

the people of the East. Warren Hastings himself was not more indifferent to money for his own use and profit: though, for his rank and station, a poor man when he started, he returned to England, after seven years' residence in the land of lacs and rupees, little or not at all richer. On the fall of Seringapatam the sum of 100,000*l.* was set apart for his share of the spoil; but he wished to encourage the army, and to reward it well for the labours of the campaign, and he gave up every farthing of it to the troops. Where there was so much that was high and noble, petty faults ought not to be seen. His administration in India was not only brilliant, but also productive of lasting good; and though his great political system for making the power of England supreme was interrupted for the time, it has been found absolutely necessary to carry it out under his successors. The same rules which justified his conduct with respect to Tippoo Sultaun and the Mahrattas, must be applied to subsequent and recent proceedings against the Mahrattas, the Burmese, the Afghans, the Seiks, and others, or those proceedings must be given up as incapable of justification. No rational man will doubt that his lordship owed much to the advice and assistance of his younger brother, the now time-honoured Duke of Wellington, much to the energy and activity displayed by Lord Lake and the other British commanders in the field, and much to the high cast of official talent developed in the East India Company's service; yet still every liberal mind will re-echo the generous tribute paid by one of the ablest of his subalterns and advisers.

"The great success," says Sir John Malcolm, "which attended Lord Wellesley's administration of British India is, on a general view, calculated to excite astonishment: nor will that be diminished by a nearer contemplation of the manner in which he ruled the large empire committed to his charge. His great mind pervaded the whole; and a portion of his spirit was infused into every agent whom he employed; his authority was as fully recognised in the remotest parts of British India as in Fort William; all sought his praise; all dreaded his censure: his

confidence in those he employed was unlimited; and they were urged to exertion by every motive that can stimulate a good or proud mind to action. He was as eager to applaud as he was reluctant to condemn those whom he believed conscientious in the discharge of their public duty. It was the habit of his mind to be slow in council, but rapid in action; and he expected the greatest efforts from those he employed in the execution of his measures, whom he always relieved from every species of vexatious counteraction and delay, which could arise from the untimely intrusion of official forms, or the unreasonable pretensions of lesser authorities. It was, indeed, with him a principle to clothe them with all the power they could require to effect those objects which they were instructed to attain; and, though there can be no doubt of the great and extraordinary merit of the distinguished officers who commanded the British armies during his administration, it is to that liberal confidence which gave them all the impression of the fullest power, and the most complete scope for the exercise of their judgment, that their unparalleled success is chiefly to be ascribed."\*

The habit of contemplating objects of magnitude—and in the vast field of India nearly everything was large—of acting on a great scale, and of depending on their own abilities and resources, which, on account of distance and other causes, they were frequently obliged to do; together with the necessity of finding intellectual occupation and amusement in remote up-country stations, had raised many officers of the Company, both civil and military, who were admirably fit to perform whatever duty might be allotted to them, and who were more competent and accomplished, and better acquainted with the country and the people, than any class of Europeans that had ever before lived in India. If we take the full range, and include the islands as well as the continent, we may pretty safely affirm that there was in no part of the world a more able and accomplished body of public servants than that which flourished in India during

\* Sir John Malcolm, *Polit. Hist. Ind.*

the first quarter of the nineteenth century. To name only a few of the distinguished many, it would not be easy to find anywhere such men as John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Stamford Raffles, John Crawford, H. T. Colebrooke, W. Moorcroft, John d'Oyley, T. Prinsep, the Lushingtons, Major Todd, Major Kirkpatrick, General Ochterlony, &c. It was from among a class of men like these that the Marquess Wellesley selected his officers and agents, without any reference to the patronage of the Court of Directors, who could not always distinguish between the merits of the claimants for promotion as he could, and who were but too often disposed to overlook the question of merit altogether. The honourable Directors, like all other bodies of men, corporate or incorporate, honourable or not, clung to their right of patronage, and were greatly and frequently incensed by the marquess's independent distribution of promotions and employments. They chose, however, to make no very great stir until a case occurred wherein their remonstrances would be almost sure to be backed by popular prejudices; for, when a man promotes his own brothers, the world is almost always ready to cry out against partiality and family interest, let the brothers so promoted be what they may. A dull murmuring had been raised in certain quarters against the rapid advancement of so young an officer as Arthur Wellesley; but these were presently drowned in acclamations of universal applause and admiration, excited by the genius the young general displayed, and by the energy and ability and straightforwardness with which he managed civil as well as military affairs. It was not against Arthur Wellesley the soldier and administrator, but against his brother Henry Wellesley \* the diplomatist, that the Company raised their potential voice. The governor-general, in concurrence with Lord Clive, the governor of Madras, and with the approval of the Supreme Council of Calcutta, and of nearly every Englishman in India, appointed his brother Henry, who had managed with great

ability the treaty with the Vizier Nabob, to be permanent resident or commissioner in Oude, to settle the frontiers, to carry out the treaty which he had himself concluded, and to regulate the system of administration proper to supersede that of the Vizier Nabob, in order to raise the prosperity and consequently the revenues of the country which had been so long misgoverned. At first the Company murmured at the expense of this mission; and next they declared that the governor-general had no right to appoint to it. An angry correspondence ensued about this and other appointments, between the governor-general and the governor of Madras on one side, and the Court of Directors on the other. Both Lord Mornington and Lord Clive were so incensed at some letters and instructions which were sent out from Leadenhall Street, and which seemed to implicate their personal characters, that they tendered their resignations as early as the year 1802; the governor-general declaring "that a sense of the propriety of observing a submissive and respectful deportment in all his official communications to the honourable Court, induced him to abstain from officially recording the real and efficient causes of his resignation." \* But the Board of Control came to the support of the governor-general, and claimed a power above that of the Court of Directors; a new deputy chairman, Mr. Jacob Boscawen, was chosen, and this gentleman, being intimately acquainted with Indian affairs, took a warm interest in maintaining the governor-general's system, which he believed to be the best adapted to times and circumstances; and being very desirous of preserving the good understanding with his majesty's government, though an advocate for supporting the Company's privileges, he, by his example and influence, induced the Directors to compromise the quarrel, and to request both Lord Mornington and Lord Clive to remain at their posts. These angry dis-

\* 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India;' by Peter Auber. M.R.A.S., late Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Marquess Wellesley, 'Dispatches,' &c. edited by Montgomery Martin.

\* Afterwards Lord Cowley.

cussions, however, produced or deepened in the minds of several of our statesmen the conviction of the necessity of increasing the powers of the Board of Control, or of adopting some other plan of giving to the crown greater authority in the administration of India. And the present compromise was so far from removing the evils of which the governor-general and the governor of Madras had complained, that Lord Clive, who resigned in 1803, before quitting Madras, addressed a loud and spirited remonstrance to the Court of Directors, on the evil use they made of their patronage, and on the bad consequences which resulted therefrom to the public service in India. His lordship declared that good and able men, appointed by himself and others, for their merits alone, had been superseded by inefficient persons appointed by the Directors; that the insubordination and delinquency of many of the Company's servants were to be traced to this abuse of patronage; that emulation had been suppressed, and that the energy of meritorious men, who in the consciousness of their virtue and ability looked for reward to those who exercised the Indian government, had been damped by the promotion of the idle and the dissolute by an authority superior to that of the government. A writer not disposed to take a part hostile to the Court of Directors says—"Lord Clive appears to have given a most zealous support to those measures he deemed essential to the best interests of the Company and to their government abroad, and to have evinced on all occasions a high and honourable feeling in the discharge of his public duties. It was not therefore unnatural that he should experience mortification at acts which affected the exercise of his authority and the interests of those whose good services formed the only claim to his lordship's support. If, in giving expression to these feelings, his lordship exceeded the bounds which a calm consideration of the position in which he stood towards the authority from whom he received his appointment would have prescribed, an apology was to be found in the *anomalous and fluctuating composition of such authority, which*

*was subject to impressions from various causes, to which no other body exercising sovereign power was liable."*\* For ourselves, we cannot help feeling that this anomalous and fluctuating power—the Court of Directors—owed more respect than they paid to the honourable, pure-intentioned son of the great man—the first Lord Clive—to whom they substantially owed their sovereignty in India.

During the administration of Marquess Wellesley, the establishments of the Protestant church in India were improved, without any offence being offered to the religious prejudices of the natives; missionaries were encouraged in their arduous and, to this day, almost fruitless efforts at conversion; and countenance and protection, and a most liberal hospitality, were bestowed on the learned and scientific men of all countries that visited or dwelt in India. The dark superstitions and revolting rites of the Hindus could not be suppressed at one blow, or in a short series of years, and any rash attempt would have ruined our empire, and have deluged the country with European and native blood; but a commencement was made, and the horrible annual sacrifices at the island of Sagor, near one of the mouths of the Ganges, were suppressed.†

\* Rise and Progress of the British Power in India. By Peter Auber, M.R.A.S., late Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

† Sagor Island, on the east side of the Hooghly river, was a celebrated place of pilgrimage among the Hindus, on account of the great sanctity arising from its situation at the junction of the holiest branch of the Ganges with the ocean. Many human sacrifices were in consequence annually performed of aged persons of both sexes, which were voluntary, and of children, which were forced. The periods fixed for the celebration of these sacrifices were, the full of the moon in November and the full of the moon in January.

It is characteristic of the writer, his book, and school, that Mr. Mill, in his history of British India, should omit all mention of these benefits to humanity, and of the other unquestionable benefits conferred upon India and on the trading world of England during Lord Wellesley's administration. In the course of 400 tedious pages given to the history of this administration, Mr. Mill severely criticises almost everything that was done or contemplated by the governor-general. He censures him for not being wise enough to appreciate Jeremy Bentham's Panop-

By order of the Court of Directors, the libraries of Calcutta and the other presidencies have been well supplied with copies of the Marquess Wellesley's Dispatches; and to them the servants of the East India Company must often refer as to oracles. In an address which was unanimously voted to him in 1837, the Directors said:—"To the eventful period of your lordship's government, the Court look back with feelings common to their countrymen; and, anxious that the minds of their servants should be enlarged by the instruction to be derived from the accumulated experience of eminent statesmen, they felt it a duty to diffuse widely the means of consulting a work unfolding the principles upon which the supremacy of Britain in India was successfully manifested and enlarged, under a combination of circumstances in the highest degree critical and difficult."

The marquess was not recalled, but voluntarily resigned. It is said that he had only been prevailed on to retain the governor-generalship so long, at a most critical period of Indian history, by the earnest intercession of Mr. Pitt's government.\* The financial repinings of the Court of Directors, which had so often vexed his ear while in India, seem to have died away on his return home; though many years were allowed to pass before his merits were fully acknowledged, or before he received substantial marks of the gratitude of that body. He was well received by the government of the day, but that government was fast

tion, and for not introducing utilitarian principles; he concludes with a balance of accounts, and censures his lordship for having spent a prodigious deal of money; but he says not one word about the progressive increase of the revenues derived from the country, not one word about his lordship's good political economy, and his extension of the principle of free trade, &c. &c.

\* Lord Brougham, 'Statesmen of the Time of George III.' 3rd series. The noble author adds: "Lord Wellesley always gratefully acknowledged the merits and services of Lord Sidmouth, to whom he had through life been much attached."

approaching its dissolution; for Mr. Pitt was dying when he gave the hand of welcome to his friend, and he died a few days after the interview. It had become a fashion with a certain portion of the British parliament to denounce the conduct of every governor-general while in the East, and to endeavour to get up an impeachment against him on his return to England. Philip Francis had helped to establish this fashion, and was always ready to prompt or cram the accusers, and to give them the support of his eloquence in the House of Commons, or of his pen as a pamphleteer. A very crack-brained person named Paull, who had lived for some time in India, and who had received there sundry favours from the marquess, stepped forward as chief accuser in the present instance, and did his little best to demonstrate that the governor-general and his brother Sir Arthur had pursued a line of policy and had committed deeds in India which called aloud for punishment, and which ought to exclude them for ever from the honour of serving their country in any capacity. The ultra-oppositionists took him by the hand (to leave him, when his fortune was ruined, to despair and suicide), and Francis did his usual spiriting, not gently, but passionately and yet effectively. It was not through the want of any exertion on the part of Hastings's "venomous knight"\* that the greatest soldier of modern Europe was not set aside just at the moment when the country most needed his services. But the articles of impeachment against the marquess, presented by Paull, and supported by Francis and his party, were thrown out by a large majority of the House of Commons, and were reprobated by the general sense of the nation.

\* "A serpent bit Francis, that venomous knight:  
What then?—'twas the serpent that died of  
the bite."

*Epigram by Warren Hastings.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

## ADMINISTRATION OF SIR GEORGE BARLOW.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW had long been a civil servant of the Company; and had recommended himself to the notice of his superiors by an able and honourable discharge of the various subordinate offices which he filled before he reached the high station of governor-general. He was actively employed, during the first administration of Lord Cornwallis, in introducing the code of regulations for the civil administration of Bengal; and he filled the office of chief secretary to government under Sir John Shore and Lord Wellesley, before he obtained a seat in the Supreme Council. He had been a member of that Council during the last four years of the Wellesley administration, and he was now senior member. By act and charter the powers of government fell provisionally into his hands on the death of Lord Cornwallis. But the Court of Directors deemed Barlow a fit person to be confirmed in the office of governor-general, and the Board of Control approved of the measure, though only as a temporary arrangement. The death of Mr. Pitt had brought Mr. Fox and his friends into office, and these Whigs were desirous of nominating a governor-general out of their own party. The Court of Directors were anxious to retain Sir George Barlow, and pleaded their right to nominate the governor-general. Hence arose an angry collision at home between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, and not a little confusion and obstruction to public business in India.

Sir George expressed his resolution to follow the steps of Lord Cornwallis in his second administration, and his conviction that the British interests would be best promoted by throwing off a number of our allies, and by narrowing our ter-

ritories and our connections. It was in this spirit that the recent treaties with the Mahrattas had been concluded. But Sir George, like others who had followed what was called the pacific system, thought it would be very advantageous to revive the contests and commotions which formerly prevailed among the states of Hindustan, and which kept all those states weak. The war policy of Lord Wellesley was not a tenth part so destructive of human happiness as this base peace policy: then a few great battles decided the contest, but now an interminable series of hostilities was to be kept up among the natives; then war had been deprived of more than half its horrors by the discipline of the British troops and the Company's sepoye, and by the honour and humanity and untiring vigilance of eminent British officers; but now all the atrocities of the Mahratta mode of warfare were to be let loose, in order to save the Company the *sin* and the *expense* of waging war in Upper Hindustan.\* In

\* Bishop Heber has left a short but striking sketch of the difference between European and Mahratta warfare. During part of his tour through Oude he was escorted by a few Mahrattas, who, after being well beaten, had entered the Company's service. They displayed a tawdry banner, and beat their kettledrum, whenever the amiable prelate approached a town or village. "Well it is for these poor peasants," says the bishop, "that the Mahratta banner and kettledrum are now to them no more than objects of curiosity and amusement. Ten years ago there were few parts of India where such a sight and sound would not have been a sign of flight and tears; the villagers, instead of crowding to see us, would have come out indeed, but with their hands clasped, kissing the dust, and throwing down before the invaders all their wives' silver ornaments, with bitter entreaties that the generous conqueror would condescend to take all they had and do them no further injury; and they would have accounted themselves but too happy if these prayers were heard, so that their

contrasting his bold, open, manly policy with this clandestine, mean, degrading system, Lord Wellesley was accustomed to say that *his* was the true peace policy, and that by persevering in it a stop would be put to the carnage and anarchy which had so long raged in Upper India, and which were sure to rage again, even without our instigation, if we did not deprive the native princes of the power of making invasions and wars. In every victory obtained by Lord Lake or by his brother General Wellesley, the governor-general saw the prospect of reducing to order and restoring to prosperity the whole of Upper Hindustan.

In spite of the earnest representations of Lord Lake, Sir George Barlow dissolved the alliance of the Company with the Rajah of Boondee and the Rajah of Jypoor. Both these native princes had given proof of their fidelity and attachment to the English during the late Mahratta war. A British army under Major-General Jones was, by the Rajah of Jypoor's aid, and the ample supplies which his country furnished, enabled to maintain a position of the greatest importance to the success of the general operations of that war. Upon finding himself abandoned to the mercy of the Mahrattas, the rajah loudly exclaimed against the bad faith of the English. Sir George intended to complete his destruction of treaties by tearing up those which the Company had contracted with the smaller states of Bhurtpoor and Macherry; but circumstances prevented such proceeding, and the rajahs of Macherry and Bhurtpoor, with other chiefs settled in their vicinity, continued to adhere to their engagements, and to form an essential part of the strength which the Company derived from the maintenance of the territories to the west of the Jumna. When Sir George was superseded, it was found necessary to draw still more closely the ties of alliance with all the chiefs to the north-west of the Jumna and to the south of the

Sutledge, so as to erect a strong frontier to the Company's territories; and this was done by the government of Lord Minto, who was satisfied that the security of our possessions was more likely to be maintained by using our great and commanding power to preserve the general peace and tranquillity of India, than by adopting a policy which declaredly looked to the disputes and wars of our neighbours as one of the chief sources of our security; and which, if it did not directly excite such wars, shaped its political relations in a manner calculated to create and continue them.\* Lord Wellesley had exposed in spirited language the dishonour, the abomination of this last policy. "In the termination of hostilities," said he, "my solicitude has been directed to the important purpose of effecting a general pacification of India, on principles of reciprocal justice and moderation. The power, reputation, and dignity of the British empire in India will derive additional security and lustre from the establishment of peace and good order among the native states. In the decline of intrinsic strength, inferior states may perhaps have gained a temporary safety by fomenting the discord of contiguous powers; but in any extremity such a policy is unwarrantable and disgraceful, nor can permanent repose be secured upon such precarious foundations."†

Scindiah, far from being satisfied with the very advantageous treaty which he had obtained when his fortunes were desperate, lost no time in advancing claims to more and more territory. The province of Berar suffered severely from inroads made by Scindiah's Pindarrees; and it was in vain that the people applied for the protection of the British. Yet General Wellesley had formed a treaty with the Rajah of Berar, in which the Company was bound to afford protection. Fierce dissensions arose amongst the Rajpoot chiefs, which threatened to plunge the whole of Rajpootana into confusion and misery; but Sir George Barlow de-

houses were left unburnt, and their wives and daughters inviolate! War is, doubtless, a dreadful evil everywhere; but war as it was carried on in these countries appears to have horrors which a European soldier can scarcely form an idea of."  
—*Indian Journal*.

\* Sir John Malcolm.

† Wellesley Dispatches, &c. Reply to the Address of the British Inhabitants of Calcutta on the 29th of February, 1804.

clined interfering, even as a mediator. Other commotions began to rage in other parts of the country, and if the pro-tempore governor-general did not excite or rejoice at them, he certainly did nothing to prevent them. At the same time he busily interfered in all matters within the Company's own territories, over-tightening the chords of government, and disgusting not a few of the able, high-spirited men who had risen in the service under the Marquess Wellesley. Sir George Barlow's authority, however, very soon expired.

Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had distinguished himself by the heat of his zeal against Warren Hastings and Sir Elijah Impey, had now succeeded Lord Castlereagh as President of the Board of Control. Between the date of that interminable impeachment and the year 1806 he had been governor of Corsica, he had contributed to our losing that island, and he had been raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Minto. He and his friends had been but a very few days in office when the news arrived of Lord Cornwallis's death in India. It was he that addressed the chairs in Leadenhall-street, and suggested that Sir George Barlow should be immediately appointed governor-general: but in so doing he had intimated *that it was to be viewed only as a temporary appointment, prompted by the exigency of the case in the first days of a new administration.* This new administration were very desirous of appointing the Earl of Lauderdale, who, as Lord Maitland, had been one of the managers in Hastings's impeachment, and had given numerous proofs of hot party zeal. On the 7th of March, 1806, or little more than three weeks after he had suggested that Sir George Barlow should remain ad interim, Lord Minto, presiding at the Board of Control, told the chairman and vice-chairman of the Court of Directors that the government had chosen to name the Earl of Lauderdale for the permanent successor of Marquess Cornwallis as governor-general. The Directors were astonished and displeased; and it is doubted whether Lord Minto was very anxious for the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale, or whether he did not all

along look himself for the honours and emoluments of the India vice-royalty. A correspondence ensued between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. In a letter dated the 12th of May, Lord Minto, as President of the Board of Control, urged the principle that the king's ministers ought to have an individual of their own party, or in their entire confidence, as governor-general. The Board claimed at the hands of the Court of Directors the same degree of credit and deference which it had been the happy system and practice of that Court to give to his Majesty's government in similar cases; and they again named the Earl of Lauderdale as the governor-general of their choice. The Court of Directors, however, refused to rescind their appointment of Sir George Barlow, and quoted acts and charter in proof of their right to have a governor-general who enjoyed *their confidence* (which Lord Lauderdale never did). The subject was hotly discussed in newspapers and in pamphlets. It was a paper war between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. The king, or the mixed Whig cabinet acting in his name, determined to revoke the Directors' *unanimous* nomination; and accordingly, on the 29th of May, it was intimated to the Court of Directors by Lord Minto that his Majesty had *vacated* Sir George Barlow's appointment. The Court presented a strong remonstrance against this proceeding on the part of his Majesty's ministers, in the exercise of the power of recall, insisting that it entirely nullified the power vested by charter in their Court. Lord Minto stated in reply that there were urgent reasons for not protracting the discussion,—that he was ready to assist in maintaining the right of the Court of Directors to appoint; but that they must feel that the power of revocation lay both in the crown and in the Court, and could be exercised either by the King or by the Directors, without mutual agreement or the consent of both. His lordship denied that ministers wished to arrogate to themselves the exclusive right of appointment, and subscribed to the remark of the Court of Directors, that it had been usual for them to have an understanding with his Majesty's minis-

ters, and to consult their opinions and wishes in nominating to so important a post as that of governor-general of India. The subject was brought before the House of Peers by Lord Melville, who had been for so many years at the head of the Board of Control, but who was now out of office and suffering under the ill effects of an impeachment. Melville took part with the Court of Directors. He said that the principal difference between the lost India bill of Mr. Fox, and the passed and sanctioned bill of Mr. Pitt, was this—The Fox bill aimed at putting the patronage of India into the hands of the Crown, the Pitt bill vested it substantially in the East India Company, on the assumption that it would be more beneficially exercised by the Company than by the King's ministers. Now Pitt's bill was the law; and it could not be supposed that that bill intended to enable his Majesty's ministers to appropriate to themselves the patronage of India, by exercising at their own will and pleasure the power of recalling the governor-general. The clause in that bill, continued Melville, was indeed intended to render the consent of the crown indispensable to a new appointment, and to act as a check upon the Court of Directors in case of their being led by partiality to make an improper appointment; but the concurrent power thus entrusted to the crown would be grossly abused if exercised merely with a view to enforce the appointment of a particular individual whom his Majesty's ministers might desire to make governor-general. This, he said, had been the first instance in which such a power had been assumed. On the other hand, Lord Grenville, the premier, contended that Pitt's bill clearly gave to the Crown a power of recall; and that it was not to be supposed that, because a particular appointment in India might be vacated or reversed by the Crown, all the appointments and the whole of the patronage must fall under the control of ministers. His lordship admitted that if it could be proved that the power of the crown had been exercised in this instance merely for the purpose of procuring the appointment of a particular person, it might be considered as a violation of the law, but he re-

minded Lord Melville that, from the passing of Pitt's bill in 1784 down to 1801, not a single governor had been appointed who had not been recommended by him (Melville) himself. The question was also debated in the Commons. Lord Castlereagh, so recently displaced from the presidency of the Board of Control, severely censured the conduct of the new ministers, and denied their power or their right to force the Court of Directors to submit to the appointment of an individual who had little to recommend him to the post of governor-general except his party connections and the wishes of his friends. Francis, who was still listened to as an oracle by a large portion of the Whig party whenever he spoke upon Indian affairs, and who was still as expert as ever in picking holes in men's characters, told the House that Sir George Barlow, though now the favourite and elect of the Court of Directors, had, on some former occasions, incurred the displeasure of that honourable Court. Paull, the crazy defamer of the Marquess Wellesley and his great brother, declared that, in order to secure the respect of the native princes, the governor-general of India should always be a man of high rank, and not a mere revenue officer like Sir George Barlow. Men of much sounder minds shared in this opinion; and it appears to have been a general feeling among those best acquainted with the man, the country, and the circumstances of the times, that Barlow had not the higher qualifications necessary to the office. On the other hand, very few thought that the Earl of Lauderdale, who had been a wretchedly bad ambassador, would make a good governor-general. The Court of Directors most stoutly resisted the appointment of this Thane, and being backed by public opinion their resistance was so formidable that ministers were obliged to yield to it. The cabinet, however, continued to insist that the governor-general must be an individual in their confidence or of their party; and that the appointment of Barlow must be vacated. The dispute ended in this curious compromise—ministers gave up Lauderdale, the Court of Directors gave up Barlow, and Lord Minto, President of the Board of

Control, was transmuted into governor-general.

Though nominated in July, 1806, Lord Minto did not reach India until July, 1807.

In the interval the Madras presidency had been the scene of some alarming events. Our power in the East had almost been shaken by the rashness of certain martinets who interfered with the beards, earrings, and turbans of our sepoy. Lord William Bentinck had succeeded Lord Clive as governor of Madras at the end of August, 1803, and had immediately set on foot various reforms or changes. In the particular reform which caused the trouble, he is said to have had little to do. It originated with Sir John Cradock, afterwards Lord Howden, who became in 1805 commander-in-chief of the forces in the Madras presidency; but it should appear that Lord William Bentinck, who showed himself, at a later period and in other countries, a very impatient reformer, was rather too zealous in enforcing Cradock's plan. Hitherto there had been no code of military regulations under the presidency of Madras. In March, 1805, General Sir John Cradock submitted to the governor of Madras a proposition for the preparation of a code; and Major Pearce, the deputy adjutant-general, was appointed to prepare it. The code was soon finished and presented; and Lord William Bentinck not only approved of it, but also considered it his duty to enforce it. It was made to appear afterwards that his lordship had never read the code, or, at least, had not attended to some old but dormant regulations which were now coupled or appended to it, and which were of a nature highly offensive to the prejudices of the native troops. Among these offensive regulations were the following—the sepoys were required to clip their mustachios, to appear on parade with their chins clean shaved, and never to wear the distinguishing marks of caste on their forehead, or their earrings when in uniform. A turban of a new fashion, and of one unvarying cut, was also ordered for the sepoys.

At first the native soldiers seemed to submit to these innovations; but they were soon found to be as angry as the

Russian Strelitz had been when Peter the Great took them by the beard. The first symptoms of mutiny appeared in the 2nd battalion of the 4th regiment of native infantry, which then composed part of the garrison of Vellore, in the fortress of which the family of the late Tippoo Sultan still resided. On the 6th and 7th of May (1806), these sepoys, being called upon to wear the new turban, became disorderly, and vowed they would wear no such abomination. Sir John Cradock, as commander-in-chief, ordered a court of inquiry to be held to report upon the causes of this insubordination. But before the court met, he ordered that the non-commissioned native officers who refused to wear the new regulation turban should be reduced to the ranks; and he insisted upon the immediate adoption of the turban by the mutinous battalion. The court of inquiry soon reported that the objection to the new regulation turban had no warrant in the religious prejudices of the people; and that the evidence from all quarters, whether from Hindus or from Mussulmans, was in favour of the new turban. The court sentenced nineteen of the ringleaders in the disorderly battalion to punishment. Seventeen of these men were pardoned, but two were condemned to receive 900 lashes each. After a time the discipline of the battalion seemed to be perfectly restored; but on the 4th of July the commander-in-chief asked the advice of the Madras government on the expediency of revoking the order for the new turban, as he said he had reasons to suppose that it gave almost universal dissatisfaction to the native Mussulman troops, and as he understood that the sepoys were impressed with the notion that it was intended to convert them by force to Christianity. Sir John Cradock added that still it was his wish to persevere, and conquer prejudice; but that he could not, with satisfaction to his own mind, persevere to the full extent without the advice and sanction of the government. The governor in council regretted that the turban order had ever been adopted, but agreed with the commander-in-chief that to revoke the order would be to commit the authority and respect due to those who had issued it. It was thought that it

did not appear either from the report of the court of inquiry, or upon any other authority, that the regulation turban contained anything really offensive to the religious prejudices of the natives.\* Several sepoy officers of high caste had declared that there was nothing in the regulation turban contrary to their faith. The governor in council proposed issuing a general order to the native troops, containing the most positive assurances that "no intention existed to introduce any change incompatible with the laws or usages of their religion." This general order was drawn up, and a copy of it was sent to General Sir John Cradock for his consent and approbation previously to its publication, for Sir John chanced to be absent from the council when the question was debated. Upon receiving the copy, the commander-in-chief warmly approved of its spirit; but having been led to believe that the reports which he had received about the discontent of the sepoys had been greatly exaggerated, he considered the publication of the general order to be no longer necessary. In an unhappy moment the governor in council

adopted Sir John Cradock's opinion; and the general order was not published to the troops. A very few days after the commander-in-chief had written his letter the memorable massacre of Vellore was perpetrated.

The martinets had continued to try the temper of the native troops by insisting on that part of the unlucky military code which was intended to produce uniformity in the appearance of the soldiers on parade, by reducing their beards and mustachios to one pattern, by discontinuing the marks on the forehead which denote the several castes, and by making the men lay aside their huge earrings. It should, however, appear that, although these parts of the regulation were more odious than the new turban, the discontents of the sepoys would not have led them into mutiny, insurrection, and murder if their feelings had not been worked upon by a few designing desperate men, who aimed at restoring the family of Tippoo to the sovereignty which that sultaun had lost. The lesson taught by the wild outbreak of Vizier Ali and the assassination of Mr. Cherry and others at Benares had been thrown away upon our Indian governments, for the family of Tippoo and their numerous adherents had been allowed to remain in Vellore, at a short distance from the frontiers of their own country, the kingdom of Mysore, which General Sir Arthur Wellesley had taken such pains to put in order.\* The splendour which the sons of Tippoo were enabled, by the liberality of the Company, to keep up, and the liberty which they enjoyed of holding intercourse with a continual influx of strangers, including nearly all that came to Vellore from the countries which had once belonged to their father, are believed to have contributed to strengthen a regular conspiracy, and to facilitate the

\* We have before us a description of the turban and an account of the troubles to which it gave rise, written by an English officer on the staff of the naval commander-in-chief, who was at Madras at the time of the insurrection.

"The turban was made of English broadcloth, covering a slight iron frame; the only other material employed was a small cockade of leather, to which some objected, suspecting it to be the skin of a hog, which is an impure animal, though the chief dislike arose from a fancy that the whole resembled a hat, which particularly marks a European.

"The author was at that period at Madras, and well remembers that the sentries at his own door mounted guard for some days with a shawl or handkerchief bound about the head, rather than wear this hateful turban. In no other respect did the troops at the presidency show any disposition to resist the authority of their officers, though considerable pains were taken by the malcontents to instigate them to mutiny."—*Massacre of Vellore*, in the 'Plain Englishman,' vol. ii. London and Windsor, 1821.

The excellent officer and man who furnished this article—Edward Hawke Locker, Esq., Commissioner of Greenwich Hospital—was joint editor with Mr. Charles Knight of the 'Plain Englishman,' one of the very earliest of the works produced with the view of conveying useful information, and good taste and entertainment, to our industrious classes.

\* "The Court of Directors appear to have had some doubts whether Bengal might not have been, upon the whole, more eligible in point of security from all possible effects likely to create disturbance; but it was not an opinion pressed against the arrangement which had been adopted at the termination of the Mysore war in 1799."—*Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, by Peter Auber, M.R.A.S., late Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors.

execution of the daring design. It is said that the confederates intended that all who were brought to join in the insurrection should act upon a preconceived plan, which had been digested and privately circulated by some of the turbulent Marawa chiefs; and that in connection with these desperadoes were some few Frenchmen disguised as fakirs or dervishes, who went about the country inveighing everywhere against the English as robbers and tyrants.\* It is also stated that placards were fixed up within the mosques and Hindu temples, where Europeans never entered, to excite a general spirit of revolt among the whole native population of Madras.†

Colonel Fancourt, an experienced and brave soldier, who commanded the garrison of Vellore, was taken completely by surprise, for he believed that the court of inquiry and the severe punishment of the two ringleaders had put down the spirit of mutiny. He was in bed and asleep at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of July, when the conspirators began the massacre by attacking the European part of the garrison, which consisted of only four companies of his Majesty's 69th regiment. The mutinous sepoys being joined by Coilleries or professional robbers from Marawa, by the rabble of Vellore, a large and populous town, and by other desperadoes, were as ten to one to the British soldiers of the 69th,‡

\* Biographical Memoir of the late Major-General Sir R. R. Gillespie, as cited in the 'East India Military Calendar'; containing the services of general and field officers of the Indian army.

† Massacre of Vellore, in the 'Plain Englishman.'

‡ The Coilleries of Marawa and of some other neighbouring districts exercised their profession as a birthright. They never considered their calling in any way disreputable, it having descended to them as an inheritance from their ancestors. If questioned, any one of them would answer that he was a robber by birth, parentage, and education!

It afterwards appeared that some 3000 Mysoreans had followed the family of Tippoo from Seringapatam, and had settled in the town or in the immediate neighbourhood of Vellore; and that the number of the servants and adherents living within the fortress was not less than 1700 or 1800. In the last number, we suppose, were included the women of the zenanas, who were nearly 800, and who were all very handsomely provided for. These wives and concubines and

who, moreover, were taken as completely by surprise as was Colonel Fancourt. Several warnings had been given, but none had been heeded. Except the ordinary weak night-guards, men and officers were in their beds. Just as the moon had risen above the horizon, the European barracks were silently surrounded; and then a most destructive fire was poured in at every door and window, from musketry and a six-pounder, upon the poor defenceless soldiers. At the same moment the European soldiers doing duty with some of the sepoy on the main guard, and even the sick in the hospital, were assaulted and inhumanly butchered. This being done, the assassins hastened to the houses of the British officers, where they put to death all who fell into their hands. Colonel Mac Kerras, who commanded one of the sepoy battalions, was shot while haranguing his men on the parade ground. Lieutenant Ely, of the 69th, with his infant son in his arms, was bayoneted before the eyes of his young wife. Four English officers of the 1st native regiment were killed and one was wounded. Three of these gentlemen were murdered in a horrible manner. Finding they could make no resistance against such numbers, they hid themselves in a bath. The sepoy discovered their retreat, first fired, then rushed forward and bayoneted them, and afterwards collected straw and other combustibles, and set fire to them: when found, the three officers were so disfigured that it was impossible to distinguish one from the other.\* Others were barbarously treated, tortured, and then dispatched. The mental torture of those who survived was ex-

dancing-girls had been collected from many quarters of India; and each furnished her apartment in the palace according to the fashion of her native country. The four elder sons of Tippoo were allowed 50,000 rupees, and the younger children 25,000 rupees each per annum. Without counting uncles, cousins, &c., there were twelve sons and eight daughters of Tippoo dwelling in Vellore, and living in great luxury and magnificence.

The police must have been carelessly managed, for many hundreds of vagrants, fakirs, jugglers, and the like, had been allowed to settle in the town, and to live upon the bounty of the Mysorean state prisoners.

\* East India Military Calendar.

cruciating, and it lasted for many hours. We have in our hands a simple and touching narrative, written immediately after the event by a wife and mother—by the wife of Colonel Fancourt, the commander of the garrison. This lady says: "Colonel Fancourt and I retired to rest at ten o'clock on Wednesday night; about the hour of two on Thursday morning we were both awakened at the same instant with a loud firing. We got out of bed, and Colonel Fancourt went to the window of his writing-room, which he opened, and called aloud and repeatedly to know the cause of the disturbance, to which he received no answer, but a rapid continuation of the firing by numberless sepoy's assembled at the main guard. Colonel F. then went down stairs, and about five minutes after returned to his writing-room, and requested me to bring him a light instantly. I did so, and placed it on the table; he then sat down to write, and I shut the open window from which he had spoken to the sepoy's, fearing some shot might be directed at him as he sat, for they were *then* firing in all directions from the main guard. I looked at my husband, and saw him as pale as ashes. I said, 'Good God, what is the matter, my dear Sir John?' to which he replied, 'Go into your room, Amelice.' I did so, for I saw his mind so agitated, I did not think it right to repeat my question at that moment. I heard him, two minutes after, leave the writing-room and go out of the house. Between three and four o'clock, I believe, the firing at the main guard ceased, and the drum beat, which I afterwards found was owing to my husband's exertions to quiet the sepoy's. It then began again at the European barracks, after my husband left the house; I hear he returned again, though I imagine but for a moment; I certainly heard the door of his writing-room tried very soon after the firing at the main guard had ceased, but having, after he quitted me, bolted the door, if it was he, he could not enter. When I heard the door attempted, I called out, 'Is it you, Sir John?' to which I received no answer. . . . I bolted all the doors in my room, and brought my children into it: I fell on my knees, and fervently

prayed that Colonel Fancourt's endeavours to restore peace to the garrison might be crowned with success, and his life spared through the mercy of God. I dressed, and twice cautiously opened the hall-door, and felt my way in the dark to the lower end of the hall, to look where they were firing most. I perceived it was chiefly directed at the European barracks. The last time I ventured from my room, as I stood at the lower end of the hall, which was quite open to the verandah, a figure approached me. It was so dark, I could only see the red coat by the light of the firing at the barracks. I was dreadfully frightened, expecting to be murdered, and having left the children in my bedroom, dreaded *their* last hour was come also. I had courage to ask, 'Who is there?' The answer I received was, 'Madam, I am an officer.' I then said, 'But who are you?' To which the gentleman replied, 'I am an officer of the main guard.' I inquired what was the matter? He said it was a mutiny; that *every* European on guard had been murdered already but himself, and that we should all be murdered. I made no reply, but walked away to the room where my babes and female servants were: the officer went out of the opposite door of the hall, and never got down stairs alive, for he was butchered most cruelly in Colonel Fancourt's dressing-room. I have since heard his name—Lieutenant O'Reilly, of the 1st battalion 1st native infantry. After this conversation with the above-mentioned officer, I began to think it unsafe to quit my room again; but as soon as daylight appeared I went into Colonel Fancourt's writing-room, and looked through the Venetian blinds on the parade. I saw some soldiers of the 69th lying dead; four sepoy's were on the watch at Colonel Marriott's door,\* and several issuing from the gates of the palace. The latter were not firing; indeed I think they were unarmed, and making a great noise. They were at this time firing on the ramparts, and appe-

\* Colonel Thomas Marriott and his brother Major Charles Marriott were charged with the duty of looking after the Mysorean family. The Major was shot in the side while addressing some of the mutineers.—*East India Military Calendar*.

rently in all parts of the fort. . . . . They were next employed in ransacking the houses, intent upon murder and plunder. I at this moment gave up *all for lost*. I opened my dressing-table drawer, and took out my husband's miniature, which I tied on and hid under my habit-shirt, determined to lose that but in death. I had secured his watch some time before, to ascertain the hour. I had hardly secured the much-valued resemblance of my husband before I heard a loud noise in the hall adjoining my bedroom: I moved softly to the door, and looking through the keyhole, discovered two sepoy knocking a chest of drawers to pieces. I was struck with horror, knowing their next visit would be to my apartment. My children and three female servants were at this time lying on the mat just before a door which opened into the back verandah, and which, at the commencement of the mutiny, seemed the safest place, as shots were fired at the windows, and we were obliged to move as fast as possible from them. I whispered my ayah (native nurse) that the sepoys were in the hall, and told her to move from the door. She took the children under my bed, and begged me to go there also. I had no time to reply, for the door we had just left was at that instant burst open. I got under the bed, and was no sooner there than several shots were fired into the room; but although the door was open, nobody entered. I took up a musket-ball which fell close to me under my bed. The children were screaming with terror at the fire, and I expected our last hour was come; but, making one effort to save my babes, I got from my hiding-place, and flew into a small adjoining room off the back staircase. I opened the window, from which I only saw two horsekeepers. I returned instantly to my bedroom, desiring my ayah to take my little babe in her arms; I took Charles in my own; and, opening the door of the back stairs, ran down them as quick as I could. When we got to the bottom, we found several sepoys on guard at the back of the house. I showed them my babes, and told my ayah to inform them they might take all we had if they would spare our lives. One of them

desired us to sit down in the stable with the horses; another looked very surly, but did not prevent our going there. While we stayed in the stable, I told the ayah I had my husband's watch, and requested she would hide it for me. She dug up some earth with her fingers and threw over the watch, and put two or three chatties upon it. We had not been seated five minutes before we were ordered away by a third sepoy. He told us to go into the fowl-house, which had a bamboo front to it; and in consequence we were quite exposed to view till the same man brought us an old mat, which we made use of by placing it before the door to hide ourselves; and afterwards the same kind sepoy brought my little boy half a loaf of bread to satisfy his hunger. Here I suppose we sat about three hours; I in the greatest agony of mind, endeavouring to quiet my dear Charles, whom I found it very difficult to pacify, he was so alarmed by the constant firing, and cried sadly to go out several times. I saw the sepoys from my concealment taking out immense loads of our goods on their backs, tied up in table-cloths and sheets; they all went by way of the ramparts, which made me fear they had still possession of the works.\* I know not how I was supported; through the mercy of Providence I fainted not; I kept my senses through all the horrors of the night and morning. What I most dreaded to hear was my husband's murder; and I really believe I should have braved death, and searched for him on the parade, had not the situation of my babes withheld me from the rash attempt; my dread of having them murdered in my absence, or leaving them wretched orphans, made me remain in this place of concealment. I hoped for the arrival of the 19th dragoons from Arcot; the few lines Colonel Fancourt wrote in his room I thought most probably were intended

\* Major Charles Armstrong, of the Madras establishment, who was stationed at Gooty, chanced to arrive on the glacis of Vellore between night and morning, and was seen and challenged by the mutineers from the ramparts. On giving his name he received a volley of musketry, which broke both his legs. As he lay bleeding and helpless on the ground, a savage fakir came up and dispatched him.—*East Ind. Military Cal.*

to be sent express to Colonel Gillespie (who was that morning coming to spend a few days with us); but whether Colonel F. had the means of sending off his dispatch or not, I was quite ignorant; still, however, I thought the news must reach Colonel Gillespie on the road by some means or other; and seeing a tremendous firing at the gates strengthened my hopes that the regiment was arrived. Our house appeared at this time quite deserted by the sepoy; but suddenly several of them rushed into the Ampound, and called out (as my ayah said) to find and murder me. She requested me to go into the further corner of the fowl-house, which I did, taking Charles with me and covering him with my gown. I had much difficulty to keep him quiet, he screamed so; every instant I expected we should all be murdered; but the firing at the gate became now so strong, that they were obliged to fly to it, and once more vacated the house, by which means we escaped death. I was so thirsty as several times to drink dirty water out of a dirty chatty, and gave the same to my dear Charles also. At last I heard distinctly the horses of the 19th on the drawbridge, and huzza repeated aloud; then I hoped everything, and presently after heard them enter the fort. An officer rode in, and called for me by name, but I could not answer or move. Again I heard my name repeated, and saw an officer in a red jacket I thought looked like my husband. I sprung forward to meet him; it was Mr. Maclean. I called for my husband; he told me he was alive. Colonel Gillespie and Mr. Maclean then joined us, and both gave me the same assurance. They took me up stairs and placed me on a chair, giving me wine and water to drink. When the agitation of my mind was calmed, they told me Colonel Fancourt was wounded, though not dangerously, and that he must be kept quiet. About an hour after, I was told by the surgeon of the 69th my husband was in danger, but that worse wounds had been cured; they were flesh wounds, and the balls had not lodged. Hope still made me think he would recover. I would not even ask to see him, thinking the sight of me might agitate him too

much. Alas! I found too late there was no hope from the first; he breathed his last about four o'clock the same evening. Thank God he died easily; his death was happy, I am fully satisfied, for he lived religiously, and met his death in the faithful discharge of his duty.\*

It appeared afterwards that Colonel Fancourt had been shot by the sepoy as he was proceeding to the main-guard, and that he had been found by some of the 19th dragoons in a dying state. Other wives and mothers suffered equally with the lady whose interesting narrative we have given at full length. In all 14 or 15 British officers and about 100 British soldiers were massacred. At about 7 o'clock in the morning two officers and a surgeon, whose quarters were near to the European barracks, contrived to get in, and took the command of the remains of the four companies of the 69th. These few men soon made a sally from the barracks and gained possession of the six-pounder which the mutineers had been using: they then fought their way through their assailants, till they reached the ramparts and a gateway, on the top of which Serjeant Brodie, with his European guard, continued most gallantly to resist the whole body of the insurgents. This Brodie was the hero of the day, for he fought on, and maintained his post for several hours after all the officers had been killed.

Such was the state of things when Colonel Gillespie, who commanded at Arcot, received the dismal tidings of what was doing at Vellore. Fancourt and Gillespie were old friends and fellow-soldiers—they had served together in St. Domingo—and they had been made happy by being stationed near to each other in the Carnatic. Gillespie had appointed to dine with his friend and family on the preceding day, and to sleep in their quarters at Vellore: but just as he mounted his horse to ride over, some letters had arrived from the government, and these requiring immediate answers, compelled him to send an excuse and postpone his

\* Narrative of the Insurrection at Vellore in the year 1806, by the widow of Colonel Fancourt, in 'The Plain Englishman.'

visit till the morrow. Had it not been for the imperative circumstance of duty which detained him at Arcot, Colonel Gillespie would almost inevitably have shared the catastrophe of his brave friend. On the morning of the 10th he mounted his horse at six o'clock, with the intention of riding over to Vellore in time for breakfast. It was at this instant that he received the news of the tragic fate of Colonel Fancourt, and of the horrors that were still prevailing. Not a moment was to be lost; and, therefore, collecting instantly a troop of the 19th dragoons, whose horses were already saddled, and ordering the galloper guns to follow with all possible speed, he applied the spur, and went off at the racing pace. The distance from Arcot to Vellore is about sixteen English miles. It was seldom performed in so short a time. So eager was Colonel Gillespie to reach the place that he was considerably in advance of his troop of dragoons, when Serjeant Brodie, who had burned almost his last cartridge, descried him from the top of the gateway. Brodie, who had served with him in St. Domingo, turned to his drooping comrades and said, "If Colonel Gillespie be alive, here he is at the head of the 19th dragoons, and God Almighty has sent him from the West Indies, to save our lives in the East!" Regardless of his own safety, and in the face of a furious fire, poured upon him from the walls and close round towers, the Colonel pushed towards the bastion and the gateway. There, a chain, formed of the soldiers' belts, being let down by Serjeant Brodie, the Colonel grasped it, and was pulled up the face of the work. The poor survivors of the 69th welcomed him as a deliverer; and, at his word of command they promptly formed, charged with the bayonet, and drove the mutineers from that part of the works. Gillespie then waited till his dragoons and his galloper guns came up. Upon their arrival orders were given to blow open the gate, and, this being done, the dragoons dashed through the gateway into the fortress, and were soon followed by some native cavalry of Fort St. George who were quartered at Arcot. The mutineers and insurgents were numerous,

and they were desperate: they seemed determined to maintain the battle in the interior of the fortress; but the sudden charge of our cavalry, and then the fire of our gallopers, broke them and dispersed them. From 300 to 400 of the mutineers were cut to pieces on the spot; some hundreds threw down their arms and cried for quarter, while the rest fled in all directions. A considerable number escaped through the sally-port; but some hundreds were taken in hiding places, and imprisoned. The disaffection had not reached the native cavalry, for they charged as fiercely as our own horse, and their sabres were as deeply stained as those of the English dragoons with the blood of their misguided mutinous countrymen.\*

The standard of Tippoo Sultaun had been hoisted on the palace within the fortress almost as soon as the insurrection broke out, and no doubt was entertained that the sons of Tippoo who inhabited that palace were partakers in the plot. Colonel Gillespie felt so well assured of this fact, that in the first emotions of indignation and horror occasioned by the death of his dear friend Fancourt, and the shocking spectacle which presented itself on all sides, he would have consented to the demands of our enraged soldiers who were bent upon entering the palace. But he yielded to the entreaties of some of the persons who had the care of the Tippoo family; and though he could not be persuaded of their innocence, he condescended to take the Mysorean princes under his protection; and he sent them shortly after with a good guard down to Madras. It was reported and believed in the army that if Colonel Gillespie had not acted with such promptness and spirit, the insurgents, in the course of a few days, would have been joined by 50,000 men from Marawa, Mysore, and other parts.†

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\* "We state this fact," says a writer in the Quarterly Review, "upon the high authority of a respectable officer, who belonged to the 19th dragoons, and was with them on this memorable occasion."—No. XXXVII.

† Biographical Memoirs of the late Major-General Sir R. R. Gillespie, as quoted in the 'East India Military Calendar.' The brave Gil-

Two of the princes were clearly ascertained to have tampered with the garrison at Vellore previously to the mutiny. It was expected that some attempt would be made to rescue them while on the road to Madras; but there was nothing of the sort. The elder of Tippoo's sons on reaching Fort St. George sought an interview with the governor, Lord William Bentinck, and earnestly intreated to be allowed to remain on the coast; but Moize-ud-Deen, the younger prince, who was far more culpable than his brother, made no such effort; and they were immediately embarked with their attendants on board the 'Culoden' of 74 guns, which bore the admiral's flag, and proceeded direct for Bengal and Calcutta. The excellent officer on the admiral's staff, from whom we have already quoted, adds a few particulars. "We were officially employed in receiving them on board, and making arrangements for their accommodation, and witnessed the strong emotions of terror which they expressed on that occasion. To persons of their effeminate habits, who had never before touched salt water, and were bred up in the most indolent retirement, this transition was indeed most strange. They were suddenly conveyed by a rapid march to Madras, hurried through the tremendous surf, and hoisted up, half dead with fright and sea-sickness, into a huge fabric, which they contemplated as a prison, perhaps as their tomb. The rolling of the ship, and the roar of her guns, as she saluted the fort on weighing from the roads, completed their agitation. They regarded all around them with suspicion, and gave themselves up for lost; nor could they be persuaded of their personal safety, or that they would soon be joined, in Bengal, by their families, who were proceeding thither by land. Their removal from Vellore was undoubtedly a measure of judicious policy, although the idea of their attempting to recover the throne of Mysore was absurd."\*

But if the idea of recovering possession

of the lost and partitioned kingdom of Tippoo Sultaun was absurd, it was nevertheless very possible for the insurgents to have thrown parts of that country back into anarchy, and to have devastated some portions of the Carnatic. But for the promptitude of Colonel Gillespie some of the Mysorean leaders might have done at least as much mischief and have caused as much trouble and expense as Dhondiah Waugh.

On the first intelligence of the sanguinary outbreak, and before it was known how far the conspiracy and the disaffection of the sepoys might spread, something very like a panic prevailed among the English, who, in many places, were surrounded by none but natives and native troops. While this alarm lasted, many rash and some ridiculous proceedings were resorted to. The commanding officer of Palamcottah, dreaming incessantly of plots and assassinations, suddenly disarmed the sepoy garrison, compelled his officers to shut themselves up with him in a large house, into which he collected their wives and children, and having strongly barricaded it, he sent off for the assistance of a regiment of English cavalry, having fully persuaded himself that *his* last hour was come. This panic fear was without any foundation. The sepoys, when deprived of their muskets, remained in the fort, looking with tranquil surprise on the absurd procedure; and when at length their arms were restored to them, they resumed their duties without a murmur against the gross injustice which had been offered to their honourable fidelity.\* The alarm extended even to Fort St. George and the city of Madras, where many persons believed that there was a deep laid conspiracy to destroy the whole of the white population, and thus to overturn the British empire in India. The dispossessed Nabob of the Carnatic, who was now residing at Madras as a mere pensionary of the Company, was strongly suspected by these alarmists to be involved in the plot; and this suspicion gave rise to some ludicrous scenes.†

Gillespie was killed in 1814, at the assault of Kalunga, in the Nepaul country.

\* E. H. Locker, Esq., Massacre of Vellore, in 'The Plain Englishman.'

\* E. H. Locker, Esq., Massacre of Vellore, &c.  
† "It happened just at this time that he (the nabob) gave a splendid natch (an exhibition of dancing-girls) on the circumcision of his child,

Every black face, says one who was present, was now regarded with doubt, and the sepoys, proverbially faithful to their officers, though grievously wronged by their suspicions, were brought into a dangerous state of excitement by this very distrust. The attention of the Madras government was directed to every measure of precaution.

A few days after the massacre Lord William Bentinck stated to the council that he had not read *all* the code of military regulations; that he knew *nothing* about the shaving of the beards, clipping of mustachios, obliterating of the caste marks on the forehead, and deprivation of the ear-rings; that he had only been very lately informed of the changes in the dress of the sepoys, distinct from the new turban, and that the knowledge of this fact, and the advices received from Vellore, induced him to propose the immediate suspension of the orders regarding the turban, the marks of caste, the

to which all the chief persons of the government were invited. The council, some of whose members were infected with these false suspicions, fancied this was a contrivance to collect all the principal Europeans into the palace of Chepauk, and there sacrifice the whole at one blow! They met in secret consultation, and determined to decline the invitation; but Lord William Bentinck, who disclaimed these apprehensions, considered it proper to show no distrust in his own person towards the nabob, and resolved to attend the ceremony.

"The writer of this article, with another officer on the staff of the naval commander-in-chief, was sent to represent him on this occasion, and accompanied Lord William Bentinck to the palace. As the carriage moved slowly along between the files of British troops which lined the way from the government house to Chepauk, he is free to own that he discovered some intuition of that qualm which is said to have been formerly experienced by certain persons on their way to Tyburn; and this sensation was not much mitigated by having in his pocket a curious dagger, which the admiral (who never knew fear) reached down from his cabin before they left the ship, and, lending one to himself, and another to his companion, humorously observed, 'It would be as well to have a little play for their lives in case of a struggle.'

"The natch, however, went off extremely well, although scarce a European except themselves appeared in the immense company which assembled on the occasion; and the poor nabob, so far from meditating slaughter, was alarmed even at the suspicion, and dreaded it as much as the council."—E. H. Locker, Esq. *Massacre of Vellore*, in 'The Plain Englishman.'

ear-rings, &c. It appears that these orders, though they had never been enforced or so much as known to the native troops, really existed in writing in some old regulations, consisting of regimental orders respecting drill, dress, discipline, &c.; that they had no place in the additional orders to which, as requiring the sanction of Government, the attention of Lord William Bentinck and the council was requested by the commander-in-chief. But as Lord William took it upon himself to adopt a regular military code, and to enforce its articles, whether old or new, he ought surely to have read and to have carefully studied both, even though the old regulations did fill 150 folio sheets. In a civilian the omission might have been more excusable, but his lordship was a soldier, a general officer, and one who prided himself in his military character and acquirements. His lordship, however, frankly declared that he had read only the new or additional set of orders, and that he was ignorant of there being anything in the dormant orders of the old regulations calculated to offend the prejudices of the native troops; and that he thought the best remedy would be to revoke those particular orders altogether. In conformity with this opinion the governor-general in council sent a resolution to the officer now in command at Vellore; and the commander-in-chief addressed a circular letter to all the commanding officers of divisions, and of the subsidiary forces at Hyderabad\* and in Travancore, acquainting them that the rule about the beards, mustachios, ear-rings, and forehead marks was to be set aside, and that the old turban was to be restored unless where the native officers and soldiers should be found to prefer the new one. This last clause, which left the natives to choose what turban they should wear, was objected to by the governor in coun-

\* Although there was no massacre, very serious agitations occurred in the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, about the turban, the marks of caste, the beards, &c. The whole force of 10,000 men was thrown into disorder. The commanding officer, Colonel Montresor, with the concurrence of Captain Sydenham, the resident, wisely took upon himself the responsibility of revoking those obnoxious orders; and thereupon the disorder and the discontent ceased instantly.

cil, and Sir John Cradock as commander-in-chief deferred to the objection.

A special commission was appointed to inquire into the origin and causes of the mutiny at Vellore. It appeared to this commission that the innovations in dress and the residence and conduct of the Mysore family at Vellore were the chief if not the sole causes; and abundant evidence was produced to prove not only that there had been a previous plot, but also that it had been concerted to begin the insurrection and massacre as early as the 17th of June. A communication to this effect had been made on the night of the 16th of June to an English officer of the garrison by Mustapha Beg, a sepoy of the first battalion 1st native infantry; but the Englishman had most unwisely referred the communication to some of the native officers, and these men, deep in the plot themselves, had succeeded in inducing the belief that no discontent existed, and that Mustapha Beg was mad. The last assertion was the more easily credited as Mustapha was an habitual drunkard.\*

A general court-martial was appointed by the commander-in-chief to try the mutineers of Vellore. On the 2nd of September, the commander-in-chief submitted to the governor and council of Madras, two propositions, both of which are said to have been strongly supported by the British commanding officers of the southern and Mysore districts. The first of these propositions was, that the mutineers condemned to death by the native general court-martial should be executed, not all in one place, but in detachments, at the different divisions of the army. To this measure, as indicating a suspicion of every part of the native army, *all* the members of the council refused their assent. The second proposition of the commander-in-chief was, that the guilty regiments should be erased from the army list and disbanded. It received the assent of the majority of the council: but Lord William Bentinck negatived it upon his own authority and responsibility, urging that

such a step would only serve to perpetuate recollections which it would be the part of prudence to endeavour to extinguish. This conflict of powers was followed by another, for the supreme government at Calcutta, agreeing in opinion with the commander-in-chief, and the majority of the council of Madras, annulled the act of Lord William Bentinck, and ordered the erasure of the guilty regiments to be made immediately.

As a preliminary to the trial of the prisoners, Sir John Cradock had directed Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes and Lieutenant Coombs, to investigate their *comparative* delinquency. These two officers reported that they could not make comparisons or distinctions, as all appeared about equally guilty. But as there were 600 of them, it became an embarrassing question how to deal with them. The commander-in-chief pressed for a general banishment. The supreme government at Calcutta recommended that the execution of some of the ringleaders should be followed by a general amnesty. Lord William Bentinck recommended a temporary continuance of the imprisonment, as this would leave scope for acting according to circumstances. Besides the 600 sepoys, there were about 500 men, fugitives from Vellore, who claimed the attention of the Madras government. It was felt to be dangerous to let all these people loose in a country so lately the scene of conspiracy and revolt, and therefore the recommendation of his lordship for the temporary continuance of imprisonment was adopted by all the council except Sir John Cradock, who was still of opinion that all the mutineers ought to be banished from India. The native general court-martial sentenced a few of the mutineers to death, as having been the most culpable in the massacres. The executions took place under circumstances of peculiar solemnity. On the firing of a signal gun, a certain number were hanged, and others shot by their comrades or blown from the mouths of cannon at the same instant, in presence of all the troops. The spectacle struck terror along the whole line. But the abandonment of the objectionable regulations proved the most effectual means of re-establishing disci-

\* There was, however, no doubt of Mustapha Beg's fidelity. The government afterwards presented him with 2000 rupees and a gold medal.

pline and the public tranquillity.\* Still, however, the panic continued in many quarters, and as cowardice is nearly always cruel, those who feared the most raised a loud clamour against Lord William Bentinck for being too merciful and indulgent. These men seemed to have forgotten that hundreds of the guilty sepoys had been cut to pieces in Vellore by the 19th dragoons and the native Madras cavalry. Their outcry excited or bewildered others, for even the commander-in-chief (and we would not accuse Sir John Cradock of cowardice) condemned the system of mildness and conciliation, and contended that great severity was necessary. The supreme government at Calcutta, too, gave up their plan of amnesty, and seemed to see no resource except in Sir John Cradock's dreadful plan of a general banishment—a dreadful plan indeed, as, in the eyes of all the Hindus, banishment was more terrible than death. By this time Sir George Barlow knew that he was superseded, and that Lord Minto was on his way to India as governor-general. Under such circumstances it was not likely that Barlow should resort to any decisive measure, or attempt to overrule the noble governor of Madras. Lord William Bentinck was therefore left to persevere in his system of mildness and conciliation. By degrees most of the prisoners were released; and although they were all declared incapable of serving the Company again, some of the least guilty of them were allowed small pensions for their past services. At the same time his lordship adopted various precautions, altering the distribution of the army, and bringing together the native and European troops which had previously been broken into insulated detachments.† If his conduct, his carelessness, or his love of innovation or of quick reforms had contributed to that fearful catastrophe, his lordship's management after the insurrection appears, in our humble apprehension, to have been wise, generous, humane, and altogether admirable. But the Court of Directors, who were greatly dissatisfied with other acts

of Lord William's government, did not consider the atonement sufficient for the original error; and, perhaps, some of that honourable court did not approve of his lordship's leniency, there being at this period a very general belief in the efficacy and absolute necessity of extensive capital punishments. The Directors first received intelligence of the mutiny of Vellore, on the 17th of February, 1807, in a secret dispatch from Madras. It is said that their resolution was immediately taken to recall his lordship. A short time after, they received a letter from General Sir Thomas Maitland, then the crown-appointed governor of Ceylon, to whom the panic-stricken commandant of Palamcottah had written, when his fears were at the highest, representing, in very extraordinary terms, that a desperate conspiracy had taken deep root along all the coast, and that nothing but European aid could save our Indian empire from being wrecked.\* This confirmed the honourable Court in their resolution; and on the 27th of April, after the question had been twice postponed, it was resolved by ballot—"that although the zeal and integrity of the present governor, Lord William Bentinck, are deserving of the Court's approbation: yet, when they consider the unhappy events which have taken place at Vellore, and also other parts of his lordship's administration which have come before them, the Court are of opinion, that it is expedient, for the restoration of confidence in the Company's government, that Lord William Bentinck should be removed, and he is hereby removed accordingly." They also determined that Mr. Petrie, a member of the Madras council, should take charge of the government as soon as their dispatch should be received; and that Sir John Cradock should as instantaneously be removed from his post of commander-in-chief of the forces in that presidency.†

\* Auber.

† In the dispatch communicating the resolution of recall, the Court said, "With respect to Lord William Bentinck, of the uprightness of his intentions, and his regard for our service, we have no doubt, and we have had pleasure in expressing our satisfaction with different measures of his government; but others, which we felt our-

\* Account in 'The Plain Englishman.'

† Auber.

Lord Minto, who had left England several months before this resolution of recall, reached Madras, on his way to Bengal, in July, 1807; and there gave his sanction to the measures of lenity which had been pursued or recommended by Lord William Bentinck towards the mutineers. But this sanction of the new governor-general could not rescind the resolution of the merchant-princes of Leadenhall-street, or stop the edict which was now upon the ocean. The Directors' dispatch reached Madras on the 17th of September. It was desired to continue to Lord William, during the remainder of his stay at Madras, the honours which he had enjoyed when governor; but he declined receiving them, on account of the terms in which his removal was announced in the letter of the Court. It had been usual to allow the superseded governor the nominal possession of his office until the arrival of his successor, or until he could conveniently embark for Europe; but his lordship's functions ceased immediately on the receipt of the Directors'

selves obliged in the course of the last year to disapprove, impaired our confidence in him." They did not state the instances in which his lordship had incurred their disapprobation; but it appears to have been pretty well understood by people in India what these instances were.

His lordship, without the consent or knowledge of the Court of Directors, had gone to Calcutta to confer with the governor-general; and this was held to be contrary to rule and precedent and acts of parliament, which forbade such communications except through the councils. He had made some alterations in the revenue system; and although the Court concurred in his views at first, a difference of opinion afterwards arose among them, and his lordship was taxed by one party as having been too precipitate. Another cause of disaffection was the employment of military men in civil duties and offices. His lordship had appointed Captain Grant, of his body-guard, to be the head of the police; and against this appointment in particular Sir Henry Gwillim, one of the puisne judges at Madras, had inveighed in an address from the bench. But the most comprehensive cause of offence appears to have been his lordship's proneness to listen to reformers and innovators.

There were other and secret causes of enmity, which no doubt had their weight both at Madras and in London. His lordship, who carried financial reforms into every department of the government, had made extensive retrenchments, and had boldly set his face against jobbery and peculation.

dispatch. No measures had been taken to enable his lordship to return home, and but for the kindness of Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, he would have been obliged to remain at Madras, stripped of all authority, and in a very humiliating situation, until the departure of the homeward bound fleet of Indiamen.

General Sir John Cradock did not submit so quietly to the edict of the Court of Directors: he could not doubt of the Company's right to dismiss from the command of the Company's own troops; but he doubted—and other men shared his doubts—whether the Company had the power or right to deprive him of the command of the king's troops; and, at first, he refused to relinquish the latter command. It is astonishing that some fatal mischief did not, at some time, spring from these frequent and violent collisions of authority. Mr. Petrie, the pro-tempore governor, and the council, intimated that they would resort to the powers vested in them by charter and acts of parliament to enforce obedience; and they forthwith appointed Major-General Hay Macdowall, of the King's service, then on the staff, to the command in chief of the whole army. Sir John Cradock thought it prudent to submit, and to take his departure for England as soon as he possibly could.

On reaching England, Lord William Bentinck ineffectually endeavoured to obtain from the chairman of the Court of Directors a specific enumeration of the causes and circumstances which had led to his unceremonious recall. The chairman having declined to state the causes, his lordship addressed a powerful memorial or appeal to the whole Court of Directors. After explaining his conduct, and his ignorance of the existence of the old regulation about turbans, beards, &c., his lordship said—"The mutiny at Vellore cannot be attributed to me, directly or indirectly. I have been removed from my situation, and condemned as an accomplice, in measures with which I had no further concern than to obviate their ill consequences: my dismissal was effected in a manner harsh and mortifying; and the forms which custom has prescribed to soften the severity of a misfortune, at all events sufficiently severe, were

on this single occasion violated, as if for the express purpose of deepening my disgrace. Whatever have been my errors, they surely have not merited a punishment than which a heavier could hardly have been awarded to the most wretched incapacity, or the most criminal negligence. \* \* \* I take it for granted, that the Court of Directors have been *misinformed*, and that to place the question before them in its true light is to obtain redress. I have been severely injured in my character and feelings. For these injuries I ask reparation."

The answer of the Court of Directors to this appeal was not given until the 25th of July, 1809; and then it was not very satisfactory to his lordship. It was diffuse and not very intelligible: it paid many compliments about integrity, disinterestedness, respect for the system of the Company, purity of intention, moderation, clemency, &c.; but it justified the recall both of his lordship and General Sir John Cradock, as essential to the welfare of British India; and it repeated that the enforcing of the military code of regulations had been a capital error, which had "produced unfortunate events of an alarming and unexampled nature, and had made a vast impression upon the general mind, both in India and in Europe." Public opinion—or that limited portion of it which occupied itself about India and its affairs—was much divided as to the case which his lordship made out. In general, men judged of it according to the feelings and prejudices of party. In the eyes of the whigs the conduct of his lordship in India was faultless, and his explanations at home full and satisfactory; in the eyes of the Tories his whole administration at Madras was a fault or blunder, and his defence of his conduct impotent and inconclusive. On both sides there was gross exaggeration—the truth, as usual, lay between the two extremes—but, though strangers to any party bias ourselves, we cannot wholly acquit his lordship of carelessness and indiscretion in the matter of the military regulations, and in his enforcing articles which he had never read; nor can we (knowing his political conduct in later times and in other countries) allow ourselves to doubt that

he was too impatient in carrying out reforms and innovations, and too eager in pursuit of popularity, or of the fame always given by one portion of the British nation to the professors of what are too exclusively called liberal opinions.\*

Major Pearce, the deputy-adjutant-general, who had been appointed by Sir John Cradock to prepare the code of military regulations, and his superior, the adjutant-general, were both ordered to return to Europe. They were much better acquainted with the character and prejudices of the sepoys than was the commander-in-chief, who had been but a very short time in India when he proposed the unfortunate code. The adjutant-general was subsequently restored.

The massacre at Vellore, and the mutinous conduct of the native troops in other places, placed our Eastern empire in more real danger than ever it had known before. But for the fidelity and attachment of the sepoys that empire could never have been formed, and assuredly could not now be maintained. The new turban, it will be understood, was offensive only to the Mohammedan part of the native army; but the order for obliterating the marks of caste affected all the Hindu part of the army. Between the new turban and the attack on the outward signs of caste, all the native forces would have been disgusted and driven into mutiny. It is true that the Mussulman cavalry have subsequently submitted to greater changes, and that there was nothing in the materials of the new turban really repugnant to their religion;

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\* Having quoted rather copiously from an excellent officer and man who relates the events which led immediately to Lord William Bentinck's recall, it is proper we should state that that gentleman's opinion differs materially from that which we have expressed in the text. Otherwise it might be imagined that his opinions and our own are the same.

