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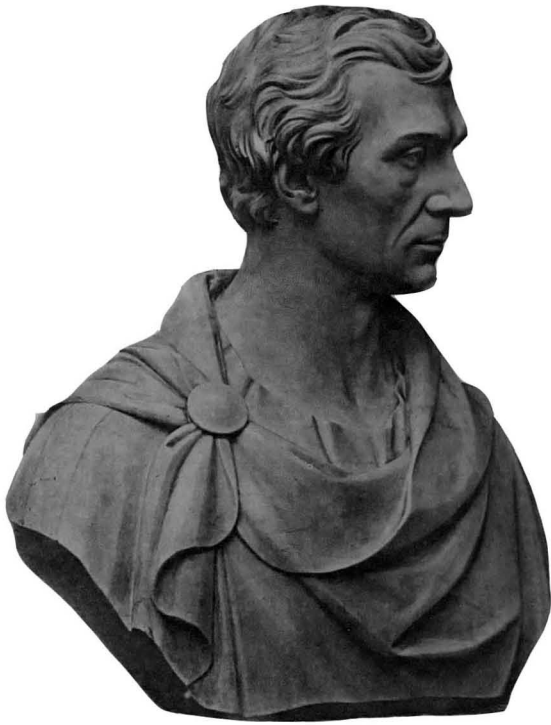


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L I F E

OF

SIR HENRY. LAWRENCE.



Maurelius

Chamber's

LIFE Rare section

OF

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

BY THE LATE MAJOR-GENERAL

SIR HERBERT B. EDWARDES, K.C.B., K.C.S.I.

AND

HERMAN MERIVALE, C.B.

THIRD EDITION.

With Two Portraits.

LONDON :

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PREFACE.

THE first portion of the Life of SIR HENRY LAWRENCE, now presented to the public, was compiled by his dear friend and scholar in Indian administration and statesmanship, SIR HERBERT EDWARDES.

It contains abundant evidence of the early connection between the two. It is only necessary for me to add that Sir Herbert's best-remembered title to the gratitude of his countrymen was gained in the three months, May—August 1848, when, with a mere handful of men at his disposal, he kept in check the revolted Sikhs before Mooltan. At that time Sir Henry Lawrence was absent in England. When he returned to his post Edwardes became one of the most trusted and valued members of his administrative corps of assistants in the Punjaub. When Sir Henry was moved to Rajpootana in 1853 Edwardes remained in his old province. He again earned in a special manner the thanks of his countrymen for his demeanour in the outlying station of Peshawur during the mutiny of 1857. In 1864 he came to England on sick leave. He was then entrusted by the Lawrence family with the charge of preparing a memoir of his deceased friend, and with ample materials for executing it. But he left it unfinished at his death in December 1868. All which he had completed was, however, so thoroughly completed, so accurately worked out even to the most careful copying for the press, that when, after his death, the task passed to myself, I found next to

nothing left for me to do, as far as this portion is concerned, except to superintend the printing.

But Sir Herbert was cut short in his labours, leaving Chapter XII., which contains the account of Sir Henry's sojourn as Resident in Nepal, unfinished. I have deemed it best, though at the risk of some apparent abruptness and want of continuity, to let this incomplete chapter remain as it was left, and begin the next at the point at which I took up the work.

When I received the MS. of Sir Herbert Edwardes's unfinished Life of Sir Henry Lawrence, together with the mass of materials which Sir Herbert intended to employ, I was compelled to make such use of those materials as I could, without any help from the suggestions or directions of my predecessor. For, although Sir Herbert completed in the most careful manner his work as he went on, it was not his habit to make ostensible preparation for what was to come, except by compiling a few brief summaries of future chapters, and by leaving the original documents or copies which he meant to use arranged in fair chronological order. These documents consisted, in the first place, of Sir Henry's letter-books, large folio volumes, in which it was his habit to preserve copies (many in his own handwriting, more in those of assistants); of his letters in general, "both demi-official," to use the common Indian phrase, and private, from his correspondence on the highest matters with Government and high functionaries, down to hasty communications to ordinary friends. These records bear undeniable testimony to Sir Henry's extraordinary activity as a man of business; an activity in the way of writing not a little characteristic of many Anglo-Indian officials, but especially of himself. There were also files of more private correspondence with Governors-General and with military authorities, of his own portion of which he had not, I conclude, thought it advisable to keep copies, and which I have used, I trust, with due discretion. There were also abundant stores of private letters from friends

