

to Sir John Malcolm on the 15th of February. His son, Shuhamut Khan, with Ruttun Koonwur, a noted leader of luhburs, and about 200 followers, were still lurking in the junguls and mountains of Huraotee and Boondee, when Zalim Singh of Kota conveyed to them the assurance of life, and induced them to yield on the same terms as had been granted to Namdar Khan. Kureem Khan was settled with his family on an estate purchased for him in the Górukpoor district, of the value of about 1000 rupees a month. Wásil Mahommed was on his seizure kept in strict *surveillance* at Ghazeepoor; but continued evidently restless, and refused to send for his family, or to take measures to settle himself in the manner desired by the British Government. At the close of the following rains he attempted an escape, having by some means or other procured relays of horses to be laid to carry him beyond our frontier; but being detected in the act of getting out of the house in which he resided, he destroyed himself by taking poison.

Thus were the two durras of Kureem and Wásil Mahommed annihilated. Cheetoo, though he had suffered much in detail, had hitherto avoided a rencounter with any of the British corps in the field. But, on the 25th of January, he was heard of at Kurnôd by Colonel Heath, who commanded the garrison and post of Hindia. A party was immediately sent out, which beat up his bivouac in the night, and utterly dispersed the remnant of his durra. The Bheels and Ghasseas were encouraged to plunder and destroy the fugitives, a commission they zealously executed. After this, Cheetoo wandered about Malwa a short time with about 200 followers; and seeing his affairs to be nearly desperate, endeavoured, through the Nuwab of Bhopál, to make terms for himself, in conjunction with his remaining adherents. For this purpose, he suddenly entered the Nuwab's camp; but when he learned that Nuzur Mahommed had nothing to offer, beyond a slender personal maintenance in some distant

part of Hindoostan, while he demanded a jageer in Malwa, and the entertainment of himself with his men in the British service, he decamped as suddenly as he had come. While he staid, his horses were constantly saddled, and the men slept with the bridles in their hands, ready to fly instantly, in case of an attempt to seize them. Preparations were making for the purpose the very night he went off; but he was too much on his guard, and too much alive to suspicion, to allow them to be completed. He was instantly pursued by the Nuwab's people; and General Malcolm also sent out parties to take him, which distressed him so much, that Rajun left him, and made his submission. Mahomed Punah, his son, was likewise made prisoner. Yet he subsequently found his way into Kandêsh and the Dukhun, and made common cause with the Arabs and chiefs of the Pêshwa's routed army, with whom he became assimilated, receiving occasional protection from the Killadar of the fortress of Aseergurh. His durra was completely destroyed, and his followers almost entirely deserted him *.

* Vide infra, Chap. 18.

CHAPTER XIV.

POONA.

1817-18, NOVEMBER TO APRIL.

Pêshwa's flight and pursuit—is cut off from the north—returns to the south—affair at Koragâon—resolute defence of Captain Staunton—repulse of the enemy—remarks—flight of Bajee Rao continued—Brigadier-General Pritzler's pursuit—Bajee Rao turns north—met by General Smith, and pursued up the Kishna—new distribution of British force—Suttara taken—plans of Governor-General in respect to Pêshwa and Suttara Raja—reasons and reflections—instructions issued—Suttara Raja proclaimed—General Smith pursues Bajee Rao—comes up with him at Ashtee—Gokla slain—Suttara's family captured—notice respecting Gokla—Pêshwa's distress—capture of his forts—desertion of his Jageerdars—joined by Gunput Rao and Ram Deen—flight to the northward.

It is now time to revert to the transactions of the war with Bajee Rao in the Dukhun. For the purpose of preserving the continuity of the narrative of occurrences in other quarters, we have reserved these for separate notice, there having as yet been no such direct connexion between the operations on the two opposite sides of India, as to require the relation to be interwoven.

After his defeat at Poona on the 16th of November, the Pêshwa fled southward towards his strong holds in the vicinity of Suttara. It was at first believed, that he intended to shut himself up in some one of them, there to abide a siege. It appeared, however, that he had no such design, the recent fall of Hatras having shaken the confidence of all the native chief-

tains in their fortified places. His march to the south had no other object, than to effect a junction with a party sent before to carry off the family* of the Raja of Suttara from Wusota. Fearing to trust a race of so much political importance to the safe keeping of even the strongest of his forts, he resolved to carry the principal members of the family along with him, in order to prevent the possibility of their falling into our hands, or being set up by us in opposition to his own authority.

Towards the end of November, Brigadier-General Smith, having completed his arrangements for the occupation and eventual defence of Poona, set off in pursuit of the fugitive prince. On the morning of the 29th, he forced the passage of the Sâlpâ-Ghât, leading to the high land in which the Kishna takes its rise. Gokla, with a body of 5000 of the Pêshwa's best horse, had, since the 22d, been continually hovering about the Brigadier-General's line of march, for the purpose of taking advantage of the least confusion. It would have been far too harassing a duty for the single regiment of cavalry and few irregulars attached to the division, to have attempted to keep at a distance an enemy that never ventured to stand a charge. However, by occasionally masking a galloper gun, and employing Shrapnell shells, the General was enabled to make the service of Gokla's horse rather too perilous for a continuance. On the day of his forcing the Sâlpâ-Ghât, the nature of the ground gave an opportunity of opening the battery of a whole troop of horse-artillery in this manner, and with such effect, that for some days afterwards, indeed, until the 6th. of December, the hovering clouds of horsemen completely disappeared. Bajee Rao himself usually kept at the distance of two long marches in advance.

Nothing of interest occurred in this very long and arduous pursuit: it will be sufficient, therefore, to notice the line of the

* Vide Forbes' Oriental Memoirs.

enemy's flight. Passing Suttara, he went as far south as Poosa Saolee (Possessolee.) From this point, either to avoid falling in with Brigadier-General Pritzler, who was advancing with the reserve from the ceded districts, or having no object in remaining to the south of the capital after the junction of the Suttara Raja's family, and naturally wishing to be joined by the support he expected from Hindoostan, he made a few long marches eastward, as far as Pundurpoor; and thence getting round Brigadier-General Smith, marched rapidly in a north-westerly direction, and, passing half-way between Poona and Seroor, moved northward as far as Wuttoor, on the direct road to Nassick. Here he was joined by Trimbukjee Dainglia, who brought with him a considerable reinforcement of horse and foot, raised in Kandêsh, or invited down from Hindoostan into the service. General Smith followed close at his rear, arriving at Pundurpoor on the 8th of December, the second day only after Bajee Rao had left it. As soon as the Pêshwa had passed clear of Poona, the Brigadier-general moved to the old cantonment of Seroor, and, after recruiting his cattle, resumed the pursuit on the 22d of December. Keeping now greatly to the east of the enemy's route, he entered the valley of the Godaveree, by the Nimba-Deora Ghât, in the hope thus to intercept his retreat northward: for the Pêshwa, finding himself less pressed, had loitered some days at Wuttoor, and in the neighbourhood of the strong fort of Jooneer. He was still in vicinity of that place on the 26th of December, when his active pursuer had already advanced to Hunwuntgâon, yet further northward than himself. He then attempted to continue his march towards Nassick; but General Smith was gaining fast upon him from the east, and he had scarcely descended the Ghât to the valley of the Peeree, on the 27th, when he heard that the Brigadier-general had already passed Sungunner, and was in full march to intercept his flight. Finding it now impossible to

prosecute his march to the north without taking a more westerly route, he moved first to Kootool; but then fearing to be entangled with his cavalry in the difficult country in the immediate neighbourhood of the western ghâts, he determined to give up the intention of continuing his flight in that direction, and, re-ascending the table-land he had quitted only the day before, returned to Wuttoor, on the 28th of December, and thence hastened his flight in a southerly course on the direct road to Poona. This gave occasion to one of the most memorable actions, that has ever been fought in India.

Colonel Burr, the officer left in command at Poona, hearing of the Pêshwa's advance by the direct road to that city, and not being sufficiently aware of the manœuvres that had forced him into this line of retreat, and the closeness of the pursuers in his rear, thought an attack upon the capital was meditated. He accordingly solicited a reinforcement of a battalion from Seroor, the better to be prepared for defence. The following is an accurate account of what befel the reinforcement forwarded at his request.

The detachment consisted of a detail of Madras artillery, with two six-pounders, the 2d-1st Bombay native infantry, about 500 strong, and 300 auxiliary horse, the whole under Captain Staunton of the Bombay establishment, who commanded the battalion. It began its march from Seroor for Poona, at eight p. m. on the 31st of December, and at ten next morning reached the heights overlooking Koragâon, about half way to the city; when the whole of the Pêshwa's army, estimated at 20,000 horse and several thousand infantry, were discovered on the plain to the south of the Bheema. Captain Staunton found his march to Poona thus intercepted, and himself in great danger of being cut off. In order to avoid the exposure of the plain, which would have given an immense advantage to the Mahratta cavalry, he advanced hastily to seize the village of

Koragâon, before it should be occupied by the enemy's infantry. On perceiving his intention, they made for the same point, and Captain Staunton succeeded in part only; for half the village, and several of the strongest positions, remained in the hands of the enemy, who manned the whole of their portion with Arabs, whom he found it impossible to dislodge, notwithstanding several attempts for the purpose. A most desperate struggle now commenced between this mere handful of men, and the whole of the Mahratta army, which fought under the stimulus of the presence of the Prince himself, who personally witnessed the action from an adjoining height.

The enemy also had but two guns, but his infantry outnumbered ours in the proportion of more than ten to one, and the majority were Arabs*, a race whose determined courage, or rather desperation of boldness, had frequently been experienced in former wars, and was perhaps never more conspicuous than at Nâgpoor, and in this affair. The Arab infantry had also the support of immense clouds of cavalry, before whom the few horse that accompanied the battalion dared not show themselves; indeed, Captain Swanston, who commanded those auxiliaries, was wounded early in the day.

The contest continued until after sunset, and was a series of obstinate attacks and defences of such posts, as the situation of the houses and circumjacent buildings afforded. In actions of this nature, the advantage of having fresh troops to bring up is every thing, and this the enemy possessed and availed himself

* It may be proper to mention, as a proof of the estimation, in which the Arabs are held as soldiers by the native powers, the rate of pay they received in the Pêshwa's army, in comparison with natives of other countries.

Arabs, natives of Arabia	-	-	15 rupees a month.
Their descendants born in the country			10 ditto.
Hindoostanees, (the same as our sepoys)			8 ditto.
Mahrattas and Dukhunees	-	-	6 ditto.

of to the utmost degree ; while Captain Staunton had scarcely sufficient for the defence of the ground he occupied, much less any men to spare for a reserve, or for the occasional relief of his different posts. The attack commenced a little before noon, and was not discontinued till nine in the evening, during the whole of which time our men remained without refreshment, and, what was of more consequence, no water was to be had in that part of the village in their possession. In the evening its situation was peculiarly critical. Lieutenant Chisholm, the officer of artillery, with most of his men, had been killed at a post near a pagoda in the village, against which the Arabs principally directed their efforts. At the same time, the exertions that the European officers had been called upon to make, in heading repeated charges, had so reduced their number, that, of the whole, three only remained undisa- bled, Captain Staunton himself, Lieutenant Jones, and Assistant-Surgeon Wylie, the two latter nearly exhausted. The Arabs at this time charged and obtained possession of the gun at the pagoda, round which many of our wounded were lying ; among the rest, Assistant-Surgeon Wingate of the artillery, Captain Swanston, and Lieutenant Connellan, were there, all in a helpless state. The Arabs immediately commenced a massacre of the wounded, and the mutilation of the bodies of the deceased. Dr. Wingate was the first victim to their cruelty ; he was literally hacked to pieces, as was the body of the deceased artillery officer. But they did not long enjoy the triumph ; for the three remaining officers, immediately upon the loss of the gun, although themselves almost exhausted, and their men fainting from want of water, exerted themselves to bring them on to a final charge. On this occasion Lieutenant Patterson, who had been wounded and lodged in a place of safety, appeared again at the head of his men, and continued to exert the little strength he had left, until he received a second wound, which

utterly disabled him, and in the end proved mortal. The charge fortunately was successful, and was executed with such judicious celerity and spirit, that it saved the lives of Captain Swanston and Lieutenant Connellan, both of whom were in the Arabs' hands, and having just witnessed the massacre and mutilation of their comrades, were expecting a like fate to themselves. Every man of the Arabs, who had penetrated to the pagoda, was bayoneted without mercy, and from this time the enemy relaxed much in the vigour of his attacks. As it grew dark, the men were enabled to procure a supply of water, which was the only refreshment they received for the whole day and night. By nine p. m. the enemy was driven out of the positions he had till then held in the village, and the rest of the night was passed by the detachment without molestation, but under the alarming anticipation of a renewed attack with fresh troops on the ensuing morning, and the certainty of their ammunition failing in that case after a few rounds. At daybreak it was found, that although the Mahratta army still hovered about the village, it was not disposed to renew the attack. The day was, however, passed under arms, and without any opportunity of procuring a supply of provisions. On the night of the 2nd of January, Captain Staunton, despairing of being able to effect his march on Poona, prepared to move back to Seroor. Wherefore, sacrificing much of his baggage in order to provide the means of transporting his numerous wounded, he commenced his march in the dark, and reached Seroor by nine next morning, bringing back not only his guns, but likewise all his wounded.

Brigadier-General Smith himself arrived at Koragāon with all his division in the course of the 3rd of January. But Bajee Rao had previously decamped, and continuing his flight to the southward, had on the same day ascended the Boor-Ghat beyond Poona, passing a second time within twenty miles of the

capital. The approach of General Smith had obliged him to allow the battalion to march back to Seroor without further molestation.

The extraordinary obstinacy of Captain Staunton's defence against such overwhelming numbers, and his ultimate success in driving off the enemy, are amongst the most surprising exploits that our Indian army has ever achieved. There were but six * officers and two assistant-surgeons with the detachment; but the latter felt themselves called upon for exertions altogether out of their profession, and frequently lent the influence of their example, in leading the Sepoys to the charge of the bayonet, and inspiring them with that confidence of success, which the ascendancy of the European character never fails to produce. Our loss in the affair was three officers killed and two wounded out of the eight engaged. In the artillery the loss of men was most severe, twelve being killed and eight wounded, out of a detail for two six-pounders only. Of the battalion, 50 killed and 105 wounded. It may be worth while to compare the loss suffered on this occasion with that of other hard contested actions, in order to enable us to form a just estimate of the degree of credit to which the troops were entitled for their exertion and endurance in this memorable defence. At the battle of Mehudpoor, the rifle corps suffered undoubtedly a more severe loss in officers, and, of the men, there were no less than 180 killed and wounded, which, as the corps was weak, is

* Names of the officers :

Captain Staunton, commanding.
Lieutenant-Adjutant Patterson, died of his wounds.
Lieutenant Connellan, wounded.
Lieutenant Jones, doing duty.
Assistant-Surgeon Wingate, killed.
Lieutenant Chisholm, artillery, killed.
Assistant-Surgeon Wylie, artillery.
Lieutenant Swanston, auxiliary horse, wounded.

nearly an equal proportion : but this was one regiment of an army, and had it been cut off to a man, the victory might still have been gained by the rest of the troops : no analogy can be drawn between the behaviour of a battalion executing part of a combined movement, even though it should bear a disproportionate share of the brunt of the action, and the conduct of one that has to fight by itself, without support or hope, except from its own exertions. The Nâgpoor affair, where the whole of the troops were actively engaged, and nearly in an equal degree, is probably that which, in its circumstances, was most similar to the affair of Koragâon. The duration and obstinacy of the attack in both cases ; the description of troops engaged ; the partial success and ultimate discomfiture of the Arabs, are all so many points of resemblance between the two ; and many more might be pointed out. At Nâgpoor, however, the general loss was nearly equal to that of the Bombay battalion, while that of the 1st-24th* alone amounted to 149 killed and wounded, which is only six short of the loss of Captain Staunton, although the proportionate number of combatants was rather in favour of the latter. On the whole, therefore, the contest may be considered to have been nearly as severe in one case as in the other, and in each the alternative of victory or ignominious death was presented to the combatants, which may account for the perseverance and resolute valour evinced on both occasions. But the discouraging circumstances under which the Bombay battalion fought, having to take up its ground hastily after a long and fatiguing march, and being forced to fight without food or refreshment, and without water, give to its efforts a character of

* This distinguished battalion was originally the 1st-1st; but in consequence of its concern in the mutiny of Vellore, it had been degraded from the highest to the lowest place in the numerical scale of the native corps. Its behaviour at Nâgpoor and general good conduct has since obtained the restoration of its former rank and number.

desperate and deliberate gallantry, much beyond what the most distinguished corps on any other occasion of the war had displayed, as indeed was universally acknowledged. To testify the sense entertained by the Supreme-Government of the conduct of Captain Staunton in this affair, the Marquess of Hastings nominated him an honorary aide-de-camp, and subsequently conferred on him the command of the fortress of Ahmednugurh, when formed into a regular garrison. The government has further ordered the erection of a public monument at Koragâon to the memory of those who fell.

After this repulse, Bajee Rao a second time ascended the table land, whence the Kishna takes its rise, and continued his flight south-eastward through Poosa-Saolee to Merich. In the mean time, Brigadier-General Pritzler, who, on the first rise of Bajee Rao in arms, had been summoned to take part in the operations against him, had advanced with part of the reserve by the route of Bejapoor, and was between Peergâon and Pundurpoor on the Bheema, when he heard of the Mahratta army being in full march to the south. He immediately moved westward, with a view to intercept them; but finding the enemy had already ascended the Ghâts, followed in the same direction, and passed the Salpa-Ghât on the 6th of January. On the next day he fell in with his rear guard, and pressed it with his cavalry under Major Doveton, by which means about sixty or seventy of the Mahrattas were killed. The Brigadier-General continued the pursuit, following them close at the heels to Poosa-Saolee and Merich, and thence crossing the Kishna after them by the ford of Erroor a little lower down the river. It was given out in the Pêshwa's army and through the country it traversed, that he meditated the invasion of Mysore and our own ceded districts. With this view he went as far south as Gokâk on the Gutpurba, and endeavoured to open a correspondence with the Raja of Mysore: failing in this, however,

and hearing that the country on the other side of the Gutpurba had been armed against him by the exertions and popularity of Brigadier-General Munro ; and, moreover, finding that the same indefatigable officer had collected the scattered and considerable force of regular troops at his disposal, and was already prepared to oppose his further progress to the south, he resolved on the 15th of January to retrace his steps, and from Gokâk turned eastward, and recrossing the Kishna at Gulgula, diverged thence to the west, and marched by Hutanee on Merich, thus circumventing General Pritzler's division, in the same manner as he had done that of General Smith in his first flight to the south. But in this he did not succeed without being hard pressed by his pursuers, and particularly in the turn he made to the east. On the 17th of January, Brigadier-General Pritzler's cavalry had a smart brush with a part of the Mahratta army, and occasioned it very considerable loss. General Pritzler was stronger in this arm than General Smith had been, having two squadrons of the 22nd dragoons, besides the 7th native cavalry : but the enemy could never be brought to stand a charge, and it was only by means of galloper guns, or by breaking our line in pursuit, that they could be materially injured : and the latter could rarely be hazarded in the face of such disproportionate numbers.

While General Pritzler was tracking the Pêshwa's flight in the manner above mentioned, General Smith, having again recruited his division at Seroor, prepared to move likewise to the south with the major part of his force lightly equipped, in order to act against the enemy as circumstances might enable him. He started from Seroor on the 8th of January with this intention, leaving a part of his force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Boles, to follow with the stores and heavy guns. On the 12th of January he was near Fultun, and thence directed his march on Malwullee, pursuing a southerly course. On the 21st of January

he heard of the enemy having wheeled round General Pritzler's division, and of his being in full march on Merich from Hutanee. General Smith was at the time not far from Hingungâon, whence he immediately moved on Merich to take up the pursuit. On the 22nd he arrived at Oogar on the Kishna, a little above the town, where he learnt that the fugitive Pêshwa had encamped only the day before. From this point Bajee Rao, crossing the Kishna, made a feint of descending into the Konkan by the Amba-Ghât, but soon giving up that design, continued his flight up the right bank, while General Smith followed on the opposite side, hoping by this means to prevent any escape to the east. The pursuit was very close; yet the enemy was enabled, by a rapid march from Suttara on the 28th of January, to cross the river and clear the Salpa-Ghât with the loss of only part of his rear guard, which was intercepted in the defiles. On moving forward, however, towards the Boor-Ghât, he was met and cannonaded by the detachment under Colonel Boles, and in the end fled eastward through Fultun to Pundurpoor, and afterwards to Solapoor, where he hoped to gain possession of the treasures of his old minister Suda-Sheeo-Bhâo-Mankishur, who had died but a few months before.

Here he halted, and was left for some days unmolested, while General Smith, finding himself in the neighbourhood, resolved to call up his heavy guns and employ them in reducing Suttara, still the nominal capital of the Mahratta empire. Besides the *eclat* and political importance that would necessarily result from the capture of this celebrated fortress, the Brigadier-General had other motives for undertaking the enterprise. He was desirous of effecting a junction with General Pritzler, who was still considerably in his rear, and of then making a new disposition of the troops composing the two divisions, by forming all the cavalry and light troops of both into an active corps for the pursuit of Bajee Rao, while the heavy artillery and a

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sufficient force for sieges and similar operations was left to reduce the many strong places in the country south of the capital. This most politic and judicious plan was adopted at the suggestion of Mr. Elphinstone, and it would have been earlier put in practice, had not the hope of coming up with the Peshwa's army carried off General Pritzler in another direction, and prevented his having the necessary communication with General Smith. The mere pursuit of the fugitive prince from place to place, without wresting from him the occupancy of the country, had proved to be productive of little benefit hitherto, and seemed moreover likely to be spun out to an indefinite length, unless prosecuted on a very different plan. Whereas, on the contrary, by employing the troops according to the new and improved military arrangement, it was not improbable, that rather than submit quietly to the loss of his fortified places, the enemy would risk a general action, which was exactly what we most desired. Resolving to act upon this principle, General Smith waited the junction of the reserve division, which was coming up with a convoy, an encumbrance it had not been able to rid itself of during the whole line of pursuit, and employed the interval in laying siege to Suttara. The place surrendered the same day that the Brigadier-General appeared before it, the garrison offering to evacuate, the moment the mortar battery was brought to play with effect. It was taken possession of next morning, the 11th of February; but instead of hoisting the British flag on the walls, the standard of Sevagee again floated over the ramparts of this his ancient seat, while Mr. Elphinstone took the occasion of publishing a manifesto to the Mahratta nation, declaring it to be the intention of the British Government to restore the Suttara family to an independent sovereignty, and to punish the long continued treachery and ultimate defection of Bajee Rao, by the perpetual exclusion of his dynasty from all authority or concern in the affairs of the

Mahratta empire, and by the assumption to itself of all his territorial possessions.

This course of policy was taken under orders from the Governor-General, which were not issued without very mature consideration of the question. On the first occurrence of the rupture, the Resident at Poona had addressed to the Marquess of Hastings a solicitation for special instructions, respecting the conduct to be observed in the event of Bajee Rao's capture on submission, and generally upon the question, whether the present prince was to be reinstated upon any terms in any portion of the dominions of his family. In case of its being resolved to restore him to some share of nominal authority, Mr. Elphinstone submitted a plan for imposing such complete restraint upon all his actions, as he hoped would afford a sufficient safeguard against any future ill effects from his ambition and rooted fondness for intrigue. He proposed, however, at all events, to curtail his means effectually, as well by requiring compensation for the charges of the war, as by the demand of the arrears of the pension paid to Umrit Rao under the agreement made with that chief by the Duke of Wellington on his first advance to Poona; besides insisting on the cession of a territory, to be conferred on that prince in lieu of the pension for the future. The policy of setting up Umrit Rao himself, as well as that of placing Chimnajee, the brother of Bajee Rao, on the Guddee, were at the same time brought under consideration, in case the deposition of the present Pêshwa should be determined on. In submitting these points, the Resident did not express any preference of one plan above another, conceiving the choice to lie peculiarly in the judgment of the Governor-General; and the Marquess of Hastings, whose closest attention had already been turned to the subject, decided in favour of the total expulsion of Bajee Rao from the Dukhun, the perpetual exclusion of his family from any share

of influence or dominion, and the annihilation of the Pêshwa's name and authority for ever.

These were certainly strong measures, and may at first sight carry the appearance of harshness. But he considered them to be warranted by the uniform conduct of our insidious ally for the four preceding years; and both the manner in which he had placed himself at the head of the confederation against the British power, and the critical time he had chosen to set the example of defection, demanded that his treatment should be a warning example to the nations of India, and an awful lesson on the consequences of incurring the full measure of our just indignation. The mere removal of the individual from the seat of imperial sway, for the purpose of elevating either Chimnaje, or Umrit Rao, or any other member of the same family, would have had the effect of impressing the minds of other princes with the idea, that the personal chastisement of the individual was to be the extreme consequence of the most implacable and persevering hostility; while the dignities and advantages of sovereignty, nominal at least, if not real, would still, under any circumstances of provocation, be left to descend in the uninterrupted line of hereditary succession. But how many men are there, that would set wealth, rank, and even life at hazard, in a desperate grasp at personal or political advancement, however precarious or remote, who yet would hesitate to set on the same cast the fortunes of an entire family, and the extinction in perpetuity of an ancient and illustrious house! There can be no doubt that Bajee Rao and his advisers never acted under the belief that they were putting so much at stake: they had misconceived the motives, by which the British Government had all along been actuated; construing its signal moderation as a mark of politic prudence and fear. Arguing from the aid we had afforded in establishing the authority of

the Pêshwa, as well as from the uniform desire we had testified to keep on good terms with his government, that its maintenance in the existing form was indispensable to the stability and duration of our system, they were led into the presumptuous hope of succeeding, by menace and opposition, in exacting an equivalent for this imaginary benefit, and reckoned with confidence upon being always able to save themselves by a timely accommodation, however justly or deeply they might incur our resentment by the display of a rancorous animosity. The Prince himself had, since his defection, made several overtures for this purpose, and was not a little surprised to find them uniformly rejected, or answered by a declaration, that nothing short of unconditional submission could be listened to, or more than life be guaranteed. It was observed, that the recollection of the negotiations and disasters which attended our first connexion with the Pêshwas, when the Bombay Government espoused the desperate cause of the father of Bajee Rao, had far too much influence on the counsels of this durbar, and had from the first infused a most ambitious and arrogant spirit. The Marquess of Hastings had hoped, that the humiliations imposed by the treaty of Poona, concluded in the preceding June, would have subdued or abated this spirit; but a contrary effect had followed; and there seemed now to be no choice left to the British Government, but for ever to annihilate the state of things that had first generated it, and to show that it could itself occupy the guddee of Poona, and direct its control over the chiefs of the Mahratta nation to the maintenance of public tranquillity, with yet more efficiency than it had been possessed of, since the first Bajee Rao and Balajee united the Mahratta race for the devastation of the rest of India.

These were the principal motives, that fixed the Marquess of Hastings in the resolution to annihilate the authority and name of Pêshwa; and, with the reservation above noticed for

the Suttara family, to assume the whole authority and dominion into the hands of the British nation. In December, he issued his instructions to this effect, constituting Mr. Elphinstone commissioner with full powers for the execution of his plan. The Jageerdars, who had heretofore held of the Pêshwa, were to be admitted to hold on the same terms of the British Government, unless they should engage in active hostility against us, or delay the period of their submission for too long a period. The lands of Gokla were directed to be immediately resumed; and it was to be a part of any arrangement that might be made, that his person, together with that of such other chiefs as were equally active in the same cause, should be lodged in safe custody. It was likewise to be an article, that the parties concerned in the hanging of the two Vaughans should be given up for execution. The Raja of Suttara was to be established in a territorial possession, to be held either as a dependant Jageer, or as a distinct sovereignty, under stipulations securing the supremacy of the British Government. The declared object of this part of the plan was, to conciliate the Mahrattas to the new order of things, and establish a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the Pêshwa's Brahminical administration. The mode, and form, and amount of the provision, were left to Mr. Elphinstone's discretion, so that the object might be most securely attained. The above, with a territorial reservation for the settlement of a Jageer upon Chimna Appa, formed the outline of the plan devised by the Marquess of Hastings: in prosecution of which, immediately upon the capture of Suttara, the Mahratta flag was again hoisted on its walls, in the manner above mentioned, and a proclamation issued, inviting the Mahrattas to rally round their rightful hereditary sovereign, for whom it was declared, that Suttara and the adjacent territories would be reserved as an independent dominion under British protection. In this form Mr. Elphinstone thought the esta-

blishment of the Suttara Raja would be effected with most advantage under existing circumstances; and the early submission of several jageerdars, who were eager to establish a prior claim to the honours and advantages of the restored dynasty, attested the policy of the measure. Events occurred within a very few days after the fall of Suttara that materially forwarded the completion of these arrangements.