Mr. Locker says: "After an interval of so many years we may safely pronounce, that in taking their strong measure the Court of Directors at home acted upon partial information, and with much injustice. Lord William Bentinck published a report on the subject, which now lies before us; a perusal of which will convince any of our readers that his conduct was justified by the most satisfactory testimony relating to this unhappy transaction (the mutiny at Vellore)." —*The Plain Englishman*.

but it has not been found possible to make the Hindu soldiers forego any of their distinctions of caste; and at the time of these troubles the fanaticism both of Mussulmans and Hindus was worked upon by designing daring men, who inculcated the belief that there was a close connection between these innovations in dress and the labours of the Christian missionaries in India, and that there was on the part of the English a fixed determination to convert alike Mohammedans and Hindus to their own faith. These propagandists of disaffection and revolt propagated the most monstrous stories without believing them themselves. They represented the practice of vaccination, which had been recently introduced, to the infinite benefit of the country, as a cunning art for engrafting Christianity upon Hindu and Mohammedan babies. The new turban was a hat; the iron turnscrew in front of it nothing but a cross. At Hyderabad they reported that a hundred headless bodies had been found on the banks of the river; that the English were building a church, the sanctification of which required the sacrifice of a hundred heads; and that there was a project for surprising and murdering all the natives, with the exception of those who should renounce their ancient faith, and plant the cross at their doors. But for these machinations it is very possible that there would have been no massacre at Vellore. Yet there was another cause of discontent.

In the year 1796 certain regulations had been introduced into the Indian army, the whole form of which was in fact changed. Instead of single battalions of a thousand men, commanded by a captain selected from the Europeans in the Company's service, and a subaltern to each company; they were formed into regiments of two battalions, to which English officers were appointed of the same rank and nearly in the same number as to a battalion in the king's service. In this manner, in the regiments of the line, the number of European officers was greatly increased, while the number of native officers remained stationary or was decreased. In some of the cavalry regiments the case was different; but in the infantry few of the native officers could be considered as

really occupying a higher post than that of non-commissioned officers. The first effect of these regulations was a great and sudden promotion of all the older British officers of the Company's service; and the arrival of a vast number of young officers from England, to complete the establishment. Many of the old officers, being thus promoted and secured in good retiring pensions, came home; the young officers were new to the country, and universally ignorant of its languages and manners. Many of these "Griffins" behaved like griffins, practising severity and harshness towards the men, and showing a contempt for the native officers.\* The change appears to have been most acutely felt by the native officers in the coast or Madras army, many of whom had enjoyed under Tippoo Sultaun the chances of rising to high rank and fortune. And the disaffection of these men was likely to prove the more dangerous, as the whole of this presidency had been for years in a very turbulent, unsettled state, compared with the order, subordination, and tranquillity which prevailed in Bengal. The good understanding and confidence which before subsisted between the European officers and their native men, and which was the acknowledged

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\* One of the best and most amply experienced of all the officers of our Indian army said, a few years later: "I never knew an instance of unkind and gross behaviour to the natives of India in a person acquainted with their language and manners; and it would appear from this fact that, to secure their being treated with that indulgence and regard which both humanity and policy require, we have only to take care that those placed over them have that knowledge which is indispensable for such a charge."—*Malcolm, Political Hist. Ind.*

Some years after the mutiny at Vellore a regulation was made for all the infantry cadets to join, in the first instance, the Company's European regiment, where they were to continue till reported by the commanding officer qualified to join native corps. It fortunately happened that a very able officer, and one deeply versed in the languages of the East, was appointed to the command of the Company's European regiment, and to the additional duty of instructing the young officers who arrived from England. This excellent officer and instructor was Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Duer Broughton (then Major Broughton), the author of those well-known works, 'Letters from a Mahratta Camp,' and 'Specimens of the Popular Poetry of the Hindus.'

basis of our strength in India, was much shaken, and in some instances almost wholly destroyed in the Madras army before the arrival of Lord William Bentinck. If those ties which had formerly united the European officers and native troops under their command had existed in full force, the tragedy of Vellore, which gave such a shock to our empire, could hardly

have occurred. If the native officers of the line had not been excluded from the hope of further honours and advancements, and had not been subjected to the contumely of a set of rash, uninformed, and unthinking schoolboys, the mutiny would have been nipped in the bud.\*

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\* Malcolm, Political Hist. Ind.

## CHAPTER IX.

## ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MINTO.

HAVING touched at Madras in July, the new governor-general reached Calcutta and entered upon the business of his office at the beginning of August, 1807. His lordship, like several of his predecessors, had come out to India impressed with the notions that our true policy was non-interference, that no attempt ought to be made to extend the limits of our possessions, or to increase the number of our connections with the native princes. Few men had inveighed so bitterly as he against the ambitious, encroaching, aggrandizing spirit of Warren Hastings, or had dwelt more pathetically upon the wrongs and sufferings of the Indian states and peoples. Yet his lordship had not been many days on the banks of the Hooghly ere he confessed that the security of our empire depended upon the actual superiority of our power, upon the sense which the natives entertained of that power, and upon the comparative weakness of our neighbours; and before he had been many months in India he found himself under the necessity of interfering in the internal affairs of our neighbour and ally, the Nizam of the Deccan, whom he soon reduced to be a mere cipher in his own capital. The Nizam's minister, Meer Alum, died in 1808. The Nizam wished to appoint Moonir-ul-Mulk his successor, but the government of Bengal preferred Rajah Chundu Loll, as being more favourably disposed towards the English interests, and by virtue of their military force at Hyderabad the Rajah was appointed: and from this moment the Nizam ceased to take any active part in public affairs.

In another direction, Lord Minto saw the necessity of departing from the non-interference system; and, though he declined more extensive engagements, he

assisted the Peishwa in reducing to submission some of his refractory tributaries. His lordship also was made to feel that our ally, the Rajah of Berar, had been unfairly and impolitically abandoned by Sir George Barlow's treaties with Scindiah and Holkar; and at the call of the rajah, or at the alarming prospect of fresh invasions and convulsions on or near to the Company's frontiers, he prepared to establish a permanent force on the Nerbudda river, far in advance of the frontier line which Sir George Barlow had fixed as our *ne plus ultra*. And this advance was indeed absolutely necessary to our preservation or to the tranquillity of our dominions, for the Patan chief Ameer Khan, after committing various murders, and making various invasions, was threatening, with a mixed army of Patans, Maharrattas, and Pindarrees, to overrun the whole of Berar, and to press upon the Company's territories. He was advancing towards Nagpoor when a British force, under the command of Colonel Barry Close, met him and drove him back. Ameer Khan withdrew into Malwa, in order to collect more Pindarree robbers, and to re-appear at a more opportune moment.

Active warfare was also waged in Baroda and Guzerat, in reducing some turbulent chieftains, and in preventing the crime of infanticide, which was very prevalent in that part of India. The troops under Colonel Walker planted the Company's flag in several places where it had never floated before, captured the fort of Kindador, stormed that of Mallia, and extended our real dominion on the side of the Guicowar's territory, and over one of the most flourishing tracts in Hindustan.

The renewed alarm about the designs of Bonaparte upon our Eastern empire

forced Lord Minto into many expensive embassies, and into a great extension of diplomatic relations; and it was now that the Indian government for the first time courted a close connection with the Afghans and the Ameers of Sind. At the close of the year 1807, it was confidently reported that the French, who had for a time destroyed our influence at Petersburg, Constantinople, and Teheran, entertained the design of invading India with the co-operation of Russia, Turkey, and Persia. This was a fantastical hydra, a mere chimera; nevertheless the apprehensions which it excited were real and rather lasting. Two hardy, fierce, and warlike nations—the Afghans and the Seiks of Sind—occupied the countries which lie between Persia and Upper India, and through which the invaders must advance. These two nations had been mortal enemies to each other, but Lord Minto courted the friendship and alliance of both. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who, since Vizier Ali's massacre at Benares, had risen rapidly in the Company's service, and who had given proof of extraordinary abilities as resident at the Mahratta court of Poonah, was dispatched as ambassador-extraordinary to the Afghan court of Cabul. Zemaun Shah, who had twice invaded Upper India, and against whom our diplomacy and the mission of Sir John Malcolm had armed the Persians, had long ceased to reign, having been betrayed by his own family, and dethroned and then blinded by Prince Mahmood. Shujah-ul-Mulk, the full brother of Zemaun Shah, made war upon Mahmood, drove him from Cabul, and placed himself upon the throne. His success was owing to his being in possession of almost all the jewels and other property of the crown, which had been committed to his charge by his brother Zemaun. Between the years 1800 and 1809 some half dozen more revolutions or civil wars had taken place; but when Mr. Elphinstone and his splendid embassy reached the court, Shujah-ul-Mulk was in possession of the throne. He was a handsome man, about 30 years of age, of an olive complexion, with a thick black beard. "The expression of his countenance," adds our distinguished

Elchee, "was dignified and pleasing, his voice clear, and his address princely. We thought at first that he had on armour of jewels; but, on close inspection, we found this to be a mistake, and his real dress to consist of a green tunic, with large flowers in gold and precious stones, over which were a large breast-plate of diamonds, shaped like two flattened fleurs-de-lis, an ornament of the same kind on each thigh, large emerald bracelets on the arms (above the elbow), and many other jewels in different places. In one of the bracelets was the Cobi Noor, known to be one of the largest diamonds in the world.\* There were also some strings of very large pearls, put on like cross-belts, but loose. The crown was about nine inches high, not ornamented with jewels, as European crowns are, but, to appearance, entirely formed of those precious materials. It seemed to be radiated like ancient crowns, and behind the rays appeared peaks of purple velvet: some small branches with pendants seemed to project from the crown; but the whole was so complicated and so dazzling, that it was difficult to understand, and impossible to describe. The throne was covered with a cloth adorned with pearls, on which lay a sword and a small mace set with jewels. The room was open all round. The centre was supported by four high pillars, in the midst of which was a marble fountain. The floor was covered with the richest carpets, and round the edges were slips of silk embroidered with gold, for the khans to stand on. The view from the hall was beautiful. Immediately below was an extensive garden, full of cypresses and other trees, and beyond was a plain of the richest verdure; here and there were pieces of water and shining streams, and the whole was bounded by mountains, some dark, and others covered with snow."† But in the midst of all this barbaric show our quicksighted Elchee

\* There is a print of this wonderful diamond in Tavernier's travels.

† The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone. Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India; comprising a View of the Afghaan Nation, and a History of the Dooraanee Monarchy.

saw that many things fell far short of his expectations, that "all bore less the appearance of a state in prosperity than of a splendid monarchy in decay;" and that "nothing could exceed the meanness and rapacity of his majesty of Cabul's officers."\* At this moment, though seated on the throne, Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk was not in possession of his own capital; and the embassy was received not at the city of Cabul, but at Peshawer, and civil war or a war of clans was raging in all the country between the cities of Cabul and Candahar. Nevertheless Mr. Elphinstone ably did what he was sent to do; and in June, 1809, he concluded a treaty with Shujah-ul-Mulk, in which the co-operation of the Afghans was promised against the designs of the French, who were declared in the treaty to have entered into a confederacy against the kingdom of Cabul with ulterior views on India. The English, of course, bound themselves to pay for this co-operation, or to provide for the expense this new ally might incur in preventing the French and other enemies of the English from traversing his dominions and entering upon India.

The state of affairs was much too critical to allow the English embassy to prolong their stay. The king was about to take the field with a numerous but disorderly army; and on the 14th of June Mr. Elphinstone and his retinue commenced their return towards the Indus. They had not travelled four miles from Peshawer ere they were plundered by a band of robbers, of a mule loaded with fine shawls, and with rupees to the amount of about 1000*l.* sterling. On the 20th of June they crossed the broad Indus

\* Lord Minto had sent many splendid presents to the king. The Afghan officers who received charge of these presents kept the camels on which some of them were sent, and even seized four riding-camels which had entered the palace by mistake. They stripped Mr. Elphinstone's elephant-drivers of their livery; and gravely insisted that two English footmen, who were sent to put up the chandeliers, were part of the governor-general's present to their Shah.

His Afghan majesty himself seems to have been rather craving; for having admired the English silk stockings worn by Mr. Elphinstone and the gentlemen of his suite, he sent a message desiring that some might be given to him.—*Account of the Kingdom of Cabul, &c.*

at Attock.\* In three marches from the southern bank of the Indus, they reached the valley of Hussein Abdaul, famous in all ages for its beauty, and which had been a favoured resting-place of the Great Moguls on their annual migrations to Cashmere—that garden in perpetual spring, that land of lakes, cool streams and cascades, of the violet, the rose, and the lily, where the song of the nightingale is sweetest, where the women are fair-complexioned and beautiful. Here, in the famed valley of Hussein Abdaul, they were to await the decision of the fate of the kingdom of Cabul: but here Mr. Elphinstone received orders to return immediately to the British provinces. It was, however, necessary to wait for a letter from Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk, now in the field, and also to settle with the Seiks about a passage through their territories, which at first the Ameer positively refused. This occasioned a halt of ten days in the beautiful valley. As they were about to resume their journey, with the permission of the Seiks, the fugitive harem of Shujah-ul-Mulk arrived close to their camp. This boded no good to our new ally, and reports were soon circulated that the king had been defeated. The next day, the report being generally believed, all the king's partisans were depressed, while some adversaries of his started up where they were little expected. In the course of the day Mr. Elphinstone received a letter from the unfortunate Shah, who frankly stated that he had been defeated, and who added, that no expense was to be spared in conveying the women of his harem to a place of security. It was afterwards ascertained that the king's army had been suddenly attacked, as it was straggling or

\* The Indus was here about 260 yards broad, and too deep and rapid to be correctly sounded. The embassy passed in boats; and notwithstanding the violence of the stream, the boats passed quicker here than at any river they had yet crossed. They saw many of the country people crossing, or floating down the river, on the skins of oxen inflated, on which they rode astride, with a great part of their bodies in the water. This contrivance is also made use of on the Oxus; and it brought to Mr. Elphinstone's recollection the practice of the natives of these regions in the days of Alexander the Great, as described by Arrian.

mixed with the baggage in a mountain pass, that it had been defeated before the king could get from the rear to the front, and that his majesty had fled to the mountains. Prince Mahmood, who had dethroned and put out the eyes of Zemaun Shah, had at one time been the captive of Shujah-ul-Mulk, who had shut him up in the Balla Hissar, or citadel of Cabul, but had spared his eyes—a piece of clemency which he had afterwards reason to deplore, and which, as Mr. Elphinstone observes, was probably the first example of the sort in Afghanistan. It was a partisan of this Mahmood who had beaten the Shah's army in the mountain-defile. Another battle, in which Mahmood himself appears to have been present, was fought soon after, and, being again defeated, Shujah-ul-Mulk was compelled to fly with only thirty horsemen. Mahmood re-established his throne in Cabul, but the people of the city of Peshawer, and several powerful clans of mountaineers living in that neighbourhood, adhered to the cause of Shujah-ul-Mulk, who assembled a fresh army, and being aided by the Subahdar of Cashmere, advanced once more against Shah Mahmood. Being again defeated, our unlucky ally fled to the south of the Indus, and took refuge in the fortress of Attock. Shah Mahmood, however, was foiled and beaten in his attempts against some of the mountain clans of Afghanistan; and quitting Attock, Shujah-ul-Mulk returned to Peshawer, and re-established his authority over the western part of those immense regions which are occupied by the Afghan race. But no authority among this wild people could be either strong or durable: other princes or chiefs revolted at the head of their tribes and partisans; and while some made war upon Shah Mahmood, who lived at Cabul, others made war upon Shujah-ul-Mulk, who lived at Peshawer. The monarchy which had been so powerful under Zemaun Shah was completely broken up. Nearly every mountain chief, and every great khan, became a sort of king on his own account.\* It was indeed idle to

think of forming a treaty of a binding character with a state subject to such vicissitudes. Yet the trouble and expense of Mr. Elphinstone's embassy were not thrown away: they procured to us an extension of knowledge, a most admirable book, and such an acquaintance with the rugged country, and the more rugged clans and tribes that inhabited it, as ought to have left no fear of French, Russians, or Persians penetrating through it, even if they could traverse the deserts lying between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, and the wilds of Bokhara. And if the information which Mr. Elphinstone collected and gave to the world about the country and the people had been properly attended to, and had not been set aside by the confident dicta of a later and much less able observer, the lamentable catastrophe which befel our Afghanistan campaign in 1841-2 would, in all probability, never have happened.

ul-Mulk's then fugitive harem, and in the train of these women was the blind and helpless Zemaun Shah. Our truly honourable Elchee, whose heart is as good as his head, says with much feeling—"We visited him on the 10th of July, and were not a little interested by the sight of a monarch whose reputation at one time spread so wide both in Persia and India. We found him seated on a plain couch, in a neat, but not a large tent, spread with carpets and felts. We stood opposite to him till he desired us to be seated. His dress was plain—a white mantle faced with Persian brocade, and a black shawl turban; but his appearance was very kingly. He looked about forty when we saw him. He had a fine face and person. His voice and manner strongly resembled Shauh Shujah's; but he was taller, and had a longer, more regular face, and a finer beard. He had by no means the appearance of a blind man; his eyes, though plainly injured, retained black enough to give vivacity to his countenance; and he always turned them towards the person with whom he was conversing. He had, however, some appearance of dejection and melancholy. After we were seated, a long silence ensued, which Shauh Zemaun broke by speaking of his brother's misfortunes, and saying they had prevented his showing us the attention he otherwise would. He then spoke of the state of affairs, and expressed his hopes of a change. He said such reverses were the common portion of kings; and mentioned the historical accounts of astonishing revolutions in the fortunes of various princes, particularly in that of Tamerlane. Had he gone over all the history of Asia, he could scarcely have discovered a more remarkable instance of the mutability of fortune than he himself presented, blind, dethroned, and exiled, in a country which he had twice subdued."

\* As Mr. Elphinstone was travelling through the Sikh country he was overtaken by Shujah-

Mr. Hankey Smith was Lord Minto's ambassador to the Ameers of Sind, whose country was in as turbulent and lawless a state as Afghanistan. A treaty, or amicable agreement, was, however, concluded on the 9th of August, 1809, the Ameers pledging themselves to permit no enemy of the English to cross their territories, and to exclude the *tribes* of the French from settling in their country. Gholam Ali, then one of the most powerful of the Ameers, wished the British to engage to assist him in conquering the neighbouring country of Cutch; but he was told that the British government had no desire to extend its dominions in any direction, or to aid other powers in projects of conquest; that the object of the British government was to maintain peace and tranquillity, to cultivate relations of amity with all surrounding states, to respect their rights, and to guard its own.\* As soon as the Ameers found that no warlike assistance was to be expected from the English, they scorned the treaty they had made with them, and made plans for conquering Cutch without their aid.

The Rajah Runjeet Sing, now the ruler of Lahore, whose dominions included the Punjab, and reached from the borders of Cashmere almost to the southern frontier of the province of Delhi, and whose subjects consisted of Seiks, Sings, Jauts, Rajpoots, other Hindus of lower castes, and Mohammedans, was making advances towards the confines of the Company's north-west frontier. Lord Minto opened some communications with him at the beginning of 1808; but it was found necessary to march a British force in that direction. The presence of Colonel Ochterlony and his disciplined troops did more than the governor-general's representations, in making Runjeet Sing express a warm desire to live in friendship with the English. Mr. Metcalfe was despatched to Lahore, and in August, 1809, a treaty was concluded with Runjeet Sing, who agreed not to attempt conquests or occupy territory to the south of the Sutledge; and to suspend immediately the siege of Multan and

certain other operations which he had commenced. The whole country of Lahore could at this moment have put 100,000 armed men on horseback, and this country, intersected by many deep rivers, must be traversed by the invaders of India—supposing them to have achieved their march across the deserts and through the Alpine passes of Afghanistan—before they could touch the northern frontier of our Indian empire. Runjeet Sing was much pleased with an English carriage and pair of horses which were presented to him “to cement harmony;” but he was evidently chagrined at the governor-general's refusing to enter into his schemes of territorial aggrandizement. Except the weakest of the states, who were contented with protection and guarantee, all the native princes, whether Mohammedans or Hindus, looked upon a treaty with the Company as little but a compact of future conquests, afterwards to be divided between them and the English. It was ridiculous to talk to such potentates about the balance of power, the virtue of moderation, the blessings of peace and tranquillity.

But, in the groundless panic about invasion, Lord Minto's diplomacy extended far beyond India and Afghanistan. He sent into the dominions of the Shah of Persia, Colonel J. Malcolm, who had gained a high reputation by his conduct and success in his previous embassy to that country. Malcolm was invested with plenipotentiary powers in Persia, the Persian Gulf, and Turkish Arabia, the separate political powers possessed by the Company's residents at Bagdad, Bussorah, and Bushire being for the time suspended. He was furnished with credentials as envoy or ambassador of the governor-general to the court of Persia and to the divan of the Pasha of Bagdad, in the event of his finding it practicable to proceed to either of those courts. This event seemed very hypothetical, for, after Admiral Sir Thomas Duckworth had forced the passage of the Dardanelles, and had threatened Constantinople with bombardment, the Turks had thrown themselves entirely into the arms of the French; and ever since the arrival at the court of Teheran, of an embassy, and

\* Auber.

numerous French officers, from Bonaparte, the Persians had become even more Frenchified than were the Turks. Lord Minto could not have found a better agent than Malcolm for overcoming these difficulties.\* But General Gardanne and his Frenchmen had gained such ground in the Persian court, that the Scottish Elchee saw no chance of succeeding; and being wisely of opinion that it would do mischief, rather than good, to remain at Bushire, or to proceed to the capital in a humiliating condition, or without the certainty of being honourably received, Malcolm hastened back to Calcutta, and

\* After being routed out of Egypt, Bonaparte seemed to think that he could only injure our Eastern empire through the medium of Persia. On the 10th of September, 1807, the French mission for Teheran left Constantinople. It consisted of General Gardanne, the ambassador, his brother, who was *homme de lettres*, six engineer officers, two officers of artillery, and about a dozen other Frenchmen, mostly of the military species. Bonaparte constantly employed military men as his diplomatic agents. Gardanne and his subalterns went to work in the usual manner, by representing the English as the tyrants of the world and the French as the friends of liberty and peace, and by prognosticating that the friendship and alliance between Napoleon the Great and the Persian Shah would be everlasting, and attended with incalculable advantage to both of the high contracting parties. Gardanne seemed to be carrying everything before him, when Lord Minto hurried off Colonel Malcolm to the Persian Gulf. The French had been received at the court of Teheran with marked attention, and some of them had been employed to train a corps of Persians in discipline and tactics. The officers of the French mission were employed in every quarter, surveying the country and examining its resources. Some of them were casting cannon for the king. The Persians, at the time, were waging an unsuccessful war with the Russians; and the Shah, seeing no prospect of support from the English, threw himself completely into the arms of the French, who had previously promised a large military force to repel the Russians. But when Gardanne became more fully acquainted with the treaty of Tilsit, and the strange friendship and alliance which the Emperor Alexander of Russia had suddenly contracted with the Emperor Napoleon, it became necessary to alter his language. As he could no longer promise an armed force, he promised the Emperor Napoleon's mediation with the Czar; and he induced the Persians to believe that the Russians, yielding to this generous mediation, would restore all the provinces they had taken, and evacuate the whole of Georgia. The Frenchmen declared on every side that the power of England was fast breaking to pieces; and the Persians readily believed them.

proposed to the governor-general a bold plan for overawing the impotent Persian court, and for procuring the speedy dismissal of Gardanne. This plan was to take possession of the island of Kismis, in the Persian Gulf, and to make it at once an emporium of commerce, a dépôt of military stores, and the seat of political negotiation. Lord Minto readily adopted the project, and Malcolm, by the month of January, 1809, was ready to start from Bombay for the Persian Gulf, with a force amounting to 2000 men. Events, however, had occurred which rendered the sailing of this armament unnecessary. The embassy of Gardanne and the prevalence of it was obtaining, had determined the British government to send an envoy extraordinary from his majesty George III. to the Persian Shah. Sir Harford Jones, who was selected for this service, reached Bombay on his way to the Persian Gulf. Here, for a time, he doubted what course he should pursue, as Malcolm intimated that an embassy, not backed by an armed force, might be subjected to Persian and to French insolence. But soon news arrived that the Persians were irritated against Gardanne for the non-performance of the promises about Russian restitution and evacuation; and that the Spaniards and Portuguese had commenced an insurrection, which threatened to weaken the power of Bonaparte. Sir Harford Jones therefore proceeded to the Persian Gulf, and landed in the Shah's dominions. He carried presents from the king of Great Britain worth many thousand pounds; and he paraded these things, and made such a display of riches on the road, that the pauperized Persians took him for a second Aladdin, and the fame of his magnificence reached Teheran before he himself had got to Shiraz. The venal government of Persia hailed his approach with joy. "Mashallah," said the khans, "the English are not ruined; but the French are the grandfathers of lies, and have made us eat dirt!" Gardanne, with all his suite, was unceremoniously dismissed \* before the English mis-

\* Gardanne and his suite were furious at their humiliating dismissal, and at the triumph of Sir Harford Jones. Mr. Morier, who was attached to Sir Harford's legation, found on the walls of a

sion had arrived at the capital. Sir Harford offered English money, as something more solid than Bonaparte's promises; the Shah cheerfully accepted the subsidy, and concluded a treaty, by which he bound himself to have nothing more to do with the French. The king's ambassador was soon followed by the Company's ambassador. Colonel Malcolm—but without his armament—arrived at Bushire in February, 1810, and assumed the functions of envoy and plenipotentiary on the part of the Indian government to the Persian court. He also met with a very gracious reception; but his residence was not of long duration, as another mission, with Sir Gore Ouseley at its head, was on the point of starting from England. The three missions of Malcolm, Jones, and Ouseley did much temporary good, and produced some benefits of an enduring nature, in the shape of various excellent and amusing books descriptive of Persia and its inhabitants.\* If we sum up the amount of our literary and scientific obligations to the servants of the East India Company, and the many able men employed in traversing the countries of the East, in connection with the affairs of our Indian Empire, the total amount will be found to be exceedingly large—and it is every year growing larger. But for our acquisition and dominion in Hindustan, we should still be ignorant about a very great part of Asia, while of other parts we should know very little beyond what was told in the fourteenth century by Marco Polo.

house where he halted on his journey to Teheran an inscription scrawled by a Frenchman, which briefly expressed the bitterness of their feeling. It was—"Veniſmus, vidimus, et malediximus Perſidi, regique aulæque magnatibusque populo."

These proceeded from these embassies, among other good books, Sir John Malcolm's 'History of Persia,' and that amusing little volume, his 'Persian Sketches;' Mr. Morier's 'Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor;' Macdonald Kinneir's 'Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire,' &c.; and Mr. Morier's admirable story of 'Hajji Baba of Is-pahan' (by far the most perfect picture we possess of Eastern manners), sprung from the experience and familiarity with the manners and customs of the Persians and Turks obtained by Mr. Morier during his journeys and his residence in Teheran and other parts of Persia.

Lord Minto, in addition to all the embassies we have mentioned, negotiated with Nepal and Ava, and by these means considerable acquisitions of knowledge were obtained, though an hostile conflict with those two powers was inevitable, and could be delayed only for a short time. The Rajah of Nepal had long been a merciless despot in his own dominions, and a most troublesome neighbour to those of the Company. In 1806 some 1200 or 1600 of the Rajah's oppressed subjects fled from Nepal into the British provinces: and in 1808 a border quarrel or dispute about boundaries took place between the Rajah and the English. The governor-general, being prevented from making war by his instructions from home, and being led into the belief that it would be at any time an easy matter to bring the Nepaulese to reason by giving them a sound beating, did nothing for the present. But in 1810, when the Rajah, growing bolder in the impunity he enjoyed, seized upon some territories belonging to the zemindar of Bimnughur, a subject of the Company, the Rajah was warned that force would be resorted to, unless he made immediate restitution. Force, however, was *not* employed *then*. At nearly the same time the dominant tribe or family of the Gorkhas, who were making conquests in some parts of Nepal, which they had not yet subdued, and waging a war of destruction upon the hill chiefs towards the Jumna and Sutledge, prepared to encroach upon the Seik chieftains south of the Sutledge, who were living under British protection. And in 1811 these fierce and warlike Gorkhas, who as they advanced erected forts and stockades and strong lines of posts to secure what they had gained, overran the district of Kyndee or Kyndeenaghur, in the province of Bahar, contiguous to the great Benares road, and erected a fort in the Company's territories. To such encroachments it was impossible to submit; and the governor-general apprised the Court of Directors that there was no hope of obtaining restitution and satisfaction from the Nepaulese and Gorkhas except by force of arms. At the end of the year some troops were sent to expel the encroachers; and in

May, 1813, Major Bradshaw was deputed by the Company to settle the disputes about boundaries. But none but a precarious settlement could be made; and the confidence and insolence of the Gorkhas convinced Lord Minto that a little sooner or a little later our pacific system must give place to an energetic war. Even while Major Bradshaw was at Bootwul, negotiating with the Nepaulese commissioners, fresh encroachments were made in more than one direction. Lord Minto with proper spirit refused to enter into a compromise, which would have been considered as nothing but a confession of weakness on the part of the English.

Ava and the Burmese empire either held a direct sovereignty or exercised control over nearly one half of the vast regions described in maps as India beyond the Ganges. The Burmese, the real masters of the soil, resembled the Chinese rather than the natives of Hindustan; but with the superior physical strength and activity of the Chinese, they had a much more warlike spirit than the subjects of the Celestial Empire. In civilization they were far behind the Chinese, the people of Hindustan, or even the Siamese and Cochinchinese. By a series of conquests they had overthrown all the adjacent nations, and had advanced their frontier to the shores of the Bay of Bengal, and close to the limits of the Company's territories. They proved but troublesome and encroaching neighbours. During Lord Wellesley's administration in 1799, when the mass of the Anglo-Indian army was engaged in the last war against Tippee Sultaun, the Burmese made frequent attacks, and were very troublesome on our then weak eastern frontier.\* As exclusive and anti-social as the Chinese, and quite as proud and insolent in their bearing towards foreign envoys and foreigners of all classes, it was difficult to establish any intercourse with them, or to obtain by pacific representations any redress of grievances. Their government too was subject to frequent and sanguinary revolutions, insurrections, and rebellions, one tyrant being murdered

and succeeded by another. In 1795, during the pacific administration of Sir John Shore, Colonel Symes was dispatched on an embassy to the Golden Foot of the Lord of the White Elephant; but little came of the mission, except a very interesting book of travels.\* In the year 1809 a French ship attacked a small island belonging to the Burmese, and the Golden Foot not understanding the difference between French and English, sent a sort of mission to Calcutta to expostulate against the proceeding, and to demand satisfaction. As this seemed to open the door of the jealously guarded court of Ava to some diplomatic intercourse, Lord Minto dispatched Lieut. Canning on an embassy. This officer reached Rangoon; and the King of Ava, from the midst of his white elephants, decreed that the Englishman should be allowed to proceed to the capital in all safety and honour; but the incursions into the Company's territories at Chittagong of a predatory tribe of Burmese, called the Mhugs, and other untoward events, broke off an intercourse which could never have promised any very satisfactory result. Both our embassies to Ava appear to have been capital mistakes, for they exhibited to a semi-barbarous and vain-glorious people a number of Englishmen in a very humiliating condition, and in the attitude of supplicants.

\* Symes's 'Embassy to Ava,' &c. It was owing to certain transactions during Sir John Shore's spiritless administration that the Burmese insolence increased. In 1795 a Burmese army of 5000 men pursued three rebellious chiefs, or, as they termed them (and as they might be), robbers, right into the English district of Chittagong. A strong detachment was sent from Calcutta to oppose these Burmese; but the officer in command had orders to negotiate—not to fight. After some tedious negotiations, which ought not to have been allowed to occupy a single hour, the violators of our frontiers condescended to agree to retire; and they retired accordingly, into their own country. Nor was this all. The three men who had taken refuge in our territories were subsequently given up to the Burmese, and two out of the three were put to death with atrocious tortures. "This acquiescence on the part of the English government had a very prejudicial effect on the subsequent conduct of the Burmese, for it was impossible to convince this most self-important people that the men were given up from any other motive than that of fear."—*Walter Hamilton, East Ind. Gazetteer.*

\* Marquess Wellesley, Ind. Dispatches, &c.

Lieutenant Canning returned to Calcutta, and disputes continued to occur on the frontiers of Chittagong and Tippera. As they were met, not by bayonets and cannon-balls, but by pacific negotiators, the Burmese grew bolder and bolder; and at the time when Lord Minto gave up his authority in India to the Earl of Moira, the King of the World and the Lord of the White Elephant was threatening to march with 40,000 soldier pilgrims from Ava to Benares.

During this peace-keeping or peace-seeking administration there were many disorders and quarrels in the Madras government, and some very alarming discontents in the army of that presidency. Sir George Barlow, whose appointment as governor-general had been vacated by the Fox and Grenville administration, had accepted the inferior post of governor of Madras. Reaching that presidency at the end of 1807, Sir George displaced Mr. Petrie, who had been nominated *pro tempore* successor to Lord William Bentinck, and who did not relish the speedy loss of his place. Petrie remained as a member of the council and as an opponent to nearly all the measures which Barlow might propose. Lieut.-General Hay Macdowall, of the king's service, who had been named commander-in-chief of the coast army in lieu of Sir John Cra-dock, also claimed a seat in the Madras council. And here there was another awkward collision between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. The president of the Board, now Mr. Tierney, had suggested that General Macdowall should be appointed as usual to a seat in the council; but the Court of Directors had determined that, in a subordinate presidency, like Madras, the commander-in-chief ought not to have a seat in council. After some long delay and correspondence, and a tender of his resignation, Macdowall's Highland blood grew hot, and he quarrelled most violently with Sir George Barlow, whom he accused of usurping his military authority, and of making military arrangements without having any military knowledge, and without consulting those who had.\* This conduct, the general said,

was altogether different from that of Mr. Petrie, who, when he filled the presidential chair, had always consulted him on all military measures. In a very angry letter the general denounced some proceedings of a military nature against Travancore, as having been discussed and decided upon in council whilst he was left in total ignorance of the circumstances. In another letter he intimated that he should feel great inconvenience from the officer selected by the governor in council being detached on this service in Travancore, as he had seen fit to place that officer's senior, the quartermaster-general, Colonel John Munro, under arrest. The government replied, that as he had placed the quartermaster-general in arrest, the assistant quartermaster-general would not be sent on the service, as was at first intended. For the rest, the Madras governor held language as high as that of the general, who received no support from home, as Mr. Tierney and his friends had by this time been long out of office. Thus situated, Macdowall declared that he would leave the presidency, and resign an employment which he could not hold without degrading it. The arrested quartermaster-general appealed to the governor in council; and these functionaries, after consulting their judge-advocate-general, declared that the quartermaster-general ought to be set at liberty; and they earnestly recommended the commander-in-

among the military, had existed in the presidency of Fort St. George or Madras long before the appointment of General Macdowall or the appointment of Sir George Barlow; but the latter appointment is said to have accelerated the crisis. Barlow was a man of stern, cold, and repulsive manners: his appointment to Madras excited jealousy, because he had been bred to public business in Bengal and not on the coast. "To appoint a person to the government of one presidency whose life has been passed in another, does not indeed seem a wise measure, because it implies that the advantages of local and personal knowledge may be dispensed with; but our home system of government has familiarized us to absurdities of this kind; and as the appointment of a person who had never before set foot in India would have given no displeasure, none ought to have been felt at the appointment of Barlow, for surely a governor might as well come from Calcutta as from England. This, however, gave occasion to the discontented to complain of a system of favouritism."—*Southey, in Edinburgh Ann. Reg. for 1810.*

\* Cabals among the civil servants, as well as

chief to release him accordingly. This was heaping coals upon the fire of Macdowall's wrath: he refused to liberate his prisoner, and brought a fresh charge against him. Sir George Barlow and his colleagues then addressed a letter to the commander-in-chief, peremptorily ordering him to release the quartermaster-general.\* Macdowall replied that he

\* Colonel Munro, the quartermaster-general, had been charged during Lord William Bentinck's government to draw up a report upon the eligibility of abolishing a certain monthly allowance, which it had been the practice to grant to the commanders of native corps for the provision of camp equipage, and which was thence commonly called 'the Tent Contract.' Munro prepared a detailed report on the subject, in which he expressed an opinion very adverse to the continuance of the practice, which he described as a system which "placed the interest and the duty of officers in direct opposition to each other." Lord William Bentinck and General Sir John Cradock had both approved the report, which had been transmitted to the supreme government in Bengal with a strong recommendation that 'the Tent Contract' should be universally abolished. The report received the sanction of the supreme government, and directions were sent to Madras to carry it into effect. It was by virtue of these instructions of the supreme government at Calcutta that Sir George Barlow, who had succeeded to the post of governor of Madras, abolished 'the Tent Contract,' by a general order, dated May, 1808. The British officers commanding native corps took great offence. They afterwards took pains to prove that the seat of the quarrel was not in the purse—that the abolition of the old monthly allowance for camp equipage was, in a pecuniary light, no sensible evil to them, and that their dissatisfaction and mutiny did not originate in motives of so sordid a nature, but proceeded from the sense of other injuries, and of many insults offered either to themselves or to their commander-in-chief, General Macdowall. They said, for example, that Colonel Munro's report conveyed an insinuation unfavourable and outrageous to the honour of their whole body. Macdowall might be a hot-headed, but he certainly was not a low-minded or mercenary man. Though smarting under other injuries, or under things which he considered as injuries, he cared not a straw about the emoluments of 'the Tent Contract.' Numerous letters of complaint were addressed to him by his officers; but he always replied that the question had been settled before he came to the command, and that the matter ought to be considered as now at rest. The officers, however, prepared charges against the quartermaster-general, Colonel Munro, for having made (in his report) use of false and infamous insinuations, injurious to their reputation; and demanded that he should be brought to a court-martial. For more than two months the commander-in-chief did nothing in the matter; but when his own

could not comply; that the question was strictly military, and that he could not evade bringing it to issue before a court-martial without committing the honour of the whole Madras army. The government liberated the prisoner by its own authority. Upon this—on the 28th of January, 1809—Macdowall embarked for England, having previously forwarded to the governor in council an address to the Court of Directors from sundry officers of the Madras army, who complained of several grievances, and amongst them of the exclusion of their commander-in-chief from a seat in council. Macdowall also left behind him a general order, in which the conduct of the quartermaster-general was strongly condemned. The deputy adjutant-general, Major Boles, in the absence of his senior, complied with the injunction or the wish of the departed commander-in-chief, who had gone away without leaving his formal resignation, and issued the general order. The governor and council then suspended the deputy adjutant-general, and issued a general order of their own, declaring that General Macdowall was removed from the office of commander-in-chief. Colonel Capper, the adjutant-general, informed the governor that he, and not Major Boles, was the responsible person; as the paper would have been issued under his signature if he had not been engaged in accompanying the commander-in-chief on board ship. Sir George Barlow then, without removing the suspension from Major Boles, suspended Colonel Capper also. A considerable portion of the officers of the Madras army drew up, and circulated for signatures, a memorial to Lord Minto, as governor-general, repeating their grievances and condemning the treatment which their commander-in-chief had received from the civil power. The same officers also drew up a flattering address to the deputy adjutant-general,

quarrel with the Madras government about his exclusion from the council, &c. reached its climax, he very unexpectedly put Colonel Munro under arrest. But for Macdowall's exclusion from the council-board, and the other wrongs of which he complained, the discontents of the officers under his command would, in all probability, have died out in a few murmurs.

whom Sir George Barlow had suspended. This was looked upon by the Madras government as downright mutiny; and on the 1st of May, 1809, another general order was issued, severely censuring the officers who had circulated the two offensive papers, removing some of them from their particular commands and suspending others altogether. This last general order spread the flames instead of extinguishing them. In Travancore, at Masulipatam, Seringapatam, Hyderabad, and other stations, the officers burst into open mutiny. Blood was shed in the Mysore, for, as a mutinous battalion was marching from Chitteldroog to join the mutineers at Seringapatam, they encountered resistance from a body of dutiful troops, and fired upon and received the fire of their own countrymen or friends and fellow-soldiers. This was a dangerous spectacle to exhibit to the armed sepoys and the native inhabitants. It was the inevitable conviction of this danger that brought the English officers rapidly to their senses. First those at Hyderabad submitted to the voice of the civil authority, and their example was soon followed at all the other stations. Colonel Barry Close, who was at the time political resident at the Mahratta court of Poonah, behaved with admirable skill, firmness, and courage. At the voice of the supreme government he flew from Poonah to Hyderabad; and although he did not succeed in the first instance, the sepoys obeying their mutinous English officers, and pointing their muskets and bayonets against him and his escort, his heroic bearing, his prudent advice, and his evident and great eagerness to prevent the effusion of blood, soon produced a great and healing effect. Other superior officers and servants of the Company behaved most admirably at this moment of crisis. In Mysore, Lieut.-Colonel Davis, the commanding officer, and the Honourable Arthur Cole, resident at the court of the Rajah (though Davis was enfeebled by sickness, and Cole but a very young man), conducted themselves with rare prudence, wisdom, and fearlessness, and contributed very essentially to the restoration of order and the prevention of sanguinary extremities. Colonel Gibbs and Colonel Montresor also distinguished

themselves greatly, under circumstances more difficult than any that English officers had been placed under in India.

Lord Minto very laudably went to Madras, whence all the mischief had sprung, but before he reached that presidency (on the 11th of September) all signs of the mutiny were over, except the feelings of contrition of those who had been engaged in it. His lordship applauded "the inflexible firmness of Sir George Barlow, which had preserved the authority of legal government unbroken and unimpaired;" and reprobated the recent revolt, of which the object had been to overawe and control the civil government. Many of the mutinous officers were very young men, who had believed that they were doing right in supporting their commander-in-chief, who held the king's commission. Only a few were punished in any way. Macdowall, who had been so long living in a fire, perished in water, the ship in which he took his passage being lost at sea. If he had reached England alive, he would probably have been subjected to some severe punishment or ruinous prosecution. Yet the Court of Directors seemed to acknowledge that they had been in the wrong in opposing the wish of the Board of Control, and refusing him a seat in the council, for they lost no time in giving a seat in the council to their new Madras commander-in-chief, Sir Samuel Auchmuty. Mr. Petrie was recalled, and a minority of the Court of Directors would have recalled Sir George Barlow likewise, but he was warmly supported by Mr. Perceval's cabinet, and by the majority of the court, who declared that he had come out manfully from a desperate contest with the military, who had long been disorderly at Madras, and who had aimed at nothing short of erecting their own power as supreme over the civil power. Yet the Court of Directors, or their predecessors in office, had done a good deal to promote the insubordination of the military. Many of the Company's officers were connected by family interest or by other strong ties with the Directors, or with leading persons among the proprietors of East India stock, and they had been accustomed to the belief that their

delinquencies would never be very severely punished. In several instances the home patronage and support had screened officers who ought to have been cashiered for their conduct in India. In one striking instance, when an officer had been cashiered, his friends at home succeeded in getting him re-appointed, and even promoted. This instance occurred in the Madras presidency: Sir Robert Fletcher, having been cashiered for mutiny, was afterwards appointed by the Court of Directors commander-in-chief of the Madras army! Perhaps, however, a review of all the present transactions and of the circumstances which preceded them will leave the conviction that all the blame was not on the side of the military, and that what was most at fault was the mixed, anomalous, and unfixed system by which India was still governed.

The mutiny of the British officers might have proved of far more perilous import than the mutiny of the native officers and men at Vellore. The sepoys, as a body, were remarkable for their fidelity and warm personal attachment to the European officers who had the immediate command over them. If they were left to the impulse of these feelings, it was feared they would go to any length to which their officers chose to lead them. If the Company, or the supreme government, or the presidential governments, or the superior field and staff officers who opposed the mutiny, attempted to break the ties which bound the sepoys to their own British regimental officers, where was the hope that the discipline of these corps would not be ruined, and that rebellion and an universal anarchy would not follow?—There was just this hope: the sepoys had obeyed the voice of Lord Clive, and had put his mutinous English officers under arrest, without losing any of their discipline, or bating a jot of their respect to those whose salt they eat. Still, this was an experiment not to be tried too often; and high as were the merits of many of the superior officers now serving in India, there certainly was not a Clive among them. Every shock which could be offered to the affection and regard of the sepoys for their immediate British leaders was surely a shock offered to the

stability of the British Empire in the East. It was, however, found necessary to give this shock—to try this dangerous experiment—and the governor of Madras, by letters and by verbal messages, endeavoured to separate the sepoys from their regimental officers, by representing those British-born subjects as rebellious and traitorous men, who had no claim on the obedience of their troops. If the rash, misled officers had not speedily seen the fatal course they were running, there might well have been some long and bloody struggles, and these might have ended in the utter ruin of our Empire, as well as of the prosperity of many millions of the native inhabitants of India. Even as it was, the facility with which the sepoys believed what their immediate leaders told them, and the prompt obedience they paid to those officers, led to a scene of carnage—the most lamentable and revolting part of the whole story, for the poor, duped sepoys were butchered, while their leaders all escaped except one, who was wounded and taken prisoner.\*

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\* This was the encounter to which we have alluded in the text, as the one in which blood was shed. The circumstances of the case were briefly these:—The officers of the Chitteldroog battalions told their men that a mutiny worse than that of Vellore had broken out at Seringapatam, and that they were only marching to suppress it and restore the authority of the Company. On their march the battalions were attacked by some irregular Mysorean cavalry, who had been sent to oppose them by the Rajah of Mysore, at the request of the resident, the Honourable Arthur Cole, but who were taken by the poor sepoys to be a portion of an in-urgent army making war for the family of Tippoo Sultaun. The sepoys were much harassed by the desultory attack of the Mysoreans, when Colonel Gibbs appeared in their front with the king's 25th regiment of light dragoons. They gave a joyous shout at the sight, not doubting but that the dragoons were friends. Colonel Gibbs sent forward a lieutenant of dragoons with a white flag, to parley with the mutinous officers of the sepoy battalions. The sepoys were saluting the lieutenant of the 25th, when that officer received a shot in the face—a shot which must have gone off by accident or have been fired by a madman. The mutinous officers one and all declared that the shot must have been accidental. The wounded lieutenant galloped back bleeding to Colonel Gibbs and his regiment. The enraged dragoons could not be restrained, if any such wish now existed; they believed that the sepoys were in open rebellion, and that they had purposely and perfidiously fired upon an

Throughout the whole of the mutiny of the army of Madras and the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, the *King's* British troops preserved the most perfect order and discipline, and manifested an entire devotion to the Indian government. The jealousies and antipathies which divided the officers holding the *King's* commission from the officers who held the commission of the Company, were of themselves enough to preclude any chance of an agreement and union in mutiny: yet was it but a bad, Machiavellian policy to trust to these jealousies as a ground of safety and strength. The British Empire in the East will be strongest when no such jealousies and differences exist, and when it shall appear almost incredible that they ever had existed. The men of the Company's European regiment at Madras were quite as mutinous as their officers. The native armies of Bengal and Bombay took no part whatever in the mutiny.

Lord Minto revoked a pardon which General Pater had promised at Masulipatam, as being unauthorized by his instructions. Lieutenant-Colonels Bell and Doveton and Major Storey were ordered for trial; and the governor-general, making, as he said, a small selection from a great mass of delinquency, excepted from a general amnesty he now granted eighteen other officers, giving them their choice either to quit the service or stand trial by court-martial. Colonel Bell was found guilty, sentenced to be cashiered, and declared unworthy of ever serving the Company in any military capacity whatsoever. As Bell had

been a leader in the revolt, it was thought that this sentence was altogether inadequate to his crime. Offences like his, but lighter in degree, had been repeatedly and recently punished in India with death, by sentence of court-martial; and General Gowdie, who presided over the present court, expressed his pointed disapprobation of the lenient sentence. But the mutiny among the officers had been far too general, and the prevailing temper of the Madras army was much too hostile to severe sentences, to allow General Gowdie any chance of being gratified with a capital punishment. Some of the very officers who sat on the court-martial entertained a warm friendship for their late commander-in-chief Macdowall, and thought that Sir George Barlow was at least as blamable as the mutinous officers. Colonel Doveton, who maintained that he had only marched with the mutineers for the purpose of moderating them and preventing greater evil, was honourably acquitted. Major Storey, whose defence, like that of Colonel Bell, was in great part a justification, was sentenced to be cashiered, but was not declared incapable of serving the Company again. It was in vain that the governor-general, the governor of Madras, the commander-in-chief of that presidency, and the judge-advocate called for greater severity; the courts-martial would not be severe. Of the eighteen officers excepted by Lord Minto, nearly all appear to have resigned; the rest of the mutineers remained, and caused their offences to be forgotten by their gallantry and conduct in the wars which took place under the administration of the Earl of Moira.\*

officer with a flag of truce. Sabres were drawn, spurs were applied, and on went the king's 25th, followed by the rajah's Mysorean cavalry. Among the sepoyes were a battalion who had fought heroically under General Wellesley in the great battle of Assaye, and many men who had marched breast to breast with the English in the battle of Mallavelly or in the storming of Seringapatam; but all were now bewildered and panic-stricken—none could understand how, while English officers were at their head, English dragoons should charge them—and instantly all of them broke and fled in that sort of disorder which ensures a wholesale destruction. The dragoons and the Mysoreans cut up and killed or wounded from 200 to 300 in their flight; the rest escaped by swimming across a deep nullah, with high and difficult embankments, which the cavalry could not cross.

\* The limits of our work have prevented our giving anything beyond a very brief sketch of these truly important events. A detail of them would fill a large volume; many hundreds of pages were written and published at the time in England. Among these volumes and pamphlets was a paper by Mr. Petrie, who attributed a great deal of blame to Sir George Barlow. In an article in the *Quarterly Review*, which fills sixty-five closely printed pages, the whole story of the disturbances at Madras is told in a very clear and interesting manner. The facts are carefully, and, on the whole, candidly sifted, making allowance for a slight bias on the side of Sir George Barlow, or in favour of the civil authority and the powers of government. See *Quarterly Review*, No. IX. The account of the 'Rise, Progress, and Ter-

Lord Wellington, who carried with him into Spain, and wherever else he went, a warm regard for the Madras army, was sorely grieved at the accounts he received from his friend Colonel John Malcolm, and immediately hastened to explain the chief causes of the unhappy disturbances. Writing from Badajoz on the 3rd of December, 1809, he says,—

mination of the Disturbances at Madras,' in the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1810, which evidently proceeded from the pen of Southey, who then wrote the historical part of this periodical work, is clear and good, and considerably shorter than the account given in the Quarterly Review. In some points it severely censures the conduct of Sir George Barlow. It says—"The ablest and wisest governor might have found his situation difficult; and whether a system of conciliation, uniting generosity with firmness, could have allayed the general agitation, is doubtful; but it certainly was not attempted. Sir G. Barlow seems to have thought that firmness alone was sufficient, and that the way to make the authority of government respected, was to punish any person who displeased the governor. Upon this angry and vindictive system some persons were displaced from their official situations, others degraded, others, by distant and unwelcome appointments, banished from Madras. Some of these examples may have been expedient, but most assuredly some of them were arbitrary, oppressive, and cruel; and the general ferment and general disgust which such measures created encouraged the discontented officers, who found the civil servants of the Company ready to sympathize with them, because they were exasperated by their own grievances. Things were in this state when General Macdowall embarked for England, and from this time it is difficult to say whether the conduct of the army or of the government was most censurable, till, by the imprudence and intemperance of both, a crisis was brought on, which decided the guilt of one party, without exculpating the other."—*Edinb. Ann. Regist.*

General Sir Thomas Maitland, at this time Governor of Ceylon, and afterwards the "King Tom" of Malta and the Ionian Islands, was, as all the world knows, no very great admirer of weakness or laxity of government, yet he censured the conduct of Sir George Barlow as being too rigid. In 1810 Sir James Mackintosh, who was then visiting Colombo, was told that he (Sir T. M.) thought that Lord Minto had slackened the chords of government as *dangerously as Sir George Barlow tightened them.*—*Diary, in the Life of the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh, edited by his Son.*

In the histories and other books written by the functionaries and servants of the East India Company, we see, generally, a disposition to glide over the whole of this story as quickly as possible. This surely is not the proper way to treat a subject which was so important and so critical at the time, and which contains lessons and warnings proper for all times.

"You cannot conceive how much I have felt for what has passed on the Madras establishment. I scarcely recognise in those transactions the men for whom I entertained so much respect, and had so much regard, a few years back; and I can only lament that they and the army, and the affairs of that presidency in general, *have been so much mismanaged.*

... These transactions owe their origin to the disputes of the persons in authority in India—that is to say, the governor and the commander-in-chief. Both, but principally the latter, looked for partisans and supporters; and these have ended by throwing off all subordination, by relinquishing all habits of obedience. Nothing can be more absurd than the pretext for this conduct. Colonel Munro's opinions might be erroneous, and might have been harsh towards his brother officers; but not only he ought not to have been brought to a court-martial for giving that opinion, but he ought to have been brought to a court-martial if he had refrained from giving it, when he was called upon by the commander-in-chief (Sir John Cradock) to make him a report on a subject referred to his official consideration. The officers of the army are equally wrong in the part they have taken in the subsequent part of the question, which is one between the governor and the commander-in-chief, whether the former had a right to protect Colonel Munro from the acts of the latter, upon which question no man can have a doubt who has any knowledge of the constitution of Great Britain and of that of our Indian governments. I, who have arrived pretty nearly at the top of the tree, should be the last man to give up any point of military right or etiquette. But I have no doubt whatever, not only that it was the right, but that it was the duty of the governor in council to interfere to save Colonel Munro; and that if he had not done so, and the public had sustained any loss or inconvenience from his trial, the governor would have been severely responsible for the omission to perform his duty. So far for my opinion upon the main points of the question. As for the others, the conduct of officers upon the addresses, the orders issued, the reso-

lutions entered into, the resignation of the offices, &c. &c., they are consequences of the first error; that is, of persons in authority making partisans of those placed under them, instead of making all obey the constituted authorities of the state. This conduct of the officers in the army would have been wrong, even if the cause had been just, and the commander-in-chief had wished to screen Colonel Munro from the persecution of the government: it is really not worth while to take up my time in describing, or yours in perusing, a description of the folly, the inconsistency, or the breaches of discipline and subordination contained in all those documents. I have so much regard for the Madras army, to which I owe so much, that I would sacrifice a great deal to have it in my power to restore it to that state of discipline, union, and respectability in which I left it in the year 1805; and I assure you that I shall rejoice most sincerely when I shall hear that their good sense and good temper have predominated over their feelings of party and their prejudices."\*

During the administration of Lord Minto our conquests and operations in the Eastern Archipelago, or Insular India, were widely extended—so widely, indeed, that the forces and resources employed in this direction would have made it difficult to prosecute any important war on the Indian continent. The complete and established supremacy of our national navy facilitated these enterprises. Our fleets commanded in every sea, so that the Dutch and French colonies could receive only a scanty and precarious support from the mother-countries. All the Molucca or Spice Islands which had been colonized by the Dutch, but which now in reality belonged to the French, who had annexed Holland to their empire, were reduced with very little difficulty by Anglo-Indian expeditions. The first attack was made upon Amboyna, which had been taken by the English during the first revolutionary war, but which had been restored at the peace of Amiens. A small flotilla of Company's armed vessels, commanded by Captain Tucker, and a

small military force, consisting of a part of the Company's Madras European regiment and a few artillerymen (about 400 landmen in all), under the command of Captain Court, stormed the principal batteries on the 16th of February, 1810; and, on the following day, the whole of the island was surrendered to the British, although it was defended by 1300 men and a great quantity of artillery. The five dependent islands quietly submitted to the conquerors. Being reinforced by Captain Cole, the Amboyna expedition drove the Dutch from their very strong works on Banda Neira, and, in the course of the month of August, 1810, reduced the whole of the group called the Banda Isles, so productive in nutmegs.

Nothing now remained to the Dutch subjects of Napoleon in those seas except the rich island of Java and some settlements on the coast of the richer and far larger island of Sumatra. The reduction of these settlements was first suggested to the governor-general by Mr. Stamford Raffles, one of the many men of rare talent that had been trained under the East India Company. Raffles, during only a short residence on the coast of Malacca, had contrived to obtain a vast mass of information concerning the Indian Archipelago; and he not only suggested the expeditions, but accompanied and materially aided those who were intrusted with the commands. Though bred to the law, and never in any degree a military man, Lord Minto himself determined to go with the troops. His lordship left Calcutta on the 9th of March, 1811, for Madras, which establishment was to furnish part of the forces. The Bengal troops were embarked in the middle of April; and, about the middle of May, the whole of the expedition arrived at Malacca, the place of rendezvous, as the best starting-point for the conquests proposed. Great was the difficulty of making a passage with a large fleet through an archipelago where the wind blows strongly from one point of the compass for several months together, where the passage between the islands is often so narrow that only one ship can pass at a time, and then so close to the land that the sides of the vessel are shadowed by the luxuriant ve-

\* Wellington Dispatches.

getation which extends to the water's edge.\* The accounts of this navigation were contradictory and obscure; few or none of the British naval officers engaged in the expedition had ever threaded that perplexing maze, and their opinions were divided as to which was the best course to pursue in order to reach Java expeditiously. There was no time to waste in disputations, for the favourable monsoon was near terminating when all the forces were collected at Malacca. Many insisted that the only practical course for a fleet was the northern route round Borneo; but Raffles strongly recommended the south-west passage between Carimata and Borneo, and "staked his reputation on the success which would attend it." He had ascertained the practicability by an experiment in a small vessel, the "Minto," commanded by Captain Greigh, a most intelligent and zealous officer, who had been placed under his orders, and to whom he was indebted for the discovery of the passage by the coast of Borneo. Several of the naval authorities were opposed to the notion, not taking sufficiently into account the local information which Raffles had acquired; but Lord Minto reposed full confidence in that information, and in the excellent judgment of the man who was the real planner of the whole expedition; and accordingly the governor-general embarked with Raffles in his majesty's ship the "Modeste," commanded by Captain the Hon. George Elliot, on the 18th of June, 1811, and led the way on Raffles's sole responsibility. For a landsman this must have been a season of intense anxiety. But the expectations which had been formed were verified in every part of the passage, and everything turned out precisely as had been foretold and proposed by Raffles, with the exception that the difficulties were less and the voyage shorter than he could have hoped for. In less than six weeks after quitting

Malacca the fleet, counting more than 90 sail, was in sight of Batavia, without accident to a single vessel.\* The land-troops were under the command of General Sir S. Auchmuty: they were divided into four brigades, and amounted to nearly 12,000 men, of which about one half were British. The climate on that coast, however, proved so noxious, that the hospitals were soon crowded with our native Indian sepoys and with our British soldiers. It is said that at one time there were 5000 men on the sick-list and incapable of duty. But neither these disastrous circumstances nor the strength of the works prevented the easy conquest of the island. Batavia, the capital, to which the Dutch had given the proud title of "Queen of the East," was surrendered on the 8th of August by the burghers, the garrison having retreated to Weltevreden. Though large storehouses of public property were burned by the enemy previous to their retreat, some valuable granaries and other stores escaped the flames. Provisions were in abundance, and the port afforded the means of an easy communication with the fleet; and the city, although abandoned by the principal European inhabitants, was filled with industrious races of people, Chinese and others, who had but small affection for their Dutch masters, (whose rule had been unwisely harsh and oppressive,) and who were consequently well disposed to be useful to our Anglo-Indian army. On the morning of the 10th of August Colonel Gillespie, with part of our troops, marched to Weltevreden. The Dutch had abandoned their cantonment there, and had taken post about two miles farther up the country, at Cornelis. Their position was strong, and defended by an abattis, occupied by 3000 of their best troops and four guns of horse artillery;

\* Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S., &c. &c., particularly in the Government of Java, 1811-16, Bencoolen and its dependencies, 1817-24; with Details of the Commerce and Resources of the Eastern Archipelago, and Selections from his Correspondence. By his Widow.

\* "The whole fleet," says the governor-general, "had assembled on the coast of Java by the 30th of July. The 'Modeste,' if alone, would have done it a fortnight sooner. I have been the more particular in detailing these circumstances, because this expedition must have been abandoned for the present year (an earlier departure than actually took place from India having been found totally impracticable) if I had yielded to the predicted difficulties of the passage."—*Id.*

and behind them were the fort of Cornelis and other very strong works. Gillespie attacked with great vigour. The Dutch for a time defended themselves stoutly, but at length their four guns were captured, and they were driven from the abattis at the point of the bayonet. The Dutch left on the field about 500 killed and wounded, including a brigadier-general, who was wounded dangerously. The loss of the British was but trifling. Those most distinguished in the bayonet-charge were the grenadier company of the 78th and a detachment of the 89th king's regiments. The enemy, driven from the abattis, took shelter under their batteries. Their main body, still greatly superior in numbers, was strongly entrenched in a position between the great river of Jacotra and a deep canal dug by the Dutch and called the Sloken: this position was shut up in front by a deep trench strongly palisadoed; neither the river nor the canal was fordable: seven redoubts and many batteries mounting heavy guns occupied the most commanding points of ground within the lines, the key-fort of Cornelis being in the centre, and all the works being defended by a numerous and seemingly well-organized artillery. The heat was too violent, the malaria of the spot too destructive, and the number of our forces too small to admit of regular approaches. The works must be taken by battery and assault, or not at all. Sir S. Auchmuty came up with more troops, Rear-Admiral Stopford spared 500 of his seamen to assist at our batteries; and these were worked so well that, one by one, the nearest Dutch batteries were silenced. At last, on the 26th of August, the assault was made, under the immediate direction and gallant leading of Colonel Gillespie, Colonel Gibbs, Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, and Major Tule; and the works were all carried, and the whole of the enemy's army was killed, taken, or dispersed. The combat had been most obstinate and our loss very heavy. A tremendous explosion of the magazine of one of the Dutch redoubts (whether by accident or by design was not ascertained) took place at the instant of its capture, and destroyed a number of our officers and men, who at

the moment were crowded on its ramparts, which the enemy had abandoned. Colonel Macleod, who attacked another of the redoubts, fell in the moment of victory. In all, 27 native troops and 114 British fell; 123 native and 610 British were wounded, and 13 were missing. But 5000 Dutch were taken prisoners, about 1000 were buried in the works, multitudes were cut down in the retreat, the rivers were choked up with the dead, and the huts and neighbouring thickets were filled with wounded. Among the prisoners were 3 general-officers, 34 field-officers, 90 captains, and 150 subaltern officers. General Jansens, the Dutch commander-in-chief, who had thrice rallied his retreating troops, escaped with difficulty, followed by a few cavalry, the sole remains of an army of 10,000 men.\*

\* Sir Samuel Auchmuty's Dispatch to Lord Minto.

On the 27th of August, the day after the bloody battle of Cornelis, the warm-hearted, the good, the learned, the poetical Doctor John Leyden, the associate and friend of Walter Scott, the bosom friend of Stamford Raffles, the admired of all who knew him, died of the country fever at Weltevreden. He expired in the arms of Raffles, who deeply mourned his loss:

"Where sleep the brave on Java's strand,  
Thy ardent spirit, Leyden, fled;  
And fame with cypress shades the land  
Where genius fell and valour bled.

When triumph's tale is westward borne,  
On Border hills no joy shall gleam;  
And thy lov'd Teviot long shall mourn  
The youthful Poet of her stream."

—From *Verses* by Sir John Malcolm.

Many congenial spirits at home mourned his premature fate. Southey, in giving an account of the conquest of Java, paid a merited compliment to the learned Dutch writers of an earlier age, who had visited and described the island, and then concluded with this beautiful tribute to Leyden:—

"But the writings of Nieuhoff, and Baldæus, and Valentyn, and Rumphius remain; and time, which destroys the work of the conqueror and of the statesman, will but increase their value. Unhappily our conquest cost us the life of one who, had his days been prolonged, would probably have added more to our knowledge of Eastern literature and antiquities than all his predecessors: I speak of Dr. John Leyden, who, for the sake of increasing his stores of knowledge, accompanied Lord Minto upon this expedition, and fell a victim to the climate; and whose early death may be considered as a loss so great, so irreparable (for generations may pass away before another be found, who with the same

The final capitulation of the island, or of all of it that had been occupied by the Dutch, was not signed till the 18th of September, by General Jansens and Sir S. Auchmuty at Samarang, whither the Dutch general had retreated with a very slight attendance of troops. The principal part of the island, occupied by native chiefs or princes, was still to settle. Some of our men in authority recommended that, now the Dutch were driven out, the island should be abandoned to the natives; but Lord Minto checked the idea, and adopted, on his own responsibility, various measures proper to convert it into a permanent British possession.

industry, the same power of mind, and the same disinterested spirit, shall possess the same opportunities), that I will not refrain from expressing a wish that Java had remained in the hands of the enemy, so Leyden were alive."—*Edinburgh Ann. Regist.*

Walter Scott drew up and published in this same miscellany a very touching biographical memoir of Leyden. At the sad end of it, after stating that the philologist and poet accompanied the expedition to Java for the purpose of investigating the manners, language, and literature of the tribes which inhabit that island, and partly also because it was thought his extensive knowledge of the eastern dialects and customs might be useful in settling the government of the country, Scott added: "His spirit of romantic adventure led him literally to rush upon death; for, with another volunteer who attended the expedition, he threw himself into the surf, in order to be the first Briton of the expedition who should set foot upon Java. When the success of the well-concerted movements of the invaders had given them possession of the town of Batavia, Leyden displayed the same ill-omened precipitation in his haste to examine a library in which many Indian manuscripts of value were said to be deposited. A library in a Dutch settlement was not, as might have been expected, in the best order; the apartment had not been regularly ventilated, and either from this circumstance, or already affected by the fatal sickness peculiar to Batavia, Leyden, when he left the place, had a fit of shivering, and declared the atmosphere was enough to give any mortal a fever. The pressage was too just; he took his bed, and died in three days, on the eve of the battle which gave Java to the British empire."

There appears to be a little of our great novelist's usual carelessness as to dates in this account of the death. Leyden did not die on the eve of the battle of Cornelis, but on the day after that battle. Other accounts make Leyden die on the 28th of August, or two days after the battle. This must be incorrect. The battle was fought on the 26th, and Raffles, in whose arms he expired, says, in a letter written soon after the event, that poor Leyden died on the 27th.

He did not overrate the importance of Java in his dispatches to the authorities in England. "An empire," said he, "which for two centuries has contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states in Europe, has been thus wrested from the short usurpation of the French government, has been added to the dominion of the British crown, and converted from a seat of hostile machination and commercial competition into an augmentation of British power and prosperity." Raffles, who could not foresee how soon the British government would be induced to restore to the emancipated Dutch these splendid conquests in the Eastern Archipelago, was even warmer than the governor-general in describing the value of Java. "It is, in fact," said he, "*the other India!*" Raffles himself, under the title of Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its dependencies, was appointed to preside over this new empire, "as an acknowledgment of the services he had rendered, and in consideration of his peculiar fitness for the office." This appointment was highly honourable to Lord Minto, who is said to have been partly pledged to bestow it on a gentleman who stood higher in the service, or who enjoyed more powerful patronage than Raffles, who had worked his own way from the very humble condition of an extra-clerk in the East India House. Lord Minto remained in Java six weeks, and was occupied in arranging the form of government, forming plans for the improvement of the country and for the suppression of piracy; or in consulting with Raffles, who was every day adding to his stock of information about the Archipelago, its vast capabilities, its products, navigation, and trade. Such of the natives or Asiatic settlers as had been subjects to the Dutch, rejoiced in the change; and many of the independent chiefs courted the alliance of the new conquerors. The governor-general appointed Mr. Hare resident at Banger-Masing, with the view of checking the war which was almost constantly raging among the native princes or chiefs, and of putting down the practice of piracy, which was ne-

where carried on in a more ferocious manner or on a larger scale.

