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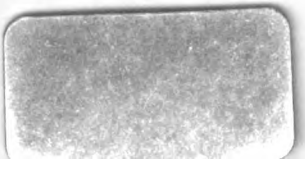

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MILL'S HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA, BY WILSON.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

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THE HISTORY OF

BRITISH INDIA.

FROM 1805 TO 1835.

By HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A. F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY AND OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS AND CALCUTTA; OF THE IMPERIAL SOCIETY OF NATURALISTS OF MOSCOW; OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC. ETC.; AND BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOLUME I.

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LONDON:
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ADVERTISEMENT.

When I consented to carry a new edition of Mill's History of British India through the press, I engaged to continue the History to the date at which the East India Company's charter was last renewed. The engagement was somewhat ill-considered. It was acceded to under an anticipation that the task could be accomplished with comparative facility, as a residence in Bengal during nearly the entire interval had made me familiar with the general course of the events which had occurred, and some of which I had at various times attempted to record. It was soon evident that I had much miscalculated.

However lively the impression which had been made by the interesting and important character of the transactions I had witnessed, I felt it to be my duty, before undertaking to narrate them, to consult all the available authorities of an original and authentic description in which they were to be traced. Foremost among these were the valuable but volumi-

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nous Records at the India House; an unreserved access to which was readily granted by Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Controul, and W. B. Bayley, Esq., then Chairman of the Court of Directors. The obligation of making use of this privilege, however imperfectly, has caused an amount of labour and expenditure of time far exceeding my expectations.

Beside the manuscript volumes, to which the great bulk of the Records is necessarily confined, very extensive portions of them have been occasionally printed by order of Parliament, or under the authority of the Court of Directors. To these, also, it was necessary to refer, and the reference was not effected without incurring additional trouble and delay.

The third and last class of authorities to which extensive application has been made, consists of the published accounts of persons engaged or interested in the occurrences which they have related. There is a great body of contemporary evidence of this description, varying in merit and in weight, but exacting attention from all who wish to obtain an accurate knowledge of the origin and progress of events. The perusal in more or less detail of as many publications of this class as I could meet with, has contributed to retard the completion of my task beyond the limits within which I had trusted that it would have been concluded.

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I have thought it necessary thus to account for the delay which has occurred, and which is not yet at an end. It has been occasioned by an anxious wish to offer to the public an historical work in which they may place some trust. Whether that object has been attained, remains to be determined; but the desire to merit confidence will, perhaps, be accepted as a sufficient excuse for the apparent tardiness of the writer.

H. H. Wilson.

London,
25th November, 1844.

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HISTORY

OF

BRITISH INDIA.

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FROM THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH THE MAHRATTAS, 1805, TO THE RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER, 1813.

CHAPTER I.

General View of the Political State of India.—Relations of the British Government with the Native States.—Accessions of Territory.—Protection of Shah Alem.—Bundelkhand, Sketch of its History and Condition.—NATIVE PRINCES.—Mohammedans.—KING OF DELHI.—*Conduct of Prince Jehangir.*—NAWAB OF OUDE.—*Vicious Administration of the Principality.*—NIZAM OF HYDERABAD.—*Discontent.—Determination of the British Government to maintain the Alliance.—Career of Raja Mahipat Ram.—Death of Mir Alem.*—Hindus.—Mahrattas.—PESHWA.—*Attempts to recover his Political Consideration.*—GAEKWAR.—*Pecuniary Embarrassments.—British Interference.—Settlement of Kattiwar.—Intrigues at Baroda.—*

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BOOK I. CHAP. I.

1805.

RAJA OF BERAR.— *Dissatisfaction.— Relinquishment of Sambhalpur.*—SINDHIA.—*Pecuniary Difficulties.—Decline of Power.—Quarrels at his Court. —Conduct to Bhopal.*—HOLKAR.—*Exactions from the surrounding States.—Death of his Nephew, Kandi Rao,—of his Brother, Kasi Rao.—Derangement.—Tulasi Bhai, Regent.*—AMIR KHAN.—*His Rise and Power.*—Rajputs.—RANA OF UDAYPUR. RAJAS OF JODHPUR AND JAYPUR.—*Contest for the Hand of Krishna Kumari, Princess of Udaypur. —Mahrátta Extortion.—Application of Jaypur for British Interference,—refused.—Policy of Holkar and Sindhia.—Amir Khan joins the Rana.—Death of the Princess.—Other Rajput Princes.*—BIKANER, KOTA, BUNDI, MACHERI.—Játs.—RAJA OF BHURTPORE.—RANA OF GOHUD.—*Treaty with him annulled.*—Sikhs, *their Origin and Constitution.—Rise of Ranjit Sing.—Remarks.*

THE recent hostilities between the British Government of India and the chiefs of the principal Mahratta states had entirely altered the relative position of the contending parties, and had engendered the elements of still more momentous change.

The Mahrattas had occupied through the latter half of the eighteenth century the chief place amongst the native states of India: they had brought under their sway the widest and most valuable portions of Hindustan, and had possessed themselves of the name and person of the Emperor of Delhi. On the first occasion on which they had come into collision with the British arms, they had inflicted upon them discomfiture and discredit; and

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they had plunged into the late struggle, strong both in military resources and reputation, and confident that they should rid themselves of a dangerous and encroaching rival. The result had disappointed their hopes, and accelerated the aggrandisement of that power which they had trusted to overthrow.

In the outset of the contest, native opinion had inclined to the Mahrattas; the close of the war had shaken belief in their superiority. Still, however, much of the prepossession in their favour survived their reverses, and the full consequences of the encounter seem to have been but imperfectly appreciated even by those who had been engaged in the strife. Engrossed by the care of providing for immediate pecuniary embarrassments, the British Government overlooked all political considerations; and, in its impatience to relieve financial pressure, threw away some actual and some prospective advantages, shrunk from the commanding elevation to which it had been raised, and by unseasonable moderation disseminated doubts of its vigour, and held out encouragement to future aggression. The Mahratta leaders, justly ascribing much of their adversity to internal disunion, misinterpreting the motives of their enemy's forbearance, and fretting under the losses and indignities they had sustained, accustomed themselves to undervalue the resources and energies of their conquerors, and to look forward to some favourable opportunity of repairing their reputation and recovering their territory. At the same time, with the improvidence inseparable from the character of Indian princes, they set on foot no adequate preparations for the realisation of their purposes.

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BOOK I. CHAP. I.

1805.

Instead of profiting by the experience of the past, and the respite which had been granted to them; instead of husbanding their means, consolidating their power, and cementing that union in which alone lay their safety, they wasted their strength in a petty and predatory warfare with the princes of Rajputana, or in intestine dissensions; and with territories almost depopulated, revenues utterly exhausted, troops wholly disorganized, and mutual animosities incurably exacerbated, they again provoked the resentment of the British Government when in the full exercise of its energies, and awakened to a clear perception of its true interests and of those of Hindustan. The last act of this extraordinary drama was then consummated. The Marquis of Hastings completed what Clive had begun, and all India acknowledged the supremacy of Great Britain.

As some time intervened before the predominance of the British power throughout India was finally established, we may, for the present, pause to contemplate the political condition of the country at the period at which the narrative recommences; and for a few years following; so as to form a correct notion of the extent of British dominion and authority, and of the circumstances and objects of the principal native states. We shall thus be better able to understand the character of those transactions which led to a renewal of the struggle, and to the final attainment of that commanding attitude which the British Government, after repeated proofs of forbearance, was at last compelled to assume.

The capture of Seringapatam and death of Tippoo

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Sultan, in 1799, put an end to all fear of any formidable enmity in the south of India. Those events had added largely to the Company's territory in the Peninsula[1], and had restored the principality of Mysore to the representative of its former Hindu Rajas, on conditions the avowed intentions of which were, the entire command of the resources of the country in time of war, and a general controuling power over its government in time of peace. Tribute under the denomination of subsidy was also imposed upon the Raja, and provision was made for appropriating the whole of the revenue, subject to a pension to be paid to him in the event of his failing to fulfill his obligations.[2] The Raja, Krishna Raja Udayávar, was a minor, and the administration of the affairs of the state was intrusted to a native minister named Purnia, a Brahman, a man of ability and judgment, who distinctly understood the position in which Mysore was placed, and its entire dependence upon the power to which it owed its existence. As long as he lived, the connexion was maintained in a spirit of sincere submission on the part of the inferior, and of implicit confidence on that of the superior; rendering Mysore virtually an integral portion of the British Indian Empire.

The western coast of the Peninsula was, with a few exceptions, British territory. At the southern

[1] By the Partition Treaty of Mysore, July 1799, territory yielding an annual revenue of 13,74,000 Cantarai Pagodas was reserved to the Mysore Raja. To the Company was assigned a portion that was valued at C. Ps. 7,77,000; to the Nizam lands to the amount of C. Ps. 6,07,000, and of C. Ps. 2,63,957 to the Peshwa. The shares of the two latter were subsequently transferred to the Company.—Collection of Treaties and Engagements with Native Princes and States of Asia, published in 1812, p. 441.

[2] Treaty with Mysore, 8th July, 1799, and supplementary treaties, 1803 and 1807.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 454, 248, 302.

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BOOK I. CHAP. I.

1805.

extremity, the petty states of Cochin and Travancore were governed by their own Rajas. These princes had been rescued by the interposition of the British arms from the tyranny of Tippoo, and had agreed to pay a stipulated subsidy for the protection which they received.[1] The amount had however been determined without an equitable regard to the advantages for which it was an equivalent, or to the sources from which it was derived.[2] The demand became an exaction, and the payment speedily fell into arrear. A perpetual and undignified interchange of requisition and evasion ensued, and mutual dissatisfaction was the unavoidable result. This was more especially the case with the Raja of Travancore, as, upon the plea of danger from the designs of France, an additional subsidy had been levied upon him subsequently to the capture of Seringapatam; and, as he neither understood nor dreaded the peril, the cost of arming against its occurrence was felt to be both onerous and unjust. Discontent and indignation were consequently brooding over the councils of Travancore, and their dictates shortly afterwards impelled the Raja to an unavailing effort to throw off the burden under which he laboured.

Proceeding along the Malabar coast towards the

[1] The Raja of Cochin was made to pay to the Company a lakh of rupees annually; treaty, 1791.—Collection of Treaties, p. 421. An agreement was made in 1788 with the Raja of Travancore, by which he engaged to subsidize two battalions of Sipahis. In 1795, he agreed to maintain constantly one battalion. This was extended, in 1797, to three battalions, and one company of European artillery. In 1805, the Raja was compelled to pay for a fourth battalion.—Collection of Treaties, pp. 174, 170, 283.

[2] The gross revenue of Cochin was estimated at five lakhs of rupees, from which the charges of collection were to be deducted. The tribute was therefore about one-fourth of the net receipts. The total revenues of Travancore, in 1807, were estimated by the Resident at twenty lakhs of rupees: the Company's claim was nearly eight lakhs.—MS. Records.

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north, a few districts of limited extent were subject to petty Mahratta chiefs, feudatories of Poona: and Goa, and a narrow territory around it, still remained to the Portuguese: as amicable relations subsisted with the superior states, the subordinate character of these dependencies, as well as their insignificance, divested them of all political consideration. Goa, indeed, was occupied by an English garrison. Farther to the north, the coast belonged to the Gaekwar or ruler of Guzerat; whom a subsidiary treaty, and a connexion of the most intimate nature, attached inseparably to the interests of the British Government. Cutch, the adjacent country to the west, although independent, was distracted by civil broils, the chief parties in which appealed for assistance to the Presidency of Bombay. Sindh, the boundary province of India in this direction, was governed by independent princes, who had shewn themselves disinclined to entertain any correspondence with the Company's authorities. They exercised little or no influence upon the politics of India, as their situation and circumstances restricted their intercourse in a great degree to their western and northern neighbours, the Baluchis and Afghans.

The whole of the eastern or Coromandel coast of the Peninsula was British, with the exception of a small tract occupied by the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. The Nawab of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore had been deprived of territorial revenue and political importance, and had been reduced to the irrevocable condition of pensioners of the East India Company. The province of Cuttack, which under the Mahratta govern-

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ment of Berar had intercepted the communication between the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, now served to connect them; as it had been taken from the Raja in the late war, and had been permanently annexed to the Company's possessions, which now extended along the whole line of coast from the Gulph of Manar to the Delta of the Ganges.

Important additions to the British dominions in Hindustan had been effected by treaty or conquest during the administration of Marquis Wellesley. At its commencement, the Bengal Presidency was bounded on the north by the course of the Gandak river, and by the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. The cession of Gorakhpur by the Nawab Vizir, Sádat Ali, carried the boundary across the Gandak to the foot of the mountains of Nepal; and the transfer of the lower Doab, Furruckabad, and Bareilly, by the same prince, extended the British authority over the country of the Rohillas. The victorious career of Lord Lake rescued the upper provinces of the Doab from Mahratta spoliation, and brought them as far as to the north-west of Delhi under British influence or rule. Of the conquests on the west bank of the Jumna, a narrow strip of land alone had been retained; but its value was more than commensurate with its extent, as it included the important cities Agra, Mathura, and Delhi,—the first celebrated for its reliques of Mogul magnificence, the second sanctified by the religious veneration of the Hindus, and the third selected in every age of the history of India for the capital of those Hindu and Mohammedan monarchs who aspired to the universal

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sceptre of Hindustan. Along with this imperial city the British became possessed of the person and family of the representative of the fallen dynasty of Timur, the venerable Shah Alem, alike distinguished by his descent and his misfortunes. Indebted to the British in the dawn of life for safety and support, he had passed through manhood to old age amidst an unvarying succession of danger, tumult, treachery, and disaster, and was happy to end his days in peace and security under the shelter of his early friends. However trifling the accession to the real power of the victors which might be thought to accrue from their holding in their hands the titular sovereign of Hindustan, and although the charge was not unattended by circumstances of anxiety and embarrassment, yet that the keeping of the person of Shah Alem was not devoid of political value might be inferred from the eagerness with which the prize had been disputed by military adventurers both Mohammedans and Hindus, and by the weight which chieftains the most lawless, and princes the most powerful, still attached to an order or a grant that bore the seal of the emperor, even though the document conferred but a nominal title to the honours or possessions which it purported to bestow. Shah Alem himself was an object of general sympathy, from the injuries or indignities which he had undergone from his own rebellious servants or his Mahratta allies; and the respectful and benevolent treatment which he experienced from his new guardians contrasted favourably with the conduct pursued towards him by their predecessors. There

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can be no doubt that the change was most acceptable to the Mohammedans of Hindustan, and contributed essentially to conciliate their good-will and gain their allegiance.

The greater portion of the territory on the west of the Jumna which had been wrested from the Mahrattas was precipitately relinquished by Marquis Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, but on the south-west the extensive province of Bundelkhand was permanently comprehended within the limits of the Presidency of Bengal. The district had been ceded by the Peshwa in commutation of territory in the south of India, which he had at first assigned to the Company in place of the amount which he had agreed to pay for a subsidiary force.[1] At the time when this exchange was effected, the authority of the Peshwa over any part of Bundelkhand was little more than nominal, and his claims were at best of a questionable character, as will be evident upon a brief review of the history of the province.

The Rajas of Bundelkhand pretend to trace their pedigree from the Solar dynasty of Hindu kings; Kusa, one of the sons of the mytho-heroic prince Ramachandra, having, it is said, migrated from Ayodhyá or Oude, and settled in Bundelkhand. The traditions of the Hindus in general do not countenance such a genealogy; and it seems not unlikely that the Bundela tribe were foreigners

[1] The annual revenue of these lands was computed to be 26 lakhs of rupees. Treaty of Bassein, 1802. Portions to the value of 19 lakhs were restored to the Peshwa, in lieu of which he ceded territory in Bundelkhand of the estimated annual value of 36 lakhs. Supplementary treaty, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 233, 242.

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and conquerors, who immigrated into the country[1] in comparatively modern times. They long struggled, with varied success, to maintain their independence against the Mohammedan kings of Delhi; but they sunk under a vigorous effort made in the beginning of the reign of Shah Jehan, and were compelled to acknowledge for a season the supremacy of the Mogul. This state of things was of no long duration: encouraged by the distracted condition of the empire during the latter years of Shah Jehan's reign, a chieftain named Champat Rai[2] led the way to the reassertion of the national independence. The task was prosecuted with improved success by his more celebrated son Chatrasál, and a new dynasty was founded by the latter, which reigned over the eastern division of the province: the western division was restored to the representatives of the ancient Rajas, who, however, renewed their professions of fealty to the throne of Delhi.

The elevation of Chatrasál to the rank and power of Raja took place towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb. The successors of that emperor, unable to make good their pretensions to

[1] Bundel-khand, "the portion of the Bundela," is not named in any ancient writings or inscriptions. The country is denominated Chaidya, the land of the Chedi, or Chandel, the name still borne by the agricultural population. The term Bundela is confined to the military chiefs, who never condescend to engage in the cultivation of the soil, and of whom the first is said to have been Devada Bír, a Rajput, who invaded and occupied the country some time in the 14th century.—Memoir on Bundelkhand, by Capt. J. Franklin; Tr. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 259.

[2] Authorities differ with respect to the birth and station of Champat Rai. One account makes him an officer in the service of the Raja of Urcha.—Franklin, as above. Another affirms his being a member of the ruling dynasty, and Raja of Urcha himself.—Pogson, Hist. of the Bundelas, p. 44. This could scarcely have been the case, although he might have been a kinsman of the Raja.

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supremacy, acknowledged the new Raja. In the reign of Mohammed Shah, however, Bangash Khan, the Afghan governor of Allahabad, fell suddenly upon Chatrasál with an overwhelming force, and dispossessed him of his dominions. Chatrasál had recourse to the Mahrattas, who under the first Peshwa, Baji Rao, were at this time advancing slowly through Kandesh and Malwa to Hindustan. The opportunity of establishing their ascendancy in Bundelkhand, which was afforded by the application of the Raja, was promptly embraced; and Baji Rao with a large force surprised and defeated Bangash Khan, who was glad to escape with his life. The Mohammedan yoke was now thrown off for ever, but one not less oppressive was imposed, in the domination of the Mahrattas. In the first instance they replaced Chatrasál in his principality; but upon his death, which happened not long afterwards, the Peshwa, whom he had adopted as a son, succeeded by virtue of that adoption to one-third of the territory:[1] the other two-thirds were equally divided between the two sons of Chatrasál; one of whom, Hirdi Sah, became Raja of Panna, the other, Jagat Sah, of Jetpur.[2]

[1] The Mahratta records assert that this disposition of his Raj was the spontaneous effect of the Raja's gratitude.—Grant Duff, Hist. of the Mahrattas, i. 515. It is more probable that the cession was the price of the Peshwa's assistance, as intimated in the Seir Mutakherin, i. 282. In the memoirs of Amir Khan it is stated, that, after the expulsion of the Afghan, Chatrasál adopted the Peshwa, and at once divided his Raj into four parts, of which he retained one, and apportioned the other three between the Peshwa and his sons. Govind Pandit was nominated manager of the Peshwa's share, which included Ságar, Jhansi, and Kalpi, or a line of country in the centre of the province from the Nerbudda to the Jumna, by which the Mahrattas could readily march from the Dekhin to the Doab.—Mem. of Amir Khan, 55.

[2] The Raja of Panna, and the Rajas of Ajaygerh, Charkari, Bijawar, Jetpur, and Sarila, are respectively descended from these princes.

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It was a condition of the arrangement made in favour of the Peshwa, that the government of Poona should guarantee to the descendants of Chatrasál the portions of the inheritance set apart for his sons. The stipulation was for some time faithfully observed; the sons of Chatrasál enjoyed their portions in peace, and parcelled them at their death amongst their posterity. Their example was imitated by their successors, subdivisions were infinitely multiplied, and Bundelkhand was filled with a swarm of petty Rajas too weak to defend themselves against Mahratta aggression, and too turbulent to refrain from those mutual hostilities by which their weakness was aggravated: the state of confusion and anarchy into which the province was thrown by the intestine divisions of its rulers, offered it as a tempting bait to military adventure; and a follower of Sindhia, Ali Bahadur, was induced to avail himself of the favourable opportunity.

Ali Bahadur[1] was a Sirdar of some repute in the service of the Peshwa when he was dispatched by Nana Furnavez, the minister of Poona, with a body of troops to co-operate with Madhoji Sindhia in his incursion into Hindustan. He bore an efficient part in the operations which gave Delhi and Shah Alem to Sindhia, but was not altogether satisfied with the requital which his exertions had received. Ali Bahadur[2], therefore, quitted Sindhia, and at the

[1] The father of Ali Bahadur, Shamshir Bahadur, was the son of the Peshwa Baji Rao, a Brahman, by a Mohammedan woman. Agreeably to the ancient Hindu law, he was of the caste, which in this case was equivalent to the religion, of his mother; a characteristic illustration of the laxity of manners of the Mahratta court, and of Hindu indifference to religious creeds.

[2] According to Malcolm, Ali Bahadur separated from Sindhia upon

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instigation of Himmat Bahadur, who was the military leader and spiritual head of a large body of armed Gosains, combining the characters of religious vagrants and mercenary soldiers, and who had acquired some territory in Bundelkhand, he marched

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into the province with a considerable force, and in a few years reduced under his authority the greater part of the territories which had been distributed amongst the unworthy descendants of Chatrasál. The stronghold of Kalinjar alone resisted his impetuosity, and, after a siege of two years, he died in

A. D. 1802.

camp before its walls.[1] He left two sons, Shamshir Bahadur, and Zulfikar Ali. The former at the date of his father's death was at Poona: the latter, who was an infant, was thereupon raised to the principality by his uncle Ghani Bahadur; but Shamshir Bahadur speedily arrived to vindicate his claim to the succession, put his uncle to death, and assumed the sovereignty over his father's conquests. He was not long able to maintain his authority.

The exchange of territory accomplished by the Peshwa was a genuine exemplification of Mahratta diplomacy, for it transferred to the British Government the trouble of enforcing claims of questionable

the advance of the latter to Delhi.—Central India. Grant Duff states the separation to have taken place after the capture of Delhi.—Hist. Mahr. iii. 75. The memoirs of Amir Khan (p. 86) assert that he invaded Bundelkhand by command of the Peshwa. He no doubt professed to act as the Peshwa's officer, and hoisted the Zari Patka or regal standard of Poona.

[1] Ali Bahadur, to evince his determination not to relinquish the siege until the capture of the fortress, caused a house to be built near the fort for his residence. The Kiladar, not to be surpassed in bravado, sent him a present of some mango-seeds to sow in the garden to be attached to the new edifice, with an intimation that he might hope to take Kalinjar when the seeds should have grown to trees, and the trees should have borne fruit.—Pogson's Bundelas, p. 122.

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validity, and granted to them districts over which the court of Poona had never exercised actual sovereignty. The cessions were taken chiefly from the recent conquests of Ali Bahadur, whose right had neither become confirmed by time nor by the recognition of the subjugated people; and whose possessions, although, inasmuch as they had fallen to a subject and officer of the Peshwa, they might be considered as in some degree dependent upon the head of the Mahratta state, yet had never acknowledged such dependence, nor contributed in any manner to his power or resources. The attempt of Shamshir Bahadur to establish himself in the country which his father had conquered was as much opposed to the pretensions of the Peshwa, as to the claims of the English founded upon them, and he was consequently treated as the enemy of both. His father's friend and coadjutor, the Gosain Himmat Bahadur, foreseeing the inability of Shamshir Bahadur to resist this combination against him, speedily made terms with the British, and joined their forces on their advance into Bundelkhand. After an ineffectual show of resistance, Shamshir Bahadur was content to desist from opposition, and to accept a pension for himself and for his family, with permission to reside at Banda.[1] Himmat Bahadur soon after died; his armed bands were dismissed upon the return of peace, and his descendants were settled upon a Jagir in the Doab.[2] So far, little difficulty was found in the introduction of

[1] The titular Nawab of Banda is at present Zulfikar Ali, the brother of Shamshir Bahadur, who resides near Banda, and receives a pension of four lakhs of rupees.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 283.

[2] Sekandra, in the district of Cawnpore. Ibid. p. 287.

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British authority into those portions of Bundelkhand which were nearest to the Jumna and the division of Allahabad.

The establishment of a government in Bundelkhand that proclaimed order and insisted upon obedience was, however, no easy task. The feuds of the numerous petty Rajas, and the depredations of the Mahrattas, had filled the country with military adventurers, few of whom had other means of supporting themselves and their followers than levying contributions on the peaceable inhabitants, and plundering those who resisted their exactions. Nor did they respect the new acquisitions of the Company; and, as these had been left imperfectly guarded by the precipitate dismissal of the irregular battalions which during the war had been taken into British pay, and by the improvident reduction of the regular force below the necessity for its services, the leaders of the marauding bands were long suffered to disturb the tranquillity of the country, and prevent its return to order and good government. The inhabitants themselves, a bold and resolute race, habituated to the use of arms, and unaccustomed to legal controul, were little inclined to submit to civil jurisdiction or fiscal regulations; and, when unable to resist the enforcement of the laws or the collection of the revenues, they deserted their villages and augmented the ranks of the banditti. Where this was not the case, they not unfrequently entered into a compact with the predatory leaders to defraud the state of its dues, by paying to them a sum less than the public demand, and receiving in return an acquittance for the whole. With this evidence of

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their having been compelled to pay their revenue, they claimed exemption from farther payment, alleging, with sufficient plausibility, that a Government, which could not defend them, could not claim fulfilment of their obligations, and pleading the impossibility of their paying double the amount at which they were assessed. The plea was admitted until its collusive origin was detected, and the refusal to grant exemptions on this account tended to put a stop to the fraud; but not until a loss of revenue had been sustained, the amount of which would have economically defrayed the expense of a protecting military force. Both the marauding chiefs and the refractory villagers derived support in their resistance to Government from the numerous small forts with which the province was studded: at the time of its occupation there were not fewer than one hundred and fifty within the limits of the Company's acquired territory, the greater proportion of which were eventually demolished, but not without opposition.

Amidst the many strongholds which were erected in Bundelkhand, two were remarkable for their position and strength. These were Ajaygerh and Kalinjar. They were both in the hands of adventurers who had risen to power by the usual methods of military rapine and violence, and who, by their own armed adherents, or the marauding hordes to whom they afforded shelter, spread desolation and alarm through the adjacent country. A vigorous effort, early made, might have planted the British standard on their walls with little difficulty; but as it was the policy of the Government to conciliate,

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where to suppress and overawe would be attended with expense, it was determined in the councils of Calcutta that "a certain extent of dominion, local power, and revenue would be cheaply sacrificed for tranquillity and security within a more contracted circle." It was argued, that "it was not to be apprehended that the furtive depredations of roving banditti could be supposed to have intimidated the military power which had overthrown the combined force of the Mahratta confederacy, and that there was every reason to believe that the concessions which were proposed were not calculated to excite a renewal of the disorders by which they had been obtained."[1] Upon these principles, falsified as they were by the history of all past ages, and opposed to the opinions and recommendations of the principal civil and military functionaries and of the commander-in-chief,[2] the occupants of Ajaygerh and Kalinjar were left in possession of their fortresses; and to them[3] and to other usurping chiefs the Government granted sunnuds, formally recognising and confirming their right of occupancy, upon conditions of general submission and allegiance. In like manner, but upon more legitimate grounds, the descendants of Chatrasál, who still retained portions of their patrimony, were confirmed in their possessions, but

[1] MS. Records. Proceedings of Bengal Government, 10th July, 1806.

[2] Lord Lake in a letter to the Government, recorded the 17th July, 1806, expressed his conviction, that, until Ajaygerh and Kalinjar were in possession of the Government, it would be impossible to maintain peace in Bundelkhand. Events fully corroborated the justice of his prediction.

[3] Lakshman Dawa, the Kiladár of Ajaygerh, was allowed to keep his fort for two years upon payment of a small annual tribute, and to hold the district adjacent in perpetual farm. Darya Sing Chaubè, the Kiladár of Kalinjar, was confirmed in the occupancy of that fort and the adjacent district; 8th December, 1806.

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their promise of allegiance was not to entitle them to protection; and so far was the doctrine of non-interference carried, that they were suffered to decide by the sword those disputes amongst themselves, to which the complicated questions of proprietary right to lands that had repeatedly changed masters could not fail to give rise. It was not until a change of administration in Calcutta had taken place that "it was deemed essential, not only to the preservation of political influence over the chiefs of Bundelkhand and its consequent advantages, but also to the dignity and reputation of the British Government, to interfere for the suppression of intestine disorder, by compelling that submission which it had till then been found impracticable to conciliate or command." [1]

The western portion of Bundelkhand was distributed among the Rajas of Dattea, Tehri, and Sampthar. They were descended from the ancient Rajas. They were acknowledged by the British as independent princes, and were bound to them by treaties of amity and alliance. No submission was required from them, and care was taken to avoid any obligation to defend them against foreign aggression. They remained, consequently, many years exposed to Mahratta insolence and spoliation, and were reduced to the verge of annihilation, when the course of events, and altered political views, brought them finally within the pale of British protection.

Such were the principal accessions to the territory of British India during the administration of

[1] Proceedings of Bengal Government, 8th September, 1807. Lord Minto had recently assumed charge of the Government.

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Marquis Wellesley, and the position in which it was placed at the close of that of Sir G. Barlow with relation to some of the neighbouring princes. The situation and circumstances of the more important native states it will now be necessary to describe.

The great distinction of the native ruling powers was two-fold. They were either Mohammedan or Hindu. The latter comprised several varieties, and were mainly distinguishable as Mahrattas, Rajputs, Játs, and Sikhs.

Although extensive and populous territories still acknowledged the sway of some of the descendants of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, yet their political power was, in every instance of any importance, extinct; and, with one or two exceptions of little note or influence, they were either directly or indirectly dependent upon the British Government. They were its pensioners, or its subsidiary allies: the former compelled to forego all the attributes of sovereignty, except an empty title; the latter obliged to sheath their swords for ever, and rely for defence upon troops whom they alienated their dominions to pay, but over whom they held no command. At the head of the former class was the Great Mogul himself, the descendant and representative of Timur-lang.

The actual occupant of the throne of Delhi did not long survive his transition from a rigorous to a respectful state of captivity. Shah Alem died on the 18th of December, 1806. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, who took the title of Shah Akbar the Second. The father had experienced the misfortunes inseparable from a powerless

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sceptre too severely to regret its resignation into hands able to wield it with vigour: the son, although no stranger to distress and peril, anticipated from the indulgence or indifference of his protectors a greater share of real power than it was convenient or safe to permit him to exercise. His attempts to break through the limits prescribed to him were for some time after his accession frequent and persevering; but they were for the most part of little consideration, except as paving the way for pretensions of a more ambitious tendency, and they were checked without much trouble or the exhibition of severity.[1] On one subject alone it was necessary to act with energy; and the manifestation of power and will, which was then called for, terminated the aspirations of Akbar the Second to become a king in more than name.

The King of Delhi had several sons: of these, the eldest was considered to be entitled to the designation of heir-apparent, agreeably to the laws of succession upheld by the British Indian Government;

[1] A principal object of his majesty's ambition was the presentation of Khelats, or honorary dresses, to the princes of Hindustan, and, above all, to the Governor-General. As the acceptance of such a compliment is an admission of inferiority, it was of course declined. Having, however, obtained leave to send an agent to Calcutta to represent to the Government matters of public and private interest, Shah Akbar endeavoured to carry the point of the khelat by a little ingenuity. His envoy was instructed to present to Lord Minto an old cloak, which the king himself had worn, as a mark of personal regard; but he was to contrive to do this at a public audience, when the present would have assumed the character of an honorary distinction conferred upon the Governor-General by the King of Delhi. The device was easily seen through, and as easily frustrated: the cloak was thankfully accepted as a private gift, but the bearer was compelled to transmit it through the usual channel of communication, through the office of the Persian secretary. Such were the strange vicissitudes of fortune, that the Great Mogul was reduced to the necessity of trying to trick the chief functionary of a trading company into the acceptance of the greatest honour in native estimation which it was in his power to bestow!

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but, influenced by his favourite queen, Akbar Shah strove pertinaciously to obtain the recognition of his third son, Mirza Jehangir, of whom she was the mother, in that capacity. Although willing to withhold from the eldest son the immediate assumption of the title which it considered as his birthright, the Government of Bengal refused to gratify the wish of the king; and obliged him, on one occasion, to cancel and counteract honours and privileges which he had granted to Mirza Jehangir as indications of a purpose to raise him to the rank of heir-apparent.[1] Although obliged to give way for a season, the king, unable to resist female blandishments and tears, resumed his project; and the subject of debate might have long continued to estrange him from his European advisers, had not the rashness and presumption of the prince given occasion to the British Government to act decisively, and remove Mirza Jehangir from Delhi altogether.

Mirza Jehangir, having been empowered by the injudicious liberality of his mother to take into pay a body of armed retainers, occasioned so much discomfort and alarm within the palace by the turbulence which he encouraged and the excesses of which he partook, that his parents were at last convinced of the necessity of subjecting him to some controul, and the king was prevailed upon to allow the Company's Sipahis to mount guard at

[1] These were, 1, the use of the Aftábi, a flat circular parasol, carried by an attendant, not over the head, but on the side of a person, or palankín, which is next the sun; 2, the Tapach, a state cushion; and, 3, the Nalki, open state palankín. They were conferred in full Durbar, with the customary solemnities. By desire of the Government the Aftábi was discontinued, and the use of the other articles extended to all the princes, so as to deprive them of any specific significance.

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the palace gates. A guard was accordingly stationed at the outer gates, when the followers of Jehangir took up a menacing position at the inner gateway, and insisted that the Sipahis should be withdrawn. The British Resident, Mr. Seton, advancing to expostulate with them, was fired at and narrowly escaped being shot, as the ball struck the cap of a soldier who was close by his side. The Sipahis were then ordered to take forcible possession of the inner gates; and after a short conflict, in which some of the assailants were wounded, and several of their opponents were killed, the gates were carried, and the followers of the prince were dispersed. The prince gave himself up to the Resident, and was sent a state prisoner to Allahabad, where he resided until his death, abandoning all hopes of succession to a titular crown and passing his days in indolence and indulgence.[1] The king gradually ceased to exhibit outwardly any concern for his fate, and abstained from all endeavours to interfere with the disposal of the throne, or to acquire a greater portion of authority than it was thought fit to intrust him with: this resignation was rewarded by an increase of his pension, which

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24th July.

[1] He was at first lodged in the fort of Allahabad, but was afterwards removed to a building that had been a Mohammedan mausoleum, part of the monument of Sultan Khosru, without the city. The author saw him here in 1820. He was allowed considerable personal liberty, and was treated with as much consideration as was compatible with his security. He seemed to be cheerful and reconciled to his situation, and was said to have both the means and the inclination to forget political disappointments in personal enjoyment. He was a man of small stature and delicate features, of a pleasing though very dark countenance, and of elegant manners. He wore no turban nor any covering on his head, but let his long black hair, which shewed symptoms of more than ordinary care bestowed upon it, hang full upon his shoulders. It was impossible not to feel some sympathy for his humiliation, although there was nothing in his character or conduct to inspire respect.

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had been promised conditionally by Marquis Wellesley, and was granted by Lord Minto.[1]

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A prince, second only to the King of Delhi in Mohammedan estimation, and far superior to that sovereign in wealth and power, the Nawab of Oude, was connected with the British Government by a subsidiary alliance. The precise nature of the connexion will have been made known by the ample details and discussions relating to it inserted in the preceding pages. For all objects of exterior policy the Nawab was a nonentity, and even in his interior administration he was expected to refer questions of any moment to the consideration of the British Resident, and to adopt no measures of importance without the concurrence of the Governor-General. The reigning Nawab, Sádat Ali Khan, was far from easy under the bonds which attached him to the

[1] The original pension was fixed at 76,500 rupees a month, to be provided for out of the revenues of certain lands in the district of Delhi set apart for that purpose; and a promise was made, that the allowance should be increased when the funds admitted of it. The extent of the increase was not specified. In 1809, the revenues of the assigned territory continued still short of the pension, but it was determined to increase the latter to one lakh of rupees per month, of which 7000 rupees were to be appropriated to the heir-apparent. — Governor-General's Minute, 17th June, 1809. Other augmentations have been since made, making the allowance, including stipends to members of the family both at Delhi and Benares, fifteen lakhs of rupees (150,000*l.*) per annum.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, ii. part 2. 362. His majesty has been long urgent for a farther increase, upon the plea that the revenues of the assigned lands have improved, but "it was never proposed either to limit the stipends by the amount of the "produce of the territory, or to augment them to an extent equal to the "revenue which the territory might eventually yield: the obligation which "the British Government had imposed on itself was that of providing "adequate means for the support of the king and his household in a man-"ner suitable to the condition in which he was placed, while in policy it "was inexpedient that the provision granted should exceed an amount suf-"ficient for that purpose."—Minute quoted by Captain Sutherland. The same authority states, that, if the civil and military charges upon what may be possibly meant by the assigned lands were deducted from their revenue, little would remain for the payment of the stipend of the King of Delhi.—Sketches of the Relations between the British Government of India and Native States; by Captain J. Sutherland, Calcutta, 1833.

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British; but he had been raised by them to the throne, and, being of a timid and inactive character, could scarcely have maintained his dignity without the support of his allies. Even under their guardianship he lived in constant dread of domestic intrigue, and was perpetually haunted by unfounded suspicions that his nearest relatives were plotting against his throne and his life.[1] His chief gratification was the accumulation of treasure; and the curtailment of his revenues, consequent upon the enforced alienation of a valuable portion of his territory in commutation of the subsidy, was the main-spring of his dissatisfaction with the relations in which he stood to the Government of Bengal. He felt aggrieved, also, by the immunity from transit duties claimed by trading boats on the Ganges where it formed the boundary of Oude, under passes from the Company's custom-offices on the opposite bank, and agreeably to a commercial treaty into which he had reluctantly entered. The interference of the Resident was not unfrequently a source of mortification to him. So far had his discontent proceeded, that he renewed to Sir G. Barlow the proposition he had made to Lord Wellesley, to transfer the management of his dominions to his eldest son and make a pilgrimage to Mecca. When, however, the acquiescence of the Government was expressed, the project was apparently abandoned, as the proposal was never repeated. In his personal expenditure

[1] His own brothers, Mirza Mehdi and Shahámat Ali, were accused by him of having instigated attempts to procure his assassination. The charges were investigated by the Resident under orders from the Government, and were proved to be void of any foundation. To appease the fears of the Nawab, the princes were obliged to leave Lucknow, and take up their residence at Patna in the Company's territories.

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1807.

Sádat Ali was meanly parsimonious, and the amount of the public revenue was more than adequate to the public disbursements. The landholders were nevertheless exposed to the systematic extortion of contractors, to whom the Nawab farmed the assessments, and whom he authorised to levy their demands by the most violent and oppressive means.[1] Their exactions were as systematically resisted, and the Zemindars became habituated to refuse payment even of what was justly claimable, unless compelled by superior power. Their villages were not unusually fortified, and they resided in mud forts which were not easily captured by the unaided military of the Nawab. In this emergency it became necessary to have recourse to the subsidiary force, and the Company's battalions were employed to reduce refractory landholders and collect the revenue. As obvious objections to such a duty existed, the aid of the troops was always granted with reluctance; another subject of grievance to the Nawab, who considered himself entitled to command the services of a force which he virtually paid. The evil was not so serious in the early part of the reign of Sádat Ali as it subsequently became, and, upon the whole, the province of Oude was in a peaceable and improving condition; while the character and situation of the reigning prince en-

[1] The contractors rarely benefited by their bargains, as Sádat Ali was well versed in the art of squeezing the sponge when it had done its office. As soon as the contractors were thought to be sufficiently gorged, complaints against their oppression, which were never wanting, were readily listened to, and they were seized and imprisoned until they had poured into the Nawab's treasury the whole or greater portion of their spoils. Their incarceration depended upon their tenaciousness of the booty. In 1807, the Resident stated there were fourteen farmers of the revenue in prison in Lucknow, some of whom had been confined for years.—MS. Records.

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sured his entire subservience to the political views and interests of the British Government.

1806.

Another native Mohammedan sovereign, Sekandar Jah, titular Nizam, Subahdár, or viceroy of the Dekhin, possessed of equally extensive territories, was also a subsidiary ally of the Company.[1] The alliance was more distasteful to him than to the Vizir; and his capricious and violent temper, and the frontier position of his country in contiguity to independent states, rendered the preservation of the political relations which had been established with him a subject of solicitude and apprehension. He had succeeded to the principality upon the demise of his father Nizam Ali, in 1803, without opposition, through the support of the British authorities; by whose interposition the menaced competition of one of his brothers, who enjoyed much more extensive popularity with the nobles and people of Hyderabad, was prevented. The sense of gratitude for this obligation was soon obliterated by the consciousness of loss of independence; and the ill-concealed discontent of the Nizam gave courage to many of his followers to organize a system of opposition to the British councils, and still further estrange the mind of their master from the connexion: they even contemplated its dissolution, and persuaded the

[1] By the treaty with the Nizam, dated 12th October, 1800, the subsidized force was finally fixed at eight battalions of Sipahis, or eight thousand firelocks, and two regiments of cavalry, or one thousand horse, with their complement of guns, European artillerymen, lascars, and pioneers. For the payment of this force the territories acquired by the Nizam under the treaty of Seringapatam, 18th March, 1792, and that of Mysore, 22nd June, 1799, were given back to the Company, with the exception of some districts north of the Tumbhadra river, for which Adoni and others to the south of it were exchanged: the annual revenues of the whole were estimated at twenty-six lakhs of Kanterai pagodas, about 874,000*l.*— Collection of Treaties, p. 188.

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1806.

Nizam, and perhaps credited it themselves, that it was practicable to form a combination with the Mahrattas by which the British might be humbled, and perhaps expelled from Hindustan. These suggestions gratified the enmity and flattered the pride of the Nizam; but he was too fondly addicted to low and sensual indulgence, too irresolute in purpose and contracted in intellect, to be capable of prosecuting a dangerous design with the steadiness, determination, and foresight indispensable to its success. Fortunately also for the ultimate preservation of his throne, his prime minister, Mir Alem, who had grown old in the service of the state, and had been an actor in many of the great events which had occurred in the Peninsula during the reign of the late Nizam,[1] was well aware of the relative strength of the British and Mahratta powers, and accurately appreciated his sovereign's situation. He knew, in fact, that the government of Hyderabad subsisted only as long as it remained under British protection, and that, the moment such protection should be withdrawn, the principality would be defenceless against Mahratta ambition, and would, at no remote period, fall under their yoke; he therefore sedulously advocated British influence at the court of Hyderabad, and was in requital supported

[1] Mir Alem was first employed in 1789 on a mission to Lord Cornwallis, and afterwards accompanied the Nizam's army to Seringapatam, where he conducted the negociations for peace. In 1794 he was deputed to Poona, but failed in his negociation. In 1798 he negociated with the British Resident the treaty with the Nizam, and commanded the army which joined the British troops in the capture of Seringapatam. Some time after his return he fell into disgrace, and was unemployed between 1800 and 1803. In 1804, upon the death of Azim ul Omra, the prime minister, and at the recommendation of the British Resident, he was appointed to that office. He died in the 56th year of his age.

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by that influence against the effects of his master's caprice and displeasure.

1807.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Mir Alem and of several of the most respectable members of the court of Hyderabad to preserve unimpaired the continued friendship of the British Government, the conduct of the Nizam so manifestly threatened its forfeiture and the dissolution of the alliance, that even Sir George Barlow deemed the occasion such as to justify avowed interference. Mir Alem was in danger of assassination, and obliged to seek shelter with the Resident: secret communications were opened with Sindhia and Holkar: all appointments of influence and trust were conferred upon individuals notoriously inimical to the British connexion, and considerable bodies of armed men were in course of assemblage at Hyderabad. It became a question whether the menaced separation should be anticipated, or prevented; whether the connexion should be spontaneously relinquished, or its continuation should be authoritatively perpetuated. The conclusion was, that it should be maintained at all hazards. "The alliance with Hyderabad," it was argued, "could not be dissolved without subverting the foundations of the British power and ascendancy in the political scale of India, and without becoming the signal and instrument of the downfall of the remaining fabric of our political relations. If the subsidiary force were withdrawn, the territory alienated for its support would be required to be restored; and the power and resources which the British Government had a right to demand for its own support and security would be placed in the hands of a

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hostile party, avowedly eager, not merely for the abolition of the alliance, but for the destruction of the British Indian Empire: the weapons of which we were now masters would be turned against us; universal agitation, alarm, distrust, and turbulence would ensue; and elements of a renewed combination of hostile states against us would acquire an uncontroulable latitude of action and efficient means of success."[1] Sir G. Barlow, therefore, concluded that the Nizam had no right to depart from the obligations of the connexion, and that they must be vigorously enforced. The political wisdom of the conclusion was undeniable, however at variance with the doctrine of non-interference, which even in regard to the Nizam had not long before been inculcated by the Bengal Government. The arguments upon which the resolution was formed are applicable to all similar relations, indicating the true character of subsidiary alliances as well as the difficulty and danger of their dissolution. The question of right has different aspects, according to the different positions of the contracting parties. The British Government might have the right, as it had the power, to enforce obligations which it considered essential to its own security and support; but the Nizam had an equal right to claim their abrogation, if he regarded them as non-essential to his security, repugnant to his feelings, derogatory to his character, and detrimental to the happiness and prosperity of his dominions. It was not a question of right, but of power; and, as the Subahdar of the Dekhin was no longer in a condition to assert his indepen-

[1] Minute of the Governor-General.

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dence, he was under the necessity of submitting to whatever terms his European masters were pleased to impose.

The Nizam was indeed thoroughly alarmed by the tone which the Resident was authorised to assume. A ready source of intimidation always exists in the minds of native princes in the indeterminate laws of succession, and the readiness with which the ties of relationship are sacrificed to the temptations of ambition. The Nizam, like the Nawab Vizir, had brothers of whom he stood in fear, and of whose promptitude to become the instruments of British vindictiveness no native courtier or politician could entertain a doubt. That he would be deposed in favour of his younger brother was the immediate suggestion of his own suspicions, and they were confirmed by the sympathising fears of his family and adherents. He therefore changed the tenor of his conduct, readily acquiesced in the conditions[1] to which his assent was required, promised to repose entire confidence in Mir Alem and in the Resident, and engaged to dismiss from their offices, whether of a public or personal nature, and banish from his capital, certain individuals known to be hostile to the British interest, and appoint to their duties persons in whom the Resident

[1] They were, the dismissal from his presence and from office of persons hostile to the minister and the British alliance; the separation of the military from the civil command on the northern frontier, and the appointment to both duties of persons in the confidence of the Resident; admittance of the Resident to an audience whenever he requested it, without any conditions; due attention to the just claims of the British Government; the communication of all petitions and statements of a public nature without reserve to the minister; and, should any difference with him arise, the question should be referred to the British Resident.—MS. Records.

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could confide. This last stipulation was not accomplished without the employment of military force for an object, and with results strikingly characteristic of the disorganised state of the native principalities, and which therefore it may be of use to describe in some detail.

The chief favourite and principal adviser of the Nizam was Raja Mahipat Ram, a Hindu, who was originally employed as Dewan, or man of business, by Monsieur Raymond the commander of the French brigades. In this situation he had formed an intimacy with the prince Sekandar Jah, and upon the dispersion of the French force was taken into his service and obtained his confidence. Upon the elevation of the prince to the throne, Mahipat Ram received the honorary title of Raja, and was appointed to the united civil and military command of the north-west or Berar frontier. His public functions he discharged by deputy, and resided at Hyderabad, the intimate associate and secret counsellor of the prince. Aspiring to the supreme direction of public affairs, he became the opponent and enemy of the prime minister, and of those by whom he was upheld. His early connexions, and the injury to his fortunes consequent upon the breaking up of Raymond's corps, had no doubt disposed him to cherish unfriendly feelings towards Mir Alem's English friends; and he may honestly have desired, however inconsiderately he may have proposed, to liberate his sovereign from dependence upon a foreign power. Whatever may have been his motives, he was known to be implacably hostile to the British alliance, and he was one of those

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whose removal from the court was inflexibly insisted on. He was also dismissed from his command, and ordered to withdraw to his personal Jagir. However unpalateable to the Nizam and to his favourite, Mahipat Ram, after some ineffectual endeavours to obtain a milder doom, was compelled to retire to his feudatory estates. 1808.

Raja Mahipat Ram was incapable of leading an inactive life, or abstaining from turbulence and intrigue. He collected a force of five thousand horse, whom he employed to dispossess some of his brother feudatories of their territories, and to levy contributions even upon the districts immediately subject to the officers of the Nizam; not, as there was good reason to suspect, without the connivance of his prince, who preferred the vexation and embarrassment of his minister to the peace of his subjects and the maintenance of his own authority. The remonstrances of the Resident compelled the Nizam at length to send a force against his vassal, but it was defeated; and Mr. Gordon, an officer who commanded one of his disciplined battalions, being wounded in the action and taken prisoner, was put to death after the engagement in the presence of the Raja. The Nizam's troops being either unable or unwilling to suppress the insurrection, it became necessary to adopt more vigorous measures; and a considerable portion of the subsidiary force[1], under its commandant Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor, marched against the Raja at Shahpur, whilst other divisions moved from the north and the south 22nd Feb. 1803.

[1] Five companies H. M. 33rd; two battalions N. I.; two regiments N. C.; a brigade of artillery; and a body of the Nizam's troops.

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1808. to intercept him in the event of his attempting to retire into the adjacent Mahratta districts. Unable to face the force sent against him, Mahipat Ram retreated towards Berar with the utmost expedition, and was followed by Colonel Montresor with equal celerity. The Raja contrived for three months to evade his pursuers, but with the loss of his guns, his baggage, and his infantry. His flight into Berar, where it was apprehended he would find numerous adherents, was prevented by the judicious movements of Colonel Montresor, and the advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton with a division of the subsidiary force from the frontier of that province. Thus foiled in his purpose, Mahipat Ram directed his course to Kandesh. Turning to the west he crossed the Godaveri,

May 23rd. Tapti, and Nerbudda rivers; and threw himself into the territory of Holkar, whither his pursuers did not consider themselves authorised to follow him. The detachment under Colonel Doveton was left to guard the frontier, and the main body returned to Hyderabad. Raja Mahipat Ram was no longer formidable: he was now a mere military adventurer at the head of a party of roving horse, willing to be retained by any foreign prince by the promise of pay and the prospect of plunder. He was accordingly engaged by Holkar; but the situation of that chief, his illness, and the troubles that distracted his court, rendered the engagement of little other value than the personal protection which it afforded him.

It was still thought advisable, in order to obviate the recurrence of mischievous intrigues at Hydera-

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bad, to obtain possession of the person of Mahipat Ram, and applications to that effect were made to Holkar. In reply, the Mahratta declared that it was, and had always been, the Raja's intention to proceed to Calcutta and appeal to the Governor-General against Mir Alem and the Resident, to whose personal animosity he attributed his misfortunes; professing himself ready to retire from public life and settle at Benares, if the liberality of the British Government afforded him the means. This arrangement had been proposed before his insurrection, but he was now held to have forfeited any claim to favour; and a pension, although granted to his family, was refused to himself: his unconditional surrender was demanded, with which he declined to comply. There is no reason to suppose he was sincere in his professions, as at the same time he was writing to the Nizam, offering, if his sanction were declared, to come to Hyderabad with fifty thousand horse, which he affirmed Holkar and Amir Khan were prepared to dispatch to his assistance to enable him to shake off the English yoke.