both in India and in England, and from, and to members of his own family. There were diaries, kept at intervals of comparative leisure, both by himself and by his wife, Lady Lawrence. Further, there were the scattered memorials of himself to be collected from his own literary remains and from the historical and miscellaneous works of others, which necessarily touch on various points of a career so public and so distinguished as his. Lastly, his biography has been given in more or less detail in many periodicals; and more completely by Sir John Kaye in his *Lives of Indian Officers*, full of traits of personal knowledge. Such materials may appear abundant, but they were without any index or written suggestions to facilitate the employment of them. And no one who has not made the experiment can possibly estimate the difficulties of the task of drawing up a complete and continuous account of a life by the mere help of such unconnected fragments. The rude materials of the intended edifice are there; the drawings and plans which should have exhibited its design and general features are altogether wanting. Sir Herbert Edwardes had the subject by heart, and could shape his work accordingly. I was personally unacquainted both with Sir Henry Lawrence and with India, and am fully conscious how little my own literary habits could do towards redeeming such disadvantages. But I have had the advantage of the regular advice and superintendence of members of Sir Henry's family and (occasionally) of that of other distinguished men familiar with his career, and have relied to a great extent on the assistance thus afforded, although the narrative part is entirely my own. With this confession of insufficiency, and these claims to attention, I offer my portion of this work, as partially supplying the deficiency occasioned by Sir Herbert Edwardes's lamented death.

In regard to the much-controverted subject of the spelling of Indian names I have only to say that, being without any pretension to the knowledge of the languages of the country, and being entirely unable to judge between competing systems,

I have thought it best to retain, as a general rule, the orthography of the writers themselves, from whose manuscripts so large a portion of my volume is derived. This may serve as my apology both towards those who prefer systematic spelling on principles of their own, and those who may detect inconsistencies and solecisms in that of the pages before them.

H. MERIVALE.

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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

THE following fragment is without date or address, but apparently belongs to the period between the Afghan and Sikh wars.

Purposing to give you a series of letters on matters general and particular, whether civil or military, I will commence with a brief confession of faith.

Our Government is neither so bad nor so good as it is made out to be. We are neither the monsters of the British Association, nor are we the angels of

Our civil arrangements are very incomplete, they intend well, and they often effect; arrangements have never been maturely and considerably made, and then efficiently administered; but individuals have been allowed to play with the people, making their best interests the subject of crude experiments. There were often zealous men; they passed away, and then came the sluggish and the slothful; the four-hour-a-day Kutchery men, they too changing with every crop, and less known to their people. There are and have been many bright exceptions, and at this moment there are perhaps in the civil service as many working men as in any equal number of functionaries; but there are still too few, and the motive, the incentive, is not much. Let any man acquainted with the service take up the list and look over the names of any consecutive fifty civilians, and add up their abstract for the period of their service, and the months of their service, and the hours of their occupation; let him do this in a general way, merely without favour, putting down items to the best of his knowledge, he will then sometimes find Mr. —, officiating collector at —, drawing 1,250 or 1,400, never absent, hard working, eight hours per day; Mr. —, collector, same service, absent about half his time, of much the same ability, drawing 2,500; another drawing 700 or 1,000, while his inferior in every point is drawing 1,600 or 2,000. But it is not so much the salary in excess given, for all will agree that for a man of ten or twelve years' standing 1,500 is good reward; but it is that either of the above classes, favoured or unfavoured, stupid, clever, mischievous, ay, positively mischievous, or however highly gifted, must all shake down

into session judges, commissioners, or members of boards. Thus it is with little exception, in the political and judicial departments; very superior ability will doubtless find its way, and perhaps more readily in this service than elsewhere; but the steady, sober man of sense, with nothing showy, but with habits of business and desire of usefulness, has little chance. . . . Let us turn over the list of those employed on the Afghan expedition at the outset and since, and all will agree that merit did not cause the selection. Intelligence, all will agree, might have been better; for besides the inefficiency of individual agents, the gross ignorance on vital points, on points that might and ought to have destroyed the army, there was a want of fitting in of the parts and dovetailing of establishments, which was cruelly felt. . . . In short, I look upon our Government as most governments, as one of favouritism and of parties, and that merit can seldom get over want of friends at court; and that it should not be so; that our position is such that our able men, our men of business, should be at the head, and that our sluggards should be on the shelf, and our idlers should be unemployed.

The present head of Government is known to mean well, and to be suspicious of intrigue in his appointments, but he requires both to remember that the labourer is worthy of his hire, and also that it is a cruel mockery to hand over a whole district to a man who is a fool, a drunkard, an idler, or a profligate; that it would be better to hand over to him his salary and prevent him from bringing ruin on his clients and a bad name on the Government.