After the capture of that fortress, Brigadier-General Smith, in concert with Brigadier-General Pritzler, formed a light division in the manner proposed, with which, on the 13th of February, he moved to the eastward on the route to Pundurpoor. Arriving at Yellapoor, on the 19th, he heard that Bajee Rao had left Solapoor, where he had remained during the operations against Suttara, and was on his march due west. Hoping, therefore, to fall in with him about Pundurpoor, the Brigadier-General made a night march on that point, but heard in the morning that he had gone off to the northward, and was at Kurkumbh, totally unconscious of the vicinity of a British force. Upon this intelligence he crossed the Bheema at Keroulee, and pushed on with all his cavalry and horse-artillery, in the hope of coming up with the enemy. At half-past eight in the morning, he had the gratification of hearing the state kettledrums of the Pêshwa beat in preparation for a march, which had been hastily resolved upon, in consequence of information of General Smith's approach having just got the start of him. The British troops were concealed by the brow of a hill from the enemy's view, until the cavalry appeared on the ridge drawn up in battle array. Gokla now, seeing that it would be impossible for the Pêshwa's army to escape without sacrificing nearly all its baggage, took the resolution to risk an action, in the hope of saving it. General Smith had with him the 2d and 7th regiments of Madras light cavalry, and two squadrons of his Majesty's 22d dragoons. He had also a troop of horse artillery, but the

ground was too rugged to expect much benefit from this arm. Some of the guns were, however, brought up by the exertions and zeal of Captain Pierce, so as to have opened with effect; but the Brigadier-General, observing the enemy disposed to stand a cavalry charge, resolved to bring the matter to this issue in preference. He accordingly advanced in three columns, the dragoons forming the centre. The enemy was formed on the other side of a difficult ravine at the foot of the hill, which our troops had to pass before they could reach him. On forming line, the 7th cavalry, which was on the right wing, came soonest upon the ravine, and, getting in some degree entangled in it, Gokla took the opportunity of pushing a body of horse beyond its right flank, and even into its rear, which, coupled with a demonstration of simultaneous attack in front, created some confusion in the 7th regiment. But Major Davies, who commanded the detachment of the 22d dragoons, immediately ordered a troop to fall back and scour the rear; and the commandant of the 2d regiment also adopted the same precaution. By this means, the body that had succeeded in getting to the rear were completely dispersed. A *gole*, led by Gokla, was charged by the troop of dragoons in the most gallant manner, on which occasion that distinguished chief was himself slain. He died bravely, having wounded several of our men with his own hand before he fell, and amongst the rest Lieutenant Warrant, of the 22d dragoons, the first who attacked him. The death of Gokla left the enemy without a head: for Bajee Rao had already gone off with his personal guard and attendants, deserting his palanquin, and mounting a horse for the purpose as soon as the battle commenced. From this moment there was no longer any appearance of order in the resistance opposed. Our cavalry, particularly the dragoons, charged successively several masses of the enemy's horse, until the dragoons penetrated to their camp and baggage, the whole of which, after

a slight resistance, fell into their hands. The person and family of the Suttara Raja were found there and secured, and were by no means the least important prize obtained on this occasion. The family consisted of the Raja, Noor Nerayun, a young man about twenty years of age, his two brothers, and mother. There were also 12 elephants and 57 camels taken. Our loss was very trifling, being only one officer, Lieutenant Warrant, and 19 men, wounded. The Brigadier-General was himself surrounded, and received a slight wound on the head, at the time when Gokla and his party had penetrated to the rear; but this accident did not prevent his continuing to direct in person the operations of the day. Besides Gokla, the enemy lost another sirdar, Moro Punt Aptee; but the death of the former in particular, and the capture of the Suttara family, gave peculiar importance to the battle fought at Ashtee, on the 20th of February. Bapoo Gokla was reputed a good officer; he was one of the sirdars who accompanied the Duke of Wellington throughout his campaigns in the Dukhun, during the Mahratta war, and was then well esteemed for his services and general character, insomuch as to be particularly recommended to the favour of the Pêshwa's government on the close of that war, besides deriving other substantial advantages from the General's good opinion. He had subsequently been yet more deeply indebted to the favour of the British government, which more than once interfered to secure his possessions from his master's rapacity, at a time when the latter was stimulated by private pique*, as well as by avarice, to aim at his ruin. These benefits

* The Pêshwa's animosity was long irreconcilable, in consequence of Gokla's refusing to suffer his wife to visit at the palace, where she could not have gone without dishonour; such was the sensuality that prevailed there. Gokla yielded the point, when the prospect of guiding the counsels of the state was opened to him; and "was generally known to have owed his former disgrace and subsequent favour to his tardy acquiescence in the dishonour of his family."—*Elphinstone's Despatches.*

were of course forgotten, as soon as ambition and the desire of restoring the Mahratta empire to its ancient splendour became the ruling passions of his soul. Since 1814, he had uniformly been the adviser of the most decided hostility, and the avowed head of the war faction. When Bajee Rao conceived the project of rising against the British power, he found it convenient to court Gokla, and subsequently at different times added largely to his military fiefs, besides giving him a command in his immediate and personal troops. His post, since the rupture, had been always in the rear guard, or wherever else there was most danger; and his master's confidence was unbounded and well merited. After his death, the Pêshwa himself directed the movements and operations of the Mahratta army, there being no other chief on whom he could place equal reliance.

The routed host fled northwards, towards Kopergaon and Kandêsh, their numbers now thinned daily by desertion. The capture of Sattara and of its Raja, added to the distress and precipitation of the flight, made even the most sanguine of the Mahrattas themselves regard the cause of their chief as altogether desperate. The daily fall of some one or other of his southern forts before Brigadier-General Pritzler confirmed this impression. On the 20th of February, that officer appeared before Singurh, which capitulated on the 2d of March. He thence proceeded to the attack of the two contiguous forts of Viziergurh and Poorundur, which were also taken after two days' cannonade and bombardment. This occurred on the 15th of March. The garrisons amounted to 1136, while in Singurh there were upwards of 1300, whereof 300 were Arabs. After the fall of these two of the Pêshwa's strongest holds, Wundun-Chandur, Nundgaree, Wyruntgurh, Kurnalgurh, Pandoogurh, and Kelinga, surrendered as soon as the army appeared before them; the two last-mentioned only having waited for the batteries to open. After these successes, Brigadier-General Pritz-

ler prepared himself, on the 31st of March, to proceed against Wusota, reckoned the strongest of all the forts in these parts, and in the repair and improvement of which large sums had recently been lavished. Châkun, a place on the north-west of Poona, had previously been reduced by Colonel Deacon, who was bringing up a reinforcement from Berar. Colonel Prother, who had been despatched with an armament from the Bombay Presidency into the southern Konkan, was equally successful. In the course of January and the commencement of February, Kurnala, Bopâlgurh, Kotillagurh, Oochitgurh, and Sungurh surrendered successively to this officer. The fort of Pâlee, which commanded the Ghât of that name, was also reduced after a short resistance. The sea-port of Sevandroog had been taken some time before, by a force equipped for the purpose, from Fort Victoria, or Bankoot. In addition to the above captures, General Munro, having completely occupied the country to the south as far as the Malpurba, and driven out the officers placed there by Bajee Rao or Gokla, had proceeded against Badamee, a place famous for its long resistance to Nana Furnavees, who had attacked it with all his means. It soon yielded to General Munro, and Bhagulkote in the same neighbourhood fell very shortly after. All these forts were no doubt ill defended; but their garrisons felt themselves wholly without hope of support, and, therefore, were impressed with an early conviction that the cause was hopeless, and could be but little advanced by their best exertions. They were also strangers to the effect of shells thrown with precision; and there being no protection against this artillery within the forts, the defenders were soon disheartened by its destructive effect, and our divisions, aware of the nature of the service, were well provided with this arm.

This uninterrupted chain of success induced many of the principal jageerdars of the Mahratta empire to make their terms with Mr. Elphinstone. The Putwurdhuns were the first to

desert the standard of Bajee Rao. The Prithee-Nidhee and Punt-Suchem, the two chief officers of the Suttara family, sent to offer their submission immediately on the publication of the manifesto; others followed every day; insomuch, that in the southern portion of his dominions the influence and hold of the country, possessed by the Pêshwa, were fast passing away. He was, however, reinforced in his flight to the north by the junction of Ramdeen, with part of Holkar's broken infantry. Gunput Rao, with the remnant of the army of Appa Saheb, had previously joined, at the time Bajee Rao was loitering between Pundurpoor and Solapoor. The troops he brought were chiefly horse, who, after their defeat by General Doveton, were successfully conducted through the Nizam's dominions by that leader, notwithstanding the various attempts to intercept their march made by different detachments of our troops, as well as of those of the Nizam.

The flight of Bajee Rao northward towards Hindoostan brought him into contact with divisions of our army, different from those with which he had been hitherto engaged; and his operations also became thenceforward connected with the transactions of the other durbars. With a view, therefore, to perspicuity of arrangement, it will be proper to bring up the relation of events in Hindoostan and at Nâgpoor to the same period.



S.E. VIEW of the FORT of KUMULNÉR.



CHAPTER XV.

HINDOOSTAN—KANDĒSH.

1818. FEBRUARY, MARCH.

Holkar—Ameer Khan—his crafty conduct—guns obtained—Troops disbanded—takes refuge in Kota—Patans taken into British service—Policy of the measure—Proceedings of Sir David Ochterlony—Troops in the field in February—exchanges with Sindheea proposed—Lord Hastings quits the field with the centre division—Sâgur—its reduction ordered—Reasons—Terms offered to Bunaek Rao—and accepted—Dhamonee reduced—Mundela stormed—New distribution of the forces—Sir Thomas Hislop's return—Soandwara reduced—Sindwa occupied—Resistance at Talnêr—and storm—Loss of officers—Garrison put to the sword—Killadar hanged—Sir Thomas Hislop in communication with Brigadier-General Doveton.

To return to Hindoostan ; we have seen already, that, before the close of the month of January, the bond of union, that kept together the turbulent bands attached to the standard of the Holkar family, had been completely dissolved. Their collective strength had been irretrievably broken at Mehudpoor, while the example of Rampoorra and of Jawud had seriously impressed on the sirdars individually the necessity of conforming to the new order of things, which it was the design of the Marquess of Hastings to introduce. Ameer Khan had all along been sensible of this necessity ; but his subordinate sirdars were by no means satisfied with the terms he had procured, the advantages of which were entirely personal to himself. It appeared indeed, that the Patan chief had not scrupled to deceive his associates

in arms, causing the agent he employed at Dehlee to forward accounts of the negotiation in progress there, much more favourable to their interests than the truth warranted. This deceit was continued, even at the conference held by appointment between himself and Sir David Ochterlony on the 18th of December, for the express purpose of exchanging the mutual ratification. A number of additional stipulations were then brought forward, as having been agreed to by Mr. Metcalfe at Dehlee; amongst others, the promise of a jageer to his son Vizier Mahommed, and of similar grants to other sirdars. In proof of these having been agreed to, the above letters were produced, bearing the seal of Nerunjun Lal, his Dehlee agent, who was himself called into Sir David's presence to make an oral declaration to the same effect. Fortunately, the Major-General was well acquainted with the Patan character; and, having been furnished with correct information of all that had passed at Dehlee by Mr. Metcalfe himself, at once declared his disbelief of the whole, stating that he had come to receive the ratification of the engagement actually signed; and, as he knew nothing of any further concessions, must insist on an explicit answer, whether the chief was prepared to ratify that engagement or not. This peremptory demand had the effect of procuring the delivery next day of the ratified engagement, by the terms of which there can be little doubt that Ameer Khan was from the first prepared to abide, though the total insubordination of his army, and the independence of the sirdars possessed of influence or command in it, had obliged him to practise the above deceit, in order to amuse and feed them with delusive hopes, while he was making separate terms for himself.

After the ratification, Ameer Khan came into Sir David Ochterlony's camp, and took up his quarters there for some time, until he should succeed in persuading his mutinous officers to disband and deliver up their guns. It is to be observed, that each brigade of infantry, with its equipments, was considered as

the especial property of some one sirdar, who derived his profit from the sale or hire of its services, or the share of its plunder and exactions. The motive that led so many of them to rally round the standard of Ameer Khan was, the want of regular employment elsewhere, and the idea that his talents for command promised to afford, in the spoils he would put them in the way of sharing, a better livelihood than could be elsewhere obtained. Many of the brigades were undoubtedly of Ameer Khan's own raising, but more than half had been raised by others ; and he had bound himself to disband the whole, and deliver up their artillery, with only five lack of rupees in hand to effect the business. It may easily be imagined, that, in order to satisfy the greedy wants of an army so composed as his, which had been living as it were from hand to mouth for several years past, and was now called upon to surrender the very means of subsistence, and to abandon for ever the inveterate habits of military licence, no distribution of those very limited means at Ameer Khan's command could make them suffice. The sirdars and troops consequently remained for some time sullen and dissatisfied, and the brigades would not give up their artillery, notwithstanding the most earnest endeavours on the part of the chief to obtain their compliance. But the Marquess of Hastings had never expected to wring from them these implements of trade, by any other motive than the strong and immediate influence of fear. The destruction of Holkar's infantry at Mehudpoor, whose case they felt to be exactly their own, and the judicious advance of Sir David Ochterlony with the reserve to a position * directly between the two principal divisions of the Patan army, those of Muhtab Khan and of Raja Bahadur, had at last the desired effect ; and the artillery of both were procured in the course of January.

* The Major-General was already in the neighbourhood ; and he made this movement on the pretence of greater convenience of forage : nor were the Patan sirdars aware of the commanding nature of the position, until it was actually taken up.

Other sirdars continued refractory for some time longer; particularly Jumsheed Khan, whose guns were not obtained until the end of March, and were then yielded on compulsion only, and in consequence of the threat of immediate attack by a detachment sent for the purpose.

It was a yet more difficult task to procure the quiet dispersion of the Patan soldiery, than to obtain the surrender of their guns. Ameer Khan exerted himself with equal zeal to effect this, as indeed every other part of his agreement, but for a long time with little success. His soldiers had before them the prospect of absolute starvation, if they abandoned their present livelihood and habits; while the money at the chief's disposal, however fairly distributed, afforded no compensation to the individuals for so great a sacrifice. The well known address of Sir David Ochterlony, brought in aid of Ameer Khan's exertions, was scarcely equal to the task of inducing so many armed men to return quietly to their respective homes, notwithstanding the awe inspired by his position, and by the efficiency of the army under his command. And Ameer Khan was so beset by the discontented rabble thus turned adrift, who depicted to him in glowing colours the hardships and disgrace of their present situation, that, after trying every means in his power to allay the ferment, and practising in vain all manner of deceit, he found it necessary at last to retire with precipitation to Sheergurh, a fort in Zalim Singh's territory, until this feeling of irritation should in some degree have subsided. His son had already arrived at Dehlee as a hostage; and the sincerity of the chief's individual efforts and intentions was never doubted for a moment, notwithstanding the suddenness of this flight and his notorious want of integrity*.

* Amongst other modes of avoiding the present importunity of his troops, he gave many of the sirdars drafts on the Resident at Dehlee, which he must have known would not be honoured, as he had already overdrawn the amount stipulated. He drew in this way for nine lack beyond his credit.

The difficulty of completing this part of the Governor-General's plan for the final settlement of Rajpootana had been distinctly foreseen ; and Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, to whom the execution was entrusted, had been empowered, in case it should be found indispensable to adopt such a means of allaying that discontent, which would unavoidably be excited, as a temporary expedient to entertain a portion of the most efficient of Ameer Khan's troops in British pay, under such regulations, as would best adapt them to our system of discipline and organization. Acting upon this authority, the Major-General, in the course of February, made the tender of British service to eight of the best Patan battalions and to about 3000 horse. The former, after pensioning off the native officers above the rank of soobadar, and thinning the ranks by the strictest scrutiny into the character, age, and general qualifications of the men, were formed into four battalions for the provincial duty, of which two were sent to the Dehlee territory, and the other two retained for similar service in Rajpootana, under the conduct of British officers appointed to command them. These battalions were found extremely serviceable ; and, in the existing demand for troops in every quarter, the arrangement was attended with essential benefit. The horse were formed into bodies called *resalas*, of 500 each ; and, as the very best only were taken, they also rendered good service ; while, the arrangement being merely temporary, and recruiting disallowed, the expense is continually decreasing.

It was a most important point of the original plan, not hastily to drive to despair the whole swarm of military adventurers, by depriving them suddenly and entirely of their habitual means of subsistence ; but to destroy those only, whose habits or ambition prevented their conforming to our system of rule, and so to hold the balance between the hopes and fears of the rest, as to render them instrumental to the establishment of

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order, and content with the offer of a moderate and regular provision. It was partly with this view, that the stipulation for an auxiliary force had been introduced into the treaty of Gwalior, to open a field of employment to many of the unsettled characters, who must else have been turned loose upon society, and allure them with the assurance of fixed and regular pay under British guarantee. The same policy had dictated the large extension of irregular levies on our own establishment, and the formation of the auxiliary contingent at Poona before the commencement of operations.

No fitter agent could have been chosen, for the practical application of these principles to the settlement of affairs with the army of the Patan chief, than Sir David Ochterlony himself. By his consummate address and judicious arrangements, the whole affair was completely settled before the end of February, by which time all the sirdars had submitted, with the exception of Jumsheed Khan and one or two subordinate officers, who vainly hoped, by holding out to the last, to advance instead of impairing their interests. Notwithstanding the natural turbulence of the Patan character, all the divisions, not even excepting those who last submitted, were restrained from any kind of violence in the interim ; so that, in fact, the destruction of this predatory association, which seemed more likely than those of the Pindarees to require a great display of our military strength, was brought about wholly by negotiation, aided by the awe that our attitude of preparation was calculated to inspire. The merit of this early and entire success is due principally to Sir David Ochterlony's personal skill and judgment, which met with the Governor-General's uniform approbation, and to the imposing force of the division placed under his command, which consisted of two very strong brigades of regular infantry, with a regiment of cavalry, and two corps (1000 each) of native horse, raised and embodied by Colonel Skinner. Be-

sides these, the contingents of the military chiefs, to whom lands had been assigned on our western frontier on the settlement of 1805-6, were for the most part attached to the reserve division, when called out to take a part in the present operations; by which means its numerical strength was more than doubled.

The concentration and advance of the reserve had been connected with the further object of carrying into effect the arrangements intended to be made with the Rajpoot chiefs. The greater part of these were in train long before the close of the month of January; but the mention of them has been purposely omitted, that the narrative of the events and military transactions might not be interrupted by the constant recurrence to measures of a purely political nature. As these all formed part of a general system of permanent pacification, it was thought more convenient to reserve them for separate mention, when the result of the whole operations and the nature of the final settlement of our Indian empire came to be explained. It will be sufficient, therefore, to mention in this place, that, with the exception of Jypoor, the counsels of which evinced their usual indecision and imbecility, all the Rajpoot states entered readily into the terms and propositions offered for their acceptance: nor was there one that did not show the utmost eagerness in the promotion of the Governor-General's views, for the restoration of order in that part of India, occupied by their dominions.

The Marquess of Hastings, seeing every thing to be in a train of easy adjustment with the Rajpoot princes, and feeling equally confident respecting the settlement with Ameer Khan and the Patans, the detail of which had been left to Sir David Ochterlony, thought himself at liberty, by the beginning of February, to relax a little the military attitude he had assumed on the side of Hindoostan. He accordingly resolved upon a new distribution of the force there collected; in order, if possible, before the close of the season, to secure every remaining object.

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The predatory power of the Pindarees had by this time been completely destroyed. Of the routed bands of Holkar, some had rallied again round that chief, whose government having fallen into the hands of Tanteea Jog, and being aided by the advice and exertions of Sir John Malcolm and the British representative at the durbar, was fast assuming a regular shape. Many more had been destroyed piecemeal at Rampoor and elsewhere; while all, who still remained in arms, had fled into the Dukhun, and were gathering round the banners of Bajee Rao, who alone still kept the field, and maintained the cause of opposition and disorder. On the 1st of February, the British force actually in the field to the north of the Nerbudda was thus disposed. The reserve division, under Sir David Ochterlony, in the neighbourhood of Jypoor: the centre division, under Lord Hastings' personal command, still posted on the banks of the Sindh: the right division, that of Major-General Donkin, was proceeding to take possession of Kumulnèr and the usurpations of Juswunt Rao in Mewur: of the left division, part was with General Marshall about Seronj and Bairsea, and of the remainder, a quota had been furnished to the force with Major-General Brown, who was still in the vicinity of Jawud, and two battalions had joined his Lordship's head-quarters, under Brigadier-General Watson.

Of the army of the Dukhun, the divisions of Sir Thomas Hislop and Sir John Malcolm were still near Mundisôr, while Lieutenant-Colonel Adams was in the Bhopâl territory, employed in receiving the submission of the Pindaree chiefs. The Guzerât army, after a long pursuit of Cheetoo's durra, was now halted in the neighbourhood of Indore, to receive its further destination according to circumstances. Besides the above, a corps of observation was still posted on the southern frontier of Behar, under Brigadier-General Toone; and Brigadier-General Hardyman with his corps occupied Jubulpoor.

The present humility of Sindheea, as evinced by the readiness with which, since the destruction of Holkar's army, he had forwarded the levy and equipment of the auxiliary horse stipulated in the treaty of Gwalior, and more recently by the indifference he had manifested at the attack on Juswunt Rao Bhão, satisfied the Marquess of Hastings, that it was no longer necessary for the army under his personal command to occupy the forward position it had assumed to awe the counsels of this durbar. It was accordingly resolved to break up the centre division of the grand army, and march the greater part of it back to its cantonments within the Company's provinces, whereby an important saving of expense would be effected. However, before this measure was carried into execution, it was thought right to open to that durbar the ulterior views of the British Government, and to sound its disposition in respect to them. The principal remaining points, which it was the wish of the Governor-General to obtain, were—the cession of Ajimeer to ourselves, in order perpetually to exclude the Mahratta influence from that part of Rajpootana; the transfer of Islamnugurh to Bhopâl, with a view to a similar exclusion from that quarter; and, lastly, the cession in perpetuity of all the Maha-Raja's claims on the Boondée principality, as well as of lands obtained from time to time in lieu of such claims. As an equivalent for these sacrifices, the Marquess of Hastings was prepared to offer the lands of the Vinshorekur (except the portion already given to Bhopâl), together with those of other late tributaries of the Pêshwa similarly circumstanced, and the tributes and personal rights of that Prince in Hindoostan, which had been assigned to us by the recent treaty of Poona. The Vinshorekur's lands had become justly forfeit, in consequence of his continued adherence to Bajee Rao, since his defection. The value of the equivalent about to be offered considerably exceeded that of the cessions intended to be demanded; besides which, Sindheea relied upon our bounty

for the restitution of Jawud, and the territory lately resumed from Juswunt Rao Bhão; so that there was little reason to expect any serious opposition on his part to the arrangement. Yet it was impossible to estimate beforehand with any degree of certainty, what sensation the demand of a permanent cession would make on a Mahratta court. His Lordship accordingly resolved to ascertain this beyond a doubt, before he should relinquish the attitude, which had given him such advantages in the past negotiations. For this purpose, before finally quitting the banks of the Sindh, the Marquess of Hastings caused a proposal for the above exchanges to be submitted to the Gwalior durbar.

Finding it to be well received, his Lordship did not think it necessary to wait the complete execution of the arrangement; but on the 13th of February commenced his homeward march to our own provinces, having for some days previously moved gradually along the right bank of the Sindh from Sonaree and Oochar down to Beercha, which lies but a few miles above Seanda, the point on which he had first moved in the November preceding, to enforce the signature of the treaty. Of the troops composing the centre division, the Europeans for the most part returned to the cantonment of Cawnpoor; while the native infantry were so disposed along the Bundelkhund and Etâwa frontier, as to be capable of immediate reunion, in case any appearances in the court or army of Dowlut Rao Sindheea should require their second advance. A brigade, of three strong battalions, however, with the 7th native cavalry, and the heavy train, which had purposely been attached to this division, were sent, under the command of Brigadier-General Watson, to reinforce the troops under Major-General Marshall, which it was determined to employ in the reduction of the territory of Sâgur, with a view to its permanent annexation to the British dominions.

The right of paramount sovereignty over this territory formed part of our acquisitions, by virtue of the late treaty of Poona; and it will be recollected, that, in assertion of that right, Banaeek Rao, the occupant, had been called upon in the September preceding, either to fulfil the terms, on which the fief was held of the Poona state, by furnishing the quota of 666 horse, and paying the tribute of one lack of rupees to the British Government, or to agree to an advantageous money commutation, offered to be taken in lieu of that contingent. The letter containing the offer of commutation was answered evasively; the more positive demand of the fulfilment of the original terms, which was accompanied by a notice that General Marshall was already advancing against the Pindarees, and a requisition, that the quota of 666 horse should join his division, and co-operate on the service, was equally disregarded: besides which, instead of receiving assistance in the procurement of its supplies, the left division experienced every sort of impediment, and was uniformly treated as an enemy in the Sâgur territory. As a further proof of Banaeek Rao's infatuation, no effort had subsequently been made to calm our just resentment, notwithstanding the favourable turn of affairs in every quarter. Neither had he offered a rupee of the tribute due, or the service of a single horseman. Under these circumstances, the Marquess of Hastings resolved to regard the occupant of Sâgur as a feudatory, who had incurred the forfeiture of his fief; more especially as there was evidence forthcoming of his correspondence with the Pindarees since the commencement of operations against them, and of his attachment to the cause of the Pêshwa. Wherefore, no sooner did the state of affairs in Hindoostan permit the allotment of a sufficient force to this object, than the reduction of this province was resolved upon. Accordingly, in the middle of February, Major-General Marshall was ordered to proceed against the capital of the principality, so soon as he should be

joined by the battering-train and reinforcement sent to him for this purpose from the centre division.

The following were the modified terms, to which submission within three days was now to be peremptorily demanded. The present government to be displaced, and the territory transferred to the administration of British agents; the revenue actually realised to be allotted as follows:

Tribute to the British Government	- - -	S. R. 100,000
Commutation for military service, with 666 horse	- - -	159,840
Total payment to the British Government	- - -	S. R. 259,840

This, together with 10 per cent. on the gross assets, for the expense of administering the affairs of the province, to be the primary charge on the total receipts*. After defraying which, the revenues to be next charged with a stipend of two lack and a half, as a provision for the maintenance of Bunaek Rao, and the Bhaych, widow of the former possessor, in whose name Bunaek administered the country; any excess of the revenues beyond this, to be allotted to the hereditary proprietor of the territory, that is to say, to Nana Govind Rao, the holder of Jaloun, who had already made his separate terms for the portion of the family dominions in his own possession. It was, however, to be distinctly explained, that if any improvement should be effected in the revenues of Sâgur proper, in consequence of our management, beyond the estimate of their former product, taken at 698,000 rupees, the same was to be the exclusive profit of the Company. The extreme limit of the stipend to the Nana of Jaloun was therefore 118,360 rupees, being the total surplus above the forementioned charges, in case the whole of that estimate and no more should be realized.

In obedience to these instructions, Major-General Marshall, reinforced by Brigadier-General Watson, appeared before Sâgur,

* This ratio was assumed, on an estimate of the past revenues of Sâgur and its dependencies, at 698,000 rupees.

on the 8th of March. Bunaek Rao was now convinced of his danger, and resolved upon submission. The capital of Sâgur was accordingly surrendered on the 11th of March; and the other forts and territories were quietly taken possession of in the course of the month. General Marshall's force then proceeded against Dhamonee, a fortified town belonging to the Raja of Nâgpoor, situated to the north of the Nerbudda, and thus comprised within the late cessions of Appa Saheb, though the Killadar and garrison refused to comply with the order for its evacuation. The General appeared before the place on the 17th of March, and tendered the payment to the garrison of their arrears, as far as 10,000 rupees, on the condition of immediate evacuation. The garrison demanded the full arrears of two years and a half, declaring that, for the whole of that period, they had received no pay whatever. As this amount greatly exceeded what the Major-General thought himself authorised to offer, the town was immediately invested, and batteries having been raised within breaching distance, the garrison surrendered as prisoners of war, on the 24th of March; when the Killadar and principal officers were in the first instance dealt with as rebels, and sentenced to confinement in different forts, but subsequently pardoned and released.

The division was now directed to effect the reduction of Mundela, on the Nerbudda, which had in like manner resisted Appa Saheb's public order for its surrender. The main difficulty here was to bring up the heavy artillery through the roads and passes that led to the town. This being at last effected, two batteries were raised, and opened their fire on the 26th of April. The ground was so well chosen, and the fire so accurate, that the besieged were driven entirely from the angle of the wall attacked. Lieutenant Pickersgill, of the Quarter-Master-General's department, observing this, approached the spot in the afternoon, and ascertained by close inspection, both

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that the breach was practicable, and the wall abandoned. On receipt of his report in the trenches, a storm was immediately resolved on. It was led by Brigadier-General Watson himself; and, after some fighting in the streets, the town was carried. Of the garrison, part escaped into the fort, but the rest were either cut up in the streets, or, in attempting to escape by an opposite gate, were attacked and cut to pieces by the cavalry, previously posted to complete the investment on that side. The fort surrendered at discretion next morning, the Killadar having been taken during the night, while endeavouring to cross the river in a boat. The Marquess of Hastings had ordered him to be dealt with severely, not only for his rebellion in resisting the order of evacuation, but likewise and specially, because he had attempted to circumvent and cut off Major O'Brien, the officer who had been despatched with a mere escort to present it. He was accordingly tried for his life by a drum-head court martial; but acquitted, on exhibiting proof that he had the private orders of Appa Saheb not to deliver up the place. Another active partisan, of the name of Nathooram, was similarly tried and acquitted. Although this did not occur until the end of April, it is here introduced by anticipation, in order to complete the notice of General Marshall's operations for the season.

Before proceeding further, it will be necessary to explain the part assigned, under the new distribution of February, to the other divisions of the British armies then in activity on the side of Hindoostan. Major-General Donkin's, or the right division of the grand army, was ordered to be broken up as soon as it should have succeeded in occupying Juswunt Rao's possessions in Mewur. The European portion of the troops composing it, (8th dragoons, his Majesty's 14th foot, and the artillery), were ordered back to the cantonment of Meeruth: from the native troops, a reinforcement was to be furnished to Sir David Ochter-

lony. The detachment, which had been sent in advance from Lord Hastings', the centre, division, under the command of Major-General Brown, was, immediately after the affair of Jawud, likewise made available for the purpose of strengthening the force to be left in Rajpootana, which it was determined to put in a most efficient state, for the completion of the settlement of that quarter. This reinforcement afforded the means of forming an additional brigade of infantry, which, together with a regiment of cavalry, and a complement of the other arms, it was intended to station at Holkar's capital, for the defence and protection of that chief's remaining dominions. Lieutenant-Colonel Ludlow was appointed to the subordinate command of this corps, which, after the execution of the service, was to be annexed to the division of Sir David Ochterlony. Such was the new distribution of the troops, that had been brought into the field on the side of Hindoostan. The whole arrangement was ordered and carried into execution by the Marquess of Hastings, by the middle of February ; and, at the same time, the two corps of observation to the east were recalled from their advanced position. Of the native troops composing the latter, a competent force for the occupation of Jubulpoor was detached by Brigadier-General Hardyman, and left under the command of Major O'Brien ; while the troops requisite for the military occupation and settlement of the Jungul tract to the south of Behar, lately ceded by the Bhoosla Raja, were furnished from the corps of Brigadier-General Toone. Major Roughsedge commanded the detachment employed on this latter duty, and by his means Sirgooja, Jushpoor, Sohagpoor, and Sumbhulpoor, were quietly annexed to our dominions, though the wildness of the country, and of the native tribes that inhabit it, rendered its peaceable settlement a work of time and attention.

Of the three divisions of the army of the Dukhun, still in the field to the north of the Nerbudda, that under the personal

command of Sir Thomas Hislop, and the 5th, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, were directed to return forthwith to aid in the early restoration of the affairs of the Dukhun. Colonel Adams was ordered to proceed in the first instance upon Chouragurh, a fort in the northern extremity of the Mohadeo hills, which, like Dhamonee and Mundela, had refused to obey the orders of surrender forwarded for the purpose from Nâgpoor. We shall come presently to the detail of the operations of this force. Sir Thomas Hislop was ordered to conduct back his division by the route of the Sindwaa Ghât and Kandêsh, so as to admit of their immediate employment in the reduction of Bajee Rao's possessions in that province, and in the occupation of the recent cessions of Holkar within it. The country was remarkably strong by nature, and was besides full of fortresses and Arab colonies, that promised no inconsiderable trouble and impediment in the way of its quiet settlement. It had at first been resolved to employ the head-quarter division of the Madras army, in co-operation with that of Brigadier-General Doveton, in the reduction of Aseergurh; but the evident importance of early reducing the strong holds of Kandêsh, and of making further means available against Bajee Rao, who still kept the field in formidable force, prevailed with his Lordship to give the above plan the preference, leaving Aseergurh until such time, as our armies might be less extensively employed in other directions.

