further. The question which needs an answer is whether it strengthens the government and serves the interests of the Mohammedans feel that instead of strengthening the Government, it will eventually create many difficulties in the administration of

the country. At present the feeling is confined only to the articulate minority of the two communities, but if it spreads to the Army, it will undermine its solidarity. Its indirect influence on the minds of Judicial officers will make administration of justice impossible.

2. As for serving the interests of the Mohammedans, I have grave doubts on this point. The great majority of the Mohammedans population lives in the villages, and are on very friendly terms with other communities. Supposing the feeling spreads to the villages, is it possible to divide the interests of the village communities into two separate compartments to prevent clashing of interests? Don't you think that, if feelings of discord spread in the village, it will make all schemes of co-operation and agricultural organization impossible? I am strongly of opinion that, before the system of separate electorate is introduced into the District and Municipal Boards, sufficient time may be allowed to elapse, and the results of separate electorate in the Legislative Councils carefully watched before any extension of the scheme is decided upon; another three years will be quite sufficient to demonstrate the working of the system and its influence on administration.

Another question that I wish to bring to your notice is that of land revenue. Our government took over the system from the Moghals. The Moghal government who put a very high land tax use to form out lands to the Munsabdars and tried to squeeze as much as possible from the poor ryots. The British Government has taken out the system, and helped the progress of agricultural development by fairly long term settlements (20 to 30 years) but the incidents of the land tax are very unequal in various provinces of the India. The Punjab, being the land of peasant proprietors, pays a lighter tax than other provinces, and the country is comparatively prosperous, and yields in the aggregate better revenue than some of the sister provinces, where the cultivator of the soil pays a higher land rent. I feel that the peasants need rest, and should be protected by good rent laws. The Government may feel that it will entail a great loss of revenue, but looking ahead it seems that, in the prosperity of the peasants, the Government will assure its own prosperity, and find the loss in land revenue from other indirect sources. The land revenue is often increased merely on the basis of a rise in the prices of grain,

and no allowances are made for the depreciation in the purchasing power of the rupee and the standard of living, which is continuously rising. Therefore, the land tax, too, should be raised after a careful discussion in the council, and when the need for such an increase has been fully established.

These are controversial questions but there are other things which might engage the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy and are sure to produce very healthy and lasting results. The most important question is the education of the villagers suited to their requirements and adapted to meet their peculiar interests. I do not think it is possible to make education compulsory; all that is necessary is to prove the utility of education and its practical use to the people. Once the people find that education helps them in their daily life, and makes them better agriculturists and farmers, it will at once become attractive and popular, and the financial question may solve itself with the active co-operation of the people themselves. My scheme of rural education, which I have sent to you, indicates the lines on which perhaps schemes of education could be framed for each province to suit its peculiar requirements.

The compact with the Western thoughts, the direct results of higher education, has done much to shake faith and sapped the foundation of belief. An educated Indian has to contend with conflicting ideals, his life and mother hold to forms of belief which he regards as exploded superstitions. The children that are brought up under the influence of such cross-currents of thoughts often grow without any religious faith. I admit that we must have some form of religious education in the schools, but it is an established fact that the real education of a child is almost over before he goes to school; that it is mothers alone who can awaken noble ideals in the childish mind and instil the child mind with the strength of faith and devotion which endures for ever. I feel strongly that in the education of women of India on right lines, lies the only hope of happy natural life for Indians. The scheme of education for the women of India should be prepared in conformity with the Eastern ideals made pure and free, but not wholly foreign. It is a question if it is taken up by Her Excellency Lady Hardinge, which will not only popularise the Government of His Excellency Lord Hardinge, but bear far-reaching

results. My remedy for disaffection and discontent is female education and reformation of higher education on rational lines. The present system of examinations makes too great a demand on the mental powers of the pupils; it often chokes and inflates their brains, with ideas which they cannot understand in relation to their own environment. Many undergraduates are married men; and the strain is too great for boys who have the added responsibility of a family life. They get their degrees, but lose their health, and are for ever discontented; a healthy body and a healthy mind can make light of difficulties, and if the educational system is revised on more rational lines with a complete appreciation of the capacity of the Indian boys, half the discontent will naturally disappear and make room for a healthier life.

The question of organization of agriculture and village sanitation, particularly in the Punjab deserve attention, but this letter has already become inordinately long, and I must beg you to excuse me for inflicting it on you, but I am sure you can look with amusement upon the portentous seriousness of my ridiculous letter. After all a higher power shapes everything for ends, which we do not know.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Jogendra Singh

PS : I am off to Patiala tomorrow for 10 days.

Sd/- J. Singh

From the Hon'ble Mr. J. L. Jenkins, C.S.I.,
Member of the Viceroy's Council

Simla, July 22nd, 1911

Dear Lord Hardinge

I return the copy of Mr. Mackarness' letter to Lord Crewe regarding the alleged persecution of Lala Lajpat Rai, which your Excellency made over to me sometime ago, and I enclose a note on the subject. I am sorry there has been so much delay, but we have only now succeeded in extracting exact information from the

Punjab Govt. I am told that Mr. Mackarness is an honest man, and perhaps it would be a good thing to let him know what manner of man his protege is.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- J. L. Jenkins

(Enclosure to the above letter)

Note by the Hon'ble Mr. J. L. Jenkins, C.S.I.

Lala Lajpat Rai is by no means the harmless philanthropist that Mr. Mackarness apparently believes him to be. He was described in the telegram from the Viceroy to the Secy. of State, dated 8th May 1907 as "a revolutionary and political enthusiast inspired by the most intense hatred of the British Govt."