It was also during this administration that the Mauritius, or Isle of France, was reduced, and chiefly by forces detached from India. In the month of November, 1810, troops from Madras, from Bombay, and from Bengal formed their junction at an appointed rendezvous near to the Isle of France. They were to be joined by a division of king's troops from the Cape of Good Hope, but as these royal forces did not arrive in time, the attack was made without them. The army was commanded by Major-General J. Abercromby, the fleet by Vice-Admiral Bertie. The island was surrounded by dangerous reefs; but the whole of the leeward side was carefully examined and sounded, and a passage for vessels was found where none was supposed to exist. On the 29th of November, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the whole fleet, consisting of nearly seventy sail, got safely to anchor at the point of debarkation in Grande Baie, about 12 miles to the windward of Port Louis; and the army, with their artillery, stores, and ammunition, several detachments of marines, and a large body of seamen, were landed in the course of the day, without a single loss or accident. The French had considered such a landing, or any landing except opposite to Port Louis, as an impracticability; and, in consequence of this old and confirmed persuasion, while the seaward fortifications of their capital were very formidable, their works on the land side—where they never expected to be attacked—were contemptible. The island, in fact, was gained the moment that the passage through the reefs was discovered; or, at latest, the moment that the landing of the troops was so successfully effected. Numerically, the French were too weak to offer any great resistance in the country which lay between the point of debarkation and the capital of the island. They skirmished a little in a wood, they attempted to defend a narrow defile, and they made a short stand in some lines behind the town of Port Louis; but, on the morning of the 2nd of December, as General Abercromby was preparing to make a general attack, De Caen, the

French governor and commander-in-chief, sent out a white flag, and proposed to capitulate. The attack was suspended, and the capitulation was hastily concluded. Considering the relative situations of the two forces, it was thought by many persons that the British commanders allowed the French conditions much too favourable. The capitulation was, however, in strict conformity with the spirit of Lord Minto's instructions, with the single exception that the French garrison were not to be made prisoners of war; and General Abercromby justified this exception. "Although," said he, "the courage and high discipline of the army under my command could leave not the smallest doubt in respect to the issue of an attack upon the town, I was nevertheless prevailed upon to acquiesce in this indulgence being granted to the enemy, from the desire of sparing the lives of many brave officers and soldiers, and out of regard to the interests of the inhabitants of this island, who have long laboured under the most degrading misery and oppression. Knowing confidently your lordship's further views in regard to this army, and seeing also the late period of the season, when every hour became valuable, I considered these to be motives of much more national importance than any injury that could arise from a small body of troops, at so remote a distance from Europe, being permitted to return to their own country free from any engagement. In every other particular, we have gained all which could have been acquired if the town had been carried by assault."\* De Caen and his garrison were, therefore, sent to France, without being bound not to serve against England or her allies during the war—a very idle and useless condition, as the French of the revolutionary school had long ceased to respect any such engagement. But the rich colony and its dependencies, the forts, well-stored magazines, &c. were given up; the conquerors obtained possession of 209 pieces of ordnance in excellent condition, of four large French frigates, one French sloop and

\* General Abercromby's Dispatch to the Right Hon. Gilbert Lord Minto, &c.

one brig, of two small English frigates which had been captured by the French, and of a number of merchant ships, many of the latter being prizes picked up by the privateers of the island, and some of them being of great value. And, what was most important of all, the French were dispossessed of a stronghold, from which, during the whole of this war, they had so sorely annoyed our East India trade. As the neighbouring Isle of Bourbon—another French stronghold and haunt of privateers—had been reduced in the preceding month of July, by an Anglo-Indian force under Colonel Keating, and a small squadron of his majesty's ships under Commodore Rowley, there was no further mischief to be apprehended in this quarter. Both these islands ought always to remain in the hands of the power which holds the empire of India; but at the peace of Paris, in 1814, the British government, keeping the Isle of France, very unwisely gave back Bourbon. In making these two very important conquests, the troops had but few opportunities of displaying their valour; but the sepoys from India, as well as the British soldiers, acted with admirable promptitude and discipline, and cheerfully and patiently submitted to many fatigues and privations. In the Isle of France they were left for twenty-four hours with hardly any water to drink; and the heat was excessive. De Caen and his people had been taught to despise the native troops of our trading East India Company, but the march of the sepoys from Grande Baie to Port Louis, and the conduct and *tenue* they displayed on the march, in the skirmishes, and in front of the lines, gave them a juster notion of the qualities of our native Indian soldiery. Unfortunately Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Major O'Keefe, two excellent officers, were killed in clearing the defile which the French attempted to defend. Otherwise the loss in the Isle of France was very small, for, counting Europeans and natives, there were only 29 killed, 99 wounded, and 48 missing.\*

The facility with which large detach-

\* The loss sustained in conquering the Isle of Bourbon was still smaller, amounting only to 18 killed, 79 wounded, and 4 drowned in landing.

ments from the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay were wafted to distant islands and peninsulas, seas and gulfs, and then formed into a strong and compact army, was every way calculated to raise our military reputation; and if much of the merit was due to our national navy, still the East India Company, its governors, officers, and servants, may fairly claim a large share in the honours.

The pirates in the Persian Gulf, forgetful of several severe chastisements they had previously received, attacked and plundered an English trading vessel, and treated the crew and passengers in a barbarous manner. Forthwith a small expedition was dispatched from Bombay to chastise these ruffians and to destroy their shipping. The chief nest of the pirates was the port of Mallia; and this port was defended by a fortress, which had a high traditional reputation, being in fact considered impregnable. But the small Bombay force took the fort by storm, and captured or destroyed the vessels it had protected. The pirates were driven out of other nests with great ease. The fort of Shenass, where the pirates had collected in great strength, was found to be more formidable; but the Imaum of Muscat, who had been secured in our alliance by the good diplomacy of Colonel J. Malcolm, sent a squadron to co-operate with the Bombay force, and after some desperate fighting this place too was carried by storm. In other ports on the gulf, the pirates burned their vessels themselves, and then fled up the country.

Another expedition was sent, during this administration, to the Canton river. This was at the very beginning of Lord Minto's government, when such lively apprehensions were entertained of the designs of the French on the East, and when Bonaparte was apparently making himself master of Spain and Portugal. It was felt that if the French should obtain possession of the Spanish colony of Manilla, they would, from that point, make an attack upon the not distant Portuguese possession of Macao. As yet we had no treaty with Ferdinand VII., or with the Spanish cortes, who were determined not

to submit to the intrusive King Joseph Bonaparte; but we were bound by treaties to protect Portugal and her colonies, and if the French or their partisans should be allowed to gain possession of the very old Portuguese settlement of Macao, there would be but small security for our Chinese trade. The Portuguese in the East felt that they were far too weak to be able to defend themselves. The governor of Goa entered into a convention with Lord Minto, and allowed the English to garrison that colony. This being done, his lordship thought it advisable to dispatch another garrison to defend and hold Macao. This last experiment had been tried in the year 1802, under the administration of Marquess Wellesley, and it had then failed very completely, the viceroy of Canton having indignantly repelled the idea of any part of the Chinese empire needing aid from foreigners.\* Lord Minto's expedition consisted merely of 200 rank and file of the Company's European regiment, a sepoy battalion of 650 firelocks from Bengal, 2 companies of his majesty's 30th foot from Madras, and 100 European artillerymen, with 18 pieces of ordnance. It was found now, as it had been found in 1802, that the Chinese treated Macao as a portion of their empire, and the Portuguese there as mere tenants at will; that the Chinese were furious at the landing of any British force, and that the Portuguese, and the men of mixed race that dwelt at Macao and were called Portuguese, were far from being disposed to give our troops a hearty welcome. Our troops were, however, landed, and with the consent of the local Portuguese authorities. A general feeling of enmity on the part of the Chinese inhabitants manifested itself in repeated affrays and assaults, particularly on the sepoys. As for the so-called Portuguese garrison, it consisted of only 200 or 300 half-starved blacks. An order soon came down from Canton for our troops to depart; and as this was not complied with, the trade at Canton was

stopped, and provisions were denied both to our Indians and to the squadron of his majesty's ships. The British factory at Canton remonstrated, representing that Macao was, and had for ages been, the possession of our ally the king of Portugal. "Put your troops on board, and then we will hear you," replied the Mandarins. They further said, in an edict, "Knowing, as you ought to know, that the Portuguese inhabit a territory belonging to the Celestial empire, how could you suppose that the French would ever venture to molest them? If they dared, our *warlike* troops should attack, defeat, and chase them from the face of the country."\* At the same time, some of the warriors of the Celestial empire began to march towards Macao, and a line of war-junks was drawn across the river, to intercept the communication, leaving space for only one boat to pass at a time.† Admiral Drury, who commanded our squadron, proposed to the viceroy an interview at Canton. The viceroy returned no answer to the admiral's letter. Shortly after this, all British subjects were ordered to embark on board the *Indiamen* or *Chinamen* in the river, and his majesty's ships were ordered higher up the river. As the viceroy still refused an audience, Admiral Drury went up to Canton in person, to insist on an interview, in which, he said, matters might easily be accommodated. The viceroy persisted in declining the visit, and then the admiral returned to his ship. A demonstration of breaking through the line of war-junks was made next, as those junks were now filled with soldiers, who refused to allow even a single boat to pass up to Canton. The boats of all our men-of-war and of all our *Indiamen* were manned and armed. They could have cut through with very little difficulty, but Admiral Drury, on reaching the line, pulled up in his own boat to address the mandarins, through the medium of a Portuguese priest from Macao (who, very possibly, misinterpreted nearly every word that was said to him by the ad-

\* John Francis Davis, late his Majesty's Chief Superintendent in China (and now Governor of Hong Kong). 'The Chinese; a General Description of the Empire of China and its Inhabitants.'

\* Id., id.

† Services of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas M. Wedgell, the officer in command of our land forces, in East Ind. Military Calendar.

miral). Instead of entering into this parley, the Celestials in the junks began to fire into the English boats. One man was wounded in the admiral's own boat, and thereupon the admiral ordered the signal to be made for the attack. But—"The signal was not observed, and ordered not to be repeated. The admiral then declared his intention not to force the Chinese line, and returned with the boats to the fleet. Though a man of undisputed courage, Admiral Drury seems not to have possessed that cool and deliberate judgment which was essential to the success of the business he had been engaged in."\* Our humiliation was completed by a convention entered into at Macao, in the month of December (1808), in conformity with which our troops were re-embarked, and Admiral Drury sailed away for Bengal. The trade, which had been stopped for more than three months, was then renewed. It should appear that the governor-general of India, who had conceived the plan and sent the expedition, escaped any severe censure. But the Company strongly disapproved the conduct of some of their servants at Canton, and recalled the president of that factory. The pecuniary loss incurred by the English was very large; and it was soon discovered that no trifling addition was made to the usual arrogance of the Chinese.†

Lord Minto resigned his office and

\* Parliamentary Evidence, as quoted by J. F. Davis, Esq., in 'The Chinese.'

Mr. Davis adds—"The attempt to proceed to Canton in the boats ought never to have been made, or it should have been carried through. A pagoda was built by the Chinese near the spot, to commemorate their *victory* over the English."

† It is but justice to state that the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Wedgell, the officer in command of the forces that were landed at Macao, was prudent, discreet, vigilant, active, and spirited. This was liberally acknowledged by the governor-general himself, who, in council, highly approved of his uniform and successful attention to the discipline of his troops, at a time when their patience and forbearance were put to the severest trials by the insults and provocations of the Chinese inhabitants of Macao. His lordship also approved of all the measures he had adopted for the accommodation and relief of the troops, and of the excellent defensive arrangements he had adopted, to provide with so small a force against the contingency of an attack by an immense Chinese army.

took his passage for England towards the close of the year 1813. On the whole, his administration was popular in India, while in Europe it certainly raised his reputation as a statesman, relieving him from the criticisms he had incurred by his not very judicious conduct as Viceroy of Corsica. Perhaps few persons then noticed how close a resemblance some of his measures and policy bore to those which had been pursued by Warren Hastings, upon whose head he, as Sir Gilbert Elliot, had poured such vials of virtuous wrath. But his lordship himself could hardly fail to recognise the resemblance; and it is said that when he returned from India he frankly confessed that his notions about the first and greatest of our governors-general were very different from what they had been a quarter of a century before, when he harangued in the House of Commons or sat with the managers of Hastings's impeachment in Westminster Hall. More than this, his lordship recommended carrying out the system of aggrandizement, connection, and supremacy which Hastings had been the first to adopt; and he confessed that without this supremacy, by conquest or by connection, our empire in the East could not stand; and that the timid, neutrality, non-interference system which had now been so long cherished by the British legislature and government, and by the Court of Directors, was altogether inapplicable to our situation in India. If his government had lasted six months longer, he must have found himself involved in extensive wars in Hindustan. The Anglo-Indians complain that the conquests he directed in insular India cost far more than the conquests which his predecessors had made in continental India, and that while these continental territories remained permanently in our possession, the islands taken from the French and Dutch were nearly all restored to their original possessors at the peace. The facts are indisputable; but it is to be remembered that at a general pacification every great and fortunate country is expected, and is in a manner bound, to make some restitutions. England had always required some score of islands to throw into a treaty of peace. If

we had not taken Java, the settlements in Sumatra, and other islands and establishments from the Dutch, and if we had not had them in hand at the conclusion of the war to give back to their old owners, it might not have been found quite so easy to silence the murmurs of Holland and of other continental nations about our retaining the Cape of Good Hope and other conquests which were made permanent to

us. It is probable that Lord Minto did not foresee that the vast acquisitions made in the Eastern Archipelago would be so soon given up; and it is certain that the British government could not provide against, or so much as suspect—in its full extent—the harsh and oppressive policy which has since been pursued by the Dutch in those colonies.

## CHAPTER X.

## HOME LEGISLATION.

THE commercial monopoly of the East India Company had long been a subject of complaint with the general mercantile interests of the United Kingdom; and at every renewal of the Company's charter some efforts had been made to throw open some portions of the East India or China trade. The first great inroad on the Company's exclusive privileges did not however take place until the year 1813. On the 22nd of February, the Company, well aware of the many and strenuous efforts that were making to break up their monopoly, represented by petition to parliament that without their commercial privileges they could not maintain their political privileges or territorial possessions; the commercial monopoly being but an instrument for political purposes, &c. A modification of the system had, however, been previously resolved upon by ministers; and before the session closed a bill (Act of the 53 Geo. III.) was carried through both Houses. The trade with India was thrown open in ships of a given tonnage, under licence from the Court of Directors, on whose refusal to grant such licence an appeal lay to the Board of Control. The resort of individuals to India for commercial or for other purposes was put under similar regulations. Thus there was introduced a divided authority in matters of commerce, as there had previously been in politics. Henceforward it was enacted that the Company's accounts should be kept under the two separate heads of "territory" and "commerce." A general authority was given to government, through the Board of Control, over the appropriation of the territorial revenues and the surplus commercial profits which might remain after a strict observance of the appropriation clauses and the claims of

the Company's creditors. From this time forward no governor-general, governor, or commander-in-chief was to be appointed by the Company without the approval of the crown; and no suspended or dismissed servant of the Company was to be restored without the consent of the Board of Control. The bounty of the Court of Directors was also restricted, it being laid down that in the bestowal of any sum exceeding 600*l.* the concurrence of the Board of Control was indispensable. Moreover the Board of Control was to hold and exercise control over the Company's college and seminary in England.\*

At a very early period the Company had paid considerable attention to the establishing of schools and chapels in their factories, and to the means of diffusing the doctrines of the Christian faith among their native servants, and among other natives living in the neighbourhood of their settlements. There had been no want of chaplains or of missionaries, but the labours of the latter had not been attended with any great success, and the more cautious Anglo-Indians had shrunk from the risks attendant on a too energetic spirit of proselytizing. The Hindus, submissive in all but that, had always seemed ready to rush into insurrection at the slightest interference with their religious rites and ancient customs—customs and rites not more ancient than (in many cases) revolting and degrading to humanity. Partly through their own fault in attempting to translate the whole of the Scriptures into most difficult languages, with which they were most imperfectly

\* The establishments at Haileybury and Addiscombe.

acquainted, and partly through the sense-striking, attractive, and splendid ritual of the Roman Catholic church, the success of the English missionaries, whether of the Established Church or Baptists, had been very inferior, at least in numerical amount, to that of the papist missionaries. And yet the most able and best member of the great Roman propaganda had been fain to confess, after residing forty years in India, that only the very worst of the natives he had converted remained steady to their new faith. Nevertheless it was now hoped that a regular and well appointed hierarchy, headed by prelates of the Anglican church of learning and virtue, might contribute to diffuse the Protestant religion among the natives; while the vast and constantly increasing numbers of Englishmen settled or serving in India seemed to demand more spiritual care than had hitherto been bestowed upon them. A Bishop of Calcutta, with diocesan authority over the whole of British India, and three archdeacons to superintend the chaplains of the presidencies and of all the settlements, were appointed. But it was not deemed prudent to enter fully into the wishes expressed in petitions presented to parliament from various parts of the kingdom, praying that provision might be made for the resort of missionaries, &c. to India. A few indiscreet missionaries spread over Hindustan might have jeopardized our empire, without doing any spiritual good to the natives. The first appointments to the Calcutta Bishopric were admirable, for the lawn has not often been worn by better men than Bishop Middleton and Reginald Heber. We do not know that the diffusion of our religion among Hindus, Mohammedans, or Parsees has been very materially accelerated; but we believe there is no doubt that the discipline of our church, and the general morals and devotion of the British subjects in India, have been improved by the ecclesiastical institutions provided for by the legislature in 1813. The obscene and bloody superstitions which disgrace Hindustan (speaking of merely mortal means) can be removed only by time, and slow and cautious measures; but it is consoling to reflect that some of the

worst abominations have been at the least dwarfed and checked. Any sudden attempt at conversion, enforced by the British government in India, would have caused the country to be deluged with blood, without presenting any chance of spiritual or moral good.

As isolated beings, unconnected with government, the few Protestant missionaries in the country caused little or no alarm to the guardians of the Hindu religion, or to the professors of Mohammedanism; but if the legislature had complied with the wishes of some well-meaning and pious persons at home, and had suddenly thrown into India a great number of "Act-of-Parliament missionaries," to be protected by and connected with our Indian government, there can be no doubt but that a great alarm would have been immediately excited. But a respectable church establishment, with a suffragan bishop at the head of it, and with the clergy intrusted with the care and zealous in the superintendence of the public schools in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, might, without exciting any jealousy or alarm, silently and gradually effect a favourable change, not only in the religion and morality of the British subjects, but in those of the natives also. The establishment of the "Bishop's College" at Calcutta, by Dr. Middleton, the first Protestant bishop in India, was calculated to do infinite good; and since its improvement and enlargement by the accomplished Reginald Heber, our second bishop, great good, we believe, has been done by it. It has been well said that much may be expected from the institution of schools on a liberal plan for the benefit of the rising generation of the Hindus; and that to convey instruction, through the medium of the English language, in every branch of useful knowledge, and in the principles of religion and moral rectitude, will do more to open their minds to conversion, and to convince them of the monstrous absurdity of their own polytheism, than all the translations of the Scriptures and religious tracts which have been circulated among them. "A general knowledge of history or geography will at once disperse

that cloud of more than Egyptian darkness, which for so many ages has confined their view. . . . . When they cease to consider Mount Meru as twenty thousand miles high, and the world as a flower, of which India is the cup,

and other countries the leaves, their minds may become more open to rational views on the subject of religion." \*

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\* Quarterly Review, No. lxxv.

## CHAPTER XI.

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.

THE Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquess of Hastings, succeeded Lord Minto as governor-general. As Lord Rawdon he had greatly distinguished himself in the war of American independence, more than 30 years before his Indian appointment. He had the reputation of being a brave soldier, and—if not throughout a consistent politician—a man of honest intentions, highminded, and of liberal views. He had greatly impaired a large fortune, the principal part of which he had obtained through his wife; but if, through the favour of the Prince Regent, he was sent to Bengal to restore his finances, he was not capable of any meanness, or even of an ordinary attention to his pecuniary interests, for, after a long and brilliant administration, he returned to Europe no richer than he was when he went to the East. With second and third rate men, holding inferior places, the case may have been different, but hardly any of our high functionaries in India have been sordid or selfish men.

His lordship was nominated on the 18th of November, 1812, and, arriving in India, Lord Minto resigned the government to him on the 4th of October, 1813. He was obliged to attend almost immediately to matters of war, for the Birmans, or Burmese, continued to trouble one of the frontiers of our empire, while the Nepalese made encroachments on another, both being encouraged by the pacific system which had been imposed upon his lordship's immediate predecessors. The Birmans were brought to reason for the present; but the Nepalese spurned negotiation, and were to be reduced only by force. The Gorkhas, who domineered over a great part of Nepal, retained that passion for war and conquest to which they owed their re-

cently established dominion, and by which they hoped to extend their empire in Hindustan. Their far extended frontier pressed everywhere upon the territories of the Company, or the territory of the Company's allies or dependents; and except in the neighbourhood of our military stations, it was found difficult or almost impossible to check the border forays of the Nepalese or the quarrels that were constantly breaking out. In the month of May, 1814, while some negotiations were still pending, the Nepalese treacherously attacked and murdered all the police-officers stationed in Bootwul. Lord Minto had been repeatedly told that he must conquer the Gorkhas and reduce the power of all Nepal, or live in constant inquietude. The Earl of Moira determined to send armies to deal with these troublesome neighbours. He had been named commander-in-chief of the forces, as well as governor-general. Age had not chilled his lordship's military ardour. He quitted Calcutta in June, 1814, to make a tour of inspection in the western provinces, to concert measures for the campaign among the Himalaya mountains, and the great hills the offshoots of that chain, and to make defensive arrangements against the marauding Pindarrees, who were threatening our northern frontiers, and who were expected to make an attempt at invasion while our troops were engaged in the hills of Nepal. The Nepalese frontier was about 600 miles in length and for the most part very rugged; and the enemy had the command of all the passes of the forest, as well as the hills.\* Lord Moira found

\* History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings, 1813-1823. By Henry T. Prinsep, of the Bengal Civil Service.

it exceedingly difficult to collect intelligence for the arrangement of his plan of operations, for few parts of the country had ever been examined by Europeans, and the Nepaulese were as jealous and vigilant as the Chinese, from whom most of their tribes originally descended. His lordship, however, resolved that his forces should act offensively along the whole line of the frontier, and break into the country from different points. For the whole plan of the campaign—which was clearly defective through want of local information—his lordship seems to be answerable. Major-General Marley, with the principal force, consisting of about 8000 men, was to march upon Catmandoo, the capital; Major-General Wood was to overrun all Bootwul, and to menace Pulpa; Major-General Gillespie was to seize the passes of the rivers Jumna and Ganges, in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy to the eastward; and Major-General Ochterlony, with the 4th corps, was to invade the western provinces of the Gorkhas. Some of the hill states which enjoyed English protection were to co-operate with the forces of the Company in order to expel the enemy from all their recent conquests between the Jumna and the Sutledge. The Gorkhas alone had at this time about 12,000 fighting men, dressed, armed, and disciplined in imitation of the Company's sepoy; and if this imitation was not very perfect, the men were robust, active, and courageous. The strength of the country was great, being skirted and intersected by lofty mountains, and abounding in excellent defensive positions.\* As our forces advanced towards the frontiers, the Gorkha officers ordered that all the wells should be poisoned; but this is a threat which has often been used, and has never been carried extensively into practice. The Nepaulese mode of making stockades in excellent positions, and the stubbornness with which they defended them, proved more mischievous to the invaders. General Gillespie fought his way well into the country, but was

killed on the 30th of October, 1814, in a too hasty assault on the fort of Kalunga. General Wood failed completely in his operations, and General Marley failed so miserably as to be taxed by the commander-in-chief with gross neglect and imbecility. The mistake common to all these commanders in the first Nepaul campaign appears to have been a too great contempt for these new and untried enemies. But the whole campaign must be considered as a war of experiment—as a war in a novel field, where almost everything was yet to learn. General Ochterlony, however, with his single division, gained brilliant successes in the western provinces of the Gorkhas, defeated the enemy in several battles, drove them into the fort of Maloun, and there forced them to capitulate. By these victories the countries between the Jumna and Sutledge were effectually cleared of the Gorkhas, to the great satisfaction of the Seiks, and of the hill chieftains who were allied with the Company. But the war was not yet terminated, though it had already lasted more than a year. Those who held authority at Catmandoo, the capital of Nepaul, consented to a treaty, then refused to ratify it, and then defied the English to another campaign in the heart of their own country.

The entire management of this second campaign in Nepaul, which commenced in February, 1816, was left to Major-General Ochterlony, who had so ably conducted all his part of the first campaign. Ochterlony had nearly 20,000 effective men, including three European regiments, his Majesty's 24th, 66th, and 87th. The British soldiers were better suited to a war among lofty and bleak mountains than were the sepoy from the hot plains of Hindustan. He divided his forces into four brigades, which were respectively commanded by Colonel Kelly, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicol, Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, and Colonel Dick. Colonel Kelly was detached to the right, Lieutenant-Colonel Nicol to the left; the other two brigades, guided by Ochterlony, moved straight through the forests to the foot of a pass, above which the Nepaulese were strongly posted behind their

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\* Walter Hamilton. Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, and of the Territories annexed to this Dominion by the House of Gorkha.

troublesome stockades.\* These works were altogether unassailable in front; but, after four days' diligent search, Captain Pickersgill, of the quarter-master-general's department, found a route which turned the pass. In the darkness of night General Ochterlony in person led Miller's brigade through a deep and narrow chasm, and then over the brow of the first formidable barrier of hills. By seven o'clock on the following morning the heights to the west of the enemy's position were occupied without resistance. Nearly at the same time Colonel Dick's brigade, which had been left at the foot of the pass, moved up in front, close to the enemy's outer stockade; and in the course of the day found the triple fortification evacuated in consequence of the success of Ochterlony's operation for turning the position. Our troops were obliged to bivouac on the bleak mountain tops for four days, waiting the arrival of their supplies and tents, as no laden animal had been able to accompany them or to climb the hills which they had climbed. For the first two days the men suffered extreme privations, being for the most part without any food. But their gallant leader shared in their hardships, having no baggage, and sleeping under cover of a hut, hastily constructed for him by the men of the 87th, of boughs

cut from the green trees.\* By the 20th of February the supplies and tents were brought up, and the roads were prepared for a further advance. The enemy, vexed and disheartened at Ochterlony's unexpected discovery of the route across the first barrier of hills, continued to retreat from stockade to stockade, until they came to the town of Mukwanpoor, which stands on a hill, and which had both a fort and a stockade. On the 27th Ochterlony occupied a hill in front of Mukwanpoor, and within two miles of that town. The Gorkhas, who had committed a blunder in evacuating that position, endeavoured to recover the hill. In their first attack they drove in a weak outpost, and killed the commanding officer, Lieutenant Tirrell. A small village on the hill was, however, gallantly maintained after the fall of Tirrell by Lieutenant Kerr and Ensign Impey (a grandson of Sir Elijah Impey), who were both publicly thanked in general orders for this service.† Ochterlony threw forward the flank companies of the 87th and the 25th regiment of native infantry. On the other side, the Gorkhas poured forth two thousand men from their stockade in front of Mukwanpoor, and showed a determination to gain the village and recover all the ridge of the hill. The English general then threw forward four more companies of the 87th, and the second battalion of the 12th native infantry. Again, on the other hand, the Gorkhas reinforced their columns of attack. Ochterlony brought his guns to play along the ridge. The Gorkhas brought up some of their guns, and fired hotly on the camp and line, where Ochterlony and his staff were conspicuous objects. A menial servant of the general's, who was carrying his pen and ink, was killed by this fire; but, on the whole, it did remarkably little execution.‡ After a stern contest, the Nepaulese yielded to our superiority of artillery, and to a bayonet-charge made

\* The Nepaulese stockaded all their posts.

“The strength of these stockades was originally greatly miscalculated: made of rough-hewn wood and stones, heaped together between an inner and outer palisade, they were in appearance so contemptible as to invite assault, without even seeming to require breaching. On the plains, much more formidable-looking places were constantly carried in that way; but appearances were deceitful, and the Gorkhas, having a just confidence in their defences, always stood boldly to them, and made the assailants pay dearly for their temerity. Our lighter artillery made little or no impression; and the difficulty of bringing up heavy guns rendered them, in truth, most formidable defences. The wood and materials for raising them were everywhere at hand, and the celerity with which they could be prepared in any position formed a main source of the strength of the country.”—*Henry T. Prinsep, Esq., 'Hist. of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings.'* In the first campaign, our losses before some of these stockades were terrible.

\* Id., id.; E. Ind. Military Calendar.

† Id., id. Henry Raleigh Impey, the eldest son of the eldest son of Sir Elijah, fell a victim to the climate of Calcutta, the grave of many of his name, who have done the Honourable Company some service.

‡ Id., id.

by some of the British soldiers; and they fled beyond a deep hollow which separated the ridge from Mukwanpoor. There, however, and in a jungle, they maintained themselves for some hours, keeping up a hot fire of artillery across the hollow, which did little mischief, and an incessant fire of musketry from the jungle, which did a good deal. But towards sunset Ochterlony brought up a fresh sepoy battalion, and Major Nation, putting himself at the head of it, dashed across the hollow, charged with the bayonet, and captured the nearest of the guns. After this the Gorkhas retired behind their stockades or into their fort, leaving their dead and wounded behind them. Hitherto they had always shown the greatest devotion in carrying off their wounded. Their loss was very severe—they acknowledged themselves that it exceeded 800 men. Ochterlony's loss in killed and wounded rather exceeded 200; but Lieutenant Tirrell was the only officer slain. The day after the battle Colonel Nicol, who had been detached with his brigade to the left, joined Ochterlony, having succeeded in penetrating into the country by a pass near Ramnugur and by the winding valley of a river. Colonel Kelly, who had been detached with his brigade to his right, had also succeeded in finding a route which led him across the hills to the important fortress of Hureehurpoor. As usual, this fort had a strong stockade in its front. But the Gorkhas committed the same mistake here which they had committed at Mukwanpoor, by abandoning an eminence at about 800 yards' distance from their stockade. This ridge was instantly seized by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Halloran. The enemy sallied in full force to recover the ridge; and O'Halloran had to sustain an unequal fight from six in the morning until near the hour of noon. But when a strong reinforcement from Kelly's brigade came to the ridge of the hill with two 6-pounders and two howitzers mounted on elephants, the enemy fled back to their stockade. They left a considerable number of killed and wounded on the hill; and they made no further attempt to regain possession of it. On the side of the victors, only 4

Europeans and 4 natives were killed; and 5 English officers, 23 English soldiers, and 25 natives were wounded. Both the stockade and the fort of Hureehurpoor were evacuated in the course of the ensuing night. Colonel Kelly converted the fort into a dépôt, and was preparing for a further advance when he received intelligence that the war was over.

The defeat at Mukwanpoor had carried consternation into the court of Catmandoo. The Nepal Rajah put the red seal to the previous treaty, which he had refused to ratify, and sent an envoy to General Ochterlony's camp to notify that the treaty was ready for delivery. Other parties claimed to be partakers in the benefits of this peace, which, they protested, should, as far as they were concerned, be sacred and lasting. The Earl of Moira had very wisely instructed Ochterlony not to conclude a treaty until the enemy were sufficiently humbled to make it safe to rely on their sincerity; but for the rest he had given the general in the field full powers to use his own discretion, in accepting the terms of the former treaty, or in advancing further demands, according to circumstances and the state of the season. To humble the pride of these warlike tribes and to destroy their prestige in the eyes of the peoples and rulers of India, was more important than to make acquisitions of territory. General Ochterlony, however, determined to do both. He told the envoy that the Company must now retain all the territory in Nepal which their troops occupied, including the valley of the Raptee, Hureehurpoor, &c.; that the Rajah must write a letter to the governor-general, to declare his submission to these demands; and finally, that he, the Gorkha negotiator, must present the ratified treaty on his knees at his (General Ochterlony's) durbar, in the presence of all the vakeels in camp. To all these conditions the court of Catmandoo was obliged to submit. The Gorkha negotiator knelt in the camp, Ochterlony signed the treaty; and then preparations were made for leaving a country which was becoming very unhealthy. Our army, however, did not quit the hills of Nepal until two important forts were surrendered, as promised by

the treaty, to our ally the Rajah of Sikkim.\* All the articles of the treaty were executed with rare punctuality. The Rajah of Nepal bound himself never to disturb the Company's frontiers or the territories of any of its allies; never to advance any claim to the territories which had formerly been disputed or which were now ceded; never to retain in his service any British subject or the subject of any European or American state without the consent of the British government; to allow the permanent residence of an English minister at the court of Catmandoo, and to send accredited ministers of his own to reside at Calcutta. The governor-general, as a politic act of conciliation, restored some of the territory which had been conquered, after a straight and even frontier for the Company's dominions had been drawn and marked at certain distances with pillars of masonry, to prevent any future disputes.

One of the many curious circumstances attending this war in Nepal was the chance of an English army coming in contact with an army of the Celestial empire. The Chinese, whose real dominions extended to the feet of the Himalaya, claimed a fictitious dominion over the whole of Nepal; and their claim was so far admitted that the Nepaulese sent, every three years, some trifling tribute to Pekin. During our first campaign of 1814-15, the Nepaulese called upon the Emperor of China for assistance, declaring that the quarrel with the English had arisen in consequence of their having demanded to be put in possession of the passes through the mountains, in order that they might invade China. At first the Chinese gave no credit to this falsehood; but when they heard from their own officers commanding on the Himalaya frontier that the red coats were really advancing through Nepal, they believed the Nepaulese story. It was accordingly determined by the court of Pekin that an invincible army and the most confidential and able of Mandarins should be sent into Nepal. But from Pekin to the Himalaya is a

very long march, and the Chinese are slow and procrastinating. The first campaign and the second were ended, the war was over, and the Rajah beaten and humbled before the army of the Celestials was heard of at Catmandoo. In the month of August, 1816, more than four months after the treaty had been signed and presented on bended knees in Ochterlony's tent, a Chinese force reached the Himalaya; and in the month of September the governor-general received through the Sikkim Rajah a very strange letter, in very strange Persian, from a Mandarin, whose name, as written in our characters, was Shee Cheeoon Chang, and who wished to know distinctly what were the views of the British government in that direction. It appears that the Mandarin's letter had very little of the Chinese arrogance in it, and that it confessed that the views of the British government had been grossly misrepresented by the Gorkhas. Nearly at the same moment that this curious letter was received by the governor-general, the Gorkhas applied to the English resident at Catmandoo, to know whether, in case the Chinese should invade their territories, they might depend on the co-operation of a British army in resisting them! The governor-general sent a statement of all that had occurred previously to the war in Nepal, to Shee Cheeoon Chang, and ordered the resident at Catmandoo not to give any promise of co-operation or support, lest the Nepaulese should be thereby encouraged to seek a quarrel with the Chinese. The Mandarin professed himself satisfied with the governor-general's explanations; but he demanded from the court of Catmandoo that an embassy should be sent to him. Without English succour the Nepaulese would not brave the wrath of the Chinese; and therefore a mission was forthwith dispatched. Shee Cheeoon Chang treated these Nepaulese envoys very haughtily. He is said to have declared to them that they were a mischievous race, that they had caused the ruin of many rajahs, that they had provoked the English by murdering their police-officers, and that they had been justly punished. With respect to our invading China, by crossing Nepal and

\* Henry T. Prinsep.

the Himalaya, the Mandarin is reported to have said, "You wrote us that the English had demanded the passes into Coten-China; but we know this is false: —if they desired to come to China, it would not be by that route."\* It should appear that the Chinese army soon withdrew, under the apprehension that, if they invaded Nepaul, the English would be provoked to give them a rough meeting. The lesson which the Nepaulese had received from Ochterlony made a lasting impression, for they have never since disturbed our frontiers or given any trouble whatever. The able officer who had so well managed the second and last campaign was properly honoured and rewarded.† He was a man of genius, and not above learning what was useful even from a semi-barbarous enemy. If he had been a man of routine, or a formalist and pedant attached exclusively to one art of war, either he would never have threaded the passes and labyrinths of Nepaul, or he would have been sacrificed with his whole army long before reaching Mukwanpoor. But Ochterlony saw that the resource of stockades would be equally available to an invader; that it might be made to cover and secure every advance of the British, and be thus turned against the invaded; and that it placed the issue of the war in the power of continuance. He therefore adopted the Nepaulese system of stock-ading both in his first and second campaign, and to this he was principally indebted for his success. By this means the operations of our divisions which penetrated the hills were converted into a war of posts, and depôts and weak detachments were put in a position of security when the main divisions were far

away.\* He also attended sedulously to his commissariat, establishing and stock-ading good magazines of provisions as he advanced. If, at any time, he had been compelled to retreat, his troops would have found food and shelter provided for them in these fortified depôts.

The governor-general had found it very difficult to procure the funds necessary for this unusually long war in Nepaul. The treasury had been drained by the great expenses attending Lord Minto's armaments in the Archipelago, and by the demands made upon it by the Court of Directors. The increasing value of gold bullion in England had also made itself felt in India; and when 2s. 10d. could be procured for a sicca rupee, very few persons were disposed to let the government have them at 2s., their ordinary value. Specie seemed to be disappearing in Bengal, and credit was sadly deranged. But the war in Nepaul must be prosecuted, remittances must be made to England, or disgrace or ruin must ensue. The crisis was far from being so bad now as then, yet the Earl of Moira acted much upon the same plan which Warren Hastings had pursued, in the first instance, in 1780, when the French and the Mysoreans were threatening the overthrow of our empire. He cast his eyes upon the nabob vizier of Oude, and determined to make his coffers contribute to the support of the Nepaul war and to the fast sinking credit of the Company. Saadut Ali was known to be fond of hoarding, and was believed to be very rich. It was represented to him that his territories had suffered as much as our own

\* For further particulars relating to these very curious transactions we refer the reader to Mr. Prinsep's very interesting and accurate work. From the situation this gentleman held under the Marquess of Hastings's administration, he had ample means of obtaining the best information.

† He received the Order of the Bath, and was afterwards created a baronet. The East India Company voted a pension of 1000*l.* per annum to Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., and K.C.B., in acknowledgment of his splendid services in the Nepaulese war.

\* Little advance was made in Nepaul until we adopted the plan of stockading posts, which the nature of the campaign frequently rendered it necessary to place, beyond the limits of prompt succour. Had this plan been adopted at the beginning, several serious disasters would not have happened. "It was, however," adds Mr. Prinsep, "altogether a new thing to the Bengal army; for, from the earliest days, there had never been works thrown up for the defence of an outpost. . . . Sir David Ochterlony has the merit of having first resorted to this plan, and of having adopted it, too, as a resource of prudence which occurred to his own mind, not taught to him by the experience of disaster, as was the case with others."—*Hist. of Polit. and Mil. Transactions*, &c.

from the aggression of the Nepaulese, and that therefore it was but just that he should pay part of the expenses of the war; and that as he oppressed and impoverished his own subjects, in order to gratify his avarice, it was but fair that the British government, which had made him a ruler, should curb his abuse of power and step forward as the protectors of his people. It is quite clear that if the avaricious nabob vizier had lived, he must have emptied his coffers or have made other sacrifices; but he died at Lucknow on the 11th of July, 1814, as the governor-general was on his way from Calcutta to that city. Colonel Baillie, the resident in Oude, took it upon himself to procure the nomination to the musnud of the deceased nabob's eldest son Gazee-ud-Deen, who promised to give money and to submit to all the reforms which the governor-general might choose to dictate. Gazee was the more liberal in these promises, as his younger brother Shums-ul-Dowlah was a competitor for the musnud, and at the head of a party which had been created for him by his father the late nabob, who loved him better than he loved his eldest son. Gazee-ud-Deen, who must have known how Vizier Ali, when seated on the musnud, had been deposed to make room for his rival Saadut Ali; who could not be blind to the fact that the British governor-general was the real king or nabob-vizier maker; and who could not be insensible to the fear that his own rival might outbid him, came down to Cawnpore to meet the Earl of Moira, who was going up in quest of money. The nabob and the earl met on the 11th of October, 1814. It should appear that Gazee-ud-Deen, by the assistance of the British at Lucknow, had secured some good part of his deceased father's hoards; for he at once offered a crore of rupees to the governor-general by way of loan. At a subsequent interview he offered his crore of rupees as a free gift to the Company.\* His lordship declined accepting it as a gift, but took the money as a loan, and at a low rate of interest. After these interviews the competitor

for the musnud, Shums-ul-Dowlah, was ordered to quit the country, a stipend being allotted for his support, to be paid by the Company out of the interest which would be due to the now confirmed nabob vizier on his liberal loan of the crore of rupees. The old Anglo-Indian writers whose books are before us do not seem anxious to intimate that Gazee-ud-Deen owed the musnud to his money and his prompt obedience; and yet few facts are clearer than this. We would not criticize the transaction too severely; but we would show what a nobleman, who piqued himself on his chivalry and high sense of honour, was capable of doing to procure money in a moment of crisis. But the money transactions with the new nabob of Oude were not yet concluded. Deceived as to the probable duration of the war in Nepal, and straitened by the heavy expenses it caused, the governor-general in the very next year (1815) applied for another loan of a crore of rupees. This time Gazee-ud-Deen did not open his strong boxes quite so readily; but he was soon obliged to send the money. His younger brother and rival was living no farther off than at Benares, where Saadut Ali was residing when Sir John Shore bargained with him for bringing him to Lucknow and putting him on the throne instead of Vizier Ali, whose right had been recognised by Sir John a very short time before. But for these two crores of rupees, or more than 2,000,000*l.* sterling, the pride and power of the Nepaulese could not have been broken; and the disastrous issue of a war in the mountains might probably have been followed by insurrections and wars, and the defeat of the British in the plains of Hindustan; for other enemies were only waiting for a favourable moment to take the field; and our power in India can never be made independent of the opinion entertained of it by the natives. Let the charm be once broken, and exhibited in its fractured state for any length of time, and our empire must burst like a bubble.

At the successful termination of the Nepal war it was found more convenient to transfer to the nabob vizier of Oude some of the territories which had

\* A crore, or 10,000,000 of rupees, was worth rather more than 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

been ceded to us, than to continue to pay him the interest of the two crores of rupees. It is to be hoped that the governor-general and his advisers had some assurances that this ruler would not grind his people as his avaricious predecessor was said to have done.

In the course of the year 1816, when money was again wanted to put the frontiers of the Company in a good state of defence against the Pindarrees, and to provide for the contingency of a fresh war with the Mahrattas, the old Fyzabad Begum, whom Warren Hastings had squeezed so sorely, departed this life. Hastings's harshness had not cured her of her hoarding propensities: she died worth 56 lacs of rupees; and, as she could not take her beloved money with her, she bequeathed it to the Honourable Company, on the condition of its providing annuities for her friends and dependents equivalent to the interest at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum—then, for India, a very moderate rate.

During our war in Nepal the people of Cutch had committed depredations in the territories of our allies the Peishwa and the Guicowar families. A small force under Colonel East took the field, and captured the fortress of Anjar in Cutch. The ruler of that lawless country agreed to give compensation for the damages to our allies, and to yield to the English the permanent possession of Anjar on condition of their assisting him to reduce some of his rebellious subjects. The Rao also engaged to prevent his subjects in future from crossing the Gulf of Runn for hostile objects, and from carrying on the practice of piracy, in which they were great adepts. All those lawless regions were to be thoroughly reformed; but the British at Anjar were solemnly bound not to outrage the religious feelings of those robbers by killing bullocks and eating beef. The inevitable course of events, or the natural course of expansion, was gradually yet quickly advancing the Company's frontier towards the mouths of the Indus. In the year 1800, when Surat was assumed, it was stated and believed that the Tuptee river on the Gulf of Cambay would be our *ne plus ultra* in this direction; but now, in 1816, we

got beyond the Gulf of Cutch, and close upon the Runn of Cutch, by possessing ourselves of Anjar, which place was not much more than two geographical degrees from the Koree, or most southern mouth of the Indus.

The court of Poonah had been guilty of various infractions of the treaty of Bassein. The Peishwa had given his friendship and entire confidence to a menial servant named Trimbukjee, and had almost ceased to consult his own prime minister Munkaseir. Trimbukjee was a man of a violent character, and very hostile to the English, who had laboured hard to introduce order and law into the Peishwa's country. He committed sundry outrages on our ally the Guicowar, who dispatched an ambassador or vakeel named Gungadur the Shastry to Poonah to remonstrate with the Peishwa. The Peishwa referred the Shastry to Trimbukjee; and Trimbukjee treated the Guicowar vakeel so unhandsofly that the latter resolved to return to Baroda, his master's capital, and leave the points in dispute to the arbitration of the British government. But when this intention was made known, Bajee Rao (the Peishwa) and Trimbukjee changed their tone. The Peishwa talked of giving one of his daughters in marriage to the Shastry's son, and invited that vakeel to accompany him and Trimbukjee on a pilgrimage to some famous Hindu shrines. The Shastry, suspecting no evil, accepted the invitation, and was prevailed upon to leave most of his attendants behind him at Poonah. The poor man was basely and most foully murdered by assassins employed by his host, at Punderpoor, in the month of July, 1815. He had been to an entertainment provided for the Peishwa, and had returned to his lodging with a fever upon him. Trimbukjee sent lovingly to invite him to come forth, and visit with him the famous temple of Vishnu, or Wittoba, which gave to Punderpoor its character of a holy city. The attendants said that the ambassador was sick; but the Shastry yielded to the importunities of the Peishwa's favourite, and came forth, sick as he was, and proceeded to the shrine, which is said not to have been made by mortal hands, but to have fallen from heaven,



Chieftains of Cutch.



The Guicowar's envoy and the Peishwa's favourite prayed together in the temple, swept its sanctified floor with holy brooms, and conversed together about religion and friendship. But as Gungadur the Shastry was returning from the temple, he was attacked by a band of assassins, who literally cut him to pieces. The Shastry's people had to search for "the bits of his body." He was a Brahmin of the very highest caste, and of great reputation for sanctity and learning.\* Bad as they were, the Mahrattas had a detestation of assassination; and the crime in the present case was the more horrible in their eyes from the character of the victim and the holiness of the place—the holiest part of a holy city, where myriads of pilgrims were collected—the precincts of the sacred temple, wherein the solemnities of religion were at that moment in full progress. The Mahrattas and all the Hindus predicted that the vengeance of their gods would fall upon Trimbukjee and the assassins he had employed, and that the Peishwa would date his ruin from this atrocious deed. The favourite declared that he was so busy sweeping the temple that he knew nothing about the matter; but his armed bravos were seen both to issue from the temple and to return to it while he was there; and none doubted his guilt. As soon as these horrible circumstances came to the knowledge of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, our resident at Poonah, he insisted that Trimbukjee should be given up; and as the general voice of the Mahratta people backed the demand, the Peishwa, Bajee Rao, found himself under the necessity of yielding. Trimbukjee was arrested, and thrown into the strong fortress of Tanna, on the island of Salsette, not far from Bombay. But his imprisonment was not of long dura-

tion. A common-looking Mahratta groom, with a good character in his hand, came to offer his services to the English commandant of the fort. He was accepted. The stable where he had to attend his horse was close under the window of Trimbukjee's prison. He was observed to pay more than usual attention to his steed, and to have a habit, while currying and cleaning him, of singing snatches of Mahratta songs. At length, in December, 1816, Trimbukjee disappeared from his dungeon, and both horse and groom from the stable. And now it was recollected that the groom's singing had been made up of verses something like the following:—

"Behind the bush the bowmen hide,  
The horse beneath the tree;  
Where shall I find a knight will ride  
The jungle paths with me?

There are five-and-fifty coursers there,  
And four-and-fifty men;  
When the fifty-fifth shall mount his steed,  
The Deccan thrives again!"

It was believed that Trimbukjee fled straight to his infatuated master the Peishwa, who concealed him, and solemnly declared to the English resident that he knew nothing about him. The murderer's love for the English had not been increased by the captivity he had suffered; and, wherever he might be, it appeared very certain that he urged the Peishwa to throw the whole treaty of Bassein to the winds, to form a new Mahratta league, and to make war upon the Company.

In the meanwhile our Indian armies were drawn into the field by a more contemptible enemy.

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\* Bishop Heber, Indian Journal. "This," adds the Bishop, "might have been a stratagem of the Scottish border,—so complete a similarity of character and incident does a resemblance of habit and circumstance produce among mankind."

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\* He was called the Shastry on account of his familiarity with the Shastars, or sacred Sanscrit books.

## CHAPTER XII.

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS CONTINUED.

THE Pindarrees were not a distinctive race, but a numerous class of men of different races, religions, and habits, gradually associating and assimilated by a common pursuit. They were all horsemen and all robbers. They were something like the first Mahrattas in their habits of life and warfare, but unlike them in not being united by nationality and one religious faith; in not having the legitimate and permanent motives of attachment to a native soil, and resentment against the intolerant and oppressive rule of the Mohammedan conquerors of India. The Pindarrees have also been compared with the Tartars; but when the Tartar tribes came to a rich and fertile country, they would settle and repose, and give over war and plunder to take up the occupation of herdsmen and shepherds. Not so the Pindarrees. "Like swarms of locusts, acting from instinct, they destroyed and left waste whatever province they visited. Their chiefs had, from grants or by usurpation, obtained small territorial possessions; but the revenues of their land were never equal to the maintenance of one-tenth part of their numbers, and they could, therefore, only be supported by plunder." Their name first occurs in Indian history about the end of the seventeenth century. From obscure freebooters, they rose into sufficient consequence to be deemed useful auxiliaries by the different Mahratta powers, whose desultory mode of warfare was suited to their own habits. From their preceding or accompanying Mahratta armies, the Pindarrees became occasionally confounded with the Mahrattas, though they were always considered by the latter as essentially distinct, and so immeasurably inferior as not to be allowed to eat with them or even to be

seated in their presence. Occasionally the Mahratta rulers purchased their aid by grants of land or by a tacit admission of their right to possess tracts which they had already usurped. But the more usual price paid for their assistance was the privilege of plundering, even beyond the ordinary licence given to a Mahratta army.\* At times some of their durras acted for one Mahratta chief, and some on the opposite side for another Mahratta chief; and it occasionally happened that all the durras leagued themselves against the whole Mahratta confederacy, plundering the territories of the Peishwa, Scindiah, the Nagpoor Rajah, &c. indiscriminately. As the Pindarree chiefs acquired reputation, their claims to the services of their adherents became hereditary, and were transmitted to their descendants. Gangs and tribes were cemented in federal union, and common motives of action led to the establishment of a community of interest throughout the whole of this community of robbers. The very looseness of the composition of their union was favourable to its increase, as it admitted all castes and all faiths, and offered a ready refuge to poverty, indolence, and crime—to all that was floating and unattached in the frequently revolutionized communities of Central India. What their numbers were could at no time be correctly estimated: they varied with circumstances, being thinned by failure and swelled by success. "It is also to be observed," adds Sir John Malcolm, "that the Pindarrees were fed and nourished by the very miseries they created; for, as their predatory invasions

\* Sir John Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*. MacFarlane, *Lives and Exploits of Banditti and Robbers*.

extended, property became insecure, and those who were ruined by their depredations were afterwards compelled to have recourse to a life of violence, as the only means of subsistence left them. They joined the stream which they could not withstand, and endeavoured to redeem their own losses by the plunder of others." The strategy of these overgrown bodies of banditti will show at once how difficult it was either to suppress them or intercept them. "When they set out on an expedition, they placed themselves under the guidance of one or more chosen leaders, called Lubburiahs, who were selected on account of their knowledge of the country that it was meant to plunder. The Pindarrees were encumbered neither with tents nor baggage; each horseman carried a few cakes of bread for his own subsistence, and some feeds of grain for his horse. The party, which usually consisted of two or three thousand good horse, with a proportion of mounted followers, advanced at the rapid rate of forty or fifty miles a day, turning neither to the right nor left till they arrived at their place of destination. They then divided and made a sweep of all the cattle and property they could find, committing at the same time the most horrid atrocities and destroying what they could not carry away. They trusted to the secrecy and suddenness of the irruption for avoiding those who guarded the frontiers of the countries they invaded; and before a force could be brought against them, they were on their return. Their chief strength lay in their being intangible. If pursued, they made marches of extraordinary length (sometimes upwards of sixty miles), by roads almost impracticable for regular troops. If overtaken, they dispersed, and reassembled at an appointed rendezvous; if followed to the country from which they issued, they broke into small parties."\*

Their horses must have been of a good breed, and hard of hoof (they were mostly bred in the mountains of Upper India), for they were fleet, capable of sustaining excessive work, and were never or very rarely shod. There was thief-logic for

the last custom, as horseshoes are liable to be broken and to be cast; and this obliges the horseman to pull up and lose time, and even to be dependent upon the services of a farrier, which could not have suited Pindarrees flying for their lives before British dragoons. A Pindarree prisoner, when questioned by an English officer why they did not shoe their horses, replied, with a slight elevation of the nostril, "Do you think I would trust my life to a bit of iron?"\*

"Their wealth, their booty, and their families were scattered over a wide region, in which they found protection amid the mountains and in the fastnesses belonging to themselves or to those with whom they were either openly or secretly connected; but nowhere did they present any point of attack; and the defeat of a party, the destruction of one of their cantonments, or the temporary occupation of some of their strongholds, produced no effect beyond the ruin of an individual freebooter, whose place was instantly supplied by another, generally of more desperate fortune, and therefore more eager for enterprise."† They never fought when they could run away: they considered it wisdom to plunder and fly, but folly to stay and fight. Even when acting with the Mahrattas as auxiliaries, their object was plunder, not war. They went before, indeed, but it was only by surprise or in defenceless provinces; they were, from their very origin, the scavengers of the Mahrattas; and though in the van, they had little more pretension to martial conduct or valour than had the birds and beasts of prey that followed in their and their allies' rear. Some of their chiefs, however, united to the qualities so essential to their profession,—activity, cunning, ready enterprise, presence of mind, and promptitude of resources,—a wonderful strength of mind (or it might be apathy) in bearing the reverses of fortune and the privations of their lot. Foremost among these chiefs was Cheetoo. This man first attracted the attention of the English towards the end of 1806, when, raising

\* MS. Notes by Colonel S—— (now General S——), of the East India Company's service.

† Sir John Malcolm.

\* Sir John Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*.

himself on the temporary ruin of Kureem, another Pindarree chief, who had incurred the displeasure of one of the Mahratta potentates, and had been inveigled and made prisoner, he united the durras or bands of many other leaders under his own standard, and prepared to commit depredations on an unprecedentedly grand scale. Numerous and profitable to himself, and altogether ruinous to the inhabitants of many wide districts of Hindustan, were the expeditions undertaken by Cheetoo on his own account. But in 1811 the captive Pindarree, Kureem, purchasing his liberty from the Mahrattas, returned to the scenes of his former power, and soon obtained his former supremacy. To make up for lost time, and to restore his reputation among the robbers, Kureem laid his plans to effect a general combination of all the Pindarree bands for a predatory expedition more extensive than any that had hitherto been made. Cheetoo was obliged to follow the example of the majority of his fellow-chiefs; and at the great gathering of 1811 his durra made part of 25,000 cavalry of all descriptions, that were ready, under the command of Kureem, to march against and plunder the city of Nagpoor, the large and populous capital of the Boonsla Mahrattas. But Cheetoo, who continued to hate Kureem as a rival, plotted against him, sold himself to his enemies, and went over to them with all his durra. Not long after this he entirely ruined Kureem, and obliged him to flee with his diminished adherents to a distant country. Cheetoo again shone forth on his rival's eclipse, and at his cantonment near Nemawur, in the province of Malwa, on the north bank of the Nerbudda, no fewer than 15,000 horse annually assembled to issue forth to plunder. The power of these Pindarree freebooters had a notable increase during the prevalence of our neutrality and pacific system, as our governors-general would neither pursue them beyond our own frontiers nor take the field in any force, lest offence should be given to the Mahrattas and to some other native powers, who were by turns foes and friends to the robbers. As the territories of the Company and those of its protected allies offered the richest

booty, the eyes of the Pindarrees were always bent in that direction. This imposed the necessity of constant vigilance along the whole extent of the south-west frontier of the Bengal presidency: while, for the security of the Deccan, the subsidiary forces of the Nizam and Peishwa were annually obliged to move to the frontiers of their respective territories; and notwithstanding all these precautions, those states were constantly penetrated and overrun by the marauders.\*

As soon as the Earl of Moira assumed the government of India, he turned his attention to this subject, and resolved that the Pindarrees should no longer be encouraged by the impunity they had enjoyed under his predecessors. His lordship thought it better, even for humanity, to risk a long and sanguinary war than to leave the people of India exposed to these terrible irruptions, which came as regularly, year after year, as the tempests of the monsoon. In 1814 the supreme government made strong representations to the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, and requested their sanction to a systematic combination of measures for the suppression of the evil. Before any answers could be received to these representations, the governor-general went to the upper provinces to plan and make preparations for the first campaign against the Nepaulese. During that campaign his lordship kept a body of troops detached to watch the Pindarrees. He also endeavoured, as his immediate predecessor Lord Minto had done, to establish a subsidiary alliance with the Rajah of the Boonsla Mahrattas, whereby the whole of our most exposed frontier, or the line from Bundelcund to Cuttack, might be covered and defended. But the Rajah Ragojee Boonsla persisted in rejecting the English alliance, although he knew that Kureem had threatened to plunder Nagpoor, his capital, and that parts of his dominions were annually devastated by the robbers. Other attempts made by his lordship to extend a chain of positions which should cover the frontiers

\* Henry T. Prinsep, Esq. Hist. of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings.

of the allies of the Company, by means of establishing a friendly connexion with the states of Bopaul and Sacur, were not more successful, the truth being that the felon and murderer Trimbukjee had more influence than the governor-general in these native courts, and that Ragojee Boonsla was privy to a covert design of forming a general combination of the Mahratta and other powers against the English and their allies. Nothing therefore was left to his lordship but to trust to his own detachments, and to his inner or secondary lines of defence, while the main body of his army was engaged in the mountain-passes and forests of Nepaul.

The reverses and losses sustained in the first campaign in Nepaul encouraged the Pindarrees, and the success of these freebooters must go to injure the resources of the Company and its allies, and give encouragement to the leaders of the hostile Mahratta confederacy. In October, 1815, when our main army was fully occupied in forcing the stockades of the Gorkhas, Cheetoo crossed the Nerbudda with nearly 8000 of his Pindarrees. On the southern side of the river they broke into two parties and took opposite routes. Major Fraser, with 300 sepoy and 100 irregular native horse, surprised one of the parties in a bivouac, and made them suffer some loss before they could mount, gallop off, and disperse. But this did not deter them from continuing their depredations as far as the black river, the Krishna or Kistna. The other party, which had met with no such molestation, traversed the whole of the territory of our ally the Nizam of the Deccan, from north to south, and also appeared on the banks of the Kistna. The territories of our Madras presidency lay on the other side of the river, and were saved from devastation only by the fortuitous circumstance of the river's continuing not fordable so unusually late in the season as the 20th of November. "Finding the Kistna impassable, the freebooters took a turn eastward, plundering the country for several miles along its populous and fertile banks, and committing every kind of enormity. On approaching the frontier of Masulipatam, they shaped their course

northward, and returned along the line of the Godavoree (Godavery) and Wurda, passing to the east of all Colonel Doveton's positions, and making good their route to Nemawur (Cheetoo's head-quarters) with an immense booty collected in the Nizam's dominions, and with utter impunity."\* It is said that the plunder obtained in this lubbur, or raid, was greater than that of any previous expedition; and that merchants were sent for from the rich city of Oojein, the capital of the Scindiah Mahratta, to come and purchase the valuables in a camp auction at Nemawur. Not Dhoondiah Waugh, that sublime thief who had claimed sovereignty over both worlds, had ever done more mischief to the inhabitants of this world. Elated by his success, Cheetoo planned and proclaimed a second lubbur immediately upon the return of the first. The Pindarrees again flocked in from every side to join in it; and by the 5th of February, 1816, 10,000 horsemen had again crossed the Nerbudda from Nemawur. This time the Company's territories did not escape. On the 10th of March, leaving plundered and burning villages in their rear, the Pindarrees appeared on the western frontier of the district of Masulipatam, under the Madras presidency. From this point they pressed southward. On the 11th they made a march of thirty-three miles, plundered seventy-two villages, and committed the most horrid cruelties upon the inoffensive and helpless villagers. On the next day they destroyed fifty-four villages, marched thirty-eight miles, and arrived at the civil station of Guntoor. Here they plundered a considerable part of the town, and the houses of all the civil officers; but, steady to their system of never risking life or limb in battle, they shrunk from the collector's office, where the government treasure and the persons of the British residents were protected by a handful of sepoy and invalids. The robbers went off as they came, suddenly and noiselessly. That night there was not one of them to be seen in the neighbourhood, and before the next day closed

\* H. T. Prinsep.

they were more than fifty miles from Guntoor, looking westward for more defenceless villages. They swept through the Kirpah or Cuddapah district, and, after being twelve days within the Company's frontier, they recrossed the Kistna. Many were spurring after them, but none could catch them. A squadron of native cavalry belonging to the Madras establishment reached the opposite bank of the Kistna just after they had made good their passage. Farther to the west there were numerous detachments of the Company's troops scouring the country in all directions, yet the plunderers escaped without the least brush. Shortly after recrossing the Kistna the marauders broke up into separate bodies. The greater part moved along the north bank of the Kistna, passing south of Hyderabad, until they approached the Peishwa's dominions. Then, turning short to the north, they retraced their steps to the Nerbudda in several divisions and by various routes. Colonel Doveton came close up with one of the divisions as it was passing a ghaut, but still the robbers escaped untouched. Another and a larger body was equally fortunate in escaping from the colonel, who had obtained from a Pindarree prisoner a clue to its movements, and who had made sure of cutting it up. It was soon afterwards ascertained that nearly the whole of these Pindarrees who had passed the Nerbudda on the 5th of February had recrossed it before the 17th of May, bringing a second immense harvest of booty to Nemawur within the year. It was ascertained by a commission appointed for the express purpose of the investigation, that, during the twelve days the ferocious banditti remained within the Company's frontiers, three hundred and thirty-nine villages had been plundered, one hundred and eighty-two individuals\* put to a cruel death, five hundred

and five severely wounded, and no less than three thousand six hundred and three subjected to different kinds of torture.\*

The governor-general obtained certain information that the Peishwa, Scindiah, and other Mahratta potentates were in close and friendly correspondence with the robbers, and that Mahratta agents had visited Cheetoo's cantonment at Nemawur just before the last raid was undertaken; and there was every ground for believing that the new Mahratta confederacy contemplated an invasion of our territories while our main army was engaged in Nepal, and the rest of our troops in the field occupied in an exhausting and useless pursuit of the Pindarrees. His lordship, who saw the Nepal war brought to an honourable and advantageous conclusion, at the very moment when both the Mahrattas and the Pindarrees were confidently calculating on its duration, was most eager to employ the unreduced strength of his armies in the accomplishment of the important object of securing the peace of Central India by the extirpation of the robbers. He had written for the sanction of the home authorities, and had made a second and stronger representation of the horrors to which the country was exposed; but the sanction he required before commencing operations on a grand scale had not yet arrived. A large part of the Bengal army was, however, kept in advanced cantonments ready to take the field at any moment; and the interests of the Company were greatly served by the death of two of our enemies. The Nabob of Bopaul, and Ragojee Boonsla, the Rajah of Nagpoor, both died in the month of March, 1816. The Bopaul ruler was succeeded by his son Nuzur Mohammed, a very young man, whose claims were disputed by several competitors, and whose dominions were threatened by the Mahrattas and by the Pindarrees. Ragojee Boonsla's

\* A great number of women destroyed themselves to escape violation. No less than twenty-five drowned themselves, several with infants. At Mavolee, where some resistance was attempted by the villagers, the women, seeing their protectors about to be overpowered, set fire to the house in which they had assembled to abide the result; and no less than ten, with six children, perished in the flames. Another woman, having fallen into the hands of the savages, and seeing

no other means of destruction, tore out her tongue, and instantly expired! Many similar horrors, and some barbarities even more revolting to humanity, will be found recorded at length in the Report of the Committee.—*H. T. Prinsep.*

\* *Id.* Hist. of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings.

successor was his only son, Pursajee Boonsla; and in Nagpoor, as in Bopaul, there were rivals and pretenders, as also the fear both of Mahratta and Pindarree invasion. It was ever thus in these ill-organized states: the death of an old and experienced ruler was always the signal for civil war, plots, and invasions; and the succession of a young prince, however clear his right might be, was invariably disputed. Pursajee Boonsla was sensible of his danger and of the advantages which might be derived from a treaty with the Company; and, under these impressions, he courted an alliance which his father had constantly rejected. The young Nabob of Bopaul also courted the Company's alliance, as the only means of supporting his shaking musnud. Negotiations were opened at Nagpoor, but with regard to Bopaul the governor-general instructed his agents to refrain from giving any encouragement to the overtures of the Nabob. While the negotiations were going on at the court of Nagpoor, the new rajah Pursajee fell sick and became crazed. Blind, paralytic, and mad, it was impossible that the rajah should be allowed to govern. The next heir to the musnud was Apa Saheb, cousin to Pursajee. But his appointment to the regency or his elevation to the musnud was opposed by another member of the family. Both of these parties applied to the English resident for assistance. As Apa Saheb was thought to unite with the better right a better reputation and a more decided leaning towards the interests of the Company, the governor-general resolved to support him; and the division of Colonel Doveton was placed at the disposal of Mr. Jenkins, the resident at Nagpoor, in case Apa Saheb should require immediate military aid. The rival party formed a connexion with some of the fierce Patan tribes; but before these bands could move Apa Saheb was secured in the government. He contented himself with the powers of a regent, and left the honours of the musnud to his unfortunate cousin, who is said to have approved his appointment as Naib-ul-Moktar, or deputy, with full powers. The English gentlemen at Nagpoor were present at the ceremony of the regent's installation; and Mr. Jenkins

was the first to congratulate him after the ceremony. In other words, Apa Saheb would never have been regent at all, or he would have attained to the dignity by means of a sanguinary struggle, if Mr. Jenkins and Colonel Doveton had not been ordered to declare for him. Though impeded through obstacles raised in his way by some of the ministers of the deceased rajah, who predicted that a subsidiary treaty with the Company would lead to the loss of independence, the regent very soon concluded the treaty which the governor-general proposed to him. The Company was to send into Nagpoor a subsidiary force of six battalions and a regiment of cavalry; and Apa Saheb was to pay seven and a half lacs of rupees per annum for the maintenance of these troops. The regent also engaged to keep on foot a contingent force of his own, of 3000 horse and 2000 foot, and to allow this force to co-operate with the English in checking or putting down the Pindarrees. By these negotiations, the Earl of Moira obtained what he had so earnestly desired, namely, the means of covering and defending our most exposed frontier, or the line from Bundelcund to Cuttack. And, simultaneously with these negotiations, others were carried on with the Rajah of Jypoor, whose alliance had been so unwisely (and not without dishonour) thrown up by Sir George Barlow in 1806, during the reign of our pacific, non-interference system. What Lord Lake and Colonel J. Malcolm had predicted from the arrangements made at that time, had fully come to pass. Jypoor had been desolated by the constant attacks of the Mahrattas and Patans, and our reputation had been tarnished by the sufferings of an old and faithful ally, whom we had been bound by the Marquess of Wellesley's treaties to maintain and protect. This state of things was allowed to last rather more than seven years; but at the end of 1813 the secret committee of the Court of Directors sent out orders to the governor-general to place Jypoor under British protection. It was, however, felt that this step would involve us in an immediate war with the Mahrattas, while the Nepaul war was as yet unfinished, and while the Pindarrees seemed to de-

mand a great share of our attention; and, being apparently ignorant of the league or concert already existing between the Mahrattas and the Pindarrees, hoping that if we gave the Mahrattas no offence by interfering in the affairs of Jypoor, they would leave us undisturbed to deal with the Pindarrees, the secret committee in the following year instructed the governor-general to suspend the renewal of our connexion with the Jypoor Rajah. The poor rajah was thus abandoned for many months longer to the tender mercies of the savage Patans and scarcely less cruel Mahrattas. At the end of 1815, in an extremity of misery and woe, he called upon the governor-general, imploring to be received under the wing of protection. Contrary to the decided opinion of some of the members of the supreme council, the governor-general resolved to carry into immediate execution the suspended orders, and to extend the protection of British arms to Jypoor. His lordship thought that this would aid his great plan for suppressing the Pindarrees, and that the measure, apart from any general plan of operations, was good in itself, as it would cripple the resources of one of the predatory powers (the Patans), and save a fine territory from ruin and devastation.\* No doubt his lordship also conceived that it was high time to remove the foul blot which had fallen upon our national reputation. Accordingly a subsidiary treaty was offered to the rajah of Jypoor, whose capital was actually besieged by Meer Khan and the Patans. As long as the siege lasted, the rajah seemed eager to comply with every article of the proposed treaty, and with every requisition made by Mr. Metcalfe, the resident at Delhi, to whom the negotiation was principally confided; but when the siege was raised, when the Patans were bought off by a large sum of money, the rajah listened to the counsels of some of his proud Rajpoot chiefs, who were opposed to the English connexion as destructive of the independence of their country and of their own feudal-like power (a power in virtue of which they often made war upon one another or en-

gaged in hostilities with their neighbours), and his vakeels at Delhi raised so many doubts and difficulties about the treaty, that Mr. Metcalfe dismissed them, and broke off the negotiation. But a loud murmur was raised by the suffering people of Jypoor, and by some of the nobles, who preferred peace and security under British protection to a tumultuary and uncertain independence; and the rajah's ministers and advisers found themselves under the necessity of sending their vakeels back to Delhi to solicit a renewal of negotiations. The vakeels, however, advanced several propositions which could not be acceded to: they asked for large pensions for themselves, and for English assistance to enable the rajah to make conquests over some of his neighbours. Mr. Metcalfe dismissed the vakeels with some indignation; and the troops which had been collecting to march to the support of the rajah, were ordered to proceed to the Nerbudda in order to be employed in the campaign against the Pindarrees. The plan of this campaign was now completed, the governor-general having received the sanction of the home authorities to his scheme for breaking up the confederacy and power of those banditti. To overawe the Mahrattas, and to cover the frontier of our allies, nearly 40,000 foot and 12,000 horse, besides artillery and the contingents of the native powers, were collected in positions near Scindiah's and Holkar's dominions, and were kept in a state of readiness to put down any attempt that might be made to obstruct the execution of the salutary plan.