It was further suggested to Sir Thomas Hislop, that, as the objects, with a view to which the several subsidiary forces had been formed into divisions of the same army, and placed under his own personal command as general in chief, had now been entirely accomplished, by the dispersion of the Pindarees and the destruction of the military power of Holkar's predatory adherents, there was no longer any occasion for continuing the same organization of the troops under the general control of a

commander-in-chief: and, as the subsidiary forces of the Nizam and Bhoosla might conveniently be replaced on their former footing, under the direction of the Residents at the respective durbars, who had special and immediate instructions from Lord Hastings, there was little necessity for the Lieutenant-General's further presence in the field. The Poona subsidiary force, which temporarily formed the third division of the army of the Dukhun, had previously been separated from that army, and placed again at Mr. Elphinstone's disposal, in the same manner as before Sir Thomas Hislop took the field in person; and, as the services in other quarters would now become equally insulated, the motives, which had suggested the measure in one case, were obviously applicable to the other forces of the same description. The army of the Dukhun was accordingly ordered to be broken up without delay. The Marquess' present plan was, to direct Brigadier-General Doveton to prosecute the operations in Kandêsh, the settlement of which province, as well as of the rest of Bajee Rao's dominions in the Dukhun, was subjected to Mr. Elphinstone's general control and superintendence; and to distribute the troops composing the division of Sir Thomas Hislop in the reinforcement, as well as of the corps to be so employed, as of the other corps at present acting against Bajee Rao, the regulation and disposition of which had equally devolved on Mr. Elphinstone as commissioner. Of course, however, the Lieutenant-General was to be at liberty to retain any corps he might prefer, for his personal escort during his return to his immediate command at the presidency of Fort St. George.

The above orders and instructions were issued by the Marquess of Hastings on the 2d of February. By the middle of the month, the head-quarter division of the army of the Dukhun commenced its southward march by the route of Indore and Muheshwur. Brigadier-General Malcolm retained the Madras troops attached to his division, the corps of Bengal troops allotted

for the protection of Holkar's dominions not having yet been organized. He was also desirous of employing a military force for the reduction of Soandwara*, a province lying west of Malwa, the natural difficulties of which encouraged its inhabitants to persevere in the predatory habits they had been bred to, notwithstanding the change of system proclaimed on the establishment of our influence in those parts. The early repression of the smallest indication of a marauding spirit was of course an essential object; and in this view the enterprize was promptly undertaken. In addition to the troops of his own division, Sir John Malcolm also retained for this service a strong brigade of infantry, and a battering-train from the Guzerât army, which, under the recent military arrangements, the Marquess of Hastings had ordered back to the Gykwar's dominions. Of these elements, a field force was soon formed, which, after the junction of the troops of Zalim Singh of Kota, and those of Holkar's present government, penetrated into the country. The capture of a few strong holds, which were carried with great spirit, completely effected the business before the end of March. The troops of Holkar and of Zalim Singh† co-operated with the utmost alacrity, and did good service on all occasions. Indeed, it was by no means the least gratifying circumstance in the accomplishment of the object contemplated in this expedition, to observe the promptitude and good will with which our new allies come forward with their contingents to aid the enterprize. The spirit they displayed afforded the most satisfactory test of the policy whereon the new system was founded, and the best

* A tract extending from Aggur to the Chumbul east and west, and from near Bhanpoora to Oojein north and south. In this tract, the freebooters mustered near 2000 horse. Lalgurh was their principal hold.

† Meerab Khan, his general, particularly distinguished himself in the attack of the village and fortress of Nareilla, which he stormed, though the breach was hardly practicable, and took, with the loss of 200 of his troops, and several officers of rank.

security for the solidity and permanence of the arrangements either made or in progress.

Pending the settlement of Soandwara, Sir Thomas Hislop was on his way to the Dukhun as abovementioned. Having crossed the Nerbudda at Mundlisôr, a little above Muheshwur, he moved direct to the Sindwa Ghât, where he arrived on the 22d of February. The fort was surrendered on the 23d, agreeably to the orders to that purport, brought from Holkar's court. A battalion was left to garrison it and overawe the country between the Sâtpoora range and the Nerbudda; and Sir Thomas Hislop continued his march to the south. On the 27th of February, he reached the post of Talnèr*, commanding the ford over the Taptee, and one of the places ceded by Holkar under the late treaty of Mundisôr, the orders for the surrender of which were in Sir Thomas Hislop's possession. It had been reported that the Killadar intended to refuse compliance; and, on the approach of a party of our troops, a fire was opened upon them. The Killadar was warned, that, if he continued to resist the order of his master, he would be dealt with as a rebel; but this produced no abatement of the fire from the walls. The Petta, or open town, was accordingly occupied; and the artillery of the division, consisting of ten six-pounders, with two five and a half inch howitzers, was opened from a position it afforded about 300 yards distant from the fort. The fire was directed chiefly at the defences, and was briskly answered by matchlocks from the wall. In the evening, it was resolved to attempt to force the gate of the place; for which purpose, two six-pounders were carried up to the outer gate by the flank companies of the Royal Scots and the European regiment, the whole led by Major Gordon, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel M'Gregor

* Vide plate at the head of this chapter.

Murray, Lieutenant-Colonel Conway, and other officers of the staff. On reaching the first gate, it was discovered that the fire during the day had so injured the wall beside it, that the men got through without finding it necessary to blow it open. Wherefore, leaving the guns on the outside, the storming party pushed on to the second gate, which was found open. At the third gate they were met by the Killadar, who came out by the wicket along with some *buneeas*, native merchants, and proffered his surrender to Colonel Conway. The third and fourth gates were then opened, and the party advanced along with the Killadar to the fifth, which led into the body of the place. This was found closed, and the garrison from within demanded terms, and expressed their dissatisfaction. After a very short parley, in which they were distinctly summoned to surrender at discretion, the wicket-gate was opened from within, and Lieutenant-Colonel Murray and Major Gordon, with three other officers, entered, followed by about ten or twelve grenadiers.

In the mean time, the Arabs of the garrison, probably distrusting the intention of the British towards themselves, and seeing every thing on the point of being lost, worked themselves up to a frenzy of desperation; and either resolving to sell their lives as dearly as possible, or hoping yet to be able to save the place, made a sudden attack with swords, spears and knives on the few who had already entered the wicket. Major Gordon and Captain M'Gregor were presently killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Murray received several wounds, and was at last cut down and disabled, as were the other two officers who had accompanied him, Lieutenants Chanwal and M'Gregor: most of the foremost grenadiers were also killed or wounded. However, as those who entered first had maintained their ground, others crowded through the wicket to their support; and, in the end, the Arabs were driven to seek shelter in the circum-

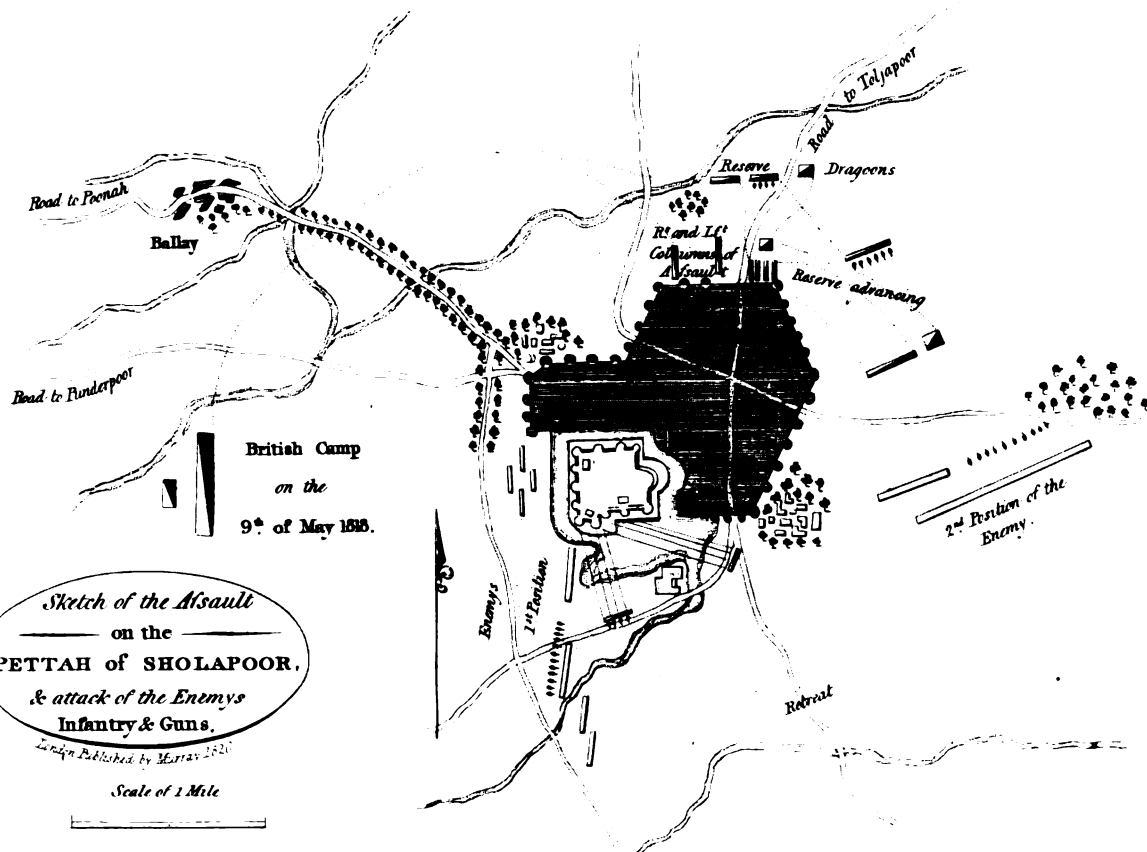
jacent houses. The guns were also brought up after blowing open the outer gate, upon which the place was soon carried, and the garrison, in number about 300, were put to the sword. The Killadar was executed on the spot, on the twofold charge of original resistance to the order of his sovereign and supposed implication in the treachery of the garrison. The example was highly useful, and no doubt influenced the subsequent surrender of the much stronger forts of Gálna, Chandore, and other places, immediately on the presentation of the orders by the several detachments sent to occupy them. The total loss on the part of the British was seven officers and eighteen men killed and wounded. The death of Major Gordon was the subject of universal regret, as he deservedly enjoyed the highest estimation of his brother soldiers, as well as of the government he served.

Leaving a garrison to occupy Talnèr, the Lieutenant-General crossed the Taptee, and advanced by Umulnèr to Pahrola, where he came into communication with Brigadier-General Doveton, then posted at Outrán. This officer, having already completed the settlement of affairs at Nâgpoor, had returned westward by Ellichpoor in the course of January, expecting orders to proceed against Aseergurh; but, on the abandonment of the intention of reducing that fortress in the current season, he had been ordered to direct his march upon the point of Kandêsh-Ootrán, on the Gyrna. Sir Thomas Hislop now ordered him to move up the Gyrna to Bâl, following himself the course of the Boaree, and sending a detachment to receive the surrender of Gálna. No resistance was attempted; and this, with several other of Holkar's possessions in the neighbourhood, was quietly occupied by the troops of the two divisions.

While these divisions were thus employed in Kandêsh, Sir Thomas Hislop received intelligence that Bajee Rao had penetrated the Ghâts separating that province from the valley of the Godaveree: whereupon he immediately hastened to the south,

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ordering Brigadier-General Doveton to move on a parallel line in the same direction, in the hope of being able to intercept him before he should be apprized of their approach. It will be convenient, however, to relate the intermediate occurrences at the court of Nâgpoor, before we return to trace the motions of the fugitive Pêshwa, and the further operations against him.



CHAPTER XVI.

NÂGPOOR—DUKHUN.

1818, FEBRUARY TO MAY.

Nâgpoor—ministry of restored Raja—his fresh intrigues and early treachery—Resident's suspicions and measures—Governor-General's first instructions—Detection of the plots—arrest of Raja and his ministers—Bajee Rao applied to by Bhoosla for aid—consequent proceedings—marches eastward—eludes Sir Thomas Hislop's division—Army of the Dukhun broken up—progress of Bajee Rao—Brigadier-General Smith co-operates with Brigadier-General Doveton—Lieutenant-Colonel Adams—repulse of Gunput Rao—Lieutenant-Colonel Adams at Hingunghât—waits for other divisions, and advances—route of Soonee—pursuit by Brigadier-General Doveton—dispersion of Mahratta army—detention and submission of sirdars—Wusota invested and captured—new distribution of the forces—capture of other forts—affair of Solapoor—Chanda invested—its surrender.

THE affairs of Nâgpoor have been passed over in silence, since Appa Saheb's return to the palace of the Bhooslas, under an arrangement confirmed by the Marquess of Hastings, as mentioned in the 12th Chapter. This occurred in the course of January, the date of the Raja's return being the 9th of that month.

It will be recollected, that, when Appa Saheb made his submission, the principal channel of communication between him and the Resident was Nerayun Pundit, one of the negotiators of the original subsidiary alliance. This man was rewarded for the share he had in that transaction, and for his former tried

fidelity to the British Government, by being immediately invested with the second place in the administration, under the name of Pêshkar. Nagoo Punt, however, the other negotiator of the alliance, a man more deep in Appa Saheb's confidence, was retained as dewan ; and Ramchundur Wâgh, who had also submitted, together with his master, on the 16th of December, was not displaced, though known to have been an active instigator of the late hostilities. This man had been included in the indemnity for the past, by an express stipulation with Nerayun, before Appa Saheb could be induced to come in ; and Mr. Jenkins, willing to regard the fact of his surrender along with his master, as a sufficient indication of his altered sentiments, not only showed towards him no displeasure at the part he had lately taken, but allowed him to retain his offices and influence in the court.

The European reader will scarcely believe it possible, that, after submitting to be reinstated in the Guddee of Nâgpoor by the mediation of the British Resident, at the sacrifice of his army and political independence, Appa Saheb should again have entered into treasonable plots against the power, which had thus restored him. It would seem, however, that no sooner was the personal danger gone by, than he began to be ashamed of the weakness that had urged him to throw up a cause by no means desperate ; and, sensible that he had acted more from fear than judgment, he could scarcely divest himself of the idea of his having been betrayed into the step, by what he now deemed to be Nerayun's interested exaggerations of the danger. Ashamed and mortified at the folly and cowardice of the course he had taken, he thought only of repairing the error, as soon as he should recover the means ; and by way of ensuring success, not only agreed with apparent readiness to the terms proposed, but proffered more than was asked, in the hope of regaining

our confidence, and thereby masking his future conduct and designs.

So rapid was this change of sentiments in the Raja, that, even while yet in our power, and living at the Residency, nay, at the very moment of subscribing to the terms which were to be the price of his restoration, was he practising the deception, by which he hoped to retrieve his affairs and renew our embarrassments. In the interval between the attack on the Residency and the arrival of Brigadier-General Doveton, secret orders had been issued to the several Goand and other jungul and mountain Rajas, to call out their followers, and offer every annoyance in their power to the British authorities, especially to cut off detachments in charge of convoys, and prevent the country from furnishing supplies to the different armies in the field. Appa Saheb and his ministers, while negotiating the terms of the treaty, perceiving, from the omission of any stipulation for the recal of these orders, that Mr. Jenkins had then no notice or suspicion of them, resolved to allow them to take effect, though perfectly aware, as they afterwards acknowledged, that the consequence of not recalling them would be, to raise the whole country in arms, not only against us, but against any government that might act under our sanction. This deception was continued in the measures taken to prevent the due execution of the treaty after its signature. It was ascertained, that the Killadars of Mundela and Chouragurh had from the first received private instructions not to surrender to the public orders which should be presented. The commander at Dhamonee* also pleaded the receipt of similar instructions, which order, to be effectual, must have preceded the signing of the treaty, or at least have followed so closely, as to be sure of anticipating the public sum-

* The private orders to Dhamonee were in these words: "Jysa Dekho, wysakuro;" "As you see, so do:" meaning, as the Killadar naturally interpreted them, "Resist, if you think yourself able."

mons; which shows the early commencement of the plot. In prosecution of the same designs, orders were issued on the 18th of January, nine days only after the Raja returned to his palace, for the Killadar of Chanda to recruit, and particularly to enlist Arabs. It was moreover subsequently ascertained, that, along with Gunput Rao, who carried off with him the remnant of the army defeated by Brigadier-General Doveton, an agent of the name of Sukha-Ram had been sent directly from Appa Saheb, carrying with him one of the seals of state in token of his mission, to convey the Raja's earnest request for immediate assistance towards throwing off the British yoke. The issue of this part of the intrigue will presently be mentioned, when we come to relate what was passing in the camp of Bajee Rao.

The first suspicion entertained by Mr. Jenkins of the existence of these designs was excited by the obstinate refusal of the Killadars and garrisons to evacuate Mundela and Chouragurh, notwithstanding the liberal offer of all arrears; for the rejection of which it was impossible to assign an adequate motive, without supposing them to have other resources or the assurance of other support in the back ground. Indeed, the Killadar of Chouragurh asserted the receipt of private orders of a contrary purport, in reply to the summons sent to him by Lieutenant-Colonel M'Morin. Coupling this obstinacy of the Killadars and the reasons so publicly assigned for it with some appearances of a similar nature in the behaviour of the Prince himself since his restoration, Mr. Jenkins thought it necessary to take measures for ascertaining the truth or falsehood of the reports in circulation, and for watching the agents of the several parties, and endeavouring to intercept some of their confidential despatches. It was particularly an object to discover, whether the intrigues were confined to the ministry and inferior departments, or originated with the Raja himself. There was certainly ample ground to suspect Appa Saheb; for it had been observed,

that, although he had since his return to the palace shut himself up in his own apartments, professing to be indifferent to all state concerns, still he was evidently discontented, and never saw Nerayun Pundit without reproaching him as the cause of his present degradation. At the same time it was known, that he had frequent private conferences with Nagoo Punt and Ramchundur, the purport of which was studiously concealed from their colleagues in administration, and from the Resident. His participation in whatever intrigues were on foot was also inferable from his general character and conduct; besides which, on more than one occasion, suspicion was excited by Nagoo Punt's mode of conducting the internal branch of the administration, particularly by some measures he took to favour the interests of those proscribed in consequence of their continued disobedience. When Mr. Jenkins preferred a complaint against him to Appa Saheb, the Raja pledged himself for the dewan's fidelity, and would listen to no argument tending to impeach it; thus evidently identifying himself with the measures of the favourite. But the circumstance, which threw the strongest personal suspicion upon Appa Saheb, was, the discovery that, instead of bringing his treasures back to Nâgpoor along with the women of his family, he had issued secret orders to have the greater part conveyed back to Chanda and other forts, and even what was brought into the town was not openly deposited in the palace, but given out in trust with great secrecy and care.

Influenced by these suspicions, Mr. Jenkins first set a watch upon a man named Govind Pundit, whom he knew to be the agent at court on behalf of Nathoo-Ram, an officer who had been commissioned to expedite the surrender of Mundela. On the 4th of March, having intelligence that a letter was on its way from him to Nathoo-Ram, in the hands of a confidential messenger, he caused the bearer of it to be seized, and thus obtained possession of it. The letter gave circumstantial details

of what had passed at some conferences with Nagoo Blunt and Ramchundur, to which Govind had been admitted, and afforded abundant evidence of those ministers having instigated the refusal to surrender Mundela. Upon this, Mr. Jenkins caused Govind Punt to be arrested and examined, and being apprehensive of an attempt on the part of Appa Saheb to depart secretly, redoubled his vigilance, and, under the pretence of an improved police regulation, ordered every possible precaution to be taken to prevent any one from quitting the town by night. Though the suspicions were strong, nothing further had yet attached to Appa Saheb himself; when a private letter of the date of the 6th of March, was addressed by Mr. Jenkins to the Governor-General, pressing for early instructions for his guidance. He was answered in the same spirit by Mr. Adam, the Governor-General's secretary, that, without direct proof against the Raja, he was only to act against the ministers; but that he would be justified in taking the most vigorous measures to obtain the removal of such dangerous counsellors, as Nagoo Punt and Ramchundur had now proved themselves to be, and the exclusion from the durbar of others of the same stamp. In the mean time, however, reports poured in from every quarter of applications by Appa Saheb to Bajee Rao for assistance, and of the hostile advance of Gunput Rao with succours to Mr. Jenkins; therefore, redoubled his efforts to penetrate the mystery. Having ascertained that two agents were about to be despatched by Ramchundur to Bajee Rao, one a confidential *chitnavas* (secretary) of Ramchundur himself, the other a *barēedar* (private servant) of the Raja, caused them to be seized just on the point of setting off. Before this strong measure, he had contrived to procure from the *chitnavas* an acknowledgment of the nature of his errand, which was made in a place where he could be overheard, and to a supposed friend, who was in reality a spy set to win his confidence. Atma-Ram (so was the secretary

named) destroyed a paper he had about him as soon as he found himself betrayed; but it was discovered that this paper contained a few words in the Prince's own hand-writing, which were to give the assurance of his being a true messenger. Next morning, when Appa Sahib was informed of the arrest of the courier, he expressed the utmost anxiety to know if any paper had been found upon him, and seemed much relieved at learning that none was actually forthcoming. This occurred on the 14th of March; and at the same time arrived the positive intelligence of Gunput Rao being in full march to Nagpoor, while it was confidently reported, that the Peshwa was himself following with his whole army, and had already passed the frontier of the Nizam's dominions in his way. Previous accounts had reported him to have moved in an easterly direction after evading the pursuit of Sir Thomas Hislop, so as to render such an intention extremely probable. It was rumoured also, that the Raja was on the eve of flying to Chanda to meet him.

The Peshwa's detachment of Gunput Rao with reinforcements, and movement with his main army in a direction to support that chief, was so strong a confirmation of the truth of the designs said to be in agitation at Nagpoor, as, even without positive proof and on mere suspicion, would have justified the most vigorous precautionary measures. More decisive evidence had, however, been obtained by the seizure of Atma-Ram and his companion, evidence going directly to implicate the Raja himself. Feeling, therefore, that should the Bhoosla prince escape and join Bajee Rao, all that had been done to establish order in the Nagpoor dominions would be undone again in a moment, and being now armed with more convincing testimony, the Resident resolved to wait no longer for instructions, but to act upon his own responsibility, and take the only step, which could effectually secure the British interests intrusted to his

charge against the impending danger. Up to this time he had confined himself to measures of precaution and inquiry; but the knowledge of these, and of the arrest of the couriers, was calculated to precipitate the crisis with the Raja, and to urge him to immediate flight, as the only means of avoiding the consequences of detection. Thus, it was impossible to delay for another moment the necessary measures of prevention, however anxious he might have been to receive the instructions of the higher powers, before he took so decided a step.

Accordingly, having determined immediately to place the Raja under close arrest, he sent notice of this intention over night to Buka Bacc, whom the reader will remember to have been before mentioned, as the favourite wife of the deceased Ragoojee, and at all times attached to the party opposed to the reigning Raja. In the morning of the 15th of March, he despatched a note to Appa Sahib, informing him that doubts had arisen, which made it absolutely necessary that he should come and remain at the Residency till they were cleared up, representing strongly the utter impossibility of resistance, and the prudence of immediate compliance, without rendering it necessary to resort to forcible measures. Buka Bacc in vain exerted her influence to induce the Raja to attend to this very peremptory summons: whereupon, Mr. Jenkins being determined to enforce it, sent a party of Sepoys unarmed, under the conduct of Captain Brown, 22d Bengal native infantry; and Dr. Gordon, the Resident's assistant, who succeeded in effecting the arrest, and fortunately without the necessity of entering the apartments reserved for the women. Nagoo Punt and Ramchundur Wagh were in like manner seized, and all three brought to the Residency, and placed under separate guards. They in some measure confessed their participation in the plot, particularly Nagoo Punt, who accused his master of being the cause of

his ruin by his incurable love of intrigue, and made it his principal request, that, if doomed to imprisonment, he might be separately confined.

The confessions of the Raja and of his ministers were quite unnecessary to convince the world of their criminality. Proofs multiplied from every quarter immediately after their apprehension; while the daily advance of Bajee Rao, and the gradual development of the intrigues that had been passing between him and the Bhoosla, satisfied every one of the necessity of the Resident's precautionary measures. Amongst other articles of accusation, that transpired in the course of the inquiries instituted on this occasion, the circumstances of the murder of Pussajee first came to light on the day before the arrest. Indeed, one of Mr. Jenkins' motives for holding the Raja in close confinement was, the idea, that Lord Hastings might perhaps desire so heavy an accusation to be brought to trial, in order to visit the crime with the merited punishment, in the event of the charge being clearly established.

In this posture affairs remained at Nâgpŏor, while the Resident awaited the Governor-General's instructions as to the steps to be next adopted. And here we will for the present leave them, turning aside to notice the circumstances of Bajee Rao's advance into this territory, and the events to which it led.

We have already followed Gunput Rao to the time of his junction with Bajee Rao, at the head of the broken horse of the Nâgpŏor army. The junction took place in the neighbourhood of Tambaornee, before Bajee Rao's retreat on Solapoor, whither Gunput Rao accompanied him, and was afterwards present at the battle of Ashtee. Naroo Sukha-ram, the agent before-mentioned, had followed in the train of this Sirdar, and delivered the errand from his master, soliciting aid: and the course to be adopted in consequence was under consideration, when Bajee

Rao's army was surprised on the 20th of February²⁸ in the flight, Bajee Rao had scarcely got as far north as Porinda, when two *hojras* (confidential messengers) arrived also from Nagpoor, pressing for the early adoption of some plan for the Raja's relief. On their heels followed two other similar messengers, who repeated Appa Saheb's earnest entreaty for assistance, bringing a letter in his own hand-writing to confirm the veracity of their verbal statement. The despatch was brief and simple: "Sumanas Meer to Gungana Dobeeya—Assist me in any way you can." The names are those of two holy men, famous in Maharashtra legends for the assistance they mutually rendered each other in extremity. These messengers Bajee Rao carried along with him, and continued his flight northward to Newasa, whence he endeavoured without success to expel a garrison of Sebundees left by Colonel Deacon in his way to the south-west. From Newasa he directed his flight north-west to Kopergaon, crossing the Godaveree at Phook-tamba. Finding the heat of the pursuit somewhat abated, he took the opportunity of visiting Nassick, and then proceeded to Warner near Chandore, where he effected the before-mentioned junction with Ramdeen, who had brought with him some Pindaree horse, and a portion of the routed infantry of Holkar. Hence the Nagpoor messengers were at length despatched with a written answer to the Bhoosla, the contents of which never transpired; but there can be no doubt it conveyed an assurance of immediate help. This was on the 2d of March, and Gunput Rao and Sukha-ram at the same time solicited an advance of money, and leave to depart for Nagpoor, stating that preparations for war had been making at Chanda, that a force under Chundojee Bhoosla was at Bhandaree, and that they had certain information of the hill people having risen in arms, as well as of Mundela and Chouragurh having been put into a condition to stand a siege. With a small advance of money and troops, they engaged to raise a general insurrection,

as soon as they should reach the Bhonsla territory, and strongly recommended the Peshwa to proceed himself in the same direction by the route of Kandesh and Boorhanpoor. Bajee Rao, though he seemed to listen favourably to this advice, could not be brought to give a distinct or immediate answer, but desired Gunput Rao to wait a few days for his determination. He then skirted the Ghats into Kandesh, collecting information as he went, as to the practicability of the plan, and the disposition of the several British divisions. At Unkye he first learnt Sir Thomas Hislop's arrival in Kandesh, and near approach in a direction to intercept completely the route by Boorhanpoor; whereupon he fled with the utmost precipitation across the Godaveree at Kopergaon, and as far south as Asseon, on the Peetre. Thence again, fearing to fall in with the division of Brigadier-General Smith in its advance from the south, he turned off due east, and continued his march in that direction. The suggestion of Gunput Rao was now openly adopted, and this chief sent forward by a parallel, but different route from that pursued by the main body, which passed the Nizam's frontier, and crossed the Godaveree at Ruk-husbun to the south of Jalna, with the evident and avowed intention of entering the dominions of the Bhonsla state.

On the 11th of March, Sir Thomas Hislop ascended from Kandesh to the plain of the Godaveree, and made one or two ineffectual efforts to come up with the enemy; but, finding that he had escaped by the superior rapidity of his marches, first to the south and then to the east, the Lieutenant-General resolved, without further delay, to carry into effect the orders he had received from Lord Hastings. The several corps forming the head-quarter division were accordingly distributed amongst the other forces in the field; and, on the 31st of March, the final orders were issued from Lassoer for breaking up the army of the Dukhun. Sir Thomas Hislop himself, with the whole general

staff of the army, prepared for his return to the Madras presidency with a slight escort of cavalry and infantry; and subsequently, in order to avoid the inconvenience of diverting so large a force as would be necessary to form an efficient escort, from the more important object of contributing to the settlement of the country, he resolved to proceed from Poona to Bombay, and thence round by sea to Madras, leaving all his escort at Mr. Elphinstone's disposal, along with the other troops in the field.

In the meantime, Bajee Rao was hastening his flight from his own dominions in the direction of Chanda. His march was marked with cruelties and excesses of the most wanton kind, which, indeed, were mostly attributed to the professional plunderers brought down by Ram-Deen from Hindoostan; for the Mahrattas had hitherto shown some moderation and forbearance in their passage through the country. During the retreat, great pains were taken to mislead the pursuers. The Pêshwa himself always gave out the line of march for the day, withholding every morning from all his officers the next place of halting, until his standard and treasure elephants had actually moved forward; Brigadier-General Smith had not urged the northward pursuit of Bajee Rao after the action at Ashtee on the 20th of February; thinking it necessary first to escort the Raja of Suttara, to receive his formal investiture by Mr. Elphinstone. This occasioned a few days respite; after which the light division, under the Brigadier-General, again proceeded to the north, and having halted to refresh at Seroor, left that place to prosecute the pursuit on the 10th of March. Hearing at this point of Bajee Rao's march eastward, the Brigadier-General moved towards Jâlna, in order to concert a combined plan of pursuit with the division of Brigadier-General Doveton, who had by this time received his reinforcements from Sir Thomas Hislop, and reached that position. Brigadier-General Doveton, who was the junior officer, resolved to march himself upon Basum, and thence along the

Ghâts into Berar, as far as Kurinja, in the hope of, by that means, effectually cutting off the Mahratta army from the north; and suggested to Brigadier-General Smith the advantage of his moving along the line of the Godaveree, at such a distance from the river, as should prevent the enemy from turning his right without crossing, which the difficulty of the fords gave him little chance of effecting, or of getting off to the southward again, without laying himself open to attack.

The van of the Mahratta army, after having traversed the Nizam's dominions from west to east without resistance, appeared on the banks of the Wurda on the first or second of April, at a point near Woonee, a little above the confluence of this river with the Payn Gunga. In this quarter, however, he found his plans wholly disconcerted by the preparations made for his reception. It will be recollected, that, after receiving the submission of Namdar Khan and other Pindaree leaders, the division of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams had been ordered to return from Hindoostan to its original station in the valley of the Nerbudda, there to prepare for the reduction of the fort of Chouragurh, the Killadar of which had been repeatedly summoned by Lieutenant-Colonel M. Morine without effect. The beginning of March was passed by Colonel Adams in making ready for the attack of this place, and in procuring from General Marshall a reinforcement of heavy guns for the purpose, the two in the depôt at Hoshungabad having suffered a little in their carriages. While yet engaged in these preparations, the events above detailed were passing at Nagpoor, and Mr. Jenkins, having reason to believe that * Chanda was to be the destined rallying point of resistance, even before it was certain that the Pêshwa was on his way thither, directed Lieutenant-Colonel Adams' particular attention to the importance of summoning, and eventually reducing it before the close of the season, and therefore recom-

* Vide plate.

mended his leaving Chouragurh for the present, in order to make Chanda his first object, in case there should not be time for the reduction of both before the setting in of the rains. It was further suggested, that General Marshall's force might be advantageously employed against Chouragurh as well as Mundela, immediately after the taking of Dhamonee, on which service it was then employed; and this arrangement was afterwards ordered by the Marquess of Hastings to be carried into execution, as we have before incidentally noticed in the preceding chapter.