It was not in the power, if it had ever been the practice, of Holkar to observe punctuality in the payment of his soldiery; and the funds of Mahipat Ram, although assisted by secret contributions from the Nizam, soon fell short of the means of maintaining a corps of any strength. After repeated mutinies for arrears of pay, the principal part of his followers deserted him: with the remainder he attached himself to the party in Holkar's camp which after that chieftain's insanity aimed at the direction of affairs, under the guidance of Tulasí Bhai, his

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wife. The opposite faction, headed by a military leader named Dharma Koar, having acquired a temporary superiority, Mahipat Ram was ordered to quit the encampment. Delaying to obey the order, he was attacked by a party of Dharma Koar's troops at a time when his own men were dispersed; and whilst he was remonstrating against the aggression, and professing his readiness to depart, he was shot in the tumult: his head was cut off, and cast like that of a common malefactor before the threshold of Holkar's tent. It was, however, given up to the entreaties of his friends, and burnt with the body; but his effects were confiscated, and the horses of his troopers were seized for the use of the state. Such was the fate of an individual whose influence had threatened to subvert the alliance between the Nizam and the British Government, and had endangered the tranquillity of India. He seems to have been a man of an active and enterprising character, whose chief error was embarking rashly in undertakings in which he had no possible chance of success.

The minister of the Nizam, Mir Alem, died on the 8th of January, 1809. A negociation for the nomination of a successor ensued, which was not unattended with difficulties; the British Government professing to leave it to the Nizam, whilst stedfastly resolved to suffer no one unfriendly to its interests to exercise the administration, and the Nizam with equal insincerity pretending to defer to the wishes of the Bengal Government, whilst secretly striving to secure its acknowledgment of a favourite of his own. A compromise was at length effected. Monir ul

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Mulk, the choice of the Nawab, was appointed minister under a written engagement to maintain the British connexion unimpaired; but, as he was incompetent to the duties of his office, the real administration was vested in the hands of Chandu Lal as his Peshkár or deputy, a Hindu of experience and talent, who had been employed by Mir Alem in a similar capacity, and who, like him, was deeply impressed with the essential importance of the Resident's support, both to his own authority and to the integrity of the Nizam's dominions. The connexion with Hyderabad, after the brief interruption which has been described, was established on a firmer footing than before; and the growing habits of excess in which the Nizam indulged, as well as his natural timidity and indolence, enfeebled his own sentiments of aversion, and rendered them no longer objects of apprehension. 1809.

A subsidiary alliance[1] united the Peshwa also with the British Government of India, but the connexion was distinguished by some essential differences from those which had been formed with the Mohammedan princes: it was of more recent date and less stringent obligations: the Mahratta prince retained a much larger share of independence and power, and more consistently contemplated the opportunity of ridding himself of a controul which he equally felt to be intolerable, but which he had the policy 1805.

[1] By this, commonly called the Treaty of Bassein, dated 31st December, 1802, the Peshwa agreed to receive a permanent subsidiary force of not less than 6000 regular infantry, with the usual proportion of field-pieces and European artillerymen; for the regular payment of which, certain districts in the Dekhin were at first assigned, but were, as already noticed, commuted for others in Bundelkhand by a supplemental treaty, December, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 233.

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1805.

to affect to submit to with cheerfulness and satisfaction.[1] Baji Rao had entered into the alliance in a moment of despair, when no other means were open to him of escaping from the violence of Holkar, but the treaty was scarcely concluded when he was busied in intrigues with the other Mahratta princes for its infraction. The unexpected close of the war with Sindhia and the Raja of Berar disappointed his projects, the discomfiture of the confederates showed him that it was vain to expect immediate release from his engagements, and his next object was to turn them to his advantage: there, also, he encountered various disappointments, and these contributed to enhance his discontent with the British Government, however veiled beneath the show of cordiality and good-humour. The Court of Poona entertained heavy pecuniary claims upon the Gaekwar and the Nizam for arrears of tribute, or for payments stipulated by treaty[2]: these claims the British Government undertook to investigate and adjust, but the accounts were long and complicated, and the equity of the demand not unfrequently

[1] For a time he appears to have imposed upon the Government of Bengal; as the satisfaction which he expressed was one of the arguments employed by Sir G. Barlow against the modifications of the treaty of Bassein, proposed by the Secret Committee.—Malcolm, Political History of India, i. 380.

[2] The amount of the demand upon the Gaekwar was nearly three millions sterling; upon the Nizam about six hundred thousand pounds. As an instructive illustration of the nature of such claims, and the unfailing source of dispute which they furnished to the native states of India, the Peshwa's account with the Gaekwar is particularised in the Appendix. It is clear that such an account never could be settled, and that it provided a permanent plea of quarrel whenever the creditor thought himself strong enough to insist upon a partial payment, another name for a contribution; or whenever the debtor, in the same belief of his power, thought fit to demand an abatement of the claim. The ascendancy of an umpire whose award is not to be disputed has put an end to all such grounds of contention.

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questionable. The investigation proceeded slowly, and adjustment was deferred until the patience of the Peshwa was exhausted, and he felt as a grievance that interposition which barred his attempting to realise at least a portion of his demands by a more summary process. Another subject of grievance was the decided refusal of the Government to allow the Peshwa to use the subsidiary force as an instrument for the establishment of an unprecedented controul over some of his feudatories, and for their forcible expulsion from their Jagirs: this was especially the case with regard to Parasuram Srinivás, the Pratinidhi or principal hereditary noble of the Mahratta state, between whom and Baji Rao an inveterate feud had for some time subsisted.[1] The Peshwa advanced also unfounded pecuniary claims upon portions of Bundelkhand not included in the cessions he had made to the British; and demanded arrears of Chouth, the Mahratta tribute, from the independent Rajas of the province, as well as from the rulers of Jhansi, Kalpi, and Ságar, which his relations with the British, that prevented him from engaging in hostilities or entering into negociation with other princes without their participation, disabled him from asserting in the manner most agreeable to Mahratta policy. He likewise claimed a share of the contributions extorted by Holkar and Sindhia from the princes of Rajputana; and, attributing the difficulty of realising these demands to the non-appointment of such a representative in Hindustan as had been charged with the interests of the Peshwa anterior to the

[1] History of the Mahrattas, iii. 341.

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date of the British connexion, he was urgent with his allies to sanction the revival of the office of Sir-subha, or Peshwa's representative, in which character he proposed to send one of his principal officers into Bundelkhand. To this proposition an unqualified refusal was given, as it was obviously designed to replace the Peshwa in the position of titular head of the Mahratta confederacy, and to renew that system of combination which it had been the especial object of the treaty of Bassein to overturn. The nomination of an officer who should be acknowledged by Sindhia and Holkar as the Peshwa's delegate was also an infringement of the stipulation in the treaties with those princes, as well as with the Peshwa, by which internegociation of a political tendency was prohibited. The British Government, therefore, required the Peshwa to desist from the appointment of a Sir-subha, offering at the same time to mediate between him and the chiefs of Bundelkhand for the recovery of his just demands. The firm opposition made by Sir G. Barlow to this insidious project, in which it was ascertained that both Sindhia and Holkar had secretly concurred, inflicted upon Baji Rao severe disappointment and mortification. He professed, indeed, to place entire confidence in the wisdom and friendship of his allies, but it was evident that little reliance on his sincerity could be entertained; nor were positive proofs wanting of his being concerned in negociations incompatible with the spirit and letter of his engagements to the British;[1] and it

[1] The villages taken from Sindhia, and transferred to the Peshwa, after the war had been secretly suffered to remain in the possession of the

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was obvious that his conviction of the impossibility of forming an effective combination against their power, alone deterred him from new intrigues calculated to disturb the existing relations and endanger the tranquillity of India. The other members of the Mahratta confederacy were not in a situation favourable to their co-operation in his designs. 1807.

The bonds of union with the Gaekwar or Mahratta ruler of Guzerat were of the most intimate description; and the maintenance of his authority, his very existence as a political power, depended entirely upon the assistance and support of his English allies. The contest for the occupation of Guzerat, adverted to in a former page, terminated in the acknowledgment of Fattih Sing.[1] Upon his death, in 1793, Govind Rao was recognised by the Government of Poona as Raja. He died in 1800, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Anand Rao, a prince of weak intellect and indolent disposition, who was incapable of conducting an efficient administration. A struggle for the management of affairs ensued. Kanhoji Rao, the eldest illegitimate son of Govind Rao, a bold and ambitious young man, at first secured to himself and his partisans all 1802.

former. The nomination of a Sir-subha, as mentioned in the text, was with the private concurrence of Sindhia and Holkar. When a quarrel had ensued between those two chiefs after the return of the latter to Hindustan, an envoy was sent by the Peshwa to mediate between them. As this was a palpable infraction of the treaty of Bassein, Baji Rao was called upon for an explanation. He at once disavowed his agent, and, in proof of his fidelity to his engagements, produced what were also evidences of his intercourse with the other chiefs, letters from Holkar and Sindhia declaratory of their desire to renew their subordination to the Poona Government. Baji Rao at the same time pretended a conviction that, although these proposals might have for their object the advantage of the writers, it was for his own advantage to adhere to the terms of the subsidiary alliance.—MS. Records; also Hist. of the Mahrattas, iii. 333.

[1] iii. 602.

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the principal offices of the state; but after a short time he was dispossessed of them by one to whom the authority could be more safely and beneficially entrusted, Raoji Appa, who had been the minister of Govind Rao, a man of ability whose exercise of authority was not incompatible with the continuation of Anand Rao as titular sovereign. Kanhoji had recourse to Mulhar Rao, a cousin of his late father, who held an extensive Jagir under the Gaekwar, and was a chief of talent and enterprise. Raoji Appa, unable to oppose this combination, made urgent application to the Government of Bombay for the formation of a subsidiary alliance. The proposal was acceded to, and Major Walker, with a military detachment, was sent to his succour.[1] Mulhar Rao and Kanhoji were defeated: the former declared his submission to the new order of things; but Kanhoji kept aloof, and for some time devastated the country at the head of a predatory body of horse. He was ultimately routed by a British division under Major Holmes, and driven out of Guzerat. Raoji Appa retained the functions of prime minister and virtual ruler undisturbed, and Major Walker was appointed Resident at Baroda, the capital of the Gaekwar.[2]

[1] By the agreement entered into, the Gaekwar engaged to pay for the expenses of the military assistance granted to him, and for a permanent force to be furnished by the Company; and to cede in perpetuity the Pergunna of Chikli in the dependencies of Surat, with his share of the chouth or contribution levied on that city. These engagements were confirmed by a formal treaty in June, 1802. It was also provided that an assignment of territory should be made to the Company of the estimated annual revenue of 7,80,000 rupees, for the maintenance of 2000 native infantry; and, as the number was subsequently raised to 3000, with a company of European artillery, other lands were made over by a treaty dated in April, 1805, yielding with the former a total revenue of 11,70,000 rupees.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 565-594, and schedule A. p. 601.

[2] Hist. of the Mahr. iii. 216.

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When tranquillity was re-established, and opportunity was afforded for an inquiry into the condition of the Gaekwar's affairs, it was found that they were so irretrievably involved, that it was indispensably necessary, if it were thought desirable to continue the connexion, to extend the assistance to be afforded beyond military support, and to prop the rapidly declining resources of the principality with the funds and credit of the British Government. The annual disbursements greatly exceeded the annual receipts of the public treasury;[1] the revenues were intercepted by appropriations and mortgages, the fruits of former improvidence; heavy debts, bearing a ruinous rate of interest, were owing to the bankers and monied men; and long arrears of pay were due to the troops, the discharge of which was a necessary preliminary to their dismissal, and consequent diminution of public expenditure. The additional burthen imposed upon the state by the subsidy to be paid to the British force was quite incapable of being sustained; and it was evident not only that the engagement could not be fulfilled, but that national insolvency, general confusion and distress, and the dissolution of the Gaekwar's power, were unavoidable, unless vigorous means were promptly employed to administer present relief and ensure future amelioration. Fortunately the Resident was endowed with more than ordinary abilities, industry, energy, and judgment; enjoyed the unreserved confidence of his own Government; and speedily commanded the same implicit credit

[1] The revenue of Guzerat was estimated at 50 lakhs of rupees per annum; the expenditure exceeded 82 lakhs.—MS. Rec.

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1803.

with the Gaekwar, his minister, his chief officers, and the monied and commercial members of the community.[1]

The first measure of reduced expenditure that was adopted, was, the discharge of the Gaekwar's troops, the need of whom was superseded by the subsidiary force; but for this purpose it was requisite to pay the arrears due to them, and the funds were to be raised. The British Government agreed to advance part of the sum required for this object, and to guarantee repayment of the remainder to opulent individuals, who, under that security, were willing to furnish what was requisite. The advances in both cases were to be liquidated out of assignments of territory, the revenues of which were to be collected and accounted for by the Company.[2] The money was supplied, but the

[1] This is strikingly expressed in the counterpart of the treaty of 1805, written by the Gaekwar himself, anticipating the possibility of his falling into the hands of his rebellious subjects or mutinous troops. He enjoins that, "in such a situation, his subjects will pay no attention to his orders, but hear what Major Walker has to say, strictly following his instructions." And the document concludes with these provisions: "Conformably to Major Walker's suggestions and wishes, the articles contained in this declaration were written, and to them I have given my assent; but in the event of any evil-disposed persons attempting anything unfair or unreasonable against my person, my Dewan, Raoji Appaji, his son, his brother, nephew, or relations, and Madhu Rao Tántia Mazamdar, or even should I myself, or my successors, commit anything improper or unjust, the English Government shall interfere, and see in either case that it is settled according to equity and reason. I have also required of Major Walker on the part of the Company to promise that my state and government shall be permanent, and shall descend to the lineal heirs of the Musnud, and that the Dewanship shall be preserved to Raoji Appaji. In the last place, I desire to form the most intimate connexion with the Company, and that all business with the Poona Durbar may be jointly managed by the English Resident and my Vakeel. Given at Baroda, 28th July, 1802. (Signed) Anand Rao, Gaekwar; Sena-kháss-khel, Shamshir Bahadur."—Coll. of Treaties, p. 569. These may have been the sentiments of the minister rather than of the Raja, but they were generally consistent with the conduct of Anand Rao.

[2] The amount required was 41,38,000 rupees (£413,800), of which the British Government advanced 19,67,000 rupees (£196,700): the rest was

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reduction of the troops was not effected by pecuniary means alone.

The most efficient portion of the Gaekwar's army consisted of a body of about seven thousand Arabs, a description of mercenaries whom it was formerly a frequent practice in the Peninsula to engage, and who bore a high reputation for fidelity and courage, but were equally characterised by turbulence and rapacity. These troops formed the garrison of Baroda, and were extremely averse to the loss of pay and privileges with which they were threatened. In order to evade their dismissal, they advanced the most extravagant demands, and, seizing upon the capital and person of the Gaekwar, refused to set him at liberty unless their claims were satisfied. Major Walker having endeavoured in vain to bring them to reasonable terms, Baroda was invested by the subsidiary force under Colonel Woodington, strengthened by a European regiment from Bombay. The Arabs defended themselves with spirit, and inflicted some loss on their assailants; but, after a siege of ten days, a practicable breach having been made in the walls, they capitulated on the promise that all arrears justly due to them should be paid, and they engaged in that event to disband and leave the country.

This transaction, and the flight of Kanhoji, restored tranquillity to Guzerat, and enabled the minister and the Resident to proceed without in-

provided by different Saráfs or bankers at Baroda under the Company's Bhándári—a general assurance that they should be repaid, not an absolute surety for repayment. An annual territorial revenue of 12,95,000 rupees was appropriated to the liquidation of the principal, with interest at nine per cent. per annum until the whole should be redeemed.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 601.

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terruption in their projects of reform. Raoji Appa died in January, 1803, and was succeeded in his office of Dewan by his nephew Sitarám, who professed the same principles, and for a time pursued the same policy, as his uncle. The reduction of the expenditure proved however no easy task, as extravagance and dishonesty pervaded every department, and little reliance could be placed upon the co-operation of the servants of the state, who were themselves the chief plunderers and defaulters. Sitarám soon became weary of a duty so troublesome and unpopular, and lent himself to the prevailing practice of profusion; so that the whole labour and odium fell upon the Resident. He was ably assisted by Gangadhar Sastri, an accountant in his employment, who acquired at a subsequent date a melancholy celebrity in the political history of the Peninsula, as we shall have occasion to relate. The Resident was also firmly supported by the bankers and public creditors, who had a deep personal interest in the success of his proceedings.

The avowed exercise of British controul over the internal administration of the Gaekwar, which commenced under the authority of Marquis Wellesley, was continued on the same footing by Sir G. Barlow, although an admitted departure from his policy of non-interference. "The peculiar situation," he observed "of the affairs of the Gaekwar state, and the circumstances under which our connexion with that state has been established, and has become in a manner interwoven with its internal concerns, distinguish our relations with Baroda from those which

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subsist with the other powers of India, although the general political relations and obligations are the same. The interference, therefore, which we are called upon to exercise, cannot be considered to constitute a deviation from those principles of policy which in our intercourse with other allies preclude our interference in the management of their internal concerns. It is evident that the alternative of our interference for the reform of the affairs of the Gaekwar is not merely the loss of the advantages to be derived from the efficacy of the alliance, but the positive dangers to which the certain ruin of the state would expose our most essential interests in that quarter of the Peninsula." These observations were undoubtedly just, but the spirit which they evince was eminently selfish, and no consideration of the benefit accruing to the Gaekwar was allowed to influence the maintenance of the connexion.

At the same time that the right and policy of interference were thus explicitly recognised, the economical timidity of the Bengal Government suspended the execution of a measure recommended by the Resident as essential to the realisation of the resources of Guzerat,—the enforced levy of the tribute due to the Gaekwar by his tributaries in Kattiwar. The obvious necessity, however, of rendering this source of legitimate revenue productive, and the expectation that a judicious display of the British power might prevent serious opposition, overcame the reluctance of the Governor-General; and a military detachment under the command of the Resident undertook the performance of the

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Mulkgiri, or periodical collection of tribute by the march of troops through the province.

Although correctly applicable to one division only, that occupied by the Katti tribe, the term Kattiwar designates the whole of the peninsula of Guzerat. The country was distributed amongst various tribes, of whom the Rajputs and Kattis were the most remarkable: subject to a number of petty chieftains of various degrees of power, and possessing domains differing in extent and value; sometimes connected with their neighbours by affinity of descent, but all equally independent in their own lordships; exercising the privilege of private war, and paying little more than nominal obedience to the paramount sovereign; presenting, in many respects, a resemblance to the kingdoms of Europe during the worst periods of baronial anarchy. The province had been regarded as tributary successively to the Mohammedan Kings of Guzerat, to the Mogul, and to the Mahrattas; but the tribute was never spontaneously paid, and its collection was only to be effected by a military progress amongst the states. Nor was this method always attended by success. The army of the Peshwa, or of the Gaekwar, even when amounting to twenty thousand horse, was not unfrequently resisted. The Rajas shut themselves up in their forts or castles, and from their battlements mocked the movements of cavalry. The villages, fortified by mud walls, impenetrable hedges, and the martial spirit of the population, were equally inaccessible; and the invaders were obliged to content themselves with laying the open country waste. Nor were they suffered to

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carry off with impunity such plunder as they might have gathered; hordes of Katti and Rajput horse hovered round their advance and harassed their retreat, and the expedition not unusually terminated in disaster and disgrace. 1807.

The diminished power and impaired resources of the Gaekwar had for several years prevented even such attempts at military coercion, and tribute accordingly had ceased. The spirit that now animated the counsels of the Government, and the means at its disposal, no longer permitted the chiefs of Kattiwar to resist its rightful demands with impunity. Having therefore received the sanction of his superiors, Major Walker marched with a division of the subsidiary force to Gotu, in the district of Murvi, to which place the several chieftains had been previously directed to send their representatives: the greater number complied with the requisition: the right of the Gaekwar's Government to levy a tribute was universally admitted, but it was not until after many attempts at delay and evasion that a settlement was accomplished, and the chiefs consented to pay the amount regularly, without waiting for the Mulkgiri process of coercion. The sum of nine lakhs and a half of rupees was promised in perpetuity, and security was given for a term of ten years, renewable at its expiration. The security was characteristic. The sureties were persons boasting neither rank nor wealth, but who derived from the usages of the country inviolable sanctity, and were entitled to implicit trust. They were selected from the tribe of Chárans or Bháts, the hereditary bards, genealogists, and chroniclers of the Oct. 1807.

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principal Hindu races of the West of India, whose sacredness of person had been received as a substitute for law in a condition of society which, whilst it felt the necessity of social obligations, could submit to none of the human restraints by which they are maintained and enforced. Superstition supplied the defect. The Chárán, if his pledge was violated, murdered himself or some member of his family; and the retribution for blood was believed to fall upon the head of him by whose default he had been impelled to make the sacrifice. The dread of such a destiny was generally of power to deter the least scrupulous from the violation of an engagement so guaranteed.[1] In some instances, additional securities were entered into by chiefs and persons of influence; and the rights of the Gaekwar, then established in Kattiwar, have never since been the subject of any serious contest. At the same time, the chiefs and people of the principal sea-ports of

[1] The following illustration of this usage is narrated by Lieut. Macmurdo:—"In the year 1806, a Bhat of Veweingaum, named Kunna, had become security on the part of Dossajee, the present chieftain of Mallia in Muchoo-kanta, for a sum of money payable to the Gaekwar Government: the time specified for payment arrived, and Dossajee refused to fulfill his engagement. Government applied to the surety, who, after several fruitless attempts to persuade Dossajee to comply with his bond, returned to his house, and, after passing some time in prayer, assembled his family and desired his wife to prepare a daughter, about seven years of age, for *traga*. The innocent child, taught from her earliest infancy to reflect on the sacred character and divine origin of her family, and the necessity which existed for the sacrifice, required no compulsion to follow the path by which the honour of her caste was to be preserved. Having bathed, and dressed herself in her best clothes, she knelt with her head on her father's knee, and, holding aside her long hair, she resigned herself without a struggle to the sword of this unnatural barbarian. The blood of a Bhat being sprinkled on the gate of the chieftain produced an instantaneous payment of the money: presents of land to the father, and a handsome mausoleum or *doree* to the daughter, marked the desire of the Rajput to avert the punishment supposed to await the spiller of a Chárán's blood."—Trans. Literary Society of Bombay, i. 281.

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the Peninsula, all of whom were in the habit of committing piratical depredations on native commerce, were called upon to renounce piracy, to relinquish their claim to vessels wrecked on their coasts, to allow the free resort of merchant-ships from the territories of the Company or their allies, and to assent to the permanent residence of a commercial agent at their principal harbours. They generally acceded to these stipulations.[1]

The only active military operation which it became necessary to undertake was designed to adjust a difference between two chiefs of some consideration, and to demonstrate the ability as well as the determination of the Government of Guzerat to compel obedience. A body of Makránis, or mercenaries, natives of Mekran, in the service of the Raja of Purbandar, mutinying for arrears of pay, seized upon the fort of Kandorna belonging to the Raja, and sold it to a rival chief, the Jam of Noanagar. This transaction occurred after the arrival of the Resident and Gaekwar's minister in the province, and was held to be contempt of the superior authority, as well as disregard of private rights. The Jam was desired to restore the fortress; and, as he refused to comply with the requisition, the detachment marched against the place: batteries were erected, and in the course of a day, two practicable breaches being effected, the troops were drawn out for the assault, when the garrison surrendered. Kandorna had formerly sustained successfully a siege

[1] The sea-ports were Dhingi, Bate, Dwaraka, Amramra, Positra, Jooria, and Noanagar on the north coast, and different parts of Junagerh on the south. For the stipulations with them severally, and with other of the Kattiwar principalities, see Coll. of Treaties, pp. 602, &c.

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of three months by the Gaekwar's army, and was looked upon by the people as impregnable. Its capture on the present occasion in so short a time impressed the native chiefs with a deep conviction of the uselessness of opposition to the British arms, and produced a sensible effect upon the progress of the negociations.

The expedition into Kattiwar was considered as affording a favourable opportunity for asserting authority of a different description, and vindicating the outraged claims of natural affection. The Jhareja Rajputs of the province, and of the neighbouring principality of Cutch, were notorious for the murder of their female infants. Preferring the death of a daughter to a matrimonial alliance with an inferior race, and looking upon most races as inferior, precluded by custom from marrying her to a husband of her own tribe, the Jharejas believed it to be more humane to nip the flower in the bud, than to await the risk of its being blighted in maturer growth. A female child was almost invariably put to death as soon as born. The Government of Bombay had for some time past been anxious to eradicate this cruel and unnatural practice;[1] and Colonel Walker was instructed to endeavour to obtain from the chiefs a declaration of its incompatibility with the Hindu religion as well as with the laws of humanity, and a promise that they

[1] The head of the Bombay Government, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, had encountered, when Governor-General's agent at Benares, a similar custom among the Rajkumars, a Rajput tribe established in that province, and had succeeded in obtaining from them an engagement to abstain from the commission of the crime; this was in 1789.—Papers on Female Infanticide, printed by order of the House of Commons, 17th June, 1824, p. 22; the engagement is also printed, *ibid.* p. 8.

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would desist from its perpetration. The negociation was a subject of some delicacy; but the Resident by the weight of his character, and a judicious employment of the influence with which the situation and interests of the several chiefs invested him, overcame all difficulties, and carried the instructions of the Government into effect. An engagement was signed by all the principal chiefs for themselves and their fraternities, by which they pledged themselves to renounce the usage of killing their female children, to expel from their caste any person who should be guilty of the crime, and to submit to any penalties which the Gaekwar's Government and the British Resident should inflict for breach of the obligation.[1] For some time they seem to have adhered to the terms of the engagement, but the Resident and the Government were somewhat too sanguine in their belief that female infanticide was suppressed in Guzerat. It was not possible that the illusions of deep-rooted prejudice and long-established custom should instantly vanish before the voice of humanity and reason; and fear of punishment, the only agent of adequate power to work so sudden a change, could exercise but little controul where the detection of an offence committed in the impenetrable secrecy of domestic privacy was obviously almost impracticable. Accordingly, at a long subsequent date, there were grounds for believing that the crime was almost as common as it had been before the interposition of the British Government.[2] The

[1] Report of his proceedings by Colonel Walker, 15th March, 1808.—Parl. Papers, 31.

[2] In 1817, there were but sixty-three Jhareja females living in all Katti-

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sentiments of that Government have, however, been sufficiently made known to insure its marked disfavour to any chief suspected of violating the spirit of the original contract; and a sense of individual interest, with improved principles of action, manners softened by the continuance of tranquillity, and extended intellectual cultivation, must ultimately effect the extinction of a practice which is not more inconsistent with reason than repugnant to natural instinct.[1]

The adjustment of the Kattiwar tribute tended materially to facilitate the improvement of the Gaekwar's finances, but their final settlement was retarded by the aversion which the new minister exhibited to the economical measures of the Resident, and the secret counteraction which he countenanced or practised. It became necessary, therefore, to re-model the administration. Sitarám was removed from the office of Dewan, the duties of which were assigned to his uncle, Baba Rao; whilst a general controuling and sanctioning authority was vested in Fatih Sing Gaekwar, the younger brother of the reigning prince, and heir to the throne. These ministers, holding their appointments by the tenure of the Resident's approbation, co-operated cordially with him, and results the most beneficial were speedily attained. In place of the seemingly hopeless condition of the public finances when the process of reform was commenced, when the expenditure nearly

war, born subsequently to the engagement with Colonel Walker.—Parl. Papers, 110. In a village called Draffa, containing four hundred families, there was not a single female child.—*Ibid.* 112.

[1] Note by Mr. Elphinstone when Governor of Bombay.—*Ibid.* 116.

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doubled the receipts, the revenue of the Gaekwar was raised in the course of six years to sixty-five lakhs of rupees, and his expenses were reduced to fifty lakhs, leaving a surplus of fifteen lakhs applicable to the liquidation of his debts: perseverance in the same system for about a similar period was expected to ensure his liberation from pecuniary embarrassment, and the full command of all his resources.[1] The connexion which the Gaekwar had formed with the British had been attended therefore with unequivocal benefit to that prince, and, at the period at which we have arrived, was distinguished above all the existing subsidiary alliances, by implicit confidence, intimate union, and mutual satisfaction.[2]

The other Mahratta states, although they had acceded to relations of amity, had declined a closer alliance and the engagement of subsidiary troops. The most friendly chief amongst them was the Raja of Berar. A British Resident was admitted at his court, and exercised considerable influence in his counsels. Some of his ministers also were, with his knowledge and concurrence, in the receipt of pensions from the Government of Bengal, as compensation for private losses suffered from the late war. The Raja was, however, not altogether contented with his allies. His dominions had been heavily mulcted for his share in the recent hostilities.[3] He had been compelled to cede part of

[1] MS. Records.

[2] Lieutenant-Colonel Walker left Baroda on account of ill-health in the beginning of 1809. He returned for a short time at the pressing solicitation of the Government of Bengal to superintend proceedings relating to he affairs of Cutch, but finally quitted India in 1810.

[3] By the treaty of Deogaum, 17th December, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, 261.

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Berar to the Nizam, and the province of Cuttack to the Company, and he contrasted the penalties that had been inflicted on him with the undeserved forbearance which the British Government had shown to Sindhia and Holkar, notwithstanding the more prominent part which they had taken in the operations of the war, and the more inveterate animosity which they had manifested. He claimed, therefore, at least equally favourable treatment, and a similar restoration of his dismembered territories; and in justification of his expectations he pleaded an implied promise of Lord Cornwallis, who, in a letter addressed to the Raja, had assured him of his "intention of compensating his losses to the utmost practicable extent consistent with equity and public faith." The letter was unquestionably authentic, and the tenor was sufficiently obvious, although the expressions were vague: a liberal interpretation of them would have replaced the Raja in possession of Cuttack, if not of Berar; but, as this would have been inconvenient, it was necessary to explain away the precipitate generosity of the noble writer. It was argued with some plausibility that it would be inconsistent with equity and public faith to resume the lands ceded to the Nizam, and it was maintained with less show of reason that it would be equally incompatible with justice to the British Government of India to deprive it of Cuttack. Ragoji Bhonsla's notions of justice were somewhat at variance with those of the Governor-General, and he not unnaturally demurred to the decision of a judge who sat in judgment on his own cause, and pronounced sentence in his own favour. He was

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obliged to submit, but he acquiesced unwillingly. To fulfil in some degree the purpose of restitution intimated by Lord Cornwallis, it was proposed to cede to the Raja a tract of little extent or value west of the Wardá river, and the more considerable district of Sambhalpur on the east of Berar. The Raja declined to accept the former: the latter became, after a season, an unwilling and unprofitable dependency of Nagpur. Its cession was scarcely compatible with a strict observance of the obligations contracted with the people of the province when it came into British possession.

The countries of Sambhalpur and Patna, forming an extensive tract, were, for the greater part, overrun with jungle; but they afforded support to a scanty population scattered about in detached villages, and subject to the authority of a number of petty Rajput chiefs, loosely connected by affinity or allegiance, but not unfrequently disunited and at variance. The Mahratta Rajas of Nagpur had availed themselves of the opportunity offered by the dissensions of the chiefs to interpose, and set up a claim of supremacy and exact payment of tribute; but they had never been able to establish any recognised influence or authority. The principle of the Mulkgiri of Kattiwar was therefore here also in practice: a body of troops was sent every third year into the province, which plundered the villages and devastated the fields, until its retreat was purchased by the payment of the sum demanded. This system of extortion, and the cruelty and spoliation with which it was enforced, had rendered the Mahrattas detested alike by chiefs and people, and they cor-

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dially welcomed and assisted the British division, which, in the late war, was sent in their direction. On that occasion they had readily promised allegiance to the British Government, on condition that they should be permanently retained amongst its subjects. As, however, little advantage to the resources of the Company's dominions was to be expected from so poor a dependency, the pledge given to its inhabitants was disregarded, and it was resolved to consign them again to their Mahratta oppressors. With a show of attention to its engagements, the British Government, at the same time that it announced to the chiefs its determination to relinquish its occupation of the country, pretended to ask their consent to the transfer; offering to grant to those who might prefer the abandonment of their homes to submission to the Mahrattas, waste lands in the adjacent province of Cuttack.

The determination of the British Government to abandon them filled the people of Sambhalpur and Patna with consternation, and they protested against the measure in the most earnest and affecting terms.[1] Their remonstrances were unavailing; and, after some negociation, they were prevailed upon to promise acceptance of the offer of compensation elsewhere, and agreed to quit the country within a given period, for the settlement which was proposed to them in Cuttack. When the time assigned for

[1] A notion prevailed amongst the people that the province was ceded by the British Government in consequence of financial embarrassments. The head men of the villages thereupon assembled, waited upon Captain Roughsedge the commissioner, and offered on the part of their respective communities to make a free gift to him of half, or, if that were insufficient, of a still larger proportion of their property of every description, if the sacrifice would prevent their being abandoned.—MS. Records.

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their emigration arrived, natural attachment to their native soil and the homes of their forefathers overcame their hatred and dread of the Mahrattas, and they refused to move, declaring it to be their resolution to remain upon their paternal lands, and defend them as they best might from the grasp of the spoiler. Advantage was immediately taken of their change of purpose: their tergiversation was held to exonerate the Bengal Government from the obligations of perpetual protection or equivalent compensation, and the recusants were abandoned to their fate.[1] One chief alone, Jujar Sing of Raigerh, allowed his allies no such pretext to shuffle off their responsibility: he had consistently refused to be a party to the agreement to leave the country, and declared himself resolved rather to suffer any extremities, leaving to the British Government the odium of a breach of faith. They were, therefore, obliged to except Raigerh from the cessions to

[1] It is stated in a work which is in general of good authority, the Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. p. 312, "that Sambhalpur and Patna were restored to the Raja of Berar by General Wellesley, in ignorance of the intention of the Bengal Government to keep them as tributary dependencies; that many attempts were made to induce the Raja to forego the concession, and accept an equivalent; and that it was only upon finding him adhere pertinaciously to the promised restoration, that the Government consented at last to relinquish the provinces; at the same time, in order to reconcile the people to the proceeding, they were told, that, should events again bring them under British rule, they should become permanently subject to it." The statement does not seem to be correct. In the treaty of Deogaum, the 10th article confirms all treaties made by the British Government with the feudatories of the Raja; and the stipulation applies especially to the agreements with the Rajas of Sambhalpur and Patna, in which they had conditioned that they should remain permanently under British authority. Their districts were ceded to Nagpur by Sir G. Barlow in August, 1806, by a formal engagement, in the preamble of which it is stated that the Governor-General agrees to restore all the territory of Sambhalpur and Patna which was ceded by the Raja to the Company. It is clear, therefore, that up to the date of this restoration the provinces had been held by the Company; and no claim to them by the Raja, founded on a promise by General Wellesley, could have been preferred or recognised.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 261. 300.

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Nagpur; but they accompanied the exception with strict injunctions to the Raja to avoid giving offence to the Government of Berar, on pain of forfeiting his claim to British support. A Mahratta force was sent against the other Rajas, which, with some trouble, and more by treachery than force of arms, reduced them to obedience.[1] At a subsequent era, and under a different system of policy, Sambhalpur was finally reannexed to the Presidency of Bengal.

Although deeply disappointed and annoyed by the refusal of the Bengal Government to understand the letter of Lord Cornwallis in the sense in which he interpreted it, the Raja of Nagpur was not in a position to resent its conduct or dispense with its friendship. He was pressed for large pecuniary payments by Sindhia and by Holkar: the latter threatened to exact the discharge of his demands at the head of an army, and the threat was subsequently carried into act by Holkar's colleague, Amir Khan. Instigated also by other Mahratta princes and the Nawab of Bhopal, with whom the Court of Nagpur was at enmity, and impelled by their own habits of plunder, the confederated marauding bands known by the designation of Pindaris committed constant depredations on the

[1] The fort of Sambhalpur was at the time of the cession in the hands of the Rani, the Raja being detained a prisoner at Nagpur. Finding himself unable to carry the place by force, the Mahratta general pledged his Government in the most solemn manner to release the Raja and acknowledge his authority, on the Rani consenting to a moderate tribute. Having thus thrown her off her guard, he took advantage of her confidence, in the course of the negociations that followed, to surprise the fort before any defence could be offered. The Rani fled with a few followers; and having with great difficulty, and after much fatigue and suffering, escaped into the British territory, protection and a small monthly pension were granted her. She was one of those who at first entertained the proposal to emigrate into Cuttack, but who shrunk from its accomplishment.—MS. Records.

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frontiers of Berar, and on more than one occasion pillaged the country even in the vicinity of the capital. Ragoji Bhonsla and his ministers were well aware that his only security against the aggressions of his countrymen was the British alliance, and they were careful, therefore, to maintain it unimpaired. The connexion added to the strength and reputation of the British Government, as it was obvious to all the native states, that the most ancient and respectable branch of the Mahratta confederacy was indebted for all the political consideration which it retained, to the friendly relations established between it and the British power, unincumbered by a subsidiary treaty, and not incompatible with its independence.

Of all the Mahratta princes engaged in hostilities with the British, Dowlat Rao Sindhia had suffered the severest military and political inflictions. The organised battalions which had rendered him irresistible to the native powers, and formidable to his European adversary, had been almost annihilated;[1] and, although much of the territory conquered from him on the west of the Jumna had been restored, he had been deprived of extensive tracts in Hindustan, and of all the reputation and authority he derived from the guardianship of the Emperor of

[1] The regular infantry brigades in Sindhia's service at the beginning of the war consisted of seventy-two battalions, forming a disciplined force of 43,000 men in a highly respectable state of efficiency, with a large proportion of field artillery.—Malcolm's Central India, i. 138. After the war they were reduced to two brigades, under the commands severally of a Frenchman named Baptiste, and an Armenian of the name of Jacob; their discipline and organisation were greatly impaired.—Letters from a Mahratta Camp. There were other bodies of troops under native leaders, but they were of a still more imperfect and irregular description.—Prinsep, Transactions in India, i. 26.

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Delhi. He was precluded by positive engagements, as well as by his fear of the consequences of their infringement, from seeking to re-establish his ascendancy in the Mahratta confederation; and the sole object of his now humbled policy was to obtain money, on various pretexts, from the British Government, and from the neighbouring states.

The equivocal behaviour of Sindhia in the interval that elapsed between the treaty formed with him in 1803, and that with Holkar in 1805, virtually annulled the existing engagements, and rendered their renewal necessary. A new treaty was accordingly entered into with him, by which some of the stipulations of that of Sirji Anjangaum were abrogated, others confirmed.[1] The intercourse that ensued in the period immediately following had principally for its object the fulfilment of the stipulations then provided: it did little credit to either of the contracting parties, turning mainly upon matters of pecuniary interest, in which it was the aim of the Mahratta to get as much, and of the Governor-General to give as little, as possible. The disputes were characteristic.

The treaty of Sirji Anjangaum permitted Sindhia to hold within the British possessions certain districts granted him in Jagir by the King of Delhi;

[1] In the engagement now concluded, no notice was taken of the subsidiary treaty to which Sindhia had acceded in 1804. It might, therefore, be considered as virtually cancelled. It was in fact altogether nugatory. The force to be furnished by the British Government was not to be paid by the Raja, nor was it to be stationed in his territory. The arrangement amounted to no more than an agreement to furnish Sindhia with a body of troops whenever he should require them, if the purpose for which he required them was approved of by the Government of Bengal. It was very little probable that the latter would often give their sanction to Sindhia's military policy, and as little likely therefore that he would apply for troops. He never did make the application, and the treaty was a nullity.

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and it secured to members of his family, and to some of his chief officers, compensation for lands held by them in the Doab before the war, either by a grant of similar Jagirs or of equivalent pensions, provided that the whole amount of revenue so alienated did not exceed the annual sum of seventeen lakhs of rupees. By the final treaty, Sindhia agreed to relinquish, from the 1st of January, 1805, pensions to the amount of fifteen lakhs of rupees a year. The Jagirs to individuals were continued, not merely as compensation for loss, but avowedly as bribes to purchase their voices for peace; or, as it was officially expressed, "to secure the support of influential officers in the councils of Sindhia, whose interests being affected by a war, they would oppose its occurrence." The same engagement contracted for a pension to the Maharaja himself of four lakhs of rupees a year, and a Jagir of two lakhs to his wife, and of one to his daughter. The Jagirs were eventually commuted to pensions, which lapsed with the death of the pensioners. These grants and commutations were the subjects of long and sometimes angry discussion.

Another contested item was the balance of an account between Sindhia and the Company, in which the former claimed arrears of pension, and of revenue collections for two years prior to 1805; which the latter admitted to a limited extent, but met with a counter-claim for the public and private property plundered from the British Residency in 1804, and for monies advanced and charges of collection. The sum claimed by Sindhia was nearly twenty-four lakhs of rupees; that demanded by the

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Company, nearly twenty-seven lakhs. They agreed, however, to forego a portion of their claim, and admitted a balance in favour of Sindhia of 63,000 rupees (6300*l.*), an amount which was vastly inferior to his expectations and his necessities: for the relief of the latter he was therefore obliged to look to other quarters.

The quarrels of the Rajput princes, which will presently be more particularly adverted to, offered an ample field for the gratification of Mahratta rapacity, of which the Mahratta princes in Malwa were not slow to reap the harvest. The exhaustion of Sindhia's resources, and the impossibility of raising a revenue commensurate with his expenditure from his wasted and depopulated territories, crippled his movements, and disabled him from appropriating his full share of the spoil. His troops, still too numerous for his means, were repeatedly in a state of mutiny for arrears of pay, and had degenerated into a lawless horde of plunderers, who, in the realisation of their demands, made little difference between the country of friend or foe, and pillaged the districts of their own master and his allies as remorselessly as those of his enemies. The only prospect of providing them with an equivalent for pay, and of maintaining amongst them some degree of subordination, existed in the levy of contributions from the neighbouring princes; and from time to time considerable sums were exacted from the Rana of Udaypur, and the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaypur, as arrears of tribute due under former engagements to the Mahrattas, or as the price of plighted military service, which was at

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best but imperfectly rendered. But Holkar and Amir Khan had taken the disputes of the Rajputs under their management, and Sindhia was unwilling or unable to interfere with effect. After a feeble attempt at interposition, he was contented to allow some of his principal officers to take occasional part in the contest, whilst he directed his attention more especially to the prosecution of designs against the independence of Bhopal.

The principality of Bhopal presented the singularity of a petty Mohammedan power in the very heart of the Hindu states. It was founded at the close of the seventeenth century by Dost Mohammed, an Afghan adventurer in the service of the Emperor of Delhi, who, from being the superintendent of the small district of Bersia in Malwa, raised himself, by that mixture of courage, activity, treachery, and political cruelty, which is not uncommon in the character of his countrymen and which in the latter days of the Mogul empire was the usual title to temporary elevation, to the command of a territory of some extent, and the appellation of Nawab of Bhopal. His direct line continued through his three successors. The two last of these devoted their lives to religious meditation and prayer, and left the conduct of public affairs to their ministers, men of various characters and fortunes; whose administration often excited, and sometimes justified, the opposition and violence of the turbulent nobles and officers of the court. At this period the Dewan or minister of the Nawab was his kinsman, Vizir Mohammed, whose father had been slain in an unsuccessful insurrection, and

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whose youth had been spent in exile and predatory warfare: placed, after many vicissitudes, at the head of affairs, he brought to their administration the qualities of activity, courage, and prudence, which promised to restore the declining prosperity and reputation of Bhopal. He was not suffered to carry his projects to maturity. The son of the Nawab, Ghous Mohammed, jealous of his ascendancy, and apprehensive of his ambition, invited the Raja of Berar, and Dowlat Rao Sindhia, to invade the principality, in order to secure his succession to the throne. The invitation was readily accepted. The capital, Islam-nagar, was captured by the latter; and the city and fort of Bhopal were occupied by Sadik Ali, the general of the former. Little hope remained that the state would recover from the pressure of such a formidable combination.

In this state of things, the old Nawab, Haiyat Mohammed, died. He was succeeded by his son, who, finding that his allies purposed the dismemberment of his territory, reconciled himself to Vizir Mohammed, and continued him in the office of Dewan, trusting to his talents for the extrication of his country from the grasp of his enemies. His expectations were not disappointed. Vizir Mohammed conciliated Sindhia by promising to discharge the tribute which Ghous Mohammed had engaged to pay; and, with the assistance of the Pindaris, he repelled the forces of Berar. The ruin of his country was arrested for the time; but Vizir Mohammed was well aware of the inadequacy of his means to cope with such powerful adversaries, and, anticipating the repetition of their efforts for his

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destruction, endeavoured to interest the British Government in his favour. The system of policy then adopted, rendered his application ineffectual, and he was left to his own resources until a more auspicious period arrived, when the debt contracted to the Nawab of Bhopal, Haiyat Mohammed, for the assistance which he gave to General Goddard, and by which alone the British detachment was enabled to march unopposed from the Nerbudda to Surat, was repaid by the seasonable protection afforded to his descendant. 1807.

The counsels of Sindhia were likewise distracted by the conflicting views of his principal officers and advisers, and the struggles that prevailed amongst them for the management of his affairs. Ambaji Inglia, after having been confined, tortured, and plundered, as has been described, was restored to favour, and became the leader of a party opposed to the former ministers. In order to strengthen his influence, he invited Sirji Rao Ghatka, whom the British Government had banished by express stipulation from Sindhia's presence, to return to camp; and although the measure furnished his adversaries with a plea for alarming the prince, and inducing him once more to imprison and pillage Ambaji, yet, when the interdict was withdrawn by those who had pronounced it, and the Government of Calcutta no longer entertained an undignified apprehension of the intrigues of an individual, Sirji Rao resumed his place at Sindhia's durbar, and conducted, conjointly with Ambaji, the duties of the administration. Neither of them long survived the recovery of their authority. Ambaji Inglia died 1809.

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early in 1809. Sirji Rao Ghatka was killed in an affray in the course of the same year.[1] Dowlat Rao, after Ambaji's death, seized on his fortress of Gwalior, and for the greater part of his life continued encamped in its vicinity, until his camp grew to be a considerable town, which is still the capital of his descendants. No other change ensued: the same pecuniary embarrassments continued to be felt, and the same means of relieving them to be employed: the fruits of robbery and spoliation were dissipated by the wasteful and unprincipled system under which they were gathered, and the hordes of licensed banditti which were let loose upon the surrounding states were a source of weakness, not of strength, to the prince whom they nominally served.

[1] The importance attached to this individual by his special exclusion from Sindhia's presence as an article of treaty, gives interest to the following details of his death, derived from an authority on the spot:—"Sirji Rao had gone to the durbar and was earnestly pressing Sindhia to accede to some of his proposals; to which the Maharaja as usual returned evasive and unsatisfactory replies, and ordered his equipage to be got ready to go to an elephant-fight. As he was about to depart, Sirji Rao repeated his remonstrances, and at length had the temerity to seize the skirt of his robe and endeavoured to detain him forcibly in his seat. Some of the Huzuriyas (personal attendants) present, incensed at such an insult, thrust him back; and Sindhia escaped from the tent, giving an order to secure the minister's person. Sirji Rao drew his sword and resisted the execution of the order: a violent scuffle ensued, in which some individuals of both parties were killed and several wounded. At length Sirji Rao effected his retreat to his own tent, but was followed by the enraged party from the Deüri, headed by Anand Rao and Manaji Phankra, two distant relations of the Maharaja's family. In one minute the ropes of the tent in which the unfortunate minister had taken refuge were cut, and he himself dragged from beneath it; and in the next he fell dead in the public street, pierced with a dozen wounds inflicted by his pitiless enemies. Sindhia is said to have given orders, when he heard of the scuffle, to spare his father-in-law's life, and from the known lenity of his disposition it is probable he did so. His pursuers either wilfully or ignorantly mistook these orders, and in all probability rejoiced at an opportunity of getting rid of a man who was an object of hatred to themselves, of dislike to their master, of terror to the whole army, and apprehension to every court in India."—Letters from a Mahratta Camp, by Captain Broughton, commanding the Resident's escort, 1809, p. 223.

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The British Government, unable to rid itself of former impressions, continued to treat Dowlat Rao Sindhia with a guarded and timid policy for some time after his friendship had ceased to be an object of conciliation, or his enmity of fear. 1809.

The power and resources of Jeswant Rao Holkar were in like manner for some time estimated rather by the mischief which he had inflicted, than any which he retained the ability to commit. The unmerited liberality which the British Government had evinced towards him had replaced him in the actual or prospective possession of an extensive and valuable territory,[1] and its selfish disregard of inconvenient obligations consigned to his rapacity the chieftains of Rajputana, particularly the Rajas of Bundi and Jaypur.[2] The motives of this uncalled for generosity were unintelligible to the native princes, and to Holkar himself; and both ascribed it to dread of his military talents, and incapability of providing longer for the exigencies of war. The necessary consequence of this notion was, the inflation of Holkar's ambition with the hope that he should soon be able to reunite under happier auspices the disjointed members of the Mahratta confederacy, and exact a severe retribution for the mutilation which they had 1806.

[1] The treaty with Holkar of December, 1805, restored to him the possessions of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa, Harauti, and the Dekhin. —Coll. of Treaties, p. 294.

[2] A declaratory article, added to the treaty by Sir G. Barlow, abrogated the second article, by which Holkar had renounced all right to Tonk-Rampura and the districts north of the Bundi Hills. The abrogation was interpreted by him as a virtual withdrawal of the protection granted to the Bundi Raja. By the eighth article of the treaty Holkar relinquished all claims of every description upon the British Government and its allies, amongst whom the Raja of Jaypur considered himself included: his claim was not admitted, as is subsequently noticed in the text.

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nature from Zalim Sing, regent of Kota. He then withdrew to Rampura-Bampura, where his health rapidly gave way to habitual intoxication and unrestrained indulgence, the effects of which were exacerbated by the compunctious visitings of conscience.