Our military establishment should be on the most efficient footing, not only as to numbers, but as to perfect field efficiency: which means, that it should be seconded by contingents to (? from) every native State; that these contingents should be commanded and seconded by the choice of our military spirits; that the native officers should be really officers, in emolument, authority, pension, &c., on a lower rate of pay suited to their habits and expenses, but still as gentlemen.

That the divisions should be newly arranged and suited to our present circumstances: that at every post there should be guns: that we should take possession of Nepal, and either make arrangements for getting Cashmere or secure our communications with Afghanistan. It was the fault of our travellers and reporters, and not of the Government, that we have at an immense expense put ourselves into an advanced and weaker position than had we contented ourselves with securing the passes, and left an invader to flounder as he might through them. However, there are deserts and rocks enough still in our front, and we are very safe even from the Russians; but it behoves us to look at home, to prevent causes of disgust, and to be ready at a blow to crush the bud of rebellion.

Wherever we are few, we should be choice, our contingents therefore should be select. We should also mix our troops. We should have corps, or at least companies of Malays . . . and Hillmen; to every

European corps we should attach a native company, not as fags, but as an honourable distinction, as a light company with extra pay and privileges. We should have a proportion of our army with only two officers, commandant and second, all the rest to be as proposed, for contingents. The officers to be native gentlemen and picked non-commissioned officers, but the regularly officered corps to have no natives above havildar. . . .

Every officer holding charge of a company should have a colloquial examination ; a general staff corps to be formed for the supply of all staff appointments, for every branch, as a supporter and strengthener, and perhaps eventually a substitute for the civil service ; but every officer to do five years' (regimental) duty, giving him time to study languages, &c. ; every one after such service to be eligible before examiners constituted thus : at Kurnaul, Agra, Cawnpore, Benares, and Calcutta, let there be an examiner, before whom exercises to be performed, in two languages, political economy, law, history, particularly Indian, customs, and manners ; any other, such as dead and continental languages, science, &c., to be optional.

(Then follow mechanical precautions suggested to secure fairness of examination.)

APPENDIX II.¹

RELEASE OF PRISONERS FROM CABUL.

SIR H. LAWRENCE to — ELLIOTT, ESQ. (SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT).

SIR,—

Lahore, August (apparently 1846).

I HAVE the honour to enclose a bill for rs. 13,947-4, incurred on account of 142 men, women, and children rescued through Syud Mortuza Shah from Cabul and its vicinity, and request the sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor-General.

I have sent the European boy to the Hill Asylum, and have made over all the native children either to their own friends, or such as appeared likely to treat them well: the latter, in all cases, with the child's full consent; and after I had kept him or her for two months, to give time for relatives to come forward.

The sixteen youngest girls (whose probable fate, if otherwise disposed of, would have been prostitution), have been made over to the missionaries at Loodiana.

I may here mention that another Syud, whom I sent up to Bokhara last July, with large promises of reward if he could procure the release or even tidings of the captivity of any European officers or soldiers in that quarter, has just returned. His mission has been entirely unsuccessful, but he has brought back confirmation of the tidings of the murder of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, though up to the date of his departure last year he assured me that their being still alive was probable. The man had formerly been a servant of Captain Conolly, and it was chiefly owing to the interest he expressed in his late master's fate, and that connections of Captain Conolly shared the Syud's hopes, that I sent him, though with very faint hopes of a happy result so far as concerned the two officers so often reported dead, though I thought it not improbable that information might be obtained of the captivity of other British subjects. I am now disposed to doubt the existence of any Europeans as prisoners in Central Asia.

¹ Chap. ix.

APPENDIX III.

THE following letter, without date, but addressed, about June 1852, by the Board at Lahore to the Government of India, is included on account of the importance which subsequent events have given to the subject:—

SIR,—

About June 1852.

IN July 1850, the Jagheer rolls of Huzara¹ were returned to the Board for further information, with an expression of the Most Noble the Governor-General's disapproval of the recommendations thereon. They have since been very carefully revised and reconsidered; and although the information is still more incomplete than could be wished, the Board, after frequent references to Major Abbott and other quarters, are unable to make more satisfactory returns than are now submitted.

2. The circumstances of Huzara are peculiar, both as to position and mode of acquirement. Held, as the name denotes, by numerous (Huzara, thousands) chiefs, the area of the country is not less than 3,000 square miles, of which fully nine-tenths are mountainous, the rest being narrow dales diverging from Huzara proper, which is a plain of scarcely fifty square miles. The mountains are rocky and wild in the extreme, intersected with few and narrow paths, and occupied by a wild, rude people who, though poor soldiers in the plain, are formidable in their fastnesses.