These discussions respecting the importance of reducing Chanda had prepared Lieutenant-Colonel Adams for an early summons to the southward, before the receipt of positive intelligence, that Bajee Rao was on his way towards the same point. Wherefore, on the first advice of the probability of this event, he began to move by forced marches upon Nâgpoor, carrying with him the 5th Bengal cavalry, his horse-artillery, and a brigade of infantry, and leaving Major Popham with a detachment to bring up by easy stages the two eighteen-pounders, forming the whole heavy train at his command. Mr. Jenkins had previously summoned a detachment of the 8th Bengal cavalry from Jubulpoor to strengthen his force in that arm; and further, on learning that Chanda was the point for which the troops from the westward were making, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott had been despatched with the greater part of the force then at Nâgpoor, in the hope of his being able to cut off the enemy from any communication with that strong fortress, and hold him in check until the arrival of Colonel Adams with the main body. Colonel Scott reached Wuroda, or Wuroona, about fifteen miles from Chanda, on the 3d of April. Here he fell in with the van of the Mahrattas, under Gunput Rao, and drove it back across the Wurda, though with the trifling loss of ten or twelve only; for the rencounter was quite unexpected by

the enemy, who fled with precipitation on the first appearance of the British force. Thus stopped short in his advance, and at the same time apprized of the arrest of Appa Sahéb and the little hope of support within the Bhoosla territory, Bajee Rao continued for some days irresolute, shifting his ground between the Wurda and the Payn-Gunga, but not daring to cross the former river. After the affair at Wuroda, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott proceeded to Chanda, hoping to succeed in investing the place, or at least to cut off all communication from without; but he found the fortifications so extensive, that with his small force, consisting of only one weak brigade of infantry and the 6th Bengal cavalry, it was impossible for him to cover it entirely. Lieutenant-Colonel Adams in the mean time, having made arrangements for the defence of Nágpoor, hastened his march to Hingun-Ghát, which he selected as the most appropriate point, both to cover the Bhoosla capital and to support Lieutenant-Colonel Scott in case of emergency. He reached Hingun-Ghát on the 6th of April, and found that Bajee Rao was still on the other side of the Wurda, undetermined what course now to pursue. Lieutenant-Colonel Scott had left Nágpoor in such haste, that he had come away with insufficient supplies; and, as the country about Chanda was found to be wholly destitute of the means of support, he felt himself under the necessity of soliciting from Lieutenant-Colonel Adams a part of his stores, which was instantly forwarded; but Colonel Adams thought it advisable in consequence to wait the arrival of a fresh supply from Nágpoor, before he embarked any further in a service, that promised to draw him into a long pursuit through an impoverished country, and away from his own resources. By good fortune, the delay was every way advantageous, as it would enable Brigadier-General Doveton to reach the desired position to the north-west of the enemy, while Brigadier-General Smith

approached to cut him off from the southward. With the three divisions thus closing in upon him from opposite sides, it seemed utterly impossible he should escape. Halting therefore at Hingun-Ghât, the Lieutenant-Colonel exerted himself to procure intelligence of every motion of the enemy; and, ascertaining that he still loitered about Pundur-Koura and Woonee without attempting any thing, forbore for the present to disquiet him or beat up his quarters. On the 11th of April, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott was called in from Chanda, in contemplation of an eventual attack; and, on the information that Bajee Rao had on the 13th ventured across the Wurda, at a place called Poona, a little way up the river, Colonel Adams on the 14th made a westward movement on Alumdoho, which had the effect of immediately driving him back. Brigadier-General Doveton had on the same day reached Doodgâon on the Aran, fifty miles only to the north-west of Pundur-Koura, whence he had written to Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, that he should march by long stages directly on Pundur-Koura, so as to reach the latter place on the 17th; and it was reckoned, that, by that time, Brigadier-General Smith would be sufficiently advanced along the line of the Godaveree to intercept any retreat to the south. In the course of the 16th, Colonel Adams received the letter conveying this intelligence; and learning from his own scouts that Bajee Rao was within a forced march to the south-east of his position at Alumdoho, resolved to march the same evening, in the hope of either falling upon his encampment, or driving him back upon the division of Brigadier-General Doveton, on its advance to Pundur-Koura. At eight in the evening, the Lieutenant-Colonel began his march; and, on the morning of the 17th of April, arrived at Peepul-Kôt, where the Pêshwa had been encamped the preceding day. It was here found, that he had gone off to Soonee, a village said to be six coss further to the south-west.

Upon this, not yet despairing to overtake the fugitives, he called up the cavalry and horse-artillery, together with a light infantry battalion, and resolved to push forward with this force to Soonee, leaving the rest of the troops to follow more at leisure. Colonel Adams had with him the entire 5th and 6th and a squadron of the 8th Bengal cavalry, a brigade of the Madras European horse-artillery, and a troop of the native corps of the same arm from the Bengal establishment. The light battalion was composed of the light companies of the several corps originally attached to the 5th division of the army of the Dukhun, on its formation in the preceding October. With this force he hastened his march upon Soonee. On approaching the village, he found that Bajee Rao, whom his own advance had driven to the south-west, had just discovered himself to be in full march on Brigadier-General Doveton's line, which on the same day was marching to Pundur-Koura, only twelve miles south of Soonee. In the anxiety to avoid this new danger, he had again taken a northerly route, and was making off with all despatch along the very road, by which Colonel Adams was approaching. The advance guard of the two armies met about five miles from Soonee*; when Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, guessing, from the number of elephants and standards, that Bajee Rao was present in person, immediately put the head of his column, consisting of the 5th native cavalry and horse-artillery, into a gallop, and drove the enemy back in confusion for some miles. The course of the road led to the brow of a rising ground, whence, in the valley beneath, and on the opposite declivity, the main body of the Mahratta army was discovered in great confusion. The horse-artillery opened their fire with admirable effect upon them in this disorganised state, while the cavalry formed, and charging into the valley, in a short time completely cleared it.

* Vide plate at the head of this Chapter.

The Lieutenant-Colonel, who led the charge himself, had by this time left the rest of his troops considerably in the rear: undismayed, however, by the numbers of the enemy, he determined to follow up his success with the single regiment he had with him. Wherefore, detaching one squadron to scour the rising ground on his right, he continued a hot pursuit with the two others, tracking the fugitives up the valley which took a turn to the left of the road, until he reached another elevation overlooking a second valley watered by the same stream that runs by Soonee. The Mahrattas were here seen collected in greater numbers than before: the horse-artillery again opened upon them with great effect, while Colonel Adams formed the two squadrons with him into line, and, charging a second time, drove every thing before him. At the further end of this second valley, two large bodies of the enemy's horse were drawn up, as if prepared to stand their ground. The first of these, however, dispersed quickly, on receiving the fire of the horse-artillery, and on finding its flank threatened by the squadron that had been sent to scour the elevated ground on our right. The other body, which was posted on our left, was then driven off by a change of front and rapid advance in that direction. The enemy was thenceforth seen only in broken detachments, flying through the surrounding jungul in complete rout. Five guns, the only ones he had with him, were captured in this action: three elephants and 200 camels also fell into our hands. The elephants were of those which always preceded Bajee Rao's line of march, and on which his treasure was usually laden; but no more than 11,000 rupees in cash was found upon them, the rest having been made away with in the confusion. The Prince himself escaped with difficulty, by mounting a horse and galloping away on the first appearance of the British troops. One of his palanquins was taken, and proved to have been perforated by a round shot; from its appearance, it was conjectured to

have been the same in which he had just been riding. The British loss was only two wounded, the enemy never having stood a charge; whereas, in the pursuit, and particularly by the fire of the horse-artillery, upwards of 1000 of the enemy were left dead on the field. Particular credit was due to the officers and men of both corps of horse-artillery. Captain Rodbeer, of the Bengal native corps, had joined Colonel Adams at Alundohu but eight hours before the march was commenced on the evening of the 16th; yet he was up with the foremost of the cavalry, notwithstanding the length of the march and pursuit, as was likewise Lieutenant Poggenpohl, a very distinguished officer of the Madras artillery. Indeed, it was mainly in reliance upon his strength in this arm, that Colonel Adams ventured so far in advance of his main body, with only a single regiment of cavalry (5th), being determined to make the affair as decisive as possible, though at some risk, and aware that every moment afforded for escape would detract from the importance of the result. The rest of the cavalry, owing to some misapprehension on the part of Colonel Gahan, its commander, did not join until after the enemy had entirely disappeared. The troops were then encamped on the field of battle, after a continued march of upwards of thirty miles, and waited the coming up of their supplies, before the pursuit could be further prosecuted.

Brigadier-General Doveton arrived at Pundur Koura, on the morning of the very day on which this action was fought; and, being only 12 miles distant, was not long in hearing of the success of the other division. The concurring reports of all his scouts having represented the line of the Pêshwa's flight to be to the southward of west, the Brigadier-General resolved to push forward and give chase in that direction. Consequently, he divided his force into two bodies; one of which he led himself, and of the other he gave the command to Captain Grant, of the Mysore horse, with whom, besides his own corps, he

detached for the purpose two squadrons of regular cavalry, two gallopers, and two light companies of infantry. In this manner the Mahratta army was followed at the heels for five successive days, during all which time it suffered the extreme of distress from famine and fatigue, the British officers making only occasional halts for the indispensable refreshment of their men and horses.

The routed Pêshwa was found to have taken a direction south-westerly, as far as Oomer-Kher, and thence due westward, by Kullumpoor, to Boree. At this place, or in the way to it, disheartened at their uniform ill success, and broken down by long privations, nearly two-thirds of his remaining adherents left his standard, with the intention of returning quietly to their homes. Brigadier-General Doveton pursued without halting, as far as Oomer-Kher, and then made a move rather to the north, in order to procure supplies from Basum. Thence he continued the pursuit as far west as Pepree beyond Jâlna, which he reached on the 3d of May. Here, however, he had the mortification to discover, that he was following a detached party led by chiefs of inferior note, while the Pêshwa himself had turned off from Boree northwards, with the design of crossing the Taptee, and penetrating if possible into Hindoostan.

Of the countless host that had followed his fortunes to the Wurda, there now remained with him no more than 8 or 10,000 at the utmost. All the Sirdars deserted after the affair of Soonee, except Trimbukjee, Ram-deen, the Vinshorekur, (Balôba), and the widow, with some of the troops, of Gokla. This dispersion of the several Sirdars with their followers in so many different directions rendered it very difficult to determine with precision the exact line of the prince's flight. The party, that Brigadier-General Doveton pursued so far to the westward, proved to be led not by himself but by Madhoo Rastee and Appa Dhunderee, Bajee Rao's father-in-law. The

Brigadier-General no sooner discovered his error, than he left them to continue their route unmolested; and both made good their way to Kandesh, and sent their submissions thence to Mr. Elphinstone. In the same manner Appa Dussae, with Chimnaje Nerayun, Bajee Rao's own brother, separated themselves entirely from his standard at Boree, and fled directly to the south-west, crossing the Godaveree at Nander. Esajee Punt, a Gokla nearly connected with the chief slain at Ashtee, and Wittoba Naeek, the same man who had delivered the declaration of war to the Resident at Poona, fled also in a south-west direction with another remnant of the fugitives. The pursuit of these parties was taken up by Brigadier-General Smith, who was at Nermul, when the affair of Soonee took place, and, hearing of the total dispersion of the Mahratta army, started in pursuit, on the 22d of April. Appa Dussae and Chimnaje surrendered to a detachment sent out by the Brigadier-General, under Captain Davies, of the Nizam's reformed horse, and were by that officer conducted to Ahmednugurh, where they consented to abide the orders of Mr. Elphinstone. The other party was pursued by another detachment from the same division, under Major Cunningham, as far as Pundurpoor, whence their chiefs also sent in their submission.

In the interim, Brigadier-General Pritzler, whom we left preparing for the attack of Wusota, appeared before that place and closely invested it, on the 31st of March. Such, however, were the natural difficulties of the ground, that the heavy guns could not be brought into battery until the 5th of April. The fort itself, though nature and art had done their utmost to strengthen it in other respects, was commanded by a neighbouring hill, called Old Wusota, which was accordingly chosen as the position for the breaching batteries. Such was the effect with which they opened, that the Killadar stood out but one day's fire, and surrendered the place on the 6th of April. The

remainder of the Raja of Suttara's family was found here, and the Killadar declared that he had received orders from his master to put the whole of them to death, sooner than allow them to fall into the hands of the British. These orders he found an obvious interest in neglecting, in the present depressed condition of Bajee Rao's fortunes. Lieutenants Morrieson and Hunter, whose capture at the commencement of the war was before noticed, were also found immured in the dungeons of this fort. Valuables belonging to the Suttara family, estimated to amount to near three lack rupees, were likewise captured: for these, however, the troops were allowed a compensation, in order to admit of their restoration to the Raja. On the reduction of Wusota, the force under Brigadier-General Pritzler was broken up; the corps of it drawn from the reserve, after being reinforced by a Bombay battalion, were sent to meet Brigadier-General Munro*, who was advancing from the south to attack the infantry and guns that Bajee Rao had left behind at Solapoor. The remainder proceeded against the strong holds on the north of Poona. Brigadier-General Pritzler in person led back the troops of the reserve, and received on his route the submission of all the forts along the line of the Kishna, none of which offered the slightest resistance. Major Eldridge, of the Bombay European regiment, commanding the troops detached to the north, obtained possession, in the course of April, of Sheeoneer, or Jooneer, which had been evacuated, and of all the other forts south of the range that separates the sources of the

* Brigadier-General Munro was not strong enough without this reinforcement, and though repeated requests had been addressed to the Madras Government, not a single company was allowed to join him from within our provinces in that quarter: indeed, the march of a reinforcement, which the commanding officer took upon himself to furnish, was specially countermanded from the Presidency, on the plea of its being required to guard our own frontier; as if the destruction of the enemy were not its best possible defence.

Bheema from those of the Godaveree. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal, in the mean time, with a detachment from Brigadier-General Doveton's division, reduced the important forts of Unkye, Rajdeho, Dhoorup, and Trimbuk, which gave to us the entire command of the valley of the Godaveree, and a ready entrance into Kandêsh. Captain Briggs, who had been placed in the political charge of the British interests in this quarter, in subordination to Mr. Elphinstone, the supreme commissioner, now resolved to employ the force of Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal, though consisting of only 1100 firelocks, in the reduction of the Pêshwa's remaining possessions in Kandêsh, from which object the pursuit of Bajee Rao had necessarily diverted the Brigadier-General. The influence already possessed there, from the occupation of all Holkar's late cessions, gave us advantages that led Captain Briggs to hope for success, notwithstanding his very inadequate means; and the event justified the correctness of his calculations, although a temporary check was experienced at Malugâon, as will presently be mentioned.

Meanwhile, Brigadier-General Munro, having advanced with the available portion of the reserve under his command, and effected a junction with Brigadier-General Pritzler, cleared the south country of several detached marauding parties, driving them before him till he reached Solapoor*, on the 9th of May. He there found the main body of Bajee Rao's infantry, with eleven guns of his field train, encamped under the walls, and the fort and town strongly garrisoned with Arabs. On the morning of the 10th, the Brigadier-General marched with all his brigades of infantry but one to the north side of the place; and forming them into two columns with a reserve, advanced for the purpose of carrying the *petta* by escalade. Besides the

* Vide plate at the head of this Chapter.

fort, there was an inner and an outer petta ; the latter of these was soon in our possession, and a lodgement was also effected in the wall of the inner petta close to the fort. However, while this operation was going on within, Gunput Rao Panre, the commandant of the infantry of the garrison, brought a party round to the east of the fort, and unexpectedly opened five guns on the troops left in reserve with the artillery, consisting of six flank companies. The fire was answered, though not silenced, by ours : but, after carrying the petta, Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, the commanding officer of artillery, and the only field officer with the reserve, perceiving the enemy to be in the act of retiring his guns, led the companies of the reserve to the charge. In his advance he was reinforced by Lieutenant-Colonel Newal from the petta, and succeeded in capturing three of the guns, and driving the enemy back with considerable loss of men. Partial firing continued in the petta ; nor did the action cease till 4 p. m., at which time Brigadier-General Munro, observing the infantry to be moving off in small parties from the camp adjoining to the fort, ordered Brigadier-General Pritzler in pursuit, with the cavalry attached to his force, consisting of not more than three troops of the 22d dragoons, and about 400 irregulars. At the head of this small force, Brigadier-General Pritzler came up with the enemy a few miles from the town, and found him marching in pretty close column. The gallopers were opened, and one troop detached to the right, and another to the left, with orders to charge. The column was completely penetrated and broken, the dragoon officers judiciously restraining their men from using their pistols, until this first object had been fully accomplished. The infantry was then cut up in detail by the dragoons and irregulars, a duty in which the latter troops are in general particularly alert. The greater part of the fugitives threw away their arms and escaped ;

but considerable havoc was made amongst the Arabs, who disdained to secure their flight by such means. Gunput Rao had already been wounded in the attack on the reserve, and Veetul Punt, the second in command, killed on the same occasion. But Major de Pinto, a Portuguese officer, who had raised some battalions for Gokla, and had been actively engaged at Kirkee, was slain in this pursuit, together with more than 800 of the fugitives. The fort of Solapoor surrendered on the 15th of May, after one day's bombardment; and with it all Bajee Rao's remaining artillery fell into our hands, while the previous destruction of his infantry left his cause entirely destitute of adherents within his late dominions, except in the garrisons of a few remaining forts in Kandêsh. Of Brigadier-General Munro's division, 97 were killed and wounded in the course of these operations. The capture of 37 guns on the surrender of the place, most of them in very serviceable condition, affords a fair criterion of the importance of the success, and the credit due to those who conducted the enterprise.

While Bajee Rao was thus hunted down, and his country reduced by the several British divisions and detachments in the field, Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, having ascertained that the direction of the flight from Soonee was due west, and that Brigadier-Generals Doveton and Smith were both hotly engaged in the pursuit, resolved to lose no time in moving the force under his command towards Chanda, in order to summon that important fortress. He accordingly called up the two eighteen-pounders, which had been directed to follow him from Hôshungabad: and, having obtained another of the Nizam's from Major Pitman at Umraotee, proceeded with this weak train, and set himself down before Chanda on the 9th of May. The poisoning of the wells on his approach indicated the Killadar's determination to hold out to the last extremity; nevertheless,

the Lieutenant-Colonel forwarded a letter, containing the most moderate proposals, offering to the garrison permission to march out with all their private property and arms, and only requiring them to account for the treasure and public property, which he was instructed to hold in deposit for the successor of Appa Saheb. The Killadar not only sent no reply, but detained the bearer of Colonel Adams' letter, seemingly in full confidence of his ability to resist. The place was so extensive, that the whole of the 10th and 11th was occupied in reconnoitring* and fixing upon the point of attack. Good ground for the breaching battery was, however, found in a *nulla* about 250 yards to the south-east of the place. On the 13th, therefore, the British camp was moved from the north-west angle to the south of the fort, and a battery of light guns made to play upon this face, in order to divert the enemy's attention from the main attack. This object was completely attained; and the place having been invested at the same time to the north and west, the garrison, though it amounted to upwards of 3000 men, was kept in a state of constant alarm and uncertainty, and obliged to spread itself over the whole extent of the defences, instead of being concentrated on the single point of importance. The breaching battery opened on the morning of the 19th of April, from the ground originally selected for it. Before evening the breach was perfectly practicable; but the great extent of the works, and number of the garrison, made the Lieutenant-Colonel averse to a night assault. Major Goreham, who commanded the artillery, undertook to prevent the garrison from throwing up any retrenchment or other defence behind the breach during the

* A random shot from the last gun that was fired at the reconnoitring party unfortunately killed Surgeon Anderson, a valuable and much esteemed officer of the Bengal medical establishment.

night; and the morning of next day, the 20th, was fixed for the storm. Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, of the 1st-1st Madras, the next in command to Colonel Adams, volunteered to lead the attack, and the utmost ardour and confidence were shown by the troops. Two squadrons of the 5th native cavalry consented to dismount, and act with the light infantry battalion as a reserve. The place was carried in the course of the day, with the loss of 11 killed and 51 wounded on our part, while, of the enemy, Gungadeen the Killadar was killed, with at least 500 of the garrison. No British officer was amongst the slain; but Major Goreham, a most valuable officer of the Madras artillery, who had directed the operations of this arm during the siege, died of fatigue in the course of the day, and Captains Charlesworth and Watson, of the 1st-1st Madras, were wounded severely; as were also Lieutenant Fell, of the Bengal Pioneers, and Lieutenant Casement, of the 1st-19th Bengal native infantry. Two other officers were also wounded, but very slightly. The storm of Chanda closed the campaign for this season in the Bhoosla territory. Chouragurh had already been evacuated on the approach of Brigadier-General Watson, who was detached against it by Major-General Marshall, immediately after the capture of Mundela.

The division of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams had now completed the object of its destination to the southward. As it was quietly returning to the cantonment at Hôshungabad, it was, however, attacked by the same fatal disorder, which, in the preceding November, had thinned the ranks of the centre division of the Bengal army. In a few days the casualties far exceeded what the troops had suffered in the whole course of those military operations, in which they had borne so active a part. The symptoms and effects of the disease were precisely similar to those already described, when we had

occasion before to mention it, and there is no need again to dwell upon them. Major-General Marshall's division also had experienced the destructive ravages of the pestilence in the course of the operations against Mundela; and no part of India, from the hills of Nipál to Cape Comorin, escaped this dreadful visitation.

CHAPTER XVII.

NÂGPOOR—PÊSHWA, &c.

1818. MAY, JUNE, JULY.

Appa Saheb's exile—and escape—consequent measures—Bajee Rao's designs—frustrated—He sends an agent to Sir John Malcolm—is surrounded—negotiates—terms offered—intentions of Governor-General—approach of Brigadier-General Doveton—arrested—Bajee Rao submits—terms—objections—Reflections—Dispersion of Bajee Rao's army—Trimbukjee seized—Arabs refractory—General submission of the country—Review of Mr. Elphinstone's proceedings—their effect on the several classes of the population—cultivating—religious—military—commercial—Arabs of Kandêsh—their expulsion resolved—Siege of Malugâon—vigorous sally—repulsed—Assault fails—Reinforcements—bombardment—explosion of magazine—surrender of the place—mistake in the terms—Close of the campaign.

PENDING the operations that terminated in the rout of Soonee, Appa Saheb was held in close confinement at the Nâgpoor Residency, along with his two confidential ministers, Nagoo Punt and Ramchundur Wâgh. The military defence of the capital, in the expected event of the Pêshwa's approach, was the object which at this time engrossed all the attention of the Resident. No sooner was he relieved from apprehension for the capital by the successful issue of this affair, and the consequent dispersion of the Mahratta army, than he selected from the troops at Nâgpoor a strong escort, for the conveyance of his prisoners to a place of greater security within our own immediate provinces. A communication of the Governor-

General's wishes in this respect had reached the Resident, accompanied by an intimation, that an old palace of the Moghul's, within the fort of Allahabad, was every way the place best fitted for the ex-Raja's accommodation and safe custody. Accordingly, on the 3d of May, Appa Saheb, with his two ministers, was conveyed from Nâgpoor, under charge of a wing of the 22d Bengal native infantry, and three troops of the 8th native cavalry, the whole under the conduct of Captain Browne of the 22d, the same officer, whose judgment had been conspicuous in the previous arrest of the Raja in his palace. Arrangements had been made to provide a fresh escort to take charge of the prisoners from Jubulpoor onwards; and, on the 12th of May, Captain Browne's detachment arrived at Bychore, one march only from that place. In the interim, however, the captive Prince had not been idle. It is conjectured, that, by the agency of a Brahmin, who accompanied the party from Nâgpoor for the first few marches, then left them, on some pretext or other, to make his arrangements, and afterwards rejoined on the 12th, a few of the Sepoys of the 22d Bengal native infantry were seduced from their duty; and that, partly by representation of the merit and glory of the act of assisting a Hindoo of the race of Sevagee in his distress, but chiefly by the profuse distribution of bribes, a conspiracy was formed amongst them to aid in effecting the ex-Raja's escape. Accordingly, about two o'clock in the morning of the 13th, a Sepoy's dress was introduced into the tent: Appa Saheb, thus accoutred, joined the guard; and, under semblance of a relief, marched without interruption completely out of the camp. Relays of horses were in readiness to carry him to a distance before the alarm should be given; and, as every precaution was taken to prevent an early discovery, he succeeded in getting clear off. Six Sepoys of the regiment deserted along with the prisoner, carrying with them their arms and accoutrements;

and a few others followed the example in the course of the succeeding week. Indeed, it appeared, from circumstances which came out before the court-martial appointed for the trial of Captain Browne for neglect in suffering this escape, that several other men of the corps were deeply implicated in the conspiracy; and there was reason to suspect even a Soobadar to have been corrupted. Besides the Sepoys, Appa Saheb took with him only two of his personal attendants. He had left Nāgpoor with upwards of a hundred in different capacities, most of whom were allowed unlimited access at all hours; and, as it was a part of Captain Browne's instructions, to treat his prisoners with the utmost consideration that was consistent with their safe custody, he had not thought it necessary to restrict this intercourse, or to have an European officer on guard night and day over the deposed Raja: though, considering the character and importance of the prisoner, he ought perhaps to have taken that precaution.

Every thing in the tent was left in its usual place, insomuch, that the two servants, whose duty it was to handrub (*shampoe*) Appa Saheb as he slept, continued to perform the same office to the cushions of his bed; and, when the guard was changed at four in the morning, the native officer, who, according to Captain Browne's standing orders, looked into the tent to ascertain the presence of the Raja, seeing them so engaged, was satisfied, and entertained not the least suspicion of his evasion. However, as soon as the escape was discovered, Captain Browne sent off parties of cavalry in every direction, and despatched expresses to Brigadier-General Watson and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Morine, then engaged in the act of taking possession of Chouragurh, which was evacuated on the very same day. Information was also sent to Major O'Brien, the commandant at Jubulpoor, and to all the civil authorities. But it was found impossible to trace the flight of Appa Saheb in time to seize

him, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of despatch and vigilance in every quarter.

Ere long it was ascertained, that he had fled in the first instance to Heraee, a place about forty miles south-west of Rychore, and thence to the Mohadeo hills, where he was harboured and concealed by the Goands, and particularly by one Chyn-Shah, a Raja of considerable influence among them. By the close of the rains, he was enabled to collect round his standard a few followers from the wreck of Bajee Rao's army, and from among the fugitive Arabs driven out of Kandêsh. With this band he gave considerable trouble in the ensuing season: nor has the consequent disturbance of that part of the country yet been remedied, or the rising in his favour been entirely subdued to this day*. He has, however, for some months been confined to the hills, and reduced to the greatest straits; and his partisans have been decidedly worsted, wherever they have ventured to show themselves. But of this more hereafter.

The government of Nâgpoor, immediately on hearing of the escape, authorised the offer of a reward of a lack of rupees in cash and a jageer of 10,000 rupees a year in land for the re-apprehension of the fugitive. The reward in ready money was afterwards doubled; and it was for some time hoped, that the notoriously venal disposition of the Goands would have induced them to violate the rights of hospitality; but in the end these hopes proved in this instance fallacious, and the whole force of Lieutenant-Colonel Adams was consequently obliged to take the field in two bodies, one occupied in watching the passes into the Mohadeo hills, while the other is still employed in hunting him down within their range. Neither Nagoo Punt nor Ramchundur Wâgh were parties to the escape; but both were safely conveyed to Jubulpoor, and thence forwarded to

* February, 1819.

Allahabad, the place of their original destination. The escape of Appa Saheb at this juncture was particularly unfortunate, as it gave a new head to the turbulent and factious, whose minds might else have been reconciled to submission, if not by the example of their neighbours, at least by the total want of organisation and of union, that must have followed the loss of every leader of note and personal influence.

Bajee Rao had himself been reduced to extremity by the battle of Soonee, and was on the eve of throwing up the game. We have mentioned, that from Boree he turned northwards, directing his flight towards Hindoostan, in despair of being able to gain any thing by returning towards his late dominions. The faint reed, on which he now leant his hopes, was the idea, that, in the event of his reaching the territory of Doulut Rao Sindheea, he might, either through that chief's mediation secure advantageous terms of reconciliation with the British, or, by drawing him into his measures, obtain the necessary accession of strength, without which all further struggle was utterly hopeless. The reputation of Sindheea's military power had always stood pre-eminent among the Mahratta states; and, as he alone had survived the general crash of the late events, it was not unnatural for the fugitive head of the nation to look to it as a resource in his present desperate condition. Submission, however, was at this moment the primary object of his desire; and, in token of his humiliation, he despatched agents both to Mr. Jenkins at Nâgpoor and to the commissioner at Poona, to intimate his readiness to tender his personal surrender. Meanwhile, having crossed the Taptee on the 5th of May, just below its confluence with the Poona, he proceeded down the valley as far as Chupara, with a view to penetrate into Hindoostan by the Sindwa Ghât and Indore. At Chupara he discovered that this route was altogether closed against him by our possession of Sindwa, as well as by the judicious precautions already taken by

Sir John Malcolm for defence of the line of the Nerbudda from Hindia downwards to Muheshwur. Equally baffled in this attempt, as he had been in his former design of reaching the Bhoosla dominions, he sent forward an agent to Sir John Malcolm, retiring himself eastward towards Boorhanpoor, in order to wait the result of his mission. It appeared as if he intended, in case of failure, to shut himself up in Aseergurh as his place of final refuge, or explore a more easterly route to Hindoostan, should any one seem to be practicable.

Every exertion had been made to provide against the possibility and danger of his penetrating to the north, and to overwhelm the adherents that still clung to his fortunes. There was fortunately at Hindia, besides the usual guard of that important post, a strong detachment of infantry, having under its escort the guns taken at Mehudpoor, and the hospital establishment and convalescent left there by Sir Thomas Hislop, and now on their way to the Dukhun. The presence of these troops afforded the means of forming a force of sufficient strength to advance upon Bajee Rao from the north-east, and either attack him on that side, or at least effectually shut up the Ghâts of the Sâtpoora range. Brigadier-General Malcolm also prepared to advance in person, with what troops he could collect, from the neighbourhood of Indore to the north-west, while Brigadier-General Doveton was known to be approaching from the southward. Hence it seemed more than probable, that the enemy would be again hemmed in, and give the opportunity of another affair as important as that of Soonee. Eastward of Hindia, the defence of the Nerbudda was confided to Brigadier-General Watson, who, after occupying Chouragurh, and affording Lieutenant-Colonel M'Morine a reinforcement to assist in the pursuit of Appa Saheb, had retired to Sâgur with the greater part of his force, in conformity with orders received direct from the Marquess of Hastings for his occupation of that post. In antici-

pation of the possibility of Bajee Rao's success in getting to the northward, before the above precaution should be in a sufficient state of forwardness to cut him off entirely from this line of retreat, the Marquess of Hastings, on the first alarm, had instructed Sir David Ochterlony to be in readiness to throw his force between the enemy and Gwalior, and in that case to take upon himself the personal and supreme direction of all the operations. Such were the accumulated means, with which, if necessary, it was determined to crush the expiring efforts of the fugitive Pêshwa. That Prince, however, distracted at the operations that he saw about to close upon him on every side, remained irresolutely hovering about Aseergurh, where he was visited by Sindheea's Killadar, Juswunt Rao Lar, who, during the whole of his stay in the neighbourhood, participated in all his counsels, and rendered every assistance in his power. Indeed, the reliance upon this resource and upon the shelter of the fortress in case of need, appears to have been a principal motive of his delay at Dhôlcôt in that vicinity.