By the end of October, 1816, Lieutenant-Colonel Walker took up a defensive line on the southern bank of the Nerbudda, with the main body of the subsidiary force which the Company had sent into Nagpoor. This defensive line, being nearly one hundred and fifty miles in length, was loose and weak; but the first appearance of a British army in the valley of the Nerbudda spread consternation amongst the robbers, and induced Cheetoo to prepare to quit the northern bank of that river and cross the mountains into Malwa. Perceiving, however, that the red coats did not cross the Nerbudda, the Pindarrees recovered confidence; and

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\* H. T. Prinsep.

on the 4th of November they resolved to push small parties between Colonel Walker's posts, and round his flanks; and a party crossed the river, and then dividing into two, took different directions. Colonel Walker, in attempting to intercept one of the divisions, unexpectedly fell upon the other as it was bivouacking in a jungle; he inflicted some loss; but the nimble robbers were soon in the saddle, and before long they had recrossed the river. On the 13th of November all the durras were in motion. Cheetoo had discovered that Walker's cavalry was all on his left flank, and he therefore threw forward more than five thousand of his well-mounted thieves to turn Walker's right flank. This band, which appears to have been followed by others, crossed the river in sight of the infantry post on the extreme right of our line, and then dashed on with a rapidity which left our infantry no chance of stopping or harassing their march. When collected on the southern side of the Nerbudda, the Pindarrees separated into two great bodies. One swept due east, through forests and over mountains, and fell unexpectedly upon the Company's district of Ganjam, the northernmost frontier of the five Circars, with the evident intention of proceeding to Cuttack and Juggernauth, to plunder the rich stronghold of Hindu superstition, to carry off the idols and the votive offerings and rich donations of the pilgrims and devotees. But this lubbur was met by a small body of the Company's troops almost as soon as it entered Ganjam, and was driven back with considerable loss. The other lubbur, which had gone off to the southward, rushed into the Nizam's territory before Colonel Doveton could come up with it. It then marched leisurely along, plundering and destroying, until it came near to the town of Beeder, the capital of a province of the Deccan, and about 73 miles north-west from Hyderabad. Here it came to a halt, and its chiefs to a disagreement as to the further course which ought to be pursued. While the leaders were in this state of indecision, Major Macdowall, who had been detached from Hyderabad, fell upon the lubbur by night with the ~~van~~ party of his light troops, and cut it

up completely, although it was six thousand strong, and the first attack made by a mere handful of light cavalry. The robbers abandoned most of their horses and the greater part of their booty, dispersed themselves over the country, and thought of nothing but their personal safety, and of the means of returning to the northern side of the Nerbudda. But one leader, named Sheik Dulloo, indignant at the want of energy and concert betrayed by those who had the chief command, had abandoned this lubbur altogether a few days before Macdowall's exploit, and had gone off with from three to five hundred Pindarrees to act for himself. He dashed across the Peishwa's territory, descended into the Konkan, and thence shaped his course due north, plundering the western shores of India, from the 17th to the 21st degree of north latitude, and returning by the valley of the Taptee, and the route of Boorhanpoor, the capital of the Candeish province of the Deccan. This was the only lubbur that met with any success this season. The only loss it sustained from British troops was on its return to the Nerbudda, in the following March. Here Sheik Dulloo and his people were within a few miles of home, or of Cheetoo's cantonment; but they found the ford by which they had hoped to cross the river guarded by a redoubt occupied by a small party of our sepoy. Several of the robbers were shot in attempting to dash across; but the sheik himself, with his main body and best-mounted followers, retiring from the ford, boldly swam the river lower down, though not without a further loss of men and horses. Those who had worse horses or less courage dispersed, and fled into the jungle on the English side of the Nerbudda, where the greater part of them were cut off by the wild inhabitants of the country. By the various accidents of flood and fire more than one half of those who had followed Sheik Dulloo perished; but the rest reached Cheetoo's durra with a rich booty in their saddles.\* The sheik's fame waxed great: his daring lubbur and his marvellous return became the

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\* H. T. Prinsep.

admired theme of the whole Pindarree world.

Two or three other lubburs had contrived to cross the Nerbudda by passing between the distant posts of Colonel Walker's line, or by turning that line; but they met with nothing except hard blows and disappointment. One of them was cut to pieces by the 4th Madras native cavalry, led on by Major Lushington. Making a forced march of more than 50 miles, the greater part by night, Lushington surprised the Pindarrees as they were cooking and eating, and presently strewed the field with some seven or eight hundred of their dead bodies. As the ground was open, the Madras cavalry pursued with good effect. The Ganjam lubbur was almost annihilated on its rapid return homeward; and as the different ghauts and fords by which they must pass in order to get to the north bank of the Nerbudda were by degrees all guarded, very few of the remnants of the other shattered lubburs ever reached their homes. Hosts of them were cut off by our sepoy, and by the people whom they had plundered in their advance. They had been continually fleeing before a handful of men, and had been beaten every time they had been met with.\* Still, however, their depredations during this campaign or season of 1816-17 had embraced a more ample expanse of territory than had ever before been attempted, extending from shore to shore of the peninsula of India, and including all the intermediate provinces they had omitted the preceding year.

By this time it was very completely demonstrated that stationary posts of defence could not prevent the Pindarrees from crossing the Nerbudda and getting into our territories; and that it would not be possible to deal properly with those plunderers and murderers, unless our troops advanced into the country

north of the Nerbudda, to the "procreant cradle" of the infamous race. The Marquess of Hastings (the patent conferring this new title was dated on the 7th of December, 1816) resolved to defer no longer the full execution of his plan, but to throw his armies across the Nerbudda, although he had not yet received instructions from home to this effect. But the year 1816 was now near its close, and various events occurred which prevented our troops crossing the Nerbudda until the autumn of the following year. Troubles, excited or encouraged by the Maharrattas, broke out in the Company's district of the Duab and in Rohilcund. In the province of Agra, Dyaram Thakoor and Bulwunt Sing, having obtained possession of some strong forts and castles, began to levy contributions on the Company's subjects, and to interrupt the trade of the upper provinces. Robbers and cut-throats were repairing to their freebooting banners from all the neighbouring districts; and the laws were openly set at defiance nearly everywhere between Agra and Delhi. At the close of 1816 measures were taken to put an end to this anarchy, and to reduce the two zemindars to their proper condition of subjects. Three divisions of the Company's troops—from Cawnpoor, Meerut, and Muttra—were ordered to concentrate near Hattass, Dyaram's principal stronghold, and one of the strongest forts in all India. These troops concentrated accordingly, Major-General Marshall took the command, and by the 11th of February, 1817, Hattass was completely invested. Dyaram had collected within his works five hundred pieces of ordnance of all sorts. There was an outer fort with twenty bastions, the whole being surrounded by a ditch ninety feet broad and seventy-five deep, and now containing six feet of water. The fort was in an excellent state of repair, and every improvement which the English had introduced into their neighbouring fort of Alighur had been carefully copied by Dyaram. Thus Hattass presented the aspect rather of an European than an Indian fortress; and thus General Marshall found it expedient to go to work by way of regular approaches.

\* They were always beaten by the sepoy and the native cavalry, no matter how vast their own number or how small the number of their pursuers. A good many men and officers were exhausted and invalidated by the exertions required to get up with them; but very few were either killed or wounded in actual combat. In Major Lushington's brilliant affair, however, Captain Darke was slain by a Pindarree spear.

These approaches were made, and the breaching-batteries were raised by the evening of the 1st of March, and on the following morning forty-five mortars, and three breaching-batteries, mounting very heavy guns, began to play on the fort. Such a tremendous artillery had never yet been employed in India. The garrison were astounded and dismayed. Dyaram's best new masonry was knocked to pieces. At five o'clock in the evening a shell struck a huge powder-magazine, which blew up within the place, destroying half the garrison and nearly all the buildings. Dyaram, with a few horse, rushed out of the ruined place shortly after, and made his escape in the darkness of night, though pursued by a party of the 8th dragoons.\* The rest of the garrison attempted to follow their chief, but they were stopped, driven back, and compelled to surrender at discretion. Bulwunt Sing, the ally of Dyaram, had a strong fort, but it was not so strong as Hatrass; and after the fall of that place he could have no hope of repulsing the besiegers: he therefore agreed, on the first summons, to dismantle his fort, to restore the plunder he had made, and to live honestly and peaceably for the future.

Though only one European and five natives had been killed, an enormous quantity of English powder had been burned in the siege of Hatrass. One whiff of grape-shot sufficed to put an end to the troubles in Rohilcund. The Patan population of that country had insurged for the purpose of resisting some regulations of the police, and had fallen upon three companies of sepoy's commanded by Captain Boscawen, who constituted the

only force we had at hand. Boscawen formed his little detachment into square; the insurgents broke into the square, and they were blown out again by one of our guns at the angles, which was pointed inward and discharged. Many fell killed or wounded by the grape-shot; the rest fled.

Commotions and much trouble to the English were created in Nagpoor by Apa Saheb, who owed his regency to the Company. The regent was induced to believe that his cousin the rajah was recovering his health and his senses, and was anxious to recover all his regal authority; that the English would be sure to support the rajah if he were really restored to a sane state, and that so long as the Company's troops were cantoned on the Nerbudda, or in any part of Nagpoor, his authority as regent was a nullity. After other detestable measures and cunning plots, the poor Rajah Pursajee was strangled in the palace by order of his cousin Apa Saheb the regent. Pursajee's body was burnt on the 10th of February, 1817; and his wife burned herself with it. Apa Saheb was then proclaimed rajah. He forthwith sent vakeels to the Peishwa, to Scindiah, to Holkar, and to all the powerful Mahratta chiefs, to request their alliance and assistance in expelling the English. The Peishwa was disposed to give a ready ear to Apa Saheb, as he was acting entirely under the advice of his pernicious favourite Trimbukjee, and making his preparations for another war with the Company. Yet all the while this supreme chief of the Mahrattas declared and vowed to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone that he knew not where Trimbukjee was; that he entertained the most friendly sentiments for the English; that he highly approved of their intention of proceeding against the Pindarrees in the regions north of the Nerbudda; that he disapproved of all plots or intrigues or combinations against the Company, and that he had instructed his vakeels to inform Scindiah that it was very wicked in him to encourage the Pindarrees in making incursions into the territories of the English. If our able resident at Poonah was deceived at all by these protestations, it was only partially, and for a very short

\* Dyaram Thakoor remained in concealment for more than three years; but, in the course of 1820, he presented himself and entreated the compassion of the British government. Commiserating his great age and misfortunes, the Company settled a pension on him of 1000 rupees per month, and gave him permission to retire to Soron, a Hindu place of worship on the banks of the Ganges. Before he quitted his concealment, pensions had been settled on his two wives and on his son. Since the tremendous bombardment of the fort, the town of Hatrass has greatly increased in population and trade. A few years ago it was described as being one of the busiest, most thriving places in Upper Hindustan.

time. He soon ascertained that troops were collecting in the hills to the south-east of Poonah, that the Peishwa was levying troops in other directions, was repairing his forts, and sending agents and money into Malwa and other parts of Central India to recruit for his service. He demanded that all these things should cease, and that the felon and murderer Trimbukjee should be given up, and that the adherents and the members of Trimbukjee's family should be put under restraint, instead of being continued in favour and office. The crafty Mahratta prince put part of Trimbukjee's family under arrest, and declared to the English resident that the troops in the hills were only a set of desperadoes, driven into insurrection and armed by Trimbukjee.

But Mr. Elphinstone was not duped by this juggling. He called down the subsidiary force to Poonah, and told the Peishwa that he must not leave his capital. This prince, who had been restored to his capital and to his throne by General Wellesley, had sent all the treasures, jewels, wardrobe, and precious furniture of his palace to Ryeghur, the strongest of all his fortresses, and evinced a very eager desire to quit Poonah. He declared that at the season of his misfortunes, when a helpless prisoner in the hands of his enemies, he had made a vow to perform every year a pilgrimage to Jooneer or Soonur, a holy place abounding in cave-temples; but although he had been at liberty a great many years, he had not yet made any pilgrimage to that spot, and nobody had ever before heard of his vow about it. His last holy journeyings, in company with Trimbukjee, had ended in the detestable murder of the Shastry, the ambassador of a state in alliance with the English. He had already made one journey in the direction of Soonur, solely, as was believed, because Trimbukjee was lurking in that neighbourhood. As soon as the Company's troops assembled in some force, a portion of them were detached to the Mahadeo hills, where they discovered and dispersed the pretended insurgent army; and the rest were drawn round Poonah, within which city the Peishwa had 6000 or 7000 foot, a large body of cavalry, and a fortified palace.

Mr. Elphinstone's first intention was to demand hostages for the surrender of Trimbukjee and for the punctual performance of the treaty of Bassein, and, in case of a refusal, to storm the palace and seize the person of the Peishwa; but he shrunk from the carnage and destruction which might attend a war of streets, and a battle in the centre of a populous city, all the peaceful inhabitants of which continued to regard the English not as enemies, but as their best friends. Our resident therefore waited events, not without a hope that the Peishwa would throw off the unaccountable spell which that low ruffian Trimbukjee had cast upon him, and would listen to the advice of better counsellors and to the wishes of the majority of his subjects for a continuance of peace with the Company. But while Mr. Elphinstone waited, the adherents of Trimbukjee took possession of several of the Peishwa's forts, stopped the post in Cuttack and other places, and thus cut off our resident from all communication with the governor-general and the council at Calcutta. At the most critical moments of this trying crisis Mr. Elphinstone was left without instructions, to act as his own judgment might prompt and on his own responsibility. But his sagacity and good judgment never failed him, and with the training he had had, he was not the man to be bewildered or intimidated by any amount of responsibility. We can only briefly sketch the particulars of his conduct; but they were such as obtained for him universal admiration. If the Peishwa should escape to Ryeghur, which is situated among the ghauts of the Konkan, it would be impracticable to follow him till after the monsoon torrents; and once in that strong position, he might make it his centre of operations, and unite behind its walls all the Mahratta chiefs that were bent upon a war with the English. Mr. Elphinstone therefore determined to wait no longer, and drawing his troops more closely round Poonah, he demanded that the Peishwa should within twenty-four hours solemnly engage to deliver up Trimbukjee, the source of all the mischief, within a month, and put the English in possession of his forts of Ryeghur, Singhur, and Poorandur as

pledges. The Peishwa hesitated, but the aspect of our troops was alarming, and the temper of the people of his capital scarcely less so; and within the four-and-twenty hours he accepted the conditions offered to him, and the forts were forthwith placed in our possession. But true to no line of policy, steady in nothing except in his infatuation for Trimbukjee, the Mahratta potentate repented of the bargain he had made, and endeavoured to break it. Finding, however, that the attempt was for the present too hazardous, he offered a reward for the apprehension of Trimbukjee, dead or alive, and confiscated his property and the property of twelve of his principal partisans. Yet at the same moment he took measures to provide for the safety and concealment of that foul murderer, and secretly remitted him some money. A few days after this—on the 13th of June—the Peishwa signed a treaty offered to him by Mr. Elphinstone, as the only mode of removing doubts and jealousies. By this treaty the Peishwa engaged to make every effort to seize and deliver up Trimbukjee to the English, &c., to confirm the treaty of Bassein in all points not changed or modified by the present agreement; to dismiss all Frenchmen, &c. from his states, and to admit none in future; to renounce all negotiations with all powers hostile to the Company, and not to receive the vakeels or ambassadors of any such powers; to renounce all right of supremacy over our ally the Guicowar; to give up all rights and pretensions in Guzerat, Bundelcund, and every part of Hindustan Proper; to surrender to the Company in perpetuity the fort of Ahmednugur and certain other territories; and to dissolve the great Mahratta confederacy by abandoning all connexion with the other Mahratta powers, and consequently his station as their Peishwa or head. He also agreed to an important alteration in the treaty of Bassein. By that treaty he had bound himself to furnish to the Company in time of war a contingent of 5000 horse and 3000 foot, with ordnance proportionate; but this was now exchanged for an engagement to furnish to the Company the means of paying and maintaining an equal force. Altogether the revenue

ceded by the Peishwa was estimated at thirty-four lacs of rupees. The treaty was ratified by the governor-general within a month, or on the 5th of July, 1817. The Peishwa's perfidy, and his preparations for joining the worst of our enemies at the moment when we were about entering on a connected plan of operations for extirpating the Pindarrees, might have justified harsher conditions; but, as it was, the humbled Mahratta prince considered the treaty as far too harsh. Without his connivance resistance might have been offered by his officers and chiefs who held the forts and territories that were ceded to the English; but it is not to be supposed that he regretted the efforts made in the Konkan, and in some other districts, or that this war was disagreeable to him. This resistance, however, was soon put down by Colonel Doveton and Colonel Scott. Doveton routed and expelled the partisans of Trimbukjee in Kandes; and Scott, making ladders of his tent-poles, gallantly escalated and stormed the strong fort of Dorana. After the loss of this their chief stronghold, Trimbukjee's adherents ceased to make head, and the murderer himself fled to some new hiding-place among the jungles in the valley of the Nerbudda, where he could communicate with Cheetoo and other Pindarree chiefs. It should appear that Trimbukjee found means of communicating with the Peishwa also, for at the very moment that the English army was ready to cross the Nerbudda in order to fall upon the robbers, the Mahratta potentate threw the treaty of the 13th of June to the winds, and fell upon the English at Poonah.

As soon as the imposing force which Mr. Elphinstone had assembled retired to its cantonments, the Peishwa's kettledrum was beat in every direction for recruits and volunteers. Every man that had a horse was fed and invited to join his standard; and by the beginning of October masses of cavalry, prodigious in their numbers, but for the most part contemptible in everything else, were collected at various stations. To the English resident the Peishwa represented that he was raising troops for no other object than that of complying with the

request of the governor-general to co-operate against the Pindarrees. But Mr. Elphinstone's experience did not allow him to trust to any Mahratta protestations or oaths; and he soon discovered that the Peishwa's agents were attempting to corrupt the Company's sepoys belonging to that portion of the subsidiary force which had been left at Poonah. Upon this discovery the sepoys were removed from the town to the village of Kirkee in the immediate neighbourhood. There was only one brigade of sepoys in all, but the position was admirably strong, being protected by a river in the rear and on the left, and supported on the right by the village. Moreover, there were other battalions cantoned a few miles off to the west. The Peishwa, however, took it into his dull head that the English confessed their fears by evacuating the city; and this too in spite of the evident fact that Mr. Elphinstone remained behind at the Residency. He pushed forward his confused hordes to Poonah, and drew up a plan for surrounding the English camp at Kirkee and preventing the arrival of reinforcements. Some of these Mahrattas were constantly riding round the camp and abusing our men and officers. An English officer was attacked, plundered, and wounded, and narrowly escaped being killed. It was not until these unequivocal demonstrations had been made that Mr. Elphinstone called up from Seroor a light battalion and a corps of 1000 auxiliary horse. These forces left Seroor on the 5th of November, and marched half way to Poonah. As soon as the Peishwa heard of its being in motion, he put his own unwieldy army in motion also, and threw a strong battalion between the Residency on the skirts of the town and the camp at Kirkee, for the purpose of cutting off the communication between the two. Mr. Elphinstone, who demanded the reason of this hostile proceeding, was told that the Peishwa had only anticipated the hostile movements of the English, being determined to be no longer the victim of his irresolution. And, as if to prove that he had screwed up his valour to the fighting-point, the Peishwa mounted his horse immediately after, and joined the main body of his

army on a hill a little to the south-west of Poonah. The host forthwith advanced on the Residency. Mr. Elphinstone and his suite had barely time to mount their horses and cross the river towards the English camp, ere the Mahrattas took possession of the houses, from which there had not been time to remove anything. All were plundered in the twinkling of an eye, and were afterwards burned. Much valuable property was destroyed, but the most irreparable loss was that of Mr. Elphinstone's manuscripts and library. Meanwhile Mr. Elphinstone and his party made good their retreat along the left bank of the river, skirmishing with some Mahratta horse that followed them, and passing under the fire of the battalion which had been thrust between the Residency and the camp at Kirkee. Generally the civil servants of the Company were ambidexterous, or capable of wielding with the same hand the sword as well as the pen. As soon as Mr. Elphinstone was safe in the camp, and had been greeted as he deserved, it was resolved not to stand there on the defensive, not to wait the arrival of the troops that were marching from Seroor, but to recross the river and attack the Mahrattas immediately. The brigade, commanded by Colonel Burr, was now about 2800 strong, and the Bombay European regiment was in it; the Mahrattas mustered at the least 25,000 men, and they had many guns; but the Peishwa was a rank coward, and the mass of his force a mere armed rabble. The combat did not commence until late in the afternoon, and before nightfall it was ended by the flight of the Mahrattas, who either threw themselves into Poonah or into a fortified camp near the town. They left about 500 on the field. Our loss was 18 killed and 57 wounded. During the battle Mr. Elphinstone remained on the field in order to give Colonel Burr the advantage of his very perfect local knowledge. On the following morning, the 6th of November, the light battalion and irregular horse from Seroor joined Colonel Burr. The Mahrattas drew up in order of battle, but did nothing except mutilate some women and dependents of the Company's brigade whom they had surprised

and seized in the old cantonments.\* As their numbers seemed to increase, and as the city and the old cantonments which the English had occupied afforded rather formidable means of defence, Colonel Burr and Mr. Elphinstone determined to wait the arrival of Brigadier-General Lionel Smith, who was advancing from the banks of the Godavery. Smith, who had but very little cavalry with him, and no regular cavalry at all, was molested on his march by hordes of Mahratta horse, who succeeded in plundering some of his baggage; but his division reached the English camp in front of Poonah on the 13th of November. Owing to some unexpected difficulties the British did not advance against the city and the cantonments (which were further fortified in the interval) until the 16th. A large Mahratta force which attempted to dispute their advance was discomfited after a smart combat which cost us sixty men and an officer. This decided the affair: in the course of the ensuing night the Peishwa fled, and on the following morning, when our troops marched up to the intrenched camp, they found that the tents were left standing, but that there was not a single Mahratta there.† Gene-

ral Smith posted his artillery and threatened the city of Poonah with a bombardment; but the only garrison there consisted of a few hundred Arabs, and these, by the persuasion or by the threats of the inhabitants, were induced to retire. The citizens opened the gates, and our troops took quiet possession of the city. In all this the far greater portion of the Peishwa's subjects saw nothing but the direct vengeance of Heaven for the horrible and sacrilegious crime committed in murdering the Guicowar Shastry within the precincts of the holiest of their temples. On the 19th General Smith, having been joined by a regiment of the Madras cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Colebrooke, started in pursuit of the Peishwa. In the course of the day Captain Turner, of the light division, succeeded in capturing eighteen guns with their tumbrils and ammunition, and a great quantity of baggage. But the Peishwa and the forces with him moved too rapidly to be caught: he threw himself into the wild and elevated country in which the river Krishna takes its rise; and, continuing an erratic course, he eluded pursuit until the following year.

Apa Sahab, rajah through the murder of his cousin, irritated against the English resident, and disgusted with the treaty he had concluded with the Company, had fully made up his mind to join the Peishwa and the Pindarrees. He was duly informed (probably by Trimbukjee) of the mighty preparations made at Poonah, and of the promises of other Mahratta princes to make common cause with their nominal suzerain; and he had been led into the belief that the British power was incapable of resisting the confederacy. Apa Sahab therefore began to collect his troops and to make new levies, protesting all the while to Mr. Jenkins, our resident, that he detested the treachery of the Peishwa and was eager to serve the Company. Yet was he but a clumsy hypocrite, for he received a dress of honour and a title from the court of Poonah, and went in state to his army to put on the dress and to assume the title in the presence of his troops. And at this time, though he might be ignorant of the facts, the Peishwa had been beaten

\* After the poor women had been brutally mutilated, they were let loose to find their way to the brigade. The poor creatures had been seized before they were aware that there was any probability of a war. In other instances which occurred during the 5th and 6th of November, the Mahrattas too plainly showed with what a ferocious spirit they took the field. Two of our officers, Captain Vaughan and his brother, who were travelling with a small escort, were induced to surrender by promise of quarter, and were both hanged. Ensign Ennis, of the Bombay Engineers, who was taking a survey some fifty miles from Poonah, was shot; and Lieutenants Morisson and Hunter, of the Madras cavalry, were attacked as they were marching towards Poonah, from the Nizam's dominions, utterly unconscious of the rupture. On the first alarm they took post in a choultry about twenty miles from Poonah, and there made a resolute defence with the few men they had for escort; but they were overpowered, and carried prisoners into Poonah. Their lives were spared; but they were sent immediately under a guard to the Konkan, and shifted from one fort to another, until recaptured three months afterwards at Wusota.—H. T. Prinsep.

† The Peishwa had, however, succeeded in carrying off all his guns except one, which was of an enormous size, and too heavy to be removed with any speed.

and driven from his capital by the British. Mr. Jenkins called in a brigade from its cantonments, and posted it round the Residency, which was situated a little to the west of the city of Nagpoor, and separated from it only by a small ridge. The brigade was scarcely posted ere infantry, cavalry, and artillery began to gather round the Residency. On the following day, the 26th of November, some of the Rajah's infantry and artillery commenced a fire upon the ridge which was occupied by our brigade. This continued from sunset till two hours after midnight. Our troops suffered very severely: Captain Sadler, the officer in command, was killed; and Captain Charlesworth, the next in command, was wounded. But several assaults made to carry the hill were repulsed with considerable loss to the enemy. When they ceased firing, our troops laboured might and main to strengthen their position, which had been taken up in haste: they had but few intrenching-tools to make artificial defences; but they placed along the exposed brow of the hill sacks of flour and wheat, and anything else capable of affording some cover. At daybreak the enemy recommenced their fire with greater fury, having brought more guns to bear upon the ridge. Masses of their cavalry showed themselves all round our position, and the Arab infantry in the Rajah's service displayed great resolution and confidence. An accident happening to one of our guns, these Arabs rushed up the hill, seized it, and pointed it with murderous effect against our next post, having first put to the sword all the wounded that had fallen round the gun. Their first shot from that gun killed Doctor Neven, the surgeon, and Lieutenant Clarke; the second, a round of grape, killed the resident's first assistant, Mr. George Sotheby, and totally disabled four men besides. The camp-followers and the women and children of our sepoys set up a wild shriek; and our position was *entamée* by the fierce Arabs: the day seemed lost and a horrible butchery inevitable, when Captain Fitzgerald made a brisk and most gallant charge with the cavalry of our brigade, which consisted of only three troops of the 6th

Bengal regiment. Heading the little column himself, and dashing across a nullah and over the ridge, Fitzgerald charged one mass of the enemy, drove them from their guns, turned them upon them, and then retired towards the Residency, dragging the captured guns with him and firing as he retired. Our people on the ridge set up a joyous shout, and a detachment of them advanced against the fierce Arabs, who kept their ground though those who ought to have supported them were running away. These Arabs, however, could not stand the bayonet-charge; they were driven from the post, the guns they had captured were recovered, and two other guns which the enemy had brought up were taken. In heading this desperate charge, Captain Lloyd and Lieutenant Grant particularly distinguished themselves. Grant was wounded three times, and his third wound proved mortal. The Arabs lay thick round the guns among the British and the sepoys they had butchered. As soon as this charge was crowned with success, Apa Saheb's troops gave way on every side, and about the hour of noon they fled from the field in panic disorder, leaving all their artillery to the conquerors. Thus ended a conflict more desperate than any that had taken place in India since the early days of Clive, when handfuls of the Company's troops repeatedly sustained and triumphed over the attacks of large native armies. Apa Saheb, at Nagpoor, like the Peishwa at Poonah, had reckoned with certainty on his ability to overwhelm the small force stationed at his capital. As soon as he was undeceived in this particular he expressed the greatest contrition and endeavoured to obtain the forgiveness of the English by his prostration and a prompt submission. When the battle was over and his army well beaten, he sent vakeels to the resident to express his grief, and to disavow having himself authorized the attack. He also employed the women of his family as intercessors for pardon. Mr. Jenkins would give no answer until the Rajah's army was entirely disbanded. Anon Company's troops poured into the country from every quarter. As early as the 29th Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan,

arrived at the Residency with two battalions and three troops of horse, two galloper guns, supplies of ammunition, &c. The fighting on the 26th and 27th had been so hard that our troops engaged had consumed nearly all their powder; they had only a few rounds left when the Arabs were beaten. If the Rajah's people had renewed their attack with any spirit, the conquerors must have been conquered through mere want of ammunition; but now they were safe; and the force collected round the Residency would have sufficed to beat the Rajah's army in the field over and over again. But it was of the utmost consequence that Apa Saheb should be entirely crushed with the utmost rapidity, in order that the grand campaign should proceed against the Pindarrees and their supporters, and that other vacillating allies should be deterred from following his example by learning the terrible example of English vengeance—by hearing, in one breath, that the Rajah of Nagpoor had risen in arms, that the Rajah of Nagpoor had been beaten and his power annihilated. Accordingly the Marquess of Hastings, who was himself on the Nerbudda, sent still more troops to Nagpoor. Major Pitman reached that city on the 5th of December, and Brigadier-General Doveton arrived there on the 12th. Brigadier-General Hardyman followed, but did not arrive until after everything had been settled by Doveton. On the morning of the 15th of December Mr. Jenkins informed the Rajah that the only means of saving his army from immediate attack, and himself from ruin, was to accept the following terms:—To acknowledge that by his defection he had placed his territories at the mercy of the British government; to give up all his artillery; to disband all his Arabs and other mercenaries, who were to march off and leave the city and fort of Nagpoor to the sole occupation of the British; to go himself and reside at the British Residency as an hostage for the performance of these conditions. His answer must be delivered at the latest by four o'clock the next morning; and if no answer came he was to be attacked at that hour. But he was given to understand that if he submitted to the terms

proposed no very great sacrifices would be required from him.—Apa Saheb endeavoured to temporise. Mr. Jenkins extended the period from four to seven o'clock the next morning. But in the evening of the 15th General Doveton beat to arms, approached closer to the town, and there bivouacked for the night. At six o'clock in the morning the Rajah sent to say that the Arabs would not allow him to come over to the English, and to beg for a respite of two or three days. All the respite that Doveton would give was for two hours: Apa Saheb must come in by nine o'clock, or abide the consequences. As nine o'clock came, and as the Rajah came not, our army advanced in order of battle to a position close upon the Rajah's camp: and upon this Apa Saheb, giving way to his fears, mounted his horse, galloped away from the camp to the Residency, and delivered himself up as an hostage to Mr. Jenkins. He there gave orders that the artillery in the arsenal and in the camp should be delivered up. General Doveton, suspecting mischief, if not from the treachery of the Rajah, from the desperation of the Arabs and the other mercenaries, instead of sending a party to take possession of the guns, advanced his whole line by open column of companies. The arsenal, wherein were thirty-six guns, was taken without resistance; but as Doveton proceeded towards the Rajah's gardens a heavy fire of artillery was opened upon his front and right flank. Through the General's prudence and foresight he was not unprepared for this attack: his cavalry and horse artillery were with him; and, while his infantry charged in front, they made a detour, and got on the flank of the enemy. In less than an hour all the batteries were carried, and seventy-five more guns, mortars, and howitzers were in our hands: the Arabs and all who had staid to fight were put to flight, and the camp was also taken, with forty elephants and all Apa Saheb's camp equipage. But the fire of the fierce Arabs had cost us in killed and wounded 39 British and 102 native soldiers. Part of the Arab infantry fled into the city, and occupied the fort, within which were the Rajah's palaces and other strong build-

ings; and they maintained themselves with such desperation that it was not until the 30th of December that they could be driven out. Doveton's siege artillery had not come up, and in an attempt to storm the fort through an insufficient breach, he lost 90 killed and 179 wounded, including one officer among the killed and two among the wounded. With the departure of these daring Arabs resistance ceased; the Rajah and all his country were at our feet. The conduct of the Rajah had determined the governor-general to take him down from the musnud to which he had been raised by the English (for if they had not assisted him in making good his claim to the regency he could not have got the throne); but before his lordship's instructions reached the resident at Nagpoor, Mr. Jenkins, for reasons which are said to have been numerous and weighty, but which we confess we cannot understand, had promised to restore the Rajah to power under certain conditions. The fate of Apa Sahib remained in suspense for a few months.

In the meanwhile the Pindarree forces, though not yet annihilated, had been shattered and scattered in spite of all the extensive combinations made to support them as the great vanguard of the Mahrattas. The Marquess of Hastings, commander-in-chief as well as governor-general, had resolved to take the field and to direct the main operations of the campaign in person. His preparations were all on a gigantic scale. The army of the Bengal presidency, commanded by the governor-general in person, and called the "Grand Army," counted 40,000 fighting men. The Madras troops, which took the field under the designation of the "Army of the Deccan," numbered 70,400 fighting men. A part of the Bombay army was put in motion from the side of Guzerat, to co-operate in the general objects of the campaign; and, after the rupture with the Peishwa, another division of the Bombay army was employed in reducing that prince's fortresses in the Konkan. Counting the irregular cavalry supplied by the allies or dependents of the Company, the whole force brought into the field must have exceeded 130,000

men; and of these forces above 13,000 were British soldiers. No such army had ever yet marched under our colours in India. It was not possible to estimate the varying force of all our enemies; but it may be roughly stated that the Mahratta confederacy had 130,000 horse, 80,000 foot, and 580 guns, while the different fragments that remained of their Pindarree allies would form a total of about 15,000. But it was not the number of these undisciplined barbarians that was to be taken into consideration: it was the very extensive—the indefinable field of the war, the number and strength of the fortresses in Central India, in the Konkan, and elsewhere, the facilities which the Mahrattas possessed for making flying marches, and for embarrassing the movements of our columns by lighting up the flames of war at nearly the same moment and at many and distant points, that demanded the employment of a large force and of great forethought. The materiel and the military means we possessed in India at this period were stupendous; but our Indian army had still much to learn, and it was still defective in several very essential departments. It had hardly any sappers and miners, and the engineering department had only a few scaling-ladders, and a miserable supply of intrenching tools and the other tools and small stores indispensable to the proper execution of siege-work. The number both of the artillery and engineer officers was small and disproportionate; nor were the heavy battering-trains adequate to the work in hand. Great guns, in abundance, were lying useless along the ramparts of our fortresses; but, as rapidity of motion was a primary consideration in a Mahratta war, and as the fine Mysorean bullocks were not yet sufficiently increased to answer all demands, these guns could not be brought up. Through these deficiencies the sieges of this war were prosecuted occasionally at an unusually heavy cost of life and limbs, and were, some few times, absolute failures. The army, moreover, had no equipment of pontoons, or of other means for the military passage of rivers. Hence the troops, in pursuing the flitting enemy, were often delayed by the numerous small

streams which intersect part of the Decan, and the Mahrattas were allowed to escape when their ruin seemed inevitable.\*

The governor-general knew not who would prove friends or enemies as he advanced up the country; but he was determined at all costs and hazards to finish the work which had been so successfully begun, or to brave all the native powers of India rather than fail in extirpating the Pindarrees. Having connected, or brought to points of co-operation, a far more imposing force than the British had ever yet brought into the field in India, his lordship crossed the Jumna on the 26th of October, 1817. As it was necessary that a part of the forces should traverse the territories of Scindiah, and as it was hoped that that great Mahratta, overawed by the movements of our immense armed hosts, might be induced to engage to co-operate with us against the Pindarrees, Captain Close, the resident at the durbar of Scindiah, who now held his court in the strong fortress of Gualior, was instructed to press for the conclusion of a treaty which had been for some time on the *tapis*. Scindiah, who had promised to support the Peishwa, and who was corresponding not only with the Pindarree chiefs and with the Rajah of Nagpoor, but also with the Gorkhas of Nepaul, in order to excite those formidable enemies to a new war, and bring them down on the right flank and on the rear of our advancing army, hesitated, and sought all

kinds of subterfuges, and did not sign the treaty proposed to him by the governor-general until the 5th of November, when two of our corps d'armée, one under the immediate command of his lordship, and the other under that of General Donkin, were within one march of his frontier. Then Scindiah engaged to afford every facility to the British troops in the pursuit of the Pindarrees through his dominions, and to co-operate actively towards the extinction of those brutal freebooters. Meer Khan and other chiefs of Mahrattas and leaders of Patan bands followed the example of Scindiah, and precisely from the same motives or the same fears of the stupendous armaments that were sweeping through the country. If the Marquess of Hastings had attempted to negotiate before marching his army, another year would have been lost. The states of the Mahratta house of Holkar stood, with reference to the Pindarrees, in a somewhat similar position to those of Scindiah; but it was supposed that there was less to apprehend from their hostility. Our old foe, the hardy adversary of Lord Lake and General Wellesley, Jeswunt Rao Holkar, died mad in 1811,\* and his country had been in a state of revolution and anarchy ever since, more murders having been committed than would fill a Newgate Calendar. Attempts, however, were made to negotiate with those anarchists, but they failed.

During the rains of this year (1817) the Pindarrees, well knowing that the English were coming against them into the regions beyond the Nerbudda, made great efforts to recruit their durras, and to concert some general plan of defence. But disagreements broke out among the chiefs, particularly between Cheetoo and his old rival Kureem, and no consistent plan

\* Colonel Valentine Blacker, quartermaster-general of the army of Fort St. George, 'Memoir of the Operations of the British Army in India during the Mahratta War of 1817, 1818, and 1819.'

Edward Lake, lieutenant of the Honourable East India Company's Madras Engineers, 'Journals of the Sieges of the Madras Army in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819, with Observations on the System according to which such Operations have usually been conducted in India, and a Statement of the Improvements that appear necessary.'

This last work was undertaken at the suggestion of Sir John Malcolm.

Our Madras engineer officer says, "As there were no pontoons, and no timber for forming the superstructure of a bridge, if it had been attempted to construct one with the common country boats, which were to be procured on the river, a flying bridge was the only resource, and this was effected by drawing a strong sheer-line across the river, along which the boats plied."

\* This Holkar had apparently driven himself mad by excessive drink. Sir James Mackintosh notes in his diary, in 1808—"Holkar has become so besotted a drunkard, as almost to have lost his senses. After an excessive dose of cherry-brandy, he plucks the turbans from the heads of his chiefs, and beats them like the lowest slaves. This degradation of the only chief popular among the Hindus, would be a matter of some consequence if we were to have an European invasion."—Memoir of Sir James Mackintosh, edited by his Son.

could be formed. Sheik Dulloo, the most adventurous of all the chiefs—he who had descended into the Konkan, and had plundered the western shores of India in the preceding year—talked of joining Trimbukjee and of trying his fortunes again in the Deccan, while the English were engaged beyond the Nerbudda. Others proposed schemes that they never executed. Their superstitions were alarmed by evil omens, such as a great fire that broke out in Kureem's camp in the month of September, and destroyed all the valuables of his durra. Generally, however, the Pindarrees relied, first on their own rapidity of movement, and next on the potency of the hostile league which they knew to be forming among the Mahrattas against the English. When the rains were over they made some very unsuccessful attempts to break into our territories. They were everywhere headed back; and they were soon pressed and pursued, and driven from their haunts beyond the Nerbudda by the several corps of Major-General Marshall and Colonel Sir John Malcolm. The last-named officer, who has written the best account of the Pindarrees, and who had the most active share in the operations which destroyed them, had been absent in England, and had returned just in time to take the command of one of the corps of the Marquess of Hastings's army. Malcolm, being informed of Cheetoo's flight to the westward, resolved to follow him as the most able and dangerous of the robbers; and he accordingly marched as far as Agur. Here he learned that Cheetoo had pitched his camp close to that of the Holkar Mahrattas; that he had been received with friendship and distinction, and that those Mahrattas were fully determined to support the robber and to oppose the operations of the British. They had just received from the Peishwa an advance of a lac and sixty thousand rupees. Upon this intelligence Sir John Malcolm fell back to the neighbourhood of Oojein, a town of great celebrity in Malwa, where another corps d'armée was collected under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop. While these forces lay at Oojein, another revolution and murder took place in the Holkar

camp. The young heir to the musnud was enticed away from the tent in which he was playing, and his mother, who was acting as regent, was seized at night and beheaded, as a traitress sold to the English. Having done these deeds, the Patan chiefs became clamorous for battle; and the whole Holkar army, advancing rapidly, plundered part of the English baggage. The next day (the 21st of December, 1817) they met their reward in the bloody battle of Maheidpoor. There, strongly posted on the bank of the Sepra river (into whose waters they had thrown the headless body of the regent), they were beaten, bayoneted, cut to pieces, deprived of all their artillery, amounting to seventy pieces, and of everything that gave them the character of an army. The remnant of their force fled to the large walled town of Rampoorra, in the heart of the province of Malwa. Sir John Malcolm formed the plan of the battle, and headed the assault on the left flank of the enemy. Lieut.-Colonels Scott, Macdowall, and Russell, Major James L. Lushington, and other officers, greatly distinguished themselves in the action. The British casualties were unusually severe, amounting to 174 killed and 604 wounded. Among the wounded were 35 officers, of whom 15 were severely injured. In the pursuit, which was continued by Sir John Malcolm and Captain Grant along both banks of the river Sepra, immense booty was obtained, including elephants, some hundreds of camels, &c.

Sir John Malcolm advanced rapidly towards the capital of the Holkars, being joined on the way by the Bombay army from Guzerat, under the orders of Major-General Sir William Keir. Those Mahrattas now agreed to and hastily concluded a treaty of peace, placing their territories under British protection, and surrendering in perpetuity to the Company various districts, forts, and ghants. The treaty was scarcely concluded ere some of the Patan chiefs attempted to break it; but these desperadoes were defeated and most of their adherents slaughtered in Rampoorra by some detachments of infantry and cavalry under General Brown. A few more marches and two or three stormings of forts re-

duced the whole of the country of the Holkar Mahrattas to a state of obedience. These rapid successes kept Scindiah steady to the treaty which he had recently concluded, and deprived the wandering Peishwa of almost his last hope. They also enabled our troops to follow the Pindarrees, who were now flying in all directions, like sea-fowl in a storm. Some of Cheetoo's durra had followed the Patan chiefs to Maheidpoor; but after our victory there, Cheetoo fled to shift for himself, seeing that no aid was to be expected from the Mahrattas. He was closely followed by the Guzerat army of Sir William Keir, who surprised him and cut up part of his durra in the neighbourhood of Satoolla. Harassed by the activity of Sir William's pursuit, and finding that other corps were closing fast round them, the marauders endeavoured to retrace their steps to their old haunts in the valley of the Nerbudda and in parts of Malwa. Other chiefs failed, and were cut up in the attempt; but Cheetoo succeeded in baffling every effort made to intercept him or overtake him, and effected his object by penetrating through a most difficult country. He suddenly reappeared in Malwa, in the neighbourhood of the ancient city of Dhar, situated among rocks, forests, and the sources of rivers; but his extraordinary march had cost him all his baggage and most of his horses. He was now lost sight of for some time; during which the best of his fellow-chiefs with their durras were extirpated in other parts. At last his lair was discovered, and on the night of the 25th of January, 1818, a strong party of the British came upon him and utterly broke up his band. The hill robbers of Malwa, the Bheels and Grasseas (robbers by birth, education, and profession, but "petty-larceny rascals" compared with the Pindarrees), were encouraged to plunder and destroy the fugitives, and are said to have executed the commission very zealously. Cheetoo, however, escaped Bheels and Grasseas, as he had so often the English, and for a short time wandered and skulked about Malwa with some two hundred followers. When in this state of hopeless misery, he

was often advised by some of his followers to surrender to the English and trust to their mercy. He was possessed, however, by the dreadful idea that the English would transport him beyond the sea, and this was more hideous to him than death. These followers, who all, one after another, came in and obtained pardon, related that during their captain's short and miserable sleep at this period he used continually to murmur, "Kala Panee! Kala Panee!"—"The black Sea! Oh, the black Sea!"\*)

At this conjuncture it struck Cheetoo that possibly the Nabob of Bopaul might make terms for him and the remnant of his durra with the English; and rapidly acting on the idea, he suddenly entered the camp of that prince. But when he learned that the nabob could offer or promise nothing beyond a slender personal maintenance in some remote corner of India, he decamped as suddenly as he had come. While he stayed, his horses were constantly saddled, and his men slept with the bridles in their hands, ready to fly instantly. Preparations were making for the purpose of seizing him the very night he went off from the Bopaul camp. Though he got safely off, he was presently pursued by the nabob's people and by parties sent out by Sir John Malcolm. This distressed him so much, that Rajun, one of his most faithful and valuable adherents, left him, and made his submission. Yet, after all this, Cheetoo found his way into the Deccan, and made common cause with the Arabs and chiefs of the Peishwa's routed army, receiving occasional protection from the killadar of the fortress of Aseerghur, a place of great strength, the ancient capital of Candesh, and at this time included among the possessions of Scindiah. His durra was completely destroyed, and nearly all his followers deserted him, but nothing could subdue Cheetoo's spirit, or induce him to surrender. His end, however, approached, and it was tragical and singular. Having joined Apa Saheb, he passed the rainy season of 1818 among the Mahadeo mountains; and upon that Rajah's expul-

\* Sir John Malcolm.

sion by the English, in February, 1819, he accompanied him to the fort of Aseerghur. Being refused admittance, he sought shelter in a neighbouring jungle, and on horseback and alone attempted to penetrate a cover known to be infested by tigers. He was missed for some days, and no one knew what had become of him. His well-known horse was at last discovered grazing near the margin of the forest, saddled and bridled, and exactly in the state in which it was when Cheetoo had last been seen upon it. A bag of two hundred and fifty rupees was found in the saddle, together with several seal-rings and some letters of Apa Sahib, promising future reward to the great robber. A search was made in the cover for the body; and at no great distance were found clothes clotted with blood, fragments of bones, and, lastly, the Pindarree's head entire, with the features in a state to be recognised. "The chief's mangled remains," says the best historian of his adventures, "were given over to his son for interment; and the miserable fate of one who so shortly before had ridden at the head of 20,000 horse, gave an awful lesson of the uncertainty of fortune, and drew pity even from those who had been the victims of his barbarity when living."\*

With Cheetoo ended the last of the Pindarrees, and the spirit which had animated their vast lawless associations. Their name is all that now remains of them, for the sad traces of their devastation have entirely disappeared under re-established order, industry, prosperity, police, and good government. It is now nearly a quarter of a century since that gallant officer, accomplished diplomatist, and able writer, the late Sir John Malcolm, said of them—"There now remains not a spot in India that a Pindarree can call his home. They have been hunted like wild beasts; numbers have been killed; all ruined. Those who espoused their cause have fallen. They were early in the contest shunned like a

contagion, and even the timid villagers, whom they so recently oppressed, were among the foremost to attack them. Their principal leaders had either died, submitted, or been made captives; while their followers, with the exception of a few whom the liberality and consideration of the British government have aided to become industrious, are lost in that population from whose dross they originally issued. A minute investigation only can discover these once formidable disturbers, concealed as they now are among the lowest classes, where they are making some amends for past atrocities by the benefit which is derived from their labour in restoring trade and cultivation. These freebooters had none of the prejudices of caste, for they belonged to all tribes. They never had either the pride of soldiers, of family, or of country, so that they were bound by none of those ties which among many of the communities in India assume an almost indestructible character. Other plunderers may arise from distempered times, but as a body the Pindarrees are so effectually destroyed, that their name is already almost forgotten, though not five years are passed since it spread terror and dismay over all India."\*

The Mahratta wars which were waged by the Marquess of Hastings are chiefly interesting from their having led to these desirable results. If his lordship had been a votary of the restrictive, timid system, or if he had been tied down by instructions from home not to cross the Nerbudda for fear of giving offence to the Mahrattas, and not to take any steps that might provoke hostility on a large scale, the Pindarrees could not possibly have been put down, and a vast part of the population of Hindustan must have been left a prey to those human tigers, and exposed to worse horrors than those which accompanied the worst even of the Mahratta wars. The long existence of the association was disgraceful to the first government in India—which the British assuredly had been ever since the days of Warren Hastings—every honest pacific

\* Henry T. Prinsep, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service. History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings, 1813-1823.

\* Memoir of Central India.

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| inhabitant of the country had a right to reproach us for his sufferings, and for having the power, without using it, of putting an end to his calamities by exterminating the marauders. Within two | short years the Marquess of Hastings performed that service, which entitles him to the highest honour, and which will be remembered by the peoples of India for many ages to come. |
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## CHAPTER XIII.

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS CONTINUED.

THE remainder of these Mahratta wars need not detain us long. The full accounts we have given of the splendid campaigns of General Wellesley and Lord Lake will have enabled the reader to form a tolerably correct notion of this sort of warfare; and to repeat details in 1818 and 1819, which of necessity bear a close resemblance to those of 1804-5, would be tedious and unprofitable.

In these Indian wars there was very little manœuvring either on our side or on that of the enemy. The great business of our commanders was to bring the army rapidly up with the foe, and to correctly calculate, and provide for, the means of so doing. The valour of our troops, native as well as European, their steadiness, rapidity in formation, and their bayonet-points did the rest. Nearly all Lord Lake's victories were gained by a direct attack which he led himself. Yet if he rejected or was ignorant of the stratagems of war, he possessed in an eminent degree that powerful influence of character which calls forth the exertions of troops through their affection and admiration. They not only performed for him everything possible, but often offered themselves to inevitable and evident destruction in his presence, as in the forlorn assaults which were made during the terrible siege of Bhurtpoor.\* Some of Lake's contemporaries and immediate successors were far better strategists than he; but the occasions rarely occurred in which they could employ their science, or in which the stratagems of war would have been of any use.

\* Lieut.-Colonel Valentine Blacker, Quartermaster-general of the army of Fort St. George. Memoir of the Operations of the British Army in India during the Mahratta War of 1817, 1818 and 1819.

They continued to aim at making direct attacks, and as quickly after taking the field as possible. In this way Hislop and Malcolm fought and won the great battle of Maheidpoor. But great was the foresight required and numerous the difficulties to be overcome, ere an Anglo-Indian army, with its amazing train of camp-followers, could be brought up with alert enemies, who were for the most part mounted. After leaving their own frontiers, they had often to march hundreds of miles before they could come within reach of a tangible enemy. On these marches the followers could never be left far behind. A very large number of attendants was considered indispensable: one man was required for every three bullocks, and many were required for the elephants and camels of the army: every horse in the army had, besides the rider, two attendants, one to clean and take care of him, the other to cut the grass and provide his forage; the palanquin and litter bearers for the sick formed another numerous and useful class; field-officers, including the people who carried or had charge of their tents, baggage, &c., had each about forty attendants; captains had twenty, and subalterns ten servants each: the bazaar people, the merchants, their families, servants, &c., formed another numerous body. Generally, while marching, there were no towns to be depended on for supplies, and the army not only carried with it most of the means of subsistence for several months, but many articles of merchandize. It was calculated that during Lord Cornwallis's second campaign against Tippoo Sultaun, the number of persons of all descriptions attached to his camp and to the camps of his allies exceeded 400,000, although the number of soldiers did not much exceed 80,000.

The scene altogether resembled the migration of a nation guarded by troops, rather than the advance of an army to subdue an enemy.\* In other marches the tails of our armies were almost equally long. Allowing it to be possible to diminish the numbers of officers' servants, regimental cooks, &c., there still remained serious obstacles to the reduction of other and far more numerous classes. Several attempts had been made to reduce the number of the camp-followers, but, though they had been partially successful in some instances, it had not been found easy to establish a system, or to overcome the feelings, the habits, and the wants of the native troops and those connected with them. Almost every sepoy arrived at a mature age has a family or several relations depending on him for their support. Unless these relations can be left at some secure place, in the receipt of a certain subsistence, they must be allowed to accompany him on whom they depend, or he will desert rather than abandon them. Numerous though they are, the camp-followers of the Bengal and Bombay establishments are not of so enormous an amount as those of the Madras presidency. So unremitting has been the field-service of the Madras army through more than half a century, that a large population has grown up who were born in a camp, and who are so habituated to field-service, with its marches and counter-marches, that it has become their most natural state. Multitudes, consequently, are always ready to move, with an alacrity not to be found in the sister presidencies. Being almost constantly in the field, the Madras sepoys were indulged in their habit of carrying their women to camp. Many officers of rank, who had previously served only in Europe, were, on first taking the field in India, struck with what appeared a monstrous and insupportable impediment, yet none ventured on the labour of controlling a custom which the natural course of events had produced and supported with all its apparent disadvantages. But there were advantages as well as disadvantages attending the custom. The native troops, followed by

their wives, their children, all their nearest connections, and all their little property, found a home in every camp, let it be pitched where it might; they had no inducement to stray or desert, or even to look beyond the camp or the rear of their own army, which comprised their world; and they contended the more bravely for victory, when defeat would involve the destruction of all that were dearest to them. Some British officers of great experience also thought that these multitudes of camp-followers were of positive advantage, as, having no prescribed duty to perform, they had leisure to bring into the camp, from the neighbouring country and towns, supplies which otherwise would not have been procured; thus not only feeding themselves, but relieving the commissariat, which is obliged to supply the sepoy when rice cannot be had in the camp bazaar below a certain rate. But it is said that although these practices have occasionally proved advantageous to an army acting in an enemy's country, they are apt to lead to plunder and violence, and thus to scare away the native townspeople and villagers with their produce, who would otherwise have preferred the protection of our army to that of their own sovereign, and have remained to sell their produce to our troops and bazaar people. As, with its advantages and disadvantages, the custom was established, and not to be altered by any sudden process,—as the numbers of camp-followers always greatly exceeded the united numbers of the troops, commissariat, and public servants of all descriptions,—it was necessary, in commencing a campaign, to calculate accordingly, and to devise the means of moving these prodigious masses, of giving them security on the march, and good shelter from the enemy in the camp or cantonments, and, above all things, of relieving them from the terrible hazard of dying of thirst,—a hazard often occurring in the more arid parts of Upper India, and in the countries where such water as there was, was preserved in artificial reservoirs or tanks, which the enemy might previously destroy.

But in the first year of this war against the Pindarrees and Mahrattas the army

\* Walter Hamilton, *East India Gazetteer*, &c.

of the Marquess of Hastings was assailed by a new and terrible enemy; this was the Indian Cholera Morbus, the virulence of which appears to have been increased by the crowded state of our camps. The disease first broke out at Jessore, the capital of a district in the southern quarter of Bengal, a populous and unhealthy city in the centre of the Delta of the Ganges, and near the pestiferous Sunderbunds. It began its ravages as the rainy season of 1817 set in, and cut off the majority of those whom it attacked. From Jessore it spread in all directions, showing, as it was thought, a preference for the valleys of rivers.\* Ascending the valley of the Ganges, it reached the camp of Brigadier-General Hardyman about the beginning of October; but the troops, being then encamped in a dry healthy country, and being but few in number, suffered comparatively little. Continuing its course westward, it fell with extraordinary violence upon the army commanded by Lord Hastings in person, just after his lordship had concluded the treaty with Scindiah. This army, when first seized, was encamped in a low and unhealthy part of Bundelund, on the banks of the river Sinde, a confluent of the Jumna, which has its source in the mountains of Malwa. The year was one of scarcity, and grain had been collected for the troops,

through the camp-followers, with extreme difficulty, and of course of inferior quality. The water of the country, except where it could be obtained from running streams, was indifferent. The time of the year too was that at which the heat of the day is most strongly contrasted with the cold of the night. To all these extraordinary circumstances was superadded the very crowded state of the camp of so large an army. For about ten days that the disease raged with its greatest fury, the whole camp was an hospital. The mortality amounted to about a tenth of the whole number collected there.\* Europeans and natives, soldiers and camp-followers, were alike affected; but the latter, being generally worse clothed and fed than the fighting men, suffered in a greater proportion. Of the Europeans fewer were seized, but those who took the disease more frequently died, and usually within a few hours. The camp was abandoned, and the army continued for some days to move to the eastward in the hope of finding relief in a better climate; but each day's march many dead and dying were abandoned, and many more fell down on the road,—so many that it was not possible to furnish the means for carrying them on, although the utmost possible provision had been made by the previous distribution of bullock-carts and elephants for the accommodation of the sick. Nothing was heard along the line of march but groans and shrieks and lamentations; even the healthy were broken in spirit and incapable of exertion; and, for the time, the efficiency of this fine army seemed to be entirely destroyed. Towards the end of November, when the army reached a healthy station at Erech, on the right bank of the Betwa river, the epidemic had visibly expended its violence.† The

\* James Copland, M.D., On Pestilential Cholera, &c.

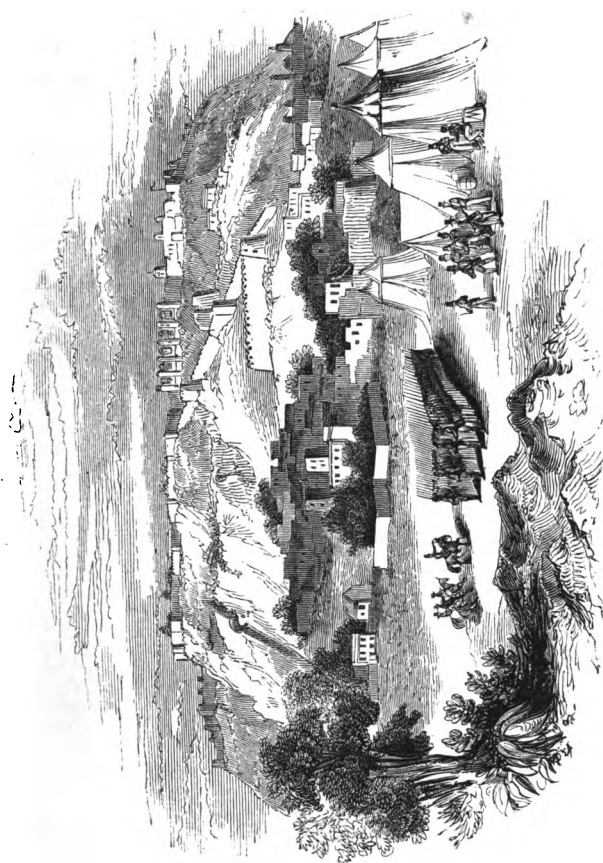
According to other accounts the first appearance of the disease was not at Jessore, but at Nuddea and Kishnagur. In June it was discovered at Mymensing, and in several villages along the course of the Brahmaputra; in July it appeared at Patna, and at Sunegong, a town on the banks of one of the branches of the Brahmaputra; and on the 19th of August it raged with destructive violence at Jessore. The civil courts were shut, and a temporary cessation of business of every description ensued. The alarm was the greater as very little was known of the nature of the epidemic.

On the 15th of September the disease, which had broken out at Calcutta, Dinapoor, Chittagong, &c., reached from the mouths of the Ganges nearly as high as the confluence of the Jumna. Early in November it reached the Sinde, where it raged with greater violence than in any other part of India.

Frederick Corby, Esq., M.R.C.S.L., Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment, &c., Treatise on the Epidemic Cholera, 1 vol. 8vo. Calcutta, 1832, printed at the Baptist missionary press. James Jameson, Assistant Surgeon, &c., Report on the Epidemic Cholera Morbus, Calcutta, 1820.

\* H. T. Prinsep. This gentleman adds—“The narrator himself lost seven domestic servants and a moonshee in about four days, besides twelve others who were sick and unserviceable for a month, out of an establishment of fifty-three; and others of the staff were equal sufferers. The fighting men filled the whole of the hospitals in the first two days; and for servants and followers every man's tent was his only receptacle, and himself the only doctor.”

† “The dreadful pestilence,” said the governor—



Fortress of Gualior.

No. 31.



camp was, however, still crowded with convalescents, when it marched with its noble commander to take an active part in the war.

During the rage of the epidemic one or two of his servants in attendance sunk suddenly from behind his lordship's chair; and the noble marquess himself, seeing the probability of being attacked by the dreadful disease, gave secret instructions, in case of his dying, to be buried in his tent, lest the enemy should hear of his death and be thereby encouraged to attack his disheartened and crippled troops.\* The return of health came very opportunely, for the army had been but a very short time at Erch when the marquess received intelligence that Scindiah had sent an invitation to the Pindarrees. The Mahratta prince was reported to have promised the robbers that if they would come so near to Gualior as to make his getting to them easy, he would break his recent treaty with the English, and join them with the force which he had at his capital. The Pindarrees in fact were in full march for Gualior, without meeting even a show of resistance from troops of Scindiah stationed on their route, though the co-operation of his army for the extinction of the Pindarrees was an article of the treaty. The movements of these Pindarrees and the suspicious conduct of Scindiah's troops imposed on the marquess the necessity of making a retrograde movement. "We hurried back to the Sinde," says his lordship; "but this time we chose a position nearer to Gualior than that which we had before occupied. We were within thirty miles of the city, and our advanced-guard was sent to occupy the passes through the hills, which run at some distance south of Gualior from the Sinde to the Chumbul. These passes were the only route by which com-

munication could take place between the Pindarrees and Scindiah; and I was nearer to support my advanced-guard than the Maharajah (Scindiah) was to attack it, could he bring his men to so desperate a stake. The Pindarrees, finding their hopes baffled, and the pass, &c. stopped, attempted to retire; but they had been followed close by our divisions, were surprised, dispersed, and slaughtered in a number of small actions. In short, they disappeared. And thus our objects were completed."\*

While the forces under the Marquess of Hastings, and the divisions under Hislop, Malcolm, Marshall, Keir, Adams, and other officers were chasing the Pindarrees from moor and mountain, valley and jungle, or reducing the forts in Malwa, Brigadier-General Smith, who had been reinforced at Poonah, prepared for an active pursuit of Bajee Rao, the fugitive Peishwa, who had flitted hither and thither like an ignis fatuus. Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, having organized a police and a provisional administration for the city of Poonah, accompanied General Smith's division, which began its march at the end of November. Gokla, one of the Peishwa's evil advisers, but bravest officers, attempted to defend a ghaut leading to the high land where the Kistna has its source, and where the Peishwa had found a refuge and a rallying point; but the Mahratta was beaten, and the pass was cleared by the British with great ease. No fighting, but rapid and most wearying marches ensued, the Peishwa's army flying in a sort of zigzag, and the Peishwa himself always keeping in advance of his main body. At last the Mahratta succeeded in getting round Smith's division; and then, passing between Poonah and Seroor, he moved northward as far as Wuttoor, on the road to Nassik. Here he was joined by his long-lost favourite Trimbukjee, who brought with him a considerable reinforcement of horse and foot. Trimbukjee had collected these forces in various directions, but a good part of them appear to have been Pindarrees. But for the

general and commander-in-chief, "which made such havoc in the division under my immediate command, forced me to quit the banks of the Sinde, and to seek a more favourable country for the recovery of my numerous sick. I did not find this until I was fifty miles from the river which I quitted. Fortunately the change of air was rapidly beneficial."—*Report on the Rise and Progress of the late War, &c.*

\* Frederick Corbyn, Esq., *Treatise on the Epidemic Cholera, &c.*

\* Marquess of Hastings, *Report on the Rise and Progress of the Late War, &c.*

good fights made in front of the presidency at Nagpoor, and within the walls of that city, Apa Saheb would have accompanied Trimbukjee with his large army and his desperate Arabs. After he had discovered the direction the Peishwa had taken, and had recruited his own worn-out cattle, General Smith, on the 22nd of September, started again in pursuit. This headlong race to the northward brought Smith close upon the rear of the Mahrattas; but, with the lubricity of eels, they slipped through his fingers, and making a flank movement behind some hills, they turned suddenly to the south, and retraced their steps towards Poonah. Colonel Burr, who commanded in that city, apprehending an attack, solicited the reinforcement of a battalion from Seroor. Captain Francis French Staunton,\* of the Bombay establishment, was forthwith detached from Seroor with about 600 sepoy, 300 auxiliary horse, and two six-pounders. The distance was only two short marches. Staunton began his march from Seroor at eight o'clock in the evening of the 31st of December, and at ten the next morning he reached the heights of Corregaum, about half-way to Poonah, when, looking down upon the plain which lay between him and that city, he saw the whole of the Peishwa's army, estimated at 20,000 horse and several thousand foot. His march to Poonah was intercepted, and he himself was in great danger of being cut off. The brave officer did what the circumstances of the case required: he made a dash at the village of Corregaum (which stood on the heights, and which was composed of a number of stone houses with strong stone walls round the gardens), hoping to gain possession of it before it could be obtained by the enemy. But the Mahrattas, or rather the Arabs, who composed the main body of their infantry, were as near to the village as was Captain Staunton; and as he entered at one side and took possession of some of the houses, the Arabs entered at the opposite side and took possession of other houses. A terrible struggle ensued, at first between the Company's troops and the Arabs for the pos-

session of the whole of the village, and then between our handful of men and nearly the whole of the Mahratta army. Unfortunately Captain Swanston, who commanded our 300 auxiliary horse, was wounded early in the day, and his weak squadrons could not show themselves in face of the masses of Mahratta cavalry. The enemy, who had been running too fast to carry artillery with him, brought up only two guns; but if there was an equality in this particular arm, their infantry exceeded ours by ten to one. Nevertheless our admirable sepoys maintained their post, and kept up an incessant fight from the hour of noon till nine in the evening, during which time they had no refreshment, and not even a drop of water to drink. Attack after attack was made under the eye of the Peishwa, who stood, no doubt at a safe distance, on a neighbouring hill. They had all failed, when Lieutenant Chisholm, the officer of artillery, with most of his men, having been killed at a post near a pagoda, and all the European officers having been disabled except three, the Arabs charged and obtained possession of one of our two guns, which was stationed at the pagoda. Our wounded were lying thick round that building, and among them were Assistant-Surgeon Wingate, Captain Swanston, and Lieutenant Connellan. The wild Arabs immediately began to massacre these helpless wounded men and to mutilate the bodies of the slain. Poor Wingate was literally hacked to pieces, as was the body of Lieutenant Chisholm, the officer of artillery. But the Arabs did not long enjoy their bloody triumph; the three undisaibled officers, Captain Staunton, Lieutenant Jones, and Assistant-Surgeon Wylie,\* though almost ex-

\* The medical officers fought just as hard and as bravely as the other officers. With so small a force, and so very few English officers, it was necessary for every man to throw himself into the heat of the fight.