That this description was fully deserved is clearly demonstrated by his conduct, his writings and his speeches, of which we have a fairly complete record. The following quotation from a speech delivered on the 13th December 1905 may serve as a sample:

"Youngmen your blood is hot. The tree of the nation calls for blood. It is watered with blood. The writing in heaven concerning the intellectual idea of the Indian nation appears to have been inscribed in blood. The memory of your martyrdom will remain. The foundation of buildings have khangar¹ thrown into them to make them strong. Let us throw ourselves into the foundation of the national edifice to serve the purpose of khangar".

As a rule Lajpat Rai was more careful in his utterances, though his meaning was sufficiently obvious; but his lieutenant, Ajit Singh was more outspoken, and his speeches teem with exhortations to rise and slaughter the British oppressors.

Lajpat Rai's aims were clearly disclosed in correspondence which was produced at the trial of one Parmanand for sedition. In letters of Parmanand Lajpat Rai advised the supply of revolutionary literature to Indian students which would "lead to solid results", and expressed a fear lest "the outburst might be premature".

His efforts for the relief of famine in the United Province were

1. A kind of cement

inspired, not by philanthropy, but by hatred of the British and of the Christian religion. As he said himself, he feared lest the hearts of the people should be drawn to the British officers and the missionaries who were engaged in the relief of the famine-stricken, unless something were done to prevent it. His associates in the scheme of famine relief were Sunder Lal, who was convicted in the anti-European riots in the Punjab, and Hardayal, one of the most notorious of the gang of conspirators and plotters of assassination established in Europe.

In fact, whatever Lajpat Rai may be now, there is not the slightest doubt that he has been a dangerous conspirator, responsible for much of the trouble and the crime by which India has been disturbed during the past few years.

Careful enquiry has been made into the complaints made by Mr. Mackarness regarding the treatment of the District Judge and other officials of Gurdaspur on account of their alleged association with Lala Lajpat Rai. The result is as follows :

1. The transfer of the District Judge, Rai Bahadur Sansar Chand from Gurdaspur had nothing whatever to do with Lajpat Rai's visit to the place. On the 11th April, eleven days before the visit, the Deputy Commissioner wrote to the Chief Court recommending that Rai Bahadur Sansar Chand should be invested with higher power, in order that the work of the district might be adequately dealt with. The Chief Court did not consider him fit for the higher power, and arranged to appoint a more capable District Judge to the place, transferring Rai Bahadur Sansar Chand to another district.

The order of the transfer was passed by the Chief Court for purely administrative reasons, before it was even known that Lala Lajpat Rai had visited Gurdaspur.

2. It was reported that Rai Bahadur Sansar Chand had, with other people, accompanied Lala Lajpat Rai to the station in a sort of procession, and had left Gurdaspur in the same train with him, thus quitting his charge without leave. He was called upon to explain his conduct by the Deputy Commissioner and the Registrar of the Chief Court. He denied having accompanied Lajpat Rai, but admitted leaving his charge without leave, and apologised; and there the matter ended. It may be added that, if he really had taken part in a demonstration in honour of Lajpat Rai, he would have been guilty of grave misconduct,

since all Government servants are strictly prohibited from taking part in any political demonstrations.

3. There is no truth whatever in the statement that the civil surgeon, the Munsiff and a clerk in the Deputy Commissioner's Vernacular office were reprimanded nor was any one's promotion stopped.

Lala Lajpat Rai has since been elected Municipal Commissioner of Lahore, largely owing to the Punjab Government having indicated that they had no objection to his being elected. He has reason to be grateful to the Government rather than the contrary.

Simla, August 1st, 1911

My dear Viceroy

I send you herewith the paper I promised you on the Sikh question. I fear it is very long and not as definite as it might be, but the subject is a very difficult one. I have sent a copy each to Mr. Butler and Mr. Cleveland.

Yours very sincerely,
Sd/- O'M. Creagh

(Confidential)

MEMORANDUM

The Sikh religion has a deep interest for the Indian Government, for in its civil aspect it inculcates unquestioning loyalty, and in its military aspect the highest heroism and self-sacrifice. There seems little doubt that, without the assistance of Government, the Sikhs will shortly lose their distinctive character, which has only been preserved thus far by their military service, and revert to gross superstition and social deterioration and also divest themselves of those feelings of loyalty for which they have been hitherto celebrated in peace and war. When the British first came to India, the cardinal principle of their rule was toleration of the indigenous religions. This did not please fanatical Christians in England, who, about a hundred years ago got an act through the House of Commons, legalising the residence in India of persons desiring to work for the

moral and religious improvements of the people. This resulted in the influx of missionaries from all parts of the globe, who made it a dumping ground for their variegated conceptions of Christian teaching, and then a policy of religious neutrality was adopted. This policy is still carried on. It really means indifference towards the religions of the people, which I believe has helped to spread disloyalty and anarchist plotting. To continue it will lead to disastrous results; to remove it openly is impossible. In the case of the Sikhs, the strong interest taken in their religion by British officers of the Army has undoubtedly been a leading factor in the survival of the Sikh religion at the present time, a fact which is frankly acknowledged by the Sikhs themselves. In an address presented to Lord Dufferin by the Khalsa Diwan in 1888, the following words occur :

The British Government of course has a neutral policy in religious "matters, and will therefore have nothing to do with the religious condition" of the Sikhs, but the British Government can do much more for them in "regard to their education and moral training"

Further on the address continues :

"We must not pass over and forget to thank the military authorities for the kindness they are doing to preserve the Sikh nation. They feed it and keep it in the purity of its religion".

It is in the Sikh educational policy that the greatest harm is likely to accrue to the Sikh religion, although the Punjab Government has done much to assist, encourage and guide it in the right way.

Much can be done quietly by the new Education Department, and I believe now is the time to intervene, if Sikhism is to be saved, which can be done only with the help of Government. I will now offer my suggestions as to the best way to do this.