The animosity borne by the Peshwa to Holkar augmented his dissatisfaction with the favourable terms granted to that chief; and he strongly objected to the treaty which the British Government had concluded, that it conferred upon him rights and possessions to which he had no claim. In truth, Jeswant Rao Holkar had become the head of his house, partly by accident, partly by his own exertions. Tukaji Holkar, his predecessor, left two legitimate sons, Kasi Rao and Malhar Rao. His third son, Jeswant Rao, was his son by a concubine. Kasi Rao, the eldest son, was deformed in body and infirm in mind, and his unfitness for the administration of affairs induced the chief officers of the state to give the preference to his younger brother Malhar Rao. Sindhia took part with Kasi Rao; and, in the contest that ensued, Malhar Rao was killed, and Jeswant Rao, who had upheld his cause, was obliged to seek safety in flight. After encountering many vicissitudes, Jeswant Rao by a course of successful predatory devastation, in which he was deeply indebted to the companionship of Amir Khan, found himself strong enough to drive Sindhia's troops out of the territories of the Holkar family, and establish himself in their government in the name and on behalf of their lawful prince, Kandi Rao, the infant son of the murdered Malhar

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Rao, who was at the time in Sindhia's hands, as well as Kasi Rao, his uncle. The latter was allowed his liberty, and gave himself up to Jeswant Rao; and, when the war with the British Government was projected, Sindhia, in order to secure Holkar's co-operation, resigned to him the charge of the boy Kandi Rao. At the time of Holkar's return from the Punjab, Kasi Rao was living peaceably at Nimaur, under the charge of Jeswant Rao's Gooroo, or spiritual guide, Chimna Bhao: his nephew, Kandi Rao, had accompanied him on his march.

A body of Mohammedan horse in the service of Jeswant Rao having mutinied for arrears of pay, his nephew was delivered to them as a pledge for the promised liquidation of their demands. As the promises made to the mutineers were slow of accomplishment, it occurred to them to intimidate Holkar into more prompt compliance by proclaiming Kandi Rao the lawful Raja, and threatening to depose Jeswant Rao as a usurper.[1] The danger was imminent; the money was raised; the mutinous soldiers were paid and dismissed: they dispersed to their homes without any concern for the fate of the unhappy youth whom they had used as their instrument of intimidation, and abandoned him to those jealous apprehensions which they seem to have first excited. In a week Kandi Rao was no longer an object of fear. It was given out that he had died suddenly; but it was the universal belief that he had

[1] Malcolm's Central India, i. 242. According to Amir Khan's account of the affair, this plan of enforcing payment was adopted by his recommendation, not without a suspicion on Holkar's part that the whole was a device of Amir Khan to obtain an adjustment of his own claims.—Mem. of Amir Khan, 290.

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been poisoned, if not by the orders, at least with the acquiescence of Holkar.[1]

To this crime succeeded an event which in current belief was of an equally atrocious character—the death of Kasi Rao. The accounts of this transaction vary in some of the details, although they correspond in the outline. Kasi Rao resided in a stronghold in the province of Nimaur, of which the governor was Chimna Bhao, the Gooroo of Holkar, and known to be his ready counsellor and agent in every deed of infamy and guilt. An insurrection under some military leaders had broken out in the adjoining district of Kandesh, and one of their parties attacked Chimna Bhao with a view to obtain possession of the person of Kasi Rao, and place him at their head. To disappoint their design, and prevent Kasi Rao from falling into their hands, Chimna Bhao caused him to be put to death. There does not appear to be any conclusive evidence that Holkar himself had suggested a pretended attack upon his minister as a pretext for the murder of his brother, or any reason to infer that the act was not solely attributable to the unpremeditated and reckless cruelty of Chimna Bhao.[2] The imputation of

[1] Central India, i. 244. Amir Khan asserts unhesitatingly that Holkar caused poison to be administered to his nephew, and so destroyed him; Mem. 307.

[2] According to Malcolm, on the authority of Bangash Khan, one of the insurgent Patan leaders, a party under his confederate, Dadan Khan, attempted the release of Kasi Rao, who was confined at Kargond, in Nimaur; to prevent which, Chimna Bhao had him murdered in the thicket some distance from the fort. According to the evidence of a Sipahi in the service of Chimna Bhao, present at the murder, Kasi Rao was killed in Bijaygerh, a fort also in Nimaur, from which Dadan Khan had attempted to carry him off. The dispatch from the Resident with Sindhia, reporting the transaction, agrees in making Bijaygerh the seat of the prince's detention; but states that, orders having been sent to bring him for greater security to Holkar's camp, Chimna Bhao was escorting him on the way,

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being accessory to the deed was however fixed upon Holkar by common consent, and popular belief regarded his insanity as a just retribution for the murder of a nephew and a brother. He became subject to fits of mental derangement shortly after the death of Kasi Rao: they alternated with intervals of reason for about a twelvemonth, when they subsided into an unintermitted state of moody fatuity, which after a duration of three years terminated in death.

The affairs of Holkar's dominions were conducted during his incapacity by his favourite mistress Tulasi Bhai and her minister Balaram Set; but their hands were too feeble to maintain a steady curb upon the disorderly troops and their aspiring captains, and the country speedily became the scene of plunder and confusion. The party in Kandesh under Dadan Khan and other Patan leaders acquired a

when he was attacked at night by Dadan Khan's men, and, in the affray that followed, Kasi Rao was accidentally shot. Amir Khan's story materially differs from the foregoing. He says, that the Bhils of Kandesh, being in insurrection, had got hold of the wife of Kasi Rao, and, she being pregnant, they declared that if the child were a boy they would make him Raja; that Chimna Bhao, being sent to quell the disturbance, took Kasi Rao along with him from Galna, where he had been detained; that on the march he set some of his own people to make a sham attack by night upon his camp, and, in the confusion thus occasioned, he pretended great alarm lest Kasi Rao should fall into the hands of the Bhils, and, to prevent it, ordered him to be put to death; the whole being in truth the device of Holkar. Although it is true that the Bhils were in a state of insurgency at this period, yet the policy of opposing a rival to Holkar was much more likely to have occurred to the Patans, and it was no doubt to guard against their availing themselves of the name of Kasi Rao that he was murdered by some such contrivance as is imputed to Chimna Bhao. Holkar denied that he had given orders to put his brother to death, and, ascribing it to accident, publicly expressed himself glad that it had occurred at a distance, as it might otherwise have injured his reputation. The varieties of the story afford a striking proof of the difficulty of coming at the circumstances of a fact even upon contemporary testimony. Mr. Prinsep hesitates to affix a date to this transaction; from the official correspondence it appears to have taken place about the middle of February, 1808.—Central India, i. 244; Mem. of Amir Khan, 313; MS. Records.

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formidable consistency after the murder of Kasi Rao. They placed at their head Mahipat Rao Holkar, first cousin of Jeswant Rao, and proclaimed him sovereign. The troops sent against them either joined their ranks or were defeated; and they had a fair prospect of success, when, unfortunately for their cause, they extended their depredations into the territories of Poona and Hyderabad, and imposed upon the British Government the duty of protecting its allies. The subsidiary forces of both states took the field. Colonel Wallace marched from Poona with one division, and Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton from Jálna with another. By a rapid cavalry movement of one hundred miles in forty-eight hours, Colonel Doveton came unexpectedly upon the insurgents whilst besieging Amalner, a fort belonging to the Nizam. Most of their horse, and part of their foot, were destroyed. The shattered remains took refuge amongst the hills north of Kandesh: they were vigorously followed thither by Colonel Wallace; and the leaders were seized and delivered to him by the Bhils, the inhabitants of the forests with which the hills are clothed. The Patan chiefs were conducted prisoners to Poona: Mahipat Rao escaped, but, separated from his military associates, he soon fell into obscurity and occasioned no further trouble.[1]

A different destiny awaited another of Holkar's Mohammedan captains, who, by a singular combination of enterprise, craft, and good-luck, rose from the condition of a soldier of fortune to the recognised rank of an independent prince. Amir Khan

[1] MS. Records; Central India, i. 284.

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was by descent an Afghan, whose grandfather had emigrated from Buner, and settled in Rohilkhand. From his earliest youth he had led the life of a soldier; seeking service, sometimes with a few followers, sometimes with a larger troop, in the armies of the various princes and leaders, who in the last days of the Mogul empire were ever ready to enlist adherents. For a considerable time his fortunes were precarious, and he was not unfrequently in want even of a meal; but he gradually became a captain of some note, and took a conspicuous share in different military and political transactions, of which Malwa and the valley of the Nerbudda were the principal field. He lent good aid to Vizir Mohammed in the defence of Bhopal; but, the resources of that chief being exhausted, he listened to proposals from Holkar, and united himself thenceforth steadily to his interests. Holkar was then making his escape from Nagpur, where he had been detained by the Raja; and had no greater following than a rabble of two or three hundred men, ill armed, undisciplined, and living by plunder. The junction of Amir Khan with a force respectable in numbers and equipment turned the tide of his fortunes, enabled him to possess himself of the territories of his family, and placed him in a position formidable to Sindhia, to the Peshwa, and the English. Amir Khan shared in his prosperity, and did not desert him in adversity. He accompanied Jeswant Rao, as we have seen, in his flight to the Punjab, and returned with him to Malwa. Although professing allegiance to Holkar, and acting in his name, Amir Khan retained the independent

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command of his own troops, and held himself at liberty to provide for their support by contributions levied at his pleasure from the princes in whose dissensions he found it profitable to interfere. After Holkar's insanity he interposed occasionally in the disputes that occurred at court, but large bribes secured his general support of Balaram Set and the Bhai. The necessity of raising funds for the payment of his soldiers after he had drained the coffers of the Rajputs impelled him, shortly after the date at which we have arrived, to turn his steps in the direction of Berar, and brought him, as we shall subsequently have occasion to notice, once more into collision with the Government of British India.[1]

Such was the utter prostration of the Mahratta confederacy upon the close of the war: the Peshwa, chafing secretly under the fetters to which he had rashly submitted, but impotent to break them, and affecting to wear them with cheerfulness; the Gaekwar, saved from insolvency and ruin by the tutelage of his allies; the Raja of Berar, unable without the same assistance to protect his country from Pindari pillage and Afghan arrogance; Sindhia, humbly begging a paltry pittance from the power he had lately encountered with almost equal arms; and Holkar, intoxicated and insane, with his country devastated by his own rebellious soldiery, and his court disgraced by the turbulence and profligacy of

[1] Notices of the career of Amir Khan are to be found in Malcolm's Central India, Prinsep's Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, &c.; but the most authentic account is a kind of autobiography, or Memoirs of Nawab Mohammed Amir Khan, composed in Persian from his own dictation by Munshi Basáwan Lal, translated by H. T. Prinsep, Calcutta. 1832.

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factious competitors for the authority which he was no longer in a condition to exercise. Yet, notwithstanding this abject state of the two last-named chieftains, the Bengal Government persisted in its purpose of conciliating their good-will, by leaving them unquestioned licence to prey upon their still more feeble and disunited neighbours, the princes of Rajputana.

That portion of Hindustan which extends from the districts bordering on the west bank of the Jumna to the desert that skirts the eastern borders of the Indus, and which lies between the Punjab on the north, and Malwa and Guzerat on the south, is collectively known as Rajawara or Rajasthan, as being in an especial degree inhabited by tribes allied by community of origin, institutions, and character, and claiming as Rajputs, or "sons of kings," to represent the military and regal caste of the primitive Hindus. The country was distributed at the period in question amongst a number of princes, some of whom were of comparatively little political importance, from the limited extent of their territory; whilst others, although ruling over more spacious tracts, were equally unimportant, from the sterility of the soil, and the scantiness of the population. Among these, three princes were acknowledged to be pre-eminent in rank and power, the Rana of Udaypur, the Raja of Jodhpur, and the Raja of Jaypur, so entitled from their respective capitals; but, more correctly speaking, the rulers of Mewar, Marwar, and Dhundhár, the names of their several principalities.

The Rana of Udaypur reigned over a rugged but

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not wholly sterile territory on the north-west of Malwa. He pretended to a direct descent from Ráma, the mytho-historical monarch of Ayodhya, or Oude, through his son Lava, who migrated to the west. The Ranas of Udaypur are therefore regarded as members of the Suryavansa, or Solar dynasty of the Hindus; but, as Rajputs, they belong to the Sisodya branch of the Gahilote tribe. They are admitted to precedency over all other Rajput princes, who accept from their hands, upon succeeding to their principalities, an ornament worn upon the forehead, in confirmation of their accession.[1] From the time of the Mohammedan invasion of India, the Ranas of Udaypur were constantly engaged in warfare with the kings of Delhi, and repeatedly sustained fearful reverses. Driven from their capital, Chitore, they transferred their residence more to the west, where Udaya Raja built a city, named after him Uday-pur, towards the end

[1] Colonel Tod remarks, that, whilst the genealogies of many of the Rajput princes are questioned, the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the ruler of Mewar as the legitimate heir of the throne of Rama, and style him Hindua-suraj, the Sun of the Hindus. He subsequently, however, adverts to the curious tradition mentioned by Abulfazl; Ayin Akbari, ii. 8, and repeated in fuller detail by Wilford, Asiatic Researches, ix. 233, of the descent of the Ranas of Udaypur from Naoshirwan, king of Persia, through his son Naoshizad. He is said to have rebelled against his father, and, being defeated, to have fled into Hindustan, whence he returned to Persia with an army of Indians: he was again defeated, and was slain in battle, but his issue remained in India, and from them the Ranas descended. Another legend traces the family to Maha-bhánu, daughter of Yezdegird, the last monarch of Persia.—Annals of Rajasthan, i. 233. Tod thinks it not improbable that there may have been a connexion between the Persian and Indian families. The late discovery in the west of India of coins of the general character of those of the Sassanian kings, and blending Indian and Persian portraits and inscriptions, establish the fact that some of those princes exercised authority either directly or through Indian feudatories on the confines of Hindustan, and render it possible that some such intercourse as that which subsequently united the royal house of Timur with the Rajput princes may have subsisted, and given rise to the tradition.—Ariana Antiqua, p. 400.

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of the sixteenth century; and in the strong country in its vicinity they maintained their independence.

Separated from Mewar by the Aravali Mountains on the north-west, lies the principality of Marwar, the capital of which is Jodhpur: great part of this country is a sandy desert, but it contains some fertile tracts, especially on its southern boundaries. The Raja of Jodhpur is a member of the Rahtore tribe of Rajputs, and traces his descent from the family that reigned over Kanoj at the period of the Mohammedan conquest; on which occasion two sons of the last prince, Jayadeva, fled to the west, and settled in the almost unpeopled districts of Marwar. From the elder brother descended the reigning dynasty; one of whom, Jodha, was the founder of Jodhpur in A.D. 1459: the younger is claimed as their ancestor by the chief Thakurs, or feudal nobles of the state. The Rahtores of Marwar, like the Gahilotes of Mewar, suffered many vicissitudes in their encounters with the Mohammedans; but, in the reign of Akbar and his two successors, their Rajas submitted to be treated as servants of the Mogul empire, holding high offices both civil and military, and becoming connected with the imperial house by giving their daughters in marriage to the Emperor or his sons. The bigotry of Aurangzeb forced them to take up arms in defence of their religion; and in a war of thirty years' continuance, although frequently defeated in the field, their spirit was unbroken, and their principality unsubdued. After the death of Aurangzeb, their friendly intercourse with Delhi was resumed, and they were seen taking a promi-

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nent part in the disorders that ensued. The decline of the empire freed them from all semblance of vassalage, but their own dissensions and crimes were more fatal to their power and reputation than their subservience to the Emperor.

The country of Dhundhár, or, from its capital, Jaypur, lies on the north and east of Mewar and Marwar, extending towards the Jumna. It is the territory of the Kachwáha Rajputs, who consider themselves to be the posterity of Kusa, another son of Rama. The origin of the principality dates no earlier than the tenth century, and its capital was built only in the beginning of the eighteenth.

From its eastern position, the principality lay exposed to the attacks of the Patán sovereigns of Delhi; but it was not until the accession of the house of Timur that its Rajas became feudatories of the empire. From the reign of Baber they acknowledged the supremacy of the Mogul, and were distinguished as the principal officers and nobles of his camp and court. They were early connected also with the imperial house by marriage, several maidens of the race becoming the brides of the Mohammedan princes.[1] Raja Jaysing, the founder of Jaypur, was actively concerned in all the stormy transactions of the disastrous period which followed the death of Aurangzeb; until, observing the irretrievable ruin of the empire, and the irresistible progress of the Mahrattas, he made terms with

[1] Bhagwan Das is said to have been the first Rajput who submitted to an alliance with a Mohammedan family: his daughter was married to the son of Akbar, Prince Selim, afterwards the Emperor Jehangir. Mán Sing, nephew of Bhagwan Das, was a great favourite with Akbar; and was successively viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, the Dekhin, and Kabul.—Annals of Rajasthan, i. 353.

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the latter, and withdrew from the politics of Hindustan, to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and the improvement of his country. He died in 1743. After his death, Dhundhár became a prey to intestine divisions and Mahratta spoliation. 1807.

At the close of the war with the Mahrattas, Rana Bhím Sing was reigning at Udaypur; Mán Sing was Raja of Jodhpur; and Jagat Sing, of Jaypur. Neither of them possessed the qualifications which the times demanded; the patriotic sentiments which should have suppressed selfish feelings and leagued them with their fellows, the judgment capable of estimating their own true interests, or the courage and energy necessary to maintain their independence. Listening alone to the dictates of personal enmity, they paralysed by their dissensions the valour of their subjects, and aided and abetted the foreign robber in the work of mutual destruction. The cause of quarrel by which they were at this time exasperated against one another was peculiarly characteristic of the race, and to be paralleled only in the poetical traditions of distant ages.

Krishna Kumari, the daughter of Bhím Sing, Rana of Udaypur, was a maiden of reputed beauty and of undoubted rank, and was consequently an object of desire to the other Rajput princes. Whilst yet a child, the Raja of Jodhpur, named also Bhím Sing, had made overtures for her hand; but the alliance was prevented by his death. She was then solicited in marriage by Jagat Sing of Jaypur, and his proposals were accepted by the Rana. An escort of three thousand troops was sent to Udaypur to convey the princess to Jaypur for the solemnisation of the

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nuptials, when the negotiations were interrupted by the rival pretensions of Mán Sing, the Raja of Jodhpur. He demanded the princess as the affianced bride of his predecessor, and declared that her marriage into any other family would bring indelible disgrace upon him and his tribe. Mán Sing is said to have been instigated to the assertion of his claims by one of his chief Thakurs, Sawai Sing, who, for purposes of his own, sought to involve his liege lord in hostilities with the surrounding states.

Bhím Sing, the preceding Raja of Jodhpur, left at his death his widow pregnant; and it was a condition of Mán Sing's accession, that, if the child should prove to be a boy, he should assign to the infant prince that portion of the royal domains which were regarded as the appanage of the heir-apparent. A boy was born; but, fearing to intrust him to the care of the Raja, the mother kept his birth secret, and the infant was sent privily to Pokarna, the castle of Sawai Sing, where he was concealed. At the expiration of two years his protector, finding the chief feudatories of Jodhpur greatly discontented by the preference given by the Raja to certain of his favourites, communicated to them the birth and existence of the prince, and secured their concurrence in the vindication of his claims. They repaired accordingly in a body to the Raja, and demanded the fulfilment of his engagement. Mán Sing, with some reason, required evidence of the genuineness of the pretended heir; but the Rani when appealed to, fearing, it was affirmed, for her own safety, denied that she had given him birth.

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The chiefs were silenced, but not satisfied; and Sawai Sing awaited a more favourable season for advancing the pretensions of the youth whose cause he had espoused. It was with this view that he urged Mán Sing to demand the hand of the princess of Udaypur, anticipating the series of difficulty and danger in which he would be consequently involved. The anticipation was speedily realised. The party sent to Udaypur by Jagat Sing was attacked and routed; and the Rana was compelled to retract his assent, and affiance his daughter to Mán Sing. His rival was furious at the disappointment and the insult; and a war broke out between the two Rajas, which was equally destructive to all the Rajput principalities.

From the time when the first Baji Rao established the ascendancy of the Mahratta power in Central India, the princes of Rajputana had been forced to pay the Chouth, the fourth part of their annual net revenue, or a sum arbitrarily estimated equivalent to a fourth, as a fixed tribute. The payment was at first made to the Government of Poona; but, as the authority of Sindhia and Holkar came to supersede that of the Peshwa, they claimed it as their right. The indefinite scale by which the tribute was measured, and the relative ability of the parties to enforce or resist the demand, rendered the actual amount payable undetermined; and it was no part of Mahratta policy to admit of a composition, as the vagueness of the sum afforded them a convenient plea for unlimited exaction. There was consequently a constant arrear due by the Rajput states, and a constant pretext for the desolating

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incursions of the Mahratta troops. In the division of the spoil, the Jaypur tribute was appropriated by
1807. Holkar; that of Udaypur and Jodhpur by Sindhia: but they had also conflicting pretensions each to a portion of the plunder of the other. The Peshwa had likewise his claims to a share, but his alliance with the British debarred him from their compulsory enforcement.

The Raja of Jodhpur lost no time in influencing the Mahratta chiefs to befriend his cause. Sindhia was already at variance with his rival, the Jaypur Raja having refused to pay some of his extortionate demands; and Holkar was indebted to him for protection which he had given to the family of that chieftain during his campaigns in Hindustan. The Raja of Jaypur disregarded the combination, in reliance upon the British Government, with which he had entered into alliance;[1] and which, in the treaty of peace with Holkar, as concluded by Lord Lake, had cancelled the Mahratta's claims upon its allies, and dispossessed him of all territory north of the Bundi Hills. The declaratory article of Sir G. Barlow, as already noticed, annulled these stipulations, and virtually excluded the Raja of Jaypur from the benefits of the alliance upon which he had depended; and it was not to be wondered at that he should have remonstrated strongly against his desertion. His
1804. abandonment was wholly indefensible. It was not to be controverted that a treaty had been contracted with him, by which the enemies of one of the contracting parties were to be considered as the enemies

[1] The treaty is dated 12 Dec. 1803; the date of its ratification by the Raja is left blank.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 253.

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of both; and the Raja, in the event of a dispute with any other prince, was entitled to British mediation and aid. When he required the fulfilment of the stipulations, he was told that "no treaty existed: it had been virtually abrogated by the non-performance of his part of the compact. He had recalled his troops from Monson's detachment during its retreat; he had not sent his forces to join the British army when it moved northwards, but dispatched them to Udaypur; and had not only failed to cut off Holkar's supplies, but allowed him to march through the Jaypur territory. He had no longer, therefore, anything to expect from the British Government." The Raja denied the justice of the charges adduced against him. He affirmed that his troops had separated from Colonel Monson with that officer's consent, and by the orders of Lord Lake; that although his forces were on their march to Udaypur, yet, as soon as their services were required, they suspended their march, and joined the Bombay army under General Jones, and that General Jones and Lord Lake had both furnished him with their written acknowledgments of the promptitude and efficacy of his co-operation. Lord Lake had also given him strong assurance of the stability of the alliance. He represented, that, if the British Government had been dissatisfied with his conduct at any particular time, it should at that time have expressed its displeasure, and at once have declared the alliance annulled. To have continued to employ the services of the Raja until they were no longer needed, and reserved all expression of dissatisfaction until it could be used as a pretext for getting quit of an in-

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convenient obligation, was both disingenuous and dishonourable; to desert an old friend because the tide was setting against him, was ungenerous and unjust; and the powers of India could not but regard the conduct of the Government of Bengal as a departure from that good faith which it had hitherto been its pride to preserve inviolate. The argument was incontrovertibly in the Raja's favour: the Government had continued to exact and receive from him services to which he was bound by treaty after the commission of those acts which they subsequently held to have virtually annulled it. Admitting that the Raja had broken his engagement, the Government, by accepting his aid as if no such breach had occurred, virtually admitted its non-occurrence, and recognised the engagement as still subsisting. It was however the inflexible policy of the Governor-General to abstain from interference, and the remonstrances and reasonings of the Raja of Jaypur were unavailing.[1] He was consigned to the equally inexorable policy of the Mahrattas; and the first-fruits of his desertion were the plunder of his country by

[1] The remonstrances of the Raja were strongly supported by Lord Lake, as noticed in a preceding volume. The Court of Directors also, although they did not enjoin the renewal of the alliance, disapproved of its dissolution, conceiving its justice extremely questionable; "as although the Raja had failed in the performance of his engagements during the war with Holkar, yet he had furnished assistance towards its conclusion at the instance of Lord Lake, and under an expectation held out by his Lordship that the protection of the British Government would be continued to him; and they thought it necessary to enjoin the Government of India to take care, in all its transactions with the native princes, to preserve its character for fidelity to its allies from falling into disrepute, and to evince a strict regard, in the prosecution of its political views, to the principles of justice and generosity." The sincerity of these expressions would have been less liable to question if the policy which they condemned had been countermanded.—Malcolm's Political Hist. of India, i. 390.

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the disorderly bands of Holkar as they returned from the Punjab, and the payment to their leader of twenty lakhs of rupees as the price of his withholding assistance from the Raja of Jodhpur.[1]

In the war that followed, Holkar so far adhered to the bargain he had made as to refrain from joining in person either of the rival Rajas. It did not however prevent him from permitting Amir Khan to enlist his mercenaries in their quarrel.[2] The Patán entered into the service of Jagat Sing: the Raja of Jaypur was also joined by Sawai Sing and the nobles of Jodhpur who supported the claims of the posthumous son of their last Raja, and Mán Sing was deserted at the moment of encountering his enemies by almost all his principal chiefs. He was compelled to fly, and seek refuge in the citadel of Jodhpur; while the confederates overran and ravaged the rest of the country. They then laid siege to the capital: but it suited not the policy of Amir Khan to suffer the Raja's extermination; and taking, or affecting to take, umbrage at want of punctuality in the payment of his troops by the

[1] Holkar's Vakeels expressed their master's acknowledgments to Lord Lake for the abrogation of the treaty with Jaypur as a personal favour intended to conciliate him. The act was viewed in the same light by the Peshwa and Raja of Nagpur.—MS. Records.

[2] The Amir and Holkar got up a pretended disagreement as an excuse for the uncontrouled proceedings of the former at the latter's suggestion: according to his own story, he makes Holkar say, "You must now separate from me in public as in quarrel, so that our enemies and the world in general may see that your continuing to raise troops is a source of dissatisfaction and displeasure to me, and not done with my concurrence or sanction. We may still understand one another in case of occasion arising for us to rejoin our forces. When the Amir took formal leave in open durbar, harsh words passed between him and the Maharaj, and so to the time when the Amir mounted his palki, as in high displeasure. The Maharaj, running on foot some paces alongside, took hold of the feet of it, and made a show of endeavouring to soothe and appease the Amir. The Amir, however, pretended not to listen, but returned to his army;" p. 309.

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Raja of Jaypur, he abandoned Jagat Sing, accepted money and promises from Mán Sing,[1] and, marching into the country of Jaypur, commenced a course of depredation which speedily compelled the Raja to break up the siege of Jodhpur, and hasten to the defence of his own dominions.

A double game was in like manner played by Sindhia. In the first instance he befriended the suit of the Jodhpur Raja, and contributed to the defeat of the troops sent to escort the princess to Jaypur;[2] but, having received payment of considerable sums affirmed to be due to him from the Rana, he professed to remain neutral in the contest. His principal captains were, however, allowed to side with either of the competitors. They ranged themselves under the banners of Amir Khan, and assisted to ravage Jodhpur until the harvest was gleaned; when Ambaji Inglia renewed his connexion with Mán Sing, and Bapu Sindhia and Baptiste extended their marauding expeditions to the districts on the west of the Jumna, with which

[1] The terms of his compact with Mán Sing were, according to Amir Khan's statement, that he should pay four lakhs and fifty thousand rupees (£45,000) per mensem, besides taking a brigade into permanent service; and should further give the Amir a Jagir of four lakhs for kitchen expenses, and confer Jagirs also on his principal officers; p. 324.

[2] Tod has two apparently contradictory accounts of this transaction. In one place he states that Sindhia was encamped in the territory of Udaypur in the course of enforcing pecuniary demands upon the Rana; and that, having at the same time been denied a contribution from Jaypur, he insisted upon the dismissal of the Jaypur embassy. Upon the Rana's refusal he advanced with his brigades, defeated the troops of Udaypur joined by the Jaypur detachment, which he dispersed; and, encamping near Udaypur, compelled the Rana to submit to his conditions.—Annals of Rajasthan, i. 461. In another place he says, Mán Sing assembled three thousand horse, and, joining to them the mercenary bands of Heera Sing then on the frontier of Mewar, he intercepted the nuptial gifts of Amber; ii. 142. The first account is probably the more correct, as Tod was in Sindhia's camp; or it may be possible to reconcile the two.

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the British Government had purposed to recompense the attachment of its adherents.

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The services of Amir Khan were not confined to the relief of Jodhpur from the presence of a victorious army, or to the retaliation of the havock which it had committed. He engaged to rid Mán Sing of an enemy more formidable than his rival Raja, and put an end to the internal divisions that in a still greater degree endangered his security, by the murder of Sawai Sing, and the extinction of the faction of which he was the head. Simulating a quarrel with Mán Sing, Amir Khan quitted him in seeming anger, and marched to Nagore, where Sawai Sing and the pretender had fortified themselves. Here he induced the Rahtore chief to believe that he might be bought over to their cause; and the advantages resulting from his alliance blinded the Rajput to the peril of unguarded intercourse with so perfidious a confederate. With the assumption of entire confidence Amir Khan visited Sawai Sing, and gave him the most solemn assurances of his sincerity: suspicion was completely disarmed, the visit was returned, and the Rajput was received in the tent of Amir Khan with every demonstration of respect and cordiality. Inventing a plausible excuse for a short absence, Amir Khan withdrew; the cords of one side of the tent were immediately let loose, and, whilst all within it were entangled beneath its folds, an indiscriminate fire of musketry and grape was poured upon them; Sawai Sing, his friends and attendants, those of Amir Khan himself, the dancing girls and musicians, all who had been present at the interview, were alike the victims of this mur-

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derous device. The death of his rebellious feudatory put an end to the danger and fears of the Raja of Jodhpur.[1] Nagore was plundered, but Dhokal Sing effected his escape, and found a protector in the Raja of Bikaner; until a superior force besieged the Raja in his capital, and compelled him to withdraw his protection, and pay a heavy fine for his hospitality. The young prince then fled to the British territories and there remained in security.

The state of affairs in Holkar's camp having called Amir Khan thither, the Rajput princes were relieved awhile from his exactions. Jaypur enjoyed but a brief respite, as Sindhia presently demanded compensation for the services rendered by his troops; services which he had pretended not to sanction, and which, in truth, they had never discharged. The claim was not admitted: upon which he led his army across the Chumbal, and sat down before Dhuni, which he fruitlessly besieged. Foiled in this object, he listened to proposals from the Raja, and agreed to accept seventeen lakhs of rupees as the price of his retreat, having inflicted upon the country damage to an infinitely larger amount.

Although the Rana of Udaypur had taken no part in the war, and had therefore given less occasion than his neighbours to any pretext for Mahratta

[1] According to Tod, the price of the crime was ten lakhs of rupees, and the two towns of Mundhiawar and Kuchilavas, each yielding an annual revenue of 30,000 rupees; ii. 150. Amir Khan states the sum at thirty-five lakhs of rupees, of which half was paid at the time. The conditions formerly agreed upon were renewed, with additional specifications; and Jagirs were promised to his son, his father-in-law, and others of his principal leaders. The Amir tells the story himself without any attempt at extenuation, and seems to regard it as an honourable exploit; pp. 347. 360.

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extortion, he was obliged to drain his treasures in order to purchase the forbearance of both Sindhia and Amir Khan. The exhaustion of his resources was however less painful to him than the degradation which he felt in being obliged to treat them as equals, and the total want of deference which upstart adventurers and military robbers paid to his exalted rank and ancient descent. In his distress he applied earnestly for the intervention of the British Government, and offered the cession of one half of his territory if it would protect the other half from Mahratta spoliation. The same interposition was solicited by another Rajput prince, Zalim Sing of Kota, who, although he had wisely kept aloof from the contest between the rival Rajas, had nevertheless been repeatedly mulcted by Amir Khan and Sindhia; and the contending princes of Jaypur and Jodhpur made a similar urgent appeal to the Government of Bengal, pledging themselves to abide by its mediation, and to submit to any conditions it should please to impose. They depended upon its interference as an obligation which it was bound to fulfill as inheriting the paramount sovereignty of Hindustan. The dignity and power of the imperial court of Delhi had been appropriated by the Governor-General and the Council of Calcutta; and, along with the authority, the duties which the Emperors were accustomed to discharge had devolved upon them. The weaker states of India, they argued, had a natural right to look up to the British Government for protection against the ambition and rapacity of the stronger; and they denied that there was any valid excuse for its ques-

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tioning the right when it was fully capable of exercising the power. The Mahrattas, who were at that moment spreading terror and desolation from the Setlej to the Nerbudda, were wholly incompetent to offer any opposition to the arms and authority of the Company; and the Governor-General had only to speak the word, and universal tranquillity would be restored. The policy of this course, they maintained, was equally obvious with its justice and humanity; for the British territories would derive security and prosperity from the suppression of disorders, which excluded their population from all amicable intercourse with the surrounding countries, and kept their own frontiers in perpetual disquietude and alarm. To these representations the principle of non-interference was inflexibly opposed; and Central India was allowed to fall into a condition of anarchy and ruin, which was accelerated rather than arrested by the removal of the innocent cause to which its present misery was ascribed.[1]

When all hope of the protection of the British Government was resigned, the Rana of Udaypur was driven to the unpalatable measure of retaining the services of Amir Khan: a fourth of his revenues was assigned to the Mohammedan leader, as the hire of one of his brigades to be employed in collecting the revenues and guarding the frontiers of

[1] So far was adherence to this policy carried, that when the Raja of Macheri, at the solicitation of the Rani of Jaypur, sent a party of horse to escort the women and children of the Raja to a place of safety in his country, he was enjoined by the Resident at Delhi, under the orders of the Government, to forego his purpose and recall his troops; and was told that any interposition whatever would be regarded as a breach of the alliance under which he claimed British protection, September, 1807.—MS. Records.

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Mewar.[1] The influence thus obtained by Amir Khan in the counsels of Udaypur afforded an occasion for a new display of his recklessness of human life, and added another victim to the many whom he had unscrupulously sacrificed to his interest or his policy. He instigated the Rana to put his daughter to death. He also hinted, that, as the ally and friend of Mán Sing, he should, if he found an opportunity, carry her off by force and deliver her to the Raja; and he promised, if the Rana followed his advice, to assist him in recovering possession of a district in the hands of Mán Sing which he coveted. The natural reluctance of the father was overcome by the blended motives of policy, fear, and hope, and poison was administered to the princess.[2]

The transactions in which the three principal Raj-

[1] The Amir relates this arrangement with great self-complacency, remarking that the Rana and he exchanged turbands in pledge of friendship; p. 399. It must have cost the "son of the Sun" many a bitter pang before he could stoop to such an interchange of marks of equality and fraternity with a Mohammedan trooper.

[2] Amir Khan relates this transaction without any reserve. According to his account, the Rana, after reflecting on his recommendation, said, "If you will pledge yourself to get for me Khali-rao from Raja Mán Sing, I will in that case contrive to get rid of my daughter after you shall have gone, using such means as shall create as little odium as possible." The Amir agreed to the condition; and the Rana, after his departure, caused poison to be mixed with his daughter's food, and so administered it to her. It happened that what she took was not sufficient to effect the purpose, and the princess guessed the object of her father; whereupon she sent him a message, that, as it was a matter that concerned the good of the Raja and the honour of his family, and it appeared that her living longer was inconsistent with these in her father's opinion, there was no occasion for him to have gone secretly to work, for that she was prepared to die by her own act. Accordingly, having bathed, and dressed herself in new and gay attire, she drank off the poison, and so gave up her precious life, earning the perpetual praise and admiration of mankind.—Mem. 399. According to Malcolm and Tod, the death of the princess, although suggested by Amir Khan, was pressed on the reluctant Rana by one of the Rajput nobles, Ajit Sing, whose memory on that account is execrated throughout Rajasthan. They both agree in the cheerful submission of the princess to the will of her father, and the grief of her mother, who died shortly afterwards.—Central India, i. 339; Annals of Rajasthan, i. 463.

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put states were involved with the Mahrattas for some years subsequently to the restoration of peace between the latter and the English, have been described at some length, not only on account of their importance in the general history of Hindustan, but of their connexion with subsequent events, by which they were brought within the pale of that protection which they now solicited in vain. A brief notice will suffice for the remaining chiefs of the Rajput tribes.

The Raja of Bikaner, Surat Sing, was a member of the family which reigned over Marwar. His ineffective support of the pretender, Dhokal Sing, has been mentioned. After payment of the stipulated contribution he was left unmolested, the desert surface of his country offering little temptation to the marauder. The same circumstance, and the remoteness of its situation, protected the neighbouring state of Jeselmer, lying north-west of Marwar, and inhabited chiefly by the Bhatti tribe of Rajputs. Although secluded from the aggressions of the Mahrattas, domestic quarrels did their work as well.

In an angle formed between Jaypur and Malwa, the province of Hárávati, so called from its principal occupants the Hára Rajputs, was divided between Kota and Bundi. Kota was under the management of Zalim Sing, nominally minister, but exercising the authority of Raja; his sovereign being content to lead a life of ease and exemption from responsibility. By a remarkable association of craft, prudence, and resolution, Zalim Sing, although obliged to pay tribute and occasional extraordinary contributions, contrived to remain on friendly terms

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with the Mahratta leaders, and to preserve his country from their ravages: he had also established a character for firm and faithful adherence to his engagements, and to his honour and integrity the chiefs of every nation and tribe were accustomed to intrust their families and their wealth.[1] The state of Bundi, which in the reign of Akbar was one of the most considerable Rajput principalities, had been reduced to narrow limits by a series of misfortunes and the enmity of Jaypur. In consequence of the latter, a former Raja had been dispossessed of his patrimony; but he had been reinstated by Malhar Rao Holkar, and had thence become a tributary of the Mahratta. His grandson, the ruling Raja at the time of Colonel Monson's retreat, had given the British detachment a free passage through his territories, and afforded every assistance within his means. Those whom he had befriended, abandoned him to the resentment which his conduct had provoked in their behalf; and for several years he was exposed to every species of insult and extortion, from the vindictive policy of Sindhia and Holkar.[2]

The only other Rajput principality of any consideration was that of Macheri, between the Jumna and Jaypur. Originally a feudatory of Jaypur, the Raja had taken advantage of the enfeebled condition of his liege lord, and had early in the Mahratta war placed his independence under the shield of British protection.[3] The engagement was concluded during

[1] Ambaji Inglia and Amir Khan both placed their families in the safe keeping of Zalim Sing; and the former deposited at Kota his treasures, which were of considerable amount.—Central India, i. 493.

[2] Annals of Rajasthan, i. 501; Duff's Mahrattas, iii. 281. 311.

[3] Coll. of Treaties, 251. The treaty was a general engagement of de-

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the administration of Lord Wellesley, in conformity to his policy of interposing a chain of independent native princes between the Jumna and the Mahrattas. As this was contrary to the views of his successors, they would have thought it fortunate if the Rajas of Macheri and Bhurtpore, who were similarly circumstanced, could have been induced to seek the dissolution of the alliance: they were obliged to admit however, that, as the engagements had been contracted, it would be inconsistent with the credit of the Government to refrain from granting them protection against the menaced aggressions of Holkar. Notwithstanding reiterated assurances to this effect, the Raja of Macheri, alarmed by the abandonment of Jaypur, continued to apprehend a like desertion, until the obvious change in the counsels of Calcutta dissipated his fears.

It is equally unnecessary to enter at any length upon the condition of the Ját princes of Hindustan. Professing to descend from the illustrious tribe of Yadu, the Játs on the Jumna had been transformed, by the necessity of self-defence, from a race of pacific agriculturists, into a nation of soldiers and conquerors. Forced into martial distinction by the distractions of Hindustan which followed the reign of Aurangzeb, they continued, under a succession of warlike chieftains, to take a prominent and profitable part in all the troubles which ensued, until the establishment of the authority of Sindhia at Delhi. In this interval their leaders acquired extensive

fensive alliance: troops were to be sent to the aid of the Raja when required, after failure of mediation between him and any other prince with whom he might be at enmity. No subsidy or tribute was imposed.

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and valuable possessions; and, although their power had been diminished by the superior resources of the Mahrattas, the representative of the original ruling family still retained a country of some extent, guarded by strong-holds, one of which was for many years a monument of British discomfiture. The Raja of Bhurtpore had become subsequently an ally of the British Government, and readily had recourse to its aid in moments of peril.[1] The successful defence of his fortress had, however, impressed him strongly with a mistaken estimate of his own importance, and in his intercourse with the protecting state he displayed equal arrogance and distrust.

The only other prince of this tribe, the Rana of Gohud, was descended from a Ját leader who rose to distinction in the time of the first Baji Rao in the Peshwa's service. After the defeat of the Mahrattas at the battle of Paniput, he set himself up as independent ruler of the districts which had been intrusted to his charge; and his successor was allowed to retain them on condition of paying tribute to the Peshwa. The chiefs of Gohud were both by tribe and by position the enemies of the Mahrattas; and in this spirit the Rana, during the administration of Warren Hastings, joined the British, and rendered useful service to the detachment under Colonel Camac. After the peace he was left to his own unassisted means of defence, and these were insufficient to save him from the resentment of Madhoji Sindhia. His territory was invaded;

[1] For an account of the Játs, see Tod's Rajasthan, ii. 370; also a sketch of their history, Calcutta Quarterly Magazine, March, 1826.

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the fort of Gwalior, which after its capture from Sindhia by the British had been given to the Rana, was re-taken; and the Rana was compelled to surrender himself a prisoner, upon a verbal assurance of personal immunity. In the late war with the Mahrattas, Ambaji Inglia, who governed Gohud on the part of Dowlat Rao Sindhia, went over to his enemies; and, as the reward of his desertion, a portion of the territory was guaranteed to him by treaty, whilst the Rana was replaced in the occupation of the remainder.[1] The policy of Sir G. Barlow, and his anxiety to conciliate Sindhia, led him to annul the treaty with the Rana of Gohud, upon the plea that he had not fulfilled its conditions, and that the agreement was therefore virtually cancelled. The territory was in consequence restored to Sindhia, and compensation was made to the Rana by the cession to him of Dholpur, which Sindhia had given up.[2] The stipulations of the treaty had pledged the Rana to efforts beyond his means; and his failure, as it proceeded from no defection on his part, was not a sufficient excuse for the violation of positive engagements. At the same time, it is evident that the British Government had formed an erroneous conception of the rights and power of the Rana of Gohud, and that Sindhia had good reason to complain of an arrangement which had converted a dependent of his government into an independent prince. The Rana himself, al-

[1] Ambaji was allowed to retain territory yielding a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees a-year. The portion assigned to the Rana was estimated at twenty-six lakhs.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 256. 258.

[2] Second treaty with Kirat Sing, Rana of Gohud, 1806.—Coll. of Treaties, 296.

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though not placed in the position which was at first designed for him, had no little cause for self-gratulation in his transformation from the condition of a prisoner and a fugitive, to that of a prince reigning in absolute sovereignty, under the security of British protection, over a portion of those domains the whole of which were held by his ancestors only through the sufferance of a Mahratta chieftain, subject to his exactions and liable to his resumption.[1]

Although seceders in some respects from the orthodox religion of the Hindus, the Sikhs retain so many essential articles of the Brahmanical faith, that they may be justly classed among the Hindu races. In their original institution, the Sikhs were a religious community, who, in consonance with the benevolent objects of their founder, Nanak Shah, a native of the Punjab, proposed to abolish the distinctions of caste, and to combine Hindus and Mohammedans in a form of theistical devotion, derived from the blended abstractions of Sufyism and the Vedanta, and adapted to popular currency by the dissemination of the tenets which it inculcated, in hymns and songs composed in the vernacular dia-

[1] The conduct of Sir G. Barlow in regard to the Rana of Gohud has been vindicated by high authority. In the debate on the India Budget in the House of Commons, 10th July, 1806, Sir Arthur Wellesley is reported to have asserted that Lord Wellesley had himself taken into consideration the expediency of restoring to Sindhia the territory of Gohud and the fort of Gwalior, and that the cession was not sooner made was owing to a want of confidence in the steadiness and consistency of Sindhia's counsels. Sir A. Wellesley states also that it had always been his opinion that Gohud and Gwalior ought to be restored to Sindhia. "Upon the whole," he concludes, "the committee will observe, that I consider Sir G. Barlow's treaty with Sindhia to have been consistent with the spirit of that which I was the instrument of concluding at the close of the year 1803; and that the late Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, intended to have carried into execution that part of its stipulations which refers to Gwalior and Gohud."—Hansard's Parl. Deb.

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lects. These still constitute the scriptural authority, the Grantha, the book of the Sikhs. The doctrines and the influence of the teachers gave a common faith to the hardy and intrepid population of the upper part of the Punjab, and merged whatever distinctive appellations they previously possessed in the new general designation of "Sikhs," or "disciples," which thenceforth became their national denomination. As their numbers increased, they attracted the notice of the Mohammedan rulers, and were subjected to the ordeal of persecution. They had recourse to arms: under a succession of military leaders, the sword became inseparably associated in their creed with the book; and their ranks were recruited by fugitives from political disorder and fiscal oppression, who readily adopted a faith which made but trifling demands upon their belief, and differed in few material points from that which they professed. Community of danger became the bond of both a religious and a social organization, and a nation grew out of a sect. As the birth-place of their founder Nanak, and of the teacher who in a still greater degree gave to the Sikhs their characteristic peculiarities, Guru Govind Sing, was the Punjab; it was there that they congregated and became organised, in spite of the efforts of the viceroys of Lahore for their suppression, until they had become masters of the whole of the country from the Setlej to the Indus.

The circumstances under which the Sikhs achieved their independence were unfavourable to the consolidation of their power. In their hostilities with the Mohammedans they acted without plan and

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without an acknowledged head, and adopted a desultory system of warfare, in which different leaders collected their relations and friends, and unexpectedly fell upon their enemies and laid waste the country. As the means of opposing their incursions declined, they were emboldened to undertake operations of greater importance requiring concert and combination; and, for this purpose, the different Sirdars assembled occasionally at a public diet usually held at Amritsar, the site of their principal shrine. When the Afghans supplanted the Moguls in the government of the Punjab, the Sikhs experienced some severe reverses from the military skill and activity of Ahmed Shah; but after his death they were left at liberty to establish themselves as a political confederacy in the countries which they now occupy. The districts were divided amongst different associations termed Misals, implying assemblies of equals under chiefs of their own selection. The chief was to lead in war, and arbitrate in peace: he was treated with deference by the other Sirdars, but they recognised no obligation to obey his commands. Towards the end of the last century twelve principal Misals were formed, varying considerably in the extent of territory which they governed, and in the number of horse which they could bring into the field.[1]

In the course of time the inherent defects of a military federation of this description began to be manifested, and individual ambition and ability to

[1] An interesting account of the Sikh federation will be found in the "Origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab," compiled by Mr. Prinsep chiefly from the report of Captain William Murray, Political Agent at Ambala; Calcutta, 1834.

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assume that ascendancy which they were calculated to attain. Amongst the least considerable of the Misals was that of Surat-Chak, so called from the lands which the progenitors of the chief, Charat Sing, had originally cultivated. Charat Sing commenced a career of aggrandisement at the expense of his neighbours, which his son Maha Sing pursued with still greater success. The son of the latter, Ranjit Sing, had, however, surpassed both; and by a singular combination of courage and cunning he had brought most of the chiefs on the west of the Setlej under his controul. The chiefs on the east of that river, whose possessions were contiguous to the province of Delhi, professed, after the close of the Mahratta war, an undefined allegiance to the British Government; and some uncertainty with regard to the protection with which it was repaid compelled Ranjit Sing to proceed with caution in his project of extending his supremacy across the Setlej. That he was disappointed in his projects was attributable to the altered policy of the British Government upon the accession of Lord Minto to the office of Governor-General.[1]

From the review that has been thus taken of the political circumstances of India during the administration of Sir G. Barlow, it is evident that the supremacy of the British power was virtually established, although matters were not yet sufficiently ripe for its open avowal. Some

[1] A description of the religious tenets of the Sikhs will be found in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xvii.; and a more general account of their origin and history is published in the eleventh volume of the same collection, by Sir John Malcolm. Mr. Prinsep's work, just referred to, describes their later progress and the rise of Ranjit Sing.

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unnecessary forbearance was no doubt exhibited, and some degree of blame deservedly incurred for apprehensions needlessly entertained, and engagements unjustifiably violated; but it may be questioned if the policy of the Government did not, however undesignedly, promote the consummation which it was intended to avoid. It would have been easy, and it would have been generous, to have interposed in defence of the Rajput princes and rescued them from Mahratta rapacity; but, had the tranquillity of Hindustan been restored by a further expenditure of the resources of Bengal, the latter would have required a longer period for the renovation of its exhausted vigour, whilst the former would have been earlier placed in a condition to provoke and defy its resentment. The continued contests of the native princes operated favourably for the extension of British ascendancy: they disposed the weaker to welcome the approach of foreign protection, and they disabled the stronger from offering effective opposition. On the other hand, the suspension of military operations of any magnitude for several years afforded the British Government opportunity to accumulate and improve its resources, and, when again compelled to employ them, to put forth its energies with a might which made resistance to it hopeless, and elevated it to an eminence from which it directed without dispute the destinies of Hindustan.

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CHAPTER II.

Sir George Barlow, Governor-General.—State of the Finances. — Retrenchments.— Supplies.— Judicial and Revenue Arrangements for Cuttack, the Doab, and Bundelkhand. — Revenue Settlements in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.—Separation of Judicial and Revenue Functions at Madras.—Murder of Europeans at Vellore.—Arrival of the Dragoons. —Fort retaken.—Military Inquiry.—Disposal of the Prisoners.—Causes and circumstances of the Mutiny.—Its Origin in religious panic occasioned by military Orders.—Similar Alarms at Hyderabad, Walajabad, and Nandidrúg allayed or suppressed.—Lord W. Bentinck and Sir John Cradock recalled.—Ultimate Decision of the Court of Directors.

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WHEN the provisional assumption of the government of India by Sir George Barlow, consequent upon the death of Marquis Cornwallis, was known in England, the Court of Directors determined to nominate him permanently Governor-General, and the nomination was acquiesced in by the Board of Controul. The principles of the policy which he pursued towards the native states have been sufficiently explained, and their consequences exhibited in the preceding pages. The other transac-

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tions of his administration were for the most part of inferior interest, though scarcely of minor importance.

The first cares of the new Governor-General were engaged by the state of the public finances, which had been seriously deranged by the expenses of the war. The charges had for some years past exceeded the revenues by a considerable amount, and the deficit had been supplied by loans contracted at a high rate of interest,[1] or by the application of the Company's commercial remittances to territorial disbursements. Heavy demands still remained for liquidation; the pay of the troops was seven and eight months in arrear; large sums were due on account of pensions to native chiefs and princes, and funds to meet these claims were for some time deficient.[2]

The restoration of tranquillity admitted of economical retrenchments in the principal article of public expenditure, the charges of the military department, and in nothing more than the dismissal of the irregular troops which had been taken into the British service during the war: these were disbanded, in several cases with injudicious haste; and Jagirs were assigned to some of their leaders in commutation of pay or pension. A present inconvenience was thus in a great measure obviated, but the newly acquired districts were burthened with establishments which even in the present day in

[1] A loan was opened in January, 1805, at 10 per cent., by which sicca rupees 2,12,47,000 (£2,640,000) were raised.

[2] The demands payable by the Bengal Government amounted in May, 1806, to ninety lakhs of rupees, to meet which not above forty lakhs were available.