While Bajee Rao was thus wasting his time in indecision, and allowing the British forces to draw a net completely round him, Anund Rao Juswunt, the agent who had been sent to Sir John Malcolm, reached the camp of that officer at Mow, a few miles from Indore, late in the night of the 16th of May. The letter he brought from his master contained an appeal to the generosity of the British Government, and a spice of adulation to the general himself, whom, in a strain of Asiatic compliment, he protested he had been looking out for on every side, as one of his oldest and best friends *, in order to solicit him to become

* In the subsequent conference between the General and Bajee Rao, the latter urgently appealed to the long friendship between them; stating that, of his three oldest and best friends, Colonel Close was dead and General Wellesley in a distant land, and the only one now left him was Sir John himself. That officer's great experience of Indian politics and long intercourse with the native princes had indeed

the instrument of peace and reconciliation with the British. Particular allusion was made to the liberality, with which conquests heretofore made from Holkar and Sindheea had been restored without equivalent or reason; with an evident insinuation, that a similar degree of generosity in his own instance was expected or hoped to result from his choice of this channel of reconciliation.

Sir John Malcolm resolved at once to convert this communication, which really differed little in substance from what Mr. Elphinstone had been in the habit of receiving from the outset of the campaign, into a negotiation for surrender upon terms. The vakeel accordingly, finding the General in this mind, pressed him earnestly to advance to a personal conference with his master, for the purpose of discussing the terms and receiving his submission. This, however, was refused; but Sir John's first and second political assistants, Lieutenants Low and M'Dowall, were despatched along with Anund Rao, bearing the General's reply; and Lieutenant Low was instructed, if possible, to open a negotiation on the following basis: first, Bajee Rao to renounce all sovereignty in the Dukhun for himself and family for ever; secondly, not to return thither on any terms; thirdly, the surrender of Trimbukjee and all persons concerned in the hanging of the two Vaughans at Tulligâm on the first breaking out of the war. In the event of the Pêshwa's agreeing to these preliminaries, Lieutenant Low was to insist upon his immediately separating himself from Ram-Deen and other proscribed rebels or Pindarees that might be with his army, and advancing to meet the Brigadier-General, who, in such case, engaged to be the medium of an adjustment with the British Government, on

recommended him to their particular confidence, and made them look up to him for protection in their time of need. Of this feeling the best proof is to be found in the number of chiefs that surrendered to him, besides the Pêshwa: amongst others, Kureem, Rajun, Kander-Buksh, &c.

the basis of personal security to the prince himself, and a liberal maintenance at such holy city, as he might select for his future residence. Protection from the attack of Brigadier-General Doveton, or any of the other divisions that threatened him, was not to be granted, except on compliance with the requisition to advance in the direction prescribed.

Sir John Malcolm, had in due course, been furnished with a copy of the Governor-General's instructions to Mr. Elphinstone, which had put him in possession of the outline of his Lordship's intentions with regard to the personal treatment of Bajee Rao, in case of his being reduced to surrender himself unconditionally; and the terms, which Lieutenant Low was directed to offer, were framed upon those instructions. Conceiving himself to be acting according to their spirit, the General did not think it necessary to wait the result of a reference for special orders in the present instance: nor indeed would the distance from his Lordship's quarters at Gôrukpoor have allowed of such a reference. The Marquess of Hastings, however, immediately on hearing of the step taken by Sir John Malcolm, could not avoid expressing his apprehension, that the deputation of an officer for the avowed purpose of negotiation would have the effect of cramping the military operations of the several divisions, which it was particularly desirable to leave as free as possible to the last. It was evident that Bajee Rao could have but one motive of desire to submit, viz. the desperate posture of his affairs. Another rencontre with any of our divisions must necessarily complete his ruin; consequently, any thing that embarrassed the military movements, besides impeding the grand object of annihilating the military power of the Mahratta sovereign, promised to give him a further advantage in the negotiation also, as it must create an impression, that the basis of treaty was not that of an individual resorting to us for personal safety upon any terms that he could get, but

a bargain, founded upon views of a mutuality of interest ; in other words, a compromise, in which he was to receive value for his forbearance to exert his remaining means of mischief and annoyance. His Lordship particularly deprecated this construction being put upon the measure by other powers : nor did he feel less anxiety, lest the government should be committed in respect to the place of the captive's future residence, wishing to have this left to his own selection, as well as the fixation of the amount of the stipend for the chief's permanent establishment, which he declared his intention of limiting to two lack rupees per annum. Instructions to this effect were issued from Gôrukpoor, whither the Governor-General had retired on the breaking up of the centre division of the grand army. As had been apprehended, the letter containing them did not reach Sir John Malcolm until every thing was concluded ; but the event of Lieutenant Low's deputation proved the correctness of his Lordship's anticipation of its effect upon the military operations ; while the deviation from his wishes, in respect to the other points, showed that his anxiety was not without sufficient grounds.

The Lieutenant proceeded on the 18th of May, in company with Anund Rao Juswunt, and reached Mundlisôr on the next day. He was here overtaken by fresh orders from the Brigadier-General (who had on the night of the 18th received advice of the escape of Appa Saheb), in obedience to which the Lieutenant stopped short himself, and sent forwards a Soobadar of the Madras cavalry, by name Seyed Husein Ulee, whom Sir John Malcolm had selected for his native aid-de-camp, and another native, together with the vakeels. The latter were made acquainted with the conditions on which their master was expected to advance and meet Sir John Malcolm ; and the Lieutenant himself followed by easy stages, expecting that, by the time he arrived in the neighbourhood, the mind of the prince would be

prepared by their representations for submission. Bajee Rao had all this while remained at Dhôlkôt, five miles north of Aseergurh, where every day his alarm increased at the approach of Brigadier-General Doveton from the south. On the 25th of May, this officer arrived at Boorhanpoor, and was on the point of equipping a light force for the immediate attack of the enemy, when he received a letter from Lieutenant Low, dated the 23d of May, giving him the first intimation of the mission and of its result being still in suspense. Although the letter contained no positive request to suspend his further operations, yet Brigadier-General Doveton could not but see the desire of the negotiator, that time should be allowed to Bajee Rao: indeed it was mentioned, that Colonel Smith intended to halt at Bhekungâon to the north-west, until apprized of the result. The Brigadier-General accordingly deemed it right to remain at Boorhanpoor for the same purpose. In the mean time, Bajee Rao, though still undecided as to the acceptance of the conditions, was most earnest in the expression of his anxiety for the arrest of Brigadier-General Doveton's advance. This Seyed Husein Ulee reported to Lieutenant Low, who, upon his arrival at Bhekungâon on the 25th, inclosed to the Soobadar an absolute requisition on the Brigadier-General to delay his advance conditionally, in case Bajee Rao should have made a movement, however short, in the direction indicated. The Soobadar was not himself in Bajee Rao's camp when he received this despatch, but forwarded the letter with two troopers, to whom he gave similar directions. The Brigadier-General having previously upon his own judgment resolved to wait the result, the receipt of any absolute requisition became a matter of no importance; but it might have been otherwise.

Up to the 30th of May, Bajee Rao continued in his position at Dhôlkôt, still equally irresolute. In the interim, however, Sir John Malcolm had brought down the force he had col-

lected at Indore as far as Bhekungâon, where he found Lieutenant Low, together with the Pêshwa's vakeels, who had come the day before to press him to proceed to their master's camp, which he accordingly did by the order of the Brigadier-General. The troops from Hindia also had advanced to Peep-louda, while Brigadier-General Doveton still occupied Boorhanpoor. Being now, therefore, completely surrounded, Bajee Rao, on the 31st of May, sent Balooba, dewan of the Vinshore Kur, to Sir John Malcolm, and agreed to a personal conference on the following day, at Kiree, a village on the plain about half a mile from the Ghât of that name in the Sâtpoora range. The meeting took place according to this appointment, at 5 p. m. of the 1st of June, Bajee Rao having come to Kiree for the purpose with all his family, and an escort of about 2500 horse and foot. In the conference that ensued, Sir John Malcolm recapitulated the terms that had before been communicated, and pressed the immediate surrender of Trimbukjee: but this was asserted to be impossible, as that chief had a separate camp of his own, and was in too great strength. Sir John then declared his intention to attack him forthwith, whereupon Bajee Rao replied he was welcome for his part, using the expression, "*Mobarûk*," "Success attend you." He subsequently, however, solicited time to recal some of his own people from Trimbukjee's camp, a favour that was perhaps incautiously granted, and thus most probably the opportunity was taken of warning Trimbukjee of his danger: for the attempt, when subsequently made, proved abortive. The conference lasted till 10 p. m. when the Pêshwa re-ascended the Ghât, where he had some guns placed to protect his retreat; all the neighbouring passes were lined with his Arab infantry. Sir John Malcolm retired to his tent, and the same night prepared a written note of the conditions, and forwarded it the next morning to Bajee Rao. They differed little from those before tendered by Lieutenant

Low, except in the omission of the article for the surrender of Trimbukjee. It was insisted, however, that his Highness should proceed to Hindoostan without the delay of a day, and come to the British camp for the purpose within 24 hours. At the same time, Sir John Malcolm took upon himself to guarantee, that the annual allowance to be assigned for the future maintenance of his Highness should not fall short of eight lack rupees per annum; and the written paper further declared, that if his Highness, by prompt and full performance of the terms, should evince his entire confidence in the British Government, his requests in favour of jageerdars and adherents, who had been ruined by their fidelity to his cause, should meet with liberal consideration; also, that his representations in favour of Brahmins and religious establishments founded or supported by his family, should be treated with attention. This article was subsequently explained, in respect to the jageerdars, to mean, that they should be received upon the same terms as had been accorded by Mr. Elphinstone to those who had tendered their submission after the rout of Soonee; viz. to retain any lands which belonged to their families in absolute property; but lose those they held by *surunjamee*, tenure of military service. In order to enforce compliance, or, in case of refusal, to proceed to attack the enemy's position, Brigadier-General Doveton was requested by letter to interpose, if possible, between his camp and Aseergurh, whither the Pêshwa had before conveyed a great part of his remaining valuables. Lieutenant-Colonel Russell was also ordered to advance from his position at Bhoorgâon, and combine with that officer in an attack upon Trimbukjee.

At length, upon these conditions, after a fruitless attempt at further procrastination*, Bajee Rao joined the camp of Sir

* "It would fill a volume to detail the particulars of all the intrigues which occurred. I have never witnessed a scene in which every shade of the Indian

John Malcolm, on the 3d of June, at 11 a. m. The engagement, although not exactly according with his Lordship's views, was nevertheless confirmed and ratified by the Marquess of Hastings; and Bithoor, a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, distant a few miles only from the large cantonment of Cawnpoor, was subsequently fixed upon for the residence of the deposed and exiled prince.

The principal objection to this arrangement was, the extent of the personal allowance promised to his Highness, amounting to no less than 100,000*l.* a year for life. This was far beyond the probable amount of his personal expenditure in retirement, and it was feared might leave a surplus applicable to purposes of intrigue and mischief. Sir John Malcolm had been guided in the fixation of the stipend, by a recollection of the amount enjoyed by Umrit Rao, under the arrangement made with that chief, by the now Duke of Wellington. He thought there would be some insult, both to the prince and the feelings of the Mahratta nation, in offering less to one, who had so long sat upon the guddee as his birthright, than was enjoyed, as the price of abdication, by a claimant by mere adoption. The cases, however, seemed to admit of little analogy; for Umrit Rao was a chief of powerful influence and numerous adherents, brought

“character was more strongly displayed. It is honourable to Balouba, the
 “Vinshorekur jageerdar, to the Purunder chief, and the manager of the in-
 “terests of the Gokla family, who committed their cause to him, ~~that~~, though
 “they professed themselves hopeless of success, and, convinced by my arguments,
 “that their master had no choice but submission, they took care to make me
 “understand, when I informed them that their only claim to consideration rested
 “on the success of their influence in promoting this measure, that, though they
 “would use every means of persuasion and remonstrance to effect this end, harsh-
 “ness or coercion they would never resort to. The vakeel of the Vinshorekur
 “said, that his master's family had served that of the Pêshwa for five generations,
 “and had always spoken boldly to them; but added, that now that fate, *Bukht*,
 “was on him, he must be silent: even unmerited reproaches had been and must
 “remain unanswered.”—*Malcolm's Despatches.*

over in critical times, and at the outset of a war of doubtful issue. And, even in his case, the extent of the stipend had enabled the chief to entertain a large retinue, and create an influence of most pernicious tendency, necessary as the purchase may have been to the success of the operations of that period. Experience, therefore, was against entrusting similar means to the discretion of chiefs so circumstanced: and the ex-Pêshwa's proneness to intrigue was too notorious to admit of the hope, that, if possessed of the means, he would forbear to employ them.

Independently, however, of all considerations of tenderness towards the feelings of this fallen head of the Mahrattas, and of the policy of conciliating the good-will of his late subjects, by indulgent and liberal treatment of their deposed monarch, considerations most apt to work upon the generous spirit of a British soldier, there were other reasons of no little weight, which had helped to guide the conduct of Sir John Malcolm in this very delicate business. The remnant of the Mahratta army arrived in the neighbourhood of Aseergurh, in a most exhausted condition; but the supplies received from that fortress, and the halt of several days in the vicinity, had recruited both men and cattle, and put them in a condition to renew their flight with their usual rapidity, which might again have baffled the pursuit of regular troops. Besides, the Killadar of Aseergurh had already afforded shelter to the remaining baggage and valuables of Bajee Rao; and his conduct, in furnishing him with guns and other stores, had shown his readiness to receive his fugitive prince within the cover of his walls, in case of extremity. The near approach of the rainy season, and the absence of the small battery train attached to Brigadier-General Doveton's division, which had been recently sent to Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal, and was now employed before Malugâon, made it impossible to undertake the siege

this season ; and even to invest it so closely as to prevent his personal entrance or exit, was, in the opinion of the most experienced officers, impracticable during the rains. The recent escape of Appa Saheb, who has not yet been retaken, had shown the difficulty of tracing a fugitive, however illustrious or important, in this wild and rugged tract, and amongst a friendly population. But the principal motives of desire for the immediate possession of the person of the Pêshwa were, the saving of the great additional expense that must have been incurred by the protraction even of desultory warfare, and the speedy restoration of general tranquillity, by removing the ostensible cause and the leader of tumult and disorder. The whole country was still infested by the broken remnants of the Pindarêe durras, and the dispersed Arab and other mercenaries, whom the late changes had turned loose upon the world. Already had they begun to flock from all parts towards the standard of the prince, who still possessed the hereditary respect and affections of the Mahratta nation ; and it was impossible to say how far the uncertain issue of protracted hostility might work upon the unsettled minds of the different chiefs, or to calculate the full effect of any casual check or disaster. In justice to one of the most distinguished officers that our Indian service can boast of, these reasons and motives should be duly weighed ; and it is but fair to add, that nothing has yet occurred to impeach or call into question the policy of the arrangement effected by his agency.

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the terms granted, or the manner of accomplishing the end, no one ever for a moment doubted the advantages resulting from the actual possession of the ex-Pêshwa's person. The effect produced on the minds of the native population, by his progress in the character of an exile through Malwa, so lately the territory of his nominal dependents and feudatories, is hardly to be

described. It appeared to make the same impression upon high and low, and was considered by all as the consummation of the national downfall, and the final dissolution of the Mahratta Confederacy, beyond hope of renovation. Nor was the generosity of the victors the least imposing part of the scene. The strong only can afford to be merciful and generous ; and what greater proof could be offered of the power and magnanimity of the British nation, than the quiet march of the vanquished prince to the place of his honourable retreat, escorted by his still remaining adherents, and treated with every attention due to fallen greatness ?

Bajee Rao joined the British camp with a force of from 4 to 5000 horse, and about 3000 infantry, of whom 1200 were Arabs, whose numbers were afterwards increased to near 2000, by the juncture of detached parties left to guard the passes in the hills. The Vinshorekur and the widow of Gokla resolved to accompany their late master to Hindoostan. The remainder of his vassals either deserted him immediately upon his submission, or fell off one by one in the course of his march to the Nerbudda, whither he had proceeded in company with General Malcolm's division, and escorted by a large body of Mahrattas and Arabs, whom he seemed for some time unwilling to dismiss, as if still fondly clinging to the shadow of departed power. The General, though not altogether satisfied with the continued presence of this lawless soldiery, was loath to disturb by harsh interference the last moments of intercourse between a fallen Prince and his yet faithful adherents ; and experience led him to expect, that their numbers would gradually diminish on the march. It was not long before the mutinous spirit of these disorderly retainers, and their tumultuous demands for their arrears of pay, compelled the ex-Pêshwa to resort to the protection and friendly mediation of the British commander, whose firmness and conciliatory justice soon relieved him from danger,

and dismissed them equally grateful for his clemency and content with his award. From the banks of the Nerbudda, the captive proceeded with a train reduced to little more than 600 horse and 200 infantry, every day more reconciled to his condition, and more inclined to regard his protector with deference and confidence.

Ram-Deen, who had since the peace of Mundisâ deserted the standard of the Holkar, under which he had gained a principal command, and joined the Pêshwa with the aid of his army, submitted at the same time, upon a promise of pardon for his rebellion. Trimbukjee also was very solicited to obtain terms, but found the Brigadier-General inflexible in demanding his surrender as a prisoner, with a bare stipulation that his life should be spared, and some prospect of ultimate pardon at some future period, when tranquillity should have been completely restored. On these terms he refused to submit. Brigadier-General Doveton had on the 3d of June sent out a detachment to attack his camp; but, as it had marched by a route leading under the walls of Aseergunth, and the Killadar, though written to, refused a free passage, and opened his fire on the troops as they approached, the attack by that route was abandoned; and, before arrangements could be made to assail him by another road, he had disappeared with his followers.

Thus was the war in this quarter brought to a happy termination; for neither Trimbukjee nor any other of the sirdars attempted again to rally the dispersed forces of Bajee Rao, or longer to keep the field. A few Arabs, however, went off to the eastward in quest of Appa Sahab, and in their way* pos-

* On the 18th of July, Captain Sparkes, then at Rytoor, heard of some Arabs having entered his district; when, immediately collecting his detachments, he set off in quest of them. His force consisted of but 107 fighting men of the 2d-10th Bengal native infantry. On the 20th, near Mooltaya, he fell in with about 1500 Arabs and a body of horse, who surrounded him on all sides as soon as the action

sessed themselves of Mooltaya, and overpowered a detachment of two companies gallantly led against them by Captain Sparkes, the officer in civil charge of the district. The residue of the Mahratta host returned quietly to their homes; among the rest Trimbukjee, who for some time endeavoured to secrete himself in the villages lately subject to his influence; but Mr. Elphinstone succeeded in effecting his seizure in the course of the following month, when he was remanded to Tannah, the place of his former confinement, and has since been ordered round to Bengal, where it is proposed to confine him in the fort of Chunar. To inflict capital punishment on him was deemed an act of unjust rigour, as the escape was no aggravation* of the original offence, for which he had only been sentenced to imprisonment for life. Besides, the subsequent conduct of his then master had afforded pretty strong evidence of his participation in the Sastree's murder.

Throughout the whole of the late dominions of Bajee Rao, there was henceforward not one of his officers, who ventured to keep the field in opposition to the British authority. The last vestige of open hostility had been destroyed in the affair of

commenced. Nevertheless, he made good for several hours a position he took up in haste, repelling three different charges of the enemy. At last, having driven them back a fourth time, he was following to secure a better position about fifty yards off, when he was shot dead. The Soobadar who succeeded to the command, for there was no other European officer present, met the same fate immediately after; when the whole detachment was cut to pieces, with the exception of nine men only, who were behind in charge of the baggage. A strong body of troops was immediately sent down from Hôshungabad by Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, the advanced guard of which, under Lieutenant Ker of the 7th cavalry, a very promising officer, who has since fallen a victim to the climate, enticed the Arabs from the fortified town by a judicious feint, and then turning upon them, made them suffer severely. They were soon afterwards driven out of the district, and confined to the inaccessible parts of the Mohadeo hills.

* The laws of England treat it as such; but they are at variance in this particular with justice and common sense.

Solapoor. Neither was there, by the close of May, a single fortified place that still held out, excepting a few strong holds in Kandêsh, obstinately defended by the Arab garrisons. Ry-gurh, where Bajee Rao had placed his wife for safety, surrendered to Lieutenant-Colonel Prother in the course of that month. The wife was treated with every possible consideration, and allowed one of the palaces of the deposed Prince for her residence, until an opportunity offered of sending her to rejoin her husband at his place of exile.

The rapidity and apparent ease, with which the British rule was established over a country of so much natural strength and difficulty, as that composing the late dominion of the Pêshwas, must excite astonishment in European readers; more especially when the inimical spirit, testified by all ranks at the opening of the war, is taken into the account. Some of the causes, which had produced this important revolution in the minds of the natives of India, have already been hinted at in the relation of the different events as they occurred, and the mode in which they were turned to advantage. It may be useful, however, to give in this place a general summary of the course of policy pursued by Mr. Elphinstone throughout the transactions we have now brought to a close, in order that the merit of his services may be more justly estimated.

At the time when Bajee Rao's concealed enmity broke forth into an open rupture, there was scarcely an individual from one end of his dominions to the other, that did not confidently reckon upon our being driven entirely out of the country. Even our warmest well-wishers apprehended the probability of this result: consequently, either from hope or from fear, every one assumed the appearance of hostility. The two affairs of Poona, though they had helped to confirm the confidence of our own troops, were not sufficiently decisive to destroy the impression so universally entertained of our relative inferiority.

The two succeeding months passed without yielding any more decisive occurrence; and, though Bajee Rao was all the while little better than a fugitive, still, as that character accorded well enough with the policy and military habits of the Mahrattas, and as the enemy had suffered no material loss, our superiority in the field was scarcely yet admitted.

While this feeling was still prevalent, Mr. Elphinstone received instructions to occupy the whole of Bajee Rao's dominions on behalf of the British authorities, and found himself nominated sole commissioner for the execution of this bold measure. Brigadier-General Munro, who had already begun to operate against the southern territories of the Pêshwa, was anxious to expedite the avowal of the intentions of the British Government, thinking the assurance of never again experiencing the tyranny of Mahratta misrule would be of the best consequence. And doubtless, in that part of the country adjoining to our own frontier, where the people were in the habit of comparing their relative condition under the two governments, and were familiarised to the estimate of their relative strength, the step would have been attended with great advantage. Mr. Elphinstone, however, feared that our power was not yet sufficiently known and respected in the other and more remote quarters of Bajee Rao's dominions; and that, before the population should have good cause to anticipate our ultimate success in the war, the national spirit would probably but take fire at the arrogant presumption of an open declaration of the design to assume the whole sovereignty to ourselves.

Impressed with this conviction, he determined to observe the utmost secrecy, until time and the march of events should have worked a revolution in the prevailing sentiment towards us. The first indication of our real views was exhibited on the fall of Suttara, when Mr. Elphinstone issued the manifesto noticed in the progress of the narrative; but the commissioner,

in order more accurately to mark the effect that should be produced by this avowal of our intentions upon the minds of the Mahratta population, at first circulated his *exposé* with great caution, and affected to make the communication a matter of individual confidence. Even after the capture of that fortress, doubt as to the result of the war was still the prevalent feeling, and the explanation of our views was consequently listened to with comparative indifference. The Mahratta Prince was still much too powerful for any class to divest itself of apprehension of the consequences of declaring against him, the more especially as he had already made several severe examples. His defeat at Ashtee, accompanied as that disaster was by the death of Gokla, his only military commander of repute, and followed by the deliverance of the Suttara family, produced at once the desired change in the popular mind. The Peshwa's approximate downfall was now universally predicted, and all not actively embarked with him looked upon his power as already extinct. The desire of his favour and the fear of his resentment were thenceforward alike discarded; and what was to follow on the establishment of our ascendancy, became the natural object of public curiosity. The manifesto was now sought for and read with avidity: copies were made and circulated by the natives of every class; and the declarations and assurances it contained became the general topic of conversation. This was exactly the disposition that the commissioner had desired to see excited; and he resolved to allow it full swing, in the confidence, that the terms of his *exposé* were calculated to satisfy all ranks of life; and that his own reputation, and that of the government he served, would prevent the least doubt being entertained of its sincerity. The immunities held out gave contentment to every one, and the resolution to submit was cheerfully and promptly embraced. The rapidity of our subsequent successes was at once the cause and the effect of the

rapid diffusion of this sense of security, and of the conduct naturally resulting from it.

Borne along by the impulse thus excited, the British influence and authority spread over the land with magical celerity. Applications to be received within the pale of our dominion came pouring in faster than civil officers could be provided for the administration of the districts that sued for our sway, and long before the means of military protection could be furnished from our inadequate regular establishments. The most impregnable holds opened their gates as we have already seen, and not unfrequently before they were summoned; nor could the casual possessors urge any claim to consideration for the early surrender, since the submission was so general. It was the commissioner's peculiar merit to have taken advantage of the precise moment, when the tide of popular feeling, which flowed strong against him at the opening of the campaign, had expended its force, and to have made such use of the reflux, as to have arrived at the point of his hopes before it had again reached the flood. It will be necessary to trace more minutely the effect of the commissioner's measures on the several classes of Mahratta society, all of which he ultimately succeeded in reconciling to the new form of government.

In India, the terms rent and revenue are so nearly synonymous, that the distinction of payers and receivers of revenue affords a pretty complete classification of the mass of population. The former class throughout the Peshwa's dominions, though Hindoos by race and in religious tenets, were very partially of the Mahratta nation; and having experienced that most odious form of fiscal extortion, the farming system under the administration of Brahmins* and Mahrattas, needed only the assurance

* It has frequently been remarked, that a Hindoo is always a more avaricious and pitiless extortioner than a Moosulman. Great subtleness, unwearied patience, and a never satiated desire of accumulation, distinguish the Hindoo all over India;

of future protection to throw off at once the yoke under which they groaned. To change it for any that promised to be lighter, was to them a most desirable occurrence. Mr. Elphinstone's proclamation gave them the guarantee of a direct resort on all occasions to British officers, the promise of remissions of tribute on account of military ravage, of protection and equal justice for the future, and, what was a greater boon than all, a guarantee that they should never again be delivered over to Mahratta pillage or extortion. The effect of these assurances was perceptible in the immediate change of demeanor in the cultivating class, who had no sooner lost all apprehension from the vengeance of Bajee Rao than they withheld the revenue from his delegates, expelled his officers, and voluntarily brought the rents and produce of their villages and towns into the British treasuries.

To give confidence and contentment to the payers of revenue, was perhaps the easiest part of the commissioner's duties. It was a far more difficult task, to procure a recognition of the new order of things from those, who enjoyed the benefits of the existing system—men of large hopes and expectations, whose wealth, influence, and education, placed superior means of obstruction at their disposal. The receivers of revenue or rent were of two classes; the religious, which, under the Brahminical government of the Peshwas, had engrossed vast possessions, considerably increased of late by the superstitious personal character of the Prince; and the military and official, at the head of which stood the jageerdars and ancient Mahratta families.

To conciliate the religious orders was a very material object. Accordingly, the commissioner's manifesto expressly set forth the murder of Gungadhur Sastree, a Brahmin of the highest

while there is a love of ease and a heedlessness of the future, which give a liberal cast to the character of the Moosulman. The latter also is fond of popularity, and frequently regards name beyond wealth.

caste, as the original cause of the breach that had taken place between the British Government and the Mahratta sovereign; and held out a distinct assurance, that all existing establishments for religious purposes should be maintained, and all endowments, grants, or assignments made before the war, be held inviolate. To increase the effect of these public professions, Mr. Elphinstone took the earliest opportunity, after the battle of Ashtee, to repair in person to Wye, a place of high repute for Hindoo sanctity, whither the principal Brāhmīns and several moderate men, who desired to stand aloof from the contest, were known to have retired. There he convoked a general assembly, and repeated verbally before them the assurances contained in his *exposé*, so as to leave all minds satisfied of the sincerity of the intentions of the British Government towards them, and content with the concessions to the interest of the religious orders. A similar meeting was afterwards convened for the same purpose at Poona; and both there and at Wye presents were distributed with a liberality, which was intended as some sort of compensation to the class for the loss of that indiscriminate bounty, with which the Pêshwas were wont to lavish gifts and largesses at festivals and on other occasions of rejoicing. The present expense of this measure was doubtless considerable; but it produced a favourable disposition, or at least served to stifle the jealousy of a powerful body, whose neutrality more than repaid the sacrifice.

The military and official class, which can hardly be considered separately in a Mahratta community, in the shape of jageers and military tenures, had appropriated upwards of one half of the ordinary revenue of the whole territory. It yet remained to reconcile this important body to the new order of things.

The re-establishment of the Suttara Raja, in the very seat of the ancient power and splendour of his race, was well adapted to reconcile the older Mahratta families to the annihilation of

the more recent title and authority of Pêshwa. It had the further effect of rendering the cause of Bajee Rao rather a personal than a national one; more especially as the commissioner's manifesto contained the promise to all, who might submit within two months of its date*, of enjoying in perpetuity, under British guarantee, whatever lands they might at the time be possessed of. Hence the great families saw, that they had themselves nothing at stake, so they did but stand aloof or withdraw from the scene of action, while Bajee Rao on one hand and the British on the other were contending for the mastery. Besides, there were amongst the jageerdars many, who were indebted to the very guarantee now proffered for what they actually held, and none but what were well able to appreciate the value of the offer, and to set the superior security of property it afforded in comparison with the capricious duration of a despot's favor. To these motives are to be referred the frequent submissions of the great families, that we have had occasion to record as having been tendered immediately after the battle of Ashtee. The fear of forfeiting their lands to the victors then began to exceed their apprehension of Bajee Rao's vengeance, and quickened the determination of the generality. But the indigent of the military class were not to be won over by the same motives; for they had nothing to lose. Many of the old families too, from pride or from principle, resolved still to share the fortunes of their prince. Wherefore, until the spirit of military adventure should have been subdued by a more lively fear than had yet been created, nothing could be hoped, while every thing was to be apprehended from the jealousy, with which it was natural the new order of things should be regarded by those, who suffered in the change. This object was fortunately accomplished to the utmost extent that could be desired, by the result of the two affairs of Soonee and Solapoor. The fugitives from both returned

* 12th of February. The term expired five days before the rout of Soonee.

humbled to their homes, and showed in all their acts, that their minds were prepared for ever to abandon their calling with all its ambitious hopes and vicissitudes, or to be content with the moderate provision allotted to those who accepted employment in our Sebundee establishment. As an act of policy, the levies of men for this force were carried to a considerable extent, in order to furnish the means of livelihood to many that must else have been left wholly destitute. Nor, indeed, could their services have been well dispensed with; for the regular army was unequal even to furnish garrisons for the forts reduced, much less was it in a condition to provide detachments for the duties of internal administration. By denouncing and rigorously enforcing the penalty of instant military execution to all persons guilty of plundering on their return, and at the same time declaring every one's home to be a secure retreat to such as sought it with peaceable intentions, the late dominions of the Peshwa were, immediately on their subjugation, preserved in as perfect tranquillity, as in a season of profound peace. No small credit is due for the complete attainment of this object, considering the vast influx of military rabble, that followed the rout of the Mahratta army at Soonee, and the distressed circumstances in which all returned from the field. Previous orders had been issued to note the names of all the runagates, but to leave them unmolested, unless guilty of excess; and proclamation had been made to the same effect. Thus, for their own security, it became a matter of scrupulous caution with the fugitives, to avoid rendering themselves obnoxious to the penalty. It deserves to be recorded, that a comparison of the excesses, which followed the dissolution of the Peshwa's tumultuary host, with those incident to a large and sudden reduction of the troops of an European state, on the conclusion of a peace or other similar occasion, would even have exhibited a result in favour of the Indian executive.