In 1877, a book called *The Adi Granth or Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs*, was published under the auspices, and at the expense of the Indian Government, and the India Office by Dr. Trumpp, a German Christian missionary, who took every opportunity to vilify the Sikh religion, its Gurus and sacred books. Mr. Macauliffe has recently published a book called *"The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors"* which I believe all admit to be an impartial exposition of the Sikh faith, but he states in the Preface that one of his main objects in publishing it was to make some reparation to the

Sikhs for the insults Dr. Trumpp offered to their Gurus and religion, reparation of every description having been refused by the Government of India and the India Office. Now it seems to me that, if the Indian Government through its Agent, insulted any section of the people, it should make the amends itself, and not leave it to a private individual to do so. The former treatment cannot but afford encouragement to disloyalty. The Sikh is a good soldier, a good husband and mechanic, simple and trustful when not corrupted by superficial European civilization but he is stupid where worldly matters are concerned. Amritsar, the headquarters of the Sikh religion, was founded by the Sikhs and was originally their city. But Hindus are now its richest inhabitants. They have generally shown themselves wiser and better commercial men than the Sikhs, and on this account the Sikhs seek marriages among them. This tends to efface the dividing line between the two religions, and is one of the causes of the decline of Sikhism.

Another is the neighbourhood of Arya Samajism and Mohammedanism, two proselytising religions, which do all they can to convert Sikhs, and when they fail in this, to cause dissension among them.

Sir James Lyall established the Khalsa College to try and preserve Sikhism. This college was also strongly supported by Sir Charles Rivaz, who had the same object at heart. Unfortunately, the influence of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, which had started a campaign of "nationalising" the Sikhs, soon affected the tone of the college, and infused an undesirable political bias into its counsels, which is believed to have resulted in generalism management. In the end the Punjab Government stepped in and (in 1908) succeeded in recognising the committee of management, which brought the control of the college affairs partly under Government. The result of this action however, has not been successful. On the contrary, it has accentuated faction feelings, to the preclusion of any harmonious and concerted progress. It is impossible to suppose that a committee composed of two or three British officials and the astute partisans of hostile factions, including clever pleaders and barristers, will over-achieve the objects for which the college was founded. This can only be done if the college is run on right lines, mainly under

the real Sikh leaders i.e. the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs, the leaders of the Trans-Sutlej and the Trans-Jhelum parties. This I believe has been proposed by an influential body of Sikhs, but sedition-mongers have it that it can only be done by B.A.'s and M.A.'s. These men have their heads full of political ideas and like most of the literary class in India, are affected by recent anti-British sentiments. Through their jealousies and intrigues every effort to establish a sound controlling body has failed. Now is the time when Government could slip in, get rid of the dominating influence of the objectionable politicians, and insist on the committee being presided over by these chiefs and leaders. Whom the Education Department could then guide in the right way. Thus, and thus only, can the loyalty and orthodoxy of its teaching be maintained.

The Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Sikh educational conference are subjects which require the early attention of Government. The Chief Khalsa Diwan is said to be to a large extent, responsible for the unsatisfactory state of affairs of the Khalsa College, and it probably governs the policy of the Sikh Educational Conference. The later has for its object the endowment of a system of free elementary education, which will be entirely independent of Government control. The committee has already collected a large sum of money, and subscriptions are steadily coming in. It is exceedingly important that the Education Department should obtain a controlling influence on this movement, and keep the seditious elements out. The Indian army contains about 33,000 Sikhs. Practically, the whole of these are enlisted as quite illiterate lads, and whatever education they get is in the healthy atmosphere and surroundings of our Indian regiments. The result is that our Sikh soldiers, as a body, are loyal and reliable. This will no longer be the case, if there is a general infusion of "nationalistic" ideas into every youngsters head before he leaves his village. The only safeguard is to keep true orthodox Sikhism alive, and to check the spread of the dangerous "Tat Khalsa" propaganda under the guise of free education. It is also very important to check the tendency of one section of the Sikhs, the adherents of Gurbaksh Singh, to cut themselves adrift from the main Sikh party and to throw in their lot with the Hindu Sabha, which will inevitably be the case if they cannot settle their differences with the Chief Khalsa Diwan. At

the same time there is the danger of revival of the Central Khalsa Diwan, still further separating the Sikh community, and dissolving its genuine religious ideals. The question is an exceedingly difficult one, and a thorough reorganisation will of course arouse a storm of opposition, but the longer this is delayed, the more difficult and unsatisfactory will the position become.

The Sikh states are ordinarily covered by councils, consisting of a Sikh, a Mohammedan and a Hindu, the object being to secure impartiality; but in practice this arrangement has not done so. The Sikh member has been generally ignorant, and held a Hindu, while the other two have been bitterly opposed to Sikhism. The result has been that the Hindu, being a man of figures, secured the control of the finances and dealt with benefactions, whereby Brahmans generally and men of his faith in particular, were fully endowed, while the interests of the Sikhs were neglected. Sikhism has thus been largely ignored and in some instances completely pushed aside. Till quite recently Faridkot was practically ruled by a Bengali Babu, while in the remaining Sikh States Mohammedanism and Brahmanism have been too aggressive and powerful, and Sikhism has gone to the wall. The obvious remedy for this is in future to appoint Sikh officials of integrity and ability of Sikh states.

Sometimes ago a college for the education of Punjab Chiefs was established at Lahore. It is now well understood by Sikhs that the college is ill-suited to the education of Chiefs and jobless of their faith. Peculiarities of dress and worship were ordained for Sikhs by their Gurus, and young Sikhs at this college would require great moral courage to resist the derision of their school mates, or avoid contracting freedom of thought, so fatal to their orthodoxy. Better would it be if young Sikhs were educated at the Khalsa College at Amritsar, could that institution be properly managed as suggested above, and members of its council, who are either disloyal or indifferent to their faith, be removed.