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some degree diminish the revenue that might else be raised from them. Extensive reductions of the regular forces were at the same time effected.

The economical principles which guided the proceedings of the Government of Bengal were equally impressed upon the attention of the subordinate Governments, and the importance attached to the object by Sir G. Barlow is fully shown by the language in which his views were communicated to Bombay and Madras. He reminded the supreme authorities at both Presidencies that, "the finances of the Company having been involved in extraordinary difficulties by the consequences of the late war, it had become the solemn duty of the different Indian Governments to establish a system of the most rigid economy through every branch of their civil and military expenditure;" and he therefore enjoined them "to abrogate all such charges as were not indispensable to the good government and security of the provinces under their controul. The extraordinary demands upon the public resources had arisen," he observed, "almost exclusively from the enhanced charges of the military departments; but the circumstances of India were now propitious to their retrenchment, as no danger was to be apprehended from French aggression, and the condition of the native states not in alliance with the Company precluded all apprehension of their possessing the means of making any impression upon the British power for a long course of years: that independently of this prospect of future tranquillity, derived from the preponderating power of the latter, the treaties which had been contracted with

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Sindhia and other princes had been drawn up with a view to remove all grounds of difference, and to conciliate them by concessions which would render it their interest to preserve the relations of amity so established inviolate." The Governor-General suggested various specifications of retrenchment, and concluded by confidently hoping that in a short time the reductions from those sources would relieve all pressure upon the finances, and restore depreciated public credit, leaving a surplus to pay off the public debt and provide the Company's commercial investment.

This last consideration, the provision of the investment of goods for sale in England, was, in fact, the main-spring of Sir G. Barlow's policy, as it was of that of the Company. It was the pressure upon their commercial credit and resources which the latter were most anxious to relieve; and, as their instructions to that effect found an obedient agent in the Governor-General, the necessary result was the sacrifice of all comprehensive political views to present commercial exigencies. The financial embarrassments of the Indian Governments were merely of a temporary nature: the return of peace necessarily reduced much of the immediate charge; and the revenues were rapidly increasing, from the valuable accessions of territory acquired during the war, and the certainty of their improvement under a regular and efficient system of administration. Nor was there any cause for alarm in the state of public credit, as, although it had been thought necessary to offer a high rate of interest, ten per cent. per annum, on a loan contracted in the

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early part of 1805, the rate was not unprecedented or unusual; and in the course of 1806 a loan was opened at eight per cent. per annum, with such entire success, as in the course of a few years to absorb all preceding and more burthensome obligations.[1] The rate then negotiated commenced a series of reductions of the interest of the public debt, which has for some years past nearly equalised the interest paid in India with that which commonly prevails in the kingdoms of continental Europe.[2]

The exertions made by Sir George Barlow for the diminution of the public expenditure were not in vain; and by the end of April 1807, the close of the Indian official year, shortly after which he relinquished his office to his successor, he had reduced the excess of annual charge to less than a half of its amount in 1805, and had matured a system of economy, which, in the first years of Lord Minto's administration, transformed the deficit into a surplus.[3]

[1] Sicca rupees 26,65,00,000, or about £30,000,000, were transferred and subscribed to this loan between 1805-6 and 1810-11, when it chiefly merged into a loan at no higher a rate than 6 per cent.

[2] The rates of interest now borne by the public debt of India are 4 and 5 per cent.

[3] The statements appended to the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, printed in May, 1810, present the following comparative view of the relative revenues and charges of India from 1804-5 to 1807-8.

	Revenue.	*Charge.*	*Excess of Charge.*
1804-5	£14,949,395	£16,487,346	£1,537,951
1805-6	15,403,409	17,672,017	2,268,608
1806-7	14,535,729	17,688,061	3,152,322
1807-8	15,669,905	15,979,027	309,122

By a statement in the author's possession, compiled in the office of the accountant-general in Calcutta, the returns of the three first years in Sicca Rupees are as follows:

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In order to provide for the most urgent and immediate demands, funds were raised by a loan in 1805-6; by which, in the course of that and the following year, about four millions sterling were supplied to the treasury: the deficit which remained

	Revenue.	*Charge.*	*Excess of Charge.*
1804-5 .	S. R. 13,06,49,241 .	S. R. 15,76,18,750 .	S. R. 2,69,69,509
1805-6 .	„ 13,58,28,952 .	„ 16,44,88,747 .	„ 2,86,49,795
1806-7 .	„ 12,97,16,627 .	„ 13,99,23,581 .	„ 1,02,06,904

and in the fourth year, *Surplus Revenue.*

1807-8 .	„ 13,87,59,682 .	„ 13,77,19,952 .	„ 10,39,730

which surplus, calculating the rupee at 2*s.*, which is something less than its intrinsic value, is equal to £103,973. These particulars agree with the statements given by Mr. Tucker; of which he remarks, that, as they were prepared from official and authentic documents, they may be received with confidence.—Review of the Financial Situation of the East India Company, by H. St. George Tucker, p. 13. One source of difference in the two statements is the difference of exchange valuation. The old accounts of the East India Company were converted from Indian into English money at 2*s.* per current rupee (116 of which were equal to 100 Siccas) for Bengal, 8*s.* per pagoda for Madras, and 2*s.* 3*d.* per Bombay rupee: a valuation which, however correct according to the state of the exchange, was far above the intrinsic value of the coins; the current rupee at par being worth only 1*s.* 9*d.*·177, the pagoda 7*s.* 6*d.*·386, and the Bombay rupee 2*s.* ·008.—Report of Select Committee on the Finances of the East India Company, August 1832, App. No. 20. In the above comparison of receipts and disbursements, the rate being the same on both does not very materially affect the result, but the excess conveys an exaggerated view of their amount to the extent of about one-seventh of the aggregate sums. Now, although the exchange values of the Indian currencies might be properly taken as the standard for their conversion into English money in regard to all receipts and disbursements, whether commercial or territorial, occurring in England, yet such a standard was wholly inapplicable to revenues and charges beginning and ending in India itself. The intrinsic value of the currencies, as compared with that of the British coinage, was in such case the least variable and most correct measure. The statements in Sicca Rupees, converted into Sterling at 2*s.* the rupee, would therefore be preferable, as nearer the truth; but their use is inconvenient, as affording results different from those given in the Parliamentary and India House accounts, the authorities most readily available: these will therefore generally be followed. In the present case, besides the difference of valuation, there is a discrepancy in the relative statements which is not easily accounted for. The annual accounts must have been made up either on different principles or for somewhat different intervals. The aggregate of the four years, adopting the conversion of the sicca into the current rupee, offers a near though not close approximation; the Parliamentary accounts making it £7,268,003, the Calcutta statements sicca rupees 6,47,86,478 (equal to current rupees 7,51,52,314, and, at 2*s.* the current rupee, to) £7,515,231.

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was met by remittances from Europe, which, during the three years from 1804-5 to 1806-7, exceeded by two millions sterling the supplies realised in England from the proceeds of the Company's trade.

Besides the measures adopted for the removal of financial difficulties, the Indian Governments were occupied during the interval between the departure of Marquis Wellesley and the arrival of Lord Minto in extending and consolidating the revenue and judicial arrangements in various districts newly taken under their authority. Upon the annexation of the province of Cuttack to the Presidency of Bengal, commissioners were appointed to effect a settlement of the revenue with the landholders; and in September 1804 the latter were apprised that at the expiration of a twelvemonth a fixed assessment would be levied upon their lands, upon a just and moderate consideration of the receipts of former years. This announcement was confirmed by a regulation of the Government;[1] and the same enactment recognised the principle of substituting a quit-rent for a land assessment in respect to certain petty Rajas and Zemindars residing in the mountains and thickets of Orissa. All other sources of revenue which had existed under the Mahratta Government were abolished, with the exception of an excise upon spirituous liquors, and a capitation tax upon pilgrims to the temple of Jagannath. The latter was the subject of a further enactment[2] in the following year, by which the amount of the tax, the mode of levying it, and other circumstances con-

[1] Bengal Regulations. Reg. xii. 1805.

[2] Reg. iv. 1806.

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nected with it, were defined, with a view to protect the pilgrims from the unwarranted exactions of the officers of the Government or of the temple, and to maintain order and security in the town of Jagannath-pur and its dependencies. At the same time, provision was made for the administration of justice in civil causes by the institution of a provincial court,[1] and a revision was effected of the system of police which had been previously in force in Cuttack. The duties of the police during the Mahratta Government had been intrusted to a body of armed men, termed Paiks, or foot-men; who were commanded by their own Sirdars or chiefs, and occupied lands exempt from rent, in payment of their services. They were subject to the general controul of the landholders within whose domains they were located, and the landholders were responsible to the Government for the prevention of disorders and robberies within the limits of their respective estates.[2] This system was unchanged; but, in order to fix upon the landholders a better defined authority and more distinct responsibility, they were formally invested with the title and powers of Darogas, or head-officers of police, under the general superintendence of the magistrate of the province.

[1] Reg. xiv. 1805. A striking instance is afforded by one of the clauses of this regulation of the high value of money under the Mahratta Government, and its anticipated reduction under the British. In all disputes concerning obligations bearing interest which originated before October, 1803, the court was authorised to recognise the following rates: on sums not exceeding 100 rupees, 30 per cent. per annum; on larger sums, 24 per cent. per annum. Subsequently to the date specified, the rate of interest was restricted to 12 per cent. per annum.

[2] Reg. iv. 1804.

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The introduction of the Company's judicial and revenue regulations into the territories lastly acquired in the Doab and in Bundelkhand had been accomplished by previous enactments.[1] Those affecting the revenue were based upon the principle of an ultimate settlement in perpetuity in the Upper provinces as well as in Bengal, but postponing its conclusion to the expiration of certain definite periods. Two successive settlements were to be made for a term of three years each, and a third was to be concluded for a period of four years. On the close of each of the two first periods, the assessment was to be revised and augmented according to the progressive improvement which it was anticipated would have taken place in the value of landed property; and at the end of the three terms, forming an aggregate of ten years, it was proposed to conclude a perpetual settlement for all such lands as might be in a sufficiently improved state of cultivation to warrant the measure, on such terms as the Government should deem fair and equitable. This last stipulation, strictly interpreted, rendered the pledge of little worth; for it reserved to the Government the determination not only of the final rate of assessment, but of the condition of the lands to be assessed. A still more important modification of the original enactment was, however, introduced by Sir George Barlow. On the termination of the first triennial period of the settlement of the Ceded provinces, he added a clause to its renewal, which Lord Wellesley either overlooked or considered superfluous; and enacted, that the proposed settle-

[1] Regs. xxv. 1803; v. viii. ix. 1805.

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ment of the revenue in perpetuity in the Ceded and Conquered provinces should depend upon the confirmation of the Court of Directors.[1] Their confirmation was never conceded.

The principal legislative enactment at Fort St. George had for its object the discontinuance of the judicial powers theretofore given to the collectors of the revenue in the districts which had not been permanently assessed. Distinct courts of civil judicature were established in the several Zillas, and the separation of the judicial from the revenue department was completed in the territories of the Madras Presidency as well as in those of Bengal.[2] At the same time, the Supreme Court of Appeal was remodelled. It had hitherto been constituted of the Governor and Members of Council, a board already fully occupied. In their stead three Judges were appointed to the special duty of hearing appeals from the courts below, in addition to a Member of Council not being Governor of Madras, who was to act as Chief Judge.[3] No enactment of any interest was promulgated during this period at Bombay.

In the midst of their pacific occupations the Governments of India were startled by the occurrence of an event unprecedented in the annals of British India, and inspiring fears for the solidity and per-

[1] "The Governor-General in Council hereby notifies to the Zemindars and other actual proprietors of land in the Ceded and Conquered provinces, that the Jumma which may be assessed on their estates in the last year of the settlement immediately ensuing the present settlement shall remain fixed for ever, in case the Zemindars shall now be willing to engage for the payment of the public revenue on those terms in perpetuity, and the arrangement shall receive the sanction of the Court of Directors."—Reg. x. 1807. Sect. v.

[2] Reg. ii. 1806.

[3] Reg. iii. 1807.

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manence of the empire,—the massacre of the European officers and soldiers in the garrison of Vellore by the native regiments on duty along with them. This happened on the morning of the 10th of July, 1806.[1]

The fortress of Vellore, situated eighty-eight miles west from Madras, had been chosen, for the convenience of its position and the strength of its defences, as a safe residence for the family of Tippoo Sultan, which consisted of twelve sons and six daughters. The six elder sons were married, and had children: four of the daughters also were married, and the marriage of the fifth was in course of solemnisation when the mutiny broke out. Their families, with their connexions and followers, formed an assemblage of several hundred persons, all living in the former palace of the Nawabs of the Carnatic, within the fort. The princes had been treated with a degree of distinction and liberality better suited to their former dignity than their fallen fortunes. They were under no other personal restraint than the attendance of a guard when they moved out, and prohibition against going out of the fort without the written authority of the commandant of the garrison and the paymaster of their stipends. Their allowances not only provided amply for their wants, but enabled them to support some show of state, and to collect around them a swarm of needy

[1] The chief authorities for the following narrative and observations are, the MS. Correspondence of the Madras Government; Papers printed for Parliament in 1813; a Memorial addressed to the Court of Directors, and afterwards printed in 1810, by Lord William Bentinck; and Sir J. Cradock's Address to the Court, printed in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1807.

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adventurers and vagrant mendicants, the willing instruments of mischief and eager fomenters of discontent.[1] The general charge of the princes and payment of their pensions were consigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Marriott. No other officer was allowed to enter the palace without the permission of the princes, and no European sentinel did duty within its precincts. The native sentries were posted only at the outer doors of the several dwellings. Colonel Marriott discharged also the duties of superintendent of police for the fort and the adjacent town of Vellore, the population of which had largely increased. The garrison of the fort consisted of four companies of his Majesty's 69th regiment, six companies of the first battalion of the 1st regiment of Native Infantry, and the second battalion of the 23rd. The Europeans were about three hundred and seventy in number, the natives fifteen hundred. The whole were commanded by Colonel Fancourt, the colonel of the 69th. Spacious barracks were severally appropriated to the use of the European and native troops. The officers occupied separate, and, for the most part, detached houses.

About three o'clock in the morning of the 10th of July, the tranquillity of repose was broken by the sudden discharge of fire-arms, and the sound was speedily repeated in various directions. The Sipahis had been assembled silently in their quarters under arms by their native officers, and led

[1] The four elder princes were allowed 50,000 rupees a-year each; the three next, 25,000 rupees; the two younger, 8,400 rupees; and the remaining three, 6,000 each. There were above 3000 natives of Mysore in the fort and adjoining Petta or town, and above 500 Mohammedan Fakirs. The whole population of the town was about 8000.

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to unexpected assaults upon the European posts. The few English sentinels on duty at the main-guard and the powder magazine were shot or bayoneted almost before they were aware of their danger, and the possession of the magazine secured to the insurgents the sole supply of ammunition. Their chief body beset the European barracks, firing through the open doors and windows volley after volley, and repelling every attempt of its inmates to sally forth, by a murderous discharge of musketry, and the fire of a field-piece which they had planted opposite to the doorway. As soon as these attacks commenced, detachments were stationed to watch the dwellings of the officers, with instructions to fire upon any one who should come forth: and, in pursuance of the order, Colonel Fancourt, as he descended from his house, received a wound which proved fatal; and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kerras, commanding the 23rd, was shot as he was hastening to the parade. After the barracks were surrounded, parties of the native soldiers forced their way into the houses of the Europeans, and put to death with unsparing ferocity all whom they could discover. Thirteen officers were killed, besides several European conductors of ordnance. In the barracks, eighty-two privates were killed, and ninety-one were wounded. The mutineers did not venture to enter the building, where they would have had to encounter the bayonets of the soldiers, but contented themselves with pouring their fire into the apartments; in which the men, unable for want of ammunition to return it, screened themselves against its effects as well as they were able by the beds and

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furniture. Early in the morning, a few officers, who had collected in one of the dwellings and had successfully defended themselves, made their way to the barracks, and, placing themselves at the head of the survivors, forced a passage through the mutineers and ascended the ramparts, where they took post in a cavalier. Hence they reached the magazine, but were disappointed in their expectation of supplying themselves with powder, and were obliged to return to the ramparts, where they found cover above the main gateway and in a bastion at the south-east angle of the fort. In these movements they were exposed to a continued fire, by which all the officers were disabled and many of the men were killed; yet they maintained their ground with steadfast courage, and repeatedly drove back their assailants at the point of the bayonet.

During the whole of these transactions an active communication was kept up between the mutineers and the palace, and many of the servants and followers of the princes were conspicuously active in the scenes of bloodshed and plunder which followed the first success. By some of these a flag, which had once belonged to Tippoo and bore his insignia,[1] was brought out of the palace and hoisted on the flagstaff amidst the acclamations of the multitude; but it was speedily pulled down by the men of the 69th as they passed the flagstaff in their way from the barracks to the ramparts. The indications of regularity and conduct which marked the first proceedings of the insurgents soon disappeared: subordination was speedily at an end; the Sipahis and

[1] A sun in the centre, with tiger stripes on a green field.

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followers of the palace dispersed in quest of plunder; and many who had been reluctant participators in the mutiny, who began to fear its consequences, or who sought to secure the booty they had obtained, availed themselves of the confusion to leave the fort. No arrangements had been made to hold the fortress, or to withdraw to any other position, when the alarm was given that retribution was at hand.

Arcot, the ancient capital of the Carnatic, and the scene of Clive's celebrated defence, was about nine miles distant from Vellore. It was a military station; and, among the troops cantoned there, was the 19th regiment of dragoons under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie. Information of the insurrection reached Arcot by six in the morning; and a squadron of the 19th, with a strong troop of the 7th Native Cavalry, with Colonel Gillespie at their head, was immediately on the road to Vellore, the galloper guns and remainder of the cavalry being ordered to follow without delay. By eight o'clock the first party was before the gates of the fortress: the outer two were open, a third was closed; but it was here that a few of the 69th had effected a lodgement, and some of the men, lowered by their comrades from the wall, opened the gate to the cavalry. There was still a fourth gateway, which was shut, and this was commanded by the mutineers so completely that it was necessary to wait for the guns to blow it open: they arrived about ten. Upon their approach, Colonel Gillespie caused himself to be drawn up to the rampart, where he put himself at the head of the party which had maintained the position, and descended

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from the post to charge the insurgents, at the same moment that the gate was blown open and the dragoons rushed into the fort. No resolute resistance was offered: after a feeble and straggling fire, the insurgents scattered in all directions, and were cut down by the cavalry, or bayoneted by the men of the 69th. Between three and four hundred were slain, many were taken, the rest escaped by dropping from the walls. In the course of ten minutes the fort was again in the possession of the British troops, and an unsparing but not undeserved punishment had been inflicted on a great number of the mutineers. There still remained a multitude whose degree of participation in the mutiny and consequent destiny it was necessary to determine, and it was also of importance to discover the causes of so alarming an outbreak.

The number of the prisoners was speedily increased by the apprehension of the fugitives in various parts of the country by the police or by the villagers, and by the spontaneous surrender of many who either were, or wished to be thought, innocent. Some of the latter were allowed to resume their military duties, but there were still above six hundred Sipahis detained in confinement at Trichanopoly and Vellore. A military tribunal had been in the first instance instituted for their trial, by which several of those whose guilt was substantiated were condemned to death.[1] The criminality of the rest was referred to a special commission, upon whose

[1] Three native officers and fourteen non-commissioned officers and privates were executed by sentence of a native court-martial.— General Orders by the Government, Fort St. George, 14th January, 1807.

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proceedings the Government long hesitated to pronounce a final sentence. Although little doubt could be entertained that most of the Sipahis, whether in confinement or at large, were deeply implicated in the mutiny, yet it was impossible to procure satisfactory evidence of individual guilt, and it was incompatible with justice to condemn the whole upon probable imputation. To restore them to their military functions, was to insure impunity to insurrection; to set them at liberty and dismiss them, was to disperse over the country a number of desperate and dangerous men, whose example and instigations might lead to greater mischief. To transport the whole to Penang or the Cape, would be expensive and inconvenient, even if it were just. The opinions of the Governor and the Commander-in-chief were at variance; the former advocating the more lenient, the latter the severer course. The former eventually prevailed. The officers and men who were absent at the time of the mutiny, or who had given proofs of their fidelity on the occasion of its occurrence, remained on the strength of the army: the rest were discharged for ever from the service, with the grant to the officers of small pensions for their support, and the numbers of the regiments were erased from the army list.[1] The disposal of the prisoners remained undecided until the arrival of Lord Minto at Madras on his way to Bengal. It was then resolved that a final investigation should take place, and, with the exception of

[1] Two new regiments were formed in their place, the 24th and 25th, to which the European officers of the 1st and 3rd regiments, and such native officers and men as were not discharged, were respectively transferred.—General Orders, 14th January, 1807.

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those against whom proof of plunder and murder could be adduced, and who were to be punished accordingly, the whole should be gradually enlarged, being dismissed from the service and declared incapable of being again enlisted. As by this time the agitation had subsided and the confidence of the native troops was restored, the decision was carried into effect without difficulty, and without being followed by any perceptible mischief. The ascertainment of the causes of the mutiny, and of the principal circumstances attending it, was equally a subject of prolonged deliberation and productive of conflicting opinions.

Although the storm had burst so suddenly upon the victims of its fury, indications of its approach had not been wanting, and careful and intelligent observation might have anticipated its violence and guarded against its consequences. It was known early in May that deep and dangerous discontent pervaded the troops in garrison upon the subject of orders regarding their dress and accoutrements, and rigorous measures were resorted to for its suppression. They had the usual effects of ill-judged severity. They stifled the utterance but aggravated the feelings, and embittered dissatisfaction by forcing it to assume the mask of acquiescence. Secret associations were formed, not only to resist the obnoxious orders, but to brave the penalty which insubordination incurred, by contracting guilt of a still deeper dye; and the native officers and men were gradually drawn into a conspiracy to murder all the Europeans in the fort, and elevate one of the sons of Tippoo to the sovereignty from which his father

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had been hurled by foreigners and infidels. Notwithstanding the oath of secresy by which silence was imposed on all who were enrolled amongst the conspirators, intimations of the plot transpired sufficient at least to have put the objects of it on their guard. Not only were dark rumours of an approaching tumult current in the fort and Petta, but in the latter a Mohammedan Fakir repeatedly proclaimed in the Bazar the impending destruction of the Europeans. Little regard was paid to his denunciations, as they were uttered with a wildness of manner and vagueness of language which inspired doubts of his sanity. Information still more positive was equally disregarded. At midnight, on the 17th of June, a Sipahi of the 1st regiment, named Mustafa Beg, had come to Colonel Forbes, the commander of the corps, and communicated to him that a plot was concerted to murder the European part of the garrison. The agitation which the man exhibited, and the imperfectly understood purport of his testimony, induced the Colonel not only to doubt the authenticity of his testimony, but to refer its investigation to a committee of native officers, who, being all more or less implicated in the conspiracy, reported of course that Mustafa Beg was unworthy of credence, and demanded his confinement as the punishment of his calumnious aspersions. He was accordingly placed under arrest, and so remained until the mutiny and murder which he had in vain announced had taken place.[1] The utter neglect of these inti-

[1] Mustafa Beg escaped during the tumult, but returned to the fort a few days afterwards, and was rewarded for his conduct by a pecuniary dona-

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mations, and their vagueness and infrequency, might seem extraordinary, if there were not reason to believe that there prevailed at the time a more than even the usual estrangement between the European officers and the native troops, which is too often engendered by the contemptuous indifference entertained by the former for the feelings and opinions of the latter, and by their imperfect acquaintance with the native languages. Had there been any cordiality between the European officers and the native garrison,—had any one of them deserved the confidence and attachment of his men, it is not to be credited that only a single individual should have been found faithful among the many who were privy to the conspiracy, and that Mustafa Beg should have stood alone in his communications. Had there not also been some want of vigilance on the part of the officers of the garrison, it is difficult to conceive that they could have been so wholly unprepared for such a widely extended and desperate insurrection.[1]

tion of 2000 pagodas and a Subahdar's pension. — G. O. Madras, 7th Aug. 1806. A European woman, who had resided some years in Vellore, also apprised Colonel Fancourt that secret meetings were held by the Sipahis in the Petta, at which seditious language was held. No attention was paid to her testimony, as her character was disreputable.—MS. Proceedings of Court of Inquiry.

[1] Shortly before this transaction, Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-chief, addressed a letter to the adjutant-general for circulation to the army, in which he stated his regret to find that it was the prevailing practice of the service to withhold from the native commissioned officers that respect and intercourse to which their situation and common opinion entitled them. The Court of Directors also remark, "We have too much reason to apprehend, that, to the neglect and disrespect manifested to the native officers by the European officers, the disposition to foment and conceal the dissatisfaction of the men is principally to be attributed." They also observe, "It has been represented to us that the deficiency in the knowledge of the languages of the country prevalent amongst the officers of the army may have operated as another cause of the absence of confidence between the European officers and the native troops. We are aware of the injurious

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The causes of this alarming occurrence necessarily engaged the attention of the public both in India and in Europe, and an acrimonious controversy ensued, which can scarcely be said even yet to be at rest. Not that there was any sufficient reason for difference of opinion. To an impartial judgment the real cause was liable to no misconception; but its admission involved inferences which were pressed by one party beyond their due limits, and of which the grounds were therefore denied altogether by the other. The question of converting the natives of India to the Christian religion was supposed to depend for its solution upon the origin of the massacre at Vellore. By those who were unfriendly to missionary efforts, as well as those who were apprehensive of their effects upon native feeling, the transac-

effects which this ignorance on the part of the European officers is likely to produce, and which we are informed prevails to a great extent." They proceed to suggest a plan for remedying the defect, but it has never yet been carried into operation. A general order of the Commander-in-chief, issued in August, 1806, announced that he would not recommend, nor would the Government approve of, any officer for a staff appointment who did not possess "means of distinct communication with the native army." A knowledge of Hindustaní had previously been required from cadets as a condition of promotion, and from all officers as a qualification for the post of adjutant. Adverting to the disregard of Mustafa Beg's information, the Court observe, "We fear that Colonel Forbes's conduct upon that occasion proceeded from the same laxity of system, which, there is reason to suppose, prevailed at Vellore for a considerable period before the unfortunate mine was sprung."—Letter to Fort St. George, 29th May, 1807, printed for the House of Commons, 13th April, 1813. That the discipline of the garrison was relaxed, is proved by the evidence before the Committee as to a neglect of military duty on the very night of the mutiny; the punctual fulfilment of which might have detected something unusual amongst the native soldiery, and perhaps prevented the mischief. The European officer commanding the main-guard being summoned to go the rounds at midnight, declared himself indisposed, and directed the Subahdar to take his place. The Subahdar, in imitation of his superior, pleaded the same excuse, and delegated the duty to the Jemadar, who was one of the chief leaders of the conspiracy. His report was, of course, that all was well at the very hour when the mutineers were arming for the attack.—Proceedings of Committee of Inquiry; MS. Records.

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tion was appealed to as decisive of the reasonableness of their fears, and as justifying their opposition. No better reply could be devised by the friends and supporters of missions than a denial that the Vellore mutiny had any connexion with the propagation of Christianity,—a denial in which they were undoubtedly wide of the truth.[1] The essential and main spring of the mutiny was religious principle, although its occurrence was influenced in the manner and season of its development by incidental and local excitement.

Towards the end of 1805 the new Commander-in-chief at Madras, Sir John Cradock, had been led to adopt the project of reducing the regulations of the army to a systematic code. The article of dress, a favourite subject of consideration with military men, at least in time of peace, received all the attention which its importance demanded; and various regulations were drawn up regarding the regimentals and accoutrements of the native soldiery, with the avowed purpose of assimilating their ap-

[1] The Reverend Dr. Buchanan thus writes to the Government of Bengal: "I understand that the massacre of Vellore has been unaccountably adduced as some sanction to the principle of opposing the progress of the Christian religion in Bengal. I had opportunities of judging of the causes of that event, which were peculiar. I was in the vicinity of the place at the time. I travelled for two months immediately afterwards in the province adjacent with the sanction of Government, and I heard the evidence of Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindus, on the subject. That the insurrection at Vellore had no connexion with the Christian religion, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, is a truth which is capable of demonstration."— Letter from the Reverend C. Buchanan to the Governor-General, 7th Nov., 1807; Parliamentary Papers relating to Missionaries, &c., 14th April, 1813. Dr. Buchanan undoubtedly believed in what he asserted so roundly, but he was strangely misinformed. The most zealous and able defenders of the cause, Lord Teignmouth in his Considerations on the duty of diffusing Christianity in India, and Mr. Wilberforce in his speeches in 1813, afterwards published by himself, do not go to the same length: they only deny that the Vellore mutiny was connected with any unusual extension or activity of Missionary proceedings.

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1806. pearance to that of the European troops. With this intention, the Sipahis were forbidden to appear on parade with ear-rings, or the coloured marks upon the forehead or face significant of sectarial distinctions; and they were commanded to shave their beards and trim their mustachios according to a standard model. The issue of these orders was suspended in a few instances by the prudence of commanding officers of corps; but they were generally known by the men, and almost universally interpreted to imply a design on the part of the Government to compel the native troops to assume the practices, and eventually the religion, of Europeans.[1] Other innovations in their dress and accoutrements, such as a particular undress jacket, black leather stocks, and a turnscrew, which some susceptible minds identified with a cross,[2] had previously occasioned wide-spread dissatisfaction; and the last drop of the cup was poured forth when a new pattern for a turban was devised, which in the apprehension of the Sipahis resembled a hat.[3] This confirmed their fears, and insubordination was the result.

The first overt exhibition of the spirit thus gene-

[1] It was commonly said by the Sipahis, "We shall next be compelled to eat and drink with the outcast and infidel English, to give them our daughters in marriage, to become one people, and follow one faith."

[2] It appears that Sir J. Cradock was not responsible for the two former: they were certainly, however, in use.—Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, p. 51.

[3] It is not easy for persons unacquainted with the East to understand why so harmless a head-dress as a hat should have excited such horror; but, in the estimation of the natives, the hat is identified with the wearer, and, of itself, denotes a European and a Christian. The term Topi-wala, or hat-man, is a term that is commonly used for both. To substitute a hat for the equally national characteristic head-dress, the turban, was therefore considered to be a change of deeply significant import.

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rated took place in the second battalion of the 4th regiment of Madras infantry, quartered in Vellore, early in May. The grenadier company refused to make up the turban, stating their repugnance to it honestly, and at first respectfully and with calmness. Their representations were received by the commanding officer of the regiment with extreme intemperance, and his violence[1] provoked some disorderly and unmilitary conduct; in consequence of which nineteen grenadiers were arrested, and sent to Madras for trial, by order of the Commander-in-chief, who announced his resolution to have the turbans made up and worn, and insisted on prompt and unhesitating obedience. Of the prisoners sent to the Presidency, two were sentenced

[1] According to the official report, the captain of the grenadier company of the second battalion of the 4th regiment informed the lieutenant-colonel commanding the corps, that several of his men had waited upon him and expressed strong objections to the new head-dress on the part of the whole company. The colonel called the men before him and questioned them regarding their repugnance; when they stated firmly, though respectfully, that they were well aware of the consequences of disobedience, but that they could not consent to wear the new turban, as it would disgrace them for ever in the eyes of their countrymen. Some of the superior officers expressed themselves prepared to waive their objections; but, as the non-commissioned officers and privates persisted in their refusal, the former were immediately reduced to the ranks, and the latter placed in arrest. In the evening, when the battalion was mustered for parade, the men attended without their side-arms and refused to put them on: on which, the colonel deprived even the superior officers of their swords, and dismissed the battalion; some of the men of which, as they dispersed, called aloud, "Dhurtt! dhurtt!" meaning "Away! away!" but with a somewhat uncivil import. Upon the occurrence being reported to Colonel Fancourt, the commandant of the garrison, he went to the barracks and expostulated with the men; but they unanimously refused to wear the turban, affirming that it was really a hat. Colonel Fancourt took no further steps in the business beyond ordering their swords to be restored to the native commissioned officers. Some further excitement was manifested on the following day, but, as observed by the Court of Directors in their letter to Fort St. George, above cited, it was so obviously provoked by the injudicious conduct of the commanding officer that they would not have been surprised if a mutiny had immediately followed, attended with all the fatal consequences arising from the offended prejudice occasioned by so capricious and wanton an exertion of authority.—Parliamentary Papers.

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by a native court-martial to receive nine hundred lashes each, and seventeen to receive five hundred lashes each. The sentence was carried into execution in the two first instances;[1] in the others it was remitted, in consequence of the professed contrition of the culprits. The award showed that there was no hope of redress from temperate representation; especially as the Governor in Council took up the subject in the same unquestioning spirit as the Commander-in-chief, and published his determination to enforce the order, and to employ all possible means of suppressing any act of insubordination. This was the radical error of the whole proceeding: it proved to the native troops that they could expect no countenance from their European officers, no consideration for their feelings from the Commander-in-chief or the Government, and corroborated the suspicion that the latter was inflexibly bent upon the abolition of the distinctions of tribe and caste, and the compulsory introduction of an outward conformity at least to the practices of Christians.

In vindication of the course pursued by the Government, it was maintained that there were no reasonable grounds of objection to the turban; that it had been made up without hesitation in some corps; and that two respectable natives, a Mohammedan Syed and a Hindu Brahman, had given evidence that there was nothing in its construction that was incompatible with their religious faith. This

[1] Lord W. Bentinck says, the two ringleaders only received punishment. —Memorial, p. 3. See also Madras General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, 2nd July, 1806.

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was no more than true; but although particular influences might in some cases have overcome the objection felt by the troops, and, as is not at all unusual among the natives of India, a few individuals of acknowledged respectability might have been more free from prejudice than their inferiors, yet it was undeniable that a very strong and widely propagated repugnance to the turban did exist in the army, and it would have been more just and generous in the Government, as well as more politic, to have refrained from rating the shape of a cap at a higher value than the affections of the soldiery.

With regard to the order abolishing marks of caste on parade, and enjoining a particular cut of the beard and mustachios, it was urged in defence of the Commander-in-chief, that although not a part of the express military code, yet it had been introduced very generally in practice before the code was drawn up, and that similar prohibitions and injunctions had long been in force in several regiments. This also was no doubt true, but it evinced great ignorance of the native character to infer that a positive and universally applicable order to that effect might therefore be promulgated with impunity. The commanding officer of a Sipahi battalion who has acquired the confidence of his men can do much, even in opposition to their inclinations, without exciting that dissatisfaction which may be engendered by a formal order of the Commander-in-chief; and it can scarcely be considered peculiar to the natives of India, although in an especial degree to be predicated of them, that pre-

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judices, which soften and dissolve before gentle and judicious influence, commonly harden into intractable rigidity when abruptly and harshly denounced. The practice of particular regiments, therefore, afforded no safe principle for universal legislation; and the inference displayed little acquaintance with the character or sentiments of the native army.[1]

That the prejudices thus shocked, and the feelings thus exasperated, should have produced their fatal effects at Vellore, was no doubt attributable to an additional stimulus applied by the presence of the family of Tippoo Sultan. The followers and attendants of the princes, naturally ill-disposed towards the British Government, availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the prevailing discontent, and contributed by all means in their power to confirm the impression which the Sipahis entertained of the ulterior objects of the innovations commanded; taunting them with the badges of Christianity which had been imposed upon them in the turnscrew and the turban, and calling upon them to die rather than apostatise from their faith. It was established by the evidence before the court and commission of inquiry, that some of the confidential servants of one of the princes, Moiz-ad-din, had been present at the secret meetings which had preceded the mutiny, and had brought, or pretended to bring, messages from the palace encouraging the mutineers; promising also, that, if the native troops would master the Europeans and hold the fort for

[1] So much of the order as related to sectarial marks and ear-rings was, in truth, not Sir J. Cradock's. It was circulated by his predecessor, Major-General Sir J. Campbell, 11th January, 1805, shortly before Sir J. Cradock's arrival.

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eight days, they would be joined by other regiments, and by many of the principal Poligars, with whose aid the Mohammedan kingdom of Mysore would be re-established. The influence exercised by these instigations was the more immediate, from the circumstance that the first regiment of native infantry, which consisted principally of Musselmans, had been raised chiefly in Mysore, and many of the officers and men had served in the armies of Hyder and Tippoo. Former associations, therefore, as well as community of country and of creed, rendered them in a peculiar degree accessible to the persuasions of designing men, and hurried them into the perpetration of atrocities which the injury offered to their prejudices might not of itself have impelled them to commit. The source of the evil was still, however, the spirit which had been raised by the severity and inconsiderateness of the English authorities. Mischievous hands may have applied a torch, but no explosion would have ensued had not the materials of conflagration been previously accumulated.

That the mutiny of Vellore was of a purely political character, and arose out of a conspiracy to replace a Mohammedan dynasty on the throne of Mysore,—an opinion that was strenuously advocated by those who wished to shut their eyes against the evidence of its religious connexion,—was wholly incapable of demonstration. Even with regard to the sons of Tippoo themselves, no proof could be elicited that they had been concerned in the conspiracy. There was no evidence that the communications made to the conspirators in their name had proceeded from them, and it was clearly established

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that prior to the mutiny they had never held personal intercourse with any of the insurgents. Although it appeared that during the tumult some of the Sipahis received refreshments at the houses of two of the princes, Mohi-ad-din and Moiz-ad-din, and that the Mysore flag was brought from the residence of the latter, yet it was also in evidence that they had shrunk from the clamorous invitations of the crowd to come forth and place themselves at their head, and that they had carefully abstained from every word and deed which might implicate them in the riot. No suspicion whatever attached to the elder members of the family; the younger were of too tender an age to be cognizant of such a project; and the utmost criminality that could be charged against some of the intermediate members of the fraternity was the possibility of their being aware of the agitation of a plot against the European part of the garrison, and their omission to give notice of it to the only European officer with whom they were allowed to communicate, Colonel Marriott. Attachment to the Company was not to be expected from them, but there was little to apprehend from their animosity. Their own characters and habits were a sufficient security for their harmlessness. They were bitter enemies to each other,[1] and were uniformly destitute of activity, enterprise, and courage. They had neither the spirit to conceive, nor the daring to execute, a project that demanded both; and, whatever may have been their own wishes or the participation of their adherents,

[1] It was believed in the palace, that, on one occasion, Moiz-ad-din had attempted to poison the eldest of his brothers.

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there is ample reason to conclude that the sons of Tippoo were not personally the originators or instigators of the mutiny. As, however, their presence was calculated to keep alive the hopes of their adherents, and furnish a rallying point to the disaffected, they were removed from the Madras Presidency to that of Bengal, and placed under easy surveillance in the vicinity of Calcutta.[1]

Still more untenable were the opinions of those who beheld in the transaction the evidence of a general plot among the Mohammedans of the Dekhin to restore the sovereignty of Islam and expel the unbelievers; yet the Government of Madras was at first inclined to adopt this view, and declared its impression that a widely diffused confederacy had been formed to subvert the British power and raise that of the Mohammedans upon its downfall. The calm and sound judgment of Sir George Barlow saw the business in its true colours, and questioned the reality of any extensive or secret combination of the natives, and Lord William Bentinck retracted his opinion. It was nevertheless persisted in by Sir John Cradock and several officers of the Madras army, although no conclusive proofs were ever adduced, and probabilities were decidedly

[1] They were removed from Vellore, on the 28th of August, 1806, amidst an immense concourse of spectators, who manifested no sympathy in their fate, nor was it apparently any object of anxiety to themselves. They arrived at the Sand-heads on the 12th September, where the second, Abd-ul-Khalik, died: the rest were placed in suitable residences near Calcutta, under official surveillance, but no personal restraint. Moiz-ad-din, against whom circumstances were most unfavourable, was kept for some time in confinement, but was eventually liberated. Some of the brothers, and a multitude of descendants, still survive. One of the brothers, Jami-ad-din Hyder, who at the time of the Vellore mutiny was about ten years of age, spent some years in England, and died here in 1842.

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against them.[1] Of whom was such a confederacy to be composed? The Mohammedan princes of the Dekhin were not likely to feel any great sympathy for the descendants of a military adventurer whom, whilst living, they had despised, even while they feared him. The principal of them, the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Nizam, could not have entered into such an association without its coming to the knowledge of the English authorities; and no grounds, even for suspicion against them, were ever detected. It was still less probable that the Hindu Rajas and Poligars would engage in a scheme, the success of which must have brought back the days of Moslem bigotry, intolerance, and persecution. In short, all the evidence examined tended to show, beyond the possibility of cavil, that there had been no intercourse whatever between the family of Tippoo and any chief or princes out of the fort; and, although some of the mutineers talked vaguely of the support that was expected from one or two insignificant Poligars, yet neither messenger nor letter

[1] Much stress was laid upon information received from a native Subahdar of cavalry, who had been long in the service of the Company, and professed devoted allegiance to the Government; but all that was fairly deducible from his communications was, that the disaffection of the troops was more extensive than had been imagined. All the causes of this disaffection he declared it was difficult to state, but he expressed his belief that it arose principally from the intrigues of Tippoo's family and their adherents: he stated that a number of persons formerly in the Sultan's service, or their relations, were now serving in the native regiments, and that agents and friends of the family were employed all over the country in instigating discontent. That the Company's regiments had enlisted many of Tippoo's soldiers was well known, and that they and the Mohammedans generally were dissatisfied with the change of masters was highly probable; but there was no evidence of any agency set on foot by Tippoo's sons, and the discontent of the Hindu part of the army, much the most numerous, could scarcely be ascribable to intrigues in favour of a Mohammedan dynasty. The Subahdar's information was merely individual belief, unsupported by evidence of facts.— MS. Records; Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, 103.

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had ever been interchanged, and no warrant had been given by them for such a misuse of their names. A conspiracy of the Mohammedan princes was a mere shadow, created by an alarmist imagination, or by a wish to shift the responsibility from the real cause, the military orders, to one wholly visionary. 1806.

But positive proof that the mutiny originated in no political combination, was afforded by occurrences in other quarters. The feelings that instigated the mutiny at Vellore were likewise entertained by the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, and consequences equally serious were apprehended. There, however, the Resident, Captain Sydenham, and Colonel Montresor the commandant, had timely notice of the agitation that prevailed amongst the troops, and justly appreciated the cause. They took upon themselves the responsibility of disobeying the general orders of the Commander-in-chief, and published a cantonment order in which the Sipahis were told that they were wholly mistaken in supposing that any measures enjoined by the supreme authority could be intended in the smallest degree to infringe upon what the Government held so sacred as their religion; but that, as they had so misconceived the object of the order, the commanding officer of the subsidiary force had no doubt that the Commander-in-chief would countermand the obnoxious regulation, and in the meantime he directed the making up of the new turbans to be suspended. The effect of this judicious procedure was immediate, and calm and confidence at once revived among the troops. In the investigation which succeeded, it was found that some of the disaffected

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nobles of the court of Hyderabad had taken advantage of the existing discontent to foment the irritation, and that one or two of the native officers had so far listened to their own fears and the counsels of pernicious advisers as to declare that they were ready to put the Europeans to death rather than become Christians. No other communion with Vellore could be traced than that of similar desperation, originating simultaneously from similar apprehensions.[1]

At Walajabad, again, a like disposition was discovered, arising from a like cause. The order for the new turban was issued early in June, and was received with expressions of dissatisfaction. These were silenced for a while by the trial and dismissal of one of the ring-leaders; but, at the end of July, reports of a design of the men to murder their European officers excited the alarm of the latter.[2] The 1st battalion of the 23rd regiment of native infantry was marched out of the cantonments until the arrival of a party of dragoons from Arcot, when the corps was disarmed and all the native officers were put under arrest. The men submitted quietly to all that was required of them, and the investigation that took place showed that there had been

[1] Rumours the most extraordinary and incredible spread amongst the troops at this station; it was reported that the Europeans had a design to massacre the natives, that a hundred bodies without heads were lying on the banks of the Músa river, and that the Europeans had built a church which the heads of these decapitated trunks had been required to sanctify. There were other stories in circulation equally monstrous.

[2] Their discontent had been first manifested about the 24th July, in consequence of long drills and generally harsh or inconsiderate treatment. On one occasion, after a drill from sun-rise till 7, they were kept in the barracks till 12 cleaning their arms and accoutrements. On being dismissed, some angry and menacing exclamations were uttered.

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great exaggeration in the tales which had inspired the panic; and although some of the native officers and a few men of bad character had been active in aggravating the irritation caused by the general order, yet the majority of the men were innocent of any intention to commit violence. The dismissal of the incendiaries, and the revocation of the offensive orders, restored tranquillity, and no further indications of disaffection were displayed.

It was not to be expected that a ferment so violent, and a catastrophe so dreadful, should at once have passed over and been forgotten; and, accordingly, some months elapsed before confidence and security were restored. The Sipahis were slow to credit the sincerity of the Government, and, still suspecting its having entertained sinister designs, attributed their frustration to the mutiny at Vellore; they therefore looked upon those who had fallen in the recapture of the fortress as martyrs for their faith, and in some places secretly solemnised their funeral obsequies. This was the case at Nandidrúg, where part of the 18th N. I., a regiment raised in Mysore, was stationed; and, consequent upon the excitement thus occasioned, some wild and mischievous excesses were in contemplation: timely precautions prevented their commission, and, upon the discharge of some of those most deeply implicated, the rest expressed their contrition, and the agitation subsided. In truth, much of the excitement that prevailed during the latter months of 1806 was the work of the officers themselves: passing from one extreme to the other, they exchanged the supineness of security for the restlessness of

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suspicion, credulously listened to every whisper of insurrection, trembled at every idle tale of intended tumult and massacre, and kept both themselves and their men in a constant fever of aimless apprehension. The tranquillising operation of time, the repeated injunctions of both the local Government and that of Bengal to the officers to abstain from all manifestations of distrust, and the strongest assurances published to the troops that the British Government would ever respect their religious creeds, gradually allayed anxiety and re-established trust.[1]

Upon considering, therefore, the utter improbability of any combined co-operation of the Mohammedan princes of the Dekhin with the sons of Tippoo, the absence of all proof of its existence, the extension of the discontent to places where no political influence in their favour could have been exerted, the prevalence of disaffection among the Hindus as well as the Mohammedans, and, finally, admitting the entire adequacy of the cause to the effect, there can be no reason to seek for any other origin of the mutiny than dread of religious change inspired by the military orders. Here, however, in fairness to the question of the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity, the nature of the panic which spread amongst the Sipahis requires to be candidly appreciated. It is a great error to suppose that the people of India are so sensitive upon the subject of their religion, either Hindu or Mohammedan, as to suffer no approach of controversy, or to encounter

[1] "The panic wore away, the Sepoys forgot their fears of an attack upon their religion, and the officers no longer slept with pistols under their pillows."— Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, p. 40. For the Government proclamation see Appendix.

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adverse opinions with no other arguments than insurrection and murder. On the contrary, great latitude of belief and practice has always prevailed amongst them, and especially amongst the troops, in whose ranks will be found seceders of various denominations from the orthodox systems. It was not, therefore, the dissemination of Christian doctrines that excited the angry apprehensions of the Sipahis on the melancholy occasion which has called for these observations, nor does it appear that any unusual activity in the propagation of those doctrines was exercised by Christian missionaries at the period of its occurrence. It was not conversion which the troops dreaded, it was compulsion; it was not the reasoning or the persuasion of the missionary which they feared, but the arbitrary interposition of authority. They believed, of course erroneously, that the Government was about to compel them to become Christians, and they resisted compulsory conversion by violence and bloodshed.[1] The lesson is one of great seriousness, and should never be lost sight of as long as the relative position of the

[1] The opinion that the Government had some such project in view was not confined to the Sipahis. Mir Alem, the veteran minister of the Nizam, and, as has been seen, the staunch friend of the English, expressed his surprise that the British Government should think it just or safe to compel the troops to wear the semblance of Christians; and a like astonishment was manifested by the ministers of Nagpur.—Letters from the Residents; MS. Records. Of the universality of the feeling, there is also published an impartial testimony. Purnia, the Dewan of Mysore, gave it as his opinion that the Hindus were more alarmed and dissatisfied than the Mohammedans.—Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, 45. And Sir Thomas Munro writes: "However strange it may appear to Europeans, I know that the general opinion of the most intelligent natives in this part of the country is, that it was intended to make the Sepoys Christians."—Letter to Lord W. Bentinck, 11th August, 1806. This letter also shows, that, in a part of the Peninsula where the adherents of the family of Hyder were most numerous, there were no reasons for believing that any intrigues had been at work in their favour.—Life of Sir T. Munro, i. 363.

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British Government and its Indian subjects remains unaltered. It is not enough that the authority of the ruling power should never interpose in matters of religious belief, it should carefully avoid furnishing grounds of suspicion that it intends to interfere.

A subject of minor importance, but one that was agitated with no less vehemence, divided the chief civil and military functionaries at Madras; each endeavouring to get rid of the responsibility of having issued the obnoxious orders. Sir John Cradock urged in his defence that he had acted by the advice of his official military counsellors, the Adjutant-General and Deputy Quarter-Master-General, officers of experience and well acquainted with the temper and character of the native troops, who had seen nothing unusual or exceptionable in the proposed arrangements; and that, before the orders were embodied in the code, they had been submitted to the Governor in Council, and had received his sanction. To this Lord W. Bentinck replied, that it could not be expected that he or the members of Council were to read and comment upon every article of a voluminous code of military regulations compiled under the instructions of the Commander-in-chief, and for which he was responsible; that accordingly they sanctioned the regulations as a matter of form, examining those only which were designated as novel, and passing over those to which their attention was not directed as innovations upon established practice. In this manner they were not aware of the order regarding the marks of sect, and the trimming of the mustachios; although they did notice and authorise the

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alteration of the turbans. The Governor of Madras seems to make light of the latter, and attaches most importance to the former; but certainly the shape of the turbans was the most immediate cause of the dissatisfaction of the soldiers, and Lord William Bentinck was as decidedly bent upon insisting on its adoption as was Sir John Cradock. Not only had he declared his determination to enforce obedience to the order, on occasion of the dislike expressed to it in May by the second battalion of the 4th; but late in June, when the Commander-in-chief began to apprehend evil consequences from the measure, and solicited the advice and authority of the Governor in Council, in order to be relieved from the anxiety and embarrassment under which he laboured in consequence of information he had received from several moderate and discreet officers of the almost universal objection which prevailed against the new turban; his willingness to rescind the order was overruled; the Government repeated their conviction that the pattern of the turban did not militate against any religious prejudice, and declared that they could not assent to give way to clamour arising from unfounded prejudice. It was proposed to substitute for the rescission of the order a proclamation, which, while it announced the determination of the authorities to enforce obedience, disclaimed all purpose of religious interference; but in the mean time information of a different tenor from the preceding having reached Sir J. Cradock, he was led to believe that the dissatisfaction had subsided, and that the proclamation was unnecessary. It would have been, no doubt, of little avail, as it ex-

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pressed the obstinacy of the authorities in persisting in the offensive innovation; but the inaccuracy of the intelligence which suspended its publication was presently afterwards demonstrated by actual occurrences, and a proclamation of a different purport was put forth. The reference of the Commander-in-chief, and the manner in which it was received, are decisive of the degree of responsibility which attaches to the local Government; and however injudicious may have been the conduct of Sir John Cradock in originating measures pregnant with such serious mischief, and however averse he may have been to acknowledge his error, the course pursued by Lord William Bentinck evinced an equal blindness to the consequences of the act, a still greater degree of inflexibility in its enforcement, and a similar ignorance and disregard of the feelings and prejudices of the native army. The spirit by which both functionaries were animated was the same—military absolutism,—a principle which, however just and necessary in the abstract, requires to be applied to practice with caution and judgment, and not without due consideration for the circumstances which may call for its exercise, the feelings which it may embitter, or the consequences which it may provoke.[1] Herein consisted the error

[1] That the same unbending rigour of discipline which may be necessary in the management of European soldiers, is not needed, or is injurious as applied to natives, we have had the testimony of competent judges: one of the latest, and not the least worthy of credit, says, "We are apt to fall into the error of measuring everything according to the standard of European discipline, forgetting the different characters of the native and the Englishman. There is an Asiatic sensitiveness and propriety in the conduct of the Sepoy, which renders the roughness and severity with which we treat English soldiers offensive and unnecessary towards him."—Relations of the British Government and Native States, by J. Sutherland,

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of both Sir J. Cradock and Lord W. Bentinck, that they excluded every other view but that of military subordination.[1] The Court of Directors considered their conduct equally unsatisfactory: they were accordingly recalled; and although at a subsequent period, and upon a calmer review of the transaction, they acquitted Lord W. Bentinck and Sir John Cradock of a wanton or needless violation of the religious usages of the natives, yet they retained their opinion that those officers had been defective in not examining with greater caution and care into the real sentiments and dispositions of the Sipahis before they proceeded to enforce the orders for the turban. This decision seems to be fully justified by a dispassionate survey of the transaction. A careful and considerate investigation of the objections to the turban, which were advanced by the Sipahis in May, would in all likelihood have prevented the mutiny of July.