Such were the measures adopted for the reclamation of the military classes; and their minds had been so impressed with awe, as well by the forecast of arrangement with which they had found themselves encountered at every step, as by the astonishing successes obtained from them by mere handfuls of disciplined troops, that, even before the knowledge of Bajee Rao's personal submission, the most sanguine and presumptuous had become sensible of the impotence of their utmost efforts, and were well prepared to take the law from our dictation.

Of the mercantile class, as forming a distinct interest and a constituent part of the population of Bajee Rao's dominions, we have taken no account, because in fact the *buneeas* of India, though many of them absolutely rolling in wealth, are rather a despised caste, little remarkable for public spirit on any occasion, occupied in the exclusive pursuit of sordid and selfish gain, possessed of no influence beyond the walls of the populous towns, and even there generally subservient to the government of the passing hour. The security of property and of public credit, universally attendant on the introduction of the British authority, probably made them rather wish for our establishment, and secured their limited good offices in our favour: but Bajee Rao also had a strong party amongst them; as indeed might any one else have had, who possessed but the means of purchasing their services.

These details of Mr. Elphinstone's general plan for the settlement of the conquered dominions of the Pêshwa, have a very partial application to the province of Kandêsh. The greater part of this district had been usurped by Arab colonists, who could hardly be expected to be influenced by the motives of submission, that had operated so extensively upon the Mahratta inhabitants. Fortunately, the Arabs had proved tyrants in the exercise of their usurped authority, and the body of the people were consequently desirous of shaking them off; at the same

time, they were not sufficiently numerous to hope successfully to cope single handed with the British power. The condition of submission offered to them by our policy was, however, nothing short of retransportation to their native wilds of Arabia; and, as this involved the sacrifice at once of all their past acquisitions, and of all their future prospects, the intrusive race was driven to desperation, and resolved to defend their possession to the last. The Arabs of Kandêsh were undoubtedly no better than lawless buccaneers, equally incapable of regular military discipline, or of systematic political subordination; their expulsion was, therefore, a matter of absolute necessity. Accordingly, Captain Briggs, when he commenced the work of reducing the province, declared by proclamation, that such were the only terms, upon which the military of the Arab nation could be allowed to capitulate. He offered, however, that the British Government should be at the expense of their transport back to Arabia, and of discharging any actual arrears of pay.

With these views towards the intrusive Arabs, though guided in respect to the rest of the population by the principles so successfully acted upon by Mr. Elphinstone, the subjugation of Kandêsh was undertaken about the middle of May. As the divisions of Brigadier-Generals Doveton and Smith were then both employed in the pursuit of Bajee Rao, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal's force of about 1100 firelocks, and the garrisons of Talnér and Sindwa, were the only regular troops immediately applicable to the service. The Arabs had concentrated their force at Malugâon, a fort of more than ordinary strength; and Captain Briggs, conceiving that he had established an understanding with part of the garrison through Raja Bahadur, late jageerdar of the place, until its forcible occupation by the Arabs, who now held him in a kind of thralldom, resolved to make his first attack upon this point. On the 15th of May, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal approached within five miles of Malugâon;

Raja Bahadur now represented, that the Arabs in the fort were well disposed, and desired the aid of our troops to overawe those in the Petta, for which purpose he pointed out a position between the two for the detachment to occupy. Captain Briggs was inclined to place confidence in these professions of the Raja; but Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal suggested, that, before taking up so hazardous a position, the fidelity of the garrison in the fort should be put to the test, by demanding the admission of a few companies of our troops. The demand was made and rejected with scorn, as was also the offer of arrears, together with an advance for subsistence until such time as the Arabs might reach their native country. Indeed, it was soon found, that preparations had been made for a most obstinate defence, and that the siege would require the utmost exertion of courage as well as science to ensure success.

The engineers broke ground at night-fall on the 18th of May, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal having disposed two-thirds of his force in working and covering parties, in the hope of completing two batteries in the course of the night. The arrangements for this purpose were, however, no sooner completed, than a vigorous sally was made from the fort. Malugaon is situated on the Moosee, just above its confluence with the Gyrna. The ground chosen by the engineers was on the opposite bank of the Moosee, and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal gave orders to his covering parties, not to fire a shot until the enemy should have crossed the river. Immediately, therefore, that the firing began, Colonel M'Dowal, perceiving the determined nature of the attack, ordered down the whole of the troops that remained in camp to support the covering parties. Major Andrews, with a few men of the Madras European regiment, was the first to arrive on the scene of action. He found the Arabs within twenty paces of the working party, driving our advanced posts in before them. He was fortunate in being able to check their further progress,

and ultimately to rally the covering parties and drive the enemy back with considerable loss : the Major, however, himself received a shot through the shoulder ; while Lieutenant Davis, the senior engineer, who hastened forward on the alarm with a party from the trenches, was shot dead by the Arabs in their retreat. In him the service lost one of the most distinguished officers of the Madras establishment : though young in rank, he had seen more desperate service than had fallen to the lot of most colonels*. The besiegers had altogether twenty-one killed and wounded by this sally, chiefly of the European regiment. Notwithstanding this attempt to interrupt their operations, the work was completed according to the original intention ; and, in the course of the night, two batteries were thrown up within 500 yards of the fort.

However, after this sample of the opposition he was to expect, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal summoned to his aid every reinforcement he could procure, and thus collected from different quarters about 600 more infantry, and 500 irregular horse from Hindoostan, who had joined before the 23d of May. By the 28th of the month, the breach in the curtain of the fort appeared to be practicable, and the defence, as well of the rampart as of a *fausse-braye* at its foot, seemed for the most part to be destroyed. At the same time, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal found his ammunition on the point of failing, which determined him to try the chance of an assault. The exact nature of the defences of the ditch and those of the covered way beyond it were not known ; but all that was visible above the glacis had been levelled by our fire. Under these circumstances, a few

* He had accompanied Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie into the fort of Vellore during the mutiny there, and was particularly distinguished for the cool intrepidity, with which from the top of the gateway he let fall a plummet, to ascertain the exact situation of the fastening, in order to be sure of the direction of his fire, when the galloper should arrive with which it was intended to blow open the gate.

remaining shells, that had been especially reserved to the last for this purpose, were thrown in to clear the breach, and the troops advanced to the assault at daybreak on the 29th of May. They were led by the surviving engineer officer, Ensign Nattes, followed by a party of sappers and miners, each carrying a bundle of wet grass to fill up the ditch if necessary. On arriving at the verge of the outwork beyond the ditch, it was found, that the rubbish of a low wall that had stood there had carefully been removed, and that beyond it the Arabs had dug a trench so deep, that it was impossible to descend from the glacis. Ensign Nattes was killed on its verge, while in the act of pronouncing the word "impracticable." The troops were, however, unwilling to desist; but Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal, finding that the breach had further been cut off from the works on either side, and that loopholed traverses had been erected to bear right upon it from within, while the trench above described made the attempt to pass forward hopeless, recalled the storming party, but not till Major Greenhill, the officer in command, and three other officers, had been wounded, and the engineer abovementioned killed. A simultaneous attack, made on the Petta by a party led by Lieutenant-Colonel Matthew Stewart, was completely successful, the place being carried sword in hand.

Upon this failure, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal, having expended all his ammunition, and being determined nevertheless not to move from before the place till its fall, turned the siege into a blockade, and solicited further reinforcements, especially of artillery, from all quarters.

Brigadier-General Smith had by this time returned to Seroor, with the greater part of the light force he had carried eastward in pursuit of Bajee Rao. He immediately ordered off an additional train and a fresh supply of stores from the depôt at Ahmednugurh, accompanied by a strong reinforcement of Europeans, and a native battalion under the command of Major

Watson. The convoy arrived on the 9th of June, up to which date little had been done since the failure of the assault, except that three mines had been commenced from the Petta; but, as the fort was built on a rock foundation, that plan of attack was abandoned. By the 11th of June, a battery of five heavy mortars and four howitzers was completed, and opened its fire at day-break. The besiegers had discovered the situation of the principal magazine; and, in the course of the day, upwards of 300 shells were thrown principally in that direction, by which means it was at length fired, and exploded with a tremendous crash, blowing about thirty feet of the curtain outwards into the ditch, and at the same destroying and wounding many of the garrison.

The Arabs now found their situation hopeless. Fearing that a longer resistance would bring on them a similar fate to what their comrades had met with at Talnér, they sent two jemadars on the morning of the 12th of June, to ask on what terms they would be admitted to surrender. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal replied, at discretion, for other terms could not now be granted. The jemadars returned; and, on the morning of the 13th, Ubdool Kadur, the principal of the Arab chiefs, came out and declared, that the garrison were prepared to surrender at discretion, but urgently solicited a written assurance that their lives should be spared. These freebooters had no accurate conception of the meaning attached, by the usages of European warfare, to the term surrender at discretion; and the recent occurrence at Talnér had made them yet more suspicious and distrustful than before. Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowal, therefore, out of consideration for this feeling, declared his readiness to give the written assurance of their lives being safe; and, in order further to encourage them, engaged that they should be well treated. By some mistake, however, the Mahratta Moon-shee, who received orders to write a letter to this effect, used expressions capable of a much more extensive interpretation

than was intended; promising to do "whatever was most advantageous for the garrison; that letters should be written regarding the pay; that the British Government should be at the expense of feeding and recovering the sick; and that the Arabs should not want any thing till they reached the places where they wished to go:" this latter expression being a mistake for "where it was intended to send them." Ubdoool Kadur, having obtained this written paper, marched out on the morning of the 14th with the survivors of the garrison, 300 Arabs and about sixty Hindoostanees, when the whole laid down their arms on the glacis, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The Lieutenant-Colonel now wished to transfer his prisoners to the political agent, Captain Briggs, with a view to their transportation back to their native country; but that officer, conceiving the terms of the written letter not to warrant such treatment of the garrison, declined to take charge of them. Colonel M'Dowal declared the letter to have conveyed a mere assurance of clemency after compliance with his terms, which were, surrender at discretion; that, consequently, it ought not and was never intended to limit the right of disposing of the prisoners according to the original conditions. The point was, however, referred to Mr. Elphinstone, who determined to allow the Arabs the utmost advantage they could be entitled to, by the most favourable construction of the terms of the letter; and, as there was a kind of a promise of good offices for the recovery of the pay due to the garrison, as well as an expression admitting of a construction, that they were to go where they wished, he ordered the whole arrears to be paid up to them from the Government treasury, and that they should immediately be released, and furnished with a safe conduct, and money to supply their wants, till they reached any place they might prefer to retire to.

The capture of Malugáon was the last operation of any con-

sequence in the territories of Bajee Rao. The rest of Kandēsh submitted with little resistance; and the disposition of troops for the maintenance of order, and for the immediate punishment of any insurrectionary attempt or other interruption of the public tranquillity, became the only remaining requisite for the complete settlement of the country. The province of Kandēsh continued, however, for some time to be the scene of more disturbance, than was experienced in other parts of the Pēshwa's late dominions; which was partly owing to the clashing of the various Mahratta authorities anterior to the establishment of our influence, which had brought the province to the lowest possible pitch of disorganisation, and partly to Sindheea's continued retention of his former interest within it. But an arrangement is now in progress, by which it is hoped to remedy this latter inconvenience.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GENERAL RESULT.

Objects of this chapter—political result—Dukhun—Suttara Raja—Bhoosla—Nizam—Hindoostan—Holkar—Nuwab of Bhopál—Ameer Khan—Ghufoor Khan—Reflections—Rajpoot princes—Kota—peculiarity in the treaty—Joudhpoor—Oodeepoor—Captain Tod's arrangements—convention of Thakoors—and constitution fixed—Boondee—Bhikaneer—Jesulmeer—Jypoor—indecision—treaty concluded—State of Jypoor—plan for its settlement—Raja's death—New military posts in Hindoostan—Sindhessa—His present condition—external relations—internal government—how remedied—Auxiliary horse—Fate of sirdars—Baptiste—Bapoo Sindhessa—Effect of their ruin—Probable issue—General reflections—Financial result—character of Indian revenue—Financial condition in 1814—in subsequent years—Result up to 1818—Home supplies—Value of territorial acquisitions—Comparative view—Home territorial charges explained—General reflections.

WE have now arrived at the close of the narrative of the important military transactions, that occupied the season of 1817-18. But the account, which it has thus been attempted to give of what passed in that eventful season, would obviously be incomplete, were it to end here, without entering upon the more difficult, though necessary task, of presenting a summary of the political state, that has resulted to India from the widely extended operations above described; nor is it to be expected, that the public of England will rest satisfied, without a short statement of the financial advantages, that have accrued to the nation from the successful exertions of its Indian servants. To bring these two important subjects distinctly under view will be the business of this concluding chapter.

Before we notice the general outlines of the new political condition, in which India has been left by the events of the campaign, it will be necessary shortly to recapitulate, in the first place, the arrangements made with the greater powers, with whom the course of affairs successively embroiled us, and afterwards to take a similar notice of the minor transactions of a political nature, which have been purposely reserved to be brought together in one view, on the eve of the termination of our narrative.

The whole of the Pêshwa's late dominions are now incorporated with the former conquests of the British nation, excepting that part allotted to form a dependent sovereignty for the Raja of Suttara. The territory assigned for that purpose lies within the following limits: the great range of western Ghâts on the west, the Warner and Kishna rivers to the south, the Neera and Bheema to the north, and the frontier of the Nizam's dominions to the east. Of this territory, lands to the value of about 17 lack rupees per annum are still held in Jageer by the old feudatories of the Pêshwa, whose allegiance and obligations of service have been transferred to the British Government. The net resources of the Raja, therefore, cannot be regarded as beyond 15 or 16 lack, a revenue, which is far too little to confer much political influence or consideration. The chief claim of the Raja to be dealt with as a distinct political interest must arise from the recollection, still fondly cherished by the Mahrattas, of the former splendour of the family, and from the respect, which long custom may still attach to its offices and employments, notwithstanding the inadequate and economical scale of its establishment under the present system.

The personal character of the Raja, Noor Nerayun, is represented to be not deficient in natural acuteness, though, from youth and the defects of education, utterly devoid of all

substantial knowledge, and as ignorant of business and of the world, as well versed in the outward forms and ceremonials of royalty. The country designed for his principality was in the first instance occupied directly by the British authorities, and Captain Grant was appointed by Mr. Elphinstone to superintend its administration, on the same principles as were observed throughout the territory permanently assumed to ourselves. This arrangement will continue until the country becomes more tranquil and settled ; when the transfer will be made by degrees, according as the Raja's character and competence for such a trust may unfold themselves, and justify the reposal of such a confidence in him. In the mean time, the revenues are carefully brought to the account of the Suttara Government ; nor do the British authorities interfere with the domestic concerns of the Raja, or his disposal of the surplus after defraying the charges of management, and of some indispensable establishments.

Such is the character of the state, that now occupies, in the political horizon, the space so lately filled by the mischievous court of Bajee Rao. The Mahratta families undoubtedly still look up in some degree to the Suttara Raja as their legitimate and hereditary superior ; but their entire independence of the family has been secured, by transferring the obligations of allegiance exclusively to the British Government. The Rajas of Suttara will, therefore, henceforward find in them rivals rather than subjects, and must eventually and rapidly sink into the rank of equals, notwithstanding the broad line of nominal distinction, that must always separate this from the rest of the Mahratta families, in the scale of rank and importance. The motives of hope and fear, the only props by which a claim of real superiority could be sustained, are not amongst the instruments of power left at the Raja's disposal.

Next to the settlement of the affairs of the Poona state, the

arrangement made with the Bhoosla is the object most worthy of consideration. The extensive sacrifices demanded of this state, upon Appa Saheb's restoration to the guddee, left to the Bhoosla little more than half of the resources he possessed before the war; and, in the internal administration of the residue, our right of direct control was made a matter of special stipulation. Upon the discovery of Appa Saheb's continued infidelity, his person was secured, and his deposition became an act of necessity. The Bhoosla state may be regarded as having been then placed at our feet a second time; nor was there any thing to prevent the Governor-General from moulding it to whatever shape might best accord with his views, to the extent even of occupying the whole for his own nation, had he been so minded. The state was, however, already sufficiently reduced for the completion of his plans, and the Marquess of Hastings, in confirming the deposition of our faithless ally, directed his successor to be seated on the guddee, without alteration of the terms, upon which Appa Saheb had been reinstated in the preceding January. His subsequent escape during his conveyance to Allahabad made no change in this determination; and, instead of delaying its execution, rendered it the more necessary to use despatch, in giving a settled form to the government, which it had been resolved to establish in his stead.

The Marquess of Hastings issued his final orders to this effect on the 18th of June; and they were carried completely into execution before the close of the month. The reader will have anticipated, that the grandson of Ragoojee Bhoosla was destined for the succession; and he was accordingly placed upon the guddee by the name of Bajee Rao Bhoosla. Buka Bae was constituted regent during the new Raja's minority, and Nerayun Pundit placed at the head of the ministry. This man was recommended by his fidelity, rather than his talents or

fitness in other respects : indeed, it was soon found, that he had neither the influence nor the habits of business necessary to conduct the public affairs in the present circumstances of difficulty ; and the impossibility of finding, amongst the more respectable of the old officers of the Nâgpoor Government, persons fitted by capacity and experience for the executive duties of the administration, led Mr. Jenkins to depart from the original plan ; and, while the present embarrassments lasted, to employ British officers in the principal departments of the state. Over these he exercised himself a general control and supervision, though in the Raja's name. The arrangement was sanctioned provisionally by the Governor-General ; but the Resident was directed to bear in mind the eventual reversion of the administration to the native authorities, and to frame all his acts with reference to that transfer. It will readily be imagined, that this anomalous form of government was not without its inconveniences ; nor would it have been adopted, had the court of Nâgpoor yielded proper materials for the formation of a respectable native ministry, whose fidelity could be relied on. However, with the view of gratifying the family of the young Raja, and giving every practicable weight and respectability to the new government, Goojaba Dada, a relation of the Bhoosla, of whom mention has before been made, and who had all along been attached to the party of Buka Bacc, was called down from Allahabad, whither he had retired to avoid the jealousy of Appa Saheb, and joined with Nerayun Pundit in the nominal administration. By this means, an efficient executive was established, which was too sensible of its dependence on the support of the British, not to co-operate heartily in the measures taken for preserving the tranquillity of the country, and in the efforts made to prevent the contagious example of insurrection, set by the Goânds of the Mohadeo hills, from spreading to other parts of the territory, equally

wild and difficult of access. Nevertheless, the influence of Appa Saheb succeeded in raising the hill country to the east of Nâgpoor, and a partial rising was likewise effected in other quarters during the season of the rains. At Kumpta, and in the Lanjhee hills, an insurrection was organised by a man of the name of Chimna Potel, little inferior in importance to that of the Mohadeo range. But some British detachments took the field from Nâgpoor, in August, notwithstanding the severity of the rainy season; and, by a series of well-combined operations, this rebellious disposition was put down before the close of September. The service was one of infinite suffering from fatigue, exposure, and unhealthiness of the climate; and there were several very brilliant exploits performed in the course of it. By the return of the cold season, resistance was confined to that portion of the hilly tract, in which Appa Saheb had first taken refuge; and intelligence has just arrived of his expulsion thence towards Aseergurh, the capture* of which strong hold, if he there should seek an asylum, will soon bring the war to an end. Yet it must not be concealed, that the whole territory of this state is still, and must long continue, in a very unsettled

* Appa Saheb did take refuge there, and the place was consequently invested about the middle of March. The Killadar, Juswunt Rao Lar, surrendered at discretion on the 9th of April; but Appa Saheb had escaped in disguise before the investiture was complete. Cheetoo was killed by a tiger in the adjoining junguls, in which he sought concealment, on being refused admittance into the fort. The particulars of this tragical death may perhaps be interesting. It appears, that Cheetoo and his son accompanied the ex-Raja in his flight from the hills; but, on their presenting themselves at the gate of Aseer, the Killadar consented to admit Appa Saheb alone, desiring the Pindarees to wait a few days. The vicinity of the fort afforded no protection to the rejected fugitives from the British detachments approaching in pursuit. The father and son consequently separated; and Cheetoo on horseback and unaccompanied, dashed through a dangerous jungul, in the hope of effecting his escape. Some days afterwards his horse was found grazing near the margin of the forest; upon him, his furniture, a bag of 250 rupees in coin, several seal rings, and some documents containing promises of reward from the ex-Raja, for services

condition; and it will require much moderation and vigilance in the executive, as well as the frequent display of our military strength, to establish a settled government in this part of the late Mahratta empire.

In order to rivet more firmly the dependence of the Nâg-poor state, the Governor-General resolved to reduce its military establishment to the lowest possible scale; and to put the contingent, that was to be the sole efficient force on its establishment, upon the footing which had been found so beneficial in the Nizam's dominions; viz. placing both horse and foot under the command and direction of British officers. The contingent was fixed at two battalions of infantry, and 3000 horse; the former to consist of natives of Hindoostan, armed, clothed, and disciplined like our regular sepoy: the horse to be raised in the country; and it was hoped, that, by leaving this field of employment open to the military class, a considerable portion would become reconciled to the new order of things. By these arrangements, the Bhoosla Raja has been reduced to a condition scarcely superior to that of the reinstated Raja of Suttara. Both princes owe their elevation to the British arms; both are young, and incapable of public business. At present, the government is virtually conducted by the British Resident, and his subordinate agents; and measures have been taken for

which Cheetoo might perform in support of his cause against the British Government. Search was immediately made for the Pindara; the track of a tiger was observed; it was followed, and some articles of dress picked up all clotted with blood. A little further on, scattered fragments of the bones of the robber, and soon afterwards the head entire, the features of which were recognised to be those of Cheetoo.

Thus perished the late formidable chief of 20,000 horse—the savage man, by his brother savage of the wilderness! an incident worthy of the brush of Salvator Rosa, and the pen of a Byron. Mahommed Punna, the son, was taken soon after leaving the gate of Aseer: a competent sum was presented to him for the interment of his father's mangled remains.

the avowed purpose of perpetuating the political dependence of both. If there be security for the public tranquillity of this district in any system, we may, therefore, surely place confidence in one, which has established our direct authority over one half of the country, and invested us with all the real power and influence over the other. The public may already be congratulated on the successful trial of this system in the territories of the Poona state; and, but for the disturbance that has necessarily resulted from Appa Saheb's being still at large, a similar degree of quiet might have been enjoyed by the subjects of the Bhoosla.

With the other powers of the Dukhun, the political relations of the British have remained unaltered. With the Nizam's Government there has never arisen a subject of discussion, since the confinement of the refractory princes in Golkonda. The power of this state is daily settling more and more in the hands of the British party, at the head of which is Raja Chundoo Lâl; while the apathy of the Nizam himself is gradually increasing. The territories of this prince are as ill governed as any portion of India, scarcely even excepting those of Doulut Rao Sindheea; and although the efficiency, which the introduction of British officers has given to its military establishments, has doubtless contributed to the maintenance of public order, it has yet afforded a very inadequate remedy for the gross abuses and corruptions of the civil administration, in respect to which the British Government has, through motives of delicacy, abstained from all direct control or interference.

So much for the Dukhun. We must now turn our attention to the political changes effected on the side of Hindoostan, and the grounds, on which it is confidently hoped, that the annihilation of the habits of predatory adventure will follow, as a natural result of our late operations in that quarter.

Northward of the Nerbudda, the country which had so long

been a prey to military despotism, or rather license and anarchy, has now been parcelled out among a number of chiefs, of whom all but Sindheea hold their lands of the British Government, under the direct obligation either of feudatory or of tributary dependence. Even the proud court of the Holkar has fallen to this condition; for the contingent of 3000 horse, that it has stipulated to maintain from its remaining resources, and to hold perpetually at our disposal, can be regarded in no other light than as a feudal obligation, although the treaty of alliance with this court is nominally of a subsidiary kind. It is true, we have on our part engaged to furnish military protection to the remaining territories of the family against any hostile attempt; but, in requital for this protective engagement, we have obtained in perpetuity the cessions in the Dukhun, and those to the north of the Boondée hills, together with the assignment of all the Rajpoot tributes enjoyed by the Holkar. Nor are we tied down to the maintenance of any definite force for the purpose, or to the occupation of any specified position. The obligation is, therefore, in effect no other than that of protection by the superior lord to his feudatories; and the court of the Holkar has little pretensions to a higher political rank. In point of resources, the state has been so dismembered by the allotment to Ameer Khan, the guaranteed Jageer of Ghufloor Khan, and the absolute cessions to ourselves and to our staunch allies of Kota and Boondée, that 20 lack may be assumed as the very utmost revenue remaining to Mulhar Rao. The court has been induced to abandon the martial custom of residing in a camp, and to fix upon Indore for its future seat of government. The territory, though still greatly interwoven with that of Sindheea, is fast recovering under the orderly government of Tanteea Jog, backed by the weight and influence of the British Resident and of Sir John Malcolm, who still continues invested with the general political superintendence of affairs in that quarter of

India. The treaty of Mundisôr, concluded by Sir John Malcolm with Tanteea Jog on the 16th of January, and ratified by the Marquess of Hastings on the 17th of that month, is the basis on which the present relations of this court are founded; and, except in the subsequent arbitration of some disputed points with Sindheea, and in the adjustment of the frontier towards Boondee, with some few other matters of inferior importance, that treaty has sufficed for the tranquil settlement of its affairs.

Next to the Holkar, the most considerable military chief, under the late settlement, is the Nuwab of Bhopál. It has been mentioned, that, before the troops crossed the Nerbudda in the month of November, the Nuwab signed a preliminary engagement, binding himself to the conditions, on which the Governor-General had signified his consent to admit his father within the circle of protection; and that, during the whole operations, he furnished the contingent required of him, and heartily exerted himself in the cause. As a reward for the cordiality displayed by the Nuwab, the Punj-Muhal of Ashta Ichawar, &c. along with some other lands parcel of the Vinshorekur's forfeited jageer, and whence the Pindarees had expelled his people, were, on their final dislodgement, annexed to Bhopál, whose boundary was by this addition advanced westward as far as the Kalee Sindh. A part of Shujawulpoor was subsequently added, and Islamnagurh was obtained from Sindheea in his favour by the way of negotiation. The principality was thus placed on a most respectable footing. The definitive engagement, which permanently fixed the relations of the Nuwab, was concluded at Bhopál on the 26th of January 1818, and ratified by the Governor-General on the 8th of March following. The contingent he stipulates to furnish is limited to 600 horse, and 400 foot; a low proportion in reference to the resources of the state, but so fixed expressly to favour the Nuwab. As a more

substantial mark of consideration, the obligation of paying tribute, in return for the protection we have engaged to afford, is waived in this instance, notwithstanding that the eventual payment of 125,000 rupees on this account was an item of the preliminary agreement, concluded with Lieutenant-Colonel Adams and Sir John Malcolm in November. Besides, the entire occupation of the Sâgur territory has rendered it expedient to station the military force, required to awe this neighbourhood, within the frontiers of that province ; by which arrangement Nuzur Mahommed is relieved from the obligation of furnishing a cantonment, and surrendering a fort to be converted into a depôt for a stationary British force within his territory, which had also been a part of his original contract.

Ameer Khan, notwithstanding the consideration he before enjoyed as the head of the Patan military, occupies now a rank secondary to the Bhopâl Nuwab. His possessions are so scattered and disconnected, that it will be long before any thing like order can be introduced into his affairs, even after he shall be relieved from his pecuniary difficulties, and from the continued importunity of his hungry troops and followers. He holds Seronj in Malwa, and Tonk on the Banas, which may be considered as his two principal possessions ; but there is scarcely a district of Rajpootana, or of the country east of the Chumbul, in which he has not some fort or assignment of lands, or some pending claim. The removal of all his thanas, or military posts, to hold in check the country he had usurped, was the first result of the treaties concluded with Jypoor and Joudhpoor. Yet he still holds some places previously obtained from those Rajas by the Holkar, and by that chief assigned to him ; for the terms of his engagement with the British Government secure to him all lands which he held by grant from the Holkar, his former master, and deprive him of such only as were the fruits of his own unauthorized predatory career. He advanced

a claim to the lands guaranteed in Jageer to Ghufloor Khan, alleging that chief to have been merely an agent or manager, set over them on his behalf; nor is it by any means improbable, that such may have been the origin of Ghufloor Khan's title; but as, in the late settlement with the Holkar, the present condition of Ghufloor Khan had introduced the stipulations for his benefit, it was not deemed advisable to be over scrupulous in tracing the origin of his title; and the Governor-General's award rejected the claim: nor would his Lordship permit the feudal allegiance, due by Ghufloor Khan, to be transferred from the Holkar to the Patan, as solicited by Ameer Khan. However, as one step towards the consolidation of this chief's possessions, Rampoorra, which had been ceded by the Holkar to ourselves, has been conferred upon him, and it is further in contemplation to invest his son with a Jageer.

There was an obvious advantage in raising the Bhopál Nuwab and these two Patan adventurers to consideration in this particular part of India, in order that they might form a counterpoise to the preponderating influence of the Hindoos, who otherwise would have been sole masters of the whole country. No doubt, there exists at present very little community of feeling between the Mahrattas and the Rajpoots; for, though both are equally of the Hindoo faith, and of the Khutree caste, they have for generations been at war with each other, and the memory of past injuries will for a long time survive the establishment of outward tranquillity. Still, as there is this common bond of union, it will not be thought an act of needless precaution to guard against the possibility of revolution, however faint or remote. It must be recollected, that these same Rajpoots were the means of leading the Mahratta to the gates of Dehlee; and their union with the Hindoos of the Dukhun it was, that drove the Moosulmans to seek the foreign aid of the Abdalees, and thus brought on the crisis, that, by their mutual destruction at

Paneeput, opened the door for a few skilful Europeans, to raise upon their ruins the fabric of that power, which now holds them all in equal thralldom.

Reserving the still unadjusted relations with Sindheea to our latest notice, we shall now proceed to detail the respective arrangements with the several Rajpoot princes.