As important perhaps as any of the measures to be taken would be to make Punjabi or Gurmukhi an alternative official language in the Punjab. It is the mother tongue of all the natives of Punjab, but the Mohammedans oppose its use as an official language. I cannot see that they have any locus standi in the matter. The Sikhs must use

the language of their sacred writings.

I believe, were these measures taken by Government, Sikhism would be encouraged to do something for itself, such as rejecting the ministrations of Brahmans at their marriage ceremonies, which was much encouraged by the legalising of the Anand ceremony by Government last year.

1.8.11

O'M. Creach.

No. 146

FROM H. E. GENERAL SIR O'MOORE CREACH,
V.C., G.C.B.,
Commander-in-Chief in India

Simla, August 9th, 1911

My dear Viceroy

On reflection I think that the best way to deal with the Sikh question would be to let the Sikhs themselves ask for a British military officer to take charge of the Khalsa College. They would, I believe, be willing to do this themselves, but are afraid that such a proposal would not be looked upon favourably by Sir L. Dane. If I could assure some of my friends that he would receive it sympathetically, I am almost sure they would do the rest and rally the warring sections in the request. I think it would be best to give Sir L. Dane a copy of my paper, tell him my opinion, and that, if he would talk to me on the subject, I would explain it fully to him.

Please do not trouble to answer this letter. All I wish to say is that I would like you to use my paper and opinion in any way you think best.

Yours very sincerely,
Sd/- O'M. Creach

No. 150 : MEMORANDUM

Mr. Malabari came to see me about the Memorandum which

he understood, the Commander in Chief and submitted to Your Excellency.

He said that, in the Memorandum, the Commander-in-Chief had recommended changes in the constitution of the Council of the Khalsa College which he considers to be of two sweeping a character. He is afraid that, if a number of Native Chiefs are placed upon the Council with a certain number of Europeans, to the exclusion of the educated section of the Sikh community, there will be a strong feeling aroused, and the Sikh community, will be driven into opposition to Government. He is specially anxious that the Secretary – Sunder Lal Majithia¹ should not be removed, and thinks that even his resignation would be a very serious blow because, though not a very strong man himself, he is a man of very good family and his name carries great weight.

Mr. Malabari thought that another European Professor might be a good thing at the college.

I understood that the friction has been going on for some time, and that Government, with an idea of improving matters, made the Commissioner President of the Council of the College, and the Deputy Commissioner a member. Even that caused some grumbling among the more advanced sikhs, as they regarded it as an attempt to officialise the Council. However, things were going smoothly enough, until recently some writing was found on a wall insulting one of the European professors. The European members of the Council considered that the college should ascertain who the culprit was, and the Sikh members of the council thought they were making too much of the matter, and did not see how they were to find out who the culprit was. This renewed the friction. If this friction is not overcome, there is, he thinks, a danger that the Tat Khalsa will openly join hands with the Arya Samaj.

Another point to which he referred was the question of some money which is being collected by Sikh agents in the Punjab. Mr. Malabari tells me that the facts are that last year Jogendra Singh presided over the Annual Sikh Conference and strongly advocated

1. The correct name was Sir Sunder Singh Majithia. He belonged to the historic family of Sardar Surat Singh of Maharaja Ranjit Singh Durbar. His son Surjit Singh Majithia was Deputy Defence Minister of free India.

female education and also rural education, with the result that a fund was started for the improvement of education, especially that of girls in villages. So far some Rs. 40,000 has been promised, though it has not been collected, and there is no intention whatever of diverting the money to any other purpose than that specified. But Jogendra Singh had to admit to Mr. Malabari that he was not certain of the good character of all the collecting agents, and if they are bad characters or extremists, it was clearly possible that the money they collected might be misappropriated.

The 11th August, 1911.

J. H. Duboulay.

No. 162

**FROM THE HON'BLE SIR LOUIS DANE,
K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lt. Governor of the Punjab**

Simla, August 17th, 1911.

DEAR LORD HARDINGE

With reference to Your Excellency's letter of 26th July to Mr. Douie and our conversation this morning, I should like to suggest the following additional coronation honours and boons :

The Punjab Sikh Chiefs and specially those of Patiala and Nabha rendered, as you are aware, most valuable services during the siege of Delhi, which, indeed in the earlier stages of the Mutiny, would hardly have been possible without their active assistance. They have therefore, a special claim to consideration in connection with the coronation Durbar at Delhi. Now it so happens that we have been very chary in the past of giving high titles in the Punjab. This did not matter much when each Province was treated rather on the watertight compartment system. But since 1877 the States and chiefs of all India have been brought more together and comparisons are inevitable. It rankles with Punjab Chiefs such as these, rulers of considerable territories, wielding great political influence, and contributing more freely towards the Imperial Service movement in proportion to their revenues than most states, to find themselves classed as Rajas with salutes of eleven guns only, while chiefs of much less standing and importance elsewhere are styled Maharajas,

getting larger salutes. Considering the connection of your grandfather with the Sikh states, a proposal from Your Excellency that Jind, Nabha and Kapurthala should be raised to the status and dignity of Maharajas would be most appropriate. This enhancement of dignity would gratify not only the chiefs themselves, as I have reason to know, but would please the whole Sikh community who have special claims on our consideration.

If another and different honour such as a G.C.S.I. or G.C.I.E. is contemplated for Kapurthala, I will ascertain quietly which he would prefer as he should hardly get both on this occasion.

Then there is the case of the Nawab of Malerkotla which I mentioned this morning. He is a small chief, but one of old pedigree and long standing. His absenting himself from the Lahore Durbar was folly, but I find that Mr. Fenton, the Chief Secretary, with the idea of reducing the strain on Your Excellency, had said that he did not think that his absence would be seriously noticed. His great object is to get a return visit as Chiefs junior to him get this, and it is very galling for him to have the Viceroy driving past his camp to visit another chief. At present he has a personal salute of 11 guns and the title of His Highness. He has suffered deservedly for his folly, and perhaps as a coronation boon, the Chief of Malerkotla might, for the future, receive a return visit when he enjoys the style of His Highness and a salute of 11 guns. It is as well to do something for one of the few Mohammedan Chiefs that we have in India.