"The medical officers also led on the sepoys to charges with the bayonet, the nature of the contest not admitting of their attending to their professional duties; and in such a struggle the presence of a single European was of the utmost consequence, and seemed to inspire the native soldiers with the usual confidence of success."—*Division Orders by Brigadier-General Smith, C.B. East Ind. Military Calendar.*

\* Subsequently Colonel F. F. Staunton, C.B.

hausted, and with their men fainting from want of water, headed one more charge, the last of the many that they made during the day, recaptured the lost gun, and slaughtered the Arabs in a heap. The charge was utterly desperate, for every man felt that there was nothing between him and victory except torture and death. On this occasion Lieutenant Pattinson, who had been wounded and carried into a house, appeared again at the head of his men, and continued to exert the little strength he had left until he received another wound, which proved mortal. Captain Swanston and Lieutenant Connellon were rescued; and every man of the Arabs who had penetrated to the pagoda was bayoneted without mercy. By a little after nine, the enemy were completely driven from the village and all the ground near it, and our fainting sepoy were then enabled to obtain a supply of water, the only refreshment they got during the whole day and following night. Where the desperate Arabs had failed, there was slight chance that the cowardly Mahrattas would renew the attempt. Captain Staunton and his people passed the night without any molestation. At daybreak on the following morning the Mahratta army was seen hovering about the village, but none of them would venture near; and this day also passed without any molestation. Captain Staunton had consumed so much powder during the nine hours' fighting of the preceding day, that he had only a few rounds of ammunition left; and provisions in the camp there were none, and none were to be procured in the village. Despairing therefore of being able to reach Poonah, he determined to move back to Seroor. He began his retreat in the dark on the night of the 2nd of January: he sacrificed much of his baggage in order to provide the means of conveying his numerous wounded, but he brought off not only his guns, but likewise all his wounded, and with them reached Seroor by nine o'clock the next morning, the 3rd of January. The men had had no refreshment but water from the 31st of December. Three officers were killed and two wounded; 62 men were killed and 113 wounded,

exclusive of the auxiliary horse. The loss of men was most severe in the artillery, 12 being killed and 8 wounded out of a detail for two six-pounders only.\*

Like the defence of the presidency at Nagpoor, this was an affair of which Clive himself might have been proud. Captain Staunton's superiors were men quite capable of appreciating his heroism, and of expressing their admiration in an eloquent and hearty manner. The Governor-general, who forthwith nominated Staunton an honorary aide-de-camp, and soon afterwards conferred on him the command of the important fortress of Ahmednughur, repeated the observation which General Smith had made in his official report to the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, that the action of Corregaum was "one of the most brilliant affairs ever achieved by any army, in which the European and native soldiers displayed the most noble devotion and most romantic bravery, under the pressure of thirst and hunger, almost beyond human endurance." And, two years after the event, in presenting a valuable sword which had been voted by the Court of Directors to Captain (by this time Major) Staunton, his Lordship said, "I need say little of the conflict which has obtained you this honourable acknowledgment. It is already well known to all who take an interest in the achievements of the British arms in the East. All know the situation in which your detachment was placed, surrounded by numerous and implacable enemies, cut off from all hope of succour, and sinking under the pressure of thirst, exhaustion, and fatigue. In that hour of difficulty and danger it was your firmness that afforded to your brave companions an opportunity of displaying that devotion and gallantry which terminated in their triumph over the vast force opposed to them, and not only established for ever their own reputation, but threw a lustre over the character of their establishment, and added to the glory of the Indian

\* H. T. Prinsep. Division Orders by Brigadier General Smith, C.B., dated "Camp, near Seroor 7th January, 1818," in East India Military Calendar.

army."\* Furthermore the Government of Bombay, over which the Hon. Mount-stuart Elphinstone then presided, caused a monument to be erected on the spot to commemorate the glory of the defence of Corregaum, and to preserve the memory of those who had fallen there. The foundation stone was laid in 1821; and the brass plate bears the truly noble names of "The Most Noble the Marquess of Hastings, Governor-general of India," and "The Honourable Mount-stuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay." Indian exploits had been too often overlooked in England, and neglected by our parliamentary orators; but, on this occasion, Mr. George Canning, on moving the thanks of the House of Commons to the Marquess of Hastings and the army in India, employed his eloquence and genius in extolling the glory of the little band which had repelled and kept at bay the Peishwa's 20,000 horse and masses of Arab infantry.

In the course of the 3rd of January, the day on which Capt. Staunton got back to Seroor, Brigadier-General Smith reached the village of Corregaum with his strong division. The Peishwa and his Mahrattas fled back to the table-land near the sources of the Kistna, from which they had descended. General Smith followed them closely, and Brigadier-General Pritzler, with another division, was moving from another point to intercept them. The Mahrattas continued to turn and twist like eels, and though Pritzler trod upon their tail more than once, and cut off part of it, they could not be so overtaken as to be brought to a general action, or even to a stand. They were very nearly caught in the neighbourhood of Satara, on the 28th of January; but they escaped by a ghaut, with the loss of part of their rear-guard. A small detachment under Colonel Boles cannonaded them out of another ghaut which they were attempting to thread; but they only changed their line of march. The troops were exhausted by this harassing pursuit, which seemed to produce no visible advantage. Mount-

stuart Elphinstone had the merit of recommending a better plan of operations. This was to storm the many strong places in the country, to deprive the Peishwa of the means of subsistence, to reduce Satara, which was still the nominal capital of the Mahratta empire, and to reinstate the Satara family in an independent sovereignty. The fortress of Satara surrendered to Brigadier-General Smith, on the 10th of February, the day on which he first appeared before it. Some other places were in process of reduction when the Peishwa made certain rash movements which enabled General Smith to fall upon him at Ashtee, on the 20th of February, with the 2nd and 7th regiments of Madras light cavalry, and two squadrons of his Majesty's 22nd dragoons. Bajee Rao, the dastardly Peishwa, deserted his palanquin and his army, mounting a horse, and galloping away as soon as the battle began; but Gokla, his general, seeing that he must either fight or lose the baggage and nearly everything else, made a bold stand, outflanking Smith's small force, and at one moment threatening it in the rear. But the British dragoons charged his *Gole*,\* and killed him in the charge. The death of Gokla left the Mahrattas without a head. From this moment all was confusion and panic, each mass of cavalry breaking as our dragoons approached it. Some faint resistance was attempted in the camp; but our dragoons dashed in, and made good booty. Twelve elephants and fifty-seven camels formed part of this prize. General Smith was slightly wounded on the head, and Lieutenant Warrand, of the 22nd dragoons, was wounded by Gokla, who fought fiercely in the *melee*, and wounded several of our men before he fell; but no one was killed on our side, and only 17 or 18 of the soldiers were wounded.

The remnant of the Peishwa's army fled towards the north, being daily thinned by desertion. Brigadier-General Pritzler, General Monro, Colonels Prother and Deacon, reduced all the forts that remained; the Mahratta flag was fast disappearing, and so were the hopes of the Mahratta chiefs. Our divisions and

\* Address of the Marquess of Hastings. East Ind. Military Calendar.

\* A mass of Mahratta cavalry.

detachments in the field, in almost all parts of India, were too numerous and too well posted to allow of any junction being effected between the Peishwa and the forces of any of our other enemies.

After the battle of Ashtee Brigadier-General Smith repaired to Satara, in order to assist Mr. Elphinstone in setting up the Rajah. In this way the Peishwa gained a few days' respite, during which he continued to press to the north-west, with the design of throwing himself into the territories of the Nizam of the Deccan, which he hoped to find ill furnished with troops. But turning back from Satara, and making a short halt at Seroor, Smith renewed his pursuit of the Peishwa on the 10th of March. Brigadier-General Doveton, with his division, moved in another direction in the expectation of intercepting the Peishwa. Nevertheless the Mahratta traversed the Nizam's dominions from west to east, and appeared on the banks of the Werda on the 1st of April. But as his van was crossing that river with the intention of marching upon Nagpoor, it was met and driven back by a small detachment under Colonel Scott. The Peishwa then tried to cross the river at another point, but here he was met by Colonel Adams, and was informed by his scouts that General Doveton was getting close upon him. Without waiting the arrival of Doveton, Adams followed the Mahrattas, came up with them near Soonee, and with only one regiment of native cavalry and some horse artillery, gave them a signal overthrow. The enemy fled through the jungles, leaving behind them 5 guns, the Peishwa's much sunken treasure, three elephants, and 200 camels. This time Bajee Rao had a very narrow escape; for, though he began to run as soon as his people began to fight, a palanquin in which he had just been riding was taken, and was found to be perforated by a shot. More than 1000 of his Mahrattas remained dead on the field. They were knocked down by our horse artillery, or by our cavalry in their flight. They can scarcely have stood anywhere, for Colonel Adams's total loss was only two wounded. General Doveton was near enough to hear the firing of Adams's guns; but it was found neces-

sary to halt our troops in order to wait for supplies; and then mistakes were committed as to the direction in which the pursuit ought to be continued. Nor was it easy to avoid these errors, for the Peishwa's army split up into various detachments, and each took a route of its own. Two-thirds of his people quitted his standard altogether, and were only anxious to reach their homes as speedily as might be. Bajee Rao's whole object now was to get back to the north-east; but here he found his progress stopped by General Sir Thomas Hislop, who was returning from Malwa to the Deccan. On his way Sir Thomas had resorted to a measure of unusual severity. The fort of Talnere or Thalnr, situated on the north bank, and commanding a ford over the river Taptee, was one of the places ceded to the English by Holkar, under the late treaty. Sir Thomas had in his possession Holkar's own orders for the quiet surrender of the place; yet a fire was opened upon his troops from the fort. The Mahratta killadar, or commandant, was warned that if he continued to resist the order of his master he would be dealt with as a rebel: without heeding the message, the killadar continued to fire. Upon this Sir Thomas Hislop occupied the Pettah, or open town, and turned his artillery upon the fort. The gate of the fort was blown open by two six-pounders. The flank companies of the Royal Scots and of the Company's European regiment rushed in, and came to the second gate, which was found open. At the third gate they were met by the killadar, who came out by the wicket, and surrendered to Colonel Conway. The third and fourth gates were then opened, and the storming party advanced to the fifth, which led into the body of the place. This was found shut, but part of the garrison within demanded terms, and expressed their dissatisfaction at the gate's being closed. After a very short parley, in which they were summoned to surrender at discretion, the wicket gate was opened from within, and Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, Major Gordon, Captain MacGregor, and Lieutenants Chauvel and MacGregor, entered, and were followed by ten or twelve grenadiers. They

were scarcely within the wicket, when some wild Arabs, who formed part of the garrison, fell upon them with swords, spears, and knives. Major Gordon and Captain MacGregor were killed forthwith; Lieutenant-Colonel Murray was wounded in several places, cut down, and disabled; the two lieutenants were wounded and cut down also, and all the grenadiers were either killed or wounded. But the rest of our storming-party soon rushed through the wicket, drove off the murderous Arabs, and in the end slaughtered every man that was in the fort. Between Arabs, Patans, and Mahrattas, 300 men were sacrificed to the vengeance of our infuriated soldiery. On the next morning Sir Thomas Hislop had the killadar hanged on one of the bastions, on the twofold charge of rebellion and treachery. It was doubted whether the killadar had ordered, or was privy to, the onslaught of the Arabs; it was doubted (but we think unreasonably) whether the Arabs understood that the killadar had surrendered, and that the Mahrattas had agreed to submit—and the conduct of Sir Thomas Hislop, in ordering the execution of the killadar, was severely censured in several quarters; but the example was useful, and upon knowing that the commandant of Talnere had been executed, the killadars of the much stronger forts of Gaulnah, Chandore, and other places which Holkar had ceded, submitted upon summons, or as soon as they were shown Holkar's orders to admit the English.\*

Bajee Rao had been running hither and thither for more than six months, but his race was now well nigh finished. North, south, east, and west, his road was cut off, and forces were moving round him from the intermediate points of the compass. Finding himself so sorely pressed, he attempted again to pass into Malwa; but Sir John Malcolm, who was himself at Mow, a town or large cantonment in the Malwa province, had so stationed some forces under Lieutenant-Colonels Russel

and Corsellis as to render this movement impracticable. On the evening of the 25th of May Sir John Malcolm learned that a vakeel from the Peishwa had arrived at a place on the Nerbudda river, about 40 miles from Mow. Malcolm immediately moved towards that place, and took his troops with him. On the 27th of May he met the vakeel or ambassador, who assured him that the Peishwa was determined to come to him, and to trust to his friendship and generosity.\* Sir John, being informed of the plan of disposing of the Peishwa, which had been framed by the Marquess of Hastings and Mr. Elphinstone, stated the conditions, and sent the vakeel back to his master, who was occupying a good position on a hill. The Peishwa remained irresolute for several days, during which the division of General Doveton and other troops got close into his neighbourhood. At last, on the evening of the 1st of June, he came down to a village in the plain and met Sir John Malcolm. The Mahratta did not come alone, he had an escort 2500 strong, and he brought his family with him. Malcolm, who had come to the appointed place with only a thin attendance, repeated the conditions, and demanded the immediate surrender of Trimbukjee. Bajee Rao declared that it was not in his power to give up Trimbukjee, that Trimbukjee had an army and camp of his own, that he was stronger than he was. "Then," said Malcolm, "I will attack him forthwith." "Success attend you!" replied the Peishwa. The Mahratta prince further declared that he had been involved in a war without meaning it; that he was treated as an enemy by the English, who had supported his family for two generations; that he was now in a lamentable situation, but believed that he still had a real friend in Sir John Malcolm. He was told that he ought either to throw himself at once on the magnanimity of the British Government, or prepare for further resistance. "How can I resist now?" said the Mahratta; "I am surrounded." Malcolm replied that this

\* Colonel Valentine Blacker, *Memoir of the Operations of the British Army in India*, &c. Lieutenant Edward Lake, of Hon. East India Company's Madras Engineers, *Journals of the Sieges of the Madras Army*, &c. in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819, &c. &c., London, 1825.

\* Sir John Malcolm had previously received a letter from the Peishwa, full of compliments and outrageous flattery.

was quite true, but that still he might escape if he preferred becoming a free-booter and wanderer to accepting the liberal provisions which the English were ready to give him. Bajee Rao protested that Malcolm was his friend, his only friend, and that he would never leave him, but trust entirely to his good offices. Nevertheless the Peishwa, on breaking up the conference, asked for a little delay, and in retiring to the ghaut from which he had descended he took care to guard his rear and flanks with his resolute Arab infantry, and to show the muzzles of his guns over the rocks; and upon reaching his camp he sent trusty messengers to the camp of Trimbukjee to tell that favourite to beware of Malcolm. It was, however, utterly impossible for him to procrastinate very long, for he was completely hemmed in, and his supplies of provisions were failing. He informed Sir John Malcolm that he would go to his camp, and conclude the treaty as proposed to him on the morning of the 3rd of June. When that morning came, he tried one faint shuffle more. It was an inauspicious day, he had some religious ceremonies to perform; would not his dear friend Malcolm wait till to-morrow? Malcolm gave him to understand that he would not wait another hour; and this, with the not very distant firing of some English guns on one of his flanks or in his rear, had the effect of removing all further hesitation. At about 11 o'clock on the morning of the 3rd he came down to Sir John Malcolm's camp, and delivered himself up, with his family. Malcolm, like nearly all his distinguished Indian contemporaries, was a man of a large and generous heart: none knew better than he the demerits and the helplessness of the fallen enemy now before him, yet he agreed that the Peishwa's allowance should not be less than eight lacs of rupees per annum, and that a most liberal provision should be made for his courtiers, Brahmins, temples, &c. The supreme government at Calcutta thought that Sir John had granted too much; but as it was done, they confirmed the grants. Bajee Rao renounced for ever the dignity of Peishwa, or supreme chief of the Mahrattas, together with all his claims of sovereignty. If Trimbukjee had not

been secured in an English prison, the case might have been different; but as that turbulent felon was caught, after another hard run for it, the ex-Peishwa quietly resigned himself to a life of luxury and ease, spending his 80,000*l.* a year not in raising troops or exciting combinations against the Company, but in mere sensual indulgences. He was very anxious to have his residence fixed at Poonah; but to this the governor-general objected strongly, and for very evident reasons. To Benares, which was proposed to him as a suitable residence, he expressed a rooted aversion. He would have preferred Mutra, but as that was a frontier station it was refused. The village of Betoor or Brimatwar, on the Ganges, near Cawnpoor, was finally fixed upon for his residence. His progress through Rajpootana and the Duab to the place of his exile excited hardly any sensation among the people. When settled at Betoor, he bathed daily in the holy water of the Ganges, indulged in the highest living of a Brahmin, maintained three expensive sets of dancing-girls, and surrounded himself with low buffoons and sycophants.\* The rallying-point of the Mahratta confederacy was thus broken up, and if it was not quite so easy to change the character of the Mahratta people, and to introduce peaceful, industrious habits among them—if the unchanged character of that people prognosticated future troubles in India,—still their power of doing mischief was from this time vastly reduced. To the restored family of the Rajah of Satara, whose hereditary claim to the sovereignty of the country, and to the dignity of Peishwa, was held to be much better than that of Bajee Rao, only a very limited territory was allotted upon his yielding all claim or pretension to be Peishwa; a dignity wisely and for ever abrogated. The Satara dominions occupy a surface of about 11,000 square miles, being bounded on the west by the Western Ghaut mountains, on the south by the

\* Colonel Valentine Blacker. We learn from the Bombay Calendar and Almanac of 1843 that the ex-Peishwa Bajee Rao was still living and enjoying his 80,000*l.* per annum.

Warna and Krishna, on the north by the Neera and Beema rivers, and on the east by the frontier of the Nizam's dominions. The total net revenues amounted to 15,600,000 rupees; but out of this sum three lacs per annum were reserved for chiefs who had become subjects of the Company, and three lacs more were alienated. The management of the territories, and the superintendence of the Rajah of Satara's affairs, were assigned to Captain Grant, until the country should become tranquillized. Many of the hill-forts, which had been what the worst of our baronial castles were in the early part of the twelfth century (dens of thieves, cut-throats, and violators), were dismantled; and others, cleared of their occupants, were allowed to go to ruin. In 1821, when the young Rajah attained the age of 21, he was invested with the administration of his dominions, which were then tranquil and prosperous.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty with Sir John Malcolm, all that remained of the ex-Peishwa's army quietly broke up and dispersed. Not even Trimbukjee could keep a force together. This chief, knowing that the English would condemn him to imprisonment for life, fled with a few followers to the neighbourhood of Nassuck, a large town and place of pilgrimage on the Godavery, principally inhabited by Brahmins. The murderer had ever shown a preference for these holy places, and he probably hoped to escape notice among the crowds of Hindu pilgrims that were constantly repairing to the temples of Nassuck. Here, in fact, he remained concealed for some time, in spite of the active search making for him. At last, Captain Swanston, one of the heroes of Correguam, being detached by Mr. Elphinstone from a distant station, succeeded, after a march of 50 miles in 16 hours, in discovering the murderer's hiding-place, and in surrounding the house. When the gates were forced, Trimbukjee was reclining on a cot; he fled to the upper part of the house, and concealed himself under some straw. He was presently dragged from his cover: he offered no resistance, and was sent under a good guard to Tannah, the prison from which he had escaped through the

ingenious aid of the Mahratta groom and songster. After a short time he was carried to Calcutta, and put into the cage in Fort William which had previously been occupied by Vizier Ali, but he was very soon conveyed to the rock of Chunar, near Benares; and there, in the fortress to which Warren Hastings had fled on the Cheyte Sing insurrection, and around which were now assembled superabundant proofs of the empire and prosperity of the English,\* whose power he had attempted to overthrow; he was visited by Bishop Heber in the month of September, 1824. "On the top of the rock of Chunar," says our accomplished and still lamented prelate, "and within the rampart is a considerable space, covered with remarkably fine English hay-grass, several noble spreading trees, and some excellent houses for the officers. . . . Within this principal circle, and on a still higher point, are two inner fortifications, one containing the governor's house, the hospital, and the state prison, now inhabited by the celebrated Mahratta chieftain Trimbukjee, long the inveterate enemy of the British power, and the fomentor of all the troubles in Berar, Malwa, and the Deccan. He is confined with great strictness, having an European as well as a sepoy guard, and never being trusted out of the sight of the sentries. Even his bedchamber has three grated windows open into the verandah, which serves as guard-room. In other respects he is well treated, has two large and very airy apartments,† a small building fitted up as a

\* Bishop Heber tells us that the whole scene round Chunar is now entirely English. There is a tall Gothic tower, belonging to the Protestant mission church, built by Mr. Corrie in imitation of the old tower of his native village church. The Mohammedan mosques and the Hindu temples are scarcely discernible. Many good European habitations, looking like English villas, arrest the eye; even the native houses, with their white walls and red-tiled roofs, look exactly like those of a small English country town; and the castle, with its Union flag, is such as would be greatly admired, but not at all out of place, in any English seaport. "And," adds the Bishop, "much as I admire palm-trees, I felt glad that they were not very common in this neighbourhood, and that there were, in point of fact, none visible, to spoil the whole English character of the prospect."—*Indian Journal*.

† In other times he would not have been quite

pagoda, and a little garden shaded with a peepul-tree, which he has planted very prettily with balsams and other flowers. Four of his own servants are allowed to attend him, but they are always searched before they quit or return to the fort, and must be always there at night. He is a little, lively, irritable-looking man, dressed, when I saw him, in a dirty cotton mantle, with a broad red border, thrown carelessly over his head and shoulders. I was introduced to him by Colonel Alexander, and he received me courteously, observing that he himself was a Brahmin, and, in token of his brotherly regard, plucked some of his prettiest flowers for me. He then showed me his garden and pagoda, and after a few common-place expressions of the pleasure I felt in seeing so celebrated a warrior, which he answered by saying, with a laugh, he should have been glad to make my acquaintance *elsewhere*, I made my bow, and took leave. He has been now, I believe, five years in prison, and seems likely to remain there during life, or till the death of his patron and tool, Bajee Rao, may lessen his power of doing mischief. He has often offered to give security to any amount for his good behaviour, and to become a warmer friend to the Company than he has ever been their enemy; but his applications have been in vain. He attributes their failure to Mr. Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, who is, he says, "his best friend, and his worst enemy," the faithful trustee of his estate, treating his children with parental kindness, and interesting himself, in the first instance, to save his life, but resolutely fixed on keeping him in prison, and urging the supreme court to distrust all his protestations. His life must now be dismally monotonous and wearisome. Though a Brahmin of high caste, and so

so well lodged. In another part of the fortress of Chunar there is an old Hindu palace, and in front of this palace, in the pavement of the court, are seen four small round holes, just large enough for a man to pass through; and below is the state prison of former times.

"Well is it for Trimbukjee that his lot is thrown in better days! This is a horrible dungeon indeed, with neither light, air, nor access, except what these apertures supply to a space of forty feet square. It is now used as a cellar."—*Id.*

long a minister of state, he can neither read nor write, and his whole amusement consists in the ceremonies of his idolatry, his garden, and the gossip which his servants pick up for him in the town of Chunar. Avarice seems at present his ruling passion. He is a very severe inspector of his weekly accounts, and one day set the whole garrison in an uproar about some ghee (Indian butter), which he accused his khansaman of embezzling; in short, he seems less interested with the favourable reports which he from time to time receives of his family, than with the banking accounts by which they are accompanied. Much as he is said to deserve his fate, as a murderer, an extortioner, and a grossly perjured man, I hope I may be allowed to pity him.\*

Some other men besides Trimbukjee fell from their high estate, and were made captives by the English at the conclusion of these Mahratta wars. The Marquess of Hastings, and most people acquainted with the character and connexions of the Nagpoor Rajah, were of opinion that Mr. Jenkins, the resident, had acted unwisely in reseating him on the musnud, and leaving him a large part of his dominions; and events very speedily proved that Apa Saheb exceeded the ordinary faithlessness of Mahratta princes, and that no reliance could possibly be placed on any treaty with him. Instead of breaking off all connexion with the Peishwa, and assisting the English to put down the Pindarrees, he connected himself more closely than ever with that enemy and with those destructive marauders. As we have seen, he corresponded with Cheetoo, and encouraged him to persevere by promising him splendid rewards. He corresponded also with the Holkar Mahrattas, with the fierce Patans, with the fiercer Arabs, with every enemy of the British Government. He first attracted suspicion by issuing orders to carry his treasures to Chanda, and other fortresses, and by having constantly in motion a set of plotting, designing men, who, conjointly, wove a web of intrigue over all Berar and Malwa, and a good part of Hindustan. But some of these wily agents betrayed

\* Bishop Heber, *Indian Journal*.

their employer, revealing the secrets with which they were intrusted, and pointing out the keys or clues to the whole system of mystery and machination. Upon this, being well furnished with troops, the English resident seized the Rajah and his two chief ministers, brought them to the Nagpoor Residency, which had been so treacherously attacked and so bravely defended, and kept them there in close confinement. The two ministers, who hoped to save themselves by throwing all the guilt on their master, spontaneously confessed that a multiplicity of intrigues had been going on against the English, and that Apa Sahab had barbarously murdered his blind and helpless cousin and predecessor, the Rajah Pursajee. It was expected that, in pursuance of the plan which had been concerted, the Peishwa would make a desperate attempt to obtain possession of the strong city of Nagpoor. Therefore the number of our troops in that quarter could not with safety be reduced. But when the Peishwa had made his efforts to get to Nagpoor, and had failed in so doing, and when his great Mahratta army was annihilated or scattered, our Nagpoor resident selected a strong escort, and packed off Apa Sahab for the fortress of Allahabad, which was considered the best state prison that could be provided for him. Our escort was vigilant as well as strong, yet, through the exercise of some bribery, and of a vast deal of ingenuity on the part of his own servants and adherents, the ex-Rajah contrived to escape, on the 12th of May, 1818, as the troops of the escort were halting at Rychore. This gave rise to another hard and long hunt. Though closely followed by half a dozen parties, Apa Sahab got fairly off, and reached the Mahadeo hills, behind Poonah, where Trimbukjee had so long lurked. Here he was harboured and concealed by the wild Gonds, a singular race, with broad flat noses, thick lips, and very frequently curly hair, like the African Negroes. Most of the tribes inhabiting the hills were absolute savages; but a large community, more advanced in civilization, had submitted to the Government of a Rajah or chief, named Chyn Shah. This chief joined heart and hand with Apa

Sahab; and a new plan of operations was concerted between them. At the close of the rainy season of this eventful year, 1818, Apa Sahab collected round his standard some of the unemployed Mahratta troopers and wild Arabs, who had served in the Peishwa's army until it was broken up; and with these bands, and the wild Gonds of the hills, he began to commit depredations in all directions, occasionally extending his incursions as far as the British territories on the Nerbudda. No country could be better adapted for the carrying on of a desultory warfare than the one he had chosen for his asylum, for the whole of it was a succession of mountains, ravines, rivers, and jungles. Some of the Arabs were pursued by Captain Sparkes with only 107 sepoy. Finding that they were far more numerous than they had been led to expect, that the Arabs and those with them formed a host of cavalry and infantry, Captain Sparkes took up the first position that presented itself. He maintained the post for some hours, until he had lost half his men and consumed nearly all his powder. He then displayed a white flag. The signal was disregarded; it is vain to hope truce or quarter from such enemies as those; in such situations the brave man must make up his mind to die with his sword in his hand. Sparkes was shot dead in leading a charge, or in attempting to cut a way through the enemy, and every man of his detachment was literally cut to pieces by the Arabs, with the exception of nine who had been left in the rear, in charge of the baggage. In the strong country east of Nagpoor, a powerful chief openly declared for the ex-Rajah, and other jungle chiefs followed this example; but they were all reduced to obedience and punished by a detachment under Major Wilson. In the Bytool valley the Arabs levied contributions in the name of Apa Sahab, and butchered another party of our sepoys. The name of the ex-Rajah of Nagpoor was waxing almost as terrible as that of Trimbukjee. An enormous reward (a lac of rupees in hand, and ten thousand rupees a year in land) was offered for his apprehension; and, as no effects proceeded from the tempting offer, most probably because it could not

be sufficiently published in Apa Sahab's camp, or in the wild regions which he frequented, Lieutenant-Colonel Adams was detached against him, in some force, at the close of the year. While Colonel Adams was establishing stations of cavalry and infantry round the country of Chyn Shah, that chief with two or three thousand of his Gonds made a bold attempt to recover for Apa Sahab some of the forts in Nagpoor; but these attempts were frustrated, and both Chyn Shah and the fugitive Rajah were obliged to seek refuge in the mountains, and to fly from place to place, as the Peishwa had been obliged to do. In the month of February, 1819, Colonel Adams entered the mountains from the Nerbudda valley, with three separate columns; and other divisions came up to co-operate with him. Upon this Apa Sahab, with whom at this moment was the Pindarree Cheetoo, fled from the hill to Aseerghur, the killadar of which, Jeswunt Rao Lar, was his friend, the friend (in former days) of the Pindarrees, and (in all days) the irreconcilable enemy of the English. In the course of a very few days Aseerghur was invested by British and native troops; fresh divisions came up to join in the siege, and such an accumulation of ordnance and other means took place as had not been witnessed in these Indian wars, except at the siege of Hatrass. Twenty-two 18-pounders, two 24-pounders, seven 12-pounders, nineteen howitzers, and fifteen mortars, were gathered round Aseerghur, which stands on a scarped hill, and is exceedingly strong by art as well as by nature. It had always been considered a place of the greatest importance, as it commanded one of the great passes of the Deccan into Hindustan. In a straight line Aseerghur was not more than sixteen miles to the north of the city of Boorhampoor. The natural strength which it received from the precipitous rock had been increased by a thick and lofty rampart of masonry, built on the very summit of the rock, and by large cavaliers mounting enormous guns, which commanded the country around in every direction. One of these guns was styled "the Lord of the Boorhampoor Bazaar," the natives

firmly believing that it could reach that city, though fourteen miles off. This gun was of iron, and carried a 384-pound ball. The general height of the position above the plain was 750 feet. Counting the walls of the Pettah, or town which lay in a hollow, there were three enclosures besides the ramparts on the top of the rock. The killadar, or commandant, knew that *we* had Scindiah's order for his surrender, but *he* had at the same time Scindiah's order to hold out to the utmost. On the 17th of March the Pettah or town was carried by Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser. The enemy made one or two desperate sallies from the fortress, and killed Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser; but before daylight of the 21st they were entirely driven out of the lower fort. The explosion of the magazine of one of our breaching batteries, a magazine containing 130 barrels of powder, destroyed an entire company of our sepoys, and created some confusion, during which another sally was made by the besieged. But they were driven back, and our battery renewed its fire in a very short space of time. Other batteries were erected, and began to play on the upper fort. On the 5th of April one of the angles of the upper fort, flanking a ravine, was brought down, and with it came thundering and crashing over the face of the rock one of the enormous pieces of Indian ordnance. Our storming parties were ready to act under the eyes of General Doveton and Sir John Malcolm, when, on the 7th of April, Jeswunt Rao Lar, who had consumed nearly all his gunpowder, and lost his chief artillery officer, and who possibly feared the fate of the hanged killadar of Talnere, begged a parley, and agreed to surrender at discretion. In the conference he told Sir John Malcolm that his master Scindiah would be very angry with him. "He has just cause," said Malcolm. "Yes," continued the killadar, "he will reproach me with having fought so badly with so fine a fort. He will say I ought to have died!" "But," said Malcolm, "have you not an order from your master to evacuate the fort?" The killadar replied, "It may be the usage amongst Europeans, but with us Mahrattas, forts like that are not given up upon orders!"

A garrison of 1200 men, chiefly Arab mercenaries, piled their arms before Sir John Malcolm's division. Few of the besieged had fallen during the siege,\* for the rock and the upper fort towered so high above our batteries that only shells could reach them with any effect. The total loss of the besiegers was one officer, nine Europeans, and thirty-seven sepoy killed; ten officers, seventy-three Europeans, and one hundred and eighty-one natives wounded. At first the flag of Scindiah was hoisted over the captured and battered walls of Aseerghur, which stands in the midst of that Mahratta's territory; but as it was discovered that Scindiah had ordered the killadar to shelter Apa Saheb and resist the English to the utmost, the foul Mahratta rag was pulled down, and our union-flag hoisted in its stead. The fortress, with a small surrounding tract of jungle, productive of little else than tigers and wolves, has been retained by the Company ever since.† The possession of Aseerghur, among other advantages, enabled the Company's troops to restrain the excesses of the Bheel tribes who inhabited the neighbouring range of hills. The place was also advantageously situated as a dépôt. It had been taken from the Mahrattas during the brilliant campaigns of Wellesley and Lake, but had been very unwisely restored to Scindiah.

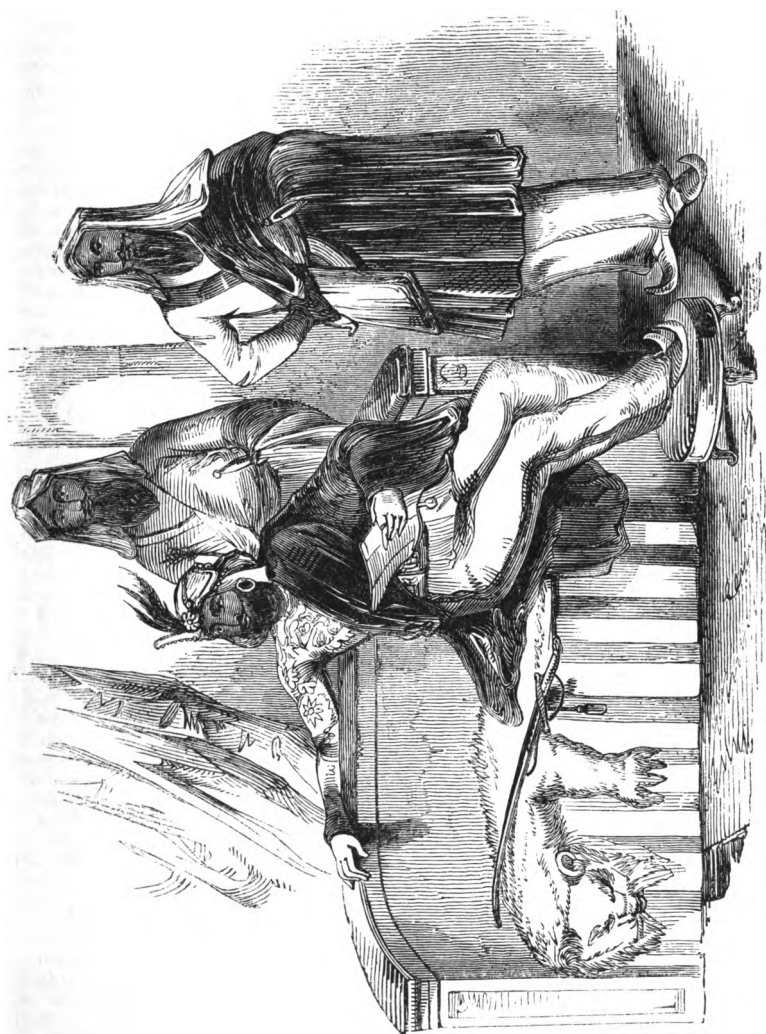
On taking possession of the fortress, Sir John Malcolm confidently expected to find Apa Saheb in some part of it; but that ex-Rajah had effected his escape either during the siege, or before the place was invested: he, or those who aided him, having had a genius for escapes. Months passed before it could be known what he was doing, or whether he had gone. In the interim the Gonds were severely chastised; several of their chiefs were killed, and Chyn Shah himself was

seized, deposed, and carried off prisoner to the Company's fortress at Chanda, where he died of the cholera morbus, in 1820. Parts of his territories were assumed by the Company as the best means of protecting their country on the Nerbudda. Some few forts and positions were permanently occupied, and the Company's sepoys levied the pilgrim tax at the Mahadeo temple, and in the passes which lead to it. This tax or toll had formerly been divided among many Gond chiefs, who raised it or lowered it according to circumstances, or according to their own strength or relative weakness of the pilgrims; but a regular rate was now fixed, and the money collected was divided among the chiefs by the English collectors. Even in this poor, hungry, savage district, a rapid improvement followed the Company's occupation: the Gonds left off thieving and took to honest labour. After many false reports had been spread about his whereabouts, accurate intelligence was received of Apa Saheb's having fled to Lahore, to seek refuge with Runjeet Sing. He had arrived in that country disguised as a fakir, or holy mendicant and stroller. The Seik chieftain would not receive him publicly at his durbar, lest such conduct should give offence to the English; but he ordered that a place of concealment, with the bare means of subsistence, should be furnished to the once powerful, but now dispossessed Rajah of Nagpoor. In the meanwhile the governor-general had declared Apa Saheb dethroned, and had proclaimed as his successor the son of a daughter of the Rajah Ragojee, who died in 1816, and appointed the widow of Rajah Pursajee, whom Apa Saheb had murdered, to be regent for the minor. Every department of government was, however, placed under the direct control of British officers; and the whole country of Nagpoor, with its resources, was virtually annexed to the Company's dominions.

The capture of Aseerghur was the last operation of the Pindarree and Mahratta war; a war which had witnessed an unprecedented number of sieges, an unprecedented number and complexity of movements, and some of the most remark-

\* Only forty-three killed and ninety-five wounded.

† Colonel Valentine Blacker, *Memoir of the Operations of the British Army in India during the Mahratta War of 1817, 1818, and 1819*, &c. &c. Lieutenant Lake, *Madras Engineers, Journals of the Sieges of the Madras Army*, &c. &c. H. T. Prinsep.



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able forced marches that were ever made in any country. The sieges were too remarkable to be passed over without notice. The reserve division alone performed three sieges—those of Singhur, Belgaum, and Sholapoor. Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall's detachment and Lieutenant-Colonel Adams's division reduced the Peishwa's numerous and strong fortresses in Candeish. The most famed of these places were Radjeir, Trimbuk, Mallegaum, and Chanda, which were all in the south of Candeish—a curious country abounding in detached hills, and every hill being crowned by some defensive work. Let the reader imagine a series of hills rising very abruptly from 600 to 1100 feet, and connected with each other, and with the range of which they form part, only by very low and narrow necks of land: let him still further imagine occasional bluff rocks, perfectly perpendicular, and varying in height from 80 to 100 feet, rising from the summits of these abrupt hills—and then he will have some notion of the sites of these Candeish hill-forts. The range is primitive; the bluff rocks rising from it are basaltic, and so beautifully and regularly scarped as to have the appearance of being formed by the chisel; and the number of them, which is much greater than could be required for the defence of the country, is the only fact which makes the supposition of their having been formed by art incredible; for the excavation of the ditches at Dowletabad, out of the same species of granite rock, is a proof of the amazing perseverance of the old natives of India, and of the difficulties it could surmount. Such of these Candeish hills as contain water on their summits had been fortified by the natives in the most remote period of antiquity, there being no record of their first occupation. The space contained within the rocky scarp constituted the interior of the fort. There was seldom much work raised on them, or indeed anything done further than to cut flights of steps out of the solid rock, and to construct a number of gateways over them; but great ingenuity had been exerted to render these as intricate as possible. Nothing was wanted but a determined garrison to render such positions

perfectly impregnable. "Nature intended these hills for other men and other deeds. . . . It was from these very hills that Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta power, first endeavoured to break the iron bonds in which his countrymen were held by Aurunzebe. It was amongst these hills that his enterprises were planned, and from them that his 'living cloud of war' was poured forth. It was here that he laid the foundation of that power which, in after-times, retaliated upon the fallen emperor of Delhi the injuries which the intolerant spirit of that prince's ancestors had inflicted on the Hindu world; and here the last Mahratta sovereign might have made an effectual struggle for independence: but the spirit was wanting with which the great founder of the tribe had armed his people for conquest. THIRTY hill-fortresses, each of which might have defied the whole Anglo-Indian army, fell in the course of a few weeks; and this vast Mahratta empire, which had overshadowed the East, and before which the star of the Mogul had become pale, was annihilated."\* Some of these hill-fortresses, however, made a stout resistance, being garrisoned by Arab mercenaries, who were always formidable adversaries when fighting under cover. These Arabs were very expert marksmen with their matchlocks, and they picked off our men as they exposed themselves in the trenches, or as they advanced to the assault. Owing to the defects in our engineering department, the trenches were seldom well made, or sufficient to afford protection to those who were posted in them. At Malligaum the Arabs certainly made a very gallant defence; and their humane consideration in allowing the British to carry off their dead and wounded, and their rare respect for flags of truce, did them no less honour. All this was properly appreciated by their conquerors. After these Arabs at Malligaum had laid down their arms in front of our troops, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall restored to them their side-arms; and at this act

\* Edward Lake, Lieutenant of Madras Engineers. 'Journals of the Sieges of the Madras Army.'

of kindness and honour, those bearded, rugged-hearted men were so much touched that they all wept.\* Thus even the most ferocious of all the combatants in India could be softened and humanized by generous and humane conduct. Cruelty and retaliation would only have rendered them the more cruel.

We have said that in several of the sieges and assaults of places we experienced either repulses or unnecessary sacrifices of life; and that this was owing to the deficiencies of our engineer and artillery departments. During the Spanish campaigns of the Duke of Wellington, the inefficiency of a body of good scientific officers when unassisted by men trained to siege duty, was most fully displayed; and it was not until the close of that eventful war, and in consequence of the earnest and frequent representations of the Duke, that a corps was raised, and an establishment formed for their instruction, under the superintendence of one of the ablest and most distinguished officers in that very distinguished body the Royal Engineers.† On the whole, the history of our sieges in the Peninsular War is but a sad and humiliating chapter in our military annals. Now, in consequence of the excellent system pursued at Chatham, every man is made practically acquainted with the nature of his duties before he is sent abroad; and the corps of Royal Sappers and Miners is inferior to none of the older established ones of the same description, in the French, the Austrian, the Prussian, or any other service. But our Indian armies in the days of the Marquess of Hastings had no sappers and miners at all. Sir Thomas Hislop, the commander-in-chief of the army of the Deccan, had only thirty European and fifty native pioneers; and these and some few Madras pioneers were the only men at the immediate disposal of the engineers who had to direct so many sieges! So deficient was the number of our artillery officers that there never were enough employed in the same siege to afford a relief. At the siege of Aseerghur, in particular, the officers of the

Madras artillery actually lived in the batteries. This incessant service was so severe, that several of our officers died of sheer fatigue, or were worn out and invalided.

After the siege of Aseerghur the armies of the three presidencies returned to their several stations and cantonments in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; and the regions which had been crossed and recrossed, and traversed in all directions by immense hosts of combatants, by British and native troops, Peishwa Mahrattas, Holkar Mahrattas, Nagpoor Mahrattas, Pindarrees, Patans, Arabs, Gonds, and others, became quiet as a bay of the ocean after a storm; quieter and happier than they had been for many ages. In the territories assumed by the Company, or taken under its immediate protection, able men were left by the Marquess of Hastings to improve this tranquillity, to establish permanently the reign of peace and law, and to better the condition of all the native inhabitants. For more than thirty preceding years, the province of Malwa, and the whole of Central India had been oppressed, pillaged, and laid waste by the Pindarrees, by the Mahrattas of all tribes, by the Rajpoot princes, and by the Puaras: these different powers acted sometimes in combination, but more frequently in opposition to one another: they were all equally cruel and rapacious in the moment of success and conquest, and about equally incapable of giving that stability to their conquests which would have given relief to the poor oppressed people, whose greatest calamity was the frequent change of masters. To Sir John Malcolm, who had assisted so potentially in subduing the sanguinary anacharchs, and expelling the Pindarrees, was assigned the equally difficult duty of restoring order and repairing the frightful mischiefs which had been committed in so long a series of years. He was appointed by the Marquess of Hastings to the military and political command of Malwa, which had perhaps suffered more than any other part of India. Hundreds upon hundreds of its villages were deserted and roofless; the ferocious tigers of the jungles literally usurped the country, and fought with the returning inhabitants for their

\* Lake, Journal of Sieges, &c.

† Id. Id., and Wellington Dispatches.

fields. In the state of Holkar alone, of 3701 villages, only 2038 were inhabited; 1663 were "without lamp"—were wholly deserted. Under the wise rule established by Malcolm, more than two-thirds of these deserted villages were restored and repopled before the end of 1820; and in less than five years from the time our army first occupied the country, Sir John could boast with an honourable pride, and with perfect correctness, that Malwa and the rest of Central India were tranquil and contented, and rapidly advancing in population and prosperity. "It may be asserted that history affords few examples where a change in the political condition of a country has been attended with such an aggregate of increased happiness to its inhabitants, as that which was effected within four years in Central India; and it is pleasing to think that, with the exception of suppressing a few Bheel robbers,\* peace was restored, and has hitherto been maintained, without one musket being fired." . . . † Accustomed to the extremities of military violence, the inhabitants of the country, on the English first entering, betrayed feelings of doubt and alarm. These were by some mistaken for dislike to our supremacy; but they arose only out of fear of insult or outrage, and they were speedily removed by the strict discipline preserved by our troops, whether stationary or marching. In a very short time, wherever troops or individuals moved

they were received with cordiality, as the friends and protectors of the people. To organize the country honourable and intelligent British officers were sent into every part of it. "The result has been fortunate beyond anticipation. These agents, within their respective circles, have not only, by their direct intercourse with all classes, established great influence, but spread a knowledge of our character and intentions, which has increased respect and confidence; and they have in almost all cases succeeded, by the arbitration of differences, and the settlement of local disputes, in *preserving the peace of the country without troops*. The most exact observance of certain principles is required from these officers, and their line is very carefully and distinctly prescribed. The object has been to escape every interference with the internal administration of the country, beyond what the preservation of the public peace demanded."\* In other parts of India the change was equally beneficial—the blessings derived from the conquest of the Mahrattas and the extirpation of the Pindarrees were equally apparent. As Bishop Heber was travelling through the country in 1824, he overheard a conversation among some villagers, who were comparing the present peaceable times with those in which "Ameer Khan and Bappoo Scindiah came up with their horsemen and spoiled all the land, and smote all the people, and burned the cities through Mewar and Marwar, till thou comest unto the salt wilderness." He also heard them say that corn had been gradually getting cheaper, and notwithstanding a late unfavourable season, was still not so dear as it used to be in the years of trouble. The kind and warm-hearted prelate adds, "When such have been the effects of British supremacy, who will refuse to pray for the continuance of our Empire?" †

\* The Bheels, inhabiting the hilly countries, had all been robbers and cattle-lifters time out of mind. We believe they had never been known as anything else, since the Rajpoots first conquered their country and drove them to the hills, as the Sassenach drove the Gael. "The first measure I took for the reform of the Bheels," says Sir John Malcolm, "was to raise a small corps commanded by their own chiefs; and before they had been in the service one month I placed them as a guard over treasure, which had a surprising effect, both in raising them in their own minds, and in those of the other parts of the community. I found an equally good impression was produced by my taking, for a period, as my constant attendants, some of the most desperate of the plundering chiefs west of the Chumbul."

—*Memoir of Central India.*

† *Id.*, *id.*

\* *Memoir of Central India.*

† *Indian Journal.* See also Sir John Malcolm's carefully drawn up Instructions to his Officers in Malwa.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS CONCLUDED.

THE reputation of the British in India has never stood higher than at the conclusion of the Pindarree and Mahratta war; and during the four remaining years of Lord Hastings's government the face of Central India was changed to an extent which would have appeared almost incredible to any one who had not contemplated upon the spot the rapid progress of the change, and studied the causes by which it was produced. No war had begun in a higher motive, or had ended in a more positive good to mankind. "The campaign which had just terminated," says Malcolm, "was not an attack upon a state, or upon a body of men, but upon a system. It was order contending against anarchy; and the first triumph was so complete, that there ceased, almost from the moment, to be any who cherished hopes of the contest being either prolonged or revived: the victory gained was slight, comparatively speaking, over armies, to what it was over mind. The universal distress, which a series of revolutions must ever generate, had gone its circle, and reached all ranks and classes. The most barbarous of those who subsisted on plunder had found that a condition of continued uncertainty and alarm could not be one of enjoyment. The princes, chiefs, and inhabitants of the country had neither national feelings, confidence in each other, nor any one principle of union. When, therefore, the English Government, too strong to be resisted, proclaimed every district to be the right of its proprietor, on condition of his proving himself the friend of peace and good order; and when men found that the choice between such a course, and that of continuing the promoters of anarchy, was an option between its friendship or hostility, all concurred in sub-

mission. There appeared in a few a difficulty to conquer habits, but in none a spirit of opposition. The desolated state of the country was favourable to the change, for it presented an ample field for the revival of industry in peaceful occupations; but the paramount influence which the results of the war gave to the British Government over several of the native states, was the principal cause of that peace and prosperity which ensued. Our officers were enabled to give shape and direction to the efforts of these states, which became an example to others; and a tone of improvement was given to every province of Central India."

The inhabitants of the wild provinces subject to Scindiah started into prosperity as soon as his numerous, restless, and marauding army was broken up. And Scindiah himself was as great a gainer as his subjects; for this army, and the insolent rapacious chieftains who raised and commanded it, in reality oppressed him as well as the people, and rarely left him at liberty to use his own judgment, or act according to his own will. The most dangerous of these chieftains were now destroyed; and, aided by the presence of English armies, by the universal discouragement which had fallen upon the Mahrattas, and by the confirmed conviction that their old trade of war had become an unprofitable trade, Scindiah was enabled to disband immense corps commanded by insubordinate chiefs, and to reduce his army to 13,000 regular infantry, and 9,000 horse. The saving in actual expenditure, from reductions alone, was estimated at twenty lacs of rupees per annum. At the same time the revenues were raised forty per cent. by

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\* Memoir of Central India.

the restoration of tranquillity and order. Even the disbanded soldiers returned to their native districts, and to their former occupation, as cultivators of the soil. The lamp had been altogether extinguished in only a few villages in Scindiah's dominions, but many of these villages had been reduced to four or five families. The voids were rapidly filled up. In 1817 there was not one district belonging to Scindiah that was not more or less in a disturbed state; in 1821 there existed not one enemy to the public peace in any of these districts. All the districts which had been wrested from this chief by the Pindarrees were restored to him: the loss of the fortress of Aseerghur was nearly all he lost by the war. In the dominions of Holkar, where the anarchy and devastation had been greater, the change to good was the more striking. Our victory at Maheidpoor had scattered for ever the overgrown army of this state; those battalions were never re-embodied, and 200 men to guard the palace were all the infantry left in the service of this Maharratta dynasty. Three thousand obedient cavalry were retained for the police of the country, together with a small park of artillery. In less than four years the revenues of the state were nearly quadrupled; and the expenses of collection were brought down from forty to fifteen per cent. The rapid restoration of the roofless and deserted villages has been mentioned. The increase of population in the towns was surprising. Within the short space of three years, Indore, a city in the province of Malwa, the capital of the Holkar family, was changed from a desolate town to a flourishing capital, containing eighty or a hundred thousand inhabitants; for not only did those families return which had fled in the troublous times, but the inhabitants of other towns and districts migrated in large numbers, and settled in Indore. The young prince, who was secured on the musnad by British power, abandoned the custom of his predecessors, of always residing in camp, and fixed his residence in this thriving capital. Other states and territories participated in these advantages. The Grasseas, the Sondwarrees, the Gonds, as well as the Bheels and other hereditary and pro-

fessional robbers, were rapidly suppressed. When the British armies first entered Central India, and even in 1818, the country along the banks of the Nerbudda, and in the Vindhya mountains, which stretch from the province of Bahar to Cape Comorin, was not safe for even troops to pass; and till the end of the same year, when a British cantonment was established at Mow, the robbers continued their depredations. All these bands were repressed, and the most vicious and depraved among them were gradually made sensible of the blessings attending a better course of life. From the territories of Bopaul to those of Guzerat, along the right bank of the Nerbudda, and from Hindia to the country of Burwannee, on the left bank of that river, a spirit of industry and improvement was introduced. New villages rose everywhere, and forests which had long been deemed impenetrable were fast cleared, on account of the profit derived from the timber required to rebuild villages, towns, cities. Between Jaum and Mandoo the Bheels began to cultivate every spot, and their hamlets rose with a rapidity that promised an early and complete change in the whole face of that district, and in the manners of its inhabitants.\* Bishop Heber thought that he discovered a hankering among the "hill people" after their old modes of life, and that there were many of the Bheels who still sighed after their late anarchy, and exclaimed, amid the comforts of a peaceable government,

"Give us our wildness and our woods,  
Our huts and caves again."

An English party travelling from Mow observed some Bheels looking earnestly at a large drove of bullocks which were drinking at a ford. Upon being asked whether those oxen belonged to him, one of the Bheels replied, "No; but a good part of them would have been ours by this time, if it were not for you English, who will let nobody thrive but yourselves!"† But in proportion as an efficient police was established, and roads (those grand means of civilization) were opened through the country, the wild

\* Malcolm, Memoir of Central India.

† Indian Journal.

mountain Bheels were kept in check, and gradually brought within the pale of law and civilized life. But for the advance of British armies into Central India, these very Bheels would soon have attracted notice as a substantive power, for they had already acquired an ascendancy over several petty native states, and neither Mahrattas nor Patans, neither Arabs nor any other kind of force at the disposal of the native potentates of Central India would have ventured to attack them in their mountains, where no booty was to be expected, where nothing was to be got but hard blows.

Sir John Malcolm completely succeeded in clearing the country of Arabs and Meckranees, a desperate set of adventurers from Meckran, in Persia, who, in many instances, had made themselves perfectly independent of the native Indian chiefs whom they pretended to serve; and all the petty chieftains were warned that to retain any of these desperadoes as mercenaries, or to attempt to bring any of them back to the country, would be considered as equivalent to a declaration of hostility against the British Government. All other classes of mercenaries, or of ruffians, who looked only to sword and spear for their support, were dismissed. Never was the reign of terror and anarchy more complete than in 1817. No contrast can be greater than what was presented in 1821. The natives were happier then than afterwards; for the recollection of the dangers and miseries they had recently endured increased the enjoyment of present security and good government. "Take it all in all," continues Malcolm, speaking of the period of 1821, "there never was a country where the industrious classes of the population were better pleased with their condition than they now are; nor is this feeling much checked by the moody turbulence of the military classes, who have been deprived of their occupation. Almost all those who were actually natives of the country have been, in one way or other, considered; while a great proportion of the foreign mercenaries, who constituted the chief part of the disbanded armies, have been compelled to leave it; nor will these mercenaries ever return to disturb

its peace, while the measures and principles by which the salutary change has been effected are preserved and supported."\*

At Poonah, and generally in the dominions of the ex-Peishwa, Bajee Rao, changes and reforms equally salutary were introduced, principally through the management of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, who had the genius of a true legislator, and all the generous sympathies of a philanthropist. By the conquest of the Poonah territory, the British dominion and possessions were extended along the western coast from the northern boundary of the small province of Goa to the mouths of the Taptee; and inland to the long-established western frontier of the Nizam, from the junction of the Wurdah and Toombudra to the junction of the Wagoor and Taptee. Such places in Candeish belonging to the Holkar Mahrattas as fell within these bounds were ceded to the British by the treaty of Mundissoor, which Sir John Malcolm had concluded after the splendid victory at Maheidpoor. Some other territories south of the Santpoora range of hills were also yielded. By exchanges with the Guicowar Rajah, and by arrangements with some minor princes, a continuous, uninterrupted dominion was obtained from Bombay to Calcutta and from Madras to Bombay. The former Mahratta war having been attended with the similar advantage of continuous dominion between Madras and Calcutta, the communication between the three presidencies might now be considered as complete.† Mr. Elphinstone continued as Commissioner at Poonah until 1819, when he became Governor of Bombay.‡ This elevation,

\* Memoir of Central India.

† Colonel Valentine Blacker.

‡ The office of Governor of Bombay having become vacant by the resignation of Sir Evan Nepean, Mr. Canning, as President of the Board of Control, intimated to the Court of Directors his readiness to confirm the selection of one of those eminent servants of the Company who had so highly distinguished themselves. The Directors appreciated this mark of confidence, and made choice of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was nominated Governor of Bombay in October, 1818.—*Auber*, 'Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.'

however, did not deprive Poonah and the ceded districts in that direction of his valuable services, for those new possessions were wisely annexed to the Bombay presidency, to the territories of which they are adjacent. On quitting Poonah Mr. Elphinstone addressed to the supreme government at Calcutta a comprehensive report on the affairs of that country, reciting what had been done, and what there remained to do; contrasting the present condition of the native inhabitants under the rule of the Company with their condition under the Peishwa, and in a most enlightened and most generous spirit urging the supreme government to persevere in the good work which had been begun.\* This report is one of the many admirable state papers which ought to be diligently perused by every European servant of the Company, whether military or civil. No servant of that Company, no governor or governor-general, that had yet visited the shores of India was so well qualified as Mr. Elphinstone to govern the natives, or so full of truly liberal and lofty principles of government. He went to India a stripling, and he never once quitted the country (except to go into Afghanistan) for the long space of thirty years, during the whole of which time he had been constantly and successfully employed, either in public business or in adding to his store of knowledge. Nor was there, we believe, in all that time a single individual that approached him, native or European, but was impressed with a sense of his ability, genius, humanity, generosity, and most manly honesty and urbanity.† May his shining

\* See 'Report on the Territories conquered from the Peishwa, by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone.'

† To bestow eulogiums on a contemporary—and long may Mr. Elphinstone live to deserve them and to disregard them—is apt to excite invidious remarks. But Bishop Heber, who knew Mr. Elphinstone better than we do, and who was more capable of estimating his merits, is no longer a living contemporary, and may be quoted on this point. The following passages were written in his Journal when the bishop was taking leave of Bombay and of its noble governor, but they were not published until after the grave had closed on the writer of them.

"I have enjoyed, in the unremitting kindness, the splendid hospitality, and agreeable conversa-

example tend to destroy all that remains of two monstrous and vulgarizing fallacies :

tion of Mr. Elphinstone, the greatest pleasure of the kind which I have ever enjoyed either in India or in Europe.

"Mr. Elphinstone is, in every respect, an extraordinary man, possessing great activity of body and mind, remarkable talent for and application to public business, a love of literature, and a degree of almost universal information, such as I have met with in no other person similarly situated, and manners and conversation of the most amiable and interesting character. While he has seen more of India and the adjoining countries than any man now living, and has been engaged in active political, and sometimes military, duties since the age of eighteen, he has found time not only to cultivate the languages of Hindostan and Persia, but to preserve and extend his acquaintance with the Greek and Latin classics, with the French and Italian, with all the elder and more distinguished English writers, and with the current and popular literature of the day, both in poetry, history, politics, and political economy. With these remarkable accomplishments, and notwithstanding a temperance amounting to rigid abstinence, he is fond of society; and it is a common subject of surprise with his friends at what hours of the day or night he finds time for the acquisition of knowledge. His policy, so far as India is concerned, appeared to me particularly wise and liberal; and he is evidently attached to, and thinks well of, the country and its inhabitants. His public measures, in their general tendency, evince a steady wish to improve their present condition. No government in India pays so much attention to schools and public institutions for education. In none are the taxes lighter; and in the administration of justice to the natives in their own languages, in the establishment of Panchaets, in the degree in which he employs the natives in official situations, and the countenance and familiarity which he extends to all the natives of rank who approach him, he seems to have reduced to practice almost all the reforms which had struck me as most required in the systems of government pursued in those provinces of our Eastern empire which I had previously visited. His popularity (though to such a feeling there may be individual exceptions) appears little less remarkable than his talents and acquisitions; and I was struck by the remark I once heard, that 'all other public men had their enemies and their friends, their admirers and their aspersers, but that of Mr. Elphinstone everybody spoke highly.' Of his munificence—for his liberality amounts to this—I had heard much, and knew some instances myself.

"With regard to the free press, I was curious to know the motives or apprehensions which induced Mr. Elphinstone to be so decidedly opposed to it in this country. In discussing this topic he was always open and candid, acknowledged that the dangers ascribed to a free press in India had been exaggerated; but spoke of the exceeding inconvenience, and even danger, which arose from the disunion and dissension which political discussion produced among the European officers at

1. That a Governor must have the manners of a pasha, or that a man high in office must support his dignity with coldness, reserve, and haughtiness. 2. That the love and pursuit of literature are incompatible with the spirit and proper conduct of business. Warren Hastings did not live to be gladdened by the intelligence of these happy results, dying in the month of August, 1818, before the Mahratta and Pindarree war was quite finished; but he lived long enough to know the bold and successful course the Marquess of Hastings was pursuing, and to rejoice in the brightening prospect that was opening throughout India. Down to the very last moments of his life, the recluse of Daylesford busily occupied his mind with these subjects, and the destinies of the empire which he had so long governed and in part created; and the nearest of his friends, who best knew what would please the octogenarian, continued to talk or correspond with him about the great events that were taking place in Hindustan almost to the very day of his death. These friends seem to have felt that nothing pleased him better than hearty praises of the conduct of the Marquess of Hastings.\*

the different stations; the embarrassment occasioned to government by the exposure and canvass of all their measures by the *Lentuli* and *Græchi* of a newspaper; and his preference of decided and vigorous to half measures, where any restrictive measures at all were necessary. I confess that his opinion and experience are the strongest presumptions which I have yet met with in favour of the censorship. . . . Mr. Elphinstone is one of the ablest and most amiable men I ever met with."—*Indian Journal*.

\* We have before us an unpublished letter written from the India House, Leadenhall Street, by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, and dated the 15th of July, 1818, only a month and eight days before Warren Hastings's death. Halhed's eccentricities, and his temporary monomania about Brothers, the prophet, had not affected his genius or his learning, or his kindness of heart. In this letter he says, and we think very touchingly and beautifully:—

"The immoderate heat of the present season affects me with feelings which I can compare to nothing but the overpowering influence of the tropical sun when I landed in Calcutta, in July, 1784—four and thirty years ago! You were then at Lucknow, occupied on the most important state-concerns, to which the present prosperity of the Company's empire owes its principal foundation; and your country—however un-

The Marquess of Hastings had no more saved money by being governor-general

grateful its executive government may have proved—testifies, in the universal respect, esteem, and admiration of all its wisest and worthiest members, its full conviction in the sagacity of your measures, and its gratitude for the everlasting obligations you have conferred on it. Then, as now, I looked towards you, from the distance at which I was placed, as the Cynosure of all my worldly wishes; you then—almost unsolicited—showed down on my unworthy head the blessing of a comfortable independence—the summit of all my hopes and desires; you now, by the magnanimity of your self-resignation, and the high example of a most dignified retirement, under a conscious superiority to the ordinary objects of human ambition—rank and power, teach me from afar to bear disappointments with patience, and to look within for that peace of mind and unrepining indifference to external things which the world cannot give, and which is worth incomparably more than all it has to bestow. So far, therefore, you and I, my dear Sir, stand precisely in the same comparative relation to each other, as when I had all the fervour of youth, and you not a symptom of age but what arose from unusual powers of intellect matured by uncommon opportunities of experience. Here we still are, with the beloved partners of our existence—the dear and sympathetic sharers of all our vicissitudes, still, thank God! both in the inclination and capacity of doubling our comforts, of alleviating our griefs, and of brightening our autumn of life with the invaluable sunshine of conjugal affection! But when we look around us—Who or what is there remaining of that remote period, to whom or which a similar observation will apply? We almost alone can say—*'Tempora mutantur—nos non mutamur in illis.'* Where are the members of your council, where the contemporary judges and all the higher functionaries? Gone with the century we have left behind us, or sunk into perpetual oblivion. The great and potent of the present day, both here and in India, are juniors to us both. Even the Marquess of Hastings (*O nomen nunquam satis venerandum!*) was a schoolboy under me at Harrow. Yet to that period and to all its concomitant circumstances, my memory carries me back with a fidelity that makes it seem but as yesterday; and thus it continues its exactitude down to the epoch of February, 1785—when we both, but you preceding, *qualis semper*, left the regions eternized in the *Malabharat*, for ever! All the subsequent lapse of years affects me but as a dream. Its very calamities are almost become visionary, and I would fain persuade myself that even the iniquities of the impeachment itself are little short of problematical, but there, alas!—

\* *Pudet hæc opprobra tanta*

*Et did potuisse, et non potuisse refelli! "*

—From a collection of unpublished letters and other manuscripts in the possession of J. Grant, Esq., of the East India Company's service (Medical Department).

Mr. Grant derived this collection from Halhed's

of India than had the Marquess Wellesley. The splendid appointments of the office he had spent in supporting its dignity, in contributing to the public service, or to the welfare of the inhabitants. As some acknowledgment for the glorious issue of the Pindarree and Mahratta war, the East India Company voted his lordship 60,000*l.* for the purchase of an estate, to be settled in such manner as might perpetuate the memory of his great services.\* Before that war came to an end a measure was adopted by the home government which flattered the feelings of the officers in the Company's service, and which went somewhat to destroy the jealousy which had so long existed between them and the officers of the king's troops. Hitherto officers holding the Company's commission had been treated as an inferior class of men, and had been excluded from most of the honours of the military profession. But the Prince Regent, in giving extension to the Order of the Bath, so as to include within it more claimants than formerly, "having taken into consideration the eminent services which have been rendered to the empire by the officers in the service of the Honourable East India Company," was pleased to order that fifteen of the most distinguished officers of the said service might be raised to the dignity of Knights Commanders of the Bath, and that certain other officers of the Company should be eligible to be appointed Knights Companions. The Marquess of Hastings had the pleasure of invest-

widow. It contains some very interesting and characteristic letters written by Warren Hastings in his old age, together with a great many very curious letters, essays, poems, and other papers written by Halhed at different periods of his life. Halhed's range of subjects is very wide, including Oriental mythology, Oriental astronomy, Oriental law, English topics of the day, sonnets on Warren Hastings's birthdays, &c. &c. We regret that we were not sooner acquainted with the existence of these papers. They afford several materials for completing the character of Hastings; and, for any future biography of Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, whose strange character is a study for the metaphysician, they ought to be consulted.

\* His lordship died at Malta, as governor of that little island, on the 28th of November, 1826. Soon after his death the Company voted a further sum of 20,000*l.* for the benefit of his son and successor.

ing with his own hands the veteran General David Ochterlony with the insignia of Knight Grand Cross of the Bath. The ceremony took place in camp at Terwah, during the progress of the Mahratta war, on the 20th of March, 1818. "Sir David Ochterlony," said the governor-general, "you have obliterated a distinction painful for the officers of the Honourable Company, and you have opened the door for your brothers in arms to a reward, which their recent display of exalted spirit and invincible intrepidity proves could not be more deservedly extended to the officers of any army on earth."\*

His lordship did not dispatch so many embassies to Eastern potentates as Lord Minto had done, yet he sent missions to Siam and Cochin China, under Mr. John Crawford, formerly an assistant-surgeon on the Bengal establishment; Doctor Finlayson, the naturalist, accompanying the mission. And, like the preceding missions, if this one did no other good, it produced us some curious and good volumes of travels, and an addition to our knowledge of this part of Asia.† Many of our embassies in Europe have been attended with less solid advantages.

During this administration other measures were carried into execution which were not so much to the taste of the governor-general. The natives of Java and of the other islands of the Eastern Archipelago, of which we had taken possession, were beginning to improve, and to enjoy happiness under our dominion, when our ministers and diplomatists in Europe agreed to give them back to the

\* 'Calcutta Government Gazette.' Ochterlony had merited the distinction by his brilliant conduct in the Nepal war, and by his very long and uninterrupted service in the country. He had at this time been considerably more than forty years in India, and had served under Colonel Pearce, Sir Eyre Coote, and the adventurous Popham.

† The Mission to Siam and Hué, the capital of Cochin China, in the years 1821-2, from the Journal of the late George Finlayson, Esq., Surgeon and Naturalist to the Mission; with a Memoir of the Author, by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Bart., F.R.S. London, 1825. And Mr. Crawford's own account of the embassy, or 'Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Courts of Siam and Cochin-China, exhibiting a View of the actual State of those Kingdoms,' London, 1823.