In point of rank, the Oodeepoor Rana is entitled to the first place in our consideration, as being the descendant of the family that opposed the Emperor Akbur in the field. All the other Rajpoots regard him with the deference of acknowledged inferiority, even those that owe him no allegiance. Under our new system, however, each Raja was to be recognised as distinct from the rest, and the condition of all to be that of protected independence. It will, therefore, be most convenient to observe the order, in which the several arrangements were concluded.

It was to Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident at Dehlee, that the Governor-General intrusted the execution of his plans in relation to the Rajpoot states; and the reader has already been apprized, that, at the commencement of the campaign, he addressed a circular letter to them all, calling upon them to send agents with full powers to Dehlee, if they wished to participate in the advantages of the league about to be formed. None of them failed to send a plenipotentiary, for all were anxious to be relieved from their existing burthens and oppressions, more especially those resulting from the laxity of the Mahratta management. In those where the government was exercised with any efficiency and order, there was no difficulty experienced in settling the terms of the alliance to be formed with the British. To them it was proposed, that any tribute, demandable under a fixed agreement with a Mahratta or a Patan chief, should be paid directly into the British treasury at Dehlee, leaving us to account for it to the party to whom it might be due. This was accompanied with a tender of protection against external attack,

on the usual condition of abstaining from constructing new relations with other powers, and submitting to our arbitration of all external disputes.

The first to conclude a treaty upon this basis, was Zalim Singh Raj-Rana, or manager, of Kota, whose agent at Dehlee signed the engagement on the 26th of December, which was ratified by the Marquess of Hastings on the 6th of January following. The tribute, which this chief owed to the Mahrattas, was three lacks, reduced by admitted allowances and deductions to 257,600 rupees of the country (Goman-shahee), equal to 244,720 rupees Dehlee currency. To this were to be added 19,997 rupees Dehlee currency, due from the relations of the family, under the designation of the seven kotrees or houses; so that altogether the tribute of Kota payable at Dehlee amounted to 264,717 rupees Dehlee currency. It will not be necessary to state the particular stipulations of the protective alliance concluded with Zalim Singh, as they corresponded with those of similar engagements with the other chiefs of this class. There was, however, a peculiarity in the engagement so characteristic of the Rajpoot character, that it ought not to be omitted. The Raja of Kota is still living; but Zalim has long held him in strict *surveillance*, and in fact a prisoner in the fort of Gagroon, while he himself sways with a vigorous hand the whole power of the state. Conformably to the principle of regarding occupancy as the rule of right, the Marquess of Hastings was prepared to have concluded the treaty for Kota directly with Zalim Singh, without reference to the legitimate but captive Raja, and to have guaranteed the succession to his heirs; but the Raj-Rana himself would not hear of such a proceeding; and accordingly, at his own suggestion, the treaty has been made with the Raja Kishwur Singh, to whom and his heirs the Raj is guaranteed, but with a reservation of the powers of administration to Zalim Singh and his heirs for ever, under the title of Dewan.

Zalim, as well after the ratification, as during the negotiation of the treaty, proved a useful ally against the Pindarees, and was rewarded for his zeal by the acquisition in personal sovereignty of four pergunnas he had farmed of the Holkar, and by a very favourable consideration in the arrangements subsequently made with Sindheea, to whom he owed tribute for Shahabad, and arrears of rent for some other places held in farm of that prince.

The second in order of the Rajpoot princes to sign his engagements with the British Government, was Raja Man-Singh of Jodhpur. This prince had suffered severely from the irregular exactions of the Patans, though the Sindheea was the only power to whom he owed legitimate allegiance or tribute. The nominal amount due to that durbar was 180,000 rupees per annum, but the allowed deductions reduced it to little more than the half, viz. 97,000 rupees Dehlee currency, at which rate it was therefore fixed by the treaty. But it appeared afterwards, that a jagheer of 11,000 rupees had been reserved as a personal gratification to the British negotiator; which, though of course declined by the individual, was subsequently thrown into the scale, and swelled the amount of tribute to 108,000 rupees. The ejection of all thanas, recently placed in the country by Ameer Khan, was the first advantage reaped by the Raja from his new connexion. His signature was delivered at Dehlee on the 6th of January; and, in addition to the above tribute, the Raja engaged to furnish a contingent of 1500 horse.

Of all the Rajpoot princes, the Rana of Oodeepoor had suffered most from the usurpations of rebellious subjects, as well as from the oppressions of the Mahrattas and Patans. Indeed, he had lost nearly the whole of his dominions, and the money exactions of his oppressors were limited only by the extent of his means. His chief minister came early from Oodeepoor to settle the terms, on which his master was to be liberated from the misery

of his present situation ; and, on the 16th of January, an arrangement was concluded with this state, by the terms of which four annas in the rupee, that is to say, one quarter of the total revenue that might be realized, was agreed to be paid into the British treasury for the first five years ; after which period, six annas, or three-eighths, was to be the proportion. The same rate of three-eighths was promised upon all new acquisitions or ancient possessions recovered by our means in the intervening period. In return, we engaged to lend the aid of our influence towards restoring the Rana's affairs, which, what with external ravage, and the internal usurpations of his dependents, were now at the lowest ebb. The expulsion of the Pindarees and of Duleel Khan, a Patan, who had for some months been devastating the Oodeepoor territory, was amongst the first advantages resulting to the Rana from the alliance with the British ; and, before the end of January, the affair with Sindheea's commandant of Jawud placed at our disposal further means of befriending this state.

With a view more effectually to assist in the restoration of order to the affairs of this principality, Captain Tod, who had first been deputed to Kota to superintend the exertions of Zalim Singh against the Pindarees, and had since been employed in adjusting the affairs of Boondee, was ordered to proceed to Oodeepoor ; and, to add to the importance of his mission and increase his influence, he was made the instrument for bestowing on the Rana the fort of Kumulnèr, and other late acquisitions from Juswunt Rao Bhão. A more judicious selection of an agent could not have been made, for Captain Tod had made the character and history of the Rajpoots his peculiar study, and was consequently well qualified to execute the task assigned him. He found the Rana in the lowest degree of indigence, and at the mercy of a few designing miscreants about his person ; while the Thakoors, or feudatories, of the state maintained themselves in perfect independence, and were their master's most

formidable enemies. At Captain Tod's suggestion, and under his safe conduct, a general assembly of the Thakoors was convened, for the settlement of the future constitution of the principality. After some days' debate and unavailing discussion about immaterial points, Captain Tod, perceiving that, if left to themselves, they would come to no decision whatever, resolved himself to draw up a charter of rights, and induce the Raja to submit it for their consideration and eventual adoption. The sixteen principal Thakoors were accordingly assembled at noon on the 4th of May, when the Raja laid the plan before them; and, after a debate that lasted without intermission until three in the morning of the 5th, the following articles were agreed to, and the paper containing them signed by all present.

Art. 1. Provided, that all usurpations made by individuals upon the Rana, or upon one another, since the Sumbut year 1822 (A. D. 1766), should be mutually restored.

Art. 2. No Thakoor to continue to levy the impost known by the name of *Rahwaree Bhoom*, a kind of black mail levied as an immunity from plunder.

Art. 3. The *Dhan Biswa*, or rateable impost upon the produce of agriculture, to be the exclusive property of the Rana's government, and to be levied by no other authority.

Art. 4. The Thakoors renounce all predatory habits, and engage to harbour or protect no thieves, but to encourage trade, and leave all caravans unmolested. (This was a proviso that had become most necessary).

Art. 5. The Thakoors engage to attend on the durbar at Oodeepoor in rotation for four periods, each of three months, with their respective military followers, in order to give strength and respectability to the executive government.

Art. 6. At the Dussera of each year, a general meeting of the Thakoors to be convened for the settlement of all public affairs of magnitude; the meeting to commence ten days before

the Dussera, and not to last more than twenty days after it : but extraordinary meetings to be held on extraordinary emergencies.

Art. 7. The immediate feudatories of the prince bound to render immediate service, according to the terms by which they might respectively hold.

Art. 8. All exactions, mutual violence, and fines on dependents to cease, and every one to be regulated in his conduct by the new order of things to be established.

Art. 9. The Thakoors bound to confirm what Ajeet-Singh, the Dehlee negotiator, had agreed to.

Art. 10. The Rana vested with the executive authority, for the enforcement of obedience to the new constitution to be established.

The articles of the above settlement have been given at length, both because they are in their nature curious, and because the arrangement promises to be productive of permanent good. It has given a right direction to the national spirit, and rendered the classes most interested themselves the instruments of the introduction of the new constitution. And this work they have, in fact, since undertaken with alacrity, under the impression, that they are labouring for the restoration of the good old times of the recorded prosperity and power of Oodeepoor. The Marquess of Hastings entirely approved of the above plan of settlement ; and, in order to relieve the present exigencies of the Rana, and place the executive authority of the country on the footing necessary to ensure respect and obedience to its orders, he authorized an advance of money for present exigencies, to the extent of one or even two lack of rupees, in full confidence, that, on the establishment of order, the natural fertility of the country would make so rapid an improvement of its resources, as to afford the means of speedy repayment. Captain Tod still remains at Oodeepoor, charged with the superintendence of the settlement of affairs in that quarter ; and the utmost benefit

has already resulted from the system introduced at his suggestion. Should it eventually succeed, as there is every reason to hope it will, he will be recorded as having been the first to introduce among the natives of India the true principles of limited and constitutional authority; or at least to call again into action those principles, which, if they ever were known and practised at any former period of their history, have lain dormant so long, as to be well nigh obliterated. Perhaps in some future age, when the genius of Britain shall no longer lord it over the prostrate realms of Asia, this germ of liberal institutions of internal polity may be referred to as the commencement of a happier era in these ample regions, as the first lesson of self-government, which we shall have taught to the now slavish minds of the Hindoo race, and which may have afterwards led to the gradual diffusion of political liberty and moral improvement.

The Raja of Boondée followed next in order, and signed the arrangement proposed for his acceptance on the 10th of February. His net annual tribute, payable to the Mahrattas, amounted to 80,000 rupees: but this chief had established a claim on the gratitude of the British Government, by the fidelity and hospitality, with which he assisted Colonel Monson in his disastrous retreat in 1804. The rupture with Holkar fortunately afforded the means of bestowing a substantial proof of our grateful recognition of his good offices on that occasion: not only were all Holkar's acquisitions from the Raja recovered for him, but, in addition, the above tribute was released in perpetuity, and moreover, the restitution of Sindheea's encroachments and possessions within the Raja's frontier was obtained for him by negotiation. The town of Patun was also an object of the Raja's strong desire, and he was indulged in the hope of being gratified upon some future occasion. But his loss of this place was of too old a date to allow us to call upon the Mahrattas gratuitously to resign possession; while, as it lay below the Boondée range,

the third share enjoyed by Holkar did not fall within the cessions of the treaty of Mundisôr. This third has since been acquired for the Raja by compromise; and, should an opportunity offer, the share of Sindheea will probably be also obtained, in the ultimate arrangement with that chief.

The Raja of Bhikaneer within the desert was the next Rajpoot prince that came into the league. The treaty with him was signed on the 13th of March. The suppression of the practice of pillage, the restoration of property plundered within his territory, the obligation of paying for such British as he might require, and of rendering military aid according to his means upon our requisition, were the terms of this chief's admission within the pale of protection. He had never paid tribute, and consequently no claim was now set up on that score. The Raja of Jesulmeer was soon after received upon the like terms; as was Raja Kuluan Singh of Kishengurh in the neighbourhood of Ajemeer, a chief of minor consideration, who had also never been subjected to tribute. Arrangements with the Rajas of Doongurpoor, Purtabgurh, and other chiefs of considerable note and resources, situated to the south of Mewur, and on the frontiers of Guzerât and Malwa, were concluded under the direction of Sir John Malcolm, who had the general superintendence of political affairs in that quarter.

The alliance formed with Jypoor remains to be mentioned. Though nearest in geographical position to Dehlee, this state was the last to send negotiators; and, when they did at length arrive, they proved the most difficult to treat with. Jypoor, like Oodeepoor, owed no tribute either to Mahrattas or to Patans; but its losses from the ravages and usurpations of the latter, and from the system of depredation and anarchy pursued by its dependant Thakoors, were indefinite in extent; and the remuneration demanded for the relief, by our means, from evils so grievous, was fixed on a scale high in proportion. The nego-

tiation ultimately fell into the same hands, as had conducted the conference of 1816; but the personal indecision of the Raja was such, that the negotiators did not make their appearance at Dehlee until the middle of February; and probably even a further delay would have been experienced, had not the Raja begun to take alarm at the engagement concluded with Ameer Khan, and had not this apprehension been quickened by the approach of Sir David Ochterlony to his capital, and by a show of making terms with some of his feudatories, which threatened to detach them for ever from their allegiance. Fearing now to be left completely in the lurch, the principal people of the court were despatched to Dehlee in all haste, along with the deputation appointed to negotiate; and, after much discussion, the terms were at length agreed upon, though the treaty was not actually signed until the 2d of April. The amount of tribute was the main difficulty: fifteen lack, with remissions for the first few years, was the rate demanded by Mr. Metcalfe, as in the former negotiation of 1816. To this, however, the envoys would not agree, and tendered in lieu no more than two lack and a half. In the end, the tribute was fixed as follows: for the first year nothing; four lack for the second; five lack for the third; six, seven, and eight lack for the three next successive years; after which eight lack to be the permanent amount, liable to be increased by five-sixteenths on any excess in the revenues of the state, beyond the estimated product of forty lack rupees. The territory is large, and its resources are confidently expected to yield, under good management, not less than eighty lack; so that the agents of the Raja will have gained little, by their refusal of the fixed sum originally demanded.

To restore order to the affairs of Jypoor, was a matter of infinite difficulty. The aristocratical faction of Manjee Das had been dismissed in the preceding July, for presuming to put to death one of the Raja's favourites. Manjee Das was himself struck by

the Raja in open durbar for the act, and afterwards placed in confinement. Since then, the Prince had been surrounded by none but favourites and low dependants, amongst whom the intriguing Cheetoor Bhoj was the only man of ability, and he was a partizan of the Patan interest. In this plight Sir David Ochterlony found the court, when he went to visit the Raja in May; and, on that occasion, two favourite menials, one a eunuch, were pointed out to him as being, in conjunction with Cheetoor Bhoj, the Raja's principal ministers. The General found, that attempts had already been made to lavish on these creatures some of the first acquisitions resulting from the removal of the Thanas of Ameer Khan. He also discovered, that the Raja himself was a complete slave to the most odious vices; while the greediness and corruption of the favourites were the object of universal execration. Under these circumstances, it was deemed a necessary preliminary to any attempt to settle the affairs of this Raj, to summon a meeting of the Thakoors, similar to that which had been convened with so much judgment and good effect at Oodeepoor, in order to adjust their relations with the Raja, and establish some principles for the guidance of their future conduct. The Thakoors of Jypoor were, however, superior both in number and in relative power to those of the other Rajpoot states; insomuch as to require the exertion of military force against several, who, trusting to the great natural strength of their fortresses, presumed to oppose the arrangements effected under our mediation. The holders of Kooshalgurh and of Madhoorajpooor, or Madhoogurh, were amongst the refractory; but their strong holds were reduced without much trouble, though the latter had baffled the repeated attacks of Ameer Khan for the last two years.

The settlement of Jypoor is still in progress, under the superintendence of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, who

has lately been appointed to the Residency* of Dehlee. The Raja died in December 1818, before the settlement had been finally concluded ; and the succession is now in dispute between Man-Singh, a posthumous and alleged spurious son of the late Raja's uncle, and a distant relation of the Narwar branch of the family, placed on the Juddee in the most hurried manner, and at an immature age, by Mohun-Ram, the eunuch minister before mentioned. All parties, however, agree in leaving the matter to the award of the British Government ; and it will be one of the first blessings attendant on the establishment of its influence in this quarter, to effect a constitutional determination of this important question of right, instead of leaving it to the doubtful issue of a civil war, the immediate consequence of which must be, to give a free rein to the tumultuous spirit of the Thakoors, and annihilate all executive control throughout the territory of the state.

The relations established with the Holkar, with the Patans, of which race is the Nuwab of Bhopál, and with the Rajpoot states, form nearly the whole of what has been done to fix the political dependance of the portion of Hindoostan not included within the arrangements of 1805-6. Divisions of the British army have been stationed in the positions most likely to give efficiency to the system thus introduced. Ajiméer, an acquisition from Sindheea, received in exchange for the Winshorekur's lands on the Sindh and elsewhere, has been retained in our immediate occupation, for the especial purpose of being formed into a military post and depôt. Another new station has been fixed at Ságur ; and Mow, near Indore, has been chosen for the cantonment of the force attached to the Holkar court. Some

* Mr. Metcalfe has been called down to fill the office of Political Secretary, vacant in consequence of Mr. Adams's promotion to Council.

time must necessarily elapse, before all the claims of the several chiefs upon their respective dependents, or upon each other, can be finally arranged, if indeed they can ever be completely so; but the grand object of the campaign has been attained, by transferring all such disputes and jarring interests from the arbitrement of the sword, heretofore the sole umpire, to that of negotiation.

To a superficial observer, indeed, the apparently unaltered condition of Sindheea will occur, as presenting an insuperable obstacle to the final pacification of India; but those, who look more closely into the relations newly established, will see, that the condition of this Mahratta chieftain has undergone a very material change from what it was before the war. The first and most essential point of variation is, that he now stands single in political independence. Surrounded now on every side, by either avowed tributaries, or dependents upon our protection, he is quite as completely shackled in his external policy, as if bound by sealed contract to abstain from all dealings with his neighbours, except through our medium. Has he a claim to advance on any one of his neighbours? he dares not use the means he possesses of enforcing it; for, in so doing, he would infallibly commit an aggression on a protected ally of the British power, which, be the pretension ever so well founded, would nevertheless be resented as an act of insult and direct hostility to its authority. He has no alternative, therefore, but to lay his claim before it in the way of argument, to solicit its mediation, and abide by its award. Indeed, this effect of the extension of the British influence on all sides of him has been already experienced. Between Holkar and Sindheea there were many points in dispute, which the British Government has for some time been occupied in adjusting; and there are others still pending, for the decision of which the Gwalior Durbar is looking to the same umpirage. In like manner, we have been, and must continue

to be, the arbiters between Sindheea and Zalim Singh of Kota, with whom his Durbar has very intricate relations: so also with Boondée and other states; for there is not a single prince or chief of acknowledged territorial jurisdiction within the whole circuit of India, with whom this court is free to pursue an independent line of policy.

Wherefore, as far as regards the external policy of the Durbar of Gwalior, it is scarcely possible, that any obstacle to the permanence of the desired tranquillity should arise out of the nominal independence in which it has been left. The anarchy of its internal administration might have proved a much more fruitful source of embarrassment to our plans and arrangements for the maintenance of public peace, had not a corrective been provided for this evil also, though its operation will necessarily be but slow. Upon this subject, a little further explanation will be indispensable.

The want of order, that was generally found to prevail wherever the influence of Doulut Rao Sindheea extended, was owing, partly to the nature of his military establishment and the laxity of the subordination of its officers to the government, and of the men to their officers, and partly to the partial kind of success, that attended its tumultuary operations. After gaining possession of a fort or a district, the prior occupant was commonly left to prey upon the country with what followers he could collect or keep together; while the harassing and dangerous service of hunting down those, who had thereby been reduced to desperate courses, was by no means congenial to the habits or temper of a Mahratta army. The career of Jysingh, after he had lost his district of Ragoogurh and the other strong-holds he possessed, was a fair specimen of the mischief thus occasioned. Madhoo Singh, the expelled Raja of Narwar, was another instance. Both turned captains of predatory bands, which Sindheea had no prospect whatever of being able to suppress, with-

out a total change in his system. It was evident, that, so long as his military commanders were thus licensed themselves to commit excesses without control, in the manner they had practised heretofore, or, by their acts, to bring into existence bands of desperadoes, with no other means of maintenance than the habit of general spoliation, little approximation could be made to the establishment of universal tranquillity. The stipulations of the treaty of Gwalior will be found to contain very effectual provisions against the continuance of this evil. It will be recollected, that it was one of the articles, that British officers should be stationed with each of Sindheea's divisions, to supervise their movements; and it was left to the Governor-General to assign the positions they should respectively occupy. The object of this arrangement was, to enable us either to control the military commanders, or to bring matters at once to issue with them, if they should be so inclined. That the plan had the desired effect, the affair at Jawud is a convincing proof. There was, however, a further stipulation in the treaty, that 5000 horse should be maintained in an efficient state, and placed under the command of British officers, with our guarantee for their pay; towards securing which, Sindheea's stipend, his Rajpoot tributes, and the lands about Aseergurh and Hindia were ceded for three years, by way of indemnity for the expense. To this well-paid and well-officered force the Governor-General looked for clearing the country of all depredators by profession; and the means proved not only adequate to that end, but Sindheea has derived so much personal benefit from its disciplined exertions, that it has already become necessary to him. It has, indeed, been of the most essential service, in overawing the license of his military commanders, and enforcing the executive authority of the Durbar; on which account it is still kept afoot under British officers, though the suppression of the Pindarees, the ostensible object of its original formation, has been for some time completed.

Sindheea has always been equally anxious with ourselves, to put down the lawless independence of his Sirdars; and no sooner had the occurrences of the war checked that ambitious spirit, which is the common characteristic of all the Mahrattas, and by which he was inspired like the rest at the commencement of our military operations, than he gave into the contrary impulse, and determined to profit by the occasion to extend his personal power, and reduce or get rid of the soldiers of fortune in his service, who were in reality so many thorns in his side.

Circumstances favoured his views in this matter. Colonel Baptiste, the commander of his most effective force, took alarm at the signature of the treaty of Gwalior; and, even before Major Bunce, the officer appointed by Lord Hastings to reside with his division, could reach his principal cantonment at Buhadhurgurh, he had hastened to the capital, as was mentioned above, with only a few attendants, to ascertain, and, if possible, to participate in the immediate councils of the Durbar. There he was in the first instance well received, and dignified with a higher military grade; but no sooner had the battle of Mehudpoor confirmed Sindheea in the resolution to keep well with the English at all hazards, than he threw off the mask towards Baptiste, had both himself and his son placed in strict confinement, and demanded of him to account for the revenues of the lands assigned for the pay of his troops, and to make good all arrears. At the same time, care was taken to hold out Baptiste to the indignation of the mutinous soldiery, as the man who had defrauded them, and appropriated to himself the treasures, from which only their dues could be satisfied; and another commander was appointed to the troops left at Buhadhurgurh, over the heads of Baptiste's lieutenants there. By his intrigues, a counter interest was established, but not without mutual violence; and the auxiliary force under British officers was, in the end, made use of to awe both parties into submission. Thus was the dan-

gerous power of Baptiste annihilated. He was himself put to the torture * (not for the first time), in the hope of extorting a confession of his secret hoards. All his territorial assignments have been resumed; and nothing remains to him now but Sheepoor, which his family still hold with a garrison, and whither he supplicates in vain to be allowed to retire.

Juswant Rao Bhão, by his own violence, relieved the Durbar from the necessity of compassing his ruin by similar duplicity: but there can be little doubt, that the principal motive to reconcile Sindheea to the cession of Ajmeer, in exchange for our offer of lands of equivalent value in Malwa and upon the Sindh, was, the jealousy he secretly entertained against his relation Bapoo Sindheea, whose main strength lay thereabouts. Bapoo surrendered the place agreeably to the orders presented; but not without showing much ill-will, and probably more from ocular proof of the irresistible nature of our preparations to take it by force, in case of resistance, than from any respect to the order of his nominal master. As the result of these proceedings and events, it will be taken for granted, that what little organization before existed in the military establishment of Doulut Rao must now, upon the indiscriminate ruin of the superior commanders, have been utterly dissolved. Indeed, the natural consequence has been, the utter extinction of whatever military strength this state, on its former footing, may be thought to have possessed; while the broken troops, having now the Durbar only to look to for their arrears, have crowded into Gwalior, and, by their clamorous demands, increased the financial difficulties of their master; inasmuch, that, were it not for the presence of the auxiliary force under British officers, which ensures him a certain degree of respect, Sindheea would have every thing to

* Once before tow had been tied round his fingers, oiled, and set fire to, in order to extort some confession of concealed treasure.

fear personally from their importunity and discontent. There is nothing this Prince for his own part more earnestly desires, than to rid himself of the whole rabble, by disbanding them at once; but for this he has neither money nor credit to borrow upon: nor does there exist within his own dominions sufficient wealth for the purpose. In this extremity, it would seem, that he has but the choice of two courses; either to throw himself into the hands of the rich bankers of the upper provinces of the British territory, who are able enough to assist him, but have refused to come forward without the security of our guarantee; or to solicit aid direct from the British Government. But, in either case, whether our bare guarantee be required, or the money be paid from our treasury, he is aware that he must submit to the sacrifice of a territorial security, and to the humiliation of throwing himself on our mediation to effect a settlement; and to this point matters appear to be fast converging.

Gokul Paruk, the Gwalior minister for so many years, has proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mutra, within the British provinces, whence he shows no disposition to return, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Durbar, which still hopes to obtain the requisite funds through his means. As the supply for the discharge of the importunate military is an indispensable preliminary to the succession of any other to the office, the appointment of a new ministry will probably form part of the arrangement resulting from an appeal to our influence. Every thing, however, is still in suspense, and it will be some time before the quiet settlement of this state can be finally completed. It is satisfactory to reflect, that this is the only political object remaining to be accomplished, in order to affirm the indisputable predominance of the British power, and its right of overt control throughout the whole of Hindoostan and of the Peninsula.

There are, perhaps, who will say, granted that this object be

gained to the full extent of your wishes; what permanent good is expected to follow from its attainment? The answer is short and plain: a twofold benefit is anticipated; first, to the natives of India; secondly, to the fabric of the British power. In respect to the former, the primary consequence of the establishment of the new system of political relations must be, the complete deliverance of a portion of Hindoostan and of the Dukhun, comprehending a space of nearly 40 square* geographical degrees, from the most destructive form of military violence. The total annihilation of the Pindarees, and other predatory associations, would alone have been sufficient for the purpose; but the finishing hand has been put to that useful and necessary work, by erecting a barrier against all manner of usurpation from henceforward, whether by mere adventurers and soldiers of fortune, or by one legitimate chief upon his less powerful neighbour. A solid and permanent form of government, good or bad, will have been set over all this vast space, which, for half a century, has been the area of continued anarchy and devastation: such a government, as will secure its subjects at least from all external violence; and the example of the territory, occupied by the Bundela chiefs, and by the Seikhs, to say nothing of the Mysore dominions, is abundantly sufficient to show, that this alone will ensure the revival of agriculture and commerce, and restore the tract to a condition of high, if not of complete prosperity. The first step is always the most difficult to make: give but the impulse requisite to set the machine of improvement once in motion, and its own progressive power and tendency will of itself effect the rest, unless counteracted by the active opposition of unthrifty military

* The term, though not strictly correct, is expressive enough; and, as the boundaries on either side are not sufficiently definite to allow a correct estimate of the number of square miles, this mode of estimating the extent must stand for the present.

despotism, like to that which has just been subverted. This first step will have been secured, by the universal establishment of regular authority, and by the measures adopted for the maintenance of order and tranquillity in every quarter. For thus much those, under whose administration this advance has been effected, will at any rate have a claim upon the lasting gratitude of this great family of the human race.

To the British interests in India, there will result from the new order of things, first, a perpetual immunity from the hostile ravage of our immediate provinces; an evil, against the recurrence of which we could never have had any security, so long as this ample portion of India had been suffered to remain a hot-bed for the engendering of the instruments of rapine and disorder, and a place of refuge in defeat, or an asylum for the harvest of successful spoliation. The consolidation of the various parts under one uniform system, if that system afford but the prospect of sufficient stability, which experience leads us to discover in the recent arrangements, will leave us no ground of internal alarm; while it advances the external frontier of the British dominions to the natural barriers of India, the sea, the Humachul, the sandy deserts of the Indus, and the impenetrable forests and mountains on the east. These barriers are assailable at very few points; and the security they will afford from outward violence, cannot but give additional vigour to any effort that may be requisite, whether for the maintenance of internal order, or the resistance of foreign aggression, through any one of the few avenues of approach. In the latter event, there will be no enemy within to fear: the compact with each of the protected states will be sufficient to secure its fidelity and zeal in the common cause, against the occurrence of any but the most serious disaster; and, in the utter absence of any military power within the barrier, to threaten the integrity of an unguarded frontier, except such as would be available along

with our own against every invader, the strength that could be thrown forward to meet such an intruder would be almost unlimited ; and faulty, indeed, must the government be, if, with such means at its disposal, it should risk the bare possibility of disaster. In short, nothing more is wanting, than the lapse of time for the present generation to forget their past habits, and for a new one to grow up in the daily contemplation of the order and tranquillity, which it is now our comparatively easy task to establish and maintain. The population will, soon, be weaned of the habits of warfare and violence, and stimulated to the cultivation of the arts of peace, by the sense of security, and the hope of enjoyment ; and there is little doubt, that, the system now introduced will speedily acquire a degree of consistency, which no internal combination, or effort of external hostility, will be able to shake or endanger.

The struggle we have just terminated is, however, the more important and worthy of attention, because it promises to be the last we shall have to maintain with the native powers. Henceforward, we can have no enemies, but such as may be called into being by our own neglect or misgovernment, or by the distraction of our own councils. Against the two former sources of danger, we ought to be continually on the watch. In respect to the last, we ought fervently to pray, that India may never be the scene of British dissension or party animosity ; but that, if any should unfortunately arise, it may be referred to the arbitration of the mother country.

Nor is the additional stability of our political grandeur and ascendancy the sole advantage, that has resulted from the late extension of alliances and territorial limits : there are further benefits of a financial nature, that remain to be brought to account ; but which the subject of Indian finance is too little understood to enter upon, without some preliminary explanation.

The British public are doubtless aware of the marked difference between India and the other colonial dependencies

of the empire, arising from the constant retention in the hands of the government for the time being of the property in the soil, instead of its being parcelled out amongst a gentry tenacious of their rights, in the manner observable in Europe, or becoming the prize of the first occupant, as is necessarily practised in the first colonization of a desert tract. Thus the nation holds its Indian revenue as a property, instead of deriving it from the subjects in trust for the duties of management. Nearly three-fourths* of the whole revenue, realized from our Indian territories, is derived in this way from the land: so that the dominion, possessed by the nation in that country, may be likened to a large plantation; and the question of finance resolves itself into one of cultivation, in the mode best calculated to raise a surplus for the proprietor. With this idea constantly before us, we will proceed with the inquiry, what financial benefits have resulted, or may be expected to result, from the recent operations?

The year of the Marquess of Hastings' arrival in India was considered as a remarkably productive one. The establishments were then on the peace footing, and every branch of revenue was in that year more than usually prolific. We shall commence, therefore, by showing what was the state of this national concern on the 30th of April, 1814, the close of that official year; and then trace consecutively downwards the financial effect of each year's exertion, until the close of the season of 1817-18, beyond which the accounts have not yet been made up: we

* The remaining fourth is composed of various items. The customs, with an excise on spirits and one or two other articles, are heir looms of the former governments; the stamp duty being the only direct impost, which has originated with the British. In Bengal, the monopoly of salt for home consumption, and of opium for the China market, are two great sources of profit, and occasion the large comparative surplus of that presidency. The Mogul Government drew a revenue from the former by means of transit duties, the aggression of individuals on which brought on the rupture with Kâsim Ulee. The opium monopoly was established in the same time of violence by the agency of contractors.

shall then, however, give upon estimate the prospects for the future. It is a singular coincidence, that the period either of war or of warlike preparation, takes its commencement in the same year with the operation of the financial provisions of the act, renewing the charter of the Honourable Company. We shall presently have to notice those provisions more particularly.