So much for the chiefs, for the agriculturists, who form the bulk of our population and will suffer heavily owing to the failure of the rains, I have proposed that a remission of a proportion of the Kharif revenue should be granted straight off. A copy of my letter to Mr. Carlyle was given to Your Excellency this morning.

As a boon to the educated classes, I would suggest that our Chief Court should be raised to the status of a High Court. This has constantly been mooted, and the main obstacle, as far as I am concerned, is the extra cost involved if the judges and establishments are to be paid the same salaries as in other Provinces. I am not sure, however, that this is absolutely necessary if funds are not available. Many of our officers draw less pay than those of the same rank elsewhere, and the Govt. of India have steadily refused to redress

the inequality. Memorials on the subject of this inequality have recently been submitted, and have formed the subject of interpellation in Parliament. I do not see why the court should not be raised to the status of a High Court even, if the salaries, for the present, remain as they are. Later on in happier times when money is available, all such salaries in the Punjab can be equalised with those drawn elsewhere. It should however, be a condition that the judges of the court should have worked on the Bar or on the Bench in the Punjab for at least seven years before appointment to the Court. This is necessary as our land laws are peculiar, and most of our land cases, which are the really important cases in the Province, are regulated by local customery, and not by the general law. If an exception must be made, not more than one judge, not having this qualification, should sit on the Bench at any given time.

I believe that these boons to the Ruling Chiefs, agriculturists and educated classes would be appreciated. They are dramatic and striking and will not cost an unreasonable amount.

I would not, as Mr. Douie preposed, announce that 10,000 acres on the lower Bari Doab canal would be reserved for grants. To do this will bring upon us a horde of hungry aspirants, and the dissatisfaction of the numerous disappointed men would outweigh the gratitude of the lucky.

Your Excellency has noted the wish of the Delhi Municipal Committee to greet His Majesty, as I need say no more, though I sincerely trust that this recognition of the position of Delhi and of the Punjab will be accorded on the occasion of His Majesty's Coronation Durbar in this province. Delhi was made over to our care after 1857 owing to the part which we took in winning it back, and it is one of our most cherished honours. I should be failing in my duty if I did not let Your Excellency know with what jealousy all Punjabis watch over that honour, and how pleased they would be by a fair recognition of their special position at Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Louis Dane.

No. 185

FROM THE HON'BLE SIR LOUIS DANE,
K.C.I.E., C.S.I. LT. GOVR. OF THE PUNJAB

Simla, August 29th, 1911.

My dear Lord Hardinge

I will find out if there is any special trouble about Jhatka meat at Lahore at present. I have not heard of it there, but it is an acute question with us in many parts of the Punjab. Jhatka meat is the meat of sheep or goats killed by being beheaded. Mohammedans cannot eat it, as it has not been killed in the name of God and they regard it as impure. Up till recently there was no question of allowing it in the boarding-houses of schools and colleges, and Sikhs and Hindus eat halal meat without demur, and there is no prohibition against their doing this. Within the last five years the Neo Sikhs, whose leading man is Sardar Sundar Singh, have started an outcry for the use of Jhatka in boarding-houses, and the Hindus against the Mohammedans. Our general rule in dealing with question of kine-slaughter and *jhatka* is not to allow any innovation and as *jhatka* had never been used in boarding houses, it was not ordinarily allowed. We have of late stretched a point, and where there is a real demand for *jhatka*, and where the space admits of this, we have allowed separate kitchens for *jhatka* cooking, provided that the innovators are prepared to pay the cost of constructing such kitchens. More than this I do not think that we can well do, though every case is carefully considered on its merits and general rules are not laid down, as this is dangerous. I am afraid that such of the present agitation for *jhatka* is pour embeter les Muslims, and in the Punjab, where the Mohammedans form 53 per cent of the population this is a dangerous game. perhaps Your Excellency would refer your petitioner to me, and I will have a full enquiry made into his case.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Louis Dane.

No. 192
FROM THE HON'BLE MR. J. L. JENKINS, C.S.I.,
MEMBER OF VICEROY'S COUNCIL

Simla, Sept. 1st, 1911

My dear Duboulay

I do not think there is any objection to Mr. Mackarness being allowed to communicate the portion of the note which you mention and I have marked to Lajpat Rai.¹

The latest information about him is that he and Harkrishan Lal and Gupta, Editor of the Tribune, have entered into an alliance. Gupta wishes to start a campaign in the districts against revenue settlements, a dangerous thing anywhere, and most dangerous in the Punjab. Lajpat Rai said he could not at present take any prominent or open part in any movement against Government, but would give Gupta letters of recommendation to his friends.