Captain 3rd Bombay Cavalry, p. 10. It seems extraordinary, that, after so many years' experience, the character of the native army should be imperfectly understood, but recent events have shown that it is not even yet accurately appreciated by the Indian Government.

[1] On receiving advice of the repugnance of the 4th regiment, Sir J. Cradock wrote to Colonel Fancourt to direct that those men whom the colonel had placed in confinement should be sent to Madras for trial, and that the non-commissioned officers of the 4th who had declined to wear the turban, and the commissioned officers, should immediately make it up and wear it, on pain of dismission from the service. The officer commanding the 19th dragoons was ordered to march, if required by Colonel Fancourt, to Vellore, to assist in enforcing obedience. The Commander-in-chief would not admit of hesitation to the orders he had given.—Letter from the Commander-in-chief, 7th May; Memorial of Lord W. Bentinck, p. 92. Lord W. Bentinck justly observes of this letter, that military command never was expressed in higher or more imperious language. His own was something like it. "The opposition which has been experienced in the late change of turbans is destitute of any foundation in the law or usage of the Mohammedan or Hindu religion, and any persons who may persevere in that opposition cannot, in consequence, fail to be subjected to the severest penalties of military discipline."—G. O. by Government, 4th July; Memorial, p. 94.

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It will now be convenient to advert to the proceedings which during this period took place in Great Britain relating to the administration of the affairs of the Indian empire.

CHAPTER III.

Proceedings in England.—Refusal of the Directors to concur in the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale as Governor-General. — Sir George Barlow recalled by the King's sign-manual.—Discussions in Parliament and with the Board of Controul.—Lord Minto appointed Governor-General.—Proceedings in the House of Commons.—Impeachment of Lord Wellesley by Mr. Paull.—Papers moved for.—Charges relating to the Nawab of Oude.—Nawab of Furruckabad.—Zemindar of Sasnee and others.—Proceedings interrupted by dissolution of Parliament.—Renewed by Lord Folkestone.—Impeachment abandoned.— Condemnatory Resolutions negatived. — Merits of the Oude question.—Motion for an Inquiry into the Assumption of the Carnatic negatived.—Censure of Lord Wellesley's Policy by the Court of Proprietors.—Appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons.— Diminished Import Trade of the Company.

CHAP. III. 1806.

THE embarrassed state of the finances of the East India Company, attributed to the ambition and ex-

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travagance of Marquis Wellesley, and the countenance which he had shown to the extension of the private trade, and consequent encroachment on the Company's commercial privileges, had excited a strong feeling of hostility to that nobleman's administration in the Court of Directors, which awakened a corresponding sentiment in the majority of the proprietary body. Weakened in political influence by the secession of many of his adherents, disheartened by the gloomy aspect of affairs in Europe, and broken in physical strength, Mr. Pitt was not inclined to support the measures of Lord Wellesley in opposition to the views which were entertained at the India House; and although he resisted, through the Board of Controul, the expression of the Court's disapprobation, yet he consented to give it full effect by the appointment of Lord Cornwallis, a nobleman of different character and principles. The death of that nobleman threatened to frustrate the purposes of his nomination; but the zeal with which his intentions were carried out by Sir G. Barlow, upon his assuming the government, forcibly recommended to the Court his continuance as Governor-General. They were at first allowed to hope that their wish would be complied with: but they were speedily disappointed, under circumstances which, as involving questions of some importance, merit to be detailed.

Information of the death of Marquis Cornwallis arrived in England at the end of January, 1806, upon the eve of the total change of Ministers which followed the demise of Mr. Pitt. A proposal to pay a public tribute of respect to the memory of Lord

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Cornwallis was one of the last measures of the retiring Administration: it was readily acceded to by their opponents, and it was resolved that his statue should be erected in St. Paul's cathedral.[1] The East India Company voted a grant to his heir of £40,000. The appointment of a successor devolved on the new Ministers, amongst whom Lord Minto was charged with the superintendence of Indian affairs as President of the Board of Controul; and by him a communication was made on the 14th of February to the Court of Directors, conveying his impression of the importance, in the actual state of affairs in India, of investing Sir G. Barlow without delay with the fullest powers, and recommending that he should be at once formally appointed Governor-General of India. The recommendation was immediately complied with, and the commission was made out and signed on the 25th of February. It was therefore with no small degree of astonishment that only ten days afterwards, on the 7th of March, the Court was apprised that Ministers had determined to supersede Sir G. Barlow in favour of the Earl of Lauderdale. It was in vain that the Directors remonstrated against so abrupt a change of determination, and urged the advantages of adhering to the original arrangement; until, finding that their remonstrances and arguments were ineffectual, they positively refused to cancel the appointment. The Ministry retaliated by a warrant under the King's sign-manual recalling Sir G. Barlow; and the Court was finally compelled to agree to a compromise, by which the Earl of Lauderdale

[1] Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd February, 1806.

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ostensibly declined the acceptance of the office, and Lord Minto was nominated Governor-General.

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The difference which had thus arisen between the Directors and the Ministers afforded to the parliamentary adversaries of the latter a reasonable pretext for animadversions upon their conduct; and, in the House of Lords, Viscount Melville moved for copies of the correspondence which had taken place between the Court of Directors and the Board of Controul.[1] The course pursued by the Administration was vindicated by Lord Grenville, and the motion was negatived without a division.

In the correspondence with the Board, as well as in the debate in the House of Lords, it was manifest that there were two main points of difference between the contending parties; one of a private, one of a public nature. No exceptions to the Earl of Lauderdale were openly advanced by the Court; but, besides the preference of the individual in the instance of Sir G. Barlow, there is no doubt that the Earl of Lauderdale's known opinions in favour of free trade and popular government rendered him unacceptable to many of the members of the Direction.[2] On the other hand, although Ministers were profuse in their professions of the high sense which they entertained of the merits of Sir G. Barlow, yet his line of policy was not in accordance with the views of the leading members of the Cabinet; Lord

[1] Parl. Debates, 8th July, 1806.

[2] Lord Lauderdale was a zealous supporter of Mr. Fox's India Bill, and an opposer of the Company's privileges. In politics his opinions were extreme, and led him to advocate the principles of the French Revolution. He made himself conspicuous in the House of Lords by affecting a costume supposed to characterise Jacobinism.—Obituary notice, Gentleman's Magazine, 1839.

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Grenville declaring, that the grounds on which he was ready to admit those merits being Sir G. Barlow's zealous concurrence and effective co-operation in the measures and in the system of Marquis Wellesley, whose government was, in his opinion, the most splendid and glorious that India had ever known. The adoption of a totally opposite system by Sir G. Barlow must consequently have been utterly incompatible with his appointment to the office of Governor-General, in Lord Grenville's estimation. At the same time, the Directors complained with good reason of the inconsistency of the Cabinet in precipitately revoking an appointment which they had recommended, chiefly upon the grounds that it was necessary to arm Sir G. Barlow without delay with full authority to adjust and settle the various important matters which had been left undetermined or doubtful by the death of his predecessor. Intimation of his appointment would be so immediately followed by that of his supersession, that it was impossible he could have derived any additional power or consideration from an elevation so fleeting and delusive, or that in the interval he could have adjusted and settled any doubtful measures of public importance. Lord Minto maintained that he had distinctly apprised the Court that the arrangement was to be regarded as merely temporary, until there should be more leisure to give it that deliberation which its importance demanded. His letter, however, expressly stated that there was no intention of making any immediate change; and the Court, naturally inferring that a much longer period than that of ten

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days was contemplated, resented the suddenness of the alteration as indecorous towards themselves, and unfair and unjust towards Sir G. Barlow. Intended disrespect to the Court was of course disclaimed; and, in recognition of the admitted value of Sir G. Barlow's services, a hope was expressed that he would continue to be a member of the Supreme Council. The change of appointment was persisted in. It was evident that the first announcement of the purposes of the Ministry was premature, and that either Lord Minto had acted without consulting his colleagues, or that, in the novel position of the party to which he was attached, they had not been fully aware of the value of the patronage, or of the necessity of securing, by means of it, parliamentary support.[1]

A question of greater magnitude than the relative fitness of individuals was involved in the dispute, and the result awoke the Directors to the first distinct perception of the virtual power of the Crown to dispose at pleasure of the highest offices in India. It had been hitherto argued, that the clause in the act of 1784[2]—Mr. Pitt's bill—which gave to the Crown authority to recall any of the Company's servants, civil or military, and to compel them to vacate whatever situations they might hold, was intended only to prevent any improper abuse of the patronage of the Court, by enforcing the return of persons whom the partiality of friends in the Direc-

[1] Mr. Fox admitted that the appointment of Sir G. Barlow was made before the Administration was fully formed.—Parl. Deb. 10th March, 1806.

[2] 24 Geo. III. cap. 25, sec. 22.

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tion, or the vehemence of partisans in the Court of Proprietors, might uphold in office, in spite of notorious incompetency or misconduct. In such an extreme case the Crown was empowered by the act to interpose, but in no other; for the same act had vested the appointment of their servants in India exclusively in the Directors; and, although they had been in the habit of communicating with his Majesty's Ministers, in order to preserve that good understanding which was essential to the conduct of public affairs, yet they denied that they had thereby relinquished a chartered right. "If," they enquired, "the removal of a high public functionary in India were to be combined with the appointment of a particular successor nominated by the King's Ministers, and the choice of the Court were confined to that person alone, then would not the absolute appointment to the important situations of Governor-General, or Governor of the subordinate Presidencies, devolve in fact upon the Crown?" The same arguments were repeated by Lord Melville. He affirmed, that it was alike the intention of the Legislature and the sense of the public, in the act of 1784, that the Court of Directors should continue to enjoy, without interference, the patronage of India; and that the clause which gave to the Crown the power of recall could not be fairly construed as a transfer of the patronage, by enabling the Crown to negative appointments made by the Court: and he appealed to the recollection of Lord Grenville to bear him out in his understanding of the spirit of the act, in conformity to which alone its provisions should be interpreted. In his reply to the Court,

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Lord Minto confined himself to the question of right; admitting that of the Court to appoint, asserting that of the Crown to recall. Lord Grenville's answer to Lord Melville was, that laws were to be understood as they were expressed, and not according to the fancies or feelings of individuals; that the same objections which were now started had been made when the clause was enacted; and that it could not be contended, that, because the Crown had the power of negativing an appointment, it followed that the whole of the appointments in India fell under the controul of his Majesty's Ministers. He granted, that, if it could be shown that the power had been exercised in the present instance merely for the purpose of procuring the appointment of a person whom Ministers wished to serve, it would be a violation of the law; but, although he denied that the measure originated in favour to Lord Lauderdale, he refused to assign any motives for the removal of Sir G. Barlow. He also denied that his removal was founded upon any systematic exclusion of the Company's servants from places of the highest authority in India; and observed, that such an insinuation came with a peculiarly ill grace from the members of the late Administration, who had exercised their patronage upon the same principle, and had sent out Marquis Wellesley, Marquis Cornwallis, and other noblemen to India. Lord Minto replied in a similar strain to a like representation from the Court of the injustice done to their civil servants by their exclusion from the chief dignities in India; and observed, that no disadvantage had resulted from the nomina-

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tion to the first stations in that country of persons who possessed rank and influence in Great Britain.[1] He further remarked, that it was indispensable that the Government at home should have at the head of affairs in India an individual in whom they could implicitly confide, and of whose views they could feel assured: a principle which, the Court justly observed, might make the Governor-General the mere creature of a party, taking and leaving office with every change of Ministry, and regulating his proceedings in India less by a disinterested regard for the prosperity of that country, than by anxiety for the retention of power and place by his colleagues in England; and they maintained, with unanswerable justice, that the Governor-General of

[1] The absolute exclusion of the Company's servants from the highest offices in India was never advocated; it was only asserted, that, with regard to the appointment of Governor-General, advantage had resulted from the preference of persons of exalted station in Great Britain,—a proposition to which few of the Company's servants would hesitate to accede. With respect not only to the office of Governor-General, but to those of subordinate Governors, one of the most distinguished and respected of the Civil servants of the Company, the late Mr. Edmonstone, has left on record sentiments to which all who seek the real good of India will be inclined to subscribe. While admitting that there may be, and have been, splendid exceptions, Mr. Edmonstone observes, "My opinion has always been generally adverse to selecting the Governors from among those who have belonged to the service, because I think, that, with very few exceptions, an individual who has passed through the several gradations of the public service, and has consequently been known in the lowest as well as the highest grades, cannot assume that tone of superiority, nor exercise that degree of influence and controul, and attract that degree of deference and respect, which, in my judgment, contribute importantly to the efficient administration of the office of Governor, as regards both the European and native population. A person of eminence and distinction proceeding from England to fill that office, if duly qualified by character and talent, carries with him a greater degree of influence, and inspires more respect, than an individual who has been known in a subordinate capacity in India can usually command."—Evidence, Commons' Committee, 1832; Public Question 1701. There are other obvious advantages from the appointment of a person of rank and connexion to the office of Governor-General in particular, that more than compensate for any want of stimulus to exertion which the possibility of attaining so elevated a station might be thought to afford to the servants of the Company.

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India ought to be unfettered by party and Ministerial obligations. The qualification of partisanship for the office of Governor-General of India, although first avowed by the Whigs, is too congenial to the selfishness of that party spirit which governs the national councils of Great Britain to want advocates amongst their opponents also; but it may be stated, in justice to those who succeeded to the short-lived Administration of 1806, that the principle did not regulate their practice. Lord Minto, although selected from the ranks of their adversaries, was allowed to remain undisturbed in the discharge of his Indian duties until he was superseded by the Court of Directors.

The discussion that thus arose was not without ulterior consequences. Whatever were the ostensible motives of the disputants, however veiled by sophistical reasoning or unmeaning professions, there is no doubt that patronage was the prey contended for, and that which the original clause of the act of 1784 was intended unavowedly to appropriate. The true import of that clause was now brought to the test, and its meaning was proved to be the nomination of the Governor-General by his Majesty's Ministers. It had been proposed to effect this object in a conciliatory manner, by leaving the appointment with the Court of Directors, subject only to its contingent annulment by the Board through the power of recall: but, as on this occasion the Court manifested a disposition to assert a voice potential in the designation of a successor to the Marquis Cornwallis, the intimation was not disregarded; and, on the first subsequent opportunity for the re-

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newal of the charter, a clause was inserted[1] more distinctly enunciatory of the power of the Crown, by which the appointments to the offices of Governor-General, Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Commander-in-chief, which were made by the Directors, were declared thenceforth subject to royal approbation. The patronage has been since exercised upon this arrangement; and, as the Court can appoint no persons save those of whom it has been previously ascertained that the Board approves, the nomination is virtually exercised by the Administration of the day.[2]

The attention of the House of Commons was called to other subjects connected with the Government of India; and many of its deliberations were devoted, with little advantage either to India or to Great Britain, to a futile attempt to impeach the late Governor-General, Marquis Wellesley.

Mr. James Paull had resided some years in the principality of Oude,[3] and had there carried on a lucrative traffic in the cotton manufactures of the country. His residence had necessarily the sanction of the British authorities; and, according to his own account, he enjoyed the favour of the Nawab

[1] 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, sec. 80.

[2] In the examination of Mr. Auber, the Secretary to the Court of Directors, before the Commons' Committee of 1832, the relative share of the Ministers and Directors in the patronage of the highest offices in India was a subject fully discussed. Mr. Auber contended stoutly for the power of the Directors, but was obliged to admit that no Governor-General or Commander-in-chief had ever been named by the Court of whom the Crown had disapproved, being in fact nominated upon a previous communication with the Board, while several instances of disapprobation of inferior appointments and their consequent annulment had occurred. The Directors in fact may be said to exercise a kind of selection, but it must be from individuals who they are assured will be acceptable to the Ministers.

[3] He is noticed as agent for one of the Nawab's creditors in 1796.

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until the period of a visit which he paid to England.[1] Upon his return, the Nawab strongly objected to his being again domiciled in Oude; but his objections were withdrawn in consequence of the intercession of the Governor-General,[2] and Mr. Paull repaired to Lucknow, "sensibly feeling the obligations he was under to his Excellency, for whom he had only sentiments of gratitude and profound respect."[3] These sentiments were short-lived. Mr. Paull, soon after Lord Wellesley's resignation, returned also to England: his first step was the purchase of a seat in the House of Commons; his second, the institution of charges against his former patron and benefactor.

In the prosecution of this purpose, Mr. Paull moved, on the 25th June, 1805, for the production of papers intended to illustrate the nature of the connexion established with the Government of Oude under the administration of Sir John Shore, and the changes it had undergone during that of Lord Wellesley; by which the Nawab, in defiance of justice, had been degraded and disgraced in the eyes of the world, and in the face of the most solemn treaties had been dispossessed of a territory which had a population of three millions of attached subjects, and yielded an annual revenue of nearly two millions sterling. Papers were also moved for, relating to the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley as Commissioner for the affairs of Oude;

[1] Private letter to Major Malcolm, Lucknow, 9th Feb., 1803; printed by Auber, History of India, ii. 387.

[2] Letter from Persian Secretary to the Nawab Vizir, 17th Sept., 1802.—Papers printed by order of Parliament, 17th July, 1806, No. 28.

[3] Correspondence printed by order of Parliament, 16th June, 1806, No. 20.

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which appointment, he not being a servant of the East India Company, was in defiance of an act of parliament and a violation of the law. No opposition was made to the production of the papers; and subsequently similar documents were granted relating to Lord Wellesley's treatment of the Raja of Bhurtpore, the Nawab of Surat, and the Nawab of Furruckabad. The first charge was submitted to the House on the 23rd of April, 1806.

The tone of the preliminary proceedings sufficiently indicated their eventual result. The individual who had undertaken to establish the criminality of Lord Wellesley was ill qualified for the task, even if he had been provided with more tenable grounds for his accusations. The intemperance of his language was not redeemed by any powers of eloquence, or extenuated by the nature of his facts, and argued more of personal malignity than public spirit:[1] he stood wholly unsupported in the House, even by the members of the Court of Directors who were present, and who in that character had concurred in the unqualified reprobation of many of those measures of the Governor-General which were now brought under Parliamentary investigation.[2] He was opposed by both the political

[1] He accused, in his charge with respect to Oude, Lord Wellesley and Mr. H. Wellesley of committing murder, when speaking of the employment of a military force against the refractory Zemindars in the Ceded districts; and, on a subsequent occasion, he calls upon the House to consider the situation of India, from the accursed day when Marquis Wellesley set foot there, until the day of his departure, during which interval it exhibited a constant scene of rapine, oppression, cruelty, and fraud which goaded the whole country into a state of revolt.—Hansard's Parl. Debates, 23rd May and 6th July, 1806.

[2] Mr. Thornton observed, that impeachment was a step much stronger than anything which he was prepared to think the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, improper as he esteemed it, could warrant him in adopting;

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parties in the Commons: by the one as participant of Lord Wellesley's measures; by the other on the principle that, although the system might be reprehensible, yet Parliamentary inquiry was neither necessary nor expedient.[1] And he derived no weight from popular interest, as it was engrossed by considerations of nearer and more vital importance.

The first charge brought forward, the prodigal expenditure of Lord Wellesley's government, took the House by surprise, as it was unconnected with any of the papers previously moved for. Even Mr. Fox felt it incumbent upon him to remark upon so irregular a course. He observed, that "the honourable member had not told the House what were the documents to be laid before it in support of the charge, nor when they were to be produced: he understood, in fact, that the mover had really no documents, although he had proposed a day for discussion; and if, when that day should arrive, he should be unprovided with means to substantiate his charge,

and Mr. Grant, although he certainly judged inquiry to be necessary, did not deem it advisable to proceed to impeachment.— Parl. Debates.

[1] The sentiments of Mr. Fox are worthy of note, from the difference of his language on this occasion and that which he used during the proceedings against Warren Hastings. He said, "He, and others who agreed with him, had no wish to disparage the proceeding, or to throw obstacles in the way; but, because he disapproved of a system of measures, it did not follow that it was to be remedied by impeaching the individual. He and his honourable friend (Mr. Francis) had a good deal of experience on the subject: this was certainly not a proper time for inquiry; he might disapprove of, and strongly oppose systems, but he would not always think it necessary to resort to inquiries. Impeachment was a bad mode of proceeding, except in particular cases; and certainly it was not advisable to adopt it with regard to a Governor-General of India merely on account of his system. He could not be said to desert a person whom he never encouraged; but, since the trial of Mr. Hastings, they might say if they pleased, he shrunk from all India impeachments, or flew from them, or any other worse term might be employed, if worse could be found. To this he would make no answer."—Parl. Debates, 13th April, 1806.

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he would find himself in a very awkward and unpleasant predicament." So ill concerted were Mr. Paull's proceedings, that, having moved that the charge be taken into consideration that day three weeks, the motion found no seconder. It was not until after some pause that Sir William Geary rose to second the motion; not, as he observed, from any conviction of the culpability of the accused, but because he thought that the dignity of the House required that the opportunity of proving charges of so grave a tenor should not be denied. The obvious necessity, however, of bringing forward written vouchers enforced an alteration. The motion was withdrawn, and, in its place, papers to show the relative expenditure of successive Indian administrations were moved for, and granted.

A tangible charge was at length elicited. Reverting to the treatment of the Nawab of Oude, and the appropriation of the Ceded districts, it was affirmed that in these proceedings Marquis Wellesley had violated subsisting treaties, and every principle of equity and right; had been regardless of his duty to the East India Company, his Sovereign, and his country; had contemned the Parliament, the King, and the laws; had dishonoured the British nation and name; and had in these respects been guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanours. A second charge was subsequently brought forward, accusing the Governor-General of having unjustly and violently compelled the Nawab of Furruckabad to give up his territory. Evidence was heard on the Oude charge, which closed on the 4th of July. On the 6th Lord Temple moved that

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the charge should be taken into consideration; but the motion was resisted on the plea of precipitancy, and, as further papers were requested, the discussion was postponed. On the following day a third charge was adduced, relative to the treatment of the Zemindar of Sasnee and other Zemindars.

The end of the session put a stop to these proceedings; and, upon the dissolution of Parliament which ensued, Mr. Paull, having canvassed unsuccessfully the borough of Westminster, ceased to be a member of the House of Commons. The attack upon Lord Wellesley, however, was not abandoned: it was resumed by Lord Folkestone, but was urged in a more temperate strain, and for a different object; all purpose of impeachment being disavowed. A series of resolutions was proposed, condemnatory of the demands made upon the Nawab of Oude, in breach of the treaty of 1798, and the consequent sequestration of a considerable part of his dominions; but, after a prolonged discussion, the resolutions were rejected by a considerable majority. It was then moved by Sir John Anstruther, and carried by a majority equally numerous, that the Marquis of Wellesley, in executing the late arrangements in Oude, was actuated by an ardent zeal for the public service, and by the desire of providing more effectually for the prosperity, the defence, and the safety of the British possessions in India.

The character of the measures which were thus subjected to Parliamentary investigation has been explained in a preceding volume.[1] It is, therefore, unnecessary to do more in this place than to advert

[1] Mill, vol. vi. 193.

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briefly to the principal arguments, which, amidst much irrelevant matter, were urged by either party. By those who sought to obtain a vote of censure on the Marquis it was maintained, that the Nawab of Oude was an independent prince, with whom, in that capacity, treaties had been contracted: that a treaty had been recently concluded with him (in 1798), by which his authority over his household, his troops, and his subjects, had been recognised; and an amount of subsidy, fully adequate to the expense of the largest force ever raised for the defence of Oude, had been exacted from him: that the Nawab had punctually discharged all demands arising out of this stipulation; and that there was nothing in his domestic circumstances and conduct, or in the aspect of foreign affairs, which called for so violent a measure as that of compelling him to convert a money payment into a territorial concession, and to give up half of his dominions, in order to secure the fulfilment of his pecuniary obligations: that the demand had been submitted to by the Nawab solely through his conscious inability to resist it; and that the injustice thus inflicted upon a native prince, the ally and friend of the Company, was calculated to bring discredit on the British name throughout India: that the acquisition of territory thus obtained was in opposition to the sentiments of the Court of Directors as expressed in a dispatch signed by them all, with one only exception; and was a violation of the declared sense of Parliament, which had expressly denounced territorial extension in India as contrary to the honour and wishes of the nation.

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In opposition to these assertions it was affirmed, that the Nawab of Oude was not entitled to be regarded as an independent sovereign; the military defence of his territories having devolved upon the British from their first connexion with Oude, and their interposition in its internal government having been repeatedly exercised. The reigning prince was in fact indebted to that interposition for the rank he held; his predecessor, Vizir Ali, having been deposed, and himself placed on the throne, by the Governor-General. That the treaty of 1798 had reference to the actual position of the Nawab, but did not preclude interference whenever circumstances should urgently call for it. That subsequently circumstances had occurred which demanded strong measures, the Nawab having intimated his apprehensions that the impoverished and declining resources of his principality would not long suffice to pay the stipulated subsidy: that such a failure was to be anticipated from the maladministration of the Nawab, and his inability to maintain subordination and realise his revenues: that, while the means of keeping up an effective subsidiary force were likely to be thus deficient, the necessity of augmenting its strength had been rendered imperative; first, by the absence of adequate provision for internal defence; and secondly, by the imminence of external danger. The troops of the Nawab were a disorderly and disaffected body, a source rather of peril than of safety, whose reduction was highly advantageous to the state. Repeated menaces of invasion had been put forth by Zeman Shah, the ruler of the Afghans; and the

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1807. presence of Sindhia's disciplined brigades under French officers upon the frontiers of Oude menaced the integrity of the principality, and imperiously enjoined defensive preparations. Under these emergencies, the annexation to the British Indian empire of the districts in the Doab which were most exposed to foreign aggression was indispensably necessary for the security of both the protected and protecting power.

It cannot be denied that the political interests of the British Government strongly recommended the appropriation of the Ceded provinces. Continued punctuality in the payment of the subsidy was an evident impossibility, from the diminishing resources of the Nawab; and the subsidiary force must have been reduced or disbanded, or kept up at the Company's cost. The condition of the districts in the Doab was also a subject of uneasiness, as, in the event of a collision with the Mahrattas, the movements of the British armies would have been embarrassed by the necessity of holding in check a disorganised and turbulent population. The readiest method of preventing such results was the establishment of the British authority in the territories in question, the maintenance of order, and the application of the revenues to the payment of the subsidiary force. That the measure, whilst it strengthened the British Government, would be conducive to the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the country, was to be anticipated; and upon these grounds the appropriation was susceptible of vindication: but that it consulted the dignity and power of the Nawab, or could be acceptable to his

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feelings, it was absurd to pretend. He was helpless, and he acquiesced; but he was not so blind to his own interests as to be deceived by the specious plausibility with which the mutilation of his authority was pressed upon him; and there can be little doubt that the feeble efforts made in England to procure him redress had their origin in the fallacious hopes which he had been led to entertain of the reversal of the sentence of spoliation by the justice of the British Parliament.

Notwithstanding the victory gained by the friends of Marquis Wellesley on this occasion, the ordeal which he had to undergo was yet incomplete. The minor charges relating to the Nawab of Furruckabad and the Zemindar of Sasnee were disposed of with the Oude charge, and no further notice was taken of the case of the Nawab of Surat. The charge of prodigal expenditure was also abandoned; as it had all along been admitted that the personal integrity of the late Governor-General was unimpeachable, and that his profusion was exclusively instigated by considerations of public credit or advantage. There remained, however, a topic which had been formerly brought forward by Mr. Sheridan, —the treatment of the Nawab of Arcot. He had moved for papers relating to the inquiry in December, 1802, but had then allowed the matter to drop. He still declined to renew its agitation, but he declared himself prepared to support any member who should introduce the question. Accordingly, on the 17th May, 1808, after an interval of five years and a half, Sir Thomas Turton moved a series of six resolutions, as grounds for the appointment of

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a committee to inquire into the assumption of the Carnatic. After an adjourned debate, the resolutions were rejected; and it was moved and carried, that it was the opinion of the House that the Marquis Wellesley and Lord Powis, in their conduct relative to the Carnatic, appeared to have been influenced solely by motives of anxious zeal and solicitude for the permanent security, welfare, and prosperity of the British possessions in India.[1] Thus ended the discussions in Parliament respecting Lord Wellesley's administration; having had no other effect than that of excluding him from a share in the administration of affairs at home, when his co-operation would have been of value to Ministers and to the country.

A very different result attended the proceedings of the Court of Proprietors. In May, 1806, a motion was there made for the production of the correspondence that had taken place with the Board of Controul on the subject of the late wars in India; the main object being to confirm the condemnation of many of Lord Wellesley's measures which had been expressed by the Court of Directors in the draft of a letter to Bengal, the dispatch of which had been arrested by the Board of Controul. The documents having been printed,[2] a motion was made at a subsequent meeting, that "this Court, having considered the papers laid before it, most highly approve of the zeal manifested and the conduct pursued by the Court of Directors, and regard a firm adherence to the principles maintained by the

[1] The numbers were, for the motion 98, against it 19; majority 79.

[2] Papers printed for the use of the Proprietors, 7th May, 1806.

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Court to be indispensably necessary to preserve the salutary authority over the government of India vested by law in the Court of Directors, to restrain a profuse expenditure of the public money, and to prevent all schemes of conquest and extension of dominion,—measures which the Legislature had declared to be repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation; and this Court do assure the Court of Directors of their most cordial and zealous support, with a view to preserve unimpaired the rights and privileges of the East India Company." After a debate of some length the resolution was submitted to decision by ballot, when a very large majority of the Proprietors expressed their concurrence in the views of the Directors.[1] It will not fall within the limits of this work to describe the proceedings of the Company at a date long subsequent; but it deserves to be noticed, as a remarkable instance of the inconsistency of public bodies, that, thirty years afterwards, the resolution, now so numerously and strenuously supported, was virtually negatived by the unanimous determination of the same Court of Proprietors to make a pecuniary grant to Lord Wellesley in recompense of his great services to the Company, and to erect his statue in the Court-room;[2] thus testifying their approbation of the general policy of his administration, and consequently of the principles of subsidiary alliances and territorial aggrandisement.

[1] The numbers were, in favour of the resolution 928, against it 195. Seven hundred and thirty-three Proprietors recorded their condemnation of Lord Wellesley's policy.— Asiatic Annual Register, 1806; Proceedings, India House.

[2] Asiatic Journal; Proceedings at the India House, 1st November, 1837, and 17th March, 1841.

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1808. The only other proceedings of importance at home affecting the Company's interests were partly of a financial character, and partly preliminary to the discussion of a question the determination of which was now not very remote,—the renewal of the charter, which expired in 1813. On the 11th of March, 1808, Mr. Dundas moved the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the present state of the affairs of the East India Company. A committee was appointed accordingly; and to it was referred a petition submitted by the Company, praying that 1,200,000*l.* due to the Company by the Government might be repaid, and a like sum be advanced by way of loan, to enable the Company to provide for the deficiencies of their commercial resources, which had been occasioned by continued remittances of goods and bullion to India, and the suspension of investments in return, in consequence of the political circumstances of India, and the pecuniary wants of the Government of that country. On the 13th of June the report of the committee was presented, admitting a considerable balance to be due to the India Company by his Majesty's Government; and it was accordingly resolved that a sum not exceeding 1,500,000*l.* should be paid to the Company.

It was at the same time shown that a principal source of the diminished profits of the Company's commerce arose from the rapidly decreasing value of their imports, owing to the failing demand for one of those articles which they had hitherto, in great part, successfully inclosed against the trespassing of private trade. The improved and im-

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proving cotton manufactures of England were beginning to exercise a sensible effect upon the similar products of Indian industry; and the import value of Piece-goods, which had hitherto formed a main item in the commerce of the Company, had fallen during the last ten years to one-sixth of its amount at the commencement of the term,—from nearly three millions sterling to less than half a million.[1]

[1] Imports, Piece-goods.

	1798-9.	1807-8.
From Bengal	£1,219,828	260,262
Coast	1,560,470	136,177
Anjengo	193,202	36,381
	£2,993,490	£432,820

Report of Select Committee, No. 1, printed by order of the House of Commons, 12th May, 1810.

The trade in piece-goods was deemed of such importance at the renewal of the charter in 1793, that it was stated by the Committee of Correspondence, that without it the Company could not liquidate their political debts, still less furnish the means of participation to the public to the extent which was proposed.—Resolution 8th, April 1st, 1793.

CHAPTER IV.

Lord Minto Governor-General.—Sir G. Barlow Governor of Fort St. George.—Character and Policy of the Governor-General.—Determination to establish Order in Bundelkhand.—Description of the Hilly district of the province.—Colonel Martindell sent against Ajaygerh.—Affair of Rajaoli.—Ajaygerh surrendered. — Lakshman Dawa sets off to Calcutta,—leaves it again suddenly.—His Family put to death by his Father-in-law. — Operations

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against Gopal Sing.—Nature of his Incursions.—His submission.—Storm of Kalinjar,—repulsed.—Fortress surrendered.—Treaties with the Raja of Rewa.—Settlement of Hariana.—The Sikh Chiefs east of the Setlej taken under protection.—Treaty with Ranjit Sing.—Embassy to Peshawar.—Revolutions of Afghanistan.—Disastrous Life of Shah Shuja.—Return of the Embassy.—Mission to Sindh.—Revolutions in the Government of that country.—Failure of Negociation.—Intercourse between France and Persia.—Ill-concerted measures of the British Authorities.—Sir Harford Jones sent as Ambassador from England,—Sir John Malcolm from India.—Unsatisfactory result of the latter Mission.—Return of the Envoy.—A Military Expedition to the Gulph projected by the Bengal Government.—Sir Harford Jones departs from Bombay,—proceeds to Shiraz.—Prosecution of the Mission prohibited.—He perseveres,—reaches Tehran,—concludes a preliminary Treaty.—Disavowed by the Indian Government.—The Treaty confirmed.—Diplomatic relations with Persia taken under the management of the British Ministry.—Sir Gore Ouseley Ambassador.—Definitive Treaty concluded,—productive of little advantage.

BOOK I. CHAP. IV.

1807.

THE nobleman on whom the government of India now devolved had been long engaged in public life, and had been for many years an active member of Parliament. Connected with the Whigs in political principle, and the personal friend of some of their great leaders, Sir Gilbert Elliot had been chosen as one of the managers for the Com-

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mons in the trial of Warren Hastings, and to him had been intrusted the conducting of the proposed impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey.[1] The knowledge he had thus acquired of Indian affairs recommended him, upon the accession of his friends to power, to the office of President of the Board of Controul; and, when it was found impossible to overcome the repugnance of the Court of Directors to the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale, he was readily acknowledged by both parties as eligible for the situation of Governor-General of India. Lord Minto was accordingly appointed. He left England in the Modeste frigate, and arrived at Madras on the 20th June, 1807. There, as has been noticed, he stayed a short time to assist in determining the final disposal of the Vellore prisoners, and, resuming his voyage, reached Calcutta on the 3rd July. Lord William Bentinck having at the same time been recalled, Sir George Barlow was nominated Governor of Fort St. George, and repaired thither in December of the same year.

The sentiments which had been expressed at home, both by the Ministry and the Court of Directors, adverse to the system of policy followed by Lord Wellesley, necessarily imposed upon Lord Minto the obligation of adopting principles of a less ambitious tenor, and of pursuing the measures which had been instituted by Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow for the retrenchment of public expenditure and the preservation of external tranquillity. The general tone of the new Administration was, therefore, moderate and pacific; and the

[1] See vol. v. of Mill's History, p. 83.

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character of the Governor-General, delighting in the milder glories of internal prosperity, the amenities of domestic society, and the cultivation of literature and the arts, accorded with the spirit in which it was expected that his government should be carried on. At the same time, Lord Minto was not of a disposition to shrink from expense or exertion when they were recommended or required by the interests of the state over which he ruled; and various important transactions, arising out of Indian and of European politics, signalised his career, and exhibited not unfrequent departures from the policy of imperturbable forbearance and scrupulous non-interference which had been followed by his predecessors.

The enforcement of submission to authority, and the final establishment of order in the provinces recently annexed to the British territories, were among the first objects of the Governor-General's attention. The avoidance of interference in the quarrels of the petty Rajas of Bundelkhand, and the attempt to secure their allegiance and good-will by conciliatory means, had entirely failed. The impunity with which some of the most notorious patrons of the bands of free-booters, by whom the province was overrun, were suffered to retain possession of the districts they had usurped, served only to perpetuate depredation; and the uncontrouled liberty which had been left to the Rajas, of asserting by arms their own real or pretended rights to each other's lands, was productive of interminable disputes, and a disorganising repetition of internal warfare. It was obviously necessary, if it was worth while to retain the province, to adopt

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a different mode of governing it; and a change of measures was resolved on. It was officially announced that the submission which milder means had failed to introduce should be established by force, and that the Government would compel, where necessary, obedience to its commands. The promulgation of these designs went far to effect their fulfilment. The Rajas who had hitherto believed that the interposition of the British Agent would be limited to advice only, which they had therefore ventured to treat with utter disregard, hastened, when they found that something more than mere advice was seriously contemplated, to refer their disputes to the decision of the superior authority; and lands and villages, long and fiercely contested, were awarded to those to whom it appeared upon investigation that they rightfully belonged, in most cases without any necessity for compulsive measures. It was not found possible, however, to exterminate the banditti who roamed through the country, as long as they found shelter and support in its principal fortresses; and it was rendered necessary, by the persevering contumacy of the castellans of the forts of Kalinjar and Ajaygerh, to employ a military force for their humiliation.

The province of Bundelkhand, which is generally a plain where it is contiguous to the Jumna, is encompassed on its southern and south-eastern confines by portions of the great Vindhya chain of hills, which stretches across India from the Ganges to the gulph of Cambay. The portions of the chain which border upon Bundelkhand, or are included within its limits, consist of four nearly

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parallel ranges, running obliquely from north-east to south-west, distinguished as the Vindhyachal, Panna, Bhander, and Thamian or Kaimur hills: they are not of great elevation, but rise one above the other as they extend to the south and west. They are separated by narrow valleys or table-lands of limited extent, which, as well as the hills, are for the most part rendered difficult of access by underwood and thick jungle. From the most northerly range, or Vindhyachal, isolated elevations are thrown out northwards into the plain, forming a characteristic feature of this part of the country, and affording favourable positions for the construction of hill-forts:[1] two of these had been selected for the site of the forts above named, and Kalinjar and Ajaygerh were regarded by the Bundelas as impregnable, both from the natural difficulties of the approach to them, and the fortifications by which those difficulties had been enhanced.

The Kiladar of Ajaygerh, Lakshman Dawa, originally the captain of a band of plunderers, had become possessed of that strong-hold through the connivance of the officer who had been placed in command of it by Shamshir Bahadur, and who had been directed to give it up to the British authorities. Lakshman was permitted to retain the fort as a temporary arrangement, and to hold in Jagir the adjacent lands, on condition of paying a small annual tribute, and relinquishing the fortress at the expiration of two years, ending in 1808. The tribute was never paid, the term of occupancy had expired,

[1] Memoir on Bundelkhand, by Captain Franklin; Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 259.

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and no intention of giving up the fort was exhibited. A body of troops was therefore assembled, and sent under Colonel Martindell against Ajaygerh.

No opposition was encountered by Colonel Martindell's detachment until they arrived at Rajaoli, a fortified hill about ten miles from Ajaygerh, which was occupied by a select body of Lakshman Dawa's troops. The ascent of the hill was by steep and narrow paths, overhung in many places by projecting rocks; from the shelter of which, parties of the enemy fired upon the slowly advancing troops. Driven from these stations they retreated to the summit of the hill, where they had constructed parapet walls, and behind them they made a resolute stand. As no ladders could be brought up with which to scale the wall, the assailants were recalled, and preparations made for resuming the attack on the following morning: the enemy evacuated the post during the night.[1]

On the following day Colonel Martindell proceeded to Ajaygerh, and batteries were raised against the fort. Operations were, however, suspended by repeated messages from Lakshman Dawa promising to deliver up the fortress, and negociations were protracted until the 11th of February in this expectation. Further delay was then refused, and the guns opened upon the principal gateways with such effect as in a few hours to lay three of them in ruins. On the two following days the firing was repeated, and early on the 13th a practicable breach was made. The Kiladar anticipated the assault by a

[1] The loss of the assailants was 28 Sipahis killed, and 115 wounded, including three officers, of whom Lieut. Jamieson of the light battalion died of his wounds.

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timely surrender, and Ajaygerh was taken possession of in the course of the day.[1] Lakshman Dawa gave himself up to Mr. Richardson, the Governor-General's agent, and was allowed to remain at large upon parole. His family removed from the fort, and found a residence in the adjacent town of Naosheher, where a tragedy ensued, not unprecedented in the history of the Hindus, and characteristic of native sentiments of personal honour.

Lakshman Dawa, in surrendering himself, cherished a hope that the British authorities would reinstate him in the possession of his fort, and addressed a petition to the agent, praying either that he might be restored, or that he might be blown from the mouth of a gun, as life without reputation was not worth preserving. As Mr. Richardson declined a compliance with either alternative, the chief resolved to make a personal appeal to the Governor-General, and secretly quitted the camp for the purpose of repairing to Calcutta. He managed his flight with so much skill that no traces of him were discovered until his arrival at the Presidency. He was treated with kindness, and left at large under the supervision of the police; but, as no hope was held out to him of recovering a possession to which his only titles were usurpation and fraud, he departed as unceremoniously as he had arrived, and endeavoured to effect his return to Bundelkhand: his flight was intercepted, and he was brought back to Calcutta, where he was detained until his death.[2]

[1] Official Dispatches and Government Orders; As. Annual Register, vol. xi.; Chronicle, p. 27.

[2] Lakshman Dawa died in the neighbourhood of Calcutta in November, 1828. He had from the first refused to accept any provision in place of

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Upon the disappearance of Lakshman Dawa from camp, it was considered advisable to place his family in greater security as hostages for his conduct. They were ordered to prepare for removal into the fort, with assurances that they had nothing to apprehend from their detention; and that one of their male relatives, who had not forfeited the favourable opinion of the British Government, should be intrusted with their guardianship. Baju Rao, the father-in-law of the absent chief, was instructed to conduct the party to their quarters. He undertook the office with apparent cheerfulness, and repaired for that purpose to the house in which the family resided. When a considerable interval had elapsed after his entrance into the house, and no person seemed to be coming forth, a native officer of the escort entered, and found the old man seated before the door of an inner room with a drawn sword in his hand. As the Subahdar approached, Baju Rao retired into the chamber, and closed the door. Assistance being obtained, the door was forced; when the mother, the wife, the infant son of Lakshman Dawa, and four female attendants, were discovered lying dead on the floor, having been killed by Baju Rao, apparently with their own consent, as no cry nor any expression of alarm or suffering had been heard. As soon as the door was

the lands of which he had been dispossessed, and was for some time under the charge of the police. In 1811 his misfortunes affected his intellects, and he was placed under the care of the Company's medical officer at Alypore, with whom he continued until 1822, when he appears to have recovered his understanding. He was not released from all restraint for two years longer, when he consented to receive a pension of 600 rupees a month. After his death the surviving members of his family were allowed to return to Bundelkhand.—MS. Records.

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opened, Baju Rao inflicted a fatal wound upon himself. The catastrophe was in entire unison with native feeling; and several of the Bundela chiefs in camp hesitated not to avow, that, under similar circumstances, they would have perpetrated a similar deed.[1]

A protracted course of desultory and harassing hostilities had some time previously been commenced against Gopal Sing, a military adventurer who had usurped the district of Kotra, the inheritance of Raja Bakht Sing, a descendant of Chatrasál. The right of the Raja had been formally recognised by the British Government during the preceding administration, and he had been authorised to recover his lands; but, as he was not allowed to receive the assistance of British troops, the recognition and sanction were mere mockeries.[2] With the altered policy of the Government its grants became realities. A British detachment was sent to place the Raja in possession. The task was easily accomplished, and even Gopal Sing came into camp and professed submission. From motives which are unexplained, or from the instability of purpose which is not unfrequent in the native mind, he seems to have speedily repented of his acquiescence, and, departing abruptly from the British encampment, he retired with a few followers to

[1] MS. Records; also As. Annual Register, vol. vi.; History, p. 5.

[2] See the Ikrar Nama, or pledge of allegiance, and Sunnud granted to Raja Bakht Sing; Coll. of Treaties, p. 331. The documents are dated 8th June, 1807. The first article of the answer to the Raja's solicitation to be reinstated runs, "Little doubt can be entertained that you will be able to establish your authority, and to settle the Pergunnas, independently of the aid and support of the British Government: at the same time, every proper and necessary aid which you may require, *with the exception of troops*, shall be furnished to you."

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the thickets above the first range of hills. Sensible that direct resistance to the superior force of the supporters of Bakht Sing would be unavailing, he adopted a course of destructive irruptions; rushing down upon the plains and spreading terror and devastation in all directions whenever an opportunity occurred, and, when pressed by his enemies, taking refuge amongst the entangled and rugged country between the first and second ranges of the mountains. Although his parties were frequently overtaken and dispersed, they immediately re-assembled and renewed their depredations; and it became necessary to provide a permanent check upon their ravages. A cantonment was therefore established at Tiroha, at the foot of the first range, a few miles to the north-east of Kalinjar, from whence detachments were sent occasionally to guard the passes; the unhealthiness of the climate preventing the presence of a force above the ghats throughout the year. The marauding attacks of Gopal Sing were in some measure counteracted by these arrangements, but they continued at intervals to disturb the quiet and delay the pacific settlement of the country.

Towards the end of 1809, the concentration of the British force in Bundelkhand under Colonel Martindell, in a different quarter of the province, having drawn off the principal part of the troops opposed to Gopal Sing, the protection of the districts was left to the unaided resources of the Rajas of Panna and Kotra. They proved utterly inadequate to the duty. Their united contingents were defeated in an engagement with their more

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warlike adversary; and the country below the hills laid open to his attacks was remorselessly devastated, until his progress was stopped by a detachment under Major Kelly, which was sent from Colonel Martindell's camp at Chatterpur. As the force advanced, Gopal retired above the third range of ghats; in the vicinity of which the 1st battalion of the 16th native infantry, commanded by Captain Wilson, was stationed to keep him in check, while the rest of the detachment rejoined the main army.

Gopal Sing, finding himself more than a match for the force which remained to oppose him, resumed offensive operations; and being assailed in a strongly stockaded position near Kakarati in the Panna principality, by the detachment under Captain Wilson, repulsed the assailants after they had suffered considerable loss, and compelled them to fall back towards the plains.[1] The junction of Major Delamain, with a squadron of the 2nd native cavalry, restored the superiority to the British; but Gopal, turning to the north amongst the hills, outstripped their pursuit, and coming suddenly down upon Tiroha, which was feebly guarded, he plundered and set fire to the cantonments, before troops, dispatched from Ajaygerh as soon as the movement of Gopal Sing upon Tiroha was known, could arrive for its protection. Major Morgan, who commanded the detachment, followed the retreating enemy; but whilst Gopal Sing, at the head of his horse, manœuvred so as to engross his attention,

[1] On this occasion, Gopal Sing showed that he united humanity with courage and conduct. Several of the wounded Sipahis having fallen into his hands, he had their wounds dressed, and sent them back to rejoin the detachment.

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the infantry marched unperceived again upon Tiroha, where they not only completed such part of the work of destruction as they had left unfinished, but laid the adjacent town in ashes, after having first made themselves masters of much valuable booty. The audacity of this enterprise enforced the adoption of more vigorous measures, and Colonel Brown was detached from Colonel Martindell's camp, with the 1st native cavalry and one squadron of the 8th, to command the troops engaged in this harassing warfare. A battalion of native infantry under Major Leslie was also added to the force; and Gopal, unable to encounter such an armament, and having been surprised and roughly handled by Colonel Brown at Bichaund near Ajaygerh, reascended the passes, and took shelter in an entrenched position at Jhargerh above the second range of ghats. Captain Wilson, with a squadron of native cavalry, the 1st battalion of the 16th native infantry, three companies of the 7th, and a company of pioneers, was sent forward in pursuit. After a laborious march he ascended the hills unperceived, and arrived at Jhargerh almost before his approach was discovered. The defences consisted of a rampart and strong stockades situated upon a rocky eminence in a valley overgrown with bamboos and brushwood: they were accessible only on one face, the other sides being covered by almost impenetrable thickets; but the garrison, including Gopal Sing, were so much taken by surprise that their only thought was of escape. Guided by one of his prisoners, Captain Wilson effected his entrance into the main body of the works as they

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were evacuated by the enemy, who plunged into the thickets and disappeared. After burning the stockades, and levelling the fort, the detachment returned to its post at Kakarati. The setting in of the rainy season put a stop to further proceedings. Gopal retired to the south; and the troops were so stationed as to intercept his return to the north and west, and confine him to the rugged valleys between the Bhander and Kaimur hills, towards the sources of the Sone and Nerbudda rivers.