Dutch in the re-settling treaties which followed the downfall of Bonaparte. Many of the islanders implored to be allowed to remain under our flag; many vowed that they would emigrate, quit houses and lands, and undergo any extremity rather than submit again to the harsh rule of the Dutch; but nothing was left to the discretion of the governor-general or of Sir Stamford Raffles, the able governor of Java: the sense of the treaties was clearly expressed, and they were bound to obey them to the letter. It was, as we have said, expedient and just that England should give back some of her conquests, and that Holland should be restored to some of her former colonial greatness; but still it was hard to transfer the natives of these islands, who had a right to expect that some provisions would be made for their interests, to their hard taskmasters the Dutch, without one stipulation being made in their favour. It is true that such articles of treaties are apt to be disregarded by the party put in possession of the sovereignty, yet still there is a grace in good intention, and a propriety in making them.

During the five years that he had been governor of Java, Raffles had really done wonders for the country, which he more than any other man had annexed to our empire. He had courted the society of the natives, inviting them to his house, and treating them with consideration, kindness, and confidence. Hence, wherever he went he obtained the best local information from the best sources, and there was nothing these people would not do for him. He entered heart and soul into whatever he considered likely to advance the civilization of the natives, and never considered his own success, or even the prosperity of the establishment intrusted to his management, apart from the prosperity of the people. Six millions of inhabitants were benefited by his wise and liberal rule. The onerous monopolies, the invidious restrictions on trade, the system of slavery, received many a shake at his hands, though the time had not yet come for the abolition of these things. He chanced to be in England when he learned that Java was

to be restored to its former masters and oppressors the Dutch, whose illiberal policy speedily undid all the good he had done. He pleaded the cause of the Javanese as long as there was any hope of being of service to them, or of convincing the Dutch that a more gentle government and increased profits from the colony would go hand in hand; and when every hope of this kind was gone, he constantly and deeply regretted the hard fate of those islanders.\* Conquest is not so hard to a people as the being transferred against their will from one power to another by a piece of parchment. But the Javanese had not been conquered by our arms; it was only the Dutch in Java that we had conquered; and in the short war the Javanese had assisted us, mainly out of dislike to their old masters, but partly through our assurances that they should enjoy more happiness and prosperity under our rule. It being, however, determined, at Sir Stamford's recommendation, to keep possession of Bencoolen in Sumatra, he was himself named governor of that settlement. He arrived at Sumatra in the spring of 1818, and forthwith began to explore the interior of the island—a wilderness, abounding in elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers, and other wild beasts, and hitherto little known to Europeans. Here also he devoted his attention to the erecting of schools for the natives, and to the devising such laws

\* Sir Stamford Raffles, being in England in 1817, visited the Continent, chiefly for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the King of Holland, and making some representations to his majesty in behalf of the natives of Java. He met with great attention, and had the honour to dine with the king. "But," he adds, "although they were very communicative regarding their Eastern colonies, I regret to say that, notwithstanding the king himself, and his leading minister, seem to me wealthy, they have too great a hankering after profit, and immediate profit, for any liberal system to thrive under them." It was this rage for immediate profit, their low opinion of the natives, and their consequent preference of coercion to persuasion, that made the Dutch about the very worst of colonists. And other nations or peoples besides their subjects in the Indian archipelago may complain that—

"In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch  
Is giving too little and asking too much."

See Mr. Canning's Rhymed Dispatch, to our minister at the Hague, on the Reciprocity System.

and regulations as might extend their trade, give security to their property, put an end to the horrible system of piracy, and induce habits of industry and social order. But what he had predicted to the governor-general in India and to our ministers at home, came to pass: the restored Dutch not only ground the faces of the natives, but also obstructed our trade and threatened to shut us out of those Eastern seas altogether, which they were almost enabled to do, as Malacca had been restored to them, as well as the islands, and they thus held the keys both of the Straits of Malacca and the Straits of Sunda. This was intolerable to a man who was ardent for the good of his country and for the extension of free trade, and who had devoted the prime years of his life to the study of the native resources and capabilities of the Eastern Archipelago. Raffles determined to go to Calcutta, and there confer with the governor-general. He embarked in a very small country vessel, the first which was ready, and which swarmed with centipedes and scorpions: the crazy craft was upset in the middle of the night upon a sandbank at the mouth of the Hooghly, and he narrowly escaped drowning. After some hesitation, arising out of the nature of our treaties with the King of Holland, the Marquess of Hastings agreed in the expediency of ceding to the Dutch some of our pretensions in Sumatra, and of taking up a new position which should secure a free trade with the Archipelago and China through the Straits of Malacca, leaving to the Dutch the exclusive command of the Straits of Sunda. The marquess moreover, who had previously censured some part of Raffles's spirited conduct in a collision with the Dutch governor of Java, now declared that conduct "to have been dictated by the purest spirit of patriotism, and to have been such that, in the circumstances in which he was placed, he could not well have acted otherwise." There was no time to lose; if the two only passages to the Eastern Archipelago were once secured by the Dutch, nothing but actual force would obtain for the British trader ingress to its thousand isles, and even our passage to China might be impeded. Raffles wanted

neither people nor territory; all that he asked was permission to anchor a line-of-battle ship and hoist the English flag at the mouth of the Straits of Malacca; and by this the trade of England would be secured, the monopoly of the Dutch broken. A better ship than that which had brought him to Calcutta was placed at his disposal, and, proceeding to Penang, and thence down the Straits of Malacca, Sir Stamford, on the 29th of February, 1819, hoisted the British flag at Singapore, an island in the Straits of Malacca off Point Romania, in the direct route to China.\* On the 26th of February full possession was taken of the little island under a treaty concluded with the Tomogong, or native chief. It does not appear that the Dutch ever had any settlement or exercised any authority over the island. On examination it was found to be larger than our maps and charts indicated,† yet the total population of the isle did not exceed one hundred and fifty persons, of whom one-fifth were Chinese. There were, however, remains of temples and other structures, which indicated that it had once been thickly peopled.‡ Sir Stamford had visited the place before, and his quick eye had caught at a glance all the advantages which it afforded, and all the benefits to commerce, to free trade, and civilization, which might be derived from its permanent occupation.

Independently of the free access it gave to the Malays and to the varied and enterprising population of the Archipelago, the situation of Singapore was peculiarly favourable for its becoming the entrepôt to which the native mariners of Siam,

\* Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, &c. By his Widow.

† Our settlement consists of the island of Singapore, and about fifty little islets dispersed in the sea south and east of the principal island, or in what is called the Straits of Singapore. Altogether the territories of the settlement embrace a circumference of about 100 miles, including the straits, &c.—*Penny Cyclopædia*.

‡ Walter Hamilton, 'East India Gazetteer.' Six hundred years before the British flag was hoisted, Singapore had been the flourishing capital of a Malay sultan.

Sir Stamford Raffles informs us, that but for his Malay studies, and his intercourse with the Malay people, he should hardly have known that such a place existed; not only the European, but the Indian world also, being ignorant about it.

Camboja, Chiampa, Cochin China, and China itself might annually resort. It is to the Straits of Singapore that their merchants are always bound in the first instance; and if on their arrival in them they find a market for their goods, and the means of purchasing what they want, they have no inducement to proceed to the more distant, unhealthy, and expensive Dutch port of Batavia. The passage from China can be made in less than six days, and in the favourable monsoon the passages to the coast of Borneo, to Penang, &c. are proportionately short.\* The harbour of Singapore affords safe anchorage at all seasons. Charmed with his new infant colony, Sir Stamford wrote—"The lines of the old city and of its defences are still to be traced, and within these ramparts the British union now waves unmolested. Singapore is everything we could desire; it will soon rise into importance; and with this single station I would undertake to counteract all the plans of Mynheer; it breaks the spell, and they are no longer the exclusive sovereigns of the Eastern seas. . . . This place possesses an excellent harbour, and everything that can be desired for a British port. . . . We have commanded an intercourse with all the ships passing through the straits. We are within a week's sail of China, close to Siam, and in the very seat of the Malayan empire."† The founder clearly foresaw the future fortune and the rapid rise of his little colony. It had not been established four months ere it received an accession of population exceeding 5000, principally industrious Chinese, whose numbers kept constantly and steadily increasing. "It is a child of my own," said he, with honest pride, "and I have made it what it is. You may easily conceive with what zeal I apply myself to the clearing of forests, cutting of roads, building of towns, framing of laws, &c."‡ "It bids fair to be the next port to Calcutta; all we want now is, the certainty of per-

manent possession, and this, of course, depends on authorities beyond our control. You may take my word for it, this is by far the most important station in the East; and, as far as naval superiority and commercial interests are concerned, of higher value than whole continents of territory."\* His law-making and his regulations for trade were all in a high and generous spirit, calculated to introduce the general principles of good government, to benefit the neighbouring peoples, to check slavery and destroy monopoly, and to elevate the character of the British nation. If he could not do all he wished, it was no fault of his, nor owing to any lack of exertion. "The utmost possible freedom of trade," said he, "and equal rights to all, with protection of property and person, are the objects to be attained, and I shall spare no pains to establish such laws and regulations as may be most conducive to them. In Java I had to remodel, and in doing so to remove the rubbish and incumbrances of two centuries of Dutch mal-administration; here I have an easier task—and the task is new."† In little more than three years Singapore grew into a large and populous town, containing 10,000 inhabitants of nearly all nations, and nearly all actively engaged in commercial pursuits. Two years after this, or at the end of 1824, the fixed inhabitants numbered 12,000, about 5000 being Malays, 4000 Chinese, and 1000 natives of the Deccan or of Hindustan. In the course of this year Raffles's fears that he might be robbed of his "political child" were ended. The Dutch had claimed the island, and had made a loud outcry against our taking possession of it. In a portion of the British cabinet there was an inclination to defer to the King of Holland, or an indifference (resulting from ignorance) as to the new colony, where the flag of free trade floated as conspicuously as our national banner; but Mr. Canning, then president of the Board of Control, was more sensible to the value of Raffles's creation, and at his instance a select committee was appointed to enable him

\* Hamilton, East India Gazetteer.

† Letter from Sir Stamford Raffles to Mr. Marsden (the late venerable historian of Sumatra and able editor of Marco Polo's travels), in *Memoirs of Sir Stamford*, by his Widow.

‡ Letter to the Duchess of Somerset, in *id.*

\* Letter to ———, in *id.*

† Letter to the Duchess of Somerset, in *id.*

to meet the Dutch commissioners, to put an end to uncertainty and to angry discussions, and to conclude a treaty which should at all events establish our undisputed right to Singapore—a right which was fully acknowledged in a treaty concluded with the Sultan of Malacca, under whom the Tomogong, or native chief, had held the island. And, after protracted negotiations, the business was settled, by the treaty of 1824, by which the old and poor Dutch settlements on the continent of India, with Malacca, and the undisputed right to Singapore, were ceded to the British government, in exchange for Bencoolen, together with all our other possessions or pretensions in the island of Sumatra, an island 1050 miles in length by 165 of average breadth, a country rich in all the bounties of nature, and requiring nothing but a good and wise government to be converted into a most flourishing empire. In this treaty of the 17th of March, 1824, we recognised the odious and unwise Dutch monopoly in the Spice Islands. Whatever was secured to Great Britain in the Indian Archipelago was mainly owing to the perseverance and discernment of Sir Stamford Raffles, who found the means of compensating his country for the abandonment of our former conquests.\* After this treaty his political child thrived and grew more than ever. In January, 1826, 870 Chinese emigrants arrived and settled in Singapore, and in February of the same year these were followed by 1050 more, the passage-money from China being only about five or six dollars a head.† In 1836 the entire population was very nearly 30,000, and the increase of trade was fully proportionate. In this same year (1836) the shipping of all kinds that entered the port amounted to 203,574 tons. In fact Singapore has become the London of Southern Asia and the Indian Archipelago. All the nations that inhabit the surrounding countries resort to it with the produce of their agricultural and manufacturing industry, and take in exchange such goods as are not grown or produced in their own

countries. All of them find a ready market for what they bring, and a well-stocked market of European goods.\* A brighter nucleus of civilization was never formed in so brief a space of time. The Singapore Institution, established by Sir Stamford Raffles, though not yet carried out on the extensive plan he contemplated, contained three years ago three schools, one English, one Malay, and one Tamul. Since then a large Chinese school has been opened, in which Chinese youths receive instruction both in English and in their own language and literature. Previously to this there were several native schools in the town. Properly directed, Singapore may be made the basis of operations far more glorious and far more enduring than those of military conquest—it may be made the basis of operations for the conquest of ignorance, anti-socialism, and superstition. The productions of its printing-press are already widely diffused in the Malay peninsula, in Sumatra, and in other islands of the Archipelago. On the whole it may be considered as the least questionable and purest part of our Eastern empire: it was acquired without blood and without intrigue, and it has owed all its importance to the advantages it conferred upon the natives and upon free trade. It will give immortality to the name of its founder Sir Stamford Raffles.

If, during the administration of the Marquess of Hastings, rich islands were given up in the east of the Indian ocean, in the west the conquest of one great island—the reduction of the whole of Ceylon—was completed; and although the anomaly of which the Marquess Wellesley had complained continued to

\* Article 'Singapore,' in 'Penny Cyclopædia'—a work particularly distinguished by the excellence of its geographical articles.

† "This effect has partly been produced by the wise policy of declaring the harbour of Singapore a free port, in which no export or import duties, nor any anchorage, harbour, nor lighthouse fees are levied. The effect of this policy was evident even at the beginning of the settlement. In the first year the exports and imports by native boats alone exceeded 4,000,000 of dollars; and during the first year and a half no less than 2889 vessels entered and cleared from the port, of which 363 were owned and commanded by Europeans, and 2506 by natives."—*Id.*, *id.*

\* Auber, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.*

† Walter Hamilton, *E. Ind. Gazetteer.*

exist, and although the king's governor of Ceylon was independent of the Company's governor-general of India, still the Marquess of Hastings had contributed to the achievement by advice and by other assistance; and even if this had not occurred, the history of Ceylon could not well be separated from that of Continental India.

The Dutch were quite as unpopular in Ceylon as in Java, Sumatra, and the Spice Islands, and for precisely the same reasons. The people dwelling on the coast had rejoiced at the conquest of their settlements by the English, and this favourable leaning to us continued, although our king-appointed governors were generally far from being such able men as most of the Company-appointed governors on the continent, and were very far indeed from anticipating the liberal policy and the free trade system of a Wellesley or a Raffles. These governors of Ceylon had not torn up the cinnamon-trees by the roots, as their Dutch predecessors had done (in order to keep the production down to the mark of the immediate demand, or in order to make cinnamon dear by making it rare in the European market), but they had laid enormous duties upon the produce of the interior, which could not be exported without passing through their custom-houses; and, among other evil things, they had clapped a duty upon salt, which was from 800 to 1000 per cent. above the cost of its production.\* The interior of the island, into which neither the Portuguese nor the Dutch had ever been able to penetrate, was occupied by the Kandyan, who lived under an independent monarch, and who differed essentially in race, language, and habits from most of the people who dwelt along the coasts.† The people of this inner

kingdom were more fierce and courageous than the majority of the peoples of Continental India; the king was very absolute; the nobles or chiefs held their lands by tenure of service, like our barons under the feudal system; they were bound when called upon to join the king at the head of their vassals or followers, each follower or soldier being provided with a musket and fifteen days' provisions, together with a chatty, or small earthen vessel in which to dress his rice, &c. In the eastern side of the kingdom, where muskets were yet rare, these vassals were frequently armed with bows and arrows or with rude spears. A few cakes made of the meal of the natchenny (a species of millet), a small quantity of rice, and a few cocoa-nuts composed the whole of a Kandyan soldier's stock of provisions for a campaign of fifteen days. At the end of this period, the army was recruited by a new requisition. The smiths of the country had learned to make efficient firelocks and the natives manufactured tolerably good gunpowder. Saltpetre is found in abundance in the island, and the sulphur was procured by importation. Instead of lead bullets, they frequently made use of pieces of iron rod about an inch long. Their tents were lighter than their provisions: a leaf of the talipot-tree, which grows nowhere so luxuriantly as in Ceylon, and which the natives apply to as many uses as the Chinese apply the bamboo, protected a Kandyan from the heat of the sun during the day, and two men, by placing the broad end of their gigantic leaves together, might, with the aid of a few sticks, form a tent that would completely defend them against rain, and shelter them during the night.\* The best character of these Highlanders is that which was drawn of them more than a century and a half ago by an English mariner, who passed nineteen

\* Ceylon abounds with salt; everywhere along the coasts extensive formations of it are found; it crystallizes spontaneously in shallow lakes near the sea; but our governors turned this necessary of life into a monopoly, and the natives could obtain no salt without paying their price for it.

† The word 'kandy' means a hill or mountain, and the term 'Kandyan country,' in a physical sense, means highlands, or a mountainous region. All the interior of the island is mountainous and very woody; and it was in the inaccessible nature

of their country, and in their ingenious mode of defending it by wickets and stockades, that the Kandyans had been enabled to maintain their independence during the nearly three hundred years that different European nations had had a footing on the coasts.

\* Manuscript Historical Sketch of the Conquest of Ceylon by the English, by Henry Marshall, Esq., Deputy Inspector General of Military Hospitals, &c.

years of captivity among them.\* "In carriage and behaviour the Kandyans are grave and stately, in understanding quick and apprehensive, in design subtle and crafty, in discourse courteous, but full of flatteries; naturally inclined to temperance, both in meat and drink, but not in chastity; near and provident in their families, commending good husbandry; in their dispositions not passionate, neither hard to be reconciled again when angry; in their promises very unfaithful, approving lying in themselves, but not liking it in others; delighting in sloth, deferring labours till urgent necessity constrain them; neat in apparel, nice in eating, and not much given to sleep." These people had a literature, and a regular succession of historical annals reaching back through many centuries, and far more truthful than the historical records of Eastern nations usually are. All civilization must advance or retrograde; theirs, like that of all the nations of India, had unhappily taken the latter course; except in the use of arms borrowed from the Europeans, they had acquired nothing that was new, and had lost much of what was old: when we came in contact with them, they could scarcely be said to be in a better condition than that of semi-barbarism. Their government had been frequently convulsed by civil wars and sanguinary revolutions: the Adigars or chiefs often rebelled, the throne was often disputed, and mercy was never shown to the unsuccessful party.

\* Robert Knox, the author of 'An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon in the East Indies'

Knox was taken prisoner on the coast, and carried up the country, in 1680. He escaped in a marvellous manner in 1679. He published his account of Ceylon and his adventures the year after he arrived in England. It is an astonishing book, considering the poor captain's education and circumstances. The natural history of the country, its government, laws, manners, and customs, its agriculture, &c., are all fully and accurately detailed. Gentlemen who have resided many years in Ceylon, and who were engaged in the English expedition to the interior of that island, have declared that they found everything precisely as Knox had described it; and that, after considerable research and long acquaintance with the country, they were convinced that there was nothing to correct in, and very little to add to, our honest sailor's account of it.

Their common mode of inflicting death was to pound their victim in a mortar; and when they wished to superadd tortures and horrors, they made the wife and children, the brothers and sisters, or the father and mother of the victim perform the horrible office. There was a part of the lowlands occupied by a perfectly savage race called Vedas or Vaddas, who lived by hunting, and there were other portions in which our occupancy was scarcely discernible; but, roughly, it may be estimated that the English territories, in the year 1800, covered about 12,000 square miles in a broad belt, and that the dominions of the King of Kandy included within this belt covered a like number of square miles. Consequently the island was pretty equally divided between the British government and the King of Kandy. One of the main objects of the English government appears to have been to injure the prosperity of the Kandyans by checking their little export trade, and to prevent all foreigners from having intercourse with them. The Kandyans often retaliated by making incursions into our possessions, or by quarrelling with our officers and refusing to sell them elephants. A kingdom within a kingdom, a territory occupied by semi-barbarians, entirely surrounded by Europeans, and cut off from all external communication, could not possibly stand. The absorption of the Kandyan country into our dominion became an inevitable necessity from the day we dispossessed the Dutch and occupied the coasts and the great belt between them and the hills. The dissensions of those highlanders of Ceylon only hastened the crisis. In the year 1798, when the English were scarcely settled in their conquests on the coast, the King of Kandy died without issue and without having nominated a successor. In such cases, according to the custom of the court (a custom which was almost sure to lead to civil war), the right of naming a successor belonged to the first Adigar. The man who now held that dignity was an able, ambitious, and intriguing courtier. He named a youth, the son of a sister of one of the queens dowager. This youth was, according to usage, proposed to the chiefs and people, and their acceptance of

him being publicly avowed, he was raised to the throne by the name of Sree Wikrimè Rajah Singha. Shortly after this election, Mootosauè, a brother to one of the queens dowager, and a pretender to the throne, fled from the interior of the island, where probably his life was not safe, and solicited an asylum from the British government. He was placed under the protection of Colonel Barbut, commandant of Jafnapatam. The chief Adigar of course made himself prime minister, and forced the young king to do his bidding: being jealous of two other Adigars, he caused one of them to be assassinated and the other to be thrown into prison. In the course of the year 1799 this prime minister of Kandy solicited and obtained two conferences with the Hon. Frederic North, then governor of the English part of the island, and, with a little circumlocution, he requested our governor to assist him in taking away the life of the young king and placing himself on the throne. He intimated that he had a better right to the throne than the boy who sat on it, being one of the aboriginal race, whereas the royal stock descended from foreign conquerors. As a price for the governor's assistance, he promised him that he would acknowledge the superiority or suzerainty of the English over the kingdom of Kandy. We need scarcely add that Mr. North rejected the proposals. The chief Adigar returned to court and commenced a system of duplicity and intrigue, exciting his countrymen to make preparations for war, fomenting disturbances in our territories, and occasionally forwarding to Mr. North false or ambiguous reports, with the view of inducing the English to declare war against the young king. He fancied that if war were once commenced he could easily find an opportunity of dispatching the king without exciting suspicion, and that by offering high terms to the English, he might secure his own power and aggrandizement. The governor, it is said, made several attempts to open a correspondence with the king through a less suspicious channel than the Adigar, but without success. The chief Adigar and prime minister held the keys of the passes through the forests and

mountains, and without his assent no living being could get through those most intricate and vigilantly watched labyrinths, or approach within fifty miles of the court; and all letters and dispatches were received and opened by the said minister, who now suspected and hated Mr. North. Early in the year 1802, the Kandiyans made preparations for war; every man capable of bearing arms was ordered to hold himself in readiness to take the field. But instead of attacking an English outpost or making an attempt on one of our forts, the men of the hills merely plundered a party of coast merchants, subjects of the British government, who had been up the country to purchase areka nuts. The capture they made was valued at 1000*l.*, and it consisted principally of the areka nuts which the merchants had bought in the Kandyan country and of the cattle used for the conveyance of the nuts. After reparation had been repeatedly demanded, Mr. North determined to march an army to Kandy in order to enforce restitution or indemnification, and to exact security against similar acts of violence for the future. Three thousand men were selected for the service, and were formed into two divisions. The first or Colombo division marched on the 31st of January, 1803, under the command of Major-general Macdowall; the second left Trincomalee on the 4th of February, under the command of Colonel Barbut. Neither of the divisions met with any serious resistance on the march, and they both reached the Mahavilliganga or 'Great River,' at a point about three miles from the town of Kandy, on the 20th of February. The Colombo division had performed a march of 103 miles, and the Trincomalee division a march of 142 miles, both going through a most difficult country.\* On the morning of the 21st of February some of our troops crossed the Mahavilliganga, and occupied the town of Kandy, which was found totally deserted by its inhabitants. The head-quarters of the 19th and 51st regiments were also fixed at Kandy on the 24th and 25th. Shortly

\* Cordiner (Reverend James), 'Description of Ceylon, &c.' Lond., 1807.

after our troops had thus taken possession of the capital, Mootosamè, the pretender to the crown, who had been living under our protection at Jafnapatam, and who had accompanied Colonel Barbut on this campaign, was conveyed into Kandy by a large detachment of British troops, and was crowned in the palace with all the forms and ceremonies in use among the Kandyans, save and except the recognition of the Adigars and people. No sooner had Mootosamè been crowned than articles of convention were settled between his highness and the governor of the British settlements in Ceylon. Large concessions were of course made to the English. By one of the clauses of the convention the new king engaged to receive an auxiliary force from the British settlements. Hitherto every attempt to this end had failed. But the new king met with no adherents among his own countrymen, and he remained in the palace surrounded only by his own domestics, and supported by no other power than that of the English. The chief Adigar now opened a correspondence, under the mask of friendship, with the commander of the British forces, who was credulous enough to become his dupe. In this correspondence the wily Kandyan completely cajoled Macdowall; he promised that he would assist in delivering the other king into our hands, and he urged the general to send troops through the wilderness to attack the Kandyan army. At this time the fugitive king and his army were at Rangaremketty, a post about two days' march from Kandy. The Adigar pointed out the lines of march by which access might be gained to this post, and requested that two strong detachments might be sent by different routes. Accordingly, on the morning of the 13th of March, 1803, two detachments, each amounting to about 500 men, were marched off by different routes. The country between Kandy and Rangaremketty is excessively strong by nature, and great pains had been taken to strengthen it still more by art. Batteries were erected on every eminence which commanded the paths through which our soldiers were to pass; and marksmen were placed in ambush in the thickest coverts of the jungle, and

wherever they could do us most injury with the least risk to themselves. Though thinned in their numbers by an enemy they could hardly ever reach, both our detachments reached the place of their destination on the evening of the 14th; but instead of finding the fugitive king and his army there, they found nothing but rocks and trees. On their return towards Kandy they were harassed by the natives as they had been on their advance. The loss incurred in killed and wounded was considerable. The Kandyans now hovered round our outposts in the neighbourhood of the capital, a neighbourhood which was a series of complicated woods and jungles and wild ravines, where a stranger might lose himself at midday. Concealed in the woods and thickets, the Kandyans fired upon our guards and sentries; and whenever any unfortunate stragglers fell into their hands, they put them to a cruel death. They never showed themselves during the day, or in any place where a considerable number of our soldiers were collected. A reward of ten rupees was given them for the head of every European, and five rupees for the head of every other class of soldiers in our service. Every night some of our people were brought down by the concealed and covered marksmen, or were butchered by fellows that crept through the jungles and pounced upon them like tigers. It was felt by the officers in command, and by Mr. North, our governor, that we had embarked in a difficult enterprise. This was certain: but unsteady and disgraceful were the means adopted to extricate us from the difficulty; and scarcely less disgraceful was it not to have foreseen the real nature of the enterprise.

The chief Adigar now wrote to the governor, and this led to an interview between the second Adigar and General Macdowall, wherein it was agreed that the fugitive king should be delivered over to the British government, that the new king should be set aside, that the chief Adigar should be invested with supreme authority in Kandy, that he should pay annually thirty thousand rupees to Mootosamè, and cede to his Britannic Majesty the road leading to Trincomalee, and

several districts, some on the frontiers and some in the interior of the Kandyan country. It was further agreed by the high contracting parties, that a cessation of hostilities should immediately take place. On the faith of this treaty, made with a convicted and self-avowed traitor, General Macdowall left Kandy for Colombo, on the 1st of April, taking with him the 51st British regiment, the Ceylon native infantry, and a detachment of Bengal artillery, and sending off part of the 19th British and part of a Malay regiment for Trincomalee. The garrison thus left in Kandy consisted of seven hundred Malays, and three hundred Europeans of the 19th regiment, and Bengal and Madras artillery. A number of sick and wounded were also left behind in this semi-barbarous little capital.\* Starvation stared them all in the face, for no proper measures had been adopted for securing magazines and depôts of provisions.

The return troops accomplished their respective marches to Colombo and to Trincomalee without molestation. On the 15th of April Capt. Madge marched from Kandy to a ceded fort, styled Fort Macdowall, with only 55 of the rank and file of the 19th regiment; nearly at the same time a letter was received at Colombo from the first Adigar, soliciting an interview with the Governor, for the purpose of arranging a definitive treaty. Mr. North went into the Kandyan country, and on the 1st of May arrived at a place of rendezvous, named by the Adigar. This worthy kept the English governor waiting for two or three days; but at last he presented himself, and fully agreed to the terms of the treaty which had been drawn up in Kandy by General Macdowall and the second Adigar. With a degree of credulity and folly scarcely conceivable, Mr. North trusted with confidence in the sincerity and influence of his perfidious confederate and ally; he consequently adopted no adequate means to reinforce the weak, and by this time sickly, garrison of Kandy, or to supply those troops with provisions; and to the capital omission of anticipating the wants of those troops may, in no small degree,

be attributed the melancholy catastrophe which followed. It was subsequently ascertained that the real object of the first Adigar in soliciting this interview with Mr. North, up the country, was to take him prisoner; and it appeared that he was deterred from the attempt by the force of his excellency's escort, and the unexpected arrival of a detachment of Malays, under the command of Colonel Barbut, who had come down from Kandy to pay his respects to the governor. The journey proved fatal to Barbut: he was attacked with fever on the 4th of May, while Mr. North was amicably conferring with the first Adigar, and being sent to Colombo, he died there on the 21st. The command of the garrison of Kandy now devolved upon Major Davie. At the urgent request of the chief Adigar, General Macdowall was again sent up to Kandy, which place he reached on the 23rd of May. The Adigar, who had kept his excellency the governor waiting for two or three days, did not keep his appointment in any way with Macdowall, informing that general by letter on the 2nd of June, that he could not wait upon him without the permission of the king—the young king—the king he had proposed to assassinate. While the chief Adigar thus kept aloof, the supplies from Colombo and Trincomalee, intended for our troops in Kandy, were taken by the Kandyans, and many of our coolies who were carrying the stores were murdered in the woods. The garrison of Kandy was now greatly reduced by the sickness or death of officers and men; nearly all the European soldiers were in the hospital. The deluging rains which accompany the setting in of the south-west monsoon swelled the rivers, inundated the low country, and rendered any communication between the garrison and the coast excessively difficult. General Macdowall, his brigade-major, and his aide-de-camp, were all attacked with endemic fever, and returned to Colombo with a strong escort. The command at Kandy again devolved upon Major Davie. It could scarcely have fallen to a more incompetent officer. The dreadful fate of the garrison was rapidly advancing. The Kandyans began to approach very near to the capi-

\* Cordiner.

tal, to entrench and stockade themselves in strong positions, and to tamper with our Malay soldiers. Eight Malays, and the same number of Madras lascars, went over to the enemy, and others soon followed their example. English soldiers, devoured by the foul fever and scarcely able to stand, were brought out of the hospital to do garrison duty. One of the native chiefs announced to the governor at Colombo, through a confidential agent, that the first Adigar was a perfidious villain who had deceived the whole world; and that the second Adigar had quarrelled with him. The perfidy and the villainy ought to have been no secret to Mr. North, to whom the first Adigar had opened his plan of treachery and assassination. That chief, however, continued to act as if he believed that there were no limits to English credulity and imbecility. He wrote a most friendly, flourishing letter to Major Davie, telling him that he was using all his endeavours to serve the English, and inviting him to undertake another expedition to Rangaremketty. The English soldiers continued to die fast, and the Malays to desert. Paddy, or rice in the husk, was almost the only article which remained for the subsistence of the garrison; and so sickly and weak were our people, that they were unable to perform the labour of clearing it of the husk. The Kandiyans were now preparing to storm the place; and, just as the position became untenable, and an advance to Kandy or a retreat from it equally difficult and almost impossible, the Honourable Mr. North began to think that Kandy ought not to have been occupied at all, and that our troops there ought to be withdrawn. His excellency, however, was an easy, procrastinating man, and nothing effectual was done. If only a few troops had been marched only part of the way to Kandy, the retreat of the garrison might have been somewhat facilitated. On the 23rd of June the Kandiyans carried two of our posts, which were garrisoned by Malays. On the morning of the 24th they attacked a post on a hill immediately adjoining to the palace in which the British troops were quartered, and succeeded in making the

guard prisoners. The palace was next attacked; and after a struggle of six or seven hours Major Davie held up the white flag, and the firing ceased on both sides. A conference with the Adigars ensued, when it was stipulated that the town should be immediately given up to the Kandiyans; that the British should march out with their arms, on the road leading to Trincomalee; that Mootosamè, the king they had set up and pulled down, should be permitted to accompany them; that care should be taken of our sick and wounded until they could be removed to the coast; and finally, that our retiring troops should be provided with the means of crossing the river. This nicely worded treaty being signed, our troops evacuated Kandy at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 24th of June. Their entire force consisted of 14 European officers, 20 British soldiers, 250 Malays, and 140 gun-lascars. They were accompanied by Mootosamè and his attendants. On reaching the Mahavilliganga river, about three miles on the road to Trincomalee—a river at that season both broad and deep—they found, what they might have expected to find, that neither boats nor rafts had been provided to carry them across. The men huddled together round a large tree which grew on a green hill near the river, and there they remained for the whole night exposed to the heaviest rain. Next morning they made some fruitless attempts to form rafts, or to get a rope across the stream; but no materials could be obtained; and the river, still further swelled by the rain of the night, was broader and deeper, and more rapid than before. The sun again went down, and the rain again descended during the whole night. On the 26th a flag of truce was sent by the chief Adigar to propose that Major Davie, together with the two officers next in rank, should meet him and two other Kandyan chiefs at a place about half-way between the river and Kandy, for the purpose of finally arranging the measures which were required to carry our troops across the river, and assist them through the Kandyan territory towards Trincomalee. Major Davie instantly complied with the proposal; and, accompanied by Captains Rumley and Humphries, and a

Malay officer named Udeen, proceeded to the place appointed for the conference. There they met three chiefs, but not the Adigar. The chiefs informed them that the king desired to have an interview with them at the palace, for the purpose of negotiating with them in person, and giving them his royal assurance of protection. Udeen, the Malay officer, who in all probability acted as interpreter, strongly remonstrated with the Major against proceeding to the palace, but in vain. On reaching the town the three English officers were surrounded, were made prisoners, were bound like felons, and confined separately. Our Malay officer did what our own countrymen ought to have done—he would not be bound, and died like a brave man with his sword in his hand. Udeen died on the spot, being nearly cut to pieces. Having secured Major Davie and Captains Runley and Humphries, the Kandyans dispatched a half-caste drummer, a deserter from our Malay corps, to inform the English officers waiting on the bank of the river, that Major Davie ordered them to give up their arms, and to return forthwith to Kandy, whence they were to be sent by another route down to the coast, an agreement to this effect having been made between the Major and the king. As Englishmen we blush all over for what followed—we blush at every part of this dishonouring business—at the opprobrium heaped upon the national character! Wretched and of long operation must have been the system of misrule under which British officers had been brought into such an abyss of degradation, imbecility, inanity! They listened to the half-caste drummer, to this Malay deserter, as if he had been the honoured envoy of a civilized sovereign, and they forthwith held a council to decide whether they ought not to give up their own arms, and order their men to give up theirs. At this council Mootosamè, whom we had made a king only to unmake him, was present. His knowledge of his countrymen and his despair made him bold, and for once pusillanimous Englishmen were rebuked by a desperate Hindu. If their fears had not deprived them of their senses, these Englishmen ought to have

seen, as clearly as Mootosamè, that to give up their arms was to give themselves up to torture and an ignominious death. "Will you, the brave English," said the Kandyan prince, "you, who have conquered all India, give up your arms and put yourself in the power of the cowardly treacherous Kandyans, who, the moment they can do it with impunity, will put you all to death? Rather march back to Kandy. A few discharges from your muskets will disperse that rabble and give you possession of the town. You have provisions for a day or two. During that time the river may become fordable, and that will enable you to pursue your retreat to Trincomalee." The un-English officers determined otherwise, and ordered the troops to give up their arms. As soon as this fatal order was spoken the native troops all went over to the enemy and joined them in a body. Mootosamè was seized by the Kandyans, who conveyed him back to the town, and forthwith put him to death. The British officers and men (31 individuals in all) were marched along the road to Kandy for a short distance, when they were led into a small hollow or dell, and there cruelly beaten to death with the butt-ends of muskets or with heavy clubs. Only one of the whole number escaped to tell the frightful tale. This was Corporal Barnsley of the 19th regiment. He was knocked down in the place of slaughter by the butt-end of a gun, he was desperately wounded across the back of the neck by a large Kandyan knife, but he rolled over a precipitous bank into the watercourse of a rice-field, and was left for dead. Here he lay for some time, hearing distinctly a loose fire of musketry in the town of Kandy. Having so far recovered as to be able to move, he crawled into the jungle, which was not far off in any part of the interior of the island, where the cultivated places were as mere dots in a wide wilderness. He lay perdu in the jungle until night, when he proceeded to the river. By the time Barnsley reached the ferry, the flood in the river had so far subsided, that the ordinary ferryman had resumed his occupation with his small canoe. Thus, if our infatuated officers had only kept their arms and waited a few short hours,

they might have got across the river,\* and have reached Fort Macdowall, which was only thirteen miles from the bank of the river, and on the direct road from Kandy to Trincomalee. To the honour of human nature the heart of the Kandyan ferryman melted with compassion upon seeing the ghastly, miserable spectacle our gashed and bleeding, but true English-bred corporal presented; and, at the risk of his own life, he not only ferried Barnsley across the river, but also gave him the small portion of food which he had in his canoe. Twelve years after the event (in 1815) the poor ferryman was with some difficulty found out by the English, who had then succeeded in conquering the whole of the Kandyan country. He was rewarded by the Governor-general Sir Robert Brownrigg. But some lasting monument, with inscriptions in Cingalese and in English, ought to be erected on the river bank, close by the ferry where the kind-hearted Kandyan earned his daily bread, saved the life of his English foe, and fed and comforted him, and speeded him on his way.†

Fort Macdowall, which was held by Captain Madge of the 19th regiment, had been three days besieged and completely surrounded by a part of the Kandyan army. Repeated offers had been made of a free passage to Trincomalee,

with assistance for carrying the sick and the baggage, if the English would only evacuate the fort; but Captain Madge was not infatuated like the rest of our officers, and he rejected proposals which were meant only to deceive him, and to render easy the slaughter of his little garrison. When Corporal Barnsley approached the post, he was discovered and seized by the enemy. The poor fellow must have expected death at their hands; but they preferred availing themselves of his services, by sending him into the fort with a flag of truce, in the hope that his communication of the capture of Kandy and the destruction of the English would induce Captain Madge to accept their terms and surrender the fort. Captain Madge was thunderstruck at the corporal's intelligence;\* he was in the midst of an enemy's country, unsupported, and without provisions. If he stayed, all must perish. He therefore resolved to retreat with such as were capable of marching; and that very night—the night of the 27th of June—while the enemy were expecting he would remain quiet and capitulate on the morning, he cleared silently out of the fort with thirteen Europeans and about seventy Malays. These men were all more or less sick and disabled; but unhappily nineteen other Europeans were left behind in the fort to the mercy of the Kandyans, being utterly unable to march or even to stand on their feet. The distance from Fort Macdowall to Trincomalee was one hundred and twenty-six English miles; the greater part of the country was mountain, or forest, or jungle; and Captain Madge and his handful of men were followed and often surrounded by large bodies of the enemy; yet, notwithstanding all these difficulties, they re-

\* All the rivers and rivulets in the interior provinces of Ceylon rise and fall with wonderful rapidity. What is almost a dry channel in the evening, is often a rapid and dangerous torrent before the morning; and what is a broad deep stream in the morning, is often a mere rivulet before noon. At times an insignificant rill swells into a river in an hour, and in another hour subsides and becomes a mere rill again. Major Davie and those with him ought to have known the capricious character of these mountain-streams.—*Lieutenant De Butt's Rumbles in Ceylon*, London, 1841.

† MS. Historical Sketch of the Conquest of Ceylon by the English. By Henry Marshall.

"The above information," adds Mr. Marshall, "respecting the means adopted to entice Major Davie to leave his men at the ferry, and the fraud exercised by the Kandyan chiefs to make our officers believe that Major Davie had ordered them to surrender their arms, together with the fatal result, was communicated to Mr. Simon Sawers, judicial commissioner in Kandy in the year 1823, by one of the three chiefs who prevailed upon Major Davie to return to Kandy: and the information of this chief was confirmed by the family of another of the three chiefs."—*Id.*

\* Barnsley's deposition or declaration has been published in an Appendix to Captain Johnstone's 'Narrative of the Kaudyan War.' The corporal must have been an illiterate man, his deposition being marked with the sign of a cross. Some other mode of rewarding him ought to have been found, for a man that cannot write can never make a good sergeant. He was, however, promoted to the rank of sergeant;—and, shortly after his promotion, he was reduced by the sentence of a court-martial.—*Marshall, MS. Historical Sketch.*

jected every idea of surrender, and succeeded in reaching Trincomalee on the 3rd of July.

Another Kandyan fort or post, situated about sixty miles from Kandy, on the Colombo road or path, was garrisoned by a few invalids, under the command of Ensign Grant, a very young officer, who had distinguished himself by his gallantry and activity during this war. He was repeatedly summoned by the Kandyans to give up the post upon condition of a safe and unmolested return to the British territory; but, like Captain Madge, he declined to listen to their proposals. Unlike Madge, Ensign Grant had plenty of provisions. He strengthened his fortifications with bags of rice and with the bags and barrels that contained the rest of his stores, and for ten days he bade defiance to several thousand of the enemy, who kept up an almost incessant fire upon the post. On the 2nd of July the gallant ensign and his little invalid garrison were brought safely off by a body of our troops from Colombo. Wherever common sense and common English courage were displayed the Kandyans were foiled: whenever our officers were insane enough to trust to a treaty or a truce with them, torture and murder followed, and hardly a man escaped. The post which Ensign Grant had so nobly maintained, was the last of our posts in the Kandyan country: not an inch of ground now remained to us beyond our original frontier. Dreadful was the fate of those who had been left behind! Of the one hundred and twenty sick and wounded abandoned in the hospitals in Kandy none escaped—they were tortured and butchered as they lay, incapable of resistance.\* The nineteen sick left at Fort Macdowall were treated in the same manner. Twenty European soldiers were massacred at Watterpaloga ferry during the retreat. In all, 11 British officers and 189 British soldiers were butchered by the Kandyans. Through bad climate and bad provisions 128 had died in hospital between the 1st of April and the 24th of June. Thus, out of

300 British troops which had been left at Kandy with Major Davie, only 13 men escaped to Trincomalee with Captain Madge! Nor did the mischief to the European troops end here: hundreds of those who had been marched up the country, and who had been counter-marched by General Macdowall, brought back with them the germs of the jungle fever, and died of the effects of that disease either in the present or in the following year.\* It was admitted by our medical officers that the susceptibility to disease and the mortality were greatly heightened by the badness and insufficiency of the provisions, and by the negligent execrable manner in which the commissariat department had been managed. The whole campaign was nothing but a congeries of blunders and rascalities: yet, the Honourable Mr. North being so easy a man and so amiable a governor, and having so much to answer for himself, not one officer, that we can discover, was brought to a court-martial; not one individual, that we can hear of, was visited with punishment of any sort.

It remains to mention the fate of the three British officers who were made prisoners at Kandy, namely, Major Davie, Captain Rumley, and Captain Humphries. The two captains died soon after they were made prisoners: how they died remains a secret, but we may imagine that, if they were not murdered or tormented out of their lives by the savage enemy, they died of broken hearts or of the torture occasioned by reflecting on their own un-officerlike and un-Englishlike conduct. As for Major Davie, the most responsible and the most culpable of the three, he was clearly not a man to die of

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\* The mean strength of his majesty's 19th regiment of infantry was, at the beginning of the year 1803, not less than 643, of which number 338 died during the year. In the following year the mean strength of the regiment was 642, and the deaths 128, or in the proportion of 200 per 1000. —*Marshall, MS. Historical Sketch.*

The loss in the 51st regiment was still more dreadful. When it returned from Kandy to Colombo, in the month of April, 1803, about 400 of its men appeared under arms on parade. In little more than two months 300 of these poor fellows were in the grave, having died chiefly from jungle fever, and the effects of bad and insufficient food, clothing, and accommodation.—*Id.*

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\* Cordiner. According to the statement of General Brownrigg, the sick massacred in Kandy amounted to 150.

an excess of feeling or a reproachful conscience: he lived on for years with what honest Robert Knox styled "a Cingulay's clout" about his middle. So stupendous was the amount of his cowardice and imbecility, that people could not believe in it, but attempted to account for his conduct by taxing him with deliberate treachery. A story was circulated, and for some time believed, that he had become enamoured of a Kandyan princess, that the king and the chief Adigar had promised him the hand of this lady, together with the rank of a prince or Adigar, and an extensive territory, and the command of the troops. There was nothing of the sort: Davie was no traitor; he was only an ass or an old woman with a soldier's coat on his back and a major's commission in his pocketbook.\* For some time he was detained a close prisoner at Kandy; but, it is said, under such strict surveillance that he could not make his escape. But it may be doubted whether he ever had the spirit to risk his skin in an attempt; and, if he had escaped from the Kandyaus, he could scarcely have escaped a British court-martial. He took to himself a

\* Major Davie was a native of Edinburgh. He obtained a lieutenancy in the 75th King's regiment in 1787, and in 1793 he was promoted to a company in the same corps. Having been employed recruiting in Edinburgh, he did not join the 75th regiment until he had obtained the rank of captain; consequently he was not present with the corps during its distinguished services in India. In fact, he appears never to have seen any active service at all. While in India he had been brought to a court-martial. Having obtained a short leave of absence from the headquarters of the 75th, then stationed on the Malabar coast, and being at Bombay, he asked and obtained from the commander of the forces of that presidency a longer leave of absence and permission to proceed to Europe, without any reference having been made to the commanding-officer of his own regiment. He embarked at Bombay for England; but as the ship touched at one of the ports on the Malabar coast, he was taken on shore and placed under arrest by the commanding-officer of the 75th. The court-martial tried him for "absconing." He was, however, acquitted; and not long after—in 1801—he was promoted to a majority in a Ceylon regiment styled "Champaigne's Infantry." He was described by those who knew him in Ceylon as being a well-disposed inoffensive sort of man, without the slightest practical experience of active military operations.—*Henry Marshall, MS. Historical Sketch of the Conquest of Ceylon.*

black wife, and began to live like a native. He was afterwards removed to the province of Doombura, and in the year 1810 a plan was concerted by some Kandyan Malays, who had been engaged in a conspiracy against the king, and had therefore been outlawed, to carry off the major through the Vedda woods to the fort of Batticalao, where, no doubt, they expected to be well rewarded by the British government. This plot being discovered while it was yet in embryo, Davie was brought back to the capital, and there he died a few days after his arrival—it is said, of the jungle fever. It is also alleged that Mr. North and the governors who followed him had made several attempts to negotiate with the court of Kandy for the major's liberation; but as the king demanded as the ransom of his prisoner a good seaport and a town on the coast, the British government, not thinking Davie worth so much, had constantly refused the terms.\*

It was not to be expected that the Kandyans, elated by success, and by the not irrational conviction that the English troops were commanded by a set of blockheads, should remain quiet in the interior of the island. More especially as they knew of the jungle fevers which were daily thinning our very small Ceylon army, and of the disaffection and mutiny which had been allowed to grow up among the native part of our forces. As pioneers, or as the vanguard of their army, the Kandyans sent down spies and secret agents to seduce the native subjects of the British government, and to foment disturbances in various parts of the country. Towards the end of July all our frontiers were threatened, nearly at one and the same time, by warlike assemblages. In the months of August and September they poured down from the mountains, and, by ca-

\* "Major Davie spent the remainder of his life at Kandy, and at last adopted the dress and habits of the natives. A half-caste son of his still lives in the place, supported by a small pension from our government. A large flat stone, elevated on lesser ones, was shown me as the place whence the king beheld the massacre; and a tree, near the spot where the negotiation was held, still bears the name of Major Davie's tree."—*Bishop Heber, Indian Journal.*

joling some and intimidating others, they drew to their side many of the inhabitants of our settlements; and this emboldened them to proclaim that their intention was to expel the English from every part of the island. On the 20th of August they captured a small fort distant only twenty miles from Colombo, the seat of government, and the centre of our trade and prosperity. The next day they advanced five miles farther in the direction of Colombo, carrying terror to the hearts of the burghers who inhabited the suburbs, and obliging many of them to take shelter in the fort. But reinforcements arrived both from the Cape of Good Hope and from the Bay of Bengal; and the Kandians, after doing great mischief, retreated to their mountains and almost impervious forests. But there seemed to be an evil spell upon the king-appointed governor of Ceylon and all the officers serving under him. Such measures were adopted as gave to conquests a disgrace as indelible as that of our recent defeats. It was absolutely necessary to clear our frontier, to follow the fugitives into their own territories, and to strike some blow which should restore our character and revive the awe due to our arms; but it was resolved to make the war a war of retribution and revenge—a war of devastation—and this, though mentioned with cold indifference, if not with approbation, by a divine of the Church of England, a courtly historian, who seems to think that no government could do wrong which patronized him, was unnecessary, unwarrantable, atrocious. It was not by such means as these that the Clives, and the Hastingses, and the Wellesleys had built up our empire on the continent of India. The system was, however, carried out to a great extent. Detachments of British troops were sent into the Kandian country for the avowed purpose of laying it waste wherever they penetrated. In the comparatively rich province of Saffragam one detachment of British soldiers was employed (we quote the words of our reverend historian) “in burning and destroying all the houses, stores, and gardens.”\* We have the

same authority for the fact that many other parts of the country were exposed to similar horrors. This well-fed chaplain and complaisant guest of the Honourable Mr. North really appears to be so insensible of the fundamental doctrine of his faith as to believe that these enormities were sanctioned by the plea of vengeance, and that the English were bound to retaliate upon the savage Kandians for the unspeakable cruelties of which they had been guilty!

Our army having been further strengthened by the arrival of the 65th regiment from Europe, and by reinforcements from Madras and Bengal, it was resolved by the local government, in 1804, again to invade the interior and to take possession of Kandy. Six separate columns or divisions were to march from different stations on the coast, and to penetrate the Kandian territory by different routes so as to concentrate in the vicinity of the capital. General Wemyss, who had succeeded General Macdowall in the command of the forces, made, in the month of August, a tour of the maritime parts of the island, in order, as he said, to ascertain by personal inspection the state of the detachments at the different stations, and to inquire into the practicability and eligibility of the different routes from the coast to the interior. At Batticalao he explained to Captain Johnston, an officer selected to command one of the six columns of invasion, the meditated expedition, and his views respecting the combined attack on Kandy. From Batticalao General Wemyss proceeded to Trincomalee, and from Trincomalee to Jafnapatam. From the two last-named stations Captain Johnston received two letters, one dated the 3rd of September, and the other the 8th. According to his interpretation of them, the purport of both these letters was to direct him (Johnston) to proceed into the enemy's country, so as to be prepared to co-operate with the other divisions, which were expected to form a general junction on the heights of Kandy on the 28th or 29th of September for the purpose of *destroying the enemy's capital.*\* Cap-

\* Cordiner.

\* The second of these letters, or that which

tain Johnston forthwith completed his preparations, and on the 20th of September he marched from Batticalao for Kandy with 81 Europeans and 224 native soldiers (Malays and Bengal sepoys), and 550 pioneers and coolies. After dreadful toil and much hard fighting in the woods and mountains, he reached Kandy on the 6th of October. To his astonishment he found that there was not so much as a single red-coat anywhere thereabouts, and that no satisfactory information could be obtained respecting the march of any of the other five divisions. He remained in the deserted capital three days; but on the 9th of October he began his retreat upon Trincomalee. While he had been staying in Kandy, the Kandians had been most busily employed in preparing to cut off his retreat. The Atgalé pass and the whole line of road through the jungles of Matelý, extending for sixty or seventy miles, were barricaded, in some places with breastworks, and in others by means of large trees cut down and laid across the road. In forcing the Atgalé pass Johnston lost 5 Europeans, 8 sepoys, and 30 pioneers and coolies. At nearly every other barricade there was a fight, and in nearly every thicket there was an ambuscade of keen marksmen. With admirable gallantry and military skill Johnston fought his way out, and reached Trincomalee on the 20th of October; but 2 British officers, 14 British soldiers, 7 Malays, 54 Bengal sepoys, and a still greater number of coolies had perished in the wilderness.\*

When he was close to Trincomalee,

Captain Johnston received from Jafnapatam, contained the following passage, which might very well have been written by a Massena or a Davoust—"You will, in junction with the other detachments, concert such measures as may best tend to effect the greatest devastation and injury to the enemy's country."

\* Narrative of the Operations of a Detachment, in an Expedition to Kandy, in the Island of Ceylon, in the year 1804, by Captain Johnston. London, 1810.

It is not often that a British officer has been exposed to more intense sufferings. He says, in concluding his very interesting narrative—"In common with the rest of the detachment, I had performed the greater part of the retreat barefooted. Had I possessed, indeed, changes of boots and shoes, I could not have used them, my feet having swelled, and become so tender from

Johnston met some English officers who told him, to his exceeding great surprise, that it was not intended that he should proceed to Kandy; that the general, on arriving at Jafnapatam, had found obstacles to the combined attack which he considered to be insurmountable; that the second of the two letters he had received was intended as a countermand of the original plan; that his having gone to Kandy was deemed a disobedience of orders; that it was merely meant that the divisions should enter those parts of the enemy's territory adjacent to their respective districts, and return after laying waste the country; that the other five divisions had accordingly made their incursions, and had long since returned;

constant wet, that I could not without considerable pain put them to the ground.

"In this condition, emaciated by fatigue, and labouring besides under a severe dysentery, I was, for the last two days, obliged to be carried in my cloak fastened to a stick.

"These bodily sufferings, however, severe as they were, were only shared in common with many of those around me, and fell far short of the anguish of my mind. Whilst I witnessed the melancholy state of my brave companions, I could not help reflecting that perhaps my precipitate retreat from Kandy had brought all this distress and misery upon them; that the other divisions were possibly now in Kandy, carrying into execution the general's plans; and that in such case I must, by my premature retreat, incur the censure of the general, and perhaps of the whole army.

"On the other hand, in the event of our troops not coming up, I was satisfied, that had I remained a single day longer in Kandy, the river, from the constant rains which we had experienced, would have become completely impassable; that our provisions would have been expended, without the possibility of procuring any fresh supply; and that, though determined not to capitulate under any extremity, we must, in the end, have been overpowered, owing to the want of ammunition, as well as from the pressure of sickness and famine."

Captain Arthur Johnston was a native of Ireland. He entered the army in 1794, and in 1795 was appointed to a lieutenancy in the 19th regiment. In 1804 he obtained a company in the 3rd Ceylon regiment, and in 1811 he was promoted to a majority in the same corps. Not long after this he was removed to that active and excellent corps the Corsican Rangers, of which the late Sir Hudson Lowe was for some time Colonel. In 1814 he became Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet, and in 1816 he retired on half-pay. After this he was for some time employed as a professor in the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. He was one of the claimants for the Annandale peerage. He died in 1823 or 1824.

and, finally, that the government, having learned from the Cingalese on the borders of his (Johnston's) detachment being in Kandy, had despaired of its ever returning! With this easy despondence, or with the pleasant conviction that this brave officer and the whole of his column would be destroyed on their retreat, this good easy government sat down to their dinners or went to their beds without sending any troops to facilitate the retreat, without doing anything to avert the doom of the division!

A desultory warfare between the Kandians and the English continued for many months. It was conducted on both sides with execrable barbarity: numerous villages were burned, and large tracts of country reduced to desolation. Our soldiery, whether British or native, were infuriated by the treachery and cruelty which had been perpetrated at Kandy in 1803, and from the effects of which many of their comrades in the present campaigns were not exempted; and the government and the commanding officers, instead of exerting themselves, as they were bound to do, in restraining this fury, encouraged it, and expressly ordered the continuance of acts of vengeance. The disaffection of the native inhabitants of our own territories was visited with fearful retribution by martial law. At a fishing village on the southern coast, all the boats were burned and all the houses destroyed; one man was hanged, and five others were sentenced to receive each 1000 lashes—a favourite number with courts martial at that period, and for a long time afterwards, though happily these courts are not now authorized to condemn any man to receive more than 200 lashes.

In February, 1805, a general invasion of our territories by the Kandians took place. Out of their own woods these people were but contemptible combatants. They were completely routed, and they retired from all the maritime provinces with great loss into their country. Indirect advances were soon afterwards made by the Kandians, and tacitly accepted by the English, for a cessation of hostilities.

In the month of July, 1805, a man

more fitted for the post, the Honourable Sir Thomas Maitland, assumed the government of Ceylon. Before Maitland arrived, jealousies and intrigues among the chiefs, and insurrections among the people, had broken out in the kingdom of Kandy. The chief Adigar quenched the insurrections in blood, and cut off some of the troublesome Adigars. This war in the interior was scarcely over ere another broke out between the chief Adigar and the king. For a time the struggle seemed doubtful, but in the end the king prevailed, and the chief Adigar, who had very nearly succeeded in getting the king assassinated, was brought a prisoner to Kandy and sentenced to die with his nephew. He and his nephew were beheaded, and six inferior chiefs were hanged and impaled at the same time. The son of the chief Adigar, who had been seized and imprisoned at a distance, was also condemned to die; but not arriving until after the execution of his relations, and then arriving on a great holiday, his life was spared. His lands and his rank were, however, forfeited. This catastrophe of the chief Adigar happened in 1812.

During the long civil war in the interior Sir Thomas Maitland had diligently applied himself to improve the condition of our maritime possessions, and to undo the mischief which had been permitted to be done by his easy predecessor. Sir James Mackintosh, who visited Ceylon in 1810, says, "It is impossible for me to do justice to General Maitland's most excellent administration, which, I am convinced, never had an equal in India. By the cheerful decision of his character, and by his perfect knowledge of men, he has become universally popular amidst severe retrenchments. In an island where there was in one year a deficit of 700,000*l.*, he has reduced the expenses to the level of the revenue; and with his small army of 5000 men, he has twice in the same year given effectual aid to the great government of Madras, which has an army of 70,000 men."\* Instead of making pre-

\* Diary in *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Sir James Mackintosh*, edited by his Son, Robert James Mackintosh, Esq. &c.

mature attempts to conquer the whole of the island, Maitland left the Kandyan to their dissensions, and endeavoured to raise the value of the territories we possessed, and to constitute a system of government and laws suitable to the character and habits of the native populations. In these great objects he, and still more the Cingalese, were indebted to the learning, the industry, the genius, and even the eccentricity of Mr. John D'Oyly, who was the only good Cingalese scholar in the Ceylon civil service, and who, with infinite labour, compiled a code of laws in the Cingalese language. The qualifications necessary to this arduous task had been acquired by our otherwise accomplished scholar partly in a life of seclusion, toil, and abstinence, and partly in a life spent among the natives of the country. And in order to obtain a perfect familiarity with their language, laws, manners, and customs, D'Oyly had put on their dress, and had for years lived among them as one of themselves.\*

In 1812, much about the time that the chief Adigar lost his head, Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Brownrigg succeeded Sir Thomas Maitland as governor of Ceylon. And nearly at the same time one of the chief Adigar's nephews succeeded his uncle in his post of prime minister, and in all his other dignities. This was done with the consent of the king; but Eheylapola had scarcely been established in the highest office in the state, ere the king began to suspect him of designs against his life and throne, and

of pursuing the same system of intrigue and the same treasonable practices for which his uncle had suffered death. The king prepared to cut him off, and the people of his district prepared to resist the royal forces. In the hope of strengthening himself, Eheylapola opened a correspondence with Sir Robert Brownrigg. The king now deprived him of all his offices, and threw his wife and children, whom he had left behind in the capital, into prison. Next his majesty appointed another chieftain to be chief Adigar, and sent him with part of his army to suppress the rebellion. Passing over the lofty and precipitous summit of Adam's Peak, this new chief Adigar got into the disaffected province, and soon routed his opponents. Eheylapola fled to a British post, whence he was conveyed to Colombo, with some of his adherents. This was in March, 1814. His rival and conqueror returned to Kandy with a number of prisoners he had taken, and forty-seven of these unhappy victims were impaled. This was but a beginning; seventy other head men were flogged almost to death, and were then dispatched. From a mere spirit of vengeance the king sentenced Eheylapola's wife and children, and his brother and his brother's wife, to death—the brother and children to be beheaded, and the females, according to Kandyan usage, to be drowned. All these prisoners were brought to an open space in front of the queen's palace, and there delivered over to the executioners. The hapless wife of Eheylapola comforted her eldest son, a boy about eleven years old, and bade him submit to his fate. By one blow of a sword the boy was decapitated. The head was then placed in a large rice mortar, and the pestle forced into the mother's hands. She must pound the head of her child, or be treated, in public, with the last indignities! To avoid the ignominy in question, the wretched mother lifted the pestle and let it fall on the head of her beloved boy. The other children were decapitated in succession, and then pounded in the same manner. After thus witnessing the execution of all her children and of her brother-in-law, the mother, her sister-in-law, and the wife of another chief were led to a little tank in

\* Mackintosh, in a letter to his wife, has left a pleasing picture of our learned Cingalese recluse.

"Among the society (at Colombo) are three old Westminsters—Twisleton, Coke, and D'Oyly. . . . D'Oyly, you recollect, was one of the party who rowed us, in 1799, from Cambridge to Ely. He is the only Cingalese scholar in the Ceylon civil service, and, like many Orientalists, has almost become a native in his habits of life. He lives on a plantain, invites nobody to his house, and does not dine abroad once a year; but he is generally esteemed, and seems an amiable and honourable, though uncouth, recluse. When I saw him come into dinner, at Mr. Wood's, I was struck with the change of a Cambridge boy into a Cingalese hermit, looking as old as I do."

As some acknowledgment of his merits and the value of his services, our Cingalese hermit was afterwards made a baronet.

the neighbourhood of Kandy, and there drowned.\*

The widowed and childless Eheylapola was provided with a house in the neighbourhood of the Fort of Colombo, and was maintained at the expense of Government. He was maddened by the thirst for vengeance—he could promise partisans and co-operation—he would agree to any terms that the English might propose, if they would only aid him in destroying the destroyers of his family. For some considerable time, however, General Brownrigg would not enter into his views, nor even admit him to an audience. While his excellency was expecting some hostile visitation from the troops of his Kandyan majesty for his having given shelter to a rebel chief, intelligence was received that ten native cloth-merchants, subjects of the British government, had been seized in the Kandyan country, had been sent up to the capital, and had there been frightfully mutilated, by having their noses and ears and their right arms cut off. This, the severest of the Kandyan secondary punishments, had been inflicted by order of the king. Seven of the poor cloth-merchants died on the spot; the remaining three reached Colombo in the state above described. It is affirmed that a party of Kandyan thieves, who had previously plundered the poor cloth-merchants, in order to conceal their own villainy, had carried them to Kandy, and accused them of being spies of the English; but even if this were true, the conduct of the king and the Kandyan government was not to be tolerated. The dismal results of every former attempt to subjugate the Kandyan kingdom had rendered the invasion of the hilly country an unpopular service both with the army and with that class of the native labouring population who were usually pressed to accompany the troops as coolies. During the month of November, 1814, a detachment of troops was, however, organized at Colombo for service in the field, and placed under the immediate command of Major Hook † On the 19th

of December, 1814, Major Hook's division marched for Rangwell, a small English post about eighteen miles from Colombo, and twelve from the Kandyan boundary. The fugitive Eheylapola, who was now admitted to figure as our ally, accompanied the troops, together with a few Kandyans who had followed his fortunes or had been induced to join him. During the stay at Rangwell all the English officers dined with Eheylapola; but by this time the perfidy of Kandyan allies had become proverbial with our army, and Major Hook took especial care not to admit any considerable number of Eheylapola's followers within our cantonments. The division remained at Rangwell until the beginning of January, 1815, when it moved forward to the banks of the Sittawaka, a river which divided the maritime or British district from the Kandyan territory. Here Major Hook was joined by Mr. John D'Oyly, who could speak and write the Cingalese language like a native, and who remained with the troops as the commissioner of his excellency the governor. Mr. D'Oyly conducted the negotiations which were in progress with Eheylapola and other disaffected chiefs; and his sanction was required before Major Hook was authorized to advance into the country. This sanction was not given until the 9th or 10th of January. In the interval a hostile encounter took place in the Kandyan territories between some of Eheylapola's adherents and a party of the king's troops; and the king's party being victorious, pursued the defeated party into the English territory, and there burned a cottage. On the 11th of January Major Hook's division crossed the boundary river, and began their march up the country towards a post on the Kalaneganga river, where the enemy were assembled in force. The road was rugged, the march most fatiguing; the river Kalaneganga was of considerable breadth, and was then from four to five

\* Dr. Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, &c. &c. 1821.

† Our much respected friend, Mr. Henry

Marshall, was attached to Major Hook's detachment as chief surgeon; he accompanied it on its march into the interior, and was an eye-witness of most of the circumstances which he describes in the *Historical Sketch*, which he has kindly placed at our service.

feet deep; the banks were precipitous, and the enemy fired gingals across the river; but after four or five discharges of a six-pounder the British troops rapidly descended the precipitous bank, forded the river, and ascended the opposite bank, from which the enemy fled in confusion.\* A proclamation in the Cingalese language was now issued, setting forth the causes of hostilities, and declaring the object of the war to be—"for securing the permanent tranquillity of our settlements, and in vindication of the honour of the British name: for the deliverance of the Kandyan people from their oppressors; in fine, for the subversion of that Malabar dominion, which during three generations has tyrannized over the country."

In the meantime seven other divisions were getting in motion from different parts of the coast, in order to co-operate with the advanced division of Major Hook, and to concentrate round Kandy.

The progress of these several divisions towards the interior of the island was but feebly resisted by the enemy. In Major Hook's division, which was always foremost, not a man was either killed or wounded. An attempt was made by these troops to surprise Mollegoddy, the new chief Adigar, who commanded the enemy posted on this line of road. His palanquin was captured; but during the skirmish he escaped into the jungle, after having been wounded in one of his legs by a musket-ball. The wound must have been exquisitely painful, and one which must have rendered walking exceedingly difficult, for the ball had passed through the leg between the ankle joint and the tendo Achilles. From the wild wherein he concealed himself the wounded chief solicited the king to permit his wife and children to join him from the capital, where they were tacitly retained as hostages. The king complied with the request, calculating that a chief who had been wounded by the English would regard them with implacable hatred, and that consequently he would not play false to

his majesty. Mollegoddy must have possessed considerable fortitude; for, only a few days after he had received his painful wound, he came to Major Hook's camp on foot, late in the night, and disguised as a messenger from Mollegoddy, i. e. from himself. He had a companion with him; and the deference with which he was treated by this man convinced the Major he was not what he professed to be. After this interview, numerous communications were made to Major Hook, who continued to advance, by Mollegoddy and other chiefs, who all professed their dissatisfaction with the king, and their willingness to promote the advance of the British troops, provided they could do so without openly renouncing the Kandyan government. Major Hook was much puzzled how to act, knowing the perfidy and cunning of these people, and apprehending that they meant to lead him into some fatal snare. When, however, a messenger from one of the chiefs volunteered to conduct him to the night quarters of a body of Kandians, who had been lurking in the thickets and firing on our troops, the Major risked a detachment of Malays and sepoy in a camisade, or midnight surprise. The guide proved true to his engagement; the enemy's sentry was found asleep and secured; the house occupied by the sleeping Kandians was surrounded, and the doors being strongly barricaded, the thatch of the house was set on fire. To escape from the flames the Kandians threw open the doors, and were then met by a hedge of bayonets, through which they endeavoured to penetrate. The number of men in the house was stated at, or about 75; but how many perished in the flames, or were killed or wounded by the Malays and sepoy, was not ascertained. After this experiment, somewhat more confidence appears to have been placed in the chief Adigar Mollegoddy, and in the other chiefs, of whom some were really disaffected and disgusted with the suspicious and sanguinary temper of their king, and some were only looking for security to their persons and possessions by siding in time with the stronger party. From the amount of the force employed, and from the superior

\* On the 12th of January, after the two rivers had been crossed, his excellency the governor joined the first division, and dined with the officers in a hut constructed of cocoa-nut leaves. Next day he returned to Colombo.

manner in which our operations were conducted, it was clear that his Kandyan majesty had not a chance. Our divisions were gradually closing round him with impenetrable hedges of bayonets. On the 2nd of February our 2nd Colombo division got well up the country and encamped on some heights, where it was joined by General Brownrigg, and where it staid for a few days to allow time for the two divisions from Trincomalee, the two divisions from Point de Galle, the division from Batticalao, and the division from Negombo, to approach nearer to Kandy, so as to intercept the retreat of the king on every side. Mr. D'Oyly and Major Hook had continued to hold communications with Mollegoddy, and on the 8th of February that chief Adigar came into the British camp on the heights in solemn procession with several elephants, and was introduced to his excellency the governor. He excused himself for not having joined the expedition sooner; but this, he said, had been solely on account of his family. If he had declared himself while his family were in the hands of the king at Kandy, they would all have been drowned, or decapitated and pounded in a mortar, like the family of Eheylapola. On retiring from his audience of reception, Mollegoddy, of his own accord, proposed paying a visit to his late rival Eheylapola, who was at this time in General Brownrigg's camp. The proposition seemed strange, for it was through Mollegoddy that the wife and children of the ex-chief Adigar had been drowned and beheaded, and that 117 of his adherents had been impaled or otherwise tortured and put to death: but the governor agreed to it, and the tragical interview took place in the camp. The visitor introduced himself with the exclamation "I am a ruined man!" "What then am I?" said the bereaved Eheylapola. Both chiefs burst into tears.\*

Intelligence being received that the king had left Kandy, our troops moved forward: on the 14th of February the second division with General Brownrigg

took possession of the capital, which was found nearly deserted by the inhabitants; and on the 15th the first division under Major Hook encamped in the immediate vicinity of the town.