The Commissioner of Lahore, Dewan Bahadur Narendra Nath, who thinks Lajpat, a "dreadful" man to deal with, has written to him asking what attitude he means to adopt, and pointing out that the Punjab Government have power to remove him from the Municipal Board of Lahore, if he misconducts himself, Sir L. Dane is awaiting the result of this letter before deciding what course to take.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- J. L. Jenkins

No. 200
FROM COLONEL HIS HIGHNESS
MAHARAJA SIR GANGA SINGH BAHADUR
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. OF BIKANER

Lallgarh, Bikaner, Sept. 3rd, 1911

My dear Lord Hardinge

Although I have been just a little over a month back in India, I am very sorry I was not able to write to Your Excellency till now for

1. Vide Letter no. 96 and its enclosure.

which I hope you will forgive me, but I had nothing special to trouble you about, and I have also been very busy with urgent business which I found awaiting me. I see that Patiala has been up at Simla and you will have seen him and found out things yourself, but I know your Excellency will be glad to hear that throughout the voyage to England when we were always together, as also all the time I was in England, and I saw a good deal of him there also, I never saw him (or knew of his) even touching a drop of wine of any kind, and he throughout behaved in a manner becoming his high position and made, from all accounts, a good impression. He and I became great friends and he was good enough to honour me with his confidence, and I feel convinced he is a good sort and means very well; and although he might (and probably did) at the outset, and in his extreme youth, have given his ill-wishes and enemies a lever. I fear he has for the most part been more a victim of intrigues than anything else, and these intrigues were of both a selfish and self-seeking as well as a political nature—political intrigues being alas only too common amongst some of our State officials. I suffered slightly in the same way in the beginning of my career also, and so can well understand them and sympathise with him. Then again, between ourselves, I cannot help thinking from what I saw and heard that the political officers with him might well have been more friendly and sympathetic and helping, and a good deal less suspicious. Also though I did not see Sir L. Dane, nor have any talk with him on the subject, it was painful to notice, not referring to Sir Louis, how blindly prejudiced, and therefore, unfair and certainly unsympathetic, some of the high Punjab Government officials were with some of whom I had incidental talks about Patiala. I will tell Your Excellency more about this when we meet. In this connection one point struck me very forcibly. It seems to me to be quite wrong that some states, as in the Punjab, Bombay, and Madras, and c., should not be directly under the Imperial 'Foreign' office, as we all are in Rajputana and Central India. My own impression is that these Local Governments are still following the policy which was followed by the Government of India before Lord Minto came and saw the mistake and how undesirable such a policy was, which he changed with such good results and which Your Excellency also, I believe, fully approves of. The result is that

such States as are under their Local Governments in this respect are still being handled in the old way, leading to inevitable petty pin-pricks and annoyance and consequent lack of mutual confidence and friendly relations, and those chiefs envy their more fortunate brother Chiefs. Surely it seems only reasonable that one policy—and that of the Viceroy and the Imperial Government—should be followed as regards all states throughout India, and obviously there should be only the Foreign Office to deal with such states—if necessary, through the Local Governments. Any objections of the Local Governments in this respect could hardly be tenable? To emphasise my point I might mention—also in confidence—that if I have heard the same complaint from another Chief whose state is at the other end of India from Patiala and the Punjab—the Raja of Pudukota in Madras, whilst the feelings of the Bombay chiefs are well known to many of us here. I hope Your Excellency will kindly forgive my candid speaking, but I feel you would like me to be always respectfully frank, and that you would also be glad to hear of such things and feelings. I meant to have mentioned this general questions to Sir H. McMahon also at Delhi, but forgot.

I beg to tender my grateful thanks to Your Excellency for the honour you did me by taking me into your confidence and writing to let me know of your decision and orders regarding Jodhpur affairs, which, as I am related to them, was of special interest to me. If Your Excellency could see the people of Jodhpur and their happy faces now, you would see for yourself what their deliverance from the Kashmiri Pundit meant to them and how really grateful they feel to Government for it. I am quite sure now that, with the conditions imposed, Sir Partap Singh's Regency will work well. Certainly he means to do his best and to get able officers to help and work under him. But the conditions and intrigues in Jodhpur have for some time been so bad that Sir Partap can't do much without the cordial support of the Government and some little trouble might have to be faced are very long as the outcome of such intrigues by officials. It cannot however be serious and would chiefly mean the formation of opposition parties, and so long as the present Resident, Major Windham, remains there, things will certainly go well. He knows the people and conditions and is thoroughly friendly and sympathetic.

and at the same time a strong man endowed with commonsense. We like him very much and both Sir Partap Singh and I begged Sir H. McMahon that he may be left on at Jodhpur as Resident, Western Rajputana States. If a change is made in consequence of more senior officers coming out, it will, we submit be hard on us, and it might result in some dislocation of affairs in Jodhpur. So I hope Your Excellency will also keep this in view – very kindly – especially in view of the unsettled and new states of affairs in Jodhpur.

When I have the pleasure of meeting you next, I shall hope to be able to persuade Your Excellency to promise to pay me a visit next cold weather (1912) for my "Jubilee". That year is bound to be a more prosperous one, we hope, and thus also a better one for sport and grouse shooting than the present. We all certainly look forward to the honour greatly, and shall be so dissatisfied if anything interfered with it. I wonder how Your Excellency has solved the difficult problem of concessions on the occasion of His Majesty's Durbar, which subject you mentioned to me at Calcutta. There is of course a great deal of rubbish written about it in the papers, but the great thing is that something which could be really felt and appreciated by the poor subjects and ryots of His Majesty should be done to commemorate the King Emperor's visit. The rich and the educated people and the Chiefs do not matter so much. As for the Chiefs, perhaps the best concession as I mentioned to Your Excellency on that occasion, would be to recognise by some public mark of Royal favour the official status and positions of the sons of Chiefs, for the Chiefs will find nothing more pleasing than increased izzat (honour) for themselves or their sons, which is the same thing, and I can think of nothing better. In this connection, Your Excellency will have noticed from the newspapers that His Majesty has recently granted the title of Highness to the son of Raja Brooke of Sarawak who is to take precedence after our sons and heirs. I only wish I could submit something for your consideration which would give us as much satisfaction to the poor ryot of British India as this would, I think to the body of Chiefs, if granted as a concession, but unfortunately we are not in such intimate touch with affairs in British India.

Hoping Your Excellency, Her Excellency and Your daughter

are all well, and with all good wishes and kindest regards.

I beg to remain,
Always yours very sincerely,
Sd/-Ganga Singh

No. 393

FROM : THE HON'BLE SIR LOUIS DANE,
G.C.I.E., C.S.I., LT. GOVERNOR OF THE PUNJAB

Lahore, December 20th, 1911.