As soon as the state of the country permitted, active measures were resumed: a division of the force under Captain Watson marched from Amghat on the 17th November, and on the morning of the 19th came upon a strong body of Gopal Sing's troops at the village of Bhamori, commanded by some of his principal Sirdars. The party was posted in two divisions: one in the village, occupying a brick fort; the other and larger in an adjacent grove, protected by a deep ravine. As soon as the ravine was turned by the native cavalry, the enemy's horse fled, and were pursued for some distance: the foot followed their example, and broke upon the first volley from the advancing column. The troops in the fort surrendered at discretion. About two hundred were killed and wounded, and above one hundred taken prisoners, with little loss on the side of the British. At the same time Major Kelly advanced from Lohagong, and Colonel Brown from the neighbourhood of Banda. The latter, after a long and fatiguing march, crossed the upper course of the Sone at Hardi Ghat, and overtook Gopal Sing near the village of Killeri, whither he

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had retreated, after declining to accept an asylum offered him by the Raja of Rewa. His followers, consisting entirely of horse, were completely routed; and Gopal Sing escaped, almost unattended, into the jungle. Here he continued, however, to maintain himself and followers for several months, and, notwithstanding his repeated discomfiture, remained unsubdued.

In the month of June, Gopal Sing emerged from his retreat at Kshirgaon in the country of the Berar Raja, and once more descended from the hills. His movements were closely watched by the detachments of Colonel Brown's force; and, having been nearly surprised by Captain Watson in the vicinity of Komtara, he retreated to the protection of his former asylum. Having received intelligence of his position, Colonel Brown moved with great secrecy and expedition, and came by surprise upon him on the night of the 26th June. The enemy's camp was pitched at the head of the Dowani pass in the Marao hills, in the dry bed of a swamp, protected by thick wood on every side, and accessible only by steep and narrow defiles. Through one of these the infantry advanced, and first gave intimation of their presence by a volley fired upon the camp. The enemy fled without attempting resistance: many were killed, and much plunder was recovered. The nature of the country and the approach of the monsoon again suspended pursuit; but, on the 7th September, the fortified post of Kshirgaon was attacked and carried by a detachment commanded by Captain Watson. Gopal Sing, once more an almost solitary fugitive, fled

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into the district of Sagar; but, becoming now convinced of the hopelessness of so unequal a contest, he proffered his submission on the conditions of receiving a full pardon for his opposition, and provision being made for his family. The British Government, equally weary of a troublesome and unprofitable warfare, acceded to the terms, and granted him a Jagir of eighteen villages in the district of Panwari in Bundelkhand, which is still held by his descendants.[1] The transactions are worthy of record as an instance of the success with which personal activity and resolution, aided by a difficult country, but destitute of any other means than plunder and the devotedness of a slender band of adherents, baffled for a period of four years, and ultimately tired out, the resentment and the resources of a powerful antagonist.[2]

The final establishment of order and tranquillity in Bundelkhand was in a still greater degree dependent upon the reduction of Kalinjar; the strength of which fastness, and the vain attempts made in time past for its capture, impressed the natives with a universal belief of its impregnability, and inspired its Kiladar, Dariao Sing, with confidence to persist in his opposition to British authority, and to continue his scarcely covert encouragement of every predatory leader. The mischievous consequences of allowing Dariao Sing[3] to retain possession of Ka-

[1] See the Sunnud granted to Gopal Sing on the 24th Feb., 1812; Report of Select Committee, August, 1832; Political Appendix, p. 561.

[2] For the operations against Gopal Sing, see the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xii.; History, 40: Chronicle, pp. 9, 10, 61, 78: and Calcutta Annual Register, 1821; History, p. 76.

[3] See p. 18, note.

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linjar were vainly pointed out when the British authority was first introduced into Bundelkhand; but the system of endurance having now given place to a policy of a more resolute character, it was determined no longer to overlook his contumacy: a force was accordingly assembled at Banda,[1] the command of which was given to Colonel Martindell, and on the 19th January Kalinjar was invested.

The fortified hill of Kalinjar is situated about twenty miles south-east of Banda, and about half that distance from the first range of hills. It rises from a marshy plain as an isolated rock to the height of above nine hundred feet, being at the base ten or twelve miles in circumference, and inclosing on the summit a table-land of more than four miles in circuit. On this plain were situated the residence of the Kiladar, the cantonments of the garrison, and several Hindu temples, apparently ancient:[2] the sides of the hill are abrupt, and are covered with an almost impenetrable jungle of bushes and bamboos, the haunts of beasts of prey

[1] A squadron of the 8th light dragoons, five companies of the 53rd foot, a squadron of the 1st N. C. and three of the 3rd, with six battalions of N. I., three companies of pioneers, a detachment of European artillery, and a battering train of twelve and eighteen pounders.

[2] In some places, mutilated inscriptions were found in characters said to be the same as those on the staff of Firoz Shah at Delhi. They have never been collected or published. Cave temples also are described, one of which is dedicated to Nila-kantha, a form of Siva, as a Linga. Kálanjara, the correct appellation of the mountain, is also a name of Siva—he who sees time itself decay—and all the Hindu traditions relating to this hill connect it with his worship. Kalbhiroop (or correctly, Kála-bhairava), whose colossal image is specified by Abulfazl as existing at Kalanjar, is an attendant of Siva, or one of his minor emanations. See the word Callinger, to which Kálanjara is commonly barbarously metamorphosed, in Hamilton's Gazetteer. A general description of the fort and its antiquities is given in Pogson's History of the Bundelas, but the latter have been but cursorily and imperfectly investigated.

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and of innumerable monkeys. The crest of the hill is formed of a ridge of steep black rock, which forms the base of a wall with loopholes and embrasures surrounding the whole of the summit. The Petta, or town, lies at the foot of the hill at the south-eastern angle; and the ascent thence to the fort is by a broad winding road cut along the eastern face of the rock, and defended by seven fortified gateways. Opposite to the north-eastern extremity, at the distance of about eight hundred yards, rises another detached elevation, the hill of Kálanjari, nearly as lofty as the main rock, but of much less extent: its sides are equally steep, and covered in like manner with a thick and entangled growth of low shrubs and bamboos.

After reconnoitring the defences of the fort, it was determined to erect batteries on the lesser hill; and, by the 26th of January, a path having been cleared of the jungle, four iron eighteen-pounders and two mortars were hauled up by main force to the top. Another battery of two eighteen-pounders was formed lower down on the shoulder of the hill; and another of two twelve-pounders nearer the foot, opposite to the great gateway of the fort. Negociations having failed, the batteries opened on the 28th, on which day also possession was taken of the Petta. No attempt was made to disturb the construction of the batteries, and not a shot was fired from the fort until they opened; it being a point of Indian honour, it is said, for a fort not to fire until fired upon. When the firing of the besiegers commenced, that from the fort was feebly maintained and did little execution; and it

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was expected, that, as soon as a breach should be made, the fortress would fall an easy conquest: an anticipation that was fatally disappointed.

By the 1st of February the batteries had effected what was considered to be a practicable breach, and at sunrise on the 2nd the storming party advanced to the assault. The party consisted of the five companies of his Majesty's 53rd, and the flank companies of the native regiments, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey. As they ascended the hill, they were encountered by a brisk fire of matchlocks and volleys of heavy stones, until they made good their footing to within fifty yards of the breach, where they halted, under cover of an old wall. The top of the breach, and the wall on both sides of it, were crowded with matchlockmen, regardless of the fire to which they were exposed from the destruction of the parapet. Upon a given signal the assailing column rushed forward, in spite of the missiles with which they were saluted, and reached the foot of the parapet. Here they were arrested by the precipitous and mostly perpendicular rock on which the wall had stood, and which it was necessary to scale before they could arrive at the foot of the breach. Ladders were applied, but the irregularity of the surface rendered it difficult to fix them; and, as fast as the men ascended, they were knocked down by heavy stones hurled upon them by the defendants, or were shot by their matchlocks. Equal resolution was displayed on either side; but the disadvantageous position of the assailants rendered the conflict so unequal, that, after an unavailing struggle of about thirty-five

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minutes, the storming party was recalled. The loss they sustained was severe:[1] that suffered by the garrison was not less. The attempt was not unavailing; as the Kiladar, apprehensive of its repetition, signified on the day following his acceptance of the conditions which he had previously rejected. Lands were assigned to him and the members of his family who held a united interest in Kalinjar, and they agreed to cede the fortress. This strong-hold, which had baffled Mahmud of Ghazni,[2] which had seen Shir Shah[3] perish before its walls, and which had sustained a ten years' siege by Ali Bahadur,[4] was thus added to the trophies of British conquest, and ceased to be the rallying point of lawless spoliation. After a brief occupancy as a military post it was dismantled and abandoned. The chiefs who had once bid defiance from its ramparts to the commands of the British Government became peaceable subjects, and their descendants are still enumerated amongst the Jagirdars of the province.[5]

[1] Capt. Fraser, Lieut. Rice, one serjeant, and ten men of the 53rd, were killed; ten officers and one hundred and twenty men were wounded. Lieut. Faithful, commanding the pioneers, and nearly half his men, were wounded. The Sipahis had no opportunity of coming into action.

[2] Mahmud besieged it in A.D. 1023, but made peace with Nanda, its Hindu Raja, and left it in his possession.— Briggs's Ferishta, i. 66.

[3] Shir Shah laid siege to it in A.D. 1554, and was killed by the bursting of a shell, and consequent explosion of a powder magazine near which he was standing.— Briggs's Ferishta, ii. 123.

[4] See above, p. 4.

[5] Villages were assigned in perpetual Jagir, not only to Dariao Sing Chaubé, but to his coparceners, descendants equally of Ramkrishna Chaubé, to the number of eight.—See the separate grants, Report of Select Committee, August, 1832; App. Political, p. 562; also Bengal and Agra Gazetteer for 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 286. The Jagirs thus granted, as well as others of a similar class, to the number of twenty-seven, were exempted by a special regulation, xxii. of 1812, from the operation of the general regulations, and from the jurisdiction of the courts of civil and criminal judicature.

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The conduct of Jay Sing Deo, the Raja of Rewa, a small principality situated on the east of Bundelkhand, in countenancing Gopal Sing and other free-booters, had for some time past been unsatisfactory; and, very soon after the reduction of Kalinjar, a party of the plunderers known as Pindaris penetrated by way of Rewa into the British territory of Mirzapur, apparently with the connivance of the Raja. It was obvious that he had either permitted their passage through his country, or that he had not the power to prevent it; and in either case the duty of self-protection suggested interposition. After some hesitation the Raja was compelled to accede to a treaty of friendship and alliance, by which his possessions were guaranteed, and his supremacy in the administration of his government acknowledged; but he was interdicted from communicating with foreign states, obliged to agree to the mutual delivery of enemies and rebels, and to promise co-operation in military affairs. The treaty was concluded in October, 1812.

These arrangements were scarcely concluded when the Raja manifested a disposition to violate them. He objected to the establishment of a military post within his boundary; opposed a communication through his country between the British districts which it separated; treated the British political agents with indignity; and either suffered or instigated the petty chiefs of Singrana, his dependants, to commit various acts of aggression on the adjacent country under British protection. To punish their ravages, and compel the observance of the stipulated treaty, Colonel Martindell marched

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into Rewa early in 1813. He had advanced near to the capital when the Raja solicited a suspension of hostilities, and consented to enter into a new treaty, confirming the former stipulations, and engaging to pay the expenses of the military operations. He shortly afterwards abdicated in favour of his son.

During the suspension of hostilities with the Rewa Raja, a party of Sipahis escorting military stores, marching to join the main force, and proceeding in the confidence of the armistice which had then been agreed upon, were suddenly surrounded near the village of Sathani by a strong body of horse and foot, by whom some of the men were killed and the baggage was plundered. The Raja disclaimed all participation in this atrocity; and it appeared to have been the unauthorised act of some of his feudatories, particularly the Raja of Sathani and Sarnaid Sing, Raja of Entouri. A force under Colonel Adams took the field immediately after the rains to punish the aggressors. The fort of Entouri was stormed and carried, after an obstinate resistance. Sarnaid Sing, disdaining to survive its capture, strewed a quantity of gunpowder upon a cloth, which he tied round his body, and, setting fire to it, terminated his existence. Some other forts were taken and destroyed; and the chiefs, alarmed, came into camp and submitted. A third treaty was then concluded with the Raja of Rewa; by which, upon his renewing the stipulations previously contracted, he was placed in possession of some of the lands which the contumacious Zemindars had forfeited, with certain reservations, under strict promise that he

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would respect whatever guarantees the British Government had granted to any of his chiefs, and would refrain from molesting all such as had evinced towards it a friendly disposition. The Raja necessarily acquiesced, but the resentment felt by this petty court at an interference which it had provoked has perhaps scarcely yet given place to friendly feelings.[1]

These operations put an end for a time to all serious manifestations of the turbulent spirit by which the Bundelas have been long distinguished. A different race, but of a congenial temperament, in another portion of the western frontier, required, about the same period, similar coercion.

At the termination of the war, the extensive and fertile but thinly peopled district of Hariana, lying immediately west of Delhi, had been taken within the range of British supremacy. The inhabitants of the province, who were of the Ját race, a resolute and high-spirited tribe, had some years before taken advantage of the enfeebled administration of affairs at Delhi to throw off the allegiance which they had previously professed to the Mogul. Collected together in village communities they formed so many petty republics acknowledging no individual head; and, although combining occasionally against a foreign enemy, connected by no common tie of political interest or authority, and not unfrequently at deadly feud with each other. From time to time some Mahratta

[1] See the three treaties of the 5th Oct. 1812, 2nd June 1813, and 21st March 1814, with the Rewa Raja, in the collection of treaties printed by order of Parliament, 27th May 1818; also in a collection printed for the Proprietors, Aug. 1824.—Administration of the Marquis of Hastings. The operations are related in Calcutta Annual Register for 1821, p. 60.

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or Mohammedan chieftain, or individual of their own body, established a military ascendancy over them to a limited extent, and for a brief interval; and, in one instance, George Thomas, an Irish adventurer,[1] rendered himself the lord over a part of the province, with Hansi, its chief town, for his capital. His reign was of short duration; but its overthrow was not effected by the discontent of his subjects or the rivalry of his equals, and it demanded the overwhelming force of Sindhia's disciplined brigades, commanded by General Perron, to dispossess him. Hariana was then governed by Perron in the name of Sindhia, and, with the defeat of his troops, passed over to the British. The Government of the day, unwilling to retain the conquest,

[1] George Thomas arrived in India as a sailor about 1781. At Madras he deserted, and entered into the service of some of the southern Poligars; thence he made his way through the heart of India, and reached Delhi in 1787: he there received a commission in the brigade of Begum Sumroo, and rose to high favour; but, being supplanted in the Begum's good graces by some other adventurer, he quitted her service in 1792, and joined Apa Khande Rao, one of Sindhia's discarded captains, who was endeavouring to form an independent state in the country west of Delhi. He succeeded in his project, but, dying in 1797, his power fell to pieces, and George Thomas, thrown on his own resources, determined to conquer Hariana for himself. He succeeded so far as to make himself ruler of a petty principality, extending about 100 miles from N. to S. and in its broadest part about 75 miles from E. to W., comprehending 900 villages and several small towns. Hansi, which Thomas found in ruins, was restored and fortified by him, and, becoming his capital, was soon tenanted by between five and six thousand inhabitants. George Thomas was Raja of Hansi for four years, and had little to fear from any of his neighbours, until Sindhia's authority extended to Delhi, and introduced a power far superior to that of the European potentate. Thomas was besieged in Hansi by Du Perron with a strong and well-organised force, and surrendered on condition of being conveyed to a British station. The stipulation was observed, and he was conducted to the British frontier in January 1802. He thence proceeded towards Calcutta, with the purpose of returning to his native land, but was taken ill, and died at Berhampore in August. His career is a striking illustration of the distracted state of a country in which a common sailor, with no other aid than European energy, personal strength, and intrepid resolution, could raise himself even to ephemeral sovereignty. —See Life of George Thomas, by Colonel Francklin.

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transferred it to several native chiefs in succession; but all found it impossible to establish their power without the assistance of British troops, and speedily resigned the unprofitable boon. The last of these, Abd-ul-samad Khan, a military leader of repute, who had joined Lord Lake early in the Mahratta war, and who had latterly received Hariana in recompense of his services, found himself compelled to follow the example of his predecessors, and the province was thrown again upon the hands of the British Government. As Hariana was conterminous with the districts of Delhi under British administration, the danger arising from the predatory and unrestrained habits of its population was not to be disregarded, and it was determined to provide against the evil by undertaking the immediate regulation of the country, and bringing the people under the authority of British functionaries. With this design the Honourable Mr. Gardner, assistant to the Resident at Delhi, proceeded with a strong escort into the province. Little difficulty attended his proceedings: most of the head-men of the villages obeyed his summons, repaired to his camp, professed allegiance, promised the regular payment of a stipulated revenue, and engaged to desist from intestine broils and from the plunder of travellers and merchants. Whatever may have been their sincerity, the prompt display, in two instances, of the determination of the Government to suffer no infringement of the compact awed them into the observance of their engagements. The people of Baliali, a large village of Játs, who professed Mohammedanism, having robbed some traders almost

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in sight of the Commissioner's camp, a military detachment was sent against them. They fled into the adjacent country of Bikaner, and their village was destroyed. A more resolute resistance was encountered at another large village or town, that of Bhawani. The inhabitants of this place, notorious for the audacity of their depredations, carried off the camels and baggage of a party of Sipahis on their march to camp, and fired upon them as they approached the town. Immediate measures were taken to punish the aggressors. A force of four battalions of native infantry, one regiment of cavalry, a corps of irregular horse, with a train of artillery, commanded by Colonel Ball,[1] marched against Bhawani, and appeared before it on the 27th August: batteries were opened, and the walls were breached by noon of the 29th. An assault was made in two columns: the right was met by a sortie of the inhabitants, who fought with courage, but were driven back and followed into the fort; the left column also forced its way into the town, and, after an obstinate conflict, in which severe loss was inflicted on the enemy, the place was carried.[2] The transaction was productive of the good effects expected from it. The lawless and turbulent tribes of Hariana were made to feel that they had now a master. Submitting to a yoke which they could

[1] 1st battn. of the 9th, 2nd of the 18th, 1st of the 22nd, and 2nd of the 23rd, besides some companies of the 1st of the 10th, and 2nd of the 24th, with the 6th regt. N. Cavalry, and Skinner's horse.

[2] One officer, Lieut. O'Brien of the 1st batt. of the 22nd, was killed, six were wounded; eighteen privates were killed, and one hundred and fourteen wounded. The loss of the townsfolk was officially estimated at more than a thousand.—Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xi.; History, p. 7; Chronicle, p. 67.

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not shake off, they became in due time an orderly and obedient people, and, devoting themselves to agricultural occupations, rendered the province one of the most valuable districts subject to the British Government.

A still more important departure from the principle of non-interference occurred in the same direction, and occasioned an extension of British supremacy to the frontier which still forms its north-western boundary,—the left bank of the Setlej. The success with which the Sikh chief, Ranjit Sing, had wrought his own aggrandisement at the expense of all his competitors on the west of the Setlej, encouraged him to pursue the same line of policy with respect to the Rajas on the east of the river, and to attempt to spread his influence and power across it to the Jumna. He was led to believe that he would not be obstructed in the execution of this project by the British; as, although the Government had accepted the proffered submission of the Sikh Rajas, it had required from them no positive stipulation of tribute or allegiance, and had contracted no formal engagement to protect them. He went to work, however, with his usual caution. A violent quarrel having taken place between the Rajas of Patiala and Naba, the latter called Ranjit Sing to his assistance. The call was promptly answered; and in October, 1806, that chief crossed the Setlej with a strong body of horse, and dictated terms of reconciliation to the contending parties. Some apprehension of his ulterior objects was entertained at Delhi; but a letter was received from him expressing his profound respect for the British Govern-

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ment, and no notice was taken of his proceedings. The result of this experiment confirmed him in the belief that he had no opposition to dread from his more powerful neighbours in establishing his authority over the states between the Setlej and Jumna; but, having other designs in view, or not considering matters sufficiently mature for the consummation of his purpose, Ranjit Sing departed, and re-crossed the Setlej in the beginning of 1807.

In the course of that year the wife of the Patiala Raja, who was at variance with her husband on account of her insisting upon an assignment of revenue for the use of her son, yet a minor, had recourse to Ranjit Sing, and he again crossed the Setlej into the Doab. The Sikh chiefs in this quarter now began to be seriously alarmed, and made an earnest application to the Resident at Delhi to defend them against the growing ambition of their countryman; protesting that they had ever considered themselves to be the subjects of the Company, and entitled to its protection. Before any reply could be received from Calcutta, the Raja and Rani had settled their dispute amicably, and had purchased the withdrawal of Ranjit by a valuable diamond necklace and a celebrated brass gun; but, before leaving the country, he levied contributions on some other petty Rajas, or seized upon their forts and confiscated their lands. His return was probably hastened by a knowledge of the negociations going on at Delhi, and by a report, which the chiefs industriously circulated, that their application had been favourably considered. In order to discover the truth of this assertion, Ranjit addressed a

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letter to the Governor-General, stating that he had learned that troops were assembling on the Jumna, and requesting to be informed of the cause. He declared his wish to continue on friendly terms, but ventured to add, "The country on this side of the Jumna, except the stations occupied by the English, is subject to my authority. Let it remain so."

Although Lord Minto was resolved to resist the pretensions of Ranjit Sing to the exercise of any authority on the right bank of the Jumna, yet the policy of securing his concurrence in the scheme of defensive alliance, which it was sought to frame against the hostile designs upon India avowed by the Emperor Napoleon, suspended the announcement of the Governor-General's sentiments; and Ranjit was referred for a reply to Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalfe, whom it had been determined to send on a friendly mission to the Sikh ruler. The envoy set out from Delhi in August 1808, and, crossing the Setlej on the 1st of September, reached the camp of Ranjit, at Kasur, on the 11th: his reception was at first courteous and cordial; but in a few days a different feeling was displayed, and much dissatisfaction was expressed that the British Government should hesitate to acknowledge the Jumna to be the boundary between the two states. Still further to evince his displeasure, and to induce the Rajas on the east of the Setlej to believe that the British envoy acquiesced in his designs, Ranjit broke up his camp, crossed the river with the envoy in his train, dispossessed the chief to whom it belonged of the fort of Farid Koth, seized upon Ambala, and exacted tribute from the Rajas of Shahabad and

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Thanesar. As Sir C. Metcalfe had refused to follow his extended march into the Doab, Ranjit retraced his steps, and returned to Amritsar, where the mission awaited him. The circumstances which had influenced the Governor-General's external policy had now in some degree ceased, and it was no longer necessary to temporise with the Raja of Lahore. Ranjit was consequently apprised that the Rajas between the two rivers were under British protection; that he might retain such acquisitions as he had made on this side of the Setlej previously to the existence of the relations which had been formed with the protected states, but that he must restore all that had been made subsequently; and that, in order to guard against any future encroachments, a military post would be established on the left bank of the river. The Raja strenuously expostulated against this declaration; arguing, that he had repeatedly exercised acts of authority in the Doab of the Setlej and Jumna, without any objection having been started by the British Government; that appeals made to the British Resident at Delhi by refractory chiefs had, to his certain knowledge, received no countenance or encouragement; that blood had been shed, and treasure expended, in asserting a supremacy which he claimed as his right; and that it was as unfriendly as it was inconsistent to prevent his reaping the fruit of exertions which had been suffered to come to maturity in seeming acquiescence. He, therefore, requested a renewed consideration of the subject; and in the mean time he assembled his troops, and appeared resolved to maintain his pretensions by arms.

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Having come to the determination that the Setlej should be the limit of Ranjit Sing's acquisitions in that direction, with the exceptions above intimated, the British Government immediately commanded the advance of a sufficient body of troops to uphold their resolution. A detachment under Colonel Ochterlony crossed the Jumna in the middle of January, and proceeded to Ludiana, whilst an army of reserve under the command of Major-General St. Leger was prepared to support the advance, should protracted operations become necessary. The troops of Ranjit Sing fell back as Colonel Ochterlony's detachment approached; and an incident took place, under the observation of the Raja, which might have suggested to him their unfitness to encounter disciplined battalions.

During the stay of the British embassy in the vicinity of Amritsar the anniversary of the Moharram occurred, and the deaths of Ali and his sons, Hasan and Hosain, were commemorated by the Shia Mohammedans of the envoy's escort with the public demonstrations of passionate sorrow and religious fervour usual on the occasion. The celebration gave great offence to the Sikh population of Amritsar, which is the site of their most sacred temple; and especially to the Akális, a set of Sikh fanatics who combine a religious and martial character. Headed by a party of these men, a numerous and infuriated mob attacked the envoy's camp: they were repulsed by the steadiness of the escort, although it consisted of but two companies of native infantry and sixteen troopers; but not until several of the assailants were killed, and many of the Sipahis were wounded.

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Ranjit Sing came up at the close of the affray, and assisted in quelling a tumult which it was strongly suspected he had in some degree fomented. The camp was removed to a greater distance from the town, and no further molestation was experienced.

The advance of the troops to the Setlej, and the experience of their quality which the affair at Amritsar afforded him, dissipated Ranjit Sing's dreams of conquest, and rendered him anxious to secure the forbearance and friendship of the British Government. Accordingly, on the 25th April, a treaty was concluded which stipulated that perpetual friendship should subsist between the British Government and the state of Lahore; that the former should have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward of the Setlej; that the Raja should never maintain on the left bank of the river more troops than were necessary for the internal duties of the territory acknowledged to belong to him, nor commit nor suffer any encroachment on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity; and that the treaty should be null and void in the event of a violation of either of the preceding articles. Thus terminated all unfriendly discussions with the Sikh chieftain.[1] That he was deeply mortified by the result cannot be doubted; and there was reason to believe, that, if he could have relied upon effective support from Hindustan, he would not have submitted so peaceably to such a diminution of his power and disappointment of his hopes.[2]

[1] MS. Records; Prinsep's Life of Runjeet Singh, Calcutta, 1834, p. 64.

[2] There was credible evidence, that, during these discussions, a communication was kept up between the Raja and Sindhia, and unavowed agents were resident on either part at Gwalior and Lahore: a correspondence

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Nor did he for some time lay aside his distrust of the ulterior designs of his European neighbour. An exaggerated notion of his resources, and suspicion of his ambitious projects, continued also for a considerable period to regulate the policy of the British Government towards him, and to suspend the establishment of a cordial intercourse almost to the term of the Raja's existence. During the last five years of his life, his confidence in British faith, and reliance on the principles of non-interference which had been originally professed, were fully confirmed by the cautious abstinence which had uniformly left him at liberty to extend his power over the independent principalities and states north and west of the Punjab without any interposition or even remark.[1]

The seasonable succour thus given to the petty Sikh chiefs between the Setlej and the Jumna[2] put an end to the vague character of the connexion

with Sarji Rao Ghatka was also detected. Ranjit's sagacity, however, soon discovered the weakness to which the Mahrattas had been reduced.— MS. Records.

[1] Travellers in Ranjit's territories complain, even to a late period, of obstructions to their proceedings thrown in their way by his subordinate functionaries and officers, and ascribe them to private instructions issued by the Raja, whilst ostensibly he gave them permission to go wherever they wished, and institute whatever inquiries they pleased. This might have been the case with some of the first visitors of the Punjab; but, latterly, whatever impediments were experienced were most probably ascribable to the ignorance or impertinence of the subordinates. — See the travels of Moorcroft, Jacquemont, Vigne, &c.

[2] The chief of these were Saheb Sing, Raja of Patiala; Bhye Lal Sing, of Kythal; Jeswant Sing, of Naba; Bhag Sing, of Jhínd; Guru-dayal Sing, of Ladúa, Jodh Sing, of Kalasia; Gopal Sing, of Manimajra; Daya Kunwar, Rani of Ambala; Bhanga Sing, Raja of Thanesar; Sodha Sing, of Mahawat; Jawahir Sing, of Bharup. The Patiala Raja had a revenue of six lakhs of rupees, and a force of 2000 horse and 1000 foot. The revenues of the other chiefs varied from one to two lakhs, and their troops from 500 to 1000 horse. There were about twenty others of still inferior importance, but all claiming independent authority over their vassals; presenting in fact a state of things very similar to that of the early feudal anarchy of Europe.— MS. Records.

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which had hitherto united them with the British Government, and rendered it necessary to define the reciprocal relations which were thenceforward to subsist: accordingly, a general declaration was circulated to them, announcing that the territories of Sirhind and Malüa had been taken under British protection; that it was not the intention of the Government to demand tribute from the chiefs, but that they would be expected to furnish every facility in their power to the movements of British troops through their districts, and to join the British armies with their followers whenever called upon. The several chiefs were permitted to exercise, and were guaranteed, the rights and authorities which they possessed in their respective territories; but supplies of European articles for troops, and horses for cavalry passing through them, were to be exempted from transit duties. The declaration conveying these provisions became the charter of rights to which the Sikh chiefs have been accustomed to refer for the settlement of all questions that have arisen between them and the British Government;[1] but the mutual relations of supremacy and subjection, appeals from the inferior to the superior in disputes amongst themselves or in domestic dissensions, and the imperative necessity of maintaining public order and security, speedily multiplied occasions of interposition, and, after no long interval, compelled the British Government to proclaim the right and the resolution to interpose.[2]

[1] Life of Runjeet Singh, 72.

[2] A public proclamation declaratory of the right and determination to interfere between the different Rajas in all cases of disputed territory, and

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The regulation of successions was also a subject which from the first demanded the intervention of the protecting power;[1] and political expedience has dictated the enforcement of a principle recognised throughout the feudality of India, the appropriation of a subject territory in failure of lawful heirs by the paramount sovereign.[2]

There is no satisfactory proof that the Emperor Napoleon ever seriously contemplated the invasion of India. In an early stage of his career, before his path to greatness was distinctly visible, he seems to have entertained some vague and wild dream of founding for himself an empire in the East.[3] The conquest of Egypt, in addition to the purpose of establishing a French colony in that country which should divert the stream of commerce between India and Europe from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Bab-al-mandal, and thus annihilate one of the sources of British prosperity, had, according to Napoleon, for one of its objects, the

at the same time repeating the resolution not to interfere in the internal administration of justice between the chiefs and their subjects, was issued on the 11th August, 1811.—See Report of Select Committee, House of Commons, 1832; Appendix Political, p. 560.

[1] In 1812, the Raja of Patiala, having rendered himself insupportable to his subjects by his insane oppression, was deposed in favour of his son, a minor, under the regency of the Rani, by the British Government. The measure was obnoxious to some of the Raja's adherents; and one of them, an Akali, attacked the Agent, Colonel Ochterlony, in his palanquin, and severely wounded him.—Life of Runjeet, 76.

[2] Commonly to the exclusion of females, except in a few families where a contrary usage has prevailed. Some of the chiefships have so lapsed, the principal of which are Ambala and Thanesar.—Bengal and Agra Guide, 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 268. And, still more recently, Khytal.—Calcutta Journals, April, 1843.

[3] According to his own assertion, if he had taken St. Jean d'Acre, he would have brought about a revolution in the East, would have reached Constantinople and the Indies, and changed the destinies of the world. —Las Cases' Journal, i. 206; Scott's Life of Napoleon, ii. 104, 111.

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formation of a basis from which to accomplish the invasion of India; but it is scarcely possible to believe that he could ever have gravely projected so impossible a scheme as that of sending sixty thousand troops upon camels across the deserts of Arabia, and barren wastes of Baluchistan, to the banks of the Indus.[1] The subsequent mission of General Gardanne to Persia, and the influence acquired at Tehran, regarded Russia more immediately than India, and were suggested by the community of political interests, as Persia and France were simultaneously engaged in hostilities with the former empire. Such, however, was the impression produced by these demonstrations, and such the dread of Napoleon's power and resources, that a French invasion of India was reckoned amongst the possible contingencies of the time, and one against which precaution was indispensable. In this conviction, the Governor-General of India deemed it advisable to endeavour to establish amicable relations with the frontier principalities of the Punjab and Afghanistan, and to renew a friendly understanding with the king of Persia. The mission to Ranjit Sing,

[1] L'Expédition d'Egypte avoit trois buts: établir sur le Nil une colonie Françoise; ouvrir un débouché à nos manufactures dans l'Afrique, l'Arabie, et la Syrie; partir d'Egypte comme d'une place d'armes pour porter une armée de 60,000 hommes sur l'Indus soulever les Marattes et les peuples opprimés: 60,000 hommes, moitié Européens, moitié recrues des climats brulants de l'équator et du tropique, transportés par 10,000 chevaux et 50,000 chameaux, portant avec eux des vivres pour cinquante ou soissante jours, de l'eau pour cinq ou six jours, et un train d'artillerie de 150 bouches à feu de campagne, avec double approvisionnement, arriveraient en quatre mois sur l'Indus. L'océan a cessé d'être un obstacle depuis qu'on a des vaisseaux, le désert cesse d'en être un pour une armée qui a en aboudance des chameaux et des dromedaires.—Mémoires de St. Hélène, ii. 214. Scarcely less insane was his speculation of invading India by sea, and seuding round the Cape a force of sixteen thousand troops under convoy of thirty-two ships of the line.— Las Cases' Journal, ii. 248.

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which originated in this policy, has been adverted to, and we have now to notice the measures adopted with respect to the two other states.

The political condition of Afghanistan was almost wholly unknown to the Government of Bengal. No English traveller had crossed the Indus[1] since Foster; and his journey was performed under circumstances of personal disguise and hazard, which restricted him to hasty and superficial observation. Little information was to be gathered from his narrative. It was known from original authorities, that, of the country occupied by the Afghan tribes, the eastern portion, including Kabul and Ghazni, had been usually dependent upon Delhi; and the western, comprising Kandahar and Herat, ordinarily subject to Persia. Upon the murder of Nadir Shah, king of Persia, Ahmed Shah, of the Durani tribe of Afghans, a leader of distinction in the Persian army, took advantage of the distracted condition of both India and Persia to found a kingdom, independent of either, extending from the Indus to Herat, and ultimately including parts of Baluchistan and Sindh. Ahmed Shah was succeeded by his son, Timur Shah, who enjoyed a long and tranquil reign under the shadow of his father's fame. Upon his death the Durani monarchy speedily fell to pieces. He left a number of sons necessarily competitors for the sovereignty.[2] Zeman Shah, although not the eldest

[1] Mr. Foster, a member of the Civil service of Bengal, returned from India to England, through the Punjab, Afghanistan, and Persia: he travelled on foot in the character of a pauper and garb of an Asiatic; and, although he communicates some novel information, yet his notices of the Afghans, amongst whom he was in much danger, are unavoidably meagre. —See his Travels.

[2] They were more than thirty. Humayun, the eldest, after a feeble

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of these, made good his pretensions with the aid and support of his younger brother, Shuja-al-mulk, and retained a precarious occupancy of the throne for seven years. The injustice and insolence of his favourite Vizir provoked a conspiracy against him among the principal nobles of his court: it was detected; and one of the conspirators, Sirafraz Khan, chief of the Barikzei clan, to which Shah Zeman had been mainly indebted for his own elevation, was put to death. The act was fatal to the monarch; for Fatih Khan, the eldest son of Sirafraz Khan, immediately devoted his abilities and influence, which were considerable, to the service of Mahmud, a brother and rival of the king. Shah Zeman, deserted by his troops, was taken prisoner, deposed, and blinded, and Mahmud was made Shah.

The character of Mahmud was unequal to the exigencies of his perilous position. Indolent and timid, he transferred the cares of the government to his ministers, and, as long as his own ease and enjoyment were provided for, was wholly indifferent to the prosperity of his kingdom. By his injudicious partiality to his Persian guards, and the unbridled licence in which he suffered them to indulge, he offended both the religious prejudices and the national feelings of his countrymen, and provoked them to insurrection.[1] Shuja-al-mulk was

effort to maintain his right, was taken by Zeman Shah, blinded, and died in captivity. Zeman Shah, Mahmud, and Shuja-al-mulk, in their turns held temporary sway, and perished. Firoz-ad-din for some time occupied Herat, but was dispossessed, and fled to Persia, where he died. Shah Abbas, who was set up as king for a short time, also died in exile. These were the only members of the family who acquired notoriety.

[1] The Gholam Sháhis, or Kazal-bashis, the king's Persian guards, were obnoxious to the Afghans, not only from their insolence and licen-

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called to head the insurgents; and, fortune abandoning Mahmud, his adherents were defeated, and he himself was taken prisoner. Shuja ascended the throne: a feeling of fraternal affection induced him to refrain from inflicting upon Mahmud the usual disqualification for sovereignty, loss of sight; and this act of clemency, which was so unusual in Afghan policy, proved ultimately his own destruction.

During the five succeeding years Shah Shuja was nominal monarch of Afghanistan; but his authority and life were repeatedly endangered by the attempts of one or other of his brothers to supplant him, and by the aid which they received from the turbulent and factious nobles of his court, especially from the powerful family of which Fatih Khan was the head.[1] Towards the close of this period Mahmud escaped from confinement and fled to his son Kamran, who had been able, during his father's detention, to maintain himself at liberty on the western frontier of Afghanistan. Although joined by the Barakzei chief, the confederates were defeated by Shah Shuja, and his power seemed to be finally established on a secure foundation.[2] In-

tiousness, but their professions of the Shia form of Mohammedanism, which considers Ali as the rightful successor of Mohammed, and denounces imprecations on the three first Khalifs, Abu-bekr, Omar, and Othman, as usurpers. The Afghans are bigoted Sunis, and assert with equal zeal the lawfulness of the succession. An insurrection in Kabul, directed in the first instance against the Kazal-bashis, and ultimately against Mahmud as their patron, prepared the way for his deposal.—Elphinstone's Kabul, 8vo., vol. ii. 334.

[1] The sons of Sirafraz Khan, the hereditary chiefs of the Barakzei clan, were twenty-two in number: one of them, Dost Mohammed, the chief who has of late years acquired such extensive European celebrity, was then one of the youngest of the brethren.

[2] In August 1808, the Resident at Delhi reported, that, according to the latest advices from Afghanistan, the authority of Shah Shuja was fully established.—MS. Records.

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1809. stead, however, of following up his success, and extinguishing the last sparks of rebellion by the expulsion or capture of Mahmud, he returned to enjoy his triumph at Peshawar, and with singular imprudence dispatched the principal part of his army to recover the province of Kashmir from the chief by whom the province was governed, and who was in arms against his sovereign.[1] It was at this season that the mission from Bengal arrived at Peshawar.

The embassy to Kabul was fitted out in a manner intended to impress the Afghans with an exalted opinion of the power and dignity of the Company, and was intrusted to a member of the civil service, Mr. Elphinstone, whose conversancy with the language and manners of native princes, and whose abilities, judgment, and personal character ensured its success, as far as the state of affairs permitted. Mr. Elphinstone left Delhi on the 13th of October; and, as it was uncertain whether Ranjit Sing would assent to the passage of the mission through the Punjab, the route followed traversed the hitherto untrodden wastes of Bikaner and Jesselmer to the frontiers of Bahawalpur, then a dependency of Kabul. Proceeding through Multan, the Nawab of which was also at that time, nominally at least, a feudatory of the Afghan monarch, the mission reached the Indus, and on the 7th of January crossed the river at Kaheri ferry. On the 5th of March Mr. Elphinstone entered Peshawar, whither Shah Shuja had recently returned from Kandahar.

[1] For the latter history of the Afghans, see Elphinstone's Embassy to Kabul, vol. ii. p. 279, and Conolly's Overland Journey to India; Afghan History, ii. 233. See also the later accounts of Burnes, Vigne, &c.

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Although the envoy met with a courteous reception, and much cordiality prevailed between the members of the mission and the principal persons of the court, yet the objects of the embassy were never fully comprehended, nor was a feeling of distrust towards it ever entirely effaced. An alliance to resist a combined invasion of the French and Persians seemed to the Afghans to be a needless precaution, as the danger was avowedly contingent and remote, and as it was one with which they esteemed themselves competent to cope. The circumstances under which the alliance was sought, showed that British rather than Afghan interests were at stake, and the court not unreasonably desired to know what benefit was to accrue to them from the confederacy. It was shrewdly enough argued by the diplomatists of Peshawar that they could not come to any decision upon an *ex-parte* statement, and that in justice to themselves they ought to hear what an ambassador from France might have to urge before they made common cause with either French or English. To a treaty of defensive and offensive alliance generally they professed themselves to be willing to accede, as such an alliance proposed a reciprocal advantage; but they objected to enter into engagements intended solely for the protection of British India. They saw clearly that the British Government had a point to carry with the court of Kabul for interests of its own; and, when they found that the equivalent demanded was withheld, they concluded that some ulterior and unacknowledged purpose was entertained.

The importance of the object which Shah Shuja

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and his ministers had in view—the assistance of the British—was speedily enhanced by the course of events. The troops sent to Kashmir were so entirely defeated that not more than two thousand men, dismounted, disarmed, and wholly disorganised, escaped. Mahmud immediately resumed the offensive, occupied Kandahar and Kabul, and threatened Peshawar. The army was annihilated, the treasury was empty and the means of levying any considerable force were entirely deficient. In this emergency, a pecuniary grant was urgently solicited from the British Government; and such was the state of popular indifference with regard to the contending parties, and the readiness of the chiefs to sell their services to the highest bidder, that a compliance with the application would in all probability have secured the ascendancy of Shah Shuja, and have seated him firmly and permanently in his dominions.[1] The measure was warmly advocated by the envoy; but unhappily for the Shah, and for the fate of Afghanistan, doomed to a long and still unterminated course of civil dissension and domestic anarchy, the policy of the British Government had undergone a change. The invasion of Spain by Napoleon, and the commencement of the Peninsular war, had indefinitely suspended the execution

[1] The people of the towns were in general well-affected towards Shah Shuja, who was recommended to them by his moderation and justice. The Hill tribes were indifferent, and followed their own chiefs, most of whom were ready to sell their services to the highest bidder. Ten lakhs of rupees would probably have turned the scale decidedly in favour of Shah Shuja, and have secured him a permanent ascendancy. The grant of pecuniary aid was advocated by Mr. Elphinstone, but the measure was not thought necessary by Lord Minto, expressly on the grounds that the change of affairs in Europe had indefinitely suspended, if not entirely defeated, the projects of France against British India.— MS. Records.

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of his designs upon India, and had made it no longer necessary to conciliate the good-will or purchase the co-operation of the native states upon the frontier. It was therefore resolved to decline the grant of pecuniary aid in any form whatever, and to withdraw with unmeaning professions of amity from all intercourse with the Durani sovereign. The consequences of the ambition of the French Emperor thus vibrated to the heart of Asia; and his declaration, that the Bourbons had ceased to reign, precipitated Shah Shuja from his throne, consigned him to a life of exile and to a disastrous death, and ultimately led to the infliction of an indelible stain upon the military reputation of the British in the East.

Notwithstanding the disappointment of his hopes of realising an equivalent advantage from the proposed connexion, Shah Shuja agreed to the terms of a treaty in which it was stipulated, that if the French and Persians, who were in alliance, should endeavour to cross Afghanistan on their way to India, the Shah should, to the extent of his power, oppose their march; that the expense attending such opposition should be defrayed by the British Government; that friendship and union should continue for ever between the contracting states; that they should in no manner interfere in each other's countries; and that the King of Kabul should permit no individual of the French nation to enter his territories.[1] The treaty was sent for ratification to Calcutta: it was signed there on the 17th of June; but, before it could be returned to Peshawar,

[1] Coll. of Treaties, p. 301.

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neither king nor ambassador remained to exchange its authentication. Mr. Elphinstone, who had left the city on the 14th of June to await the restoration of tranquillity, received on his route the order for the return of the mission, and proceeded accordingly to the British territory by way of the Punjab. Shah Shuja marched against his rival: on the 29th of June his army, whilst yet in disorder after its march through the mountains, was surprised by Fatih Khan, and completely routed. The Shah fled; and, although he made several attempts to recover his authority, was uniformly unsuccessful. He then became the guest, and finally the prisoner, of Ranjit Sing; but effected his escape from Lahore, and found an asylum for many years at Ludiana, under the protection and with the support of the Government of India. At the end of 1832 he left his residence, and, proceeding to the westward, raised a force with which he defeated the troops of the Amirs of Sindh, and compelled them to pay him a pecuniary contribution. He then advanced to Kandahar, which he besieged. The Barakzei chiefs of that city having been joined by Dost Mohammed issued into the field, and an action took place which ended to the advantage of the Barakzeis. The Shah might, however, have recovered the supremacy, as many of the principal leaders of the enemy were prepared to desert to him; but he retreated precipitately from the contest, and hastened back to his place of refuge, to be thence conducted once more to Afghanistan,[1] under more propitious aus-

[1] Parliamentary Papers relative to Shah Shuja's expedition into Afghanistan, 1833-34; printed 20th March, 1839.

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pices than had ever smiled upon his former efforts, —the avowed co-operation of Ranjit Sing and the Government of British India. The auspices were deceptive. The powerful support upon which he relied crumbled beneath his feet, and left him helpless and alone amidst inexorable foes and treacherous friends. The end of his chequered career followed close upon his abandonment; and the hand of an assassin terminated the life of a prince whose alliance the Government of India had once courted, whose expulsion from his dominions it had pitied and whose distress it had relieved, and whom, as fatally for him as for itself, it at last vainly engaged to replace upon his throne.

The country of Sindh constitutes the most western limit of India along the southern course of the Indus. It was conquered by the Mohammedans in the commencement of the eighth century, and was retained as a dependency of Persia until its subjugation by Mahmud of Ghazni. Upon the downfall of his dynasty, the Sumras, a race of chiefs of Arab extraction, established themselves as independent rulers of the country, until they were dispossessed by the Sumas, who were Hindus, and who professed a nominal fealty to the Patan sovereigns of Delhi. In the reign of Akber, Sindh became more intimately attached to the Mogul empire; but the government of the province was usually intrusted to native chiefs, whose degree of subordination was regulated by the ability of the court of Delhi to compel obedience. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the Kaloras, a race of religious teachers who pretended to derive their origin

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from the Abasside Khalifs, and who converted their reputation for sanctity into an engine of worldly aggrandisement, had become possessed of extensive territory in Sindh, and usurped an ascendancy in its government, which was legalised in the reign of Mohammed Shah of Delhi by the appointment of Nur Mohammed Kalora as Subahdar of Tatta. The vicegerent of Sindh was speedily relieved from his dependence upon Delhi, but was compelled to pay tribute to the conqueror, Nadir Shah. The death of that prince dissolved the connexion with Persia; but the new sovereign of Afghanistan claimed the like supremacy over the country, and Sindh became, nominally at least, subject to Kabul. Although confirmed by Ahmed Shah, the son and successor of Nur Mohammed, Mohammed Murad Khan, was deposed after a reign of a few years by his disaffected nobles; and his brother, Ghulam Shah Khan, was placed on the musnud in his room. After a turbulent and distracted reign he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sirafraz Khan,[1] who in a few years was deposed by the heads of the Baluch tribes, who had now acquired a leading influence in the affairs of Sindh, and whose enmity he had incurred by putting Bahram Khan, the chief of Talpura, and one of his sons, Sobhdar Khan, for some offence to death. The confederates first placed a younger brother of Sirafraz Khan, and then a cousin, upon the throne; but, dissatisfied with their own choice, successively removed them, and seated Ghulam Nabi Shah, a brother of Ghulam Shah, on the musnud. Shortly after his accession, Bijar Khan Talpura, another son

[1] He founded the present capital, Hyderabad, in 1182.

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of Bahram Khan, returned to Sindh from Arabia, whither he had gone on pilgrimage, and undertook to revenge the death of his father. He was joined by his clan, and by their friends. Ghulam Nabi Khan immediately assembled his adherents, and a conflict ensued in which he was killed. Bijar Khan then marched against the capital, Hyderabad, where Abd-un-nabi Khan, the brother of the defeated sovereign, had fortified himself, and had put to death Sirafraz Khan, who had been confined there, and, along with him, other princes whose pretensions he thought likely to interfere with his own. Bijar Khan, unable to reduce Hyderabad, protested his readiness to acknowledge Abd-un-nabi as his sovereign, and faithfully adhered to his professions. The Kalora prince was acknowledged to be the paramount prince, and the head of the Talpura tribe became his hereditary minister. The authority exercised by Bijar Khan was not of long duration. In little more than two years he was assassinated by agents of the Raja of Jodhpur, with the connivance, or at the instigation, it is said, of Abd-un-nabi. The belief that the latter was implicated in the murder of Bijar Khan roused the vengeance of the Talpura tribe; and Abd-ullah Khan, the son of the deceased, expelled Abd-un-nabi from Sindh. Abd-ullah assumed the sovereignty.

Although assisted successively by the chief of Kelat and by the Raja of Jodhpur, Abd-un-nabi Khan was unable to recover his authority, and was obliged to have recourse to the Afghan monarch, Timur Shah, the son of Ahmed Shah. A force was placed at his disposal which his enemies were un-

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able to resist, and an apparent reconciliation was effected by the intermediation of the principal nobles. The reconciliation was insincere. The Talpura chiefs rebelled, were again defeated, and were again received into seeming favour, when either the dread of their renewed machinations, or resentment for the past, induced Abd-un-nabi Khan to perpetrate the murder of their leading men. Inviting Abd-ullah Khan, with two of his principal associates and kinsmen, to an interview on board his boat when upon an excursion on the Indus, he had them seized and immediately put to death. The crime was fatal to his dynasty; for the surviving chiefs of the Talpuras, led by Fatih Ali, the son of Mir Sobhdar Khan, the brother of Bijar Khan, who had been put to death along with their father Bahram Khan, rose in arms, and, assisted by the neighbouring chiefs of Khyrpur, Bahawalpur, and Daudputra, compelled Abd-un-nabi once more to seek an asylum at the court of Kabul. Circumstances were no longer propitious to his cause; and, although assistance was promised him, none of any magnitude was afforded. The representations of the Talpura chiefs, their professions of allegiance, the tribute which they promised, and the bribes which they distributed, retarded and ultimately frustrated the intentions, and baffled the efforts, of Timur Shah, and his successor Zeman Shah. Abd-un-nabi, after residing some years upon Jagirs assigned him, first by the Afghan monarch, and afterwards by the Raja of Jodhpur, died an exile in the states of the former prince, in the reign of Mahmud Shah, and the Talpura chief finally established the authority of his family in Sindh. His personal ele-

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vation was not undisputed, even by his own relations; and the forces on either side were drawn out to decide the dispute by the sword. The counsels of the elders of the tribe, and the tears and entreaties of the women, arrested the strife upon the eve of its occurrence;[1] and an accommodation was effected, by which Mir Sohrab of Khyrpur and Mir Thara of Mirpur, both descended from a common ancestor, were acknowledged to be independent in their own districts, while Fatih Ali was recognised as chief ruler of Sindh. This power he shared with his three brothers, Gholam Ali, Karam Ali, and Murad Ali. At the period when a friendly connexion with the country became an object of the policy of the Government of India, Fatih Ali was dead, but the three surviving brothers jointly administered the affairs of Sindh.[2]

Imperfectly acquainted with the history and the resources of Sindh, and attaching to its commerce and alliance more value than belonged to either, the Government of Bengal had made several attempts to form friendly relations with the court of Hyderabad. Its advances were received with coldness or repelled with insolence, and although a commercial agent was at one time allowed to reside at Tatta and carry on trade there, yet little en-

[1] An interesting account of this transaction is given by Mr. Crow in his report on Sindh, and is extracted in Captain Postans's account of Sindh.