The accounts made up for the year ending in April, 1814, showed the Indian receipts for the 12 months to have been no less than 15,03,76,201 * sicca rupees. The expense of Indian management, however, amounted to 13,58,48,011 sicca rupees; so that the net proceeds of the national concern were only 1,453,3,190 sicca rupees, about one million, eight hundred thousand pounds. This was a tribute capable of specific transfer to the exchequer of the parent state from the produce of its Indian concern, after defraying every expense of administration in the country. As to what became of this surplus†, that is a matter foreign to the present object. Suffice it to say, that there were home demands within the year, and those too for the expense of territorial management, which absorbed the whole; but of this more hereafter.

The Indian debt consists of two items. There is always a floating debt of deposits and out-standing demands, included in the annual accounts, though there be assets to meet it fully or in part. This debt is subject to no interest, and is entered with

* These sums may be converted into pounds sterling, by dividing by eight; but the numeration by sicca rupees is observed throughout, because it is that of the accounts of the Supreme Indian Government: 2s. 6d. is an assumed value for the sicca rupee, being about the medium rate of exchange with England. A Calcutta sicca rupee contains troy grains 175,927, which, compared with the standard shilling, equals 2.566. 100 Spanish dollars are coined into 210 $\frac{1}{2}$ sicca rupees; but, private bullion being subject to a seignorage duty, the mint produce is, sicca rupees 206 $\frac{1}{2}$. This calculation is made upon the old standard of 62 shillings to the lb. of silver.

† There was actually furnished to England in that year a sum of 1,48,59,957 sicca rupees.

this distinction. On the 30th of April, 1814, the out-standing demand, bearing no interest, was 3,09,46,564 sicca rupees. The more immediate debt of India, viz. that on which interest was payable, stood on the same date at 23,15,86,634 sicca rupees, 23 crore 15 lack, or about 29 millions of pounds sterling. To preserve the mode of illustration adopted above, this may be regarded as a mortgage on the revenues of the plantation, the amount having been raised and expended by the Indian executive in making the purchase for the nation; and it is after allowing for the interest of this mortgage debt amongst the current charges of the year, that the above surplus is exhibited. Such was the financial condition of India during the first year of the Marquess of Hastings' administration. In 1814-15, the Nipālese war commenced; and the exigencies of that war, added to the expense of preparation against the Pindarees and Mahrattas, made a considerable alteration in the products of both that and the following year. The revenue also fell somewhat short of the product in 1813-14, being only 14,69,84,106 sicca rupees, in 1814-15; and 14,66,86,106 sicca rupees, in 1815-16. The surplus beyond the charges of Indian management was consequently reduced to 1,18,54,412 sicca rupees in the former, and 35,77,488 sicca rupees in the latter year. The usual supplies were, however, furnished to England without material abatement, notwithstanding the reduction of surplus, the Marquess of Hastings having procured funds for his military operations, by the loan of two crore of rupees from the Nuwab Vizier at Lucknāo. In 1816-17, the same military attitude was maintained; insomuch, that the disbursements nearly equalled the charges of 1815-16; but the revenue was unusually productive, being made to yield no less than 15,44,08,916 sicca rupees; hence, notwithstanding that the scale of charge was about 80 lack, a million of pounds sterling, beyond the rate of the peace establishment of 1813-14, there was still a surplus on the management of 1,09,37,238 sicca rupees.

We now come to the great and final effort of 1817-18, the funds for which had been accumulating in the Indian treasury in the preceding years. For, although the supplies to England had annually exceeded the amount of the Indian surplus, still the resources, derived from loans and occasional remittances of bullion from Europe, had more than compensated for the deficiency. Thus the means in hand, which, at the beginning of 1814-15, amounted to 4,70,75,293 sicca rupees, had been increased to the enormous amount of 6,55,99,156 sicca rupees, upwards of eight millions of pounds sterling, lying in the several treasuries of the government, and consisting almost entirely of coin or bullion. The revenues of 1817-18 were fortunately even more productive than those of the preceding year, having advanced to 15,68,71,060 sicca rupees; so that, although the extra charges of the effort of this season exceeded by nearly 80 lack, a million of pounds sterling, those of the two previous years of preparation, and amounted to 15,27,00,957 sicca rupees, there was nevertheless an actual surplus on the Indian management of 41,70,103 sicca rupees. It needed, however, a crore more to make up the supply expected in England from the Indian treasury; and, as there was a certainty, that the year immediately succeeding that of the grand effort must also be one of extraordinary expenditure, it was not considered safe to part with so large a portion of the sum in hand in the several treasuries. Accordingly, it was proposed to raise near 60 lack more by loan, and measures were taken with that view. An unlooked for supply of near 30 lack, beyond what was expected from England, enabled the Indian Government to preserve, for the eventual service of the year 1818-19, a balance in hand, reduced by only 35 lack from the rate of the preceding year; there being on the 30th of April, 1818, a total of 6,20,76,946 sicca rupees in the treasuries.

In the current year, 1818-19, the new resources acquired by the campaign will come distinctly into account. But the

winding up of the war charges may, and indeed must, swell the expenditure of the season; and the impossibility of immediately placing every establishment on the permanent scale, designed for the approaching period of tranquillity, will preclude the expectation of a result so favourable, as we may hope to see annually recur at no distant date. The accounts have not yet been prepared; the expense of the operations can, therefore, only be calculated with certainty up to the 30th of April, 1818; and the portion of charge remaining to be provided for in the current year of revenue, must be left to swell the estimate of current expenditure. We shall first show the extent of the pecuniary sacrifice made, to effect the introduction of the new system of relations, up to the 30th of April, 1818; to which date the accounts have been already brought up.

It has been mentioned, that the Marquess of Hastings raised the funds, which enabled him to enter upon the extensive scale of operations which he adopted, without trenching materially on the annual remittance expected at home from India, by loans raised in India within the period. The debt account ought, therefore, to show the additional encumbrance brought upon the country by the execution of these measures. It will be found, that, in the course of the four years, between April, 1814, and April, 1818, there was debt incurred in India to the extent of 3,43,78,932 sicca rupees, three crore and 43 lack, about four millions and a half of pounds sterling. Two crore of this was obtained by the Marquess of Hastings from the Nuwab Vizier, and 56 lack more came into our hands in consequence of the death of the Begum of Fizabad, his Highness' grandmother. This princess had, during her lifetime, and in order to secure her property from confiscation, made a will bequeathing the whole to the British Government, on the condition of being allowed to bestow, in the way of legacies, perpetual pensions equal to the interest at six per cent; an arrangement, which, having been previously guaranteed, was punctually

executed on her death in 1815-16. Of the three crore and forty-three lack, therefore, the public revenue was called upon to furnish no more than about ninety lack.

Of the debt raised from the Nuwab Vizier, one crore of rupees was cancelled in consideration of territorial cessions, in the manner above mentioned in the narrative: by which means, the real increase of the debt was still further reduced from three crore and forty-three lack, to two * crore and forty-eight lack. But it will be recollected, that the balances in hand of that date exceeded those of April 1814; so that, although, by the debt account, there will be a deterioration of two crore and forty-eight lack, the amount of the still unexpended balance ought further to be deducted, in the estimate of the actual cost previous to the date in question. The difference of the balances of the two periods was no less than 1,50,01,653 sicca rupees, one crore and a half. The net deterioration therefore was, in April, 1818, something less than a crore, 98,08,529 sicca rupees.

Thus, upon the supposition, that the supplies annually furnished to England had been sufficient to meet the demands of England, the whole object of the Marquess of Hastings' plans would have been gained, at a sacrifice, up to this period, of less than one crore of rupees. But the supplies, though averaging annually one crore and thirty-five lack, were not equal to the home demand. On this point some explanation is necessary.

By the provisions of the last act for renewing the Company's charter, the revenues of India are chargeable, first, with the military establishments of the country; secondly, with the interest of the territorial debts, and pay of the civil establish-

* Total debt incurred	-	-	3,43,73,992
Deduct cancelled loan	-	-	95,68,750
			<hr/> 2,48,05,182

The crore thus cancelled was in Lukhnão rupees, the conversion of which into Calcutta siccas occasions the apparent difference.

ments. All these are primary charges, to be defrayed before any surplus can arise, applicable to an increase of dividend on the Company's stock, or to the liquidation of the principal of any territorial debts. Coupled, however, with the above debts and civil establishments in India, are sundry debts and civil establishments contracted or maintained in England; the interest on which debts, and the pay of which establishments, is directed to be made good *pari passu* with similar items of territorial charge incurred in India; so that there can be no such surplus till these also are provided for. These several items are to be advanced from India, at the fixed exchange of 2s. for the current, or 2s. 3d. ($\frac{1}{10}\%$) for the sicca rupee, out of the territorial receipts; and the Company, in its commercial capacity, undertakes the risk of loss or profit upon the remittance, as the case may be.

It would seem, that the home territorial disbursements have every year amounted to near two millions pounds sterling, while the Indian supplies have, as above explained, averaged no more than one million and from six to seven hundred thousand pounds. To the above increase of Indian debt, there will thus remain to be added a further deterioration, to be reckoned as part of the charge of carrying the plans of the Indian executive into effect: viz. that resulting from the deficit of the home remittance, as compared with the home territorial charges; a deficit, that, under the operation of the act of Parliament, must be regarded as a territorial debt, payable by the country out of its territorial resources. We subjoin a statement, in which this deficit will be found to be incorporated, and by the result of which the recent change of our relations will be seen to have cost in the acquirement upwards of two crore and fifteen lack, besides about sixty-two lack more remitted in bullion from England over and above the payments on account of the British Government—a casual resource, unexpected by the Indian Exchequer; and, whether remitted in payment of old debts of the nation, on

account of Java, the Mauritius, and other such expensive acquisitions made before the passing of the Act, or advanced on any or what other account, is not distinctly known to the Indian administration.

	1814-15.	1815-16.	1816-17.	1817-18.	Total of 4 Years.
Indian revenues S ^r R ^r	14,69,84,106	14,66,86,016	15,44,08,916	15,68,71,060	
Ditto charges -	13,51,26,694	14,31,08,528	14,34,71,678	15,27,00,957	
Indian surplus -	1,18,57,412	35,77,488	1,09,37,238	41,70,103	3,05,42,241
Loan, resources, &c.	1,01,26,858	1,45,98,442	36,68,705	59,79,927	3,43,73,932
Total means -	2,19,84,270	1,81,75,930	1,46,05,943	1,01,50,030	6,49,16,173
Supplies to commerce for home territorial charges -	1,17,88,659	1,51,91,847	1,25,62,050	1,46,15,862	5,41,58,418
Demands of England	1,65,41,629	1,70,35,446	*1,62,50,000	*1,60,79,647	6,59,06,742
Remains due to England - -	47,52,970	18,43,619	36,87,950	18,13,785	1,17,48,324

	S ^r R ^r
Result debt gross -	†3,43,73,932
Deduct cancelled loan -	95,68,750
Also amount increase of balances -	1,50,01,653
	2,45,74,030
Net debt - - -	98,03,629
Add debt to England -	1,17,48,324
	2,15,51,853
Bullion from London in the four years in excess of payments on account of the British Government	62,06,552

2,77,58,405

	S ^r R ^r
Debt bearing interest in 1814 - - -	23,15,86,634
Debt ditto in 1818 -	25,28,04,984
Difference - - -	2,12,18,340
Add cancelled loan -	95,68,750
Total interest debt incurred	†3,07,87,090

* These two are upon estimates, the actual accounts not having been received from home.

† That this does not correspond with the amount exhibited per contra, (3,43,73,932 sicca rupees) is owing to the latter's including the floating no-interest debt and every thing else that appears in the accounts, on which the annual balance is struck.

By the above account, the net deterioration incurred, up to April, 1818, in the prosecution of the plans of the Indian Government, would appear to be, two crore and seventy-seven lack. We will suppose, that, when the accounts of the present year come to be made up, the general result will show an additional burthen of four crore, or, as the cash balances cannot again be reduced so low as they stood in 1814, four crore and a half: the campaigns will then appear to have ended with adding thus much to the debt of the Indian governments; so that, instead of twenty-three crore and fifteen lack, the amount in 1814, the debt in India will have been raised to between twenty-seven and twenty-eight crore, or near thirty-five million pounds sterling. The excess, at an interest of six per cent per annum, will entail an additional burthen of twenty-six lack on the territorial revenues of the country. In order, therefore, to show that financial advantage will have resulted from the late operations, it will be necessary to prove that the additional territorial resources acquired, added to the practicable reduction of Indian expenditure we shall, by the late operations, have been enabled to make, will be capable of supporting the whole of this burthen, in addition to that of the total home territorial demand.

It is one of the disadvantages resulting from the very recent date, at which the compilation of this account has been undertaken, that there are yet no satisfactory materials wherefrom to calculate either the value of the resources required, or the probable degree, in which it will be practicable to reduce the Indian expenditure. With respect to the former, we can only state the annual rate, at which the territories stood in the accounts of the displaced governments; neither can we undertake to say, with any approximation to certainty, either at what time they are likely to become equally productive in our hands, or what intermediate allowances we shall have to make for the unsettled state of the country, and for the expense

of management. The following rough sketch must for the present suffice; and, if the curiosity of the public should wish to be farther satisfied in this particular, and this narrative should chance to run through a second edition, the accounts of succeeding years will have furnished the materials of a far more accurate statement of the real benefit, that shall be found to have resulted from the events above detailed; and the narrator will then be able to present a clearer view of the actual condition of this national concern at the close of the campaigns, drawn from the comparison of financial returns. In the mean time, he has only to regret, that he can now offer no more satisfactory information.

The territorial revenue of the Pêshwa, exclusive of assignments of land on military tenure, was estimated, in 1815, at a total of 96,71,753 rupees, the average rate of the accounts of that government. Mr. Elphinstone estimates the incumbrances arising from the provision for the Suttara Raja, the stipend of eight lack per annum to Bajee Rao, of three lack to his brother Chimnaje, with other necessary charges resulting from the operations, at no less than thirty-four lack per annum. The net gross acquisition will, therefore, be but sixty-two lack, inclusive of the cessions by the treaty of Poona, which were destined to the maintenance of an auxiliary force: and, though such a force may perhaps now be dispensed with, it will nevertheless be necessary to make some addition to the regular military establishment in lieu of it. From the resumed Jageers and Surunjamee tenures of the Poona state, a permanent further revenue of about 24,40,000 rupees is anticipated. Wherefore, after a very liberal allowance for any addition to the military establishments requisite for the acquired district, and for the expense of civil administration, which, in the western provinces of the Bengal presidency, averages a rate of sixteen per cent on the receipts of revenue,

we may assume that the dominions, late of Bajee Rao, will yield a net revenue of fifty lack.

The ceded lands of the Bhoosla were entered in the accounts of that state at 22,47,000 rupees. Those of the treaty of Mundisor, which have been retained in our own hands, appeared, by Holkar's accounts of the year 1814, to have yielded no more than 4,42,500 rupees; but this must have been owing to the complete anarchy that prevailed at that period; for the same territories, in 1766, yielded to Tukojee Holkar no less than 17,03,000 rupees. A produce of ten lack may therefore be fairly assumed on this account. From Sâgur and other retained territories in its neighbourhood, we may reckon upon a product of at least five lack, including the cession of Mohaba by Govind Rao of Jaloun. Four lack more must be added for Ajimeer; and the Rajpoot tributes, including those formerly paid to Sindheea and Holkar, cannot be assumed at less than fifteen lack. The Jypoor tribute alone will ultimately amount to that sum; but, as it must be some years before this can be expected, it will be fairer to confine the present view to the prospects of a more limited period. The gross receipts on this side of India are thus taken at a little less than fifty-six lack and a half*. Allowing liberally for the additional civil charges incident to our present extended possessions, and for the new political as well as

* Recapitulation.

Bhoosla	-	-	-	R ^s 22,47,200
Holkar	-	-	-	10,00,000
Sâgur	-	-	-	5,00,000
Ajimeer	-	-	-	4,00,000
Tributes	-	-	-	15,00,000
				<hr/>
				Total 56,47,200
				Poona gross 87,11,753
				<hr/>
				1,43,58,953

administrative establishments, that have become necessary in consequence, we will assume the advantages gained from other states, exclusive of the Pêshwa territory, to yield a net revenue of no more than forty lack. Thus, in ensuing years, when time shall have allowed the new acquisitions to reach the full measure of their productive power, we may look for a gross addition to the territorial resources of the Indian government of eighty-seven lack from Poona, and fifty-six and a half from cessions in other quarters: and the net advantage of both may be fairly taken at about ninety lack.

In the year 1817-18, part of these resources had become available: we will make the calculation, therefore, upon the result of the year preceding it, as exhibited in the above schedule. Supposing both the receipts and the charges of that year to be increased by the new acquisitions, in the ratio of the above rough estimate, then the Indian surplus, instead of one * crore and nine lack of rupees, would amount within a lack of two crore. If we can anticipate for the future a result of this nature from the increased resources only, without reference to any reduction of the expenditure, we may well be satisfied with the improvement in our financial prospects, consequent upon the late operations.

The principal obstacle to our at once reckoning upon this permanent result may arise from an apprehension, that an excess of fifty-three lack, on the expenditure of 1816-17, will not provide sufficiently for the additional charges of future years: for

* Receipts	1816-17	Charges
15,44,08,916		14,34,71,678
1,43,58,953	New	53,58,953
<hr/> 16,87,67,869	Total	<hr/> 14,88,30,631
14,88,30,631		
<hr/> 1,99,37,238	Supposed future surplus.	

ninety-three lack was the difference between those of 1817-18, and of the year preceding; and it is more than probable, that the disbursements in 1818-19 will be on the same high scale, if not indeed upon one yet higher. Considerably more than forty lack of the charges of 1817-18 were, however, expended in bringing the immense armies employed in that campaign into the field, an item which cannot recur; while many of the temporary establishments and levies of the period must, in the end, if not very shortly, be reduced. It will, therefore, only be in the year of actual exertion, and in that immediately subsequent, when its accounts come to be wound up, that such a rate of charge will be experienced; and we may still safely assume, that the permanent expenditure need not exceed the rate of 1816-17, by more than fifty lack; and this without reckoning upon any reduction of the war establishments; while, by practicable reductions, we may fairly expect, that the charges might be brought to an equality; for even the year 1816-17 was a season of very chargeable precaution.

The above estimate is necessarily an extremely rough one; but is by no means intentionally exaggerated. Its result must needs be satisfactory to the nation; as it shows, that, without making any allowance for possible reductions of charge, the consequence of the late operations will be, to raise the surplus revenue beyond the expense of Indian management of its concern, to two crore of rupees, unless some serious disappointment occurs, in respect to the productive powers of the acquired territory. If the surplus be raised to this amount, the national tribute of two million will be secure, and there will be a farther annual excess of forty lack, applicable to the payment of the interest of the additional debt incurred in the acquirement of these advantages, as well as to the gradual extinction of the principal also, if that should be thought expedient.

The British public is probably little aware of the prosperous

and improving condition of its Indian concern. For the twenty years, from the close of 1792-93 to that of 1812-13, the average annual balance furnished by India to England, beyond its receipts from that country, did not exceed 24,40,734 sicca rupees, though it has since averaged more than a crore and sixteen lacks per annum. Yet, to effect the very moderate remittance of the former period, and maintain the then establishments in India, was that debt contracted, which will now, by the late excess of war charges, have been raised to about* twenty-seven crore. This is the average result of the seasons of war and of peace taken one with another. But, heretofore, whenever circumstances called upon the Indian authorities for any extraordinary exertion, not only was this moderate remittance wholly withheld from England, but besides, the annual expenditure in India very greatly exceeded the revenue. During the administration of Lord Cornwallis, the accounts were not kept in such a form, as to show readily the Indian deficit occasioned by the wars of that period. But of the Mahratta war of 1803 we have distinct financial accounts; by reference to which it appears, that the annual extra charges, on the average of the four years to 1807 inclusive, exceeded the annual income of India by †1,89,30,388 sicca rupees. Thus, the Indian resources at that time were to that extent incompetent to provide for exertions, which can now be made without occasioning any deficit, but on the contrary,

* The Indian debt bearing interest was, in April, 1793, no more than 5,33,68,683 sicca rupees.

	† 1803-4	1804-5	1805-6	1806-7
Indian receipts	11,88,95,032	13,06,49,241	13,58,88,952	12,97,16,627
Do. disbursements	12,87,90,378	15,76,18,750	16,44,88,747	13,99,23,531
Deficit	98,95,346	2,69,69,509	2,86,49,795	1,02,06,904
Total deficit for four years	7,67,21,544			
Average for each year	1,89,30,388			

still leaving a surplus. In the single year 1805-6, the extra charge, consequent upon the rupture with the Holkar, was larger than in the year 1817-18, when the whole strength of the three presidencies was last brought into the field. The consequence was, that the Indian deficit of that year alone exceeded the whole deterioration of the four years of the late operations, being no less than two crore and eighty-six lack; whereas, including the home demand at the average annual of rate of more than two million pounds sterling, an item which forms no part of the above deficit for 1805-6, the additional burthen of debt thrown upon India, up to April, 1818, has been shown, in the statement before given, not to have exceeded * two crore and seventy-seven lack.

The improved condition of the national interest in India may well be inferred from the above comparison. To wage a four years' war with the Mahrattas, cost, from 1803 to 1807 inclusive, no less a sum than seven crore and fifty-seven lack beyond the income derived from the country, and without allowing for the supplies to England, which of necessity were suspended during that period. But, on the late occasion, four years of active and most extensive exertion have been surmounted, not only without the occurrence of any deficit, but with an actual surplus of three crore and upwards, available for the purposes of the nation in England. Therefore, had the home demand been limited to this amount, the exertions India has been called upon to make would have produced no incumbrance whatever. It is because of the necessity of a still larger remittance, a necessity acknowledged whether in war or in peace, that the Indian administrations have found it necessary

* The deficiency in the supplies home, though considered throughout as part of the burthen incurred, is not of the same nature as a debt incurred in the country; for, if met by loans raised at home, it will not involve an annual charge of more than four per cent, or five under the most disadvantageous arrangement that could be made.

to provide funds for the execution of their object, by incurring new debt to the amount that has been mentioned. But no part of the sum has been raised on terms, that will leave a permanent incumbrance of more than six per cent: whereas heretofore, in seasons of financial difficulty, loans were never negotiable at a lower rate of interest than twelve per cent.

It should be observed too, that no fresh impost has been laid upon the territory, and that the receipt of the Indian revenue arises, not from the expedient of temporary taxation, in its nature liable to change or remission; but the whole of these results have been produced from land revenues, the property of the nation by right of conquest, fixed in their ratio, which no one is entitled to dispute, and for the administration of which the nation is accountable to no one upon earth.

A word or two may be necessary on the subject of the home* territorial charges, the extent of which might else excite astonishment. A considerable portion goes towards paying the interest, and some part into a sinking fund, on loans raised from the British public, in anticipation and aid of the Indian finances, or to defray charges of home management, for which India had not provided funds. Another considerable portion is expended

* The following were the items of these charges for the two years 1814-15, and 1815-16.

	1814-15	1815-16
Passage of military - - - - -	£ 79,109	£58,976
Freight—demurrage - - - - -	72,610	182,222
Military officers on furlough and the retired list	283,993	205,142
Carnatic debt - - - - -	182,831	137,408
Loan of 1812, with sinking fund - - - - -	244,044	243,982
St. Helena—Bencoolen - - - - -	53,083	47,724
Political charges general - - - - -	266,842	301,338
Stores sent to India - - - - -	483,343	439,080
Payments in England for King's regiments - - - - -	252,974	360,236
Total per annum	£1,918,629	1,976,114

in pensions to military officers on the retired list, or in the pay of officers on furlough, which are legitimate Indian charges; so likewise are the recruiting and depôt expenses, and the charge of sending out men for the King's regiments in India. A third large item of home expenditure is on account of military and naval stores furnished to the country, and, therefore, is a payment for value received. It is only the remainder, after all these deductions, that can be fairly considered as the expense of establishments maintained in England for the due administration of the affairs of India. This residuary item is more particularly under the control of the British parliament.

It may possibly be objected, that, unless India have provided an annual revenue, equal to the whole amount of these charges, plus the total expense of its local administration, and without incurring debt for the purpose, it must be regarded as a losing national concern; the answer is, that, even supposing the sums raised to meet these charges to be money absolutely thrown away, without the least hope of any future return, the question would still remain behind, whether there be no other advantages arising from the dominion of India, to compensate for such an annual loss. The most obvious and striking benefits, that present themselves to our view, are the maintenance, and means of accumulation too, which the management of so large a concern affords in its various departments to many thousands of British subjects, and the annual accession to the national capital of numerous private fortunes remitted to England, to say nothing of other funds supplied to British consumption from income drawn in India. But, if the inability to meet the full amount of present charge, without incurring debt, be taken to arise from the necessity of making a still further outlay to secure and improve what we before possessed; and, if there be a prospect of national advantage to be derived from the sums so expended in improvement, then is the case completely altered. Undoubtedly, the

value of the concern must heretofore have been affected by the extent of outlay still requisite to secure the full benefit, of which it could be made productive; but, so long as there remained a rational probability of ultimately securing that benefit, there could be no wisdom in withholding the outlay, through fear of receiving no present adequate return. Would an individual, that has three parts of an estate, and a title to the remainder, which could be established at the expense of a very few years rent of the remaining portion, act wisely, in allowing himself to be deterred by the amount of present advance, from any exertion to make himself master of the whole?

Apply the same principle to the recent acquisitions of the empire in India, and to the outlay of debt, of which they are the returns. We have now got possession of the whole estate, and hold it without a parcenor or competitor. We may therefore expect, for it is in our power, henceforward to derive the full benefit that it can be made to yield, though we yet know not its real extent. The accumulation of new debt is the price, by which this entirety of possession has been effected. The sums last borrowed were taken up merely to complete the object of former outlays: the one expense was a necessary consequence of the other. But this at least may be asserted with confidence; that, of all the national acquisitions successively made by the application of such means, no part of the estate will be found to have been purchased so cheaply, as this last portion of territorial sovereignty over the vast expanse of Asia, that lies within the natural barriers of India.

With this summary of the present condition and prospects of Indian finance, we take leave of the reader, whom curiosity or past recollections shall have conducted thus far, through a simple narration of facts, perhaps uninteresting to the generality of Europeans. But it is fit, that the British public should know the motives and the conduct of their countrymen in the East,

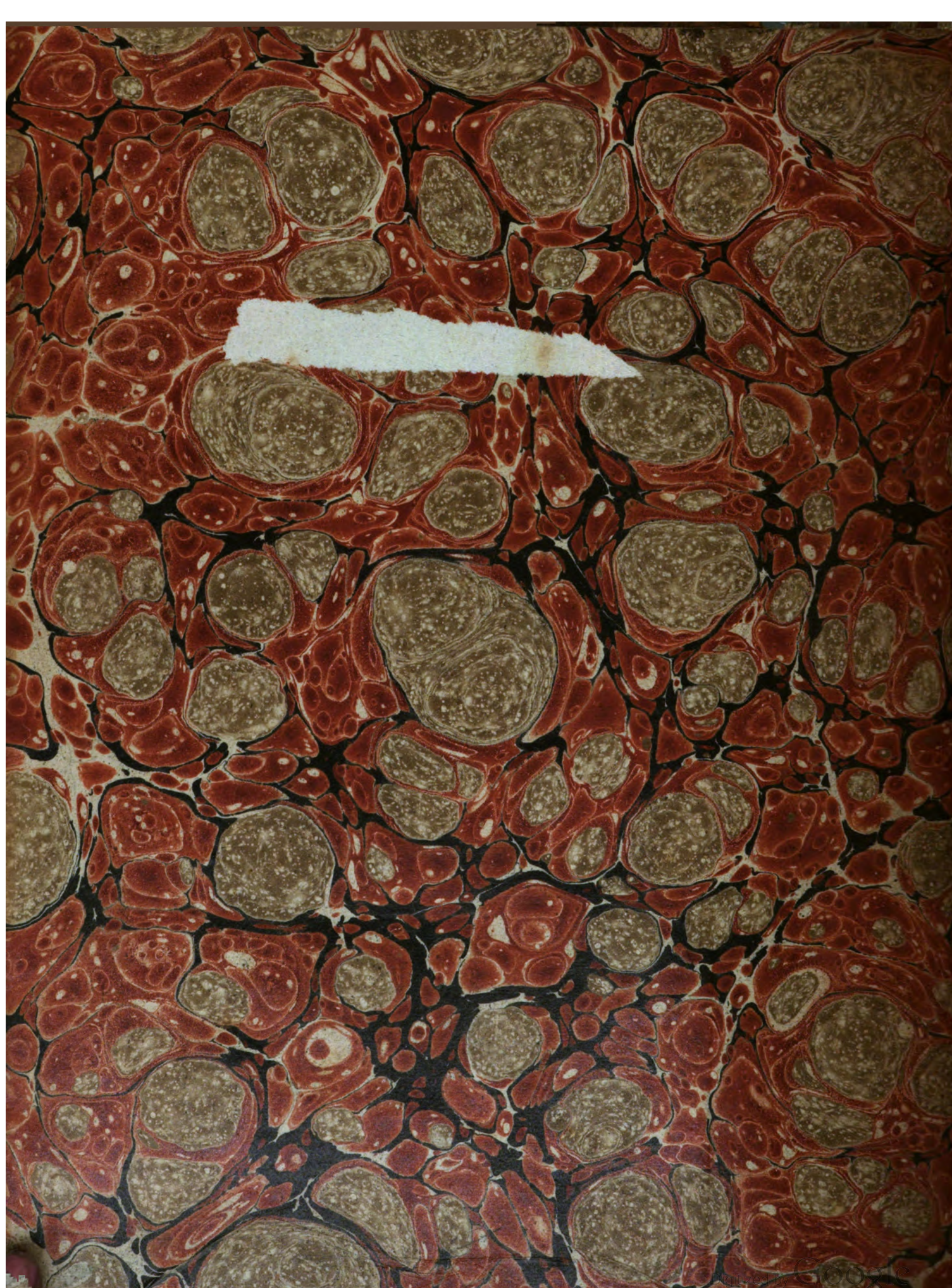
and keep a vigilant eye upon the measures of delegates, who exercise an incalculable influence over the wealth and happiness of that large proportion of the human race, which Providence has subjected to British dominion. The depositaries of this important trust court publicity, and invite inquiry. They are anxious to be judged by British feelings and principles, tempered only by a due regard to the peculiar circumstances, under which the Indian dependencies of the empire were first acquired, and to the moral duties, that have been entailed by this possession. To the approbation of their country they look for the chief reward of no common exertions, and of what, with all its splendour, can never be other than exile: and they are not afraid to place their labours, in every department of national administration, even that which they may be supposed to be least attentive to, the observance of public economy, in competition with those of their fellow countrymen, whether at home or in any other part of the world.

THE END.

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