3. The country cannot be said to have been ever conquered. It does not appear to have even paid tribute to the Kings of Delhi or Afghanistan or to have been in any way molested by the Viceroy of the Punjab. The people rather commanded their own terms, and flanking the high road between Lahore and Peshawur, more usually obtained black-mail than paid revenue.

4. The Sikhs harried rather than subdued it. In several instances large bodies of them, under their best leaders, were beaten by the armed peasantry. By combined violence and treachery they at length made good their footing for a time and studded the banks of the Indus and every hill-top with forts, numbering, large and small, scarcely less than a hundred. Thus, though the country was temporarily subdued, the military occupation much more than swallowed up all the resources; and every

¹ Chap. xvii. p. 499.

Mahmmedan in the land was prepared to take the first opportunity for insurrection. It came with the Sutlej war, when not only was every small post surrendered or abandoned, but the strong fort of Hurreepoor, the capital of the country, capitulated to the armed peasantry, headed by their chiefs; and Moolraj, the Sikh Governor, was permitted to withdraw from the country.

5. In the division of the hill and plain country after the treaty of Kussoor, Huzarah was made over to Maharajah Goolab Sing; but it was soon found he could not hold it in peace, and that he was likely only to perpetuate the Sikh system of alternate foray and defeat—now cutting off a tribe or leader—now subject to the loss of his own detachments, and thus keeping the whole border in agitation. The Resident at Lahore, therefore, in 1846-7, under sanction of Government, proposed to the Durbar and to Maharajah Goolab Sing an exchange of territory, and, after much demur on both sides, effected the measure on the basis that an equitable assessment should first be made in Huzara, involving the release of jagheers and other rent-free holdings, and that, *on the reduced income*, lands should be given on another part of the border to *half* the value of those of Huzara.

6. Thus it was that a sort of guarantee was given by British functionaries to the Jagheer status established by Major Abbott, who was at that time—after having concluded the boundary settlement selected for the delicate task of establishing peace in Huzara by reducing its burthens, and substituting justice and conciliation for violence and plunder.

7. The scheme was at once found to answer, and has since worked well. The numerous chiefs, proud as they are petty, found for the first time that submission would not entail plunder, and that their rights, privileges, and feelings were safe in Major Abbott's keeping. They therefore stood by him in a body during the insurrection of the Sikh army, not only after the communication with Lahore had been cut off, but even after Dost Mahommud had taken part in the war. Many even stood nobly by his side when their own lands were occupied by the enemy, and all they held dearest was at stake.

If, then, the recommendations of the Board appear over liberal, they beg that the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council will do them the favour of believing that it is not without full consideration of the past and present circumstances of the country, and in the full conviction that it is the cheapest and most politic mode of managing it. The Governor-General is aware that the Board by no means coincide in all Major Abbott's views; they cannot, however, deny the fact that Huzara, with large elements of trouble in and around it, has continued in almost unbroken peace.

8. The Board have consulted not only the old Sikh officials and officers—as Rajah Taj Sing, Dewan Moolraj, and others, who long held commands in Huzara—but with Mr. Cortlandt and Major Chamberlain, both

of whom are intimately acquainted with the country; and they quite agree with the latter officers that the power of granting ten or twelve thousand rupees a year in Jagheer to influential persons, as lapses fall, will do more to preserve the country than any moderate number of troops can do. Major Abbott remarks that the full amount of increase of allowances he proposes to those chiefs and their followers, who served him faithfully throughout the war, would only suffice to pay one hundred and sixty matchlock men. This, the Board remarks, is about the expense of one company of infantry; while it cannot be disguised that the discontent or disaffection of a single individual—even the head of a mere village, however trivial be the cause—may raise a flame that will require regiments to put down, and involve expense incalculably beyond what is now proposed.

9. The Most Noble the Governor-General will observe the terms of each perpetual grant are distinctly for *services* when required, and that to provide against imbecility or other objection, the terms are left open to selection at each demise. This much of uncertainty is generally agreeable to natives of the East. It makes certain that their family will not be extinguished, except for misconduct; that a provision for the family *will be given*, if one worthy man be found: and it makes all emulous of the distinction. The Board are aware that there are objections to the scheme—that it may encourage the intrigues of one against another. This, at any rate, is to be preferred to intrigue against the Government; and as in their recent recommendation for succession to the Khanship of —, in Yusufzye, they desire always to uphold the undivided rights of seniority when merits are up to the mark, they do not desire to search for the ablest man among many sons or cousins, but simply to set aside the nearest heir, if he be decidedly incompetent or unfaithful.

THE END.