Dear Lord Hardinge,

As Your Excellency is thinking imperially, you may perhaps wish to complete the readjustments of the map of India on which your Government has embarked.

With those who did not favour the partition of Bengal, it was always a question whether Bihar should have Orissa and become a Lieutenant-Governorship, or if Orissa should go to the Central Provinces, which would then be raised to that status. As you have decided in favour of the first alternative, it seems clear that the Central Provinces must remain the charge of a Chief Commissioner. It is as well to keep such charges small, so there should be no objection so transferring Berar to Bombay, to which it more properly belongs, as the people are of Bombay and the revenue system is of that province.

Baroda used to be under Bombay. It came under the Government of India after the attempted murder of the Resident, Colonel Phayre. The Foreign Department has never been able to control Baroda without identifying on Bombay for the services of two or three political officers, as the State is not a compact block, but is scattered over Gujrat and Kathiawar. This seems rather a suitable opportunity in pursuance of the policy of decentralization to restore Baroda to the Governor of Bombay, who is in the best position to control the Durbar.

With these additions Bombay would be unduly large. If the Punjab is to lose Delhi as well as Kashmir and the North-West

Frontier, even our regenerative power may be unequal to make good the loss of our commercial capital. We should lose our Chamber of Commerce and our commercial members of council, whom we shall have great difficulty in replacing. Why not take this opportunity of uniting the Punjab with its port Karachi. The present arrangement causes much inconveniences. Suits are brought to the harassment of merchants in the province in which the defendant does not live. Friction is already beginning about the division of the supply of water for irrigation, and when the big Sakkar canals are started this will become acute unless both provinces are under the same Government. Besides Sind has to depend on us largely for cultivation. Karachi, as Your Excellency knows exists almost entirely on the Punjab trade, and it will never really develop until it is freed from Bombay, whose interests are often directly opposed to those of its step-daughters. In 1878 the union was decided and the draft notification was ready. It was the murder of Cavaganari that stopped the issue.

Sind has sometimes not been anxious for the change, but that was because the Sind exporters are branch firms of the Bombay European houses. Now the exporters, Ralli Bros., & Co. work indifferently over India. The Punjab exporting firms escape income-tax to a great extent, as their offices are in Karachi. We should catch them if Karachi were under us. Now that we have a regular legislative council and there is some prospect of an Executive council, I do not think that Karachi would object, especially if the Chief Court is raised to the status of a High Court and one judge sits at Karachi to try commercial cases. With Karachi added, we could secure good men for the high court and also for the legislative council, while the commissioner in Sind could, if desired, become a member of the Executive Council.

This at any rate is the scheme that Sir Denzil Ibbetson and I favoured in 1906-07, and so I venture to bring it to Your Excellency's attention for what it is worth. You might perhaps wish to have the opinion of the Hon'ble Mr. Clark who has seen the Punjab and Karachi.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-Louis Dane

Viceregal Lodge, Simla, August 28th, 1911

My dear Sir Louis,

A Sikh of some importance, who was the leader of the Sikh deputation to me at Lahore, came to see me the other day, and complained that, at the boarding houses at Lahore the Mohammedans do not allow the Sikhs to have 'Jakta' killed meat.

He asked me to get this remedied. I imagine by boarding houses he means of the University. Will you kindly ask somebody to look into the matter?

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- Hardinge of Penshurst

No. 31
FROM THE HON'BLE SIR GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON,
G.C.I.E., K.C.B., K.C.M.G.,
MEMBER OF THE VICEROY'S COUNCIL¹

Calcutta, January 15th, 1912

(Private)

Dear Lord Hardinge

The two silver thrones, which were made by our Mint of rupee silver and used at the Durbar have now been restored to me. In the ordinary course we should break them up, melt them, and restore the silver to the rupee-bullion-account. They come to about a lakh, in value.

I have taken it upon myself to stop anything being done till I have had an opportunity of asking your wishes in the matter.

It appears to me to be rather a pity to break up these two thrones which have been used on so historic an occasion. I am disposed to suggest that we should lend them to the Governor General for the time being, to be put in the new Government House at Delhi

1. Hardinge Papers, Cambridge University (England), Vol. 83, Letter No. 31

just as the Silver Howdah used by Curzon was deposited at the Viceregal Lodge in Simla. I can see no objection to your using these two thrones in the Throne room, but even, if there be any objection, I do not see why they should not be used for ornamental purposes in the new Government House. The work is fine, and they are historical emblems of a great occasion.

Would Your Excellency be so very kind as to tell Meston what you think of my suggestion when you see him tomorrow ? This will save your Excellency the trouble of answering this letter.

There are two men in regard to whom I should be glad if Your Excellency were willing to consult Meston— I mean, what he thinks of them. I am most anxious to do them no injustice, and I have not asked Meston in any way to go against them. Indeed, he is unaware that I have mentioned their names to Your Excellency.

The two men in regard to whom I should like Your Excellency to ask Meston's opinion are :

Mr. Gamble, Commissioner of salt, Northern India.

Mr. Coryton Graham—put forward for a High Court Judgeship by Sir Lawrence Jenkins.

I have every hope that Your Excellency will not be annoyed at my asking this favour of you.

I ask it in what I believe to be Your Excellency's interest.

I have & c.

Sd/— GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON

No. 130

FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA

Chail, August 24th, 1912

(Private)

My dear Lord Hardinge,

I must indeed apologise for not having thanked you for your kind letter for such a long time. The reason is that I went down to Patiala, then I caught a chill and was confined to bed, and from the

effects of which I have not recovered. I need hardly assure Your Excellency that it is my earnest desire to win your confidence and approbation. Your letter has touched me, and I am really glad you spoke to me so frankly. I will do my best to follow your friendly advice and devote myself in making Patiala a model state and live for the good of my subjects, whom God has placed in my charge.