[2] See Macmurdo's account of Sindh, Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, i. 223; Visit to the Court of Sindh by Dr. Burnes; Personal Observations on Sindh by Captain Postans; and a Persian account, translated by Captain Pogson and published in Calcutta. This latter differs in some details from the narratives of the European writers, and is less favourable to the Talpuras; ascribing to the latter treacherous designs, which provoked, and in some degree justified, the treatment they experienced.

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couragement[1] was given to it by the ruling authorities; and the factory having been attacked and plundered in a popular tumult, for which no reparation or redress was procured, the agency was discontinued. Circumstances now appeared more promising. Alarmed by the menaced interference of Shah Shuja on behalf of the expelled prince, Abd-un-nabi, the Amirs of Sindh had applied to Persia for succour, and a Persian army had been directed to march to their assistance. The death of Abd-un-nabi, and the embarrassments which Shah Shuja experienced at home, removed all ground of fear from Afghanistan, and the Amirs then became most apprehensive of peril from their allies. They thought it prudent, therefore, to oppose one powerful friend to another,—British India to Persia: they therefore began to conciliate the British Government, and sent an agent to Bombay to propose the renewal of the commercial intercourse that had formerly existed. The proposal was favourably entertained, and Captain Seton was sent as envoy to Hyderabad. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded by the envoy with the Amirs; but, as the stipulations pledged the British Government to a reciprocity that was deemed inexpedient, the ratification of the treaty was withheld, and Mr. Nicholas Hankey Smith, a Bombay civil servant, was deputed to explain the cause, and to contract a less comprehensive engagement. After many delays and obstructions opposed to his journey by the ser-

[1] Ghulam Shah Kalora granted perwanas in 1758 to a Mr. Sumption, in the service of the East India Company, exempting the goods he should import from all duties, and authorising him to build a factory at Aurangbunder, or at Tatta.— Coll. of Treaties, 488.

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vants of the Amirs,—not, it was suspected, without their secret approval,[1]—Mr. Smith reached Hyderabad on the 8th of August; and on the 23rd of that month a treaty was signed, which engaged that there should be eternal friendship between the two Governments, that vakeels or agents should be always mutually appointed, and that the French should not be permitted to form an establishment in Sindh.[2] The apprehension of a French invasion of India had subsided, and there remained no motive of weight for cultivating the friendship of a semi-barbarous and arrogant court; while the Amirs were equally disinclined to maintain an intimate intercourse with a power which they feared, and with which they thought they had reason to be dissatisfied, not only on account of the annulment of the treaty entered into with Captain Seton, but because they were apprised that any aggression upon the neighbouring state of Cutch, to the affairs of which we shall hereafter have occasion to recur, would be decidedly resisted. No beneficial result consequently followed the connexion formed at this period with the rulers of Sindh.

Negociations of greater importance and of more durable consequences were at the same period set on foot with the Government of Persia. They opened inauspiciously, but their complexion was changed by the influence of political revolutions in the west; and the course of events in Europe cleared the road from Bushir to Tehran, and sub-

[1] A detailed account of the proceedings of the mission is given by Lieutenant (now Sir Henry Pottinger) in his Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh, p. 331.

[2] Coll. of Treaties, 306.

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verted the influence which the French embassy had obtained at the latter city.

1808. Napoleon had endeavoured at an early date to establish a connexion with the King of Persia; and, when he projected the invasion of Egypt, the Directory, at his suggestion, sent secret agents to Tehran to prevail upon the reigning monarch Aga Mohammed, to make a simultaneous attack upon the Turkish provinces on the Euphrates. The unavowed character of the French emissaries perplexed the Persian sovereign: his death shortly afterwards, and the accession of Fatih Ali, caused their proposals to meet with but little attention, and no disposition was evinced to adopt the views of France. This disappointment, and the successful mission of Sir John Malcolm to Tehran by Marquis Wellesley, excluded the influence of France at the court of Persia for several years. An accredited agent, who was then sent, died shortly after having had an audience of the King, and all intercourse was again suspended.

In the beginning of 1806, Persia being engaged in hostilities with Russia, and dreading the advance of the Russian arms, gladly welcomed an agent from the French minister at Constantinople, and at his recommendation dispatched one of the nobles of the court to Paris to negociate a treaty of offensive alliance. A second envoy from Tehran accompanied Monsieur Pontecoulant, who had been dispatched to Persia after the death of his predecessor, and who was now returning to France. This disposition of the Persian court coinciding with the political interests of the French Emperor, met with the most cordial encouragement, and a splendid

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embassy was sent to Tehran under General Gardanne, who arrived at the Persian capital towards the end of December 1807. His suite consisted of twenty-five persons, mostly military, besides a number of artillery and engineer officers, and a considerable body of artificers. The draft of a treaty was speedily completed, and sent to Paris for ratification. It was stipulated that France should, either by force or negociation, obtain from Russia, Georgia and other frontier provinces conquered from Persia; that the King of Persia should allow an army to march through his territories to invade India, should provide for its wants, and join it with all his force; that the island of Kharak should be ceded to France, and French factories should be admitted at Gombroon, Bushir, and other places; and that, if the Emperor required it, the King of Persia should exclude all Englishmen from his dominions. During the negociations, and the interval of the ratification of the treaty, many of the French officers attached to the embassy were dispersed through the country, and were actively engaged in making military surveys of it and ascertaining its resources; while those remaining at the capital were as busily employed in drilling the new Persian levies, and instructing them in European discipline.

The war between Persia and Russia originated in the invasion of Georgia by the former power, and consequent recourse to the latter by the princes of Georgia, Heraclius and his successor Gurgein, the second of whom promised perpetual vassalage to Russia as the price of the aid solicited. The Persians had been driven out of the country, and they

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had not only been foiled in every attempt to regain it, but had sustained many disastrous defeats, and had lost extensive tracts in Armenia and Daghestan. In the first moments of distress the court had applied to the Indian Government for aid, under the initiatory article of the treaty concluded in 1801, which pledged the two states to perpetual amity. This interpretation of the article was not concurred in by the Government of India, and armed assistance was declined. The refusal had alienated the court of Persia from the British connexion, and had thrown it into the arms of France. Unfortunately for its hopes, the peace of Tilsit, which was concluded before even the arrival of General Gardanne at Tehran, had united the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander in bonds of personal friendship and projects of mutual aggrandisement. Although not immediately avowed,—although a show of regard was displayed, and offers of mediation were professed,—yet at the very moment when the King of Persia was assured that the strongest intercession in his favour should be addressed to the Czar, his cause had been utterly abandoned, and the integrity of his dominions sacrificed to Russia, in exchange for licence to the French Emperor to pounce without check or hinderance upon Spain.

The presence of a French embassy at the Persian court had so far a beneficial operation, that it roused the authorities both in England and in India to a sense of the necessity of reacquiring some consideration at Tehran. Unluckily, their measures were taken without previous concert, and the result was an undignified and impolitic collision. The

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Government of England, in communication with the Court of Directors, resolved to send an ambassador to Persia, in the person of Sir Harford Jones, who had held for several years the office of Company's Resident at Bagdad. He was accordingly nominated his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary; although his allowances and the cost of the mission were to be defrayed by the East India Company, and the envoy was ordered to act under instructions from the Governor-General. The Governor-General had in the mean time determined to dispatch his own representative; and Sir John Malcolm, who had concluded the former treaty, was again sent by Lord Minto in the same capacity to Persia. 1808.

The appointment of an ambassador to Persia was one of the last acts of the administration of Earl Grey; and his departure was delayed by the change of ministry which took place in March, 1807. From this and other circumstances, Sir Harford Jones did not arrive at Bombay until April in the following year, and on his arrival found that Sir John Malcolm had preceded him to Bushir. In compliance with the orders of the Governor-General, he remained at Bombay until it should be ascertained in what manner the mission was received. Sir John Malcolm reached Bushir in May, and announced his arrival to the court, sending his dispatches by one of his officers, Captain Pasley. The letters were forwarded, but the messenger was detained at Shiraz until instructions should arrive from Tehran. After some delay they were received. The King, still clinging to the hope that

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the intercession of France would procure the restoration of some of his lost frontier,—a hope in which he was strengthened by the assurances of a Russian agent, and the protestations of the French ambassador,—chose rather to brave the resentment of his former allies than give umbrage to both France and Russia. Affecting, however, an equal unwillingness to displease the British Government, he directed one of his sons, Hosein Ali Mirza, governor of the province, to carry on the negociations with its representative at Shiraz. To this Sir John Malcolm strongly objected, as derogatory to the dignity of his Government. Believing, from the private information he received, that the French embassy had obtained too firm a footing at Tehran to be supplanted, and arguing that the connexion was a breach of existing engagements, and inimical to British interests, he abruptly sailed from Bushir, and repaired at once to Calcutta, where his representations induced the Governor-General to conclude that measures of intimidation or hostility were necessary; and orders were issued for fitting out a military expedition, which should occupy the island of Kharak, and hold the command of the navigation of the Persian Gulph.[1]

The first impression entertained by the Governor-General, founded upon the envoy's dispatches, was, that the proceedings of Sir John Malcolm had been somewhat precipitate, and that no sufficient cause had been assigned for the total abandonment of the objects of the embassy. He had therefore authorised Sir Harford Jones, in the event of his predecessor's

[1] Malcolm's Political History of India, i. 415.

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withdrawal, to prosecute his voyage "without a moment's delay, should the circumstances render, in his judgment, such a step advisable, without further reference to Bengal." The information which he subsequently received induced Lord Minto to believe that a representative of the British power would not be admitted to the presence of the King of Persia, and that a repetition of the attempt to obtain an audience would be incompatible with the dignity of the Government, while it would be productive of no advantage. Sir Harford Jones was consequently instructed to await the result of further deliberations. The countermand was too late. Before it reached Bombay, Sir Harford Jones, acting in the spirit of his first instructions, had sailed for Persia. He arrived at Bushir on the 14th of October. The aspect of affairs had changed. No progress had been made towards the restitution of any part of the Persian territory, and the court had begun to lose faith in the professions of the French. In this feeling of disappointment, regret for having given offence to the British Government, and apprehension of the consequences of its displeasure, found easy access to the Persian cabinet, and the arrival of his Majesty's ambassador at Bushir was regarded as a fortunate means of escaping from its embarrassments. Still, some reluctance seems to have been entertained to break so entirely with France as openly to sanction the advance of the mission to the capital; and, although an invitation to proceed to Shiraz was very soon forwarded, Sir Harford Jones consented to go thither upon no other se-

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curity for his ultimate reception at Tehran than the assurances of a native agent that on his arrival there he would find the official invitation from the King and his ministers to continue his journey to the presence. Upon this information, the envoy accompanied the Mihmandar who was sent to conduct him to Shiraz, and arrived there on the 1st of January. Some faint attempts to inveigle him into negociations with the local authorities were easily baffled; and, all difficulties being surmounted,[1] the mission departed from Shiraz on the 12th of January. Sir Harford Jones entered Tehran on the 14th of the following month, the French embassy having quitted the city on the preceding day. During the stay of the mission at Shiraz, the dispatches from Bengal arrived, recalling the ambassador, and announcing the military projects of the Government. The information speedily transpired, and excited great alarm; to allay which, Sir Harford Jones assumed, as the representative of the Crown, a power independent of the Governor-General of India, and entered into a solemn pledge that no aggression should be committed upon the dominions of the King of Persia as long as his Majesty displayed a wish to preserve the amicable relations by

[1] Malcolm ascribes this to "the anticipated failure of the French to fulfil their extravagant promises, the alarm excited by the military preparations in India, and the cupidity of the Persian court, which had been strongly excited."— Pol. Hist. i. 415. Sir Harford Jones states, that Lord Minto accused him of having found his way to Shiraz by corruption. —Account of the Mission to Persia, i. 147. According to the plenipotentiary's own account, the King's willingness to receive him was stimulated by exaggerated descriptions of a valuable diamond included amongst the presents intended for his Majesty, and of which he himself remarks, "I so managed, that, at the expense of £10,000 to the Company, the Shah of Persia considered he had received twenty or twenty-five thousand pounds from his Majesty's envoy."— Account of the Mission, i. 144.

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which he had been connected with the King of Great Britain.

The appointment of an ambassador to Persia by the home Government had been regarded by the Governor-General as an injudicious departure from the practice of negociating with that country through India. He protested against the innovation. Lord Minto argued, that it was inconsistent to expect from the Government of India effective precautions against any dangers on the side of Persia, without leaving to it the power of controuling the minister deputed to the Persian court, and directing the course and character of the negociations to be carried on with it: that such a minister appointed in England might not only fail to appreciate the interests of British India, but might act in direct opposition to them; and might not only pledge the faith of its Government to measures unsanctioned by it, but even to such as were incompatible with its honour and safety: that the Indian Government was vested with the power of sovereignty within its own limits, and had been recognised in that character by the King of Persia. "It was in that character alone that we had been able to obtain those manifestations of respect, that regard to the claims of dignity, which amongst all nations of the world, but in an especial degree amongst Asiatic states, are essential to the maintenance of real power in the scale of political interest: this acknowledged character, as it constituted the basis, so it must form the cement, of our external relations. To depreciate therefore that estimation of the power and dignity of the British Government

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in India, which under a just sense of its importance we have hitherto successfully laboured to preserve among surrounding states, is to fix upon the British Government the stigma of deceit, to affect the reputation of our public faith, and to expose us to much of the danger arising from a real loss of power, by diminishing that awe and respect with which the Government has hitherto been contemplated, and on which the tranquillity and security of British India materially depend."[1]

Notwithstanding the earnestness with which Lord Minto asserted the sovereign prerogatives of the Governor-General of India, the transfer of diplomatic relations with Persia from that officer to the Ministers of the Crown was persevered in, and ambassadors to Persia have ever since been sent directly from Great Britain alone. The destinies of Persia are, in truth, so much more intimately interwoven with the political interests of the parent country than of India, the consequences deprecated by Lord Minto as likely to affect the latter are so much more calculated to exercise an influence upon the former, that the relations established, or to be established, with Persia, can no longer be consistently confided to the arbitrement of a delegated and subordinate functionary, however high his station or absolute his authority.

Until, however, the question was decided against him, Lord Minto showed himself resolved to exercise his power. Highly displeased at the determination of Sir Harford Jones to continue his journey from

[1] Lord Minto's letter to the Secret Committee, as quoted by Malcolm.—Pol. Hist. i. 417.

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Shiraz, the Governor-General addressed dispatches to the court of Tehran, disavowing the public character of the ambassador; and, to Sir Harford Jones himself, orders were sent commanding him instantly to leave the country, with the intimation, that, on his failing so to do, any bills drawn by him on the Indian Governments after the date of such disobedience would not be discharged. His Majesty's plenipotentiary could not resist the weight of this argument, and signified his readiness to obey; but in the mean time he had pursued his negociation with great activity, had accomplished the execution of a preliminary treaty, and had prevailed upon the King of Persia to send Abul Hasan Khan as his ambassador, in company with Mr. Morier, to England. The Governor-General consented to ratify the treaty, but peremptorily ordered Sir H. Jones to quit Persia, making over charge of the mission to a medical officer of the Company until the arrival of Sir John Malcolm, whom he still resolved to employ. On the other hand, orders from England directed Sir H. Jones to remain until the arrival of another ambassador in the person of Sir Gore Ouseley; and he continued in the country until after the winter of 1810, although not exercising apparently any ministerial functions. Sir John Malcolm arrived at Tehran in June 1810, — for no purpose apparently except to vindicate the dignity of the Governor-General of India, and put the Company to an unnecessary expense. His presence and services in Persia being speedily rendered unnecessary by the approach of Sir Gore Ouseley as his Majesty's representative at the Persian court, he left Tehran

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in the following month.[1] There were consequently about the same period three English ambassadors in Persia, whose relative importance it must have perplexed the Persians to determine, although they were astute enough to take advantage of so much competition for their friendship, and make the better bargain for themselves.

By the preliminary treaty concluded between Sir Harford Jones and the ministers of the King of Persia it was stipulated that the articles should form the basis of a definitive treaty without alteration; that every treaty made by the King of Persia with any one of the powers of Europe should become null and void; and that he would not permit any European force to march through Persia towards India. That, should any European force invade or have invaded the territories of Persia, his Britannic Majesty would afford to the King of Persia a military force, or, in lieu of it, a subsidy and warlike ammunition; the number of the forces and the amount of the subsidy to be regulated by a definitive treaty. Should his Britannic Majesty make peace with the invading power, he should use his efforts to negociate a peace also between it and Persia;

[1] A full account of the circumstances connected with Sir Harford Jones's embassy has been published by himself,—An Account of the transactions of his Majesty's mission to the Court of Persia in the years 1807-11, by Sir Harford Jones Brydges, Bart. A somewhat different view of them is given by Malcolm in his Political History of India. Some notice of the proceedings of the mission occurs in Morier's First Journey through Persia. Whatever may be the case with respect to the means employed, there is no denying that Sir Harford Jones effected his object; that he made his way to Tehran, and negociated a treaty which, in substance, was confirmed by the British Government; and that the projected military expedition to the Gulph would have entailed a heavy cost, realised no solid advantage, and deeply, perhaps incurably, wounded the pride of the Persian monarch and the patriotism of his people.

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but, in failure of success, the military or pecuniary aid should be still supplied as long as the invading force continued in the Persian territory, or until the conclusion of peace. That, if the Afghans or any other power should attack India, the King of Persia should furnish a force to assist in its defence. That, if any British troops should have landed at Kharak, or in any other Persian port, they should not possess themselves of such places, but be at the disposal of the King of Persia, subject to the alternative of a pecuniary payment in their place. That, if war should take place between the Afghans and the King of Persia, the King of Great Britain should take no part in it, except as a mediator at the desire of both parties. That the object of these articles should be regarded as mutually defensive; and, finally, a hope was expressed that the treaty might be everlasting, and produce "the most beautiful fruits of friendship between the two serene kings."

A definitive treaty, in conformity to these stipulations, was entered into by Sir Gore Ouseley; but some of the conditions underwent a modification in England, and the final arrangements were not completed till 1814, when the terms were conclusively agreed upon. The defensive character of the treaty was more explicitly stated, and Russia was specified as the power against which the Persian frontier was to be defended. The amount of the subsidy was fixed at 200,000 tomans, about £125,000 per annum; and it was further agreed that the said subsidy should not be paid in case a war with any European nation should have been produced by an

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aggression on the part of Persia. The other modifications little affected the preliminary conditions; and, at a subsequent date, the Persian court was compelled to relinquish the stipulated subsidy.[1] Little ultimate advantage accrued to either power from the intercourse which it had been considered so essential to the political interests of both to maintain.

[1] See the several engagements with Persia of 1809, 1814, and 1828, in the treaties printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.

CHAPTER V.

Appointment of Sir G. Barlow to the Government of Madras,—unacceptable to the settlement.—The state of popular feeling.—Commencement of agitation.—Case of Mr. Sherson.—Proceedings of the Commission for the investigation of the debts of the Nawab of the Carnatic.—Trials of Reddy Rao,—his conviction,—his pardon and death.—Affairs of Travancore.—Disputes between the Raja and the Resident.—Enmity of the Dewan,—sets on foot an insurrection,—abetted by the Dewan of Cochin.—Troops ordered to Travancore.—The Resident's house attacked,—his escape.—Operations of the Subsidiary force.—Murder of Europeans by the Dewan.—Army sent to the Province under Colonel St. Leger.—Storm of the Arambuli Lines.—Defeat of the Nairs at Quilon.—Advance to the Capital.—Submission of the Raja.—Flight of the Dewan.

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— Sanctuary violated. — Death of the Dewan. — Seizure and execution of his brother.—The body of the Dewan gibbeted. — Sentiments of the Bengal Government. — Disorganised condition of Travancore.—Administration of affairs by the Resident as Dewan under the Raja and his successors.—Restoration of prosperity.—Similar system and results in Cochin.— Disputes between the Governor and Commander-in-chief. — The latter refused a seat in Council by the Court,—his dissatisfaction and resignation. — Discontents of the Officers of the Coast army,—their causes.—Tent contract abolished.—Reasons assigned in the Quarter-Master-General's report offensive to Officers commanding corps,—demand a court-martial on Colonel Munro.—The Commander-in-chief places Colonel Munro in arrest.—Government cancels the arrest.—General Macdowall issues a General Order on the subject, and embarks for England.—Counter Order by the Government.—Subsequent severity.—Suspension of Major Boles.—Effect upon the Officers.—Orders of the 1st of May.—Violent proceedings at Hyderabad.—Mutinous conduct of the garrison of Masulipatam.—Threatened march of the troops to Madras.—Firmness of the Government.—Consequent arrangements.—Test proposed to the European Officers.—Appeal to the Native Troops.—Their allegiance.—The garrison of Seringapatam in open rebellion.—Colonel Close sent to Hyderabad.— Officers of the Subsidiary force sign the test,—their example followed.—Arrival of the Governor-General at Madras.—Courts-martial.—Sir Samuel Achmuty Commander-in-chief and Member of Council.— Proceedings in England. —

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Warm disputes in the Court of Directors.—Officers restored to the service.—Sir G. Barlow finally recalled.

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To compensate to Sir George Barlow for the disappointment which had been inflicted upon him by his supersession in the high office of Governor-General, the Administration in England consented to his eventual elevation to that dignity, and in the mean while concurred in his nomination to the government of Fort St. George.[1] He was accordingly appointed Governor of Madras, and assumed charge of his new duties at the end of December, 1807.[2]

Various circumstances conspired to render the appointment of Sir George Barlow unacceptable to the servants of the Company under the Madras Presidency. His being a member of a different service was one source of his unpopularity, and his well-known character as a rigorous advocate and unrelenting enforcer of measures of public economy and retrenchment produced a still more universal and profound impression adverse to his person and

[1] "He (Sir George Barlow) is now subjected to the discredit of being superseded in the Government-General; to the succession of which, after having once actually filled that high office, he stood for the third time appointed."—Protests of Messrs. Parry, Astell, Smith, and Bell, against the recall of Sir G. Barlow in 1812. So Mr. Grant in a separate protest observes, "I come now to speak of the order rescinding the appointment made of Sir G. Barlow, in May 1807, to be Governor-General of Bengal in succession to Lord Minto."—Dissents, &c., published by Sir Robert Barlow. Murray, 1813.

[2] The occurrences of Sir G. Barlow's administration are fully detailed, not only in the numerous pamphlets published both by his friends and enemies, but in the official documents relating to the transactions themselves, and to the discussions which they occasioned in the Court of Directors, which were printed by order of Parliament at the following several dates, 25th May, 1810; 1st April, 1811; 3rd May, 1811; 13th June, 1811; 21st June, 1811, and 15th April, 1812.

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his government.[1] Unfortunately, he does not appear to have been qualified or disposed to dissipate the prejudices which anticipated his presence. His manners were reserved and unconciliating: a stranger at Madras, and of retiring habits, he gave his confidence too exclusively to the knot of civil and military functionaries by whom he was immediately surrounded: his notions of the claims of the executive powers of Government to prompt and unquestioning obedience were lofty and uncompromising; and in the stern exaction of acquiescence he undervalued apparently the necessity, which "every statesman ought to feel, of mutual accommodation and concession in the controversies and contentions of mankind, and was wanting in a liberal consideration for human feelings and infirmities." These defects were not counterbalanced, in the estimation of those whom he was set over, by the acknowledged merits of his public character, his conscientious sense of the importance of his duties, or his industry and ability in their discharge; nor was time allowed for the due appreciation of the excellence which, under an unattractive deportment, distinguished his private life. The state of society also at Madras, and the sentiments which had for some time pervaded the Coast

[1] "I am under the necessity of avowing, with infinite regret, another very operating principle of these discontents, which have since matured themselves gradually, but without interruption, into the extremes of public disorder. I allude to the unjust but very general and vehement prejudices against the person and character of Sir G. Barlow, which may have been in some degree the unavoidable, but were certainly the unmerited, consequences of his firm and faithful discharge of ungracious and unpopular, but sacred and essential duties, not sought or relished by himself, but cast by circumstances peculiar to the times on the period of his administration in Bengal."—Letter from Lord Minto to the Secret Committee, 5th Feb., 1810; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 346.

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army, had accumulated elements of discord which the slightest breath was sufficient to set in agitation : dissensions and discontents accordingly immediately burst forth, and rendered the administration of the new Governor of Madras a season of unprecedented private misery, and unexampled public peril and alarm.

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The first occasion of offence occurred in the settlement of Madras, and followed closely upon Sir George Barlow's arrival. On assuming the reins of power, he found in progress an inquiry instituted by order of his predecessor, Mr. Petrie, into the conduct of a Mr. Sherson, a civil servant of some standing, of a respectable character, and a person much esteemed in society; who had held the office of superintendent of the public stores of rice laid in by the Government of Madras, to be retailed in small quantities to the people, as a precaution against the recurrence of those famines which had frequently desolated the Presidency. Charges of fraud in this department were preferred against Mr. Sherson, and a committee was appointed for their investigation. That abuses in an arrangement so liable to be abused seemed probable; but their nature and extent were undetermined, and the participation or cognizance of the principal unsubstantiated. His accounts submitted to the civil auditor were pronounced correct; yet, as they did not tally with the native accounts of the office, Mr. Sherson, and Mr. Smith the auditor, were both removed from their situations, and the former was suspended from the service pending the pleasure of the Court of Directors. An opinion generally prevailed that both

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these officers had been harshly, if not unjustly, dealt with; and Sir George Barlow incurred much obloquy from having precipitately believed representations asserted to be interested or malicious.

That he too hastily adopted a decided opinion in the matter, and, in his intolerance of supposed official peculation, inflicted severe punishment before its justice was undeniably established, was shown by subsequent events. A prosecution was commenced in the Supreme Court of Madras against Mr. Sherson, and after considerable delays, during which a change of Government had taken place, the cause came on for trial. Mr. Sherson was acquitted, not only of legal, but, in the opinion of one of his Judges, of moral criminality.[1] It was accordingly resolved by the Court of Directors, "that the severe measures adopted relative to Mr. Sherson had been founded upon erroneous grounds;" and he was restored by them to the service, with a pecuniary indemnification of 20,000 pagodas for his losses. The resolutions were confirmed in terms still more emphatic by the Court of Proprietors.[2]

Animosities still more violent and extensive were engendered by the part which the Governor of Madras deemed it incumbent upon him to take in support of a committee which had been appointed under an act of parliament for the investigation and adjustment of the debts of the Nawab of the Car-

[1] Sir John Newbolt: the other Judges were Sir Thomas Strange and Sir Francis Macnaghten.

[2] Report of Debate in the Court of Proprietors, 28th April and 5th May, 1815, by Mr. Fraser; London, 1815. Report of Proceedings in the Supreme Court, Madras, 28th March, 1814; Honourable Company v. Sherson and others.

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natic. The principles which had been enjoined by the Board of Controul in 1784 for the settlement of all claims upon the Nawab have already been described;[1] and, under this application, the amount of debt admitted at that date without any scrutiny, and which was known as the Registered debt, had been liquidated by May, 1804. But, besides the amount of debt so discharged, claims to a much greater extent had been advanced. These had been submitted to examination before a committee which was formed at Madras, the operations of which continued from 1785 to 1791. They allowed some of the demands brought before them, but left the far larger number for further investigation; and there the matter rested. When the entire revenues of the Carnatic were assumed by the Company's Government, it was considered but just to take the incumbrances along with them, and to pay off all valid demands upon the former Administration. An engagement to this end was concluded between the Company and the creditors in July 1805, and commissioners to make a settlement were nominated. In the year following, an act of parliament was passed for enabling the commissioners acting in execution of an agreement made between the East India Company and the private creditors of the Nabobs of the Carnatic the better to carry the same into effect.[2]

The engagement thus legalized by the Legisla-

[1] Vol. v. p. 36.

[2] Parliamentary Debates, April 14th and 16th, 1806. In moving for leave to bring in the bill, Mr. Hobhouse gave a full and perspicuous history of the arrangements which had been made for the liquidation of these debts.

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ture provided that a fixed annual sum (3,40,000 pagodas, or £136,000) should be set apart from the revenues of the Carnatic for the payment of all such debts as should be admitted to be just and valid by commissioners appointed in England for their adjudication, assisted by similar commissioners at Madras; whose duty it should be to collect information and evidence, both oral and documentary, for transmission to the commissioners at home, in whom alone the power of final admission or rejection was vested: and, in order that the Indian commissioners might be as free as possible from all motives of local interest or influence, it was agreed that they should be appointed by the Governor-General, and that they should be selected from the Civil service of Bengal. Accordingly, at the period under review, three commissioners, who were members of the Bengal Civil service, were sitting at Madras to investigate the demands of persons claiming to be creditors of the Nawabs of Arcot, and producing bonds and other vouchers asserted to have been originally granted by those princes in acknowledgment of actual loans or real pecuniary obligations.

The long interval which had elapsed since the investigation of the Carnatic debts had been commenced, and the prospect which the present arrangement encouraged of their being ultimately paid, had not only protracted the existence of those vouchers which were of unimpeachable authenticity, but had prompted the fabrication of a vast mass of fictitious documents[1] in evidence of unreal transac-

[1] The extent of these forgeries and fabrications is shown by the result.

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tions. It was not an easy task to discriminate between the false and the true bonds; and the former, having long passed from hand to hand without question, had become, in the ordinary course of transfer, the property of individuals wholly unconnected with the original fraud, and entertaining no doubt of the goodness of the security. Many bonds of large amount had come very honestly into the possession of persons of rank and influence in the society of Madras, who were naturally and excusably interested in establishing the validity of deeds upon which their fortunes mainly depended. When, therefore, the commissioners from Bengal, early in 1808, entered upon their office at Madras, they found the difficulties, inseparable from the nature of their duty and the novelty of their position, aggravated by the opposition which they encountered. In this situation they gladly availed themselves of any assistance which offered a reasonable chance of affording them the information they were appointed to obtain; and they were fully justified in attaching consideration to the advice and opinions of a native named Reddy Rao, as he had been the principal accountant in the financial office of the late Nawab of Arcot, and was fully informed of the extent and character of the claims upon his master, and as he was a man of ability and had always been reputed respectable and honest.

Shortly after this selection had been made, a bond held by Reddy Rao himself came under the

The final report of the Carnatic commissioners, dated March 1830, states the amount originally claimed to have been above thirty millions sterling (£30,404,919 1*s.* 3½*d.*) The amount allowed was little more than two millions and a half (£2,686,148 12*s.* 8¾*d.*)

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inspection of the commissioners. Its authenticity was challenged by Avadanam Papia, another native creditor. The commissioners, upon investigating the charge, pronounced the bond of Reddy Rao genuine, and prosecuted the witnesses Papia had brought forward, for perjury. Papia had the start of them, and carried his accusation of forgery before a magistrate, who committed Reddy Rao for trial. Regarding the prosecution as a mere trick intended to deprive them of essential assistance, the commissioners appealed to the Government of Madras; and upon their representations, and at their request, the law officers of the Company were ordered to conduct the defence of Reddy Rao. This measure and the proceedings against Papia filled all classes of creditors with alarm, inasmuch as the appearance of Government as a party in opposition to their claims, was calculated to deter the natives from giving any testimony which they might think unacceptable to the superior authorities, and might deprive the claimants in many instances of the only means by which they could substantiate their demands. Great excitement spread throughout the settlement; and many individuals, of high rank in the service and much consideration in society, inveighed vehemently against an arrangement which was attributed to the partiality and prejudices of the Governor. The Government persisted, and with reason; for no good cause could be assigned why the commissioners should be debarred from the aid of the legal advisers of the state. But, not satisfied with a calm perseverance in a right course, measures

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of ill-timed and injudicious severity towards individuals were adopted, which had the appearance of a determination to substitute intimidation for inquiry. Indignant at the impediments which had been thrown in the way of the commissioners, the Government dismissed the magistrate, Mr. Maitland, by whom Reddy Rao had been committed; required Mr. Parry, a merchant residing at Madras, who had taken a conspicuous part in the opposition to the acts of the commission, to return immediately to Europe; and removed Mr. Roebuck, a civilian of long standing, from the situation he filled at the Presidency, to an office of inferior rank and emolument in the provinces, where he shortly afterwards died. In these manifestations of the displeasure of the Government undue and unnecessary rigour was exhibited. The opposition may have originated in interested motives, and may have been intemperate and indecorous; but some consideration might have been reasonably entertained for the feelings which the dread of loss of property could not fail to inspire, and the virulence of which would have been corrected by the steady perseverance of the commissioners in the calm and impartial performance of their functions. It was not in the power of any combination to defeat, however it might retard, the objects of the commission; and, although entitled to the support of the Government, it needed not its wrathful and vindictive interposition. The interference of authority also in this stage of the business, whilst proceedings in the highest court of judicature were pending, was, to say the least, exceedingly ill-timed, as it afforded a specious plea for

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accusing the Government of a design to obstruct the administration of justice.

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The trial of Reddy Rao took place: the Chief Justice pronounced an elaborate judgment in his favour; the jury found him guilty. A new trial was moved for, but the decision was postponed; and in the mean time an indictment for perjury was preferred against a person named Batley, the English translator and secretary of the Nawab, and one of the witnesses on behalf of Reddy Rao. It was in fact a second trial of Reddy Rao, as it involved the question of the spuriousness of his bond. A verdict unfavourable to his cause was given by a special jury, in the conviction of the defendant.

A third trial was held: Reddy Rao was charged with having paid a debt due to another native with a forged bond, knowing it to be forged; and he was again found guilty by the jury. The Chief Justice, strongly persuaded of his innocence and of that of Batley, suspended delivery of the sentence, and referred the evidence through the Board of Controul to the King, recommending the defendants to his Majesty, "not as the objects of his mercy, but as suitors for his justice; conceiving prosecutions to be the King's, and that a greater evil could scarcely happen to society than that they should be suffered to become, by whatever means, the successful engines of wrong."[1] Necessarily guided by the opinions of the Chief Justice, the pardon of the Crown was granted; but before it reached Madras the chief actor in the scene had ceased to be amenable to

[1] Two letters from Sir Thomas Strange, 27th Feb. and 4th May, 1809, to the Right Honourable R. Dundas.—Parliamentary Papers, Carnatic debts.

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human judgment: Reddy Rao poisoned himself in little more than a twelvemonth after his last trial. He had not long continued, after that event, to enjoy the confidence of the commissioners. Suspicion was awakened: it was discovered that he was deeply implicated in the issue of the fabricated securities, and in other frauds upon the Nawab's treasury; and the very bond, the genuineness of which had been so tenaciously upheld by the commissioners, was reported by them to their fellow commissioners in London a forgery. The result was little calculated to gain credit or favour for the Governor of Madras, who, in his eagerness to maintain unimpaired the powers of the commissioners, had thrown the whole weight of his authority into the same scale with an impostor and a cheat; and, in defence of a knave, had inflicted on men of character and honour penury and disgrace, because in protecting valuable interests they had been betrayed into indiscretion and intemperance.[1]

However inveterate the mutual ill-will which was engendered by these proceedings, they were far exceeded in intensity and importance by the dissensions which about the same time broke out between the Governor of Madras and a large division of the army. Before entering upon an account of the lamentable consequences attending them, it will be

[1] The best authenticated accounts of these proceedings are to be found in the papers printed for Parliament, 3rd May and 11th June, 1811, relating to the Carnatic debts. Ex-parte statements, which agree as to the main facts, are to be met with in the Parliamentary papers referred to: also in Marsh's Review of Sir G. Barlow's Administration; London, 1812: Exposure of the Misrepresentations and Calumnies in Marsh's Review; London, 1813: Short Narrative of the Late Trials, &c.; London, 1810: Correspondence of Messrs. Abbott, Parry, and Maitland, with the Court of Directors; London, 1813: and in other pamphlets.

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advisable to notice the political occurrences by which they were preceded.

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The mutual dissatisfaction which had long subsisted between the Raja of Travancore and the British Government has been already adverted to. Towards the end of 1808 the subsidy which the Raja was bound to pay had fallen into a long arrear, and the Resident peremptorily demanded its liquidation. The Raja and his principal minister protested that the revenues of Travancore were incapable of supporting so heavy a burthen as the charge of four battalions of Company's troops, and required their reduction. The Resident replied by insisting on the dismissal of an imperfectly disciplined body of infantry in the Raja's service, called the Carnatic Brigade, as a useless and expensive corps, the discontinuance of which would obviate all difficulty regarding the subsidy. The Carnatic Brigade was looked upon by the Raja as an essential part of his dignity, and indispensable to his personal safety; and the proposal to disband it was treated as a preliminary step to the seizure of the Raja's person, and the annihilation of his authority. Appeals were made by the Raja to the Governments of Madras and Bengal, in which he asserted that the treaty of 1805 had been forced upon him; that he had been intimidated into its execution by the menaces of the Resident; and that the expense which it entailed upon the revenues of his principality were beyond their means of defraying it.[1] These assertions were denied by the Resident.

[1] An opinion seems to have prevailed that the difficulty in the realisation of the subsidy arose from the refusal of the Company's Government to

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Besides the cause of discontent arising out of the subsidy, which was common to the Raja and his counsellors, his Dewan or prime minister, Vailu Tambi, had personal grounds for fear and resentment. Considering him to be the chief instigator of the Raja's backwardness in fulfilling his pecuniary engagements, the Resident had insisted upon his removal from his situation, and the appointment of a minister more submissive to British controul. The Dewan professed himself willing to resign whenever a successor should be appointed; but, under cover of his pretended acquiescence in the Resident's will, he set himself to work to organise an insurrection of the Nairs, the martial population of Malabar, and to accomplish the murder of the Resident, whom he hated as the scourge of his country, and his own avowed and inexorable foe.

receive payment in pepper, agreeably to the terms of the original treaty; but, which having fallen in value, a money payment was demanded. In Sir Thomas Munro's examination before the Committee of the House of Commons in April, 1813, he was asked, "Have you not heard that the Raja originally entered into the treaty with great reluctance, and received our troops into his dominions, for the payment of which the pepper was agreed to be delivered?" his reply was, "I have not so heard." The notion may, perhaps, be traced to the Asiatic Annual Register for 1809, in which this account of the alteration from payment in pepper to that in money is assigned as a cause of the discontent of the Raja and subsequent disturbances. The statement is nevertheless erroneous. In the first correspondence with the Raja in 1788, the option of paying the subsidy in pepper or money was offered to him: he chose the latter. In 1793, a contract was entered into with him for the purchase of pepper for eight years, wholly unconnected with the subsidy. In 1795, an article of the treaty provided for the perpetuity of the pepper contract, subject to such modifications as should from time to time be agreed upon; but there was no stipulation that its price should form part payment of the subsidy. No allusion to such payment is contained in the treaty of 1805. The original contract provides that the pepper shall be paid for in goods; and, should they leave a balance, that should be paid in money. The commercial and political engagements were throughout distinct, and no complaint occurs in the correspondence on this account. The main ground of contention was the Carnatic Brigade.

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He prevailed upon the Dewan of the Raja of Cochin to join him in the plot; and, giving encouragement to some French adventurers from the Isle of France who had landed from an Arab vessel on the coast of Malabar, spread abroad a report that a large French army was about to come to assist him to expel the English. He also wrote circular letters to the neighbouring Rajas to summon them to combine for the defence of their religion, which he affirmed the English designed to overthrow. His instigations were effectual: arms were collected, and the people were prepared secretly for their use. The popular excitement became known to the Resident, and at his request reinforcements were ordered to Travancore. His Majesty's 12th regiment and two native battalions were directed to move from Malabar; and his Majesty's 69th, and three battalions of native infantry, with artillery, were commanded to march from Trichinopoly to his succour.

Alarmed apparently by these precautionary measures, the Dewan professed his readiness to resign immediately if his personal safety were guaranteed, and arrangements were made for his private removal from Alepi to Calicut on the night of the 28th of December. On that same night a body of armed men surrounded the house of the Resident. He had retired to rest, but was awakened by the indistinct noise of the approaching multitude; and, going to the window to discover the cause, was fired at by the assailants. Before an entrance could be forced, Colonel Macaulay, with a confidential servant, had time to hide themselves in a lower cham-

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ber, the door of which could not be easily distinguished from the exterior wall. The insurgents, having broken into the house, sought for the object of their vengeance throughout the night in vain. At daybreak they beheld a vessel under British colours entering the port, and other ships were discernible at a little distance making for the harbour. They now thought only of their own retreat, and hastily quitted the premises; affording Colonel Macaulay an opportunity of making his escape and taking refuge on board the vessel, which proved to be a transport with part of the reinforcement from Malabar. The more important division from Trichinopoly had been countermanded, the Madras Government giving ready credence to the simulated submission of the Dewan. The news of the insurrection obliged them to repeat their first directions, and in the middle of January the Trichinopoly force commenced its advance under the command of the Honourable Colonel St. Leger.

Before he was joined by the principal reinforcements from Malabar, Colonel Chalmers, commanding the subsidiary troops cantoned at Quilon, had commenced offensive operations. On the 30th of December he learnt that great numbers of armed Nairs had collected at a residence belonging to the minister, at no great distance to the north of the cantonments; and that an equally numerous body had assembled at Parúr, about ten miles to the south. His measures were promptly taken. Five companies of the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment of native infantry, with a field-piece, were detached to occupy a low hill commanding the Dewan's resi-

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dence. They had scarcely reached the spot when they were attacked by the enemy in numbers greatly superior, but they maintained their ground during the night; and, being strengthened by the two flank companies of the 13th N. I. at day-break, they advanced against the Nairs, defeated them, and took possession of the house, with two brass and four iron guns, with which it had been converted into a temporary battery. Information being received that a body of the enemy above four thousand strong were advancing along the coast from the north, the detachment commanded by Major Hamilton proceeded to meet them. They were encountered at the estuary of the Kaladi river, where some had crossed the bar, while the Carnatic Brigade was drawn up on the other side of the stream. Those who had crossed were attacked and compelled to retreat, but the main body stood firm; while a strong division ascended the river, in order to pass it higher up and get into the rear of the British. At the same time news arrived that the force from the south, estimated at more than ten thousand men, was rapidly advancing, and it was judged prudent to recall the detachment to the cantonment. The retreat of the troops gave courage to the insurgents.

The increasing numbers and confidence of the Nairs obliged Colonel Chalmers to remain on the defensive at Quilon, where he was reinforced early in January by his Majesty's 12th regiment under Colonel Picton. On the other hand, the Dewan, having concentrated his forces, amounting to between twenty and thirty thousand men, with eighteen guns, advanced to Quilon, and on the 15th of

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January attacked the British lines, defended by one European regiment and three battalions of Sipahis. The action began at six in the morning; the enemy occupying a rising ground, from which their guns opened a fire on the British encampment. Leaving the 4th native infantry to cover the camp, Colonel Chalmers formed the rest of his troops in two columns, the right under Colonel Picton, the left under Major Hamilton, and led them against the Travancore force. A stout resistance was encountered, and a division of the enemy attempted at the same time to storm the camp. They were repulsed, and, after a conflict of five hours' duration, the whole were driven off the field, leaving seven hundred slain, and losing fifteen pieces of artillery. The British loss was comparatively trifling.

Thus foiled in his attempt upon Quilon, the Dewan directed a considerable division of his followers against what promised to be an easier prey,—the post of Cochin, which was held by Major Hewitt with two companies of the 12th regiment, and six of the 1st battalion of the 17th native infantry. The enemy advanced on the 19th of January to the attack in three masses, each a thousand strong: the one on the left was met, charged, and routed. The victors then fell upon the other two bodies, which opposed a more resolute resistance, but were forced to give way. Desisting from further engagements in the field, they spread round Cochin on the side, land and covered the sea with their boats, so as to cut off all supplies. Before this manœuvre had produced serious distress, the Piedmontese frigate, with the Resident on

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board, anchored off the town; and her boats, with some small armed vessels belonging to Cochin, quickly drove the enemy's flotilla into the river, pursued, and set it on fire. The blockade was consequently raised; but the enemy still continued in overpowering numbers in the vicinity of Quilon and Cochin, and straitened the resources and checked the movements of the subsidiary force, until they were called off by the approach of danger in other directions. During this interval they disgraced their cause by acts of atrocity, which served no purpose except that of provoking retribution. An assistant-surgeon of the name of Hume, travelling at night on the 30th of January, was seized on his route, and led into the presence of the Dewan; who, although he knew the young man personally, and had benefited by his professional advice, commanded him to be conducted to the sea-side, where he was put to death and buried in the sand. About the same time a small vessel, with some of the soldiers of the 12th regiment on board, having touched at Alepi for supplies, the men were induced to land by the appearance of cordiality among the people, and assurances that part of the subsidiary force was in the neighbourhood. Unaware that hostilities had commenced, the men, thirty in number, disembarked, and as soon as they landed were made prisoners, and shortly afterwards murdered. This was also done by order of the Dewan, who thus effaced, by his perfidy and cruelty, whatever credit he might have claimed for zeal in the cause of his country and his prince.

Finding it no longer possible to avoid the cost of

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military operations, the Government of Fort St. George resolved to act with vigour, especially as the advancing season of the year admitted not of further loss of time. Colonel Cuppage, commanding in Malabar, was ordered to enter the province of Cochin from the north, and join Colonel Chalmers, with his Majesty's 80th regiment and two battalions of native infantry; and Colonel St. Leger was directed to march immediately from Trichinopoly, with a force composed of his Majesty's 69th regiment, a regiment of native cavalry, and three battalions of native infantry,[1] besides a detachment of Royal artillery, and the 3rd Ceylon or Kafri regiment, which was to join from Ceylon. Two divisions, consisting of a European regiment and a battalion of Sipahis, severally commanded by Colonel Wallace and Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs, were stationed in the Tinnivelly district and the vicinity of Wynâd, to keep the Travancoreans in check, and eventually co-operate with Colonel St. Leger's force. A proclamation was issued by the Madras Government, and distributed with Colonel St. Leger's advance, ascribing the necessity of military measures to the intrigues of the minister, and declaring that "the British Government had no other view than to rescue the Raja from the influence of the Dewan, to put an end to the power of that minister, and to re-establish the connexion of the

[1] The force consisted of his Majesty's 69th; both battalions of the 3rd native infantry; 1st battalion and one company of the 2nd battalion of the 13th; five companies of the 2nd battalion of the 10th native infantry; 6th native cavalry; a detachment of artillery and pioneers; a detachment of Royal artillery; and 3rd Kafri regiment from Ceylon. But the last did not join till after the capture of the Arambuli lines.

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two Governments on a secure and happy foundation.

The principality of Travancore is divided from the province of Tinnivelly by the southern portion of the mountain-chain which runs nearly parallel with the coast of Malabar, from the upper part of the Peninsula to Cape Comorin, and is usually known by the appellation of the Western Ghats. The mountains are lofty and covered with jungle, and present in general almost insuperable obstacles to the march of an army with baggage and artillery. The most practicable passes are situated near the southernmost extremity of the chain, where the mountains decline in elevation as they approach the sea; and through one of these, the pass of Arambuli or Aramuni, it was determined on this occasion to force an entrance into Travancore. The Arambuli pass was defended by formidable lines, consisting of a number of small redoubts, each mounting two or three guns, and connected by a strong wall of masonry. The whole extended about two miles along the sides of steep and rugged hills, and terminated at either extremity by a strongly fortified mountain flanked by impenetrable jungle. The high road from Palamkota led through the centre of the works, by a gateway which was commanded by two large circular bastions armed with several pieces of ordnance.[1] Colonel St. Leger arrived at the foot of the lines on the 6th of February; and, as the division was unequipped with a battering train, determined to attempt to carry the pass by surprise. On the night of the 10th, Major Welsh, with two com-

[1] Welsh's Military Reminiscences, vol. i. p. 288.

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panies of the 69th, four flank and five battalion companies of the 3rd native infantry, quietly climbed the hill on which the southern works were erected, and, after six hours' arduous ascent, reached the foot of the wall unperceived. The ladders were planted, and the ramparts scaled, before any effective resistance could be opposed; and although a short stand was made, which was attended with some loss of life,[1] the redoubt was quickly in possession of the assailants. As soon as the day broke, the guns of the bastion were turned upon the defences of the pass, which they enfiladed; and, reinforcements being sent to Major Welsh, he was strong enough to attack the rest of the lines, and the whole of the works were speedily cleared of their defenders.

Having thus secured his entrance into Travancore, Colonel St. Leger advanced on the 17th of February into the interior; and dislodged, after a short action, a body of troops strongly posted, with nine guns, on the bank of a river near the village of Nagarköil. The next march brought the troops to the forts of Udagiri and Papanavaram, which were abandoned: the gates were set open, the garrisons had fled, and ensigns denoting submission were seen flying in every direction. Communications were shortly afterwards received from the Dewan and from the King, breathing a pacific spirit, and deprecating the nearer approach of the troops to Trivandrum, the capital. Having referred the letter of the King to the Resident, who was at Cochin, Colonel St. Leger marched to a position half-way

[1] Captain Cunningham of the 69th was the only officer killed.

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between Udagiri and Kalachi on the coast, detaching a part of his force to occupy the latter, and open a communication with Colonel Chalmers at Quilon. This officer had continued to be hemmed in by the enemy during Colonel St. Leger's advance; but, having been reinforced by part of the 19th regiment, had, shortly before the communication now opened, rid himself of his opponents. Marching out of cantonments on the 21st February in two columns, severally commanded by Colonel Picton and Colonel Stuart of the 19th, he attacked the enemy's position in front of his encampment; and although they were five thousand strong, and were defended by batteries and entrenchments, he carried the works, captured their artillery, and dispersed their force. After the action, Colonel Chalmers marched towards the capital, and arrived at the high ground within twelve miles of Trivandrum much about the same time that Colonel St. Leger took up a similar position on the opposite side. About the same period also, the division under Colonel Cuppage crossed the frontier on the north without opposition, and advanced to Parúr. The country was now completely in the possession of the British: the Nairs disbanded, and retired to their homes; the Dewan, despairing of forgiveness, fled into the thickets; and the Raja, left to himself, hastened to tender his submission, and profess his readiness to conform to any conditions which the Resident should please to dictate.

The troops being concentrated round Trivandrum, Colonel Macaulay proceeded to the capital, and concerted with the Raja the conditions on

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1809. which tranquillity was to be restored, and the prince allowed to retain possession of his dominions. The terms were adjusted by the 1st of March. The Raja consented to pay the arrears of the subsidy and the expenses of the war, and eleven lakhs of rupees were paid on the former account before the expiration of the month.[1] The Carnatic Brigade, and some Nair battalions in the Raja's service, were dismissed, and the defence of the prince and of his country was entrusted exclusively to the subsidiary force. A new Dewan, supposed to be in the interest of the English, and recommended by the Resident, was appointed. The invading forces were withdrawn immediately upon the conclusion of the treaty: a portion of the subsidiary battalions was permanently quartered in the proximity of Trivandrum; the rest returned to their former cantonments.