"Shortly after the tents of the first division had been pitched," says Mr. Marshall, "I was addressed in English by a brown-coloured man in the native costume. Upon inquiry I ascertained that his name was Thomas Theon, that he was by birth a German, that he belonged to the Bengal Artillery, and accompanied the expedition to Kandy in 1803; and that he was a patient in hospital when Major Davie capitulated to the Kandyans. When he was asked how he had retained a knowledge of the English language, having for such a number of years associated with none but Kandyans, he replied—"I, being a foreigner, never could speak the English language correctly; but, having found a few leaves of an English Bible, I read them occasionally, and by that means preserved some acquaintance with the language."\* He was forthwith conducted to the palace, now General Brownrigg's head-quarters, and was introduced to his excellency. General Brownrigg appointed the poor German to a suitable situation on the coast; but he died at Point de Galle soon after his liberation from the Kandyans.†

\* It was by daily draughts at the same pure source of "English undeffiled" that poor Robert Knox kept up his English during the nineteen years of his captivity. An old Cingalese brought him an English Bible, which he had picked up on the coast. Poor Robert, in his eagerness, would have given his little all for the book, but the old man was contented with a cotton cap.

† The German's narrative of his escapes from death at the time of the massacre is very curious. He was, with the 120 or 150 sick, left in the hospital on the capitulation, and he was the only one of the number that did escape. He received a blow, along with the other patients, from the butt end of a musket, which deprived him of his senses. When he came to, he found himself lying among the dead. He crawled to a drain behind the hospital, but being discovered next day, he was hung up to a tree. The rope broke, and he fell to the ground. He was again suspended, and the people left him, thinking that this time the rope would do its duty; but again the rope broke. He contrived to find his way to a deserted hut, where he continued for ten days without any other sustenance than the green grass that grew near the door of the hut, and the rain which dropped through apertures of the roof. At last, an old Kandyan

\* Henry Marshall, MS. Historical Sketch of the Conquest of Ceylon.

It was by this time ascertained that the fugitive king was still in the vicinity of the capital. No time was lost in adopting means to seize him. A detachment of troops, accompanied by Mr. D'Oyly and Eheylapola, discovered the house in which his Majesty had taken refuge with his mother, his wives, his children, and a few of his most faithful adherents. Eheylapola's followers made the attack on the house, the door of which was very strongly barricaded. The party within resisted, and one or two were killed on both sides; but in a short space of time the front wall of the house was thrown down, and the king, exposed to the fire of the assailants, implored protection for himself and his wives. He was taken to the nearest village. Next morning Mr. D'Oyly found him surrounded by his mother, his wives and family, who were all in the deepest consternation and affliction, fearing, no doubt, that they would be sacrificed to the manes of the butchered and drowned family of Eheylapola. Mr. D'Oyly removed these horrible apprehensions, and assured them all that they should be treated with respect and kindness. The king was at first silent and reserved: but after being convinced that he would be well treated, he betrayed evident signs of tender emotion; and taking the hands of his aged mother and of his four wives, he presented them successively to Mr. D'Oyly, and recommended them in the most solemn and affecting manner to his protection.

woman came to the hut and entered it, but, apparently surprised and alarmed at seeing a European, she instantly disappeared. To his great comfort, however, she soon returned, bringing with her a dish containing a quantity of dressed rice, which she left on the ground, and went her way. Next morning some Kandyans came to the hut and took our poor German before the king, who, struck with the singularity of his fate, observed that it was not for man to injure one who was so evidently the favourite of Heaven. The king then ordered him to be supplied with food, giving him at the same time in charge of one of the chiefs, with strict injunctions to treat him with kindness. A house was allotted to him in Kandy, and he, after some time, married the daughter of a Moorman, a circumstance which contributed greatly to his comfort. He was never allowed to see Major Davie; and it was said that a woman who had conveyed a message from him to the Major was put to death.—*Henry Marshall, MS. Historical Sketch.*

VOL. II.

The report of the capture of the king reached General Brownrigg on the 19th, while he was at dinner with a small party of officers. His excellency was greatly affected; and, while the tears rolled down his cheeks, he shook hands with every one present, and thanked them for their exertions in furtherance of an object which now seemed to be nearly accomplished, and which had been vainly attempted for nearly three centuries by three European powers in succession—the conquest of the Kandyan country.

The royal prisoners and their attendants were forthwith sent down to Colombo, in charge of Major Hook, and under a strong escort. They arrived at our little capital on the 6th of March, and were received by Colonel Kerr, the commandant of the garrison. A spacious and handsomely furnished house was set apart for their residence. They all seemed to be delighted with their residence. "As I am no longer permitted to be a king," said the fallen tyrant, "I am thankful for all this kindness." Before he arrived at Colombo, his dethronement, or the unequivocal right of conquest, was acknowledged by all his great chiefs.

On the 2nd of March a solemn conference or convention was held in the audience-hall of the palace of Kandy, between his excellency the governor, on behalf of his Majesty George III. and of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the one part, and the Adigars, Dissauvas, and other principal chiefs of the Kandyan provinces on the other part, on behalf of the people, &c.: and, then and there, a public instrument of treaty being produced and publicly read in English and in Cingalese, was unanimously assented to. By this treaty it was declared that the late Rajah by his evil deeds had forfeited all claims to the sovereignty, and that his family and relatives of all degrees were for ever excluded from the throne; that the dominion of the Kandyan provinces was vested in the sovereignty of the British empire, to be exercised through his accredited agents, leaving to the native chiefs, appointed by authority, the rights and privileges of their respective offices, and to all classes of the people the safety of their persons

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and property, with all their rights and immunities, according to the laws, institutions, and customs established and in force among them; and finally that the religion of Buddha, professed by the chiefs and inhabitants of the Kandyan provinces, should be and was declared inviolate, its rites, ministers, and places of worship to be maintained and protected, &c. During this conference Eheylapola and Mollegoddy sat side by side; and there was at least this great good secured, if not by the treaty, then by our conquest, that such savage feuds and rivalries as theirs should no longer be allowed. All the Kandyan chiefs complimented General Brownrigg on the success of his arms, and declared that he had rescued them and their country from tyranny and oppression. "No people in the world," says Mr. Marshall, "can excel the Kandyans in paying compliments." Mr. D'Oyly, without whom our army would not have been quite so soon in Kandy, and without whose services in the audience-hall the present business must have limped, interpreted for the chiefs and for General Brownrigg, and explained to the natives the treaty which he had himself composed, or at least translated into Cingalese. After the treaty had been signed by the chiefs, Mollegoddy, Eheylapola, and the other Adigars proceeded to the great door of the hall, where the subordinate head-men of the different districts of the country were attending; and these head men being requested by Mollegoddy to range themselves in order according to their respective districts, the treaty was again read in Cingalese, and at the conclusion of the reading the head-men expressed their assent, and the British flag was hoisted, and a royal salute was fired to announce that his Majesty George III. was sovereign of the whole island of Ceylon.

It was thought that Eheylapola had expected to be raised to the throne under British protection and suzerainty, and that he cruelly felt his disappointment. But if it were so, he conducted himself with much dignity and decorum: he declined official employment, preferring, he said, to live in retirement, and asking for nothing but the title of "The Friend of the British

Government." He fixed his residence in Kandy, and married again. He lived in considerable state, and continued to be regarded by the natives as the great chief of the country. He had certainly displayed more talent than any of the other chiefs.

The deposed king remained at Colombo until the 24th of January, 1816. He declared that until he was made a prisoner by the English, he had never retired to rest without the dread of assassination. Fear produces cruelty, and cruelty excites fear. He never could trust any of his courtiers, and it is doubtful if any one of his chiefs deserved his confidence. He was passionate as well as suspicious. "Your English governors," said he to Major Hook, "have an advantage over us in Kandy: they have counsellors about them, who never allow them to do anything in a passion, and that is the reason you have so few executions; but, unfortunately for us, the offender is dead before our resentment has subsided." Some of his most sanguinary measures were ordered when he was drunk, he having become very liable to paroxysms of intemperance.\* The predominating passion of his mind after he became a prisoner was indignation at the treatment he had received from his own subjects, more especially the chiefs. "Take heed of Eheylapola and Mollegoddy," said he, "they deceived me, and they will deceive you." He gave our government an account of the places where his treasure was hidden, observing, with great bitterness, that it mattered little what became of the money, provided only his chiefs and people did not benefit by it. In a conversation with Mr. Marshall, who has done more than any man to preserve his name from oblivion, he said, "Had my people behaved as they ought to have done, I would have shown you whether I was a man or a woman. Twice during my reign have you obtained possession of the town of Kandy, and twice have you been very glad to get out of it." Mr. Marshall agreed that his people, on the

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\* From the great quantity of Hoffman's cherry-brandy bottles found in the palace at Kandy, it was inferred that he was very fond of that liquor.

whole, had made but a feeble resistance. "True! but it is of no use to talk of the taste of food after it is in the belly," responded his Majesty. After putting a number of questions to his interlocutor, he asked him whether he should not like to be at home. Mr. Marshall replied "Yes." The king then said, "Think what is the exact form of your house; is it square or round?" Mr. Marshall replied that his house was square. "Then," said the king, "you are at home, your thoughts being there. The mind of man is of the first moment, the body being of comparatively little importance. You now are where your mind is, though your body be absent." Upon some allusion being made to the severity of the punishments he had inflicted, he rather testily replied, "I governed my kingdom according to the Shasters!" On the 24th of January, 1816, he and all his relatives, dependents, and adherents, about one hundred individuals in all, were transported as state prisoners to the peninsula of India. At first they resided in Madras, but they were finally transferred to the fort of Vellore, where the family of Tippoo Sultan had once resided. Nearly two years after their departure a most formidable insurrection broke out.

Mollegoddy retained the dignity of chief Adigar, which his rival had refused to accept. The name of the second Adigar was Kappawatta. All the chieftains soon discovered that their feudal-like power was gone. Nothing offended them more than our impartial administration of justice, by which a mean, poor man obtained redress as readily as a proud and wealthy chief. They had been accustomed to treat the common people as negro slaves are treated in the American slave-holding states; and they could not be brought to understand how all men were to be equal before the law. The jealousies and hatreds which continued to rage among these Adigars alone prevented the formation of a formidable conspiracy for the purpose of expelling the English. Notwithstanding the antipathy with which they regarded us generally, the people were not at all disposed to submit to the control of one of their own chiefs. The people made no complaint of oppression

or misrule, they acknowledged that their condition was far better than it had been, yet still they wished us gone. They indeed wondered at our stay, for they entertained a superstitious notion that the English could not live in the Kandyan country. A head-man said to an English officer, that to unite Kandyans and Englishmen under one government was as incompatible as to yoke a buffalo and a cow to the same plough! These people had been so long segregated in their mountains and forests, that these feelings were natural and unavoidable, although they were sure to give way before the force of time, experience, and a familiarity with our manners. The most civilized part of the inhabitants of the newly acquired territories were pleased with the change of government, and easily reconciled to our manners. These were the Velassy Moors or Moormen, an active enterprising body of Mohammedan merchants, the descendants of some Arab tribes who had settled in Ceylon some two or three centuries after the Hegira, when the Arabs carried on an extensive trade with the island and with most of the neighbouring parts of the Indian continent. They became immediately useful to the English, more especially by furnishing cattle to our commissariat for the purpose of conveying stores and provisions from the coast stations. They formed an intermediate link between the traders in the maritime districts and the traders in the interior provinces which we had conquered. They were capitalists, and had long conducted all the trade in salt, a trade which required capital, as salt was a government monopoly, and enormously taxed. Under the Kandyan regime, although they had been allowed petty head-men of their own faith, they had been subjected to the rule of the Adigars and other Cingalese chiefs, who had cruelly oppressed them, taking from them whatever salt they required for their own use at their own price, or, more frequently, without paying any price at all. The Moormen now solicited General Brownrigg to defend them from these Kandyan chiefs, and to place them under a chief or head-man of their own race and faith. The governor complied, and Hajji,

or 'the Pilgrim,' so named and revered from his having made a pilgrimage to Mecca, received the appointment. Hajji was a man of substance, of superior intellect, and highly respected among his own people. The Moormen forthwith practically renounced the authority of the Kandyan chiefs, and withheld the dues which they had been accustomed to pay them either in kind or in money. The incensed chiefs very soon resolved to cut the Hajji's throat, and at their instigation he was assassinated by a party of Veddas, or wild men, near to the Moorish village of Kattabawa. Two or three Moormen, who were with the Hajji, made their escape, and through them intelligence of the murder was conveyed to Mr. Wilson, agent of government for the eastern provinces. Mr. Wilson lost no time in pursuing the murderers. Taking with him fifteen men belonging to the Malay Ceylon rifle regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Newman, he proceeded, on the 17th of October, to the village of Kattabawa. Upon entering the Velassy district, he found all the villages deserted; and some of the poorer people, who kept at a distance, called out that the whole country had risen against the British government. The people refused to hold any further communication with our agent. The poor Hajji's head was found stuck upon a pole near to the spot where he had been assassinated. Seeing that nothing could be done with so small a force, Mr. Wilson determined to retrace his steps to Badulla, the station from which he had started. During the retreat small parties of Kandyans occasionally appeared on the hills, using very insulting language, and shouting "Beef-eating slaves, begone!" Unfortunately Mr. Wilson halted by the side of a spring or fountain, for the purpose of quenching his burning thirst. Two of his domestic servants remained with him, but Lieutenant Newman and the detachment moved on. Mr. Wilson had scarcely stooped to the refreshing stream ere an arrow, discharged by a viewless hand, flew from the neighbouring jungle, and was followed by a whole flight of arrows. Mr. Wilson was killed, and one of his servants was wounded; but both the ser-

vants ran after the detachment, calling upon it. Lieutenant Newman halted, faced about, and was back at the fountain in a very short space of time; but short as the time had been, the murderers had decapitated Mr. Wilson, and had disappeared with his head.\* It was vain to

\* Mr. Wilson's head was not discovered until several months after. It was then found stuck upon a pole, like the poor Hajji's. The skull and brain had been penetrated by two arrows. It was conjectured that he, as well as the poor Hajji, had been murdered by the wild men of the jungle, or the Veddas, who now, as in the days of Robert Knox, were very dexterous in the use of the bow and arrow. They are divided into two classes,—the *village* Veddas, who build huts and live in small communities, and the *forest* Veddas. The first class is considered as a link in the chain that connects their wilder brethren with the Kandyans. The tract of country stretching from the base of the hills that terminate the range of the Kandyan mountains to the eastward, unto the commencement of the civilised belt of land that skirts the eastern coast of the island, is solely occupied by Veddas, who consider it their birth-right and fatherland. They are supposed to be the descendants of the aborigines of the island, who, on the invasion of Ceylon by the Malabars, retired into these deserts, and there found shelter from the fierce conquerors. Even the village Veddas go perfectly naked, and live for the most part on the spontaneous productions of the earth, and on the flesh of such animals as they can kill or enslave. They, however, plant and cultivate the cocoa-nut tree. These village Veddas rank high in the scale of civilisation, compared with those roaming and savage children of the trackless wilderness, the forest Veddas. The forest Veddas never associate with their brethren of the village, who regard them with enmity and disgust. Like the beasts of the forest, they live in pairs, and, except on some extraordinary occasion, never assemble together. The woodcraft of these savages, on which they mainly depend for their support, is extremely rude. The bow and spear are their sole weapons. Their arrows are headed with iron, which they receive from the Cingalese in exchange for the skins of deer and elk. With this feeble instrument they kill game, and wage an incessant war with the wild beasts, especially the elephants, that abound in their territories, and dispute with them the dominion of the wilderness. Their arrows would rebound from the body of the elephant; but in the act of walking, the animal raises his foot so as to expose the whole of the soft and vulnerable sole; and the Vedda, aware of this peculiar action, cautiously follows his victim until he gets sufficiently near to discharge with effect an arrow at the vulnerable part. When the wounded foot is placed on the ground the arrow breaks, leaving the barbed point deeply buried in the flesh. The elephant seems scarcely to notice the trifling injury when first received, but the pain arising from the inflamed parts soon puts him *hors de combat*; and his persecutors now approaching close, contrive

think of following the invisible enemy into the jungles. As soon as an account of Mr. Wilson's death reached Kandy, Mr. Sawers, the revenue commissioner, proceeded to Badulla, taking with him his own Lascar guard and a sergeant's party of the 1st Ceylon regiment. About six miles from Kandy, Mr. Sawers met a party, consisting of one corporal and two privates, carrying a dispatch to Kandy; these poor fellows were all murdered by the inhabitants a few hours after. Mr. Sawers, however, saw no appearance of insurrection until he entered the province of Ouva, about twelve miles from Badulla; but then he found that most of the villages were deserted, and that the few inhabitants that remained would hold no communication with him. For the purpose of ascertaining the feelings of the people in the province of Matelé, Sir John D'Oyly, now resident at Kandy as civil governor, authorized Eheylapola to proceed from his usual residence in the capital to that part of the country, where he (Eheylapola) had large estates and great influence. At this time the governor and Lady Brownrigg were travelling through the country. In the month of August, before there was any sign of insurrection, Sir Robert and his lady visited Kandy, being met on the road by a large concourse of Kandyan chiefs, with their numerous retainers. No reception could be more flattering. Having remained in Kandy transacting business until the 26th of September, the governor and his lady continued their journey to Trincomalee, where they arrived on the 3rd of October. On the 20th of October they quitted Trin-

to dispatch him with their arrows and spears. They believe in evil spirits, but have no notion of a God or of a state of future rewards and punishments. Sir Edward Barnes, whose government of Ceylon was a series of benefits conferred, or attempted to be conferred, upon mankind, made an attempt to civilise the wilder tribe, by having some of them brought into the plain, giving them food, clothes, &c., and prizes to their best bowmen; but the experiment seems to have failed altogether; and, until a vast increase shall take place in the thinly scattered population of Ceylon, and cause a partial emigration in the direction of the wastes of the Veddha country, slight hopes can be entertained of any considerable change in the character and habits of a people infinitely wilder than the Bheels of the Indian continent.

comalee to return to Kandy, and it was not until they reached Kandelé, a place about twenty-seven miles from Trincomalee, that they received the first information of the insurrection. As they went on, by the hilly country, the accounts they received became more and more alarming. They found by the road-side a Kandyan chief who professed great devotion to the English, but who, notwithstanding, had been disgraced and ill-treated by Eheylapola, although, as the chief said, he was proceeding to pay his respects to his excellency the governor when he fell in with the ex-chief Adigar. The number of Eheylapola's followers was now reported to be alarmingly great, and fears were entertained that Eheylapola intended to head the insurrection, and to take the governor and Lady Brownrigg and all the party prisoners as they travelled through the forests. His excellency's escort was very small. Fortunately, however, there was no such plot. At a post about thirty miles from Kandy, Eheylapola, who appeared in great state, with several elephants and 2000 or 3000 people, waited upon the governor and escorted him into the capital, where the whole party arrived safe on the 26th of October.

In the meanwhile, with the sanction and approval of Mr. Sawers, and Major Macdonald, the commandant of Badulla, a Kandyan chief, named Kappitapola, proceeded to Velassy and the districts where the insurrection had first broken out, with the alleged purpose of tranquilizing the province and bringing the people back to their allegiance to the British government. As soon as he reached the seat of the insurrection this Kappitapola joined the insurgents; but his twelve followers (the only force he took with him) returned to Badulla, with the English muskets and ammunition they had received from the government store. Eheylapola was now removed from Kandy and confined as a prisoner at Colombo; and other chiefs, in spite of their compliments and protestations, became objects of suspicion to the English. The hospital at Kandy was again crowded with sick. There were generally from three hundred to five hundred men in the

hospital: and they were regularly supplied with arms and ammunition at sunset in order that they might be able to defend themselves if the hospital should be attacked. Notwithstanding the most energetic measures on the part of the English government, the insurrection extended over nearly all the Kandyan country. In the month of December Mr. Kennedy, assistant-surgeon to the first Ceylon regiment, left Kandy to proceed to a station some thirty or forty miles off, with an escort consisting of one Malay corporal, two Malay privates, and eight Caffres. He was also accompanied by a party of native Coolies, who carried rice and his baggage. On reaching a mountain pass, about 24 miles from Kandy, Mr. Kennedy was attacked by a large body of Kandyans, who butchered him and every man with him, except one or two of the Coolies. The Malay soldiers, of whom we had many in our service, were the most vindictive of human beings: they vowed to avenge their three countrymen, and too truly did they keep their oath. By the month of March, 1818, nearly all that country was in arms against us, and nearly every chief of consequence had either joined the insurgents, or had been put under arrest upon suspicion of favouring the insurrection. The governor remained up the country, but Lady Brownrigg left Kandy and proceeded to Colombo. Fears were entertained that her ladyship and her escort might be cut off on their journey; nay, even that the head-quarters, together with all the troops, would have to fight their way out of the country, with all the unfortunate results of former retreats from Kandy. But her ladyship and escort reached Colombo unmolested; the insurgents shrunk from any decisive encounter, and jealousies and quarrels soon broke out among them. A Buddhist priest, a reputed relation to the deposed king, had been brought forward by the insurgents of Velassy as a candidate for the crown. The name adopted by this pretender was Durramé. Kappitapola accepted the office of first Adigar to the pretender. This gave great offence to another insurgent chief, named Madugalla, who had more followers than any of them. An angry

conference ended in Madugalla's clapping both Kappitapola and the pretender in the stocks. The pretender contrived to escape from Madugalla, but his party was completely broken up, and he found himself under the necessity of flying and seeking refuge among the Veddass, or wild men. Although a large reward was offered for his capture, he succeeded in concealing himself for nearly twelve years. He was finally captured in 1829, in consequence of information given by a Buddhist priest who knew him. He was tried and convicted in Ceylon, but pardoned by orders from England.

There was no confiding bond of union among the chiefs; and the people grew weary of a war which exposed them to extreme misery. In some of the provinces the whole of the population, men, women, and children, had lived for a whole year in the woods and on the tops of mountains; their grounds had been left uncultivated, they had lost two crops, many of their cattle had been killed, and their small stores of grain were exhausted, having been in many places seized or destroyed by the British troops. The monsoon rains were approaching, and the people had no other prospect before them but an increase of misery and famine. On the 30th of October, 1818, Kappitapola and another chief were surprised, and taken by a detachment of our troops. Madugalla, who had become reconciled to Kappitapola, and who had lately been acting in concert with him, was taken on the 1st of November, and with his seizure the insurrection terminated. Kappitapola and Madugalla were tried, and sentenced to suffer death by a court-martial; and both were beheaded on the 25th of November. Kappitapola died with a sort of heroism, Madugalla died like a coward. Several other chiefs suffered death.\* Eheylapola,

\* At Kappitapola's request, Mr. Marshall visited him several times after conviction. The chief was usually in tolerably good spirits. His cloth, or upper covering, being both coarse and foul, he spread it out one day between his hands, and smiling, said, "You know this is not the way I used to dress." He was not unwilling to converse on the subject of the insurrection; and although he sometimes admitted that he was concerned in many of the hostile attacks made upon our troops,

"the friend of the British government," was kept a close prisoner at Colombo

he wished to explain away, or weaken at least, the force of any inference which tended to criminate him. He repeatedly and earnestly expressed a desire that the sentence of death might be commuted to banishment, and wished that Mr. Sawers might be requested to use his influence with Sir Robert Brownrigg. He remarked that, although life was full of trouble, existence was still desirable. In the course of conversation he frequently observed that he was an unfortunate man, and was unwilling to admit that his unhappy condition was an obvious consequence of the policy he had adopted and the ill success which attended it. Being a zealous Buddhist, he considered his present misfortune as the result of delinquencies committed during a former state of existence—a belief which repudiates responsibility for crimes committed in this life.

Early in the morning of the 25th of November, Kappitapola and Madugalla were, in compliance with their own request, taken to the Dalada Malegawa, or Temple of the Sacred Relic (the tooth of Budh). At the request of Kappitapola, and by permission of his Excellency Sir Robert Brownrigg, Mr. Sawers, the revenue commissioner, met him at the temple. Kneeling before the priest upon the threshold of the sanctuary, the repository of the sacred relic, the chief detailed the principal meritorious actions of his life, such as the benefits he had conferred on priests, together with the gifts he had bestowed on temples, and other acts of piety. Kappitapola then pronounced the Ploptannawah, or last wish, namely, that at his next birth he might be born on the mountains of Himalaya, and finally obtain Neerwannah, a state of partial annihilation. The chief having concluded his devotions, he was addressed by the priest, who, in an impressive tone and manner, acknowledged that his merits were great, and concluded his address by pronouncing a benediction, the last words of which were as follow:—"As sure as a stone thrown up into the air returns to the earth, so certain will you, in consideration of your religious merits, be present at the next incarnation of Budha, and receive your reward." The scene between the chief and the priest was most solemn and impressive. The chief, who had continued kneeling, rose, and turning round to Mr. Sawers, addressed him in the following words:—"I give you a share of the merit of my last religious offering;" and forthwith unwinding his upper cloth from his waist, he presented it to the temple, jocularly observing, that although it was both foul and ragged, "the merit of the offering would not on these accounts be diminished, it being all he had to give." He then requested Mr. Sawers to accompany him to the place of execution, which was kindly and respectfully declined.

Madugalla's devotions were conducted in a similar manner; but he was quite unnerved and much agitated. When the priest had given him his benediction, he sprang forward and rushed into the sanctuary, where he loudly craved mercy for the sake of the relic. He was instantly

until 1825, when he was transported to the Mauritius. A considerable number of petty chiefs were also sent out of the island.

The war was now entirely ended, but dreadful and disgraceful had it been during its progress. Execrable cruelties had been practised, as well by the native

dragged from behind the Dagobaw by Lieutenant Mackenzie, the fort-adjutant, with the assistance of some of the guard. Kappitapola, who conducted himself with great firmness and self-possession, and who was greatly surprised at the pusillanimity of his fellow-prisoner, in the coolest manner observed that Madugalla acted like a fool. He then, in a firm and collected manner, shook hands with Mr. Sawers and bade him farewell.

The prisoners were then taken to the place of execution, which was about a mile distant from the temple. Here they requested to be provided with water for the purpose of ablution, which was brought to them. Kappitapola then begged to be allowed a short time to perform the ceremonies of his religion. This request being granted, both the prisoners washed their hands and face. He then tied up his hair in a knot on the top of the head, and sat down on the ground beside a small bush, grasping it at the same time with his toes. From the folds of the cloth which encircled his loins he took a small Hanna-book (prayer-book), and after reciting some prayers or verses, he gave the book to a native official who was present, requesting him to deliver it to Mr. Sawers as a token of the gratitude he felt for his friendship and kindness while they were officially connected at Badulla, Mr. Sawers as agent of government, and Kappitapola as Disauva of Ouva.

The chief continued to repeat some Pali verses, and while he was so employed, the executioner struck him on the back of the neck with a sharp sword. At that moment he breathed out the word Arahaan, one of the names of Budh. A second stroke deprived him of life, and he fell to the ground a corpse. His head being separated from his body, it was, according to Kandyan custom, placed on his breast.

Madugalla continued to evince great want of fortitude, and being unable to tie up his long hair, that operation was performed by the Hea-righa Kangaan, the chief over the public executioner. The perturbed state of his mind was shown by the convulsive action of the muscles of his face. He earnestly begged to be dispatched by means of one blow, and then faintly pronounced the word Arahaan. In consequence of his not having sufficient resolution to bend his head forward, it was held by one of the executioners. After the first blow of the sword he fell backwards; but he was not deprived of life until he received a second stroke.

Kappitapola's cranium was presented by Mr. Marshall to the Museum of the Phrenological Society of Edinburgh.—*Henry Marshall, MS. Historical Sketch.*

troops in our service as by the Cingalese ; and we blush to add that our British born and our Irish soldiers had, in many cases, turned the contest into a war of retaliation and extermination.\* The sufferings of our European troops were indeed excessive, the conduct of the enemy most aggravating ; but still it behoved the British officers in command to moderate the fury of their men, and this, with a few exceptions, our officers did not sufficiently attend to. The chief fault lay in very high quarters. By general orders our troops were commanded to burn and destroy, and to quench the flames of insurrection in blood. The troops were employed in following the insurgents into their fastnesses. The dwellings of the inhabitants were burned, and their fruit-bearing trees, their cocoa-nut trees, were often cut down, and their rice-grounds were often laid waste by breaking down the immense mounds or embankments constructed to retain the water, so essential to the cultivation of this grain. The whole country was scoured in every direction by military parties, who burned and destroyed whatever provisions and other property they could not carry away. Women and children were sometimes captured and sometimes murdered by the vindictive Malays. The men were hunted down like wild beasts, tracked to their dens and holes in the hill-sides (after the fashion in which the bloody Duke of Cumberland, of ever execrable memory, put down our Highland insurgents in 1745). On one occa-

\* The reader will look in vain for any adequate notion of the horrors that were committed, or for any indignant censure on their commission, in Doctor Davy's book about Ceylon and the splendid conquest achieved by General Sir Robert Brownrigg. The Doctor in Medicine shows himself as good a courtier and panegyrist as Cordiner, the chaplain of the Honourable Mr. North. His aim was almost solely to laud the governor (General Brownrigg), in whose family he resided. His attempts to screen the governor from the imputation of knowing and tacitly sanctioning the barbarities that were committed by some parts of our army upon the Kandians, are absurd ; and are refuted, contradicted, and exposed in the most glaring manner, by letters, general orders, instructions emanating from the government house at Colombo or at Kandy, and other documents which exist, and are open to the inspection of the world.

sion a party of fifty or sixty Kandians were surprised in a cave near the top of a mountain. They set up a hideous yell and rushed from the cavern. Twenty of them were killed by our troops ; the rest threw themselves over the precipices. During the whole of the war the natives avoided meeting our troops openly in the field, being sensible that their strength lay in stratagem and bush-fighting. Through the closeness of the woods and jungles, and the almost impenetrable nature of the country, our military parties were greatly exposed to the missiles of the enemy. Detachments were frequently dodged by three or four Kandians, who, knowing all the by-paths, could fire upon the party occasionally, and keep up with it in a march. When one of our men was killed, the party halted, wood was collected and the body burned ; and this caused delay. The body was burned to prevent mutilation and the practice which the enemy had adopted of impaling the heads of the killed close to some British post. When a man was wounded, so as to be rendered unable to walk, it was necessary to carry him ; and this operation was effected by bearing him in a country blanket suspended under a bamboo. These and other circumstances sadly retarded the march of our troops, and exposed them long to the ambushed fire of the Kandians. And in addition to the natural impediments which occurred, such as deep rivers—mountain torrents—rugged, precipitate paths—slippery rocks, morasses, &c., the enemy constructed many artificial modes of obstruction, some of them of considerable ingenuity. Few countries so long resisted the arms and the policy of powerful neighbours as the kingdom of Kandy, and few conquests have been more dearly purchased. Our losses were tremendous, considering the number of troops employed. A vast many more fell by disease, fatigue, and bad or insufficient provisions, than by the arms of the foe ; and the fevers caught in the jungles continued to thin the ranks both of our native and British regiments many months after the war had ceased. Including those who died of famine and disease, it is supposed that 10,000 of the

wretched natives perished. As all their turbulent chiefs were executed, or captured and shipped off the island, the survivors everywhere submitted quietly to the British government.

Before quitting Kandy General Brownrigg issued a proclamation or new constitution for the Kandyan country. With the exception of the temples and religious establishments, the entire administration of the public affairs of the provinces, which had been conducted by the Adigars and Dissauvas, was wholly transferred to English functionaries. The few chiefs who were not suspected of having favoured the insurrection had their former titles confirmed, and received a fixed stipend from the English government, together with a continuation of the envied privilege of being preceded by running-footmen cracking loud and heavy whips. The personal services of the common people were abolished, except for making and repairing roads and bridges; and in lieu of personal services a tax of one-tenth of the annual produce of cultivated lands was imposed. For the administration of justice, courts were appointed, to be conducted by officers named by government. The chiefs or Dissauvas holding the governor's commission were prohibited from inflicting any severe punishment on the people: they might inflict twenty-five strokes with the *open hand*, and they might imprison an offender for seven days, but not longer.

Since the close of the year 1818, no active resistance or opposition has been made by the Kandyans to the British government. At this time the rich and beautiful island, the outwork and bulwark of our empire in India, appears to be tranquil and prosperous. Fine roads have been opened through the wilderness, and other and numerous important improvements have been planned and executed. During the government of the late General Sir Edward Barnes (a name held in affectionate reverence by the natives) a splendid road was constructed from Colombo to Kandy, and from that city to Newera Ellia. The whole length of this fine carriageable road exceeds 200 miles.\*

The plains or table-lands of Newera Ellia are from 5000 to 6000 feet above the level of the sea, and the country between them and Colombo is naturally wild and rugged in the extreme. Two other good roads run from Trincomalee, and from Badulla, to Kandy and the centre of the island. Other roads have been opened in various directions, numerous rest-houses have been erected in the lonelier parts of the country for the accommodation of the traveller; and the English officers and colonists now drive their chaises, or travel in comfortable stage-coaches, through regions which were almost impenetrable wildernesses as late as 1818. The Mahavilliganga river, where Major Davie halted in despair on account of the breadth and depth of the water, is now spanned by a beautiful single-arched bridge, constructed by Colonel Fraser, deputy quartermaster-general to the forces in Ceylon.\* A tunnel,

"The new road from Colombo to Kandy has been recently opened by Sir Edward Barnes. . . It is a noble work, and has been executed with immense labour, as well from the nature of the country, as the almost impenetrable jungle through which it passes. Captain Dawson was three months in tracing the line, and frequently gave up the work in despair. He had often to creep along the beds of torrents, to enable him to make any progress through the mass of underwood with which the mountains are covered."—*Bishop Heber, Indian Journal.*

\* Lieutenant De Butt's 'Rambles in Ceylon,' London, 1841.

"The breadth of the stream is here somewhat contracted, and, by the aid of projecting buttresses, the span of the arch has been reduced to 205 feet. The bridge is entirely built of the beautiful satin, a wood almost peculiar to the forests of Ceylon, where it grows in great abundance. The arch is composed of four treble ribs, the interval between which is five feet. Every beam used in the construction of the bridge is so inserted as to admit of removal without endangering the safety of the fabric. This is of the utmost value in a tropical clime, where wood is found to decay much more rapidly than in lower temperatures. The Kandyans, relying on their ancient tales and legends, had formed an opinion that the bridging of the 'Great River' was impracticable. With this persuasion, they were in the habit of daily assembling to gaze on the gradual progress of the work, and laugh to scorn the vain and impotent labours of the *pale faces*. But when, to their amazement, the bridge was found to stand without the supporting framework, their admiration knew no bounds, and they looked with fear and wonder on the Europeans, who had brought to a successful termination an undertaking con-

\* Lieutenant De Butt's 'Rambles in Ceylon.'

540 feet in length, has been cut through one of the mountains that encircle the Kandyan capital, and the road through this tunnel unites itself, at the foot of the Kandyan hills, with the principal road to Colombo. By taking this circuitous route troops advancing on Kandy can turn certain heights on which the native chiefs used to place great reliance for the defence of their capital. It is said that the opening of this tunnel gave the finishing blow to their dying hopes of independence; that an ancient legend told them that their country would never be subdued until the invaders could bore a hole through this mountain; and that the impossible feat being performed, they resigned themselves to their destiny. The country round Kandy is cultivated like a garden; from an unhealthy place, or one

fatal to the European constitution, it has become one of the most salubrious stations that we have anywhere in the East. A splendid mansion or palace, built by Sir Edward Barnes, stands in the town; and the banks of a neighbouring and very picturesque lake are studded with bungalows and European villas. There is a botanical garden; and a garrison library, a printing-press, and other signs of European civilization are not wanting. The antipathies of the native chiefs and their families to the English appear to have been almost entirely overcome; they pay and return visits, and the Kandyan ladies even attend the balls given by the governor or by our officers. On the whole it may be said that there is now no part of India where the population is more pacifically inclined than that of Ceylon; and that, from the most persevering, fierce, and indomitable foes that Europeans have encountered in the East, the Kandyans have become among the most tranquil and contented subjects that Britain controls in her far-extending Oriental possessions.\*

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sidered by them beyond the power of man. . . . In ordinary cases the crown of the arch of this bridge is 67 feet above the level of the Malin-villiganga; but this stream, in common with all others which have their sources in the alpine regions of the interior, is liable to extreme fluctuations during the rainy season." In 1834 the waters rose to within 7 feet of the crown of the lofty arch, or 60 feet above their ordinary level.—*Id., id.*

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\* Lieutenant De Butt's Rambles in Ceylon. Bishop Heber, Indian Journal.

## CHAPTER XV.

## ADMINISTRATION OF EARL AMHERST.

UPON the resignation of the Marquess of Hastings, Mr. Canning, who had presided for some time over the Board of Control, to the great satisfaction of the Court of Directors, was nominated by that Court to be governor-general of India. The resolution was unanimous, and was passed in the month of March, 1822. The melancholy death of the Marquess of Londonderry on the 12th of August following, led to some important changes in the ministry, and rendered it indispensable that the governor-general elect should remain in England. On the 18th of September Mr. Canning was nominated secretary of state for foreign affairs; and he consequently resigned into the hands of the Court of Directors the high appointment which they had conferred upon him in so flattering a manner. Two candidates now presented themselves: the one Earl Amherst, who had been employed some few years before in an embassy from England to China; the other, Lord William Bentinck, who had been governor of Madras, and who represented to the Company that he had rendered them good and faithful services. Earl Amherst was preferred, and that nobleman proceeding to Calcutta, assumed the office of governor-general on the 1st of August, 1823. The Marquess of Hastings had quitted Bengal in January, 1822, and between his departure and the arrival of Lord Amherst, Mr. Adams, senior member of the Supreme Council, had presided over the government of India.

The new governor-general had been but a very few months in his office ere he found himself under the necessity of entering into a new war with an entirely new enemy. The Burmese, elated by some recent conquests which they had

made, and being brought in more immediate contact with the British frontiers, began, towards the end of the year 1823, to make sundry attacks upon us. Without notice given, and without any attempt at negotiation, they claimed possession of Shapuree, a small muddy island in the province of Bengal, but close to the coast of Arracan, which the Burmese then possessed. Making a sudden night attack, they drove away a small guard of British troops stationed on the island, killed several of them, and took forcible possession of the island. This, coming close upon other outrages, was not to be tolerated. Our government, however, resolved to consider the forcible occupation of Shapuree as the act of the local authorities of Arracan, and addressed a gentle declaration to the Burmese central government, recapitulating the past occurrences, and calling upon the court of Ava to disavow their officers in Arracan. The court of Ava, as might have been anticipated, considered this gentle declaration as a pusillanimous attempt to deprecate the resentment of the Burmese. They triumphantly appealed to the paper as a proof that the British government of India dreaded to enter upon a contest with them; and they intimated that unless their right to the island of Shapuree was distinctly admitted, the victorious Lord of the White Elephant and the Golden Foot would invade the Company's dominions. In the meanwhile two companies of the 20th regiment landed on the disputed island, drove off the Burmese, and stockaded themselves. And on the other side the commanding officer and some of the crew of the Company's cruiser *Sophia* were seized on the mainland and carried up the country. Both sides now actively prepared for war, the

Anglo-Indian troops on the frontier being, however, ordered to maintain a strict neutrality for the present. More and more confirmed in their idea that we were afraid of them, from 4000 to 5000 Burmese and Asamese advanced from Asam into the province of Cachar, and began to stockade themselves at a post within five miles of the town of Sylhet, and only 226 miles from Calcutta. The town of Sylhet was on our frontier, and the whole of Cachar was under our protection, yet the Burmese claimed that province as their own, and called upon the Rajah of the adjoining province of Jintee to submit to the government of Ava. Major Newton, the officer commanding on the Sylhet frontier, concentrated his detachment and marched against the invaders. It was at daybreak on the 17th of January, 1824, that he came in sight of their stockade and of a village adjoining, of which they had taken possession. The Burmese in the village presently gave way, but those in the stockades made a resolute resistance, and were not driven out until they had lost about a hundred men, and had killed six of our sepoys. They then fled to the hills. Shortly after this action Mr. Scott, our commissioner, arrived at Sylhet, and from that point he advanced to Bhadrappoor, in order to maintain a more ready communication with the Burmese authorities. On the 31st of January Mr. Scott received a message from the Burmese general, who justified his advance into Cachar, and declared that he had orders to follow and apprehend certain persons wherever they might take refuge. In reply this Burmese general, who held the chief command in Asam, was told that he must not disturb the frontiers of the Company, or interfere in the affairs of its allies, and that the Burmese invaders must evacuate Cachar, or the forces of the British government would be compelled to advance both into Cachar and Asam. To this communication no answer was received, the Burmese commander stating that he could give none until he had received instructions from his court at Ava. The messengers sent by Mr. Scott were detained in the Burmese camp under different pretexts. It

was clearly the object of the Burmese to procrastinate the negotiations until they had strengthened themselves in the advanced positions they had occupied. The Rajah of Jintee, who had been imperiously summoned to the Burmese camp, and commanded to prostrate himself before the shadow of the Golden Foot, threw himself upon the British government for protection; and various native chiefs whose territories lay between the frontiers of the Burmese empire and the frontiers of the British dominions, called loudly for English aid. This, the south-east frontier of Bengal, had in fact been kept in constant dread and danger of invasion for more than a year, while the adjoining and friendly territories had been exposed to the destructive inroads and the overbearing insolence of the Burmese and Asamese for many years.\*

Major Newton did not follow the Burmese he had routed, but, after driving them from their stockade, he returned to Sylhet, and withdrew the whole of his force from Cachar. Almost as soon as the Major was within his own frontier the Burmese advanced again into the country from which he had driven them, and stockaded some stronger positions. They were joined by another considerable force, while another detachment, 2000 strong, collected in their rear, as a reserve or column of support. Still advancing, and stockading as they advanced, the main body of the Burmese pushed their stockades on the north bank of the river Surma, to within one thousand yards of the British post at Bhadrappoor. Captain Johnstone, who commanded at that post, had but a very small force with him, yet he succeeded in dislodging the invaders from their unfinished works at the point of the

\* Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq. (the distinguished Orientalist, Professor of Sanscrit, Oxford, &c.), "Documents illustrative of the Burmese War, with an Introductory Sketch of the Events of the War, and an Appendix." Calcutta, 1827. Major Snodgrass, military secretary to the commander of the expedition to Ava, and assistant political agent in Ava, "Narrative of the Burmese War, detailing the Operations of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell's Army, from its landing at Rangoon, in May, 1824, to the conclusion of a Treaty of Peace at Yandaboo, in February, 1826." London, 1827.

bayonet, and in driving them beyond the Surma. This was on the 13th of February. On the following day Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen joined and took the command over Captain Johnstone, and instantly marched in pursuit of the retreating enemy. They were found stockading themselves in a strong position on the opposite bank of the Jetinghi river, a deep and rapid stream. The only difficulty encountered was in getting across this stream. As soon as our troops were over, and had fixed their bayonets, the Burmese cleared out of their stockade and fled to the hills. But there was another division of the army of the Lord of the White Elephant, which had stockaded a much stronger position at Doodpatlee, where their front was covered by the Surma river, and their rear rested on steep hills. Each of the exposed faces of this intrenchment was defended by a deep ditch, about fourteen feet wide; a strong fence of bamboo spikes ran along the outer edge of the ditch, and the approach on the land side was through jungle and high grass. Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen, however, marched against this formidable stockade and attacked it. The Burmese remained passive till our troops advanced to the bamboo spikes, when they poured upon them a destructive and well-maintained fire, which completely checked their advance, although they kept their ground. When Lieutenant Armstrong had been killed and four other officers wounded, and about one hundred and fifty of our sepoys killed or wounded, Bowen called off the attacking party and retired to Jatrapoor, at a short distance. On the 27th of February Colonel Innes joined the force at Jatrapoor with four guns and a battalion of fresh troops, and assumed the command. But in the meanwhile the Burmese had retreated from their formidable position and retired into their own country, evacuating the whole of Cachar.

But before this time the great Burmese chief, the Maha Bandoola, then high in favour at the court of Ava, and the projector of a scheme for the conquest of Bengal, had collected a great army near the southern extremity of our frontier, and had marched into Arracan, provided with

golden fetters, in which the governor-general of India was to be led captive to Ava.\* This Maha Bandoola had convinced the king that, with 100,000 men, which he said his majesty could assemble with ease, the conquest of Bengal might be achieved; and his majesty had consulted with a foreign resident at Ava, as to the means of driving the English out of India.† The Lord of the Golden Foot laid claim to all the territories east of Moorsheadabad, as having formerly belonged to the kingdom of Arracan, which he and his ancestors had conquered.‡ Exaggerated reports of the strength and ferocity of the Burmese troops carried alarm even to Calcutta; the peasants on our frontier fled in dismay from their villages, and every idle rumour was so industriously magnified by timid or designing people, that the native merchants of Calcutta were with difficulty persuaded to refrain from removing their families and property from under the very guns of Fort William.§

But the British Lion was rousing himself, and preparing to put forth his mighty strength; and hardly ever, or in any part of the world, was his bound so rapid or more terrible. As the two states might now be considered as actually at war, Lord Amherst declared war in form, and promulgated the grounds of our quarrel in a declaration addressed to the Court of Ava and the different powers of India, and in a public proclamation dated the 5th of March, 1824. Orders had been previously given for the equipment of a force of from 5000 to 6000 men at the presidencies of Calcutta and Madras. It had been wisely determined to act upon the offensive, and not to commence operations either on the barren mountains of

\* Major Snodgrass.

† Id.

‡ Deposition of Henry Gouger, Esq.

§ If we rightly understand a passage in Bishop Heber's correspondence, other inhabitants of Calcutta besides the native merchants were in great alarm, asking leave to send their property into the citadel, packing off their wives and children across the river, and expecting to see the war-boats of the Burmese on the salt-water lake, or the golden umbrellas of their chiefs mounted on the top of St. John's Cathedral.—*Letter to R. J. Wilmot Horton, Esq.; Correspondence in Appendix to Bishop Heber's Indian Journal.*

Arracan, or in the pestilential jungles of Chittagong; but in the great river which leads through the heart of the Burmese Empire (and is the highway of the trade of the country), where no attack was expected. The plan of the campaign, in short, was to ascend the Irawaddi and to begin by capturing the city of Rangoon, the principal port and trading place of the Burmese Empire. Good arrangements, considering the ignorance that prevailed, were made by General the Honourable Sir Edward Paget, our commander-in-chief in India. The two divisions, from Calcutta and Madras, were directed to assemble at Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andaman Island—an island occupied, as in the days of Marco Polo, by downright savages, if not cannibals—from which the combined forces, under the command of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, were to proceed to the Irawaddi. Between the 12th and 17th of April, the Bengal division, consisting of the king's 13th and 38th regiment, and two companies of artillery, were embarked at Calcutta. They were detained for some days at the Great Andaman, waiting the arrival of the division from Madras. But by the 4th of May the greater part of the troops from Madras, consisting of his Majesty's 41st regiment, a Company's European regiment, and seven battalions of native infantry, with artillery, gun lascars, &c., reached the place of rendezvous; and on the following morning the united forces left the Andamans, under the protection of his Majesty's ships "Liffy" and "Larne," the former commanded by Commodore Grant, and the latter by Captain Marryat. The transports were also accompanied or followed by several of the Company's armed cruisers, and by the "Diana" steam-boat. In nearly all parts of the operations which were now about to begin, the land troops were greatly indebted to the co-operation of the Navy, and to the services of the steam-vessel, the first which had ever floated in those waters. Our ships anchored within the bar of the Rangoon river on the 10th. The arrival of our fleet was wholly unexpected; the town was unprepared for its reception, and the civil

authorities were thrown into consternation. Our arrival was, however, quickly announced by numerous beacons, prepared at the mouth of the river; and in the course of the night the signals were repeated and extended by blazing fires in every part of the surrounding country. It was, therefore, desirable that no time should be lost in appearing before the town. On the very next morning the fleet proceeded up the river, being wafted on its way by a fair wind, and led by his Majesty's ship "Liffy." A few harmless shots from the guardhouses on the banks were the only impediments offered to its progress. At 12 o'clock the "Liffy" anchored close to the principal battery at the king's wharf in Rangoon, the transports anchoring in succession in her rear. Having furled sails and beat to quarters, a pause of some minutes ensued, during which not a shot was fired. On our side humanity forbade that we should fire into an almost defenceless town, crowded with inoffensive people; and the Burmese, on their part, were unwilling to begin the unequal contest. They stood for some time inactive at their guns; but at length, being urged by the threats of their chiefs, they opened their feeble battery on our shipping. The frigate's fire soon silenced the battery and every gun on shore: the enemy fled from their works, and our troops, being landed, took quiet possession of a deserted town. Proclamations had been previously issued promising British protection to the inhabitants, and prompt and liberal payment for whatever the troops might want of them: but the Burmese governor had given orders for driving the whole of the inhabitants into the neighbouring jungles, where the men were to be organized into corps, and the women and children to be strictly guarded as pledges for the good conduct of their fathers, husbands, and brothers; whose desertion was to be punished by the sacrifice of their children or nearest female relatives. And, with the population, nearly everything which the town contained had been removed into the inmost recesses of the jungle, or carried far up the river Irawaddi. As the people of Rangoon were very aquatic, and as the river was known to swarm with boats, our commanders had calculated

upon finding more than a sufficient number of boats to carry the troops up the river to Ava, the capital; but not a boat was to be found—everything had been removed that was at all likely to be of use to an invading army—oxen, horses, were no more to be found than boats—there was nothing left in the neighbourhood of Rangoon except a little paddy. It was evident that all this was only the prelude to a plan of laying waste the whole country in our front, in the hope of starving us from their shores. Even the few British merchants, and American missionaries,\* who were known to be residing at Rangoon, had disappeared, and their too probable fate excited general commiseration throughout the army. It appeared, from the testimony of a few of the inhabitants who had concealed themselves in the town, that, as soon as the approach of our armament was known, all foreigners were seized, fettered, and confined in the custom-house, from which they were repeatedly marched up to the hall of justice to be interrogated by the governor. Not one of these individuals knew or had the means of knowing beforehand anything of our expedition; but the governor would not believe their protestations, and their death was soon resolved on. In their prison, their guards took a savage pleasure in parading and sharpening the instruments of execution before their eyes, in strewing the sand before the door, and in making the usual preparations for a series of executions. In this dreadful state of suspense the English and American prisoners remained for many hours, but fear at last did what prayers and pity could not do: the governor dreaded a retaliation, he suspended the final order of execution from hour to hour, and until a 32-pound shot fired by the "Liffy" entered the prison, suspended the bloody deliberations of the authorities there assembled, and broke up the meeting. The chiefs fled from the city; and their prisoners, strongly fettered, but under a weak and timid

guard, were marched a short way up the country. Immediately after landing, part of our troops were pushed a short distance in advance of Rangoon, and thereat the guard which accompanied the prisoners became alarmed for their own safety, and took to their heels, leaving their charge in two houses near a great pagoda, where they were next morning found by our advanced patrols.\*

\* Some other British and Americans who were in the interior of the country were not quite so fortunate. Mr. Henry Gouger, merchant and native of London, who had been residing at Ava for nearly two years, and who had become a great favourite at court; a Scotch skipper of the name of John Laird, who had gone up the country to purchase timber; Mr. A. Judson and Mr. Price, American Baptist missionaries, were seized and conveyed to the condemned prison of Ava, being loaded with five pairs of irons each. For many weeks they were kept in constant apprehension of being put to death by some excruciating torture. The prison was filthy to the last degree of filthiness, and crowded with criminals and with our sepoys who had been taken prisoners near the Sylhet frontier, or were taken afterwards on the Irrawaddy. After lying for nearly twelve months in this condemned prison, they were removed to a still worse place of confinement, in a solitary spot about ten miles from Ava and about four from Amarapura. This place was called Aongbenlee, or the Field of Victory. Here they were threatened with being buried alive, and were exposed to other and more terrible threats, and to a general treatment unutterably brutal. As they were not released until the close of the war, they suffered in all nearly twenty-one months' captivity and torture. Their clothes rotted away on their backs, and they could procure no change; both the prisons swarmed with lice and other vermin. The government, which had seized all their property, allowed them no provisions; they were often two or three days together without any food, and all the food they could procure through the compassion of the natives, or through a little money they had secreted, was a little rice or an occasional handful of stinking dried river-fish. The captivity of Robert Knox in the interior of Ceylon, though of longer duration, was not equal in suffering to Mr. Gouger's imprisonment in Ava; and if our much esteemed friend could be induced to draw up a full narrative of all his adventures and sufferings in the Burmese territories, he might produce a book that would rival in interest Knox's truly admirable volume. In addition to the charm of adventure, he might convey a fund of useful information about the state of the country and the manners of the people. Down to the moment of his arrest, which took place at Ava three days after the king had received information that the English had landed at Rangoon, Mr. Gouger had been an especial favourite with the king.

Judson, the missionary, and his wife, had been living in the Burmese dominions ever since the

\* The American missionaries at Rangoon were, George Hough and — Wade; the English merchants or traders were, Alexander Tainsh, a man of Chief; William Roy, a Perthman; and — Trill.

Our commanders had greatly miscalculated the importance of the capture of Rangoon, the means which that capture would put at their disposal for carrying on the war, the internal strength of the Burmese government, the nature of the

year 1813. Mrs. Judson, though put under strict surveillance, was not thrown into prison. Parts of their adventures are very generally known to the world through their various publications in missionary magazines, &c. They were esteemed a right-hearted, devout, and conscientious couple, though not free from the errors usually attending Protestant missionaries in the East. Mr. Judson appears to have commenced a translation of the Scriptures into the Burmese before he properly understood that language. He complained that in four years no Burman had renounced idolatry—that they were “mad on their idols, and their whole soul seemed engaged in idolatry;” and in ten years’ time he baptized only four natives. He was, upon petition, admitted to the Golden Foot, and even to behold the Golden Face; but as soon as his sublime majesty of Ava discovered that the honest American Baptist was no conjuror, and did not possess the philosopher’s stone, or any other wonderful secret which might secure him from all disease and make him live for ever, he sent Mr. and Mrs. Judson, and “brother Colman,” back to the coast. The missionaries, however, had been permitted to return to the capital, and Price and Judson were seized at Ava on the same day as Mr. Gouger.

There was another English-born prisoner, and by far the strangest being of them all. His name was Rodgers. He had formerly been a petty officer on board one of the Company’s ships; but while his ship was lying in the Hooghly he had quarrelled and fought with another petty officer, had left him for dead, and had taken to flight in order to save his own neck. According to his own account to Mr. Gouger while in prison, he had not taken any unfair advantage of his foe, and he had ascertained that the man had not really died. But the latter fact at least seemed very questionable, and Rodgers evinced great fear of falling into the hands of his countrymen. He had been living upwards of forty years in the dominions of his Burmese Majesty, and he was now a grey old man, with a long thin beard. He had assumed the dress and nearly all the habits of a native Burmese; and great was Mr. Gouger’s surprise when he first went to court to hear himself addressed in good sailorlike English by such a figure! Rodgers’s adventures and vicissitudes had been very numerous. At one time he had been receiver of the king’s customs in the port of Rangoon; at another time he had been loaded with irons and thrown into prison as a conspirator. He was tolerably prosperous when his last misfortune fell upon him, and when the king seized all his property. Still haunted by the dread of the gallows, Rodgers would not approach the English camp when the war was over. He preferred staying in Ava and taking his chance again among the Burmese.

country, and the character of the people. They thought it very probable that the war would end at Rangoon, whereas it only began after the capture of that place. As in the Nepaulese war, the first campaign in the Birman Empire was a war of experiment, or a fighting in the dark. It is true that in this country, as well as in Nepal (though in a much less degree), there were obstacles to the acquisition of correct information: but it should seem that, with a little previous forethought, expense, and preparation, an amount of information might have been obtained which would have saved us from many serious blunders. If Lord Amherst, or Sir Edward Paget, our brave commander-in-chief, had taken council of a man like Sir Stamford Raffles, or of any person of activity, energy, and ability, that had previously devoted some months to the acquisition of information respecting the Burmese Empire, as Raffles had done with regard to Java and the other islands of the Eastern Archipelago, before the expedition was decided upon, the war, instead of dragging on for nearly two years, might possibly have been terminated in two months. In the too confident hope of finding all that they wanted at Rangoon, our troops had come unprovided with proper equipments for advancing either by land or by water; their supplies of provisions were scanty, from the same miscalculation; and they now found themselves cut off from all supplies, except such as; in course of time, came by sea from Calcutta. To increase their embarrassments, the rainy monsoon was just setting in. Nothing remained but to take up a long residence in the miserable and filthy hovels of Rangoon, situated in the midst of swamps and rice-grounds. The filthy town was surrounded by a wooden stockade from 16 to 18 feet high, which effectually shut out all view of the fine river which runs past it, and gave the town a confined and unhealthy appearance. Everything in and about the place was in ruins, except the lofty golden Dagon Pagoda. The houses were built of wood, or more frequently of bamboo; the floors were raised some feet above the ground, which might have contributed to their dryness, healthiness, and comfort, were it

not that the space beneath was always a receptacle for dirt and stagnant water. Herds of meagre swine, the disgusting scavengers of the town, infested the streets by day; and at night they were relieved by packs of hungry dogs, that yelled, howled, quarrelled, and barked all the night long, depriving the soldiers of their rest. To this dismal town of Rangoon, and to a range about three miles beyond it, our troops were destined to be confined for several months. For many days after the disembarkation a hope was entertained that some of the inhabitants would return to their homes, and afford some prospect of local supplies; but the people were all kept in check by the powerful measures adopted and the terrible threats used and often carried into practice by their government; and every day's experience only increased our disappointment, and proved how little we knew of the character of the nation we had to deal with.\* There was no passing the swamps and inundated rice-fields, or the thick jungle beyond them, which was intersected only by a few narrow foot-paths, like the jungles and forests of Ceylon; and behind this screen the unseen enemy plied their work, raising their levies, and gradually collecting them so as to form a cordon round our cantonments. "Hid from our view," says the historian of this war, "on every side in the darkness of a deep, and, to regular bodies, an impenetrable forest, far beyond which the inhabitants and all the cattle of the Rangoon district had been driven, the Burmese chiefs carried on their operations and matured their future schemes with vigilance, secrecy, and activity. Neither rumour nor intelligence of what was passing within their posts ever reached us. Beyond the invisible line which circumscribed our position all was mystery or vague conjecture."† A series, a perfect continuity of stockades was erected, and was pushed nearer and nearer to Rangoon. Like the Nepaulese, the Birmans rarely met an enemy in the open field: their conquests had all been made through the system of stockades. Instructed and trained from their youth in the formation

and defence of these works, they had attained to great skill and judgment in the use of them. By gradual approaches, and by carefully stockading all their positions as they advanced, their wars had for many years been an uninterrupted series of conquests; and at the time of our landing at Rangoon they had subdued and incorporated into their Empire nearly all the petty states by which it was surrounded. Their spirit was therefore high, and their confidence in a system of warfare, which had been productive of so many conquests, was confirmed. They quickly saw the difference between our disciplined troops and those of the native powers with whom they had been hitherto engaged; but this knowledge only made them the more cautious and the more attentive to the number and strength of their stockades.

The long and gilded war-boats of the Burmese, and the skill and spirit of the Irawaddi boatmen, were not altogether unknown at Calcutta when our expedition was planned. Every town on the river, according to its size, was obliged to furnish a gilt or a common war-boat, and to man and keep it in constant readiness. These boats carried from forty to fifty men each, and the Lord of the White Elephant and the Golden Foot could muster from 200 to 300 war-boats. In actual war these boatmen were about the most respectable part of his majesty's force. In a time of peace they were as turbulent and overbearing as the Galionjees of the Turkish sultan used to be in former times. Receiving little pay, and living chiefly by rapine, they were in a state of constant hostility with the rest of the people, and were audacious and prompt to execute any orders of government however cruel or violent.\* They were more particularly attached to, and dependent on, the crown than any other class of men in Ava; and they had proved their devotion to their king by removing every boat that was likely to be useful to the English. At the royal mandate the Irawaddi above Rangoon was speedily covered with warriors from the towns upon its

\* Major Snodgrass.

\* Captain Cox's Journal, as quoted by Major Snodgrass.

banks. At the same time the war tocsin was sounded in every part of the country ; and every town and village within 300 miles of Rangoon sent its complement of armed men to drive the strangers back into the ocean from whence they came. As their troops rapidly increased in numbers, the enemy that were making the cordon round Rangoon became more daring ; and gradually approaching nearer and nearer, they commenced stockading themselves in the jungle within hearing of our advanced posts. Sir Archibald Campbell did all that he could to encourage this boldness, for he could not undertake any distant operation, and the monsoon rains were now beginning to deluge the country. On the morning of the 28th of May, when they had stockaded an advanced corps within little more than musket shot distance from our picquets, Sir Archibald thought that it was time to punish their temerity, and that an opportunity was offered for cutting up part of their army. With four companies of Europeans, two field-pieces, and 400 sepoy he moved against the foremost stockade. The works being incomplete, the Burmese quitted it, and retired through the wood after firing a few shot. Sir Archibald and his column continued to advance through the wood by a winding and very narrow pathway, at every turn of which there was some breastwork or stockade. These works, however, were all hastily abandoned, the Burmese not having had time sufficient to finish them. After an advance of five miles our troops, emerging from the jungles, suddenly entered a wide open field, intersected by a morass and rivulet, across which there was a long narrow bridge. Here the retreating enemy faced about, and attempted a formation for the purpose of defending the passage of the bridge ; but they soon gave way before the fire of our two field-pieces, and then continued their retreat towards other woods and jungles. At this juncture a terrible storm began ; the rain fell in torrents, and our two field-pieces could be dragged no farther. Sir Archibald Campbell, however, determined to proceed, hoping by a very rapid advance to be able to liberate the Rangoon women and children, being well

assured that their release would be followed by the speedy desertion of their male relations, for whom they were held in pledge. Therefore, leaving the 400 sepoys to guard the guns, Sir Archibald pushed on rapidly with the four companies of British troops. After traversing another jungle he reached the edge of the extensive plain of Joazoang. In the midst of this plain, and at a short distance from each other, stood two villages closely flanked by jungle on either hand. The rain descended more violently than ever ; the English soldiers were knee deep in water, but they cheerfully marched on. On approaching the villages they observed that they were defended in front by two stockades, filled with men who seemed confident in the strength of their position, and who shouted and cried "Lagee! Lagee!" (Come! Come!) At the same time large bodies of the enemy were moving from the rear of the villages and forming by the side of the jungle. Leaving one company to keep this force in check, Sir Archibald, with the three other companies, made a dash at the stockades. The enemy within them commenced a heavy fire, to which, from the wet state of their muskets, our troops could at first make but little return. But the works were not above eight feet high, and our men, forcing their way over them, brought their bayonets to bear upon a crowded, dense, and confused living mass. The conflict was now short, but very sanguinary. The works had only very narrow ways of egress, and the foremost fugitives, getting wedged in them, blocked them up and prevented the flight of the rest. When they could run away, they ran ; but the Burmese never gave and never expected quarter. Lowering their heads to a butting position, they blindly charged upon our soldiers' bayonets. They were killed in heaps, for our people had dried their muskets, and could now pour in volleys as well as use the bayonet. Few or none were spared, as from the barbarous and treacherous mode of warfare practised by the Burmese death alone afforded safety.\* During the attack upon

\* "The experiment," adds Major Snodgrass, "was tried but tried in vain. Humanity might

the two stockades the enemy in the plain, whose force was roughly estimated at from 4000 to 5000 men, made no movement in their defence; but as soon as they saw that our troops were in possession of the works they set up a horrid yell and began to move towards the stockades. The single company which Sir Archibald had left on the plain sufficed to keep them in check; and as our other three companies rapidly moved out of the works and formed, the Burmese host wavered and fell back. The British then collected their killed and wounded and carried them from the field; and, as the day was drawing to its close, they marched back to quarters, slowly and without any molestation. The enemy left 300 dead in the stockades and adjacent fields, and many more were wounded. On our side Lieutenant Alexander Howard was killed, and Lieutenants Mitchell and O'Halloran were very severely wounded: two rank and file were killed and about twenty were wounded. In going and returning the enemy's advanced stockades were all destroyed.\*

The sharp lesson they had received shook the confidence of the Burmese commanders in their troops and stockades. Hitherto every effort to open communications with them had failed, but they now sent two deputies to the British general. They had no intention whatever of agreeing to terms, or even of entering upon the discussion of a treaty; all that they wanted was to lull their adversaries into inactivity, and to gain time for strengthening their own works and increasing the number of their own army. Sir Archibald Campbell was making arrangements for attacking one of their strongest posts on the Irawaddi

prompt a British soldier to pass a fallen or vanquished foe; but when he found his forbearance repaid on all occasions by a shot, the instant that his back was turned, self-preservation soon taught him the necessity of other measures; and it consequently happened that our first encounters with the troops of Ava were sanguinary and revolting, especially to soldiers whom feeling and the customs of war alike taught to treat with kindness and forbearance those whom their valour had subdued."

\* Major Snodgrass. Sir Archibald Campbell's Dispatch, in H. H. Wilson's Documents illustrative of the Burmese War, &c.

river when, on the morning of the 9th of June, a request was sent in from their camp that passports might be furnished to two men of rank who were desirous of conferring with the English general. The passes were instantly granted, and in the course of the forenoon two war-boats made their appearance and landed the two Burmese deputies at Rangoon. These native chiefs conducted themselves with much ease and boldness, and with still more cunning and address. Having entered the house, they sat down with all the familiarity of old friends; they paid their compliments to the British officers; and made their remarks upon what they saw with much freedom and apparent good humour. The senior—a stout old man, in a long scarlet robe, and with a red handkerchief tied round his head—then opened the subject of their mission with the question, "Why are you come here with your ships and soldiers?" following up the question with professions of the good faith, pacific intentions, and friendly disposition of the Burmese government. The provocations they had given by invading our neighbours and dependants, by attacking our own territories, &c. were fully explained as being the causes of the war, and the nature and extent of the redress we demanded was plainly stated. In spite of all their address their real object was discovered, and they indeed betrayed it themselves when they refused to remove the barrier placed in the way of communication and reconciliation and asked for a few days' delay. Sir Archibald Campbell gave them to understand that no delay would be granted—that their post on the river would be attacked forthwith. He, however, gave, and they condescended to take back to their camp, a declaration of the terms upon which peace would be restored. The two chiefs stepped into their war-boats with an air of defiance; and the boatmen went off with great speed, rising on their short oars, and singing in chorus "Oh, what a happy king have we!"\* The very next morning the post on the river

\* Major Snodgrass. The boatmen wore broad Chinese hats. Their features were harsh, bold, and strongly marked.

was attacked by our troops. It was at the village of Kemmendine, a war-boat station only three miles above Rangoon. The enemy laboured incessantly, day and night, to strengthen this position: the ground behind the village, elevated and commanding, was surrounded by a thick forest in the rear; the heights had already been strongly stockaded and abbatished in front; and the approach on the land faces was rendered difficult by a thick jungle, while the swampy nature of the ground towards the Irawaddi strengthened the work on that side. But these defences were not tenable against two divisions of vessels which proceeded up the river to attack the stockade in that direction, and nearly 3000 men, who marched to the attack by land, with four 18-pounders and four mortars. In a few minutes after the attack commenced a great part of the extensive work was carried, and the enemy there stationed were driven into the jungle, leaving behind them 150 dead. At the rear gate of this stockade were found the gilt umbrella, sword, and spear of a Burmese commander of high rank; the umbrella, which chiefly denotes the rank, being shattered by a shower of our grape. The body of the chief himself was found a few yards farther in the jungle, and was recognised to be that of the stout and cunning old deputy who had visited our quarters the preceding day. This night—a night of storm and pitiless rain—was spent by our troops, under arms, under the dripping trees of the jungle or in the inundated rice-fields; but on the following morning, when they marched to storm the rest of the works, they found that they were entirely deserted, and that the Burmese had gone off in a panic to another stockaded post a good many miles in the rear of Kemmendine. The most desperate crews of the king's war-boats had fought in the stockades at Kemmendine and had joined in the retreat. Sir Archibald Campbell's loss in killed and wounded was very considerable.