We Sikhs are unlike other Indian people, and it is this which in times of peace brings out some of our race characteristics which are not appreciated by other Indian races; but I need hardly assure you that, if there was war, Patiala arms will again win glory under the British flag. I have sent both the men for training. The rains will now soon be over, and the present season come to an end. I do hope Your Excellency will find time to visit Chail for a couple of days as promised and have a little pleasant shooting. It is only three hours' ride from the Retreat, and 2½ hours by motor from Simla. Of course I have every hope that you will honour me by spending your week ends at Patiala when you go to Delhi. It will be both a source of pleasure and strength to me.

In conclusion, I beg to assure you again that it is my earnest wish to do all that I can to please you in every way, and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for all the interest you take in me, and here I may be permitted to say that I have powerful enemies, both in the State and outside, who have an organised system of misrepresentation, and I have to request Your Excellency not to give credit to all the rumours that may float across. I depend entirely on your support, and I hope you won't forsake me.

Kindly remember me to Her Excellency Lady and please give my love to Diamond.

Yours very sincerely,
Sd/- Bhupindra Singh of Patiala

No. 377

**FROM THE HON'BLE MR. M.F.O.'DWYER, C.S.I.,
AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, CENTRAL INDIA.**

Indore, December 12th, 1912

Dear Lord Hardinge

When Your Excellency informed me at Bhopal last week of my selection to succeed Sir Louis Dane in the Punjab, I was so overwhelmed by the unexpected news that I fear I failed to express adequately my gratitude for the honour conferred upon and the confidence shown to me by Your Excellency's selection. Now that the official announcement has appeared, I venture again to express my deep sense of gratitude, and the hope that aided by your guidance and support I shall not prove unworthy of the great office for which I have been chosen.

If it will not be out of place, might I also request Your Excellency to present to His Imperial Majesty my humble duty and gratitude for His graciously approving your nomination.

In the days of King Charles and King James my family lost everything by their adherence to a losing cause.

Since then none of them has been in a position to render any service worthy of the name to the British Crown. It is therefore to me a source of the greater pride and gratitude that His Majesty's acceptance of Your Excellency's recommendation affords me an opportunity not only of showing my own devotion to His Majesty, but also of quickening and strengthening in the hearts of his Indian subjects in the Punjab the feeling of loyalty and attachment to the throne.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- M. F. O'Dwyer.

No. 378

**FROM THE HON'BLE MR. M.F.O'DWYER, C.S.I.,
AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL, CENTRAL INDIA**

Indore, December 12, 1912

My Dear DuBoulay

Will you very kindly put the enclosed letter before His Excellency ? It is to thank him for having selected me for the Punjab.

It will be a heavy responsibility, but with His Excellency's guidance, the help of the Commission – in which I can count many good friends and able coadjutors – and the goodwill of the people, to whom I am not entirely unknown, I hope to be able to face it when the time comes.

It will be a great wrench leaving Central India, where the work is comparatively easy and pleasant for the strenuous task of administering a pushful and rapidly developing province. They say you cannot transplant an oak at 50; but I am not an oak and I am not yet fifty.

Hoping that you are having something of a settled life after your long wanderings, and that you found Lady DuBoulay to whom, pray, present my respects – and the boy very flourishing.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-M.F.O'Dwyer

No. 118

**TO THE HON'BLE SIR JOHN HEWETT,
G.C.S.I., C.I.E., LT. GOVERNOR OF THE UNITED
PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH***

Viceregal Lodge, Simla Aug. 27, 1912

(Private)

My dear Hewett,

Many thanks for sending to me your official letter to the

* Hardinge Papers, Cambridge University. England. Vol. 84. Letter No. 118.

Government of India respecting the establishment of a central sugar factory in the Gorakhpur District. I have already sent notice to the Revenue and Agricultural Department that I wish to see the file before a definite decision is arrived at.

As far as I can judge, the proposals are very moderate and reasonable; and in view of the great advantage of encouraging the sugar industry in this country, I hope that no reason will be found for refusing the authorities the loan. I should like to see the sugar industry in the United Provinces greatly encouraged. It is not half sufficiently developed, and there is no reason, if it were aided, why we should be compelled to impart such enormous quantities of sugar into India as we do at present. I hope my Finance Department will not be obstreperous on the subject.

We have had two pleasant days after a period of dreadful rains. I hope that in a fortnight or three week's time we shall be getting to the end of the monsoon.

You told me, when you were here, that you would send me some ideas in connection with the Royal Commission. When you have time, I shall be very glad if you will kindly do so. I am writing to you this week to say that I hope that your evidence will be taken when the commission return to England after the cold weather.

Montague, when he comes out to India this winter, wishes very much to go into a district to see a district officer at work. Can you recommend to me specially a district officer who would be willing to take him into his district and to show him how the work is done? I should like, if possible, that he should be an officer of your province.

Yours very sincerely,
Sd/- Hardinge of Penshurst.

No. 120

TO HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA

Viceregal Lodge, Simla, August 27, 1912

(Private)

My dear Maharaja

I was very pleased to receive yesterday Your Highness's letter of the 24th, but I was sorry to hear that you have been suffering from a chill. I hope that by the time you receive this Your Highness will be quite well again.

I was very pleased with the contents of your letter, and you know that I have confidence in you to act up to your promises.

Your Highness has been so kind as to ask us to visit you at Chail for a couple of days. Would it be convenient if we come from the 14th to 16th September? My wife would come with me, together with Col. Maxwell and one A.D.C. It will give great pleasure to us to see your Highness again. Believe me,

My dear Maharaja,

Yours very sincerely,

Sd/- Hardinge of Penshurst.

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