The zeal of the new minister in the cause of his English friends was promptly evinced by the active measures which were instituted for the capture of his predecessor. Traces of him were discovered among the mountains; and means were devised for preventing his being supplied with the necessaries of life by the peasantry, who had hitherto ministered to his wants. Reduced to extreme distress, the Dewan made his way, as a last resource, to the Pagoda of Bhagwadi, which from ancient usage enjoyed the privileges of a sanctuary. The emis-

[1] The Madras Government proposed that the guns and stores captured by the troops should become public property upon the payment to the army of their value, which should be charged to the Raja. The Government of Bengal justly objected to this double penalty, and directed the stores to be paid for by the Madras Government.—Appendix 43, Second Report of Select Committee, May, 1810; and MS. Records.

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saries of the minister, although Hindus, disregarded the sanctity of the temple, forcibly entered it, and broke open the door of the chamber to which Vailu Tambi and his brother had retreated. As they entered the apartment, the Dewan was found expiring of wounds inflicted by his own hand, or, at his entreaty, by the hand of his brother, to save him from falling alive into the power of his unrelenting foes. The brother was seized, taken to Quilon, and hanged in front of the 12th regiment, drawn out to witness his execution, as an accessory in the murder of their comrades. The body of the Dewan was carried to Trivandrum, and exposed upon a gibbet, amidst, it was said, the acclamations of the people.

The vindictive measures which were thus adopted by the Resident were defended by him upon the plea of their being no more than a just retribution for the foul treachery and sanguinary cruelty of the Dewan and his brother.[1] The Government of Bengal admitted the defensibility of the summary execution of the latter, upon the understanding that he had been implicated in the murder of Mr. Hume and the British soldiers; but condemned, in terms of merited reprehension, the vengeance which had pursued the crimes of the Dewan beyond his life. The ends of justice and the purposes of public security were attained, the Governor-General remarked, by the death of the Dewan; and the prosecution of a vindictive policy, when the object of it

[1] Beside Dr. Hume, and the men of the 12th, Vailu Tambi was accused of having put to death three thousand native Christians, charged with no crime but their religion.

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had ceased to exist, was repugnant to the feelings of common humanity and the principles of a civilized Government. He further observed, that although ostensibly the act of the Raja, yet it would not be believed by the public that it had not the Resident's sanction, and did not originate in his advice; and that had it been the Raja's act, with a view to impress upon the British Government the notion that he had not participated in the treachery of his minister, yet a sentiment of just abhorrence of the measure itself, and a regard for the reputation of the British Government, should have induced the Resident to prevent the exposure, or, if anticipated, to have publicly proclaimed his disapprobation.

The proceedings in Travancore were, in truth, among the least justifiable of the many questionable transactions by which the British power in India has been acquired or preserved. The protection of the Raja was, in the first instance, generous and politic; the military command of his country, subsequently, was necessary for objects of British policy, and was not incompatible with the pacific interests of the Raja and prosperity of his limited dominion. To impose upon him the maintenance of a force infinitely more numerous than was necessary for the defence of the country, and the cost of which heavily taxed its resources; to urge the exaction with unrelenting rigour; and to resent with unpitying vengeance the passions excited by a deep sense of national wrong among a semi-barbarous and demoralised race,—were unworthy of the character of the British nation for justice and gene-

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rosity, of the civilization it had attained, and the religion it professed.

Notwithstanding the severities exercised upon the leaders of the late rising, and the submission which the irresistible superiority of the British arms had compelled, the spirit of disaffection after a while revived, and in less than two years the new Dewan was suspected of being concerned in a plot directed against the British authority. He had also suffered the payment of the subsidy again to fall into arrear, and improvement in this respect was not to be expected from the increasing infirmities and imbecility of the Raja. Under these circumstances, the Government of Bengal considered itself empowered by the fifth article of the treaty of 1805 to assume the management of the country, but suspended the final adoption of the arrangement until it should become unavoidable. Its necessity became apparent at last even to the Raja; and the new Resident, Colonel John Munro, at his request and with the authority of the British Government, took upon himself the administration of the principality as the minister of the Raja, or Dewan.[1] The condition of Travancore unquestionably required the intervention of a stronger and wiser controul. The Raja was a cypher: the Dewan usurped the whole power, and

[1] We have Colonel Munro's own statement that he accepted the office of Dewan at the request of the Raja. In answer to questions put to him, he states, "The treaty authorized the general interference of the British Government; but I assumed the charge of the administration at the express request of the Raja, with the authority of the British Government." And to the question, whether it was completely voluntary on the part of the Raja, he replies, "It was at the earnest request of the Raja."—Evidence of Colonel Munro; Select Committee of House of Commons, March, 1832. Hamilton therefore is wrong in stating that the arrangement took place under the Raja's successor.—Description of Hindostan, ii. 317.

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employed it to defraud the prince and oppress the people. Inadequate as were the resources to the public exigencies, the country laboured under the severest fiscal exaction: justice there was none, and a general state of disorganization prevailed. The judicious regulations introduced by Colonel Munro restored order, secured the administration of justice, and, whilst they liquidated the debt, and discharged the stipulated payments with punctuality, they more than doubled the revenues of the Raja, and in a still greater proportion lightened the burthens of his subjects.[1] The Raja died in 1812. He was succeeded by his sister, such being the order of inheritance among the Nairs of Travancore. Under the government of this lady, and the regency of her successor, Colonel Munro officiated as Dewan until the year 1814; when he restored the management of the state to a native Dewan, extricated from its embarrassments, with a greatly augmented revenue, and in a situation of complete internal tranquillity.[2]

[1] Evidence above referred to: also Extracts from Colonel Munro's Report to the Madras Government in 1818, quoted by Mr. Jones; App. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons; Political, 4to. ed., p. 287. In three years, Colonel Munro, beside the current subsidy, "succeeded in paying eighteen lakhs of rupees due to the Company, and nearly six to individuals; in abolishing the most oppressive monopolies and taxes, and in settling the affairs of the country on the principles of justice and humanity." The land revenue was increased from nine to fifteen lakhs; the duty received from the tobacco monopoly, from five to eleven lakhs; and that on salt, from thirty thousand rupees, to two lakhs and thirty thousand: but, to the relief of the people, as many oppressive taxes and all illegal exactions were abolished.

[2] For the military transactions in Travancore, see Secret Letter from Fort St. George printed in the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, App. 43; Madras Papers, 15th March, 1811, p. 15; Letter from the Court, 29th Sept. 1809, printed Parl. Papers, 22nd June, 1813, No. 10; Welsh's Military Reminiscences; the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xi. History, ch. 3; and the General Orders of Government in the

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Although the Raja of Cochin had abstained from actual hostilities and died during their continuance, not without suspicion of having fallen a victim to his unwillingness to engage in them, yet the participation of his minister in the projects of the Dewan of Travancore, which was unequivocally established, subjected the Raja's successor to the displeasure of the British Government. The Raja was accordingly condemned to pay a third of the expenses of the war, and to sign a new treaty, which added to the amount of his tribute the cost of a battalion of Sipahis in the field in place of his own troops, whom he was required to dismiss, beyond such as might be necessary for the collection of the revenue. As the state of his country differed little from that of Travancore, a similar system of reform was extended to Cochin, under the more immediate management of Captain Blacker, the Assistant Resident. Upon his departure Colonel Munro assumed the duty; and, under their joint superintendence, the like improvement was effected in Cochin which had been accomplished at Travancore.[1]

Whilst the Company's troops were thus employed in the coercion of refractory allies, and in extending the authority of the Government of Madras, the Governor and the Commander-in-chief engaged in a dispute which speedily involved a large portion of the Coast army in a contest with the civil power,

Chronicle of Madras Occurrences. The MS. Records have also been consulted.

[1] By the treaty of 1791 the Raja of Cochin paid a tribute of 100,000 Arcot rupees per annum. By this of the 6th May, 1809, he was compelled to pay in addition 1,76,037 Arcot rupees; making a total of 2,76,037 Arcot rupees.—Coll. of Treaties, 472.

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and was productive of the most alarming and dangerous results.[1] Sir John Cradock had been succeeded in the command of the Madras army by Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall. The former had held, as Commander-in-chief, a seat in council: the Court of Directors had thought proper to refuse equal rank and emolument to his successors. The appeal of General Macdowall to the Court against this infringement of his dignities had been answered by the appointment of a civil servant to the vacant seat. The Commander-in-chief felt the exclusion as a personal grievance and affront, and, on the final extinction of his hopes, resigned his command; expressing his resignation in terms strongly indicative of the bitterness of his mortification and disappointment.[2]

[1] "The East India Company, and, I may add, the British empire in all its parts, never, I believe, was exposed to greater or more imminent danger." —Letter from Lord Minto, 15th Sept. 1809. "The late revolt of the officers of the Madras army is the most remarkable and most important event that has occurred in the history of the British Administration of India since our first acquisition of territory there. It led to the commencement of a civil war in the Carnatic; it threatened to involve the whole Peninsula in anarchy and blood; to encourage the numerous adherents of the fallen families of Tippoo, and Mohammed Ali, to insurrection; to incite the native powers to fall upon us whilst in this state of internal convulsion; and to subvert a Government which had successfully resisted the repeated attacks of the neighbouring states."—Paper accompanying Reply of Messrs. Grant and Astell to the Dissents of several Directors, &c.; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 45. We may be permitted now to think that this language is somewhat exaggerated.

[2] "The decision of the Court of Directors has placed me in so extraordinary, so unexampled, and so humiliating a predicament, that the most painful emotions have been excited; and sixteen months' experience has convinced me that it is impossible to remain with any prospect of performing my duty with credit to the East India Company, of acquiring for myself any reputation, or for doing justice to those over whom I am called to preside; divested of the power of selecting for commands by the restriction of military patronage, or of requiting the meritorious officer; deprived of the respectability which attaches in this country to a seat in council, and abridged in the usual emoluments of office."—Letter to Sir G. Barlow from the Commander-in-chief, 15th Jan. 1809; Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, part i. p. 8.

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It has been mentioned, that, after the close of the Mahratta war, the Government of Bengal urgently pressed upon the subordinate Presidencies the necessity of extensive retrenchments. In conformity to these injunctions, various plans for reducing the military expenditure of the Presidency of Madras were suggested during the command of Sir John Cradock; some of which were acted upon, and deprived officers, in command of regiments or brigades, of different sources of emolument. These measures were naturally unpalatable to the army. The difference of military allowances between the Bengal and Madras services had long been a subject of discontent; and the assignment of commands to officers of his Majesty's regiments, in place of Company's officers, occasioned amongst the latter frequent murmurs. The personal feelings of the Commander-in-chief heightened his sympathy with the grievances of those under his command, and fostered their discontents;[1] and a state of disquietude and dissatisfaction pervaded the minds of the officers, which, as compliance with their expectations

[1] Memorial of the Officers of the Madras Army to the Court of Directors, forwarded by the Commander-in-chief, with a Letter to the Government of Fort St. George, 23rd January, 1809. The Madras Government, viewing the sentiments expressed in the paper with extreme disapprobation, declined to transmit it to the Court until it had been laid before the Governor-General.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, No. i. p. 25. At an earlier date, 1st May, 1808, General Macdowall enumerates, as the seeds of discontent widely disseminated, the abolition of the Bazar Fund; the degradation of the military character, from the Commander-in-chief to the youngest ensign; the late reductions, and especially the abolition of the Tent Contract; and adds, "I much lament the expediency which occasioned these disgusting measures."—Extracts from Lord Minto's Letter to the Secret Committee, 5th Feb. 1810; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 346. The same letter supplies instances, if not of "the deliberate intention of the General to make the army an instrument of opposition and disturbance," as affirmed by Lord Minto, yet of great disposition to foment and heighten the prevailing discontents.

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was little to be looked for, required to be allayed by gentle management, and the avoidance of additional irritation. Unluckily, fresh occasions of excitement did occur, and that excitement was not gently dealt with.

Among the articles of retrenchment put in force by the Government of Madras was the abolition of what was known as the Tent Contract; an arrangement by which officers commanding native corps received a permanent monthly allowance, alike in cantonments as in the field, in peace as in war, on condition of their providing the men with suitable camp equipage whenever it might be required.[1] The retrenchment was originally suggested by Sir John Cradock; and he called upon Colonel John Munro, the Quarter-Master-General of the army, to report whether it was not practicable without detriment to the efficiency of the troops, and how it might best be accomplished. The report advocated the change, and submitted a mode of effecting it. The plan was approved of by Sir John Cradock, by Lord W. Bentinck, and by the Government of Bengal. It merely fell to Sir G. Barlow to carry it into execution. No share of the opprobrium was due to him, even if the measure deserved it; but, in fact, the contract was open to objections of so obvious a character, that no disinterested person could doubt the reasonableness of its abolition. The alteration was to be judged of, however, by those whose interests it affected, and in their esti-

[1] Letter from Sir John Cradock to Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, 7th Feb. 1807; and his reply, 30th June, 1807: Parl. Papers, 3rd May, 1811, p. 94.

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mation it was a grievous wrong; but, unable to deny the defects of the system, or the expediency of its reform, their dissatisfaction found an excuse for its display in some unguarded expressions which occurred in the Quarter-Master-General's official report.

The transaction of public business in India by written statements is not without its inconvenience; and one of these is, the temptation it offers to public functionaries to put upon record more than is always necessary or judicious. Such was the case with Colonel Munro. Not contented with indicating such objections as could not be disputed, he proceeded to specify others, which, although equally true in a general sense, were capable of individual application, and might be construed into an accusation that the officers in command of corps had consulted their own profit at the expense of the public service, and had appropriated the tent allowance without keeping up an adequate tent establishment.[1] The officers resented the impu-

[1] In enumerating the objections to the system, the Report specifies one of them as follows: "By granting the same allowances in peace and war for the equipment of native corps, while the expenses incidental to that charge are unavoidably much greater in war than peace, it places the interest and duty of officers commanding native corps in direct opposition to one another: it makes it their interest that their corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service, and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties." It would have been prudent to have omitted at least one half of this paragraph; but still, abstractedly considered, it was scarcely disputable. The measure no doubt, in theory, placed the interest and duty of the officers in opposition; but in practice it left it to be supposed that they did their duty, although their interests suffered. Unfortunately, the objections were preceded by the assertion, that "Six years' experience of the practical effects of the existing system of the camp equipage equipment of the army, and an attentive examination of its operation during that period of time, had suggested the objections." Here, therefore, was an assertion that, practically, the officers had preferred their interest to their duty: an assertion the more objectionable, as no proof was given; for, as the officers in their memorial justly replied, "If such a case

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tation; and, although Colonel Munro earnestly disclaimed any intention of reflecting upon the honour and integrity of any portion of the officers of the army, they refused to be appeased, and called upon the Commander-in-chief to bring him to a court-martial for aspersions on their characters as officers and gentlemen.

Upon the receipt of the charges against Colonel J. Munro,[1] the Commander-in-chief hesitated whether he should admit them, and referred the question for the opinion of the Judge-Advocate-General, who, after discussing the circumstances of the case, came to the conclusion that the charges were such as the accusers had no right to agitate or prefer.[2] The officers acquiesced in the decision, and solicited a suspension of the direct charge; substituting in its place a memorial to the Court of Directors, praying them to investigate the subject.[3] Previously, however, to his being apprised of their change of purpose, General Macdowall had also viewed the matter

had occurred, why was it not noticed at the time?" They had reason to be offended; but still, as the offence grew out of an indiscreet mode of propounding undeniable generalisations, and was evidently not designed to apply to any particular case, they might have been satisfied with a declaration to that effect, and would no doubt have been so contented, had not an infectious irritability perplexed their sober judgments.—Parl. Papers, 3rd May, 1811, p. 96; ditto, 1st April, 1811, p. 65; ditto, 25th May, 1810, p. 13.

[1] See the charges, Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 13.

[2] Letter from Colonel Leith, Judge-Advocate-General, to the Adjutant-General, 7th Nov. 1808; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 17.

[3] The memorial is printed, Parl. Papers, 3rd May, 1811, p. 79. The officers say, "Finding the mode (of court-martial) was considered by the Judge-Advocate-General to be irregular and ineffectual, they respectfully abide by that opinion for the present, and have solicited a suspension of the direct charge against the individual, whilst they have appealed to the candour and justice of the Court." The Government refused to forward it, as the question was considered to be settled: the Court disapproved of the refusal to transmit the memorial.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 13.

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in a new light, and had determined that the charge should be entertained. On the eve of his quitting Madras, he placed Colonel Munro under arrest, to be brought to trial by the succeeding Commander-in-chief;[1] having, as he declared, received an opinion of much importance, in expectation of which he had suspended his decision. From what quarter this opinion proceeded is nowhere stated.

It appears, however, that, in the interval that had elapsed since the charge was first brought forward, circumstances had occurred, which, in the state of the Commander-in-chief's feelings, were possibly not without some influence upon his determination. Major Blacker, of the Quarter-Master-General's department, was ordered to join the force in Travancore. Another officer, Captain Macdowall, who had been formerly employed in the province, remonstrated against the arrangement, and urged his own preferable claims. His pretensions were supported by the Commander-in-chief, who requested that the appointment might be reconsidered. This was on the 16th of January. On the 18th the Government of Madras declined to revise the nomination, reprimanded Captain Macdowall for the tone of his application, and threatened to remove him from the office he held. On the 20th Colonel Munro was placed under arrest; the effect of which was to compel the Government to revoke Major Blacker's appointment, as the temporary removal of his superior rendered his presence indispensable at the Presidency.[2] The close concurrence of these

[1] Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 14. [2] Ibid. p. 9.

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events suggests the possibility of their connexion, and the likelihood that matters of comparative insignificance, magnified into mischievous importance by the passions of the individuals interested, contributed to occasion the transactions which ensued.

As soon as Colonel Munro was made aware of the decision of the Commander-in-chief, he appealed to the Government, under whose authority he had acted, and by whom the measures he had recommended had been approved and adopted. This appeal was in the first instance forwarded through the Commander-in-chief; but, upon his refusing to be the channel of its transmission, it was addressed direct to the Governor in Council.

The subject of the communication was referred to the chief civil and military advisers of the Government, the Judge-Advocate-General and the Advocate-General, and fortified by their joint opinions that it was bound to protect the advisers of measures which it had made its own, the Government exercised the power with which it was intrusted by the Legislature; and, having first in vain requested, next commanded General Macdowall to release Colonel Munro from his arrest.[1] The tenor of the Commander-in-chief's commission subjected him so explicitly to the authority of the Governor in Council, that he was under the necessity of yielding obedience, protesting against what he designated as an undue interference. Nor was he satisfied with this expression of his indignation: on the eve of his embarkation for England he directed the publication of a General Order, in which he announced that his

[1] See the whole correspondence, Parl. Papers, 25th May, pp. 12—24.

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departure alone prevented him from bringing Colonel Munro to trial for disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the Civil Government in defiance of the judgment of the officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under arrest on charges preferred against him by a number of officers commanding native corps; in consequence of which appeal direct to the Honourable the President in Council, Lieutenant-General Macdowall had received a positive order from the chief secretary to liberate Lieutenant-Colonel Munro from arrest: and the order proceeded to stigmatize the conduct of Colonel Munro as destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander-in-chief, and a most dangerous example to the service. General Macdowall therefore thought it incumbent on him, in support of the dignity of the profession, and his own station and character, to express his strong disapprobation of Colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings, and reprimanded him accordingly.[1]

Thus far the Government of Madras had acted with a degree of calmness and forbearance which derived additional lustre from the contrast which it offered to the violence of the Commander-in-chief. Instead of interposing to heal the wounds which the needless sensitiveness of the officers had suffered from the incautious but indefinite language of an official report, and which a few words of explanation

[1] General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, head-quarters, 28th Jan. 1809.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 28.

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dowall was on board the ship which was to convey him to England; a destination he was not permitted to reach, the vessel being lost at sea on the voyage.

If the Madras Government had vindicated its authority in more temperate language, and directed that the offensive order of the General should be expunged from the order-books of the army, it would have better preserved its consistency and secured its triumph. Had its indignation been allowed to expire with the cause which had provoked it, few would have been disposed to call its proceedings seriously into question; and after a short period the superficial and inconsequential ferment, in the activity of which the Commander-in-chief was so vital an element, would have subsided. Unhappily, it was thought that enough had not been done to vindicate the authority and dignity of the Government. Measures were adopted which irritated the passions of the army more than anything that had yet occurred, and infused into the quarrel feelings of personal rancour, by which it had not yet been generally embittered. The order of the Government, which has been just described, concluded by suspending from the service of the Company Major Boles, the Deputy-Adjutant-General, for having signed and circulated the general order of the departing Commander-in-chief in the absence of his immediate superior, who had accompanied General Macdowall on board ship. Colonel Capper, the Adjutant-General, avowed himself responsible for the circulation of the order, and was included in the same penalty.[1] It was to no

[1] General Orders of the Government of Fort St. George, 31st Jan. and 1st Feb., 1809; Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 29.

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purpose that these officers pleaded the merely ministerial character of their duties, and the obligation, imposed upon them by military discipline, of executing the orders of the Commander of the forces. It was argued by the Government, that, by giving authenticity and currency to a paper which they could not but be aware was in the highest degree disrespectful to the Government, they were acting in direct violation of their duty to the latter, and thereby knowingly committed an illegal act, connected with views of the most reprehensible nature, which no authority could justify, and that they therefore deserved the punishment they had incurred. Colonel Capper sailed for England, and, like his superior, perished on the passage. To Major Boles it was intimated, that, if he acknowledged his error, the sentence might be mitigated; but he refused to admit that he had done wrong, and the penalty was enforced.

It is very possible that the Adjutant-General and his deputy were more inclined to take part with their military than with their civil superior, that they shared in the prevailing discontent, and that they were not unwilling instruments in the issuing of the offensive order. Still, the plea of military subordination was a plausible excuse, and one which was calculated to find favour with military men. It might be correct, as afterwards argued by the Judge-Advocate-General, that, even in the case of military men, the illegal commands of a superior are invalid; but then comes the question, by whom is the illegality to be determined? Nothing can justify disobedience of orders but the most unequi-

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vocal and universal recognition of the illegality; and, wherever a doubt is admissible, obedience is the safer course. That General Macdowall's order was illegal is a proposition by no means so self-evident as to obtain immediate and implicit assent, and was little likely to be so esteemed in the actual state of military feeling at Madras. It was possible, therefore, that those who obeyed it did not consider it to be illegal; and, although they saw that it was disrespectful, they did not hold their interpretation of its tenor to that extent only to be a sufficient reason for disobeying the positive commands of the Commander-in-chief.[1] At any rate,

[1] Major Boles avers that he does not consider the order illegal or directed against the Government, and that many officers of rank and experience in the King's and Company's services concurred with him in concluding it to be exclusively applicable to Colonel Munro.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, i. 37. General Maitland, at the time Governor of Ceylon, in an elaborate examination of the subject, maintains that there was no proof of the ministerial officers being aware of the illegality of the order, and that, if Major Boles erred, he erred on the right side; that the military law was completely positive on one side, and perfectly indefinite on the other; and that he followed a course vindicated by many precedents, instead of one for which no precedent could be pleaded.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, No. vi. p. 158. Although the Supreme Government considered the general order of General Macdowall to be of a seditious character, and that the Adjutant-General and his deputy in issuing it had become thereby guilty of sedition, (Parl. Papers, 20th May, 1810, No. iii. p. 13,) yet the Governor-General avows that the suspension of those officers gave him great uneasiness, as he anticipated that it would furnish a plausible, and to military minds a captivating, pretence for a more general combination against the Government than any of the circumstances which preceded it: that, although the merits of the question as an abstract point were clear and confident, yet they were not less likely to be questioned; and he felt assured that in the military world, which was the quarter of the greatest authority in such a controversy, the sentiment was likely to be nearly unanimous against the principle adopted by the Government of Fort St. George, whilst other opinions would be much divided.—(Parl. Papers, April, 1811, No. vi. p. 138.) The sense of the Court of Directors was still more decidedly expressed; as, immediately after the arrival of the first intelligence of the proceedings of the Madras Government, they ordered that Colonel Capper and Major Boles should be restored to the service. "As those officers were placed in a situation of difficulty, their removal from their respective emoluments on the staff would have been a sufficient mark of your displeasure, and we therefore direct that their suspension from our service be taken off."—Letter

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the plea was urged in extenuation of the act, and it would have been prudent to have so accepted it; for it might easily have been foreseen, that to visit the offence with extreme punishment would excite general commiseration for the victims and unpopularity for the judge. The consequences were such as should have been anticipated. Addresses were immediately forwarded to Major Boles from all the divisions of the army, approving of his conduct, denouncing his sentence as cruel and undeserved, and proposing to raise by subscription an income equal to that of which the Government had deprived him. The type of the contest was now for the first time durably stamped upon it. Hitherto the officers of the army had felt aggrieved by the public acts of the Government: they now combined in hostility to the Governor. It was henceforward a struggle between men, rather than between principles; between Sir George Barlow and a body of officers, rather than between the Government and the army of Fort St. George.

An interval of three months had elapsed from the suspension of the officers of the Adjutant-General's department, when another general order of the Government, dated the 1st of May, announced a

from the Court, 15th Sept. 1809. When subsequent advice of the part taken by the officers in favour of Major Boles reached England, they rescinded the order and confirmed the suspension; "as it was to be inferred that he had become a rallying point for dangerous doctrines, with his own consent."—Letter from the Court, 29th Sept.; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 13. They afterwards recur to their first view of the case, and state that they cannot discover any such inherent and obvious illegality as could justify the Adjutant or Deputy-Adjutant-General in refusing to obey the command they had received from Lieutenant-General Macdowall that the said order should be circulated to the army. "We therefore continue of opinion that Major Boles ought not to have been suspended from the service."—Military Letter from the Court of Directors, 5th February, 1811; Parl. Papers, April, 1811, p. 178.

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sweeping list of removals, supersessions, and suspensions. Four officers of rank were suspended the service; an equal number were removed from their commands or staff appointments, and four were superseded in the command of battalions: among them were Colonels St. Leger, Chalmers, and Cuppage, who had recently performed such distinguished services in Travancore.[1] The officers thus punished were accused of having signed, and influenced others to sign, an address to Major Boles of the purport above stated; and of having signed, and influenced others to sign, a memorial which it was proposed to send to the Governor-General, in which the supposed grievances of the Madras army were detailed. Some of the offenders were also charged with having signed a statement in favour of General Macdowall, and forwarded it to him at Ceylon. Copies of these documents had come into the hands of Sir George Barlow, and were communicated by him to his council, with whose concurrence the order of the 1st of May was issued.[2]

Although it could not be denied that the officers of the army had entered into combinations which were as decidedly incompatible with their military obligations as their subordination to the Civil Government, yet it is very questionable if the mea-

[1] General Order, 1st of May, 1809; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. p. 22. The officers suspended were Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Arthur St. Leger, Major John De Morgan, Captain Josiah Marshall, Captain James Grant. Removed: Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Bell, Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Chalmers, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Cuppage, Captain J. M. Coombs. Superseded: Captain Smith, Major Keasberry, Major Muirhead, and Major Haslewood.

[2] Minute of the President in Council, with enclosures, 1st May, 1809; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. 3.

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sures adopted were politic or necessary. The statement of General Macdowall's conduct, and the memorial to the Governor-General, had been drawn up under the influence of that excitement which existed at the time of the embarkation of the Commander-in-chief; and the address to Major Boles originated in the occurrences immediately following. The feelings so vivid in the beginning of February had in some degree begun to cool even early in March; for at that time a circular letter was addressed by the new Commander-in-chief, General Gowdie, to the officers commanding the principal divisions of the army, desiring to know whether the memorial had been circulated amongst the officers under their command, and enjoining them to be vigilant in bringing them to a sense of their duty; and it is acknowledged by Sir G. Barlow himself, that, with one exception, the replies were in general perfectly satisfactory.[1] In fact, the memorial never was sent; and it is admitted that all intention of sending it had been abandoned, when it was made the ground of punishing those who were accused of having taken an active share in its signature and circulation.[2]

Another objectionable feature in this proceeding was its being based on private information, a copy of the memorial having been forwarded to Sir G. Barlow through a channel which he did not wish to reveal. Its existence was farther substantiated by the testimony of some of the country-born clerks in the offices of the military department, who had been employed to transcribe various papers by some

[1] Minute last cited. [2] Minute ditto.

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of the officers particularised. Their depositions were taken privately. Their testimony was never communicated to the accused, and might or might not have been true.[1] That papers such as were described had been in circulation, was not improbable; but to what extent some of the individuals condemned were implicated in their distribution, had not been clearly established.[2] Several of them denied the justice of the charge; but denial was useless, and proof would have been too late. Accusation and condemnation were simultaneous; the officers so summarily punished were allowed no opportunity of excuse or justification. They first heard of the charge against them when they read their sentence. No wonder that such treatment should have added fuel to flame.

A further unfortunate circumstance distinguished this general order of the 1st of May. With singular ignorance of the extent to which the same sentiments pervaded the Madras army, and with a strange unconsciousness of the sympathy which fellowship in service and in fortunes is so apt to inspire amongst classes of men and particularly amongst the members of the military class, the Government thought fit to compliment the subsidiary force at Hyderabad for its satisfactory and exemplary conduct in having resisted all participation in

[1] The examinations are appended to the President's minute.

[2] The officers of the artillery, under Colonel Bell's command, made "a solemn and unequivocal declaration that he had neither directly nor indirectly countenanced or influenced the circulation of any paper of the tendency alluded to in the order of Government." Colonel St. Leger and Major De Morgan denied having taken an active part in the circulation of the memorial, or influenced others to sign it. See their memorials in the Parl. Papers.

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the improper and dangerous proceedings which the order described. Nothing could have been more mischievous.[1] The officers of the Hyderabad force instantly and indignantly repudiated the distinction, and, in their eagerness to show that it was undeserved, plunged headlong into a career far more violent and indefensible than any which had yet annoyed or alarmed the Government. They immediately published a letter to the army and to the officers suspended, in which they declared their entire disapprobation of the suspension and removal of so many valuable officers from the service and from their commands; their willingness to contribute to the support of those officers; and their determination to co-operate with the army in all legal measures for the removal of the cause of the present discontent, and the restoration of their brother-officers to the honourable situations from which they had been removed.[2] This was followed by an address to the Governor in Council, signed by a hundred and fifty-eight officers of the divisions of Jalna and Hyderabad, urging strenuously the restoration of the removed officers as the only measure likely to prevent the possible and probable consequences which they else apprehended; namely, the separation of the civil and military, the destruction of all discipline and subordination amongst the native troops, the ultimate loss of a large portion of the British possessions in India, and the dreadful blow it would inflict on the mother country.[3] In

[1] General Orders of the Government; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. p. 24.

[2] Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 B. p. 24.

[3] Ibid. p. 26.

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the course of the following month an address was presented to Colonel Montresor, commanding the Hyderabad force, by his officers, of a still more outrageous description.[1]

About the same time with this manifestation of the growing sentiments of insubordination at Hyderabad, an overt act of mutiny was committed by the Company's European regiment quartered at Masulipatam. The officers of this corps had partaken in the general feelings, and had been further irritated by the indiscreet harshness with which their commanding officer had visited some imprudent expressions of those feelings in a moment of conviviality. The men were also out of humour at being occasionally drafted to serve as marines on board of the ships of war in the Bay of Bengal. A report was current amongst them that the whole corps was to be broken up in this manner; and, when an order was issued for three companies to prepare for marine duty, the men refused to obey, and the officers placed their own colonel under arrest. The command was assumed by the next in rank, a managing committee of officers was instituted, and a correspondence was opened by them with the Hyderabad and other mutinous divisions. Colonel Malcolm, who was at Madras, preparing to

[1] On the 21st of July they presented to Colonel Montresor a paper which they styled their ultimatum, but pledging themselves to remain quiet until a reply from Government should be received. In this they demanded the repeal of the orders of the 1st May, the restoration of the officers suspended or removed, the removal from their staff appointments of the officers who had been the principal advisers of the Government, and the grant of a general amnesty to the discontented. The signatures of all the officers except those on the staff were affixed to the paper, and a joint movement from Jalna and Hyderabad on Madras was projected in case their demands were not complied with.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 C. p. 29.

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proceed on his mission to Persia, was dispatched to Masulipatam to restore order and subordination: he was treated with courtesy, but returned to the Presidency without accomplishing the object of his mission, and strongly impressed with the persuasion that the revocation of the Government order would alone prevent a general and fatal insurrection.[1] In fact, on the 3rd of August garrison orders directed the regiment to hold itself in readiness for field service; a plan having been concerted for the junction of the troops from Masulipatam with those from Jalna and Hyderabad, and their united march to Madras, where they threatened to compel the restoration of the officers, and to depose Sir George Barlow from the post of Governor. Luckily for all concerned, these wild and criminal projects were arrested by the seasonable interposition of the Governor-General, and the return of the most violent and rash to a recollection of their duty.

The Government of Madras had thus, by unquestionable deficiencies in temper and discretion, brought matters to a position from which it was equally dangerous to advance or recede. Several of the most distinguished of its military servants counselled the rescission of the obnoxious orders, and the restoration of the suspended officers to the service.[2] Such a concession might have moderated the violence of the tempest, but its efficacy in pro-

[1] Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 B. p. 33, and 2 C. p. 1. Colonel Malcolm subsequently published "Observations on the Disturbances of the Madras Army," in two parts; London, 1812.

[2] By Captain Sydenham, the Resident at Hyderabad; by Colonel Montresor, commanding the subsidiary force; and by Colonel Malcolm.—Parl. Papers.

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ducing a continued calm was more than doubtful. It would have been an acknowledgement that the Government had acted with inconsiderateness and injustice, and possessed neither the strength nor the spirit to assert its legitimate rights; and it would have established a dangerous precedent, and encouraged, in time to come, those who felt or fancied a grievance, to resist the will of all future administrations, and seek redress by force and intimidation. There was an end of all civil government,—of all government,—if military combination was allowed to set aside constituted authority; if the army was suffered to dictate its own laws and choose its own officers; if the weapons, with which it was intrusted to defend the state against external aggression, were aimed against those functionaries who had been appointed to guide and govern in India the civil and military servants of the Company and subjects of the Crown. Justice demands that full weight should be given to these considerations in appreciating the conduct of Sir George Barlow at this crisis. His determination to uphold at every risk the rightful claims of the Government to the obedience of the army was defensible on the grounds of the responsibility, imposed upon him by his station, of preserving undisturbed the social relations of the civil and military power under his authority, of asserting the superiority of law over force, and of maintaining inviolate the principles of the constitution, which had been assigned to the various members of the Indian empire by the Legislature of Great Britain. Nor was the hazard of actual collision so imminent or so great as it

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seemed to be from the menacing attitude which a part of the army had assumed. It was but a part, and a considerable portion had not yet taken any share in their proceedings. The Commander-in-chief, and the great majority of those officers who were highest in rank and most distinguished in reputation, and whose influence with those under their command was of most importance, were staunch advocates of the principles of order and military subordination; many, who had been involved in the proceedings by the vehemence of those around them, were known to be averse to the extremes to which they were urged; and it was to be expected, that, even of those who were loudest in their denunciations, many would pause before they incurred the guilt of actual rebellion. The Government of Madras was assured of the decided support of the Government of Bengal, and had the command of the resources of that Presidency, as well as of Bombay and Ceylon. The King's regiments steadily adhered to their duty; and there could be little doubt that the native soldiery, when the case was explained to them, would prefer the cause of the Government, from whom they derived their subsistence and hopes of promotion, to that of their officers, whose objects they imperfectly understood, and from whose triumph they could anticipate no advantage. Relying on these considerations, the Government of Madras entered upon the contest with promptitude and vigour.

In order to ascertain its own strength, and discover what proportion of the officers were well-affected, and at the same time to remove the dis-

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1809. affected for a season from situations where they might exercise influence or authority, the officers generally were called upon to sign a test pledging themselves to support the measures of the Government. Letters were addressed to the commanding officers of stations, furnishing them with the proposed form of the test, and instructing them to procure to it the signatures of the officers under their command, on penalty of being removed from their regiments to stations on the sea-coast, where they would be required to reside until the situation of affairs and the temper of men's minds should allow of their being again employed.[1] As the removal was avowedly temporary, and the recusant officers were not to forfeit their pay, all appearance of unnecessary harshness was avoided, and a reasonable plea for remaining neutral was supplied to the least violent. At the same time, the commanding officers of corps were ordered to assemble the native officers, and explain to them, and through them to the Sipahis, that the discontents of the European officers were entirely personal; that the Government had no intention to diminish the advantages which the men enjoyed, but, on the contrary, was anxious to improve them, and that it confidently relied upon their attachment and fidelity.[2] A general order to the same effect was also promulgated, and active measures were taken to secure its circulation. The

[1] Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 C. p. 41. The test or declaration ran thus: "We, the undersigned officers of the Honourable Company's service, do in the most solemn manner declare, upon our word of honour as British officers, that we will obey the orders and support the authority of the Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the commissions which we hold from that Government."—Ibid. 2 B. p. 9.

[2] Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. p. 30.

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Company's troops were also so distributed in connexion with his Majesty's as to render the latter an efficient check upon the former, and all the available corps of the central division of the army were concentrated in the vicinity of the seat of Government.

The majority of the officers, even of those whose loyalty and moderation had never been doubted, declined to sign the test, and were consequently removed from their stations.[1] The appeal to the native officers and men was very generally successful. Wherever the orders of the Government reached them, they expressed their resolution to remain faithful to their vows of allegiance, and to obey no commands but such as they should receive from Government direct, or from officers whom the Government should set over them. This separation of the men from their officers was calculated to relax the reins of discipline and sow the seeds of disorganization in the native army; but the Indian soldier is of a plastic nature, which, where his own immediate interests or prejudices are not concerned, soon takes and soon parts with impressions. The only situations in which the agitation was not suppressed without recourse to more stringent correctives were Mysore and Hyderabad.

In the former of these districts, the officers of the garrison of Seringapatam, rendered desperate by the measures of the Government for separating the native soldiers from their officers, rushed into un-

[1] Observations of Sir John Malcolm, p. 32. Colonel Bannerman states that the published returns show but one hundred and fifty signatures, out of thirteen hundred officers on the strength of the Madras army.—Dissent, Parl. Papers, April, 1811, 4. 23.

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1809. bridled violence and open rebellion. Compelling a small detachment of his Majesty's troops to withdraw from the fort, they seized upon the public treasure, drew up the bridges, and placed themselves in an attitude of defiance; disobeying the orders of Colonel Davies, commanding in Mysore, and disregarding the remonstrances of the Political Resident, Mr. Cole. A detachment consisting of the 25th dragoons, a regiment of native cavalry, with a regiment of his Majesty's foot, and a native battalion, commanded by Colonel Gibbs, marched to Seringapatam, where they encamped; while a corps of Mysore horse, which had been supplied by the Dewan, was detached to intercept the advance of two battalions which were on their way from Chittledroog to reinforce the garrison. The Mysore horse met the battalions at some distance from Seringapatam about the 7th of August. No forcible opposition was offered until the 11th, when the Chittledroog force was in sight of the walls of Seringapatam, and of the camp of the detachment by which the fortress was observed. Encouraged by the proximity of the latter, the Mysoreans began to harass the march of the battalions, and were fired upon. The resistance was, however, feeble; for, upon the approach of the dragoons, the Chittledroog battalions broke and dispersed. The greater part effected their escape into the fort, the garrison of which had made a demonstration in their favour. The officer who commanded was wounded and taken prisoner; another died of fatigue and anxiety after reaching the fort. More than two hundred Sipahis and followers were said to have been killed

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and wounded.[1] Of the dragoons one officer was wounded slightly. During the night the fortress cannonaded the encampment; and, although no great mischief was done, it was necessary to remove the tents to a safer distance. No further hostility was offered by either party.

Hoping that the personal character of Colonel Close, the Resident at Poona, and his great popularity with the native soldiery, might enable him to exercise a salutary influence over the troops at Hyderabad, the Government called him from his political duties to take the command of the subsidiary force. He arrived at Hyderabad on the 3rd of August; and, notwithstanding some opposition, made his way to the cantonments, where he expostulated with such officers as were present, and with such of the native officers and men as showed a disposition to listen to his observations. Little effect was produced apparently by his intervention; and, having cause to apprehend personal restraint, he thought it more consistent with his own dignity and the intentions of the Government to withdraw from the cantonment to the Residency, and there await further instructions. Immediately upon his departure, the committee of officers summoned the divisions at Jalna, Masulipatam, and in the Northern Circars. The former made two marches in advance, and the

[1] The returns give nine killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and two hundred and eighty-one missing. The officers of the Chittledroog battalion affirm that the men were ordered not to fire upon the Europeans, but only to defend themselves against the Mysore horse. The absence of all casualties among the dragoons, with the exception of one officer wounded, which was possibly the consequence of a misunderstanding, is a strong corroboration of this assertion.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 O. p. 40; also 2 F. p. 33, &c.; also Trial of Colonel J. Bell; Parl. Papers, April, 1811.

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latter were under orders to take the field, when, fortunately, the determinations of the officers at Hyderabad underwent a change. On the 11th of August they addressed a penitential letter to Lord Minto, who was expected to arrive at Madras; signed the test proposed by the Government of Fort St. George; and circulated to the several stations of the army a paper wherein they stated that imperious circumstances and mature reflection had induced them to sign the declaration, and they earnestly entreated their brother-officers to follow their example.[1] The defection of the Hyderabad force arrested the progress of the mutiny. The Jalna division returned to cantonments. On the 16th of August the garrison at Masulipatam tendered their adhesion, and gave up the fort to General Pater; and on the 23rd the garrison of Seringapatam submitted unconditionally, and evacuated the fortress. The declaratory test was universally signed, and a calm as profound as

[1] The motives which influenced the officers are recapitulated by Lord Minto in his letter of the 12th October, 1809, to the Secret Committee, par. 72. "They represent themselves to have proposed at no period anything beyond intimidation as a means of controuling Government, and exacting the concessions they required: they advanced from faction to sedition, from sedition to revolt, confident that each step they made towards further violence would be sufficient for their purpose. In this course they gradually arrived at the last narrow boundary which they had yet to pass before the commencement of civil war; and, while they yet hesitated on that last decisive step, the measures of Government convinced them that intimidation would fail, and, if they advanced further, the contest was actually to be maintained. They then describe their sense of the public evils incident to such a conflict, and their compunction at becoming the immediate instruments of such calamities; sentiments which terminated in a resolution to sacrifice their own objects and feelings to the public safety, and to submit themselves implicitly to the discretion of Government." Although Lord Minto doubts, to its full extent, this account of their reasons for so suddenly stopping in their course, and ascribes it, in part at least, to a seasonable fear of failure; yet he admits that very many must have been urged onwards, against their own better judgments, by the impulse of example, and that these must have rejoiced at the first overture of retreat.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv. p. 9.

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the agitation had been alarming was at once restored.

The causes which induced this seasonable reaction are sufficiently obvious. The officers had hitherto rushed forward in the blindness of their anger, without seeing whither it was likely to lead them; but they had now arrived at the very verge of the precipice, and another step would have consigned them to irretrievable infamy and ruin. It is impossible to believe that the most daring and desperate did not at this moment wish for an excuse to go no further. The senior officers in almost every command had throughout acted with so much moderation and judgment as to have secured the respect, although they had not been always able to repress the violence, of those subordinate to them; and their representations contributed to awaken in the minds of their younger brethren a truer perception of the perilous situation in which they stood. It is also little to be doubted that the disposition to retract derived confirmation from the apprehension of failure in advancing, and from a general belief that the native soldiery would fall off from their officers if the quarrel with the Government were urged to actual warfare.[1] These reflections had been for some time at work. Even in the almost universal rejection of the test, the indication of a returning sense of duty was manifested; as the chief ground of re-

[1] In several of the pamphlets published by the friends of the officers, it is asserted that "the Sipahis adhered to the officers to the last." Lord Minto observes, that "the officers never allowed themselves to doubt of the adherence of the Sepoy battalions."—Letter, 12th October, par. 16; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 2. In general, however, the native officers and troops manifested little inclination to support their European officers against the Government.

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departure was delayed by the assurance, which the Madras Government, with that singularly imperfect knowledge which it had on other occasions evinced of the real state of things, conveyed to him, that the agitation was rapidly subsiding, and that a fair prospect existed of the army's returning to a sense of duty.[1] As soon as he ascertained that the information was incorrect, he embarked, and reached Madras on the 11th of September. All parties anxiously awaited his fiat. It was not long delayed.[2] On the 25th of the same month a general order announced to the army the Governor-General's reprobation of their past conduct, and his resolution to inflict such punishment as might be commensurate with the offences committed. This determination was expressed in language designed and calculated to assuage all irritated feeling, and it was too evidently grounded upon the nature of the past transactions for its justice to be called in question. The necessity of vindicating the authority of the Government was based entirely upon abstract and incontrovertible principles, and the manner in which that vindication was to be exercised was qualified with the utmost possible leniency. The decision of the Governor-General was also distinguished by one remarkable peculiarity,—the more remarkable from the contrast which it presented to the whole course of Sir George Barlow's proceedings,—the non-exercise of absolute power; the abeyance of the right of the Governor-General to decree

[1] Letter from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 10th October, 1809, par. 37: also Minute of Governor-General, 15th July, 1800; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv.: and MS. Records.

[2] Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv. p. 14.

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punishment of his own will and pleasure; and the reference of those who were charged with the highest degree of culpability to the judgment of their peers. A few only of the offenders were selected; such as officers in command of stations or of bodies of troops, commandants of corps, and individuals conspicuous for violent and forward behaviour. For the two first, courts-martial were ordered; to the others, the alternative was offered of investigation before the same tribunal, or dismissal from the service. The whole of the officers of the Hyderabad force were pardoned, in consideration of the important example which they had set of submission. Only three officers came under the first class, eighteen only under the latter; a general amnesty tranquillised the rest. The order wound up with expressions of affectionate solicitude for the character and welfare of the Coast army, which sunk deep into minds that had so long been used to the language of unbending sternness and unqualified reproof, and which now laboured under the humiliating consciousness that personal resentment, however provoked, was no excuse for a dereliction of the first principles of military duty,—obedience to constituted authority, and allegiance to the state.

Shortly after the promulgation of this order, the trials commenced. Lieutenant-Colonel John Bell, the commandant of the garrison of Seringapatam, was charged with joining in, and with heading, the mutiny of the troops. The defence set up was, that he had consented to take the command only to prevent excesses; that he exercised no real authority in the fort; that he had signed the test without hesi-

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tation himself, and that it was through his influence the officers also finally signed it, and that the garrison finally surrendered the fort in a peaceable manner. He was pronounced guilty, and sentenced to be cashiered. A like charge and sentence characterised the trial of Major Storey, who had consented to hold the command at Masulipatam, upon the arrest, by his brother-officers, of Colonel Innes, their common superior. A similar defence was offered, and the prisoner was recommended to the mercy of the Commander-in-chief. In both cases the sentences were held to be too lenient, and were sent back for revision; but they were adhered to by the courts, and eventually confirmed. Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton was charged with having moved his detachment from Jalna with a mutinous and seditious design against the Government of Madras. The defence was the same. Colonel Doveton, it was affirmed, had only ostensibly participated in a movement which he could not hinder, with a view so to controul it as to render it inoffensive: he also produced a private letter from the Resident at Hyderabad, sanctioning his accompanying the troops, if he could not prevent their march. He was consequently fully and honourably acquitted. This sentence also was disapproved of by the Commander of the forces, but was confirmed by the court. Colonel Doveton was nevertheless suspended by the Governor-General from the service pending a reference to the pleasure of the Court of Directors. Of the second class of officers, two, Lieutenant-Colonel Munro and Major Kenny, stood a trial, and were cashiered: the rest accepted the

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alternative of dismissal.[1] Until the termination of the trials, Lord Minto continued at the Presidency of Madras; and when he quitted it, early in 1810, his authority was in some measure replaced by the presence of General Hewett, the Commander-in-chief of the Bengal army, who assumed the command of the army of Madras. At the end of 1810, General Sir Samuel Auchmuty relieved General Hewett from his duty, and, with the command of the army, took his place as member of Council; the Court of Directors having learnt too late from the recent dissensions how essential was the possession of a dignity, so vainly coveted by General Macdowall, to the cordial co-operation of their chief civil and military functionaries.

Thus terminated a struggle which at one period was thought to threaten the constitution of the Madras Presidency, and endanger the existence of the British empire in India. The danger, though not visionary, was perhaps exaggerated. The quarrel was less between public bodies than between individuals; and the army readily yielded to Lord Minto the allegiance which it had withheld from, and ultimately conceded with an ill grace to, Sir George Barlow. However unreasonable the aversion thus cherished, and however indefensible the extremities to which it hurried unthinking men, it cannot be affirmed that the feelings so widely spread were wholly without extenuation, or that the measures and character of the Governor were

[1] Report of the Trials; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, No. vii. Letter from Lord Minto to the Secret Committee, 15th April, 1830; ibid. No. ix. p. 353.

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not calculated to provoke, although not to justify, disobedience. The Indian Governments of Sir George Barlow's day were wholly unaccustomed to have their proceedings canvassed or their wisdom impugned, and they were intolerant of opposition. This had been particularly the case in Bengal, where the imperious rule of Lord Wellesley, relieved by the brilliant results of his public policy, had been long accustomed to demand and receive prompt and unquestioning submission. Brought up in his school, it is not to be wondered at that Sir George Barlow carried with him to Madras the same exalted notions of the authority entrusted to him; and when, from the concurrent causes which have been adverted to, he found, both in the civil and military branches of his government, contravention and resistance, he not unnaturally referred them to unworthy motives, and stigmatised them as personal and factious. That much of the opposition which he encountered was personal was undoubtedly true; but it was not at first personal in a sense relating to him, so much as to the individuals themselves, advocating their own interests, and smarting under mistaken, perhaps, but not the less bitter, feelings of injury and injustice. These feelings might have been soothed, and their mischievous consequences prevented, by kindly consideration and temperate forbearance. General Macdowall had no right to complain of the Government of Madras for his exclusion from the Council; that was the act of the Court of Directors: but he had reason to feel aggrieved when Government gave that exclusion practical effect, constructing the plan of a campaign

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without consulting him; or consulting him tardily and reservedly, and encroaching upon his pretensions to military patronage. Had he been treated with the same deference as if he had filled a seat at the council-board, all cause of offence would possibly have been removed; for, although warm and precipitate, his temper does not appear to have been unsusceptible of conciliation. When the season of friendly intercourse had passed, and General Macdowall had placed himself in the wrong by his unjustifiable violence in the case of Colonel Munro, the cancelling of the arrest was so necessary and so sufficient a vindication of the authority of the Government, that it must have ensured, after the first heats were allayed, the concurrence of the whole army. The annulment of the General's parting order was also a measure the propriety of which would have been little questioned, although the language of the order was undignified and intemperate. But the measures that ensued bore a different character, and were hasty and imprudent, and in some respects unjust. The suspension of the officers of the Adjutant-General's department for obeying the commands of their military superior; the condemnation of officers without charge or trial, upon private information; and their severe punishment for an unperpetrated offence—the intended transmission of a memorial which was never sent; all originated in that spirit of official despotism which conceived that its own judgment superseded all need of hesitation, all occasion for inquiry or trial. That Sir George Barlow conscientiously considered the station in which he was placed to be endowed with such prerogatives;

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