For a time there seemed to be a general pause and terror on the side of the Burmese, who had now evacuated every stockade in the neighbourhood of Rangoon. Their recent losses made them

keep at a safer distance from our lines, and our troops ceased to be annoyed by their nightly visits to their posts; but beyond these temporary advantages no favourable change took place, either in the present condition or in the future prospects of our army. Not an inhabitant returned to his home; and so far from any desire of peace being manifested by the court of Ava, it was made evident that the war would be carried to the last extremity. Our very successes, in convincing the enemy that they could not stand against us even in their best stockades, convinced them also of the necessity of removing all means of transport and of subsistence still farther from our reach; and accordingly the plains for many miles round were swept of their herds, the rivers of all their boats and canoes; all the towns and villages were deserted, and everywhere beyond our outposts we found a solitude and a waste.

Other operations had taken place in the meantime in other directions. Two small forces detached by Sir Archibald Campbell had captured the islands of Cheduba and Negrais, the first lying off the coast of Arracan, and the second near one of the mouths of the Irawaddi river. The Maha Bandoola, the royal favourite who had planned the conquest of Bengal and collected the large army in Arracan, had commenced offensive operations and had crossed our frontier, with a number of gilt umbrellas, some days before Sir Archibald Campbell's armament reached Rangoon. With a force of from 6000 to 8000 men he surrounded a small British post, which made an honourable, but ineffectual resistance. Some of the officers and sepoy effected their escape, but others fell into the hands of the Burmese, who barbarously put all the English officers and most of the sepoy to death, only reserving a few of the latter to send as prisoners and trophies to the Golden Foot. The arrival of these captives at Ava tended to confirm the arrogant confidence of that court. But the progress of Bandoola's forces was very soon checked; they were beaten out of all their advanced stockades by a few hundred sepoy, and by the end

of July they were driven back into Arracan; and all the country near our south-eastern frontier was completely cleared. In this short and desultory, but difficult war—for it was carried on with mere handfuls of sepoys and in the midst of the rainy season—Colonel Shapland and Colonel Innes greatly distinguished themselves.

We return to Rangoon. Sir Archibald Campbell's forces were already much diminished by sickness and death, brought on by hard service during an inclement season, by defective provisions, and by the ordinary casualties of war.\* But the opportune arrival of the 89th British regiment from Madras, and of parts of the two detachments which had subdued the islands of Cheduba and Negrais, raised the effective strength just at the critical moment. By the end of June the Burmese in this quarter appeared to have somewhat recovered from their dismay. Chiefs of the highest fame, who, until they came in contact with our troops, had always been victorious, were sent down the Iráwaddi from Ava and from Prome with orders to slay or torture and mutilate every Burmese soldier that did not fight to the utmost, and one of the brightest of golden umbrellas, Sykya Wongee, minister of state, was appointed commander-in-chief, with positive commands from the Golden Face to attack and drive the British at once into the sea. On the last day of June all the woods in Sir Archibald's front again exhibited bustle and commotion; 8000 men had crossed to the Rangoon side of the

river; the jungles around all seemed animated; clouds of rising smoke marked the encampments of the different corps of the Burmese army in the forest; and their noisy preparations for attack formed a striking contrast to the still and quiet aspect of the British line.\* The Shoodagon, or Golden Dagon Pagoda, was the key of the British position. This splendid edifice—in itself a fortress—is about two miles or two miles and a half from the town of Rangoon: in shape it resembles an inverted speaking trumpet; it is 338 feet high, and is surmounted by a cap made of brass 45 feet high; the whole is richly gilded. The base of this Pagoda is a conical hill, flat at the top, and rising about 75 feet above the road. Here Sir Archibald placed a whole battalion of British troops. The two roads running from the Pagoda to the town were occupied by our forces, native and European, the minor pagodas, bonze houses, and pilgrims' houses along those two roads affording good shelter to the troops against the inclemency of the season, and some shelter from the attack of an enemy whose artillery was but light. Two detached posts completed our position—one at the village of Puzendown, about a mile below the town, where the Pegu and Rangoon rivers meet; the other at Kemmendine, about three miles above the town; this second post being chiefly intended to protect our shipping against the descent of the enemy's fire-rafts. On the morning of the 1st of July the enemy issued in dense masses from the jungle to the right and front of the Great Pagoda. Detaching to their left a column which succeeded in setting fire to part of the village of Puzendown, their main body came boldly up to within half a mile of Rangoon and commenced a spirited attack upon part of our line. But two field-pieces, served with grape and shrapnel, presently checked their advance, and then a brilliant charge by the 43rd Madras native infantry put them all to flight. In a very few minutes not a man could be seen of the Burmese host except the killed, nor could anything be heard of them except a wild

\* All the supplies of fresh provisions, even for the hospitals, were exhausted by the middle of June, from which period to the end of October the English troops had nothing to subsist on but salt beef and biscuit of very inferior quality, and were without vegetables of any kind to counteract the effect of such a diet. Between the month of June, 1824, and the end of March, 1825, out of an average strength of 2716 British troops, 1311 perished, or very nearly one-half of the whole force of king's troops. Matters were not much mended in the following year. Almost the only fresh meat that could be procured was pork.—Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Alexander M. Tulloch, 'Statistical Reports on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding among Her Majesty's Troops, &c., prepared from the Records of the Army Medical Department and War-Office Returns. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.'

\* Snodgrass.

screaming which proceeded from the depths of the forest and jungle.

Sykya Wongee was recalled to court and degraded, and a still higher minister of state, named Soomba Wongee, who had arrived with reinforcements, took the command, and commenced stockading his army in the most difficult and intricate part of the forest, at Kummeroot, about five miles from the Great Pagoda, intending, chiefly under cover of night, to carry on such a system of desultory warfare as would harass, and ultimately destroy, our sickly, worn-out soldiers. He also fortified a commanding point on the river above Kemmendine, in communication with his stockaded camp, hoping by this means not only to obstruct the navigation of the river, but also to construct and employ numerous fire-rafts. But this new commander-in-chief had scarcely finished his works ere he was driven from them with a terrible slaughter. On the 8th of July Sir Archibald Campbell embarked with one column for the attack of the position upon the river, and Brigadier-General Mac Bean, with a land column, marched upon the forest stockades at Kummeroot. The works on the river were found to be so formidable that it was judged necessary to employ breaching vessels; and a brig and three Company's cruisers, manned by seamen of his Majesty's and the Company's navy, under the superintendence of Captain Marryat, soon opened a heavy cannonade, and silenced the enemy's guns. Our troops then pushed across the river in boats, entered the practicable breach which the firing of our seamen had made, and carried all those works with comparatively trifling loss. The Burmese suffered severely in killed, and many of them were drowned in trying to escape across the river. The operations of the land column, under Mac Bean, were equally successful. It was unprovided with artillery; but the storming parties, who escalated stockade after stockade, consisted entirely of British troops. Here again the slaughter was dreadful. Soomba Wongee, and several chiefs of high rank, with 800 men, were killed within the stockades; and the neighbouring jungles were filled with the unhappy creatures who were wounded,

and left to die, from want of food and care. Some of these poor Burmese were found by the English soldiers and brought into our hospitals. But unfortunately none of them recovered. The monsoon rains were now at their height, the adjacent country was almost wholly under water, nothing was to be obtained from it, and the sickness of our troops increased to an alarming extent.

An expedition, consisting of his Majesty's 89th regiment and the 7th Madras native infantry, under the command of Colonel Miles, was detached from Rangoon, with a considerable naval force, to subdue the maritime possessions of his Majesty to the eastward, in the hope that their loss might induce him to sue for peace. The success of the expedition was complete: Tavoy surrendered, Mergui was taken by storm; and the people all along the coast of Tenasserim gladly placed themselves under British protection. But these achievements occupied some time, and when the result was known at Ava it seemed to produce no effect on the determined temper of that court.

Towards the end of July Sir Archibald Campbell attempted to release such of the inhabitants of Rangoon as were desirous of returning to their houses; and by means of the sudden, unexpected, and to the natives, inexplicable movement of our steam-boat, a few families, who had been driven to the villages at the heads of the numerous creeks which branch off from the Rangoon river, were released from their guard, and joyfully took the opportunity of returning to their city. It was to the report of these people of the kind treatment they met with, our army was afterwards indebted for the return of the great body of the people, whose services and exertions contributed to the final success of the war.\* By degrees our foraging parties were enabled to take a wider range, the enemy were obliged to

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\* At first the number of families liberated was very small. In every village up the creeks there was a small party of military police, who, upon the appearance of our steam-boat, drove the people, men, women, and children, from their houses to the jungle, there to remain exposed to the incessant rains.—*Major Snodgrass.*

draw their resources from a more distant part of the country, and more of the people of Rangoon and the neighbourhood escaped from their guards, and returned to their homes.

The Lord of the White Elephant now sent his two brothers, the prince of Tonghoo and the prince of Sarrawuddy, with a whole host of astrologers, and a corps of "Invulnerables," to join the army, and to direct the future operations of the war. The astrologers were to fix the lucky moments for attacking: the Invulnerables had some points of resemblance to the Turkish Delhis; they were the desperadoes or madmen of the army, and their madness was kept up by enormous doses of opium. The corps of Invulnerables consisted of several thousand men, divided into classes; the most select band of all being called the King's Invulnerables. It was soon found that they were as susceptible of wounds and death as the astrologers were incapable of interpreting the stars. The prince of Tonghoo established his head-quarters at Pegu, and the prince of Sarrawuddy took post at Doncoepew upon the great river, about sixty miles from Rangoon. In the beginning of August the prince of Sarrawuddy sent down a force to occupy a strong post at the mouth of the Pegu river, a few miles below Rangoon, giving his people strict orders to block the channel of the river in our rear, that not one of the "wild foreigners" or "captive strangers" might escape the punishment that was about to overtake them. Sir Archibald Campbell presently detached a small corps, under Brigadier Smelt, to dislodge Sarrawuddy's warriors. Our land troops were brought to a standstill when within musket-shot of the place, by a deep and impassable creek; but a party of sailors from his Majesty's ship "Larne," under Captain Marryat, soon threw a bridge over the creek; and as soon as the column of attack pushed forward, the enemy began to fly, leaving eight guns and a quantity of ammunition in their stockade. A strong pagoda with a numerous garrison, and with cannons pointing down every approach, was next carried with equal facility. Other posts on the rivers and creeks were successively

and successfully attacked. Such of the enemy as had had any experience of our way of fighting seldom stopped to fight in their stockades; but a new set of people from the interior made a good stand in a succession of stockades on one of the rivers, and cost us the loss of a good many brave men. These affairs of posts were very numerous. At last the astrologers told the prince of Sarrawuddy that the stars had told them that the moment was come for a decisive action; and on the night of the 30th of August a body of the King's Invulnerables promised to attack and carry the Great or Golden Dagon Pagoda, in order that the princes, and the sages and pious men in their train, might celebrate the usual annual festival in that sacred place—a place now crowded not with Bonzes, but with English grenadiers. And true, so far, to their promise, the Invulnerables, at the hour of midnight, rushed in a compact body from the jungle under the Pagoda, armed with swords and muskets. A small picquet, thrown out in our front, retired in slow and steady order, skirmishing with the Invulnerables until they reached the flight of steps leading from the road up to the Pagoda. The moon was gone down, and the night was so dark that the Burmese could be distinguished only by a few glimmering lanterns in their front; but their noise and clamour, their threats and imprecations upon the impious strangers, if they did not immediately evacuate the sacred temple, proved their number to be very great. In a dense column they rolled along the narrow pathway leading to the northern gate of the Pagoda, wherein all seemed as silent as the grave. But, hark! the muskets crash, the cannons roar along the ramparts of the British post, drowning the tumult of the advancing column; and see!—see by the flash of our guns, the column reels back, the Invulnerables fall, mortally wounded, and the rest turn their backs on the holy place and run with frantic speed for the covering of the jungle. Our grape-shot and our musketry seemed to have broken the spell—those Invulnerables ventured no more near any of our posts. But a far more terrible enemy had gotten within our lines—

the dysentery broke out among our troops, killing many of them, and reducing more to a most emaciated and feeble state. Scarcely three thousand duty soldiers were left to guard our lines. Floating hospitals were established at the mouth of the river, bread was now furnished in sufficient quantities, but nothing except change of season or of climate could restore the sufferers to health. Mergui and Tavoy, portions of our recent conquests on the sea-coast, were represented by the medical officers who visited them as admirable convalescent stations; and thither a number of our people were sent, and with the most beneficial result.\*

As all kinds of gilt umbrellas had been rolled in the dust—as fire-eating chiefs, ministers of state, princes royal, had all failed—the Golden Face determined to call down from the mountains of Arracan his prime favourite, the Maha Bandoola, who had promised to sack Calcutta, and to carry off the governor-general in golden chains. Bandoola obeyed the call, and instead of making another and more formidable attack along our Chittagong frontier (which he would have made, but for the defeats which Sir Archibald Campbell had inflicted on the Burmese at Rangoon), he led his reinforced army from the mountains of Arracan to the Irawaddi river. He began his march about the end of August, at a season of the year when none but Burmese could have kept the field for a week, much less have attempted to pass the unhealthy jungles and the pestilential marshes of the country. The distance, by the shortest route, was more than 200 English miles; and numerous rivers and mountain torrents, and even deep inlets of the sea obstructed the progress. But all these difficulties were overcome, and Bandoola, gathering fresh forces in the latter part of his long march, reached Donoopeu before Sir Archibald Campbell knew that he had left Arracan.

Happily our troops, though wofully reduced in numbers, were now fast recover-

ing their health and strength; and two fresh British regiments, some battalions of native infantry, a regiment of cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, and a troop of rockets, arrived from Calcutta and Madras, together with admirable draught cattle of the true Mysore breed. Five hundred native boatmen came round from Chittagong and were busily employed in preparing boats for river service.

Before relating the grand struggle and final catastrophe of the Maha Bandoola, we must turn to the south-east, and relate some spirited proceedings which took place in Siam. An inveterate enmity and an almost constant state of war had existed for many years between the Siamese and the Burmese. Being by far the more warlike people, the Burmese had defeated their neighbours in many bloody conflicts, and had conquered wide tracts of their country. In fact, the Burmese empire was in good part composed of territories torn from the kingdom of Siam. The landing of the British at Rangoon seemed to open to the Siamese a favourable opportunity for vengeance and recovery of dominion; but that court regarded the vicinity of a British force with much jealousy and dread, and were indisposed to our alliance by our seizure of Mergui and Tavoy, which places, together with nearly the whole of the coast of Tenasserim, had once belonged to Siam. Moreover, the court of Ava set on foot negotiations with his Siamese Majesty, making promises of friendship and restitution, and endeavouring to show that the British were equally the enemies of Siamese and Burmese, and that the two neighbouring peoples ought to unite their forces against the common enemy. It was imagined, and it was afterwards proved by abundant testimony, that the King of Siam firmly believed that the English must fail in conquering Ava, or in bringing its government to sue for terms; and it was thought that the situation of Bangkok, his capital, open to an attack by our much dreaded shipping, alone prevented him from making common cause against us. What the King of Siam did, was to make friendly declarations to both parties, and to intimate to each of them that he was anxious for its

\* Men who had for months continued in a most debilitated state at Rangoon rapidly recovered on arriving at Mergui, and were soon restored to their duty in full health and vigour.

success, and would soon join it. When, however, the Siamese began to collect a considerable army on his frontier, Sir Archibald Campbell thought it expedient to checkmate him, and at the beginning of October he resolved to detach a small force for the purpose of reducing and occupying the town of Martaban, from which a direct communication could be opened with the Siamese army, and all their motions watched. The city of Martaban, at the bottom of the gulf of that name, and about a hundred miles from Rangoon, was a frontier fortress of the Burmese, a dépôt of military stores, the place where the Burmese armies usually assembled in their wars with the Siamese, and from which they had made their annual irruptions into the territories of the King of Siam, to plunder the country, and carry off the inhabitants as slaves. It was a place difficult of access, and of very considerable strength; but the inhabitants of the town and of the neighbouring districts, which had not long been annexed to the Burmese empire, detested their conquerors. On the 13th of October part of his Majesty's 41st regiment and a regiment of Madras light infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin, sailed from Rangoon for Martaban. Owing to light and contrary winds the little expedition did not reach its destination so soon as was expected; and thus, instead of taking the enemy by surprise, Colonel Godwin found them fully aware of his approach, and prepared to give him a warm reception. The Burmese governor had fortified every commanding eminence about the town, and its distance from the coast (from 15 to 20 miles) offered many serious obstacles. By land, difficult forests, marshes, and inundated rice-fields presented themselves; by water, the intricate navigation of a shallow, winding, and little-known river presented almost equally serious impediments. It was, however, resolved to proceed by water, and after great toil and perseverance our lighter vessels were anchored nearly abreast of the town of Martaban. As the Burmese governor showed no disposition to come to terms, our guns opened, and an assault took place. The Burmese were soon driven with severe loss from

the town and all their defences; and the inhabitants, being chiefly Taliens or Peguans, received the British troops with every appearance of satisfaction and joy. Having settled matters at Martaban, Colonel Godwin detached a party against another frontier fortress of the Burmese, and Yeh, situated between Martaban and Tavoy, fell into our hands.\* In all this part of the country the native population—the descendants of the subjects of the once powerful, but now ruined and extinct dynasty which ruled the ancient kingdom of Pegu—were eager to be released from the iron sceptre of Ava, and to be included among the subjects of the British. Their feeling of affection towards us improved during the eighteen months that they remained under our government. It was an act of cruelty and of dishonour to give them up to their old oppressors and cruel tyrants; but this was done at the conclusion of the war.

By the end of October the rains had entirely ceased at Rangoon; and reinforced as he was, Sir Archibald Campbell was completing his preparations for the ascent of the Irawaddi, and for an attack upon Prome, when he learned that the Maha Bandoola had reached Donoopew with 60,000 fighting men, a considerable train of artillery, and a body of Cassay horse, the best cavalry of this part of Asia. Bandoola's musketeers were estimated at 35,000 men. Other numerous bodies were armed with gingals, which carried an iron ball of from six to twelve ounces, and were mounted on a light carriage easily dragged about by two men; and great numbers were attached to the guns, which were transported on the backs of elephants. The rest of the host were armed with swords and spears, and all were well provided with implements for stockading and intrenching. Scattered through the army, there were also some more of the "Invulnerables," who had not yet tasted the sour grape of English guns, and who were amply provided with charms, spells, opium, bang, and betel-nuts. As the Maha proclaimed on all sides his intention of going at the head of his invin-

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\* Snodgrass. H. H. Wilson, Documents illustrative of the Burmese War, &c.

cible army, with horses and elephants, and all manner of warlike stores, to capture and destroy the English at Rangoon, it was deemed proper to wait for him there. This would save our troops much fatigue, and a great, decisive battle might bring the court of Ava to reason.

As a great part of the country was still under water, the Burmese, for the most part, came down to the neighbourhood of Rangoon in boats. Our force was still but weak for the extensive line it was necessary to defend. But, to remedy this evil as far as possible, posts, consisting of redoubts and fortified pagodas, were speedily constructed, connecting the great Golden Dagon Pagoda by two distinct lines with Rangoon and the river, and leaving a disposable force for moving to the support of any point that might require support. The post at Kemmendine was also strongly occupied, and was supported on the river by his Majesty's sloop "Sophie," Captain Ryves, a Company's cruiser, and a strong division of gun-boats.\* On the 30th of November Bandoola's great army assembled in and behind the dense forest which almost touches at one point the conical hill and the great pagoda; and his line, extending from the river above Kemmendine in a semicircular direction towards Puzendown, might be distinguished by a curved line of smoke rising above the trees. "During the ensuing night the low, continued murmur and hum of voices proceeding from the enemy's encampment suddenly ceased, and were speedily succeeded by the distant, but gradually approaching sounds of a multitude in slow and silent movement through the woods; and we soon became aware that the enemy's masses had approached to the very edge of the jungle, within musket-shot of the pagoda, apparently in readiness to rush from their cover to the assault at the break of day. . . . The day had scarcely dawned on the 1st of December, when hostilities commenced with

a heavy fire of musketry and cannon at Kemmendine, the reduction of that place being a preliminary to any general attack upon our line. The firing continued long and animated, and from our commanding situation at the great pagoda, though nearly two miles distant from the scene of action, we could distinctly hear the yells and shouts of the infuriated assailants, occasionally returned by the hearty cheer of the British seamen, as they poured in their heavy broadsides upon the resolute and persevering masses. The thick forest which separated us from the river prevented our seeing distinctly what was going forward; and when the firing ceased, we remained for a short time in some anxiety, though in little doubt as to the result of the long and spirited assault. At length, however, the thick canopy of smoke which lowered over the fierce and sanguinary conflict gradually dissolving, we had the pleasure of seeing the masts of our vessels lying at their old station off the fort—a convincing proof that all had ended well on that side.

"In the course of the forenoon Burmese columns were observed on the west side of the river, marching across the plains of Dalla towards Rangoon. They were formed in five or six different divisions, and moved with great regularity, led by numerous chiefs on horseback—their gilt umbrellas glittering in the rays of the sun,—with a sufficiently formidable and imposing effect, at a distance that prevented our perceiving anything motley or mobbish, which might have been found in a closer inspection of these warlike legions."\*

Opposite Rangoon the leading column of five or six Burmese divisions commenced intrenching and throwing up batteries, while their main body were stockading in the jungle. In the course of the day several heavy columns issued from the forest, and successively took up their ground along a woody ridge, gently sloping towards Rangoon. Here they commenced operations with their intrenching tools, and with such activity and good will, that in the course of a

\* This post at Kemmendine was of great importance in preventing the enemy from attacking Rangoon by water by means of their war-boats, or launching from a convenient distance the formidable fire-rafts they had prepared for the destruction of our shipping.—*Snodgrass*.

\* Snodgrass.

couple of hours their whole line was covered, their flags and banners, which had been flying in profusion, all disappeared, and nothing was seen but a parapet of fresh-turned earth, gradually increasing in height. "The moving masses, which had so very lately attracted our anxious attention, had sunk into the ground; and by any one who had not witnessed the whole scene, the existence of these subterranean legions would not have been credited. The occasional movement of a chief with his gilt umbrella, from place to place, superintending the progress of their labour, was the only thing that now attracted notice. By a distant observer, the hills, covered with mounds of earth, would have been taken for anything rather than the approaches of an attacking army; but to us, who had watched the whole strange proceeding, it seemed the work of magic or enchantment."\* But, thus working like moles in the earth, the Burmese could no more see than they could be seen, and their men on watch must have been careless or fearful of exposing their heads and shoulders by looking too often over the mounds. In the afternoon Major Sale, with his Majesty's 13th regiment and a regiment of Madras native infantry, moving rapidly forward upon the busily employed and too confident enemy, fell upon them before they were well aware of the visit, and drove the whole line from their earth cover with considerable loss. Having destroyed as many of their arms and tools as they could find, our detachment retired unmolested before the numerous bodies which were now forming on every side. "These Burmese trenches were found to be a succession of holes, capable of containing two men each, and excavated so as to afford shelter both from the weather and the fire of an enemy: even a shell lighting in the trench could at most kill but two men. As it is not the Burmese system to relieve their troops in making these approaches, each hole contained a sufficient supply of rice, water, and even fuel for its inmates; and under the excavated bank a bed of straw or brushwood was prepared, in which one

man could sleep while his comrade watched. When one line of trench is completed, its occupiers, taking advantage of the night, push forward to where the second line is to be opened, their places being immediately taken up by fresh troops from the rear, and so on progressively."\*

During the same busy day (the 1st of December) repeated attacks were made on Kemmendine, and were all repulsed by our troops or by the seamen of our little flotilla. But it was not until night that the Burmese made their last desperate effort to open their way down the river, and so get possession of the port of Rangoon. Our wearied soldiers had laid down to rest, when suddenly the heavens and the whole surrounding country became brilliantly illuminated. The enemy had launched their fire-rafts into the stream with the first of the ebb tide, and had now applied the match to those huge masses of combustible materials, in the hope of driving the "Sophie" and our other vessels from their stations off Kemmendine; and as these fire-rafts came down, it was seen by the light of their flames that they were followed by a vast fleet of war-boats, whose crews were ready to take advantage of the confusion which might ensue if any of our vessels should be set on fire. And, as the rafts floated rapidly down to Kemmendine with the ebbing tide, columns of attack moved once more by land against that well defended post, with artillery, with gingals, and musketry. But the skill and intrepidity of British seamen proved more than a match for the numbers and devices of the Burmese; after gazing for a while at the red, and blue, and yellow, and green flames of the mighty fire-works, which might have put them in mind of the now departed glories of Sadler's Wells and Vauxhall, our sailors leaped into their boats, pushed off to meet the flaming rafts, grappled them with their grappling irons, and conducted them past our shipping, or ran them ashore to finish their short life of fire and flame upon the river-bank without injury to any one.† After

\* Snodgrass.

\* Id.

† Upon examination, the Burmese fire-rafts were

this it is hardly necessary to say that the land attack on Kemmendine failed completely.

If the fire-rafts could have reached the harbour of Rangoon, which was now crowded with transports and country vessels of all kinds, the effect might have been very tragical; but the English sailors said that none should pass Kemmendine point, and not one did pass. Kemmendine, where the river makes a sudden angle, was the only point from which the rafts could have been launched with effect. Fully aware of this, Bandoola ordered attack upon attack to be made, and for seven days no rest by night or by day was allowed to our troops or to our seamen there. But every effort of the enemy failed, nor were they more successful in any other part of their line of circumvallation. On the 5th of December, when the matériel and warlike stores of the Burmese left wing were brought forward from the jungle to their foremost intrenchment in front of Rangoon, and were fairly within our reach, Sir Archibald Campbell ordered a decisive attack to be made upon their army. Major Sale, with one column 800 strong, and a troop of British dragoons, who had only been landed the preceding day, was directed to fall upon their centre; and Major Walker, with 500 men, was sent to make a vigorous attack on their left wing. The operations of these two columns of troops were greatly facilitated by Captain Chads of the navy, who proceeded up the creek to within gun-shot of the rear of the enemy's line, with the man-of-war

found to be ingeniously contrived and strongly constructed. They were made almost entirely of strong bamboos firmly wrought together. Between every two or three rows of bamboos there was a line of earthen jars filled with petroleum, or earth-oil, and cotton: gunpowder and other inflammable ingredients were distributed in different parts of the floating infernal machine; and the almost inextinguishable fierceness of the flames proceeding from it could scarcely be conceived. Many of the rafts were considerably more than 100 feet long, and were divided into many pieces, attached to each other by means of long and flexible hinges. It was expected by the Burmese that when they caught upon the cable or bow of a ship, the force of the current would carry the ends of the raft quite round her, and envelope her in flames from the deck to her mast-head.—*Major Snodgrass.*

boats and a part of the flotilla, and commenced a heavy cannonade, which distracted the attention of the Burmese, and prevented their reinforcing in front. Our two columns broke through the intrenchments, and completely routed both the centre and the left with vigorous bayonet charges; but Major Walker and a good many of his gallant comrades fell. The loss of the Burmese was appalling; they were driven from every part of their works into the jungle, leaving the ground behind them covered with dead and wounded, with all their guns, intrenching tools, and a great number of small arms. On the 6th of December Bandoola was employed in rallying his defeated troops. On the 7th the Burmese made their last and grand attack on the great pagoda. Here they were beaten, driven back to their intrenchments, then driven into them, and forced back into the jungle by the British bayonet. Our troops at that post, worn out by seven days and nights of incessant fighting or watching, could not pursue the flying enemy, who left in the trenches a great number of dead—nearly all stout, tall, athletic fellows, who might almost have measured with English grenadiers, and who had evidently belonged to the élite of Bandoola's army. During these seven busy and fiery days the Burmese, in addition to a prodigious loss of lives, had lost every gun they had, and the entire matériel of their army. The survivors were flying towards Donoope; but they were stopped on their flight by some great and terrible chiefs, who had been sent down with numerous reinforcements, and they rallied at Kokeen, about four miles beyond the great pagoda. It is said that when Bandoola counted his forces, he found them reduced, from more than 60,000 fighting men, to less than 25,000. This favourite of the Golden Face was allowed to retain the chief command; he immediately began to intrench and stockade himself at Kokeen, and employed incendiaries to burn the invaders out of Rangoon, and destroy all their stores, powder-magazines, &c. The latter attempt—which very nearly succeeded\*—brought down a rapid attack

\* On the night of the 12th of December the

upon his new position, and disgrace and ruin upon himself. On the 15th of December—three days after the midnight fire at Rangoon—1500 British troops and sepoys, unaided by artillery, under the command of Brigadier-General Willoughby Cotton, drove Bandoola and his mighty host from all their intrenchments and stockades at Kokeen, and strewed the position with dead and dying. Here ended the operations in front of Rangoon; the British troops returned in the evening to their cantonments, and the remnant of the Burmese army retreated upon Donoopeew.

Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to advance up the country, at least as far as Prome, reducing Donoopeew on his way, and to move in two separate columns, the one proceeding by water, the other by land. The land column was to proceed in as direct a line as it could, and to strike the main stream of the Irawaddi at Sarrawah, or at some other place above Donoopeew and below Prome. The water column, carrying supplies for the whole army, was to ascend the Rangoon branch of the Great River, to get into the main channel below Donoopeew, to dislodge the enemy from all their positions there, to clear the Irawaddi, and to give the hand to the land column at Sarrawah or some place in that neighbourhood; the country, the state of the roads, &c. being too little known to allow of the point of rendezvous and junction being precisely fixed.

On the 11th of February the British began to move. The land column, under the immediate command of Sir Archibald Campbell, consisted of 1300 European infantry, 1000 sepoys, 2 squadrons of dragoons, 1 troop of horse artillery, and 1 rocket troop; the marine or river column, under Brigadier-General Willoughby Cotton, counted 600 European infantry, 1 small battalion of sepoys, and a powerful train of artillery; and this co-

ery of fire resounded through the town of Rangoon, and nearly the whole of that filthy, wood and bamboo-built place seemed to be immediately in a blaze. The incendiaries had placed their matches in various parts of the town, and had set fire to them at the same moment. One half of the town was burned; but the flames were prevented from reaching our dépôt of stores and ammunition.

lumn was embarked in a flotilla of sixty boats, commanded by Captain Alexander of the navy, escorted by the boats of our men-of-war. The column marching by land, and the column proceeding by the river, were so to time their movements as to reach Sarrawah nearly at the same time. But Sir Archibald Campbell, for reasons which do not seem to be sufficiently explained, pushed on much faster than Brigadier-General Willoughby Cotton; and he continued to advance as if the river column, or the forces under Cotton, would be quite sufficient for the reduction of Donoopeew, and could not possibly encounter either defeat or delay. Neither the country through which he passed nor the country which lay before him was in a condition to tempt Sir Archibald's advance. The land was almost wholly deserted; all the villages had been burnt down, and the inhabitants had either fled or been driven away by the retreating Burmese. A few wretched families of Rangoon were found wandering in the woods, and looking like spectres, from starvation and misery; but, with the exception of these poor people, the country seemed to be left to the dominion of the tiger and wild hog. But Sir Archibald marched on his column until it reached Sarrawah, about 30 miles beyond Donoopeew, on the main stream of the majestic Irawaddi, which is here from 700 to 800 yards broad. Here he halted for four days—the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th of March—expecting to cut off the enemy's retreat from Donoopeew by water, and also to prevent their rallying higher up the river. He seems never to have entertained a doubt that Cotton would not be strong enough to dislodge Bandoola from his stronghold; and his confidence was confirmed by some flying Peguers, who assured him that the Burmese chief had been defeated. Early on the morning of the 7th of March, Sir Archibald heard a heavy cannonade in the direction of Donoopeew: he believed it to proceed from the marine division, and when the noise ceased he felt convinced that the place had fallen. He halted, however, where he was, for the chance of hearing from Brigadier-General Willoughby Cotton, until the morning of the 9th.

when, leaving a strong detachment at Sarrawah to prevent the enemy's retreat by water, he advanced 12 miles inland, through jungles and deserted and bare tracks of country. On the 10th he advanced 14 miles farther up the country, to a town of considerable extent upon the banks of the Great River. He found that the town was wholly deserted, and that here, as well as every where else, every article had been removed that could be of use to his army. "This," says the historian of the campaign, "only made him the more eager to reach Prome by rapid marches, lest that city, the promised quarters for the rainy season, should be equally stripped." Early on the following morning, the 11th of March, as the land column were about to resume their march, official intelligence was received that the marine column had failed in their attack upon Donoopeew. The news is said to have been as unexpected as it was unpleasant; but it was not very astonishing that a column which did not much exceed a thousand men should fail in reducing by a *coup de main* one of the strongest positions in the Burmese country, defended by at least 15,000 of the best Burmese troops. The whole mistake lay in Sir Archibald's dividing his forces, and attempting to reach Prome with one division, before making sure of the reduction of Donoopeew, which the enemy had been strengthening for nearly a whole year. And yet it was made to appear that if Brigadier-General Willoughby Cotton had begun his attack in the right direction, his single column might have sufficed to drive Bandoola out of that formidable place. The works at Donoopeew consisted of three stockades which rose one above the other, and the heavy batteries of which were all pointed to the river. Instead of passing the whole fortress and taking the enemy in flank, which would have rendered his guns almost useless, Cotton attacked the first part of the works he came to, or the extremity of the stockade that was lowest down the stream. After meeting with an obstinate resistance, he carried the first stockade; but on proceeding to the second, he received by far the severest check that the European troops met with during the

whole war. No fewer than 150 of our men were killed and wounded; and the retreat was so precipitate that the wounded were not carried off, although it was well known that they would all be put to a cruel death. The whole flotilla retreated ten miles down the river, being constantly assailed and tormented by the Burmese war-boats. The next day most of our killed and wounded men who had been left in the stockade were crucified and put upon rafts, which were sent floating down the river towards the flotilla.\* This

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\* Article on the Burmese War, and Review of Major Snodgrass's volume, in Quarterly Review, No. LXX.

The writer of this article appears either to have served in the Burmese war as an officer of his Majesty's navy, or to have derived information from naval officers who were engaged in that war.

The commanding officer's own account of the operations at Donoopeew is, however, entitled to consideration. In making the attack on the works, it was indispensable to prevent the Burmese from descending the river, and it appears from the brigadier-general's dispatch to Sir Archibald Campbell that this could not be done if he passed the works to take them in flank. It moreover appears from the same dispatch that, through sickness and other casualties, this marine column was reduced to about 600 bayonets disposable for the attack. "It is obvious," says Cotton, "that this small force could not be separated. Upon consulting with Captain Alexander, R.N., whether, if I passed the position for the purpose of attacking above it, he could keep open the river below us, it was his opinion that one half of the force would be requisite for this important purpose. Your dispatch of the 24th ultimo, stating that you depended upon me for the conquest of this position, devolved upon me the necessity of making the attempt; and I had no option but that of landing below the works, and attacking them in succession, while the flotilla defended the river."

It appears from the same dispatch that in the first stockade we lost only 20 in killed and wounded, while the enemy lost 450 odd, 280 being made prisoners; and that in the second stockade our total loss in killed, wounded, and missing did not exceed 109. Captain R. C. Rose, of his Majesty's 89th regiment, led the storming party, which, according to this dispatch, consisted of only 200 men. After receiving one wound, Captain Rose fell dead from a second shot while persevering in the attack, and showing a gallant example to his troops. Captain Cannon, also of the 89th, a brave and deserving officer, was killed. It further appears from the dispatch that the troops did not run as soon as they were out of the stockades, that the retreat was orderly and was not commenced until the evening; and that 64 pieces of ordnance were taken and destroyed, as were also a quantity of ammunition.

barbarity was the more revolting as the wounded among the Burmese, taken prisoners in the first stockade, had been carefully dressed and attended to by our surgeons, and had been permitted to go whithersoever they pleased.\*

Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, Sir Archibald Campbell, who had certainly gone on too heedlessly, or in too entire a confidence, felt that there was nothing to do but to retrace his steps, and to join Cotton as speedily as possible. His land column depended entirely upon the flotilla for its supplies; and the flotilla being stopped, the navigation of the Irawaddi was so completely commanded by the enemy that not a canoe could get up the river or pass the works at Donopew. At the time the commissariat of the land column had not two days' rations left. "No reliance could be placed upon the country for furnishing even one day's consumption: the people everywhere fled before us, and even when chance threw an individual in our way, he only answered our questions and requests by pointing towards Donopew, and exclaiming 'Bandoola! Bandoola!' In a word, starvation stared us in the face; and the occupation of Promé, however desirable, was not to be attempted under circumstances so eminently hazardous. On the other hand, it became every day more certain that

Bandoola's army was the chief if not the only force now left to oppose us; and the natives evidently looked to that alone for checking our advance."\* By the 13th Sir Archibald and his land column got back to Sarrawah, where they had halted on their advance. Here an obstacle of a most serious nature presented itself. To reach Donopew the broad and rapid Irawaddi must be crossed by an army with cavalry, artillery, and commissariat equipments, and unprovided with any means for such an undertaking, beyond a few small canoes which had been procured with much difficulty. Energy and perseverance, however, triumphed over every difficulty. In the course of the 13th the Madras infantry were carried over the river and sent to occupy a position in advance. On the 14th rafts were constructed to carry over the artillery, stores, &c.; and by labouring day and night, before the evening of the fifth day every man, and everything belonging to the division, had been safely landed on the right bank of the Irawaddi. It was, however, the 25th of March ere the land column arrived within gun-shot distance of Donopew. In order to spare the lives and limbs of his soldiers, Sir Archibald gave orders not to attempt to carry the truly formidable place by a coup de main. It was, however, found to be much too extensive to admit of its being surrounded even by a chain of posts, by so small a force; and consequently a position was taken up from which their stockades might be cannonaded. While our people were taking up this position, the enemy, wonderfully elated by his recent success, manned his works, and opened a fire from a great many guns. Numerous golden umbrellas glittered in the morning sun, denoting how many great men were assembled within the works, which extended for nearly a mile along the sloping bank of the river, the breadth varying, according to the nature of the ground, from 500 to 800 yards. The stockading was made of solid teak beams, from 15 to 17 feet high, driven firmly into the earth; and behind this wooden wall the old brick ramparts of the place rose to a considerable height, and afforded a firm

362 muskets, 630 spears, and a great number of intrenching tools.—Dispatch of Brigadier-General Willoughby Cotton, dated March 9th, 1825, in Documents illustrative of the Burmese War, &c., compiled and edited by Horace Hayman Wilson, Calcutta, 1827.

\* None of those released Burmese prisoners expressed any wish to return to their army at Donopew; but they generally retired to villages in the southward, carrying with them wonderful tales of the moderation and mercy of the English. The blessed quality of mercy must tell in the end even with savages. We know from Mr. Henry Gouger, a person well qualified to give an opinion upon the matter, that the common people were sensibly affected. To the question—"Did the moderation of the British towards their prisoners produce a favourable effect on the minds of the Burmese?" Mr. Gouger answered—"It had no effect upon the government that I am aware of, but it was a subject of general discourse and theme of admiration among the common people."—Depositions taken at Rangoon after the War, before John Crawford, Esq., Civil Commissioner in Ava and Pegu, in Documents illustrative of the Burmese War, &c., compiled and edited by Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq.

and elevated footing to the defendants. Upwards of 150 guns and swivels were mounted on these works, and the garrison was protected from the shells of the besiegers by numerous traverses and excavations. A ditch of considerable breadth and depth surrounded the defences; and the passage of it was rendered the more difficult by spikes, great nails, holes, and other contrivances. Beyond the ditch several rows of strong railing were interposed; and in front of all, a formidable abattis, 30 yards broad, extended round the works, except on the river face, where the Irawaddi presented a sufficient barrier. Regardless of the enemy's long shots, Sir Archibald Campbell encamped his division, and immediately commenced preparations for breaking ground, and proceeding systematically and safely against the place. The camp being pitched, the heavy fire of the Burmese entirely ceased. But the sudden calm, the disappearance of the defendants from their ramparts, the occasional patrolling of their cavalry, and the long-continued observation of our line by a party of native chiefs posted on a lofty watch-tower, foreboded a very early interruption of this tranquillity. The soldiers regarded the momentary repose as seamen do the treacherous lull which precedes the increasing storm; and as night closed in every sentinel stood upon his post prepared for the sudden appearance of the enemy, and every soldier laid down for his short rest with his musket by his side. The sentries listened anxiously for some sound that might indicate when the sortie was made, and where the attack would begin. The Burmese did not keep them long in suspense. The clock had struck ten, and the moon was fast approaching to the verge of the horizon, when sharp musketry, and the loud and wild war-cry of the enemy, roused the sleeping camp. In an instant every soldier's hand was on his musket, and in a minute every soldier was in his place. Our line was scarcely formed ere the enemy's intention became apparent: his columns were distinctly heard moving towards our right for the purpose of turning it; and at the same time he kept up a distant fire upon our left and centre, to encourage a belief that

these were the selected points of attack. They reached and outflanked our extreme right, but our two regiments rapidly changed front, and kneeling, to ensure a better aim, kept up a rapid running fire, which instantly checked the advancing columns, and laid a good many of the Burmese prostrate. Having repeated their attempt two or three times more, and every time more feebly, they drew off and returned in silence to their irritated and disappointed commander Bandoola, who beat some of them soundly because they could not beat the British. The darkness of the night enabled them to carry off their killed and wounded. On our side, only two or three men were killed and about twenty wounded.

No communication had as yet been opened with Willoughby Cotton and his marine column; but, early on the morning of the 26th, a party of 100 European infantry and a few cavalry were sent to march round the enemy's works, in order to reach the flotilla at its station below Donoopeu, and there request the naval commander to move up and form a junction with Sir Archibald Campbell. Forcing their way through a thick jungle by the aid of three elephants, the detached party reached the flotilla without receiving or firing a shot. Before the evening of this day, his Majesty's 47th regiment occupied an old pagoda which was about 300 yards from the outward defences of Donoopeu, and which seemed the most eligible point for breaking ground—an operation that commenced immediately. In the course of the same day fifteen of the Burmese war-boats, which occasionally turned their prows round the corner of an island in the middle of the river, and fired into our camp, were dislodged and put to rapid flight by a shower of rockets, proceeding from a party of seventy of our men who had crossed over to the island in canoes.

At nine o'clock in the morning of the 27th our flotilla came in full sail up the river. This was no sooner observed by the Burmese than they sortied in great force, with infantry and cavalry, and with seventeen war elephants fully caparisoned and with armed men on their backs. This attack was directed upon Sir Archibald Campbell's right. While it was coming

on, and while our flotilla was coming up under all the fire of the fort, Sir Archibald's cavalry, covered by his horse-artillery, charged the elephants who led the van. The war-elephants stood the charge with extraordinary steadiness; but the men on their backs were mostly shot, and no sooner did they feel themselves unrestrained by the hand of their drivers, than they turned their stunted tails to our dragoons, and walked back to the fort with the greatest composure. The flotilla, having passed the fort with trifling loss, anchored close on the left of Sir Archibald's column.\* On the next day (the 28th) our working parties continued making approaches towards the place, and our steam-vessel (a source of amazement and superstitious alarm to the Burmese) and some light boats pushed up the river after the enemy's war-boats, and succeeded in capturing four gilded and five plain ones. The boatmen and all people living upon the Irawaddi were almost an amphibious race: the crews of the war-boats, when about to be run down by our steamer, jumped into the river and effected their escape.

After these operations three days were spent in constructing batteries and landing heavy ordnance. On the evening of the 31st a Burmese came out of the fort to the English camp with a piece of dirty canvas, containing this laconic epistle from Bandoola:—"In war we find each other's force; the two countries are at war for nothing, and we know not each other's minds!" The

bearer being questioned, declared that he was only a common soldier, and knew nothing of the matter, but believed his chief wished to make peace. He, however, afterwards confessed that there had been a grand consultation in Bandoola's house, and that it was thought in the garrison that the chief's intention was to sally at the head of his whole force the first favourable opportunity. Early the next morning (the 1st of April) our mortar batteries and rockets began the work of destruction, and continued firing at intervals during the day and part of the succeeding night. The Burmese remained close under the protection of their works, making little, then less, and at last no return at all to our fire. This excited much surprise, but on the next morning the mystery was explained. At daylight on the 2nd of April, just as our breaching batteries began to open, two Lascars, who had been prisoners in the fort, came running out, and informed our people that the great Bandoola had been killed the day before by one of our shells or rockets; that after his death was known no entreaties of the other chiefs could prevail upon the Burmese to remain at their posts, and, in short, that the whole army had fled or dispersed during the dark hours of the night. The accuracy of the information given by the two Lascars was confirmed by the discovery at this moment of the enemy's small rear-guard in full retreat towards the jungle. The British line was in consequence put under arms, and the place was immediately taken possession of. Sufficient proof remained of the hurry and confusion of the flight; not a gun was removed, and even the very large dépôt of grain which had been formed remained uninjured. Within the fort were found a number of wounded men. One poor fellow, who had both his legs shot off, related circumstantially his chief's death. "I belonged," said he, "to the household of the Maha Bandoola, and my business was to beat the great drums that are hanging in the verandah of the Wongee's house. Yesterday morning, between the hours of nine and ten, while the chief's dinner was preparing, he went out to take his usual morning walk round

\* Major Snodgrass, Brigadier-General Sir Archibald Campbell's Dispatch to George Swinton, Esq., Secretary to Government Secret and Political Department, dated Donoopeu, April 2nd, 1825.

"During the heavy cannonade," adds Major Snodgrass, "which took place between our boats and the stockade, Bandoola, who was superintending the practice of his artillery, gave his garrison a specimen of the discipline he meant to enforce in this last struggle to retrieve his character and reputation. A Burmese officer being killed while pointing a gun by a shot from the flotilla, his comrades, instantly abandoning the dangerous post, could not be brought back to their duty by any remonstrances of their chiefs; when Bandoola, stepping down to the spot, instantly severed the heads of two of the delinquents from their bodies, and ordered them to be stuck up upon the spot, *pour encourager les autres.*"

the works, and arrived at his observatory (that tall tower with the red ball upon it), where, as there was no firing, he sat down upon a couch that was kept there for his use. While he was giving orders to some of his chiefs, the English began throwing bombs, and one of them falling close to the Wongee, burst and killed him on the spot. His body was immediately carried away and burned to ashes. His death was soon known to everybody in the stockade, and the soldiers refused to stay and fight under any other commander.\*

The grain found in Donoopew was sufficient for the consumption of our entire force for many months. Besides the ordnance mounted on the works, a considerable quantity was found concealed in a tank. Some more of the war-boats were taken, together with a vast number of other boats of an excellent description and well suited for conveying troops up the Irawaddi. That magnificent river was now entirely under our command from its broad mouths on the ocean to the valley of Ava and Amarapoora, where it shallows and contracts, and becomes unnavigable.

The confidence of the Burmese court, which was at the very highest point when the war commenced, had been for some time rapidly declining; but when the death of the great Bandoola and the flight of his army of Invincibles and Invulnerables became known in the city of Ava, almost the last spark of pride and presumption went out. The "white faces" were no longer designated as weak and effeminate soldiers incapable of standing against the warriors of the Lord of the White Elephant. It was confessed openly, and even before the Golden Face, that the Burmese were inferior to our European troops, and could not withstand them; and that to break the lines of the British or to arrest their advance in action was an impossibility.† Even as

early as the time of the news of Bandoola's failure before Rangoon and his retreat to Donoopew, the queen-mother and some of the princesses sent for Mrs. Judson, the wife of one of the American missionaries, and exclaimed to her, in an agony of alarm—"The Bandoola's troops have piled up their arms for the use of the strangers. They have all dispersed, and our enemies have nothing to do but to march up to Ava clapping their hands!" They wished to know whether they ought to run away or stay; and whether, in the opinion of the white lady, there would be any chance of safety for them if they staid at Ava; and they entreated Mrs. Judson, whose husband was lying in chains in a horrible Burmese prison—to use her good offices with the English conquerors, and to extend her protection over them and their children.\* The royal ladies had been told that the English soldiers ate children. Upon our first failure at Donoopew, the Burmese again somewhat recovered their spirits, and Bandoola was supported by all the strength the country could afford. An Armenian had been put to death for reporting that Bandoola could not maintain his stockades near Rangoon (and this too, although he had been sent down as a spy by the government to make a faithful report), and other individuals were afterwards punished for bringing accounts tending to discourage the troops. But it was not possible to conceal the death of Bandoola and the flight and dispersion of

forbearance and moderation of British troops after victory. Our mode of attacking them in their stockades at the point of the bayonet, and with a mere handful of men, struck them with consternation. "They stated, that when one of the assailants was killed, another immediately took his place; and that they were not to be discouraged from advancing even by wounds, so that it was in vain to contend with such an enemy. Their imaginations were so wrought upon that, to these particulars, they added many fabulous ones; such as that the Europeans continued to advance after their hands had been chopped off in scrambling over the stockades; that the arms and legs of the wounded were carefully picked up, and replaced by English surgeons, who were represented to be as skilful as the warriors were bold."—Deposition of the Rev. Dr. A. Judson, American Baptist Missionary, taken at Rangoon by the English commissioners, after the close of the war.

\* Deposition of Doctor Judson.

\* Snodgrass.

† Deposition of Henry Gouger, Esq. They likened the British troops in action to a particular class of demons called Balu. They compared the rapidity of their movements to a whirlwind, and were astonished beyond measure at their skill in the use of artillery, shells, rockets, &c. By this time they also admired the

the army at Donoopew, events which not merely alarmed the female part of the royal family, but which also alarmed the king and the princes, and threw the whole court and capital into consternation. Their remnant of pride, or their despair of obtaining mild conditions of peace, precluded all notion of submission or negotiation. Where the great Bandoola had failed, none could hope for success. The chiefs, knowing their double liability, or the double risk to which they were exposed, of being killed by the English in battle, and of having their heads taken off by the king if they failed in their attempts to drive the English back to the sea, were far from being anxious for the honour of the chief command: and the king knew not how to choose or whom to trust. At last he called up an often disgraced chief, styled the Pakan-wun, who had recently been lying in the filthy condemned prison of Ava, with Mr. Henry Gouger, the American missionaries, and the other white men seized up the country, and who, like those unfortunate gentlemen, had been loaded with irons and repeatedly threatened with torture and death. It was, however, no new thing in the Burmese empire to honour the man to-day who had been disgraced as yesterday, or to take a chief from a prison and put him at the head of the state or at the head of the army. This was Burmese custom. The Pakan-wun, who is described as a clever and ambitious man, and who is supposed to have entertained the design of avenging himself by dethroning his majesty, assuming the government, and then making peace with the English, gladly accepted the chief command, and began to levy troops. But his fidelity was very soon suspected by a tyrant who now suspected every one; and an indiscretion in advising the king to do what never had been done, led to his destruction. The Pakan-wun advised the king to remove all the princes, whether of his own family or of the states tributary to him, from the command of their troops and subjects, so as to place all the forces under the supreme and undivided command of himself. To this the Golden Face, with a cloud upon it, replied that it was not becoming for a subject to com-

mand over princes. Next the Pakan-wun advised the king to collect all his forces in one mass, to evacuate Ava, and to send even his own household troops, consisting of about 1000 highly approved warriors, to serve with the army in the field. Becoming still more clouded, the Golden Face said, that if he left his capital another man might seat himself upon his throne; and that if he deprived himself of the protection of his own guards, he might, perchance, be murdered. The Pakan-wun, who must have been blinded by his ambition and thirst for revenge, or who must have had even more than the ordinary amount of stupidity which has been attributed to these Burmese chiefs,\* instead of retracing his steps from the perilous position to which he had so rashly advanced, went on to repeat his pernicious advice, and to recommend his majesty to appoint his (the Pakan-wun's) native place as the place of rendezvous for the army, seeing that the spot bore the name of "The Field of Victory," which must be of good augury, and to accompany him thither with all the royal family. Here the Lord of the White Elephant cried—"Would you then murder *all* of us? Pakan-wun, you are aiming at my throne! Traitor, you shall die the death!" and accordingly the obtuse fool was put to death by being trodden

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\* Among the depositions taken after the war by the English commissioners at Rangoon, not one was more curious or more characteristic than that of Aga Mohammed, a Persian merchant, a native of Ispahan, and consequently a townsman of that pleasant rogue Hajji Baba. This supercilious Persian, who had been for some time residing in Ava, the capital, and who had been subjected to the same atrocious treatment as Mr. Gouger, Mr. Judson, and the rest of our déteenus, was not, perhaps, a very impartial judge; and generally the Persians speak contemptuously of all Eastern nations except their own. When Mr. Crawford, one of our commissioners, asked Aga Mohammed what was his opinion of the Burmese as a people, he replied, with that toss of the head and elevation of the nostril which we can easily conceive—"They are stupid and uncivilized. Among the courtiers there is not to be found one man of common understanding!"

This curious deposition, as well as Mr. Gouger's and the other depositions we quote, is given at full length in 'Documents illustrative of the Burmese War,' compiled and edited by Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq.

and knelt upon by elephants, who, in the dominions of the Lord of the White Elephant, as well as in various parts of Hindustan, were occasionally employed as executioners.\* A new chief was invited to court, and forced to accept the chief command of the forces, and every nerve was strained to recruit the army and to restore its former self-confidence. At the same time, however, it was resolved to endeavour to amuse the English commanders and delay their approach by pretending a readiness to treat with them.

In the meanwhile other successes had been gained by our arms, and Sir Archibald Campbell had resumed his advance upon Promé. Major Sale, who acquired a high reputation during this Burmese war, entered the Irawaddi by another of its mouths, called the Bassein river, and with a small detachment he cleared and destroyed several stockades without meeting with any resistance. On the 3rd of March Sale arrived at the town of Bassein, and found it abandoned and on fire, the governor of the district having retreated to Lamina, a town about six days' journey up the river. Having occupied Bassein, the town was soon restored to a comparatively flourishing state, and the population gradually returned to it. A reconnaissance was made as far as Lamina by 200 men of his majesty's 13th regiment, 100 native infantry, and 70 seamen, who proceeded up the river in boats, bivouacking at night on the banks. Sale with this party got close upon the heels of the retreating governor of Bassein, and was several times very near catching him. During the expedition Sale distinctly heard the firing at Donoopew. He encountered no opposition, although flying parties of Burmese hovered about; and although this branch of the river was in many places very narrow, and ran between lofty banks mostly covered with long grass and jungle, from which an enemy might have offered a resistance difficult to be overcome. All the villages on the banks of the river were deserted, and most of them burned. Lamina, although a large town, was found completely abandoned, the flying governor

having driven all the population into the interior. Sale could obtain hardly anything beyond a golden state-boat and two war-canoes, and with this little prize he returned to Bassein, after an absence of fourteen days. He was shortly afterwards recalled to Rangoon, to reinforce Sir Archibald Campbell's main army, which had passed the point at which a diversion in the direction of Bassein was likely to be useful; but Sale left a small garrison in the town of Bassein, and that place continued to be occupied throughout the war.\*

On the 4th of April, two days after taking possession of Donoopew, our main army recommenced its march for Promé. By the 12th it was again on the left bank of the Irawaddi at Sarrawah; and on the 14th it reached the spot from which it had retrograded just one month before. Along the line of march bands of fugitives were occasionally seen, but none came near. The soldiers of Bandoola's broken army were only anxious to get to their homes and to escape being pressed again into the service; and many of the king's new levies scoured the country as mere robbers, turning the arms that were given them to oppose the invaders of their territories against the unprotected peasantry. Passing over several abandoned camps and stockades, our troops, on the 19th, reached Huddadon, where the blue mountains of Arracan became for the first time distinctly visible. The landscape was beautiful, but the still smoking ashes of numerous villages cast a shade of sadness over the scene. In the evening a messenger came in from Promé as the bearer of a pacific letter from the chiefs of the Burmese army now collected at that city. The messenger seemed to be a silly old man, and probably he was not

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\* It was expected that Sale would have been able to penetrate by the Bassein river, which is the westernmost branch of the Irawaddi, to the upper channel of that river, and there join the main force under Sir A. Campbell. After taking possession of the town of Bassein, however, this was found impracticable, and the corps was consequently obliged to return to Rangoon about the 2nd of May, where it remained till the 25th of July. It then embarked in boats for Promé, where it arrived in September. — *Lieutenant Colonel Tulloch, Statistical Reports, &c.*

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\* MS. Notes by Henry Gouger, Esq.

a Burmese, but some half-caste who spoke some European language. He drank much too freely for a diplomatist, and when he rose to take his departure, he whispered in the general's ear, "They are frightened out of their senses! you may do what you please with them!" In reply to the letter which he had brought, Sir Archibald Campbell said that he would be very glad to conclude a proper peace, and that upon the arrival of the British army at Prome every opportunity and facility in opening negotiations would be afforded to the Burmese. And then, instead of gratifying his correspondents by halting and allowing them time to improve their stockades and receive their reinforcements from Ava, Sir Archibald moved on upon Prome, being preceded by the steam-boat and the rest of our flotilla. On the 24th of April, when he reached a point whence the heights of Prome were visible, with our flotilla lying quietly at anchor a short distance below the town, he received another letter from the Burmese authorities at Prome, who demanded that the city should not be occupied by the British troops, observing that they had an army as well as the English, and that the space between them was sufficiently large to afford a place of meeting for settling a treaty. Sir Archibald responded that the military occupation of Prome could not be dispensed with, but that he would be happy to meet deputies at any time and place next day, in order to make arrangements for the protection of the inhabitants and their property. Long before daylight the next morning our column was again in motion and in order of battle, for no reliance was placed in the pacific assurances of the Burmese. At daylight our troops were under the ridge of hills which covers Prome to the southward. Every hill was fortified to the very summit, and a more formidable position has seldom been encountered in the East. The stockades, however, were unoccupied: the enemy having evacuated every post and set fire to the town. Our column, pushing on, found Prome in a blaze, but by great exertions a considerable part of the town was saved from destruction. The cunning intentions of the Burmese chiefs were fully ascer-

tained. The town and position in its front had been fortified with the greatest care; ever since the dispersion of the army at Donoopew all eyes had been turned to Prome as the only point at which the invaders could be stopped; the utmost energy had been employed in organizing such a force as would enable them to prevent the British from establishing themselves in that excellent and commanding position; some new generals had been appointed by the king, and fresh levies and a numerous artillery were already on their way from Ava. These troops and this artillery would have crowned the summits and have filled the stockades of all the hills; and the whole disposable force of the Burmese would have been concentrated at a spot memorable in Burmese history on account of the many sanguinary battles that had formerly been fought upon it between them and the Peguers. The advance of the British force, which disconcerted all their plans, appears to have been wholly unexpected by them. Sir Archibald Campbell was within three days' march of Prome, and not a man of the expected reinforcements had yet reached that place; but the new levies were known to be within a few days' march of Prome, and therefore it was that the Burmese chiefs in that city had pretended a wish to negotiate with the English general. It is said that if only two days' delay had been granted, it would have cost us many lives to carry Prome by assault. But it should really appear to us that Sir Archibald Campbell might easily have been at Prome a full week earlier than he was, if not a full week before the Burmese chiefs sent their messenger to him.\* Being foiled at their own weapons, the Burmese deputies

\* We can scarcely understand the slow progress made by the army after quitting Donoopew, seeing that the flotilla was now in full co-operation with it, and that an abundance of excellent boats had been secured for the transport of stores, &c. We find that it took the column eight days to get from Donoopew to Sarrawah. On the 16th the column marched only seven miles; on the 18th it marched the same distance; on the 19th it marched only five miles; and it seems never to have marched more than ten or twelve miles in one single day.

had thrown off the mask, and had employed the time left them in burning and destroying everything that could be of use to the English, and had then begun their flight headed by the prince of Sarrawaddy, the king's full brother, burning and laying waste the villages on their route, and driving thousands of helpless people from their houses into the woods.\*

On the 25th of April, when Sir Archibald Campbell took possession of Prome without firing a musket, the rainy season was not far off. There was, however, time before it set in to send a small corps lightly equipped, to clear the inland districts of Prome of the armed bands which overran the country, plundering and oppressing the inhabitants, and driving them, with their cattle and effects, to a distance from the British troops. This lightly-equipped corps, under the command of Colonel Godwin, left Prome on the 5th of May.† The first two days' march to the north-eastward was over a rich and fertile country, abounding in rice grounds, from which an abundant harvest had lately been reaped. But the fertility, the industry, the population of the Burmese territories, are almost entirely confined to the great valley of the Irawaddi, to the banks of its various branches, and the delta which lies between its mouths on the sea and Doo-noopew: as the column advanced farther into the interior, these marks of industry and population rapidly diminished, the country gradually assuming the character of a luxuriant wilderness, overgrown with lofty forest, rank reeds, and brushwood jungles, with a few miserable villages scattered about at great distances from each other. Much care was taken to conciliate these poor remote villagers, who appear to have

scarcely known that there was any war in their country until they saw this little column. The armies of the Golden Foot had certainly not been near them; for in almost every instance the inhabitants were found quietly occupying their huts, and gazing in wild amazement at the strange sight of white faces, red coats, field artillery, &c. In many of the villages looms were found at work, weaving the coarse striped stuff worn by the natives; and although they seemed miserably poor and devoid of comforts, these villagers were found to be a cheerful, a frank, and kind-hearted people. They soon became familiar and even friendly with our soldiers, who paid them for whatever they brought. As soon as the tents were pitched after a day's march, they were to be seen in groups bartering and selling their fowls and other articles, or gladly accepting small glasses of brandy from the English officers. The column continued its march to Tagoondine, at the foot of the Galadyet mountains. It had been intended to push the reconnaissance across those mountains as far as Tonghoo, a sequestered city about which much had been said and very little known, except that it had once been the capital of an independent state, and that it was now the jaghire of one of his Burmese majesty's brothers, who bore the title of Prince of Tonghoo. But the monsoon rains were now beginning to fall, and to swell the mountains: the Galadyet chain was most steep and rugged, without roads, and with hideous-looking, though pacific inhabitants; and beyond the mountains the country for some distance was said to be a desert and dreary waste. Colonel Godwin therefore thought it expedient to turn his back upon Tonghoo, and to move to the north-westward to the town of Meaday, about 60 miles above Prome, and, like Prome and all the other considerable towns, situated on the banks of the Irawaddi. On this march our column occasionally crossed the track by which corps of the Burmese army had retreated from Prome. "It was painful to witness the ruinous effects of their system of warfare. Even Russia, in her memorable resistance to the armies of Napoleon, did not offer to the invading host such a continued scene of desolation. Neither man nor beast

\* Snodgrass.

† Horace Hayman Wilson. Documents illustrative of the Burmese War.

We learn from this curious and valuable collection of materials that Colonel Godwin's force consisted of 800 infantry and a troop of the governor-general's body-guard with two field-pieces. Lord Amherst had sent a good part of his body-guard to the Irawaddi early in the war, and throughout these campaigns that brilliant corps attracted universal admiration by its activity and spirit.

escaped the retiring column; and heaps of ashes, with groups of hungry, howling dogs, alone indicated where villages had been.\*" Meaday was found a blackened ruin, or a heap of ashes. Its old brick wall had been recently cleared and strengthened by breast-works and stockadings: but every thing was burned, and every soul was gone, so that no intelligence could be obtained as to the enemy's movements. "Indeed," adds Major Snodgrass, "to judge by the state of the country, one might have supposed that resistance was at an end; and that its population, retiring in a body to the north, had quietly relinquished the southern provinces to the invaders, leaving behind them a broad and desolate region as a future barrier and frontier." From Meaday our light column commenced its retrograde march upon Prome, following the road which runs close along the left bank of the Irawaddi. Our officers gave assurance of protection and kind treatment to a few villages that were found to be inhabited (the poor people having returned from the jungle as soon as the army of their king was at a distance from them). Other villagers were discovered, with all their cattle and property, living in the jungles, and were easily induced to return to their homes, and to commence a close and friendly connexion with the British soldiery. In Russia, the burning and desolating of the country, to stop the march of the invaders, was the spontaneous act of the people; and the Russian government have even disclaimed the foreknowledge of that mighty conflagration at Moscow, which sealed the doom of Bonaparte and the French army: but here, in the Burmese Empire, the work of devastation and desolation had been ordered by the most absolute king, and had been performed by the king's troops, forcibly and sorely against the will of the inhabitants—the mass of whom, after a short acquaintance with our habits and intentions, would have preferred living quietly under our rule, to their uneasy existence under their own tyrannical government. If the peasantry had been strong enough to oppose the Burmese

troops, not a village would have been burned, not a house would have been deserted on the banks of the Irawaddi, above Donoopew. Colonel Godwin and his light column arrived at Prome on the 24th of May, and, almost immediately after their return, the persecuted and dislodged inhabitants of the town poured in from every quarter: some from the woods, bringing their families, their cattle, their waggons, and other property; and some escaped from the military escorts and disjointed corps of the king's fugitive army. These last brought nothing with them but skin and bone and hopeful hearts, for they had been plundered and stripped of every thing by their own armed countrymen. Food and covering were given to the starving and naked; and those who had houses and property were secured in the possession of them. Our British soldiers assisted them in rebuilding their wooden houses, and their bamboo huts; and in a very short time Prome had risen from its ashes, a greater town than it had been before the war. If gross mistakes were committed, through want of that information which ought to have been obtained before our armament was embarked at Calcutta and Madras, and if there had occasionally been instances of slowness and indecision in our operations, apparently incapable of any excuse, Sir Archibald Campbell, his quarter-master-general, adjutant-general, and the other superior officers serving with him, are clearly entitled to high commendation for the excellent arrangements which were made at Prome, and for the admirable discipline which was maintained in our army—arrangements so excellent, and a discipline so perfect, that the natives from other parts of the country came in and sought protection under the British flag. As the people were punctually paid for whatever they brought, plentiful bazaars were soon established, and our soldiers lived in comfort and abundance, and unmolested ease; while the ill-conducted armies of the king of Ava, unpaid, unsupplied, and driven up the country, were left to the alternative of starvation or dispersion. The towns and districts in our rear followed the example of the provincial capital; and the banks of the Irawaddi below Prome were

\* Snodgrass.

soon enlivened by the presence of a contented people. An excellent dépôt was soon formed at Prome, with supplies sufficient, not only for the rainy season, but for the long campaign which possibly might follow.\* The plains which our soldiers had traversed on their advance up the country without seeing a single bullock, were again covered with numerous herds; from every pathway of the deep and extensive forests which cover far more than half of the country, droves of the finest oxen—the oxen of

\* “The town of Prome, on the left bank of the Irawaddi, is a mile and a half in circumference, enclosed in brick walls and stockades, and surrounded by a broad shallow ditch, or rather swamp; the suburbs, however, which lie beyond the stockade, are of much greater extent, and as most of the town was burned down by the enemy, the troops were principally quartered in these suburbs. The site is low, so much so, that the ground upon which most of the houses are built is annually inundated by the overflowing of the river, and for several months, intercourse has to be kept up by boats. The Irawaddi is here about a mile in breadth, but contracts very much at a short distance above the town: along the opposite bank of the river runs a low range of hills, covered with underwood, to the distance of several miles, beyond which rises in the distance the range of mountains separating this part of the empire from the province of Arracan on the sea-coast. South of the town, several small but steep hills, crowned, in most instances, by pagodas, reach almost to the walls. On these hills are numerous groves of tamarind and Palmyra trees, and also a considerable extent of brushwood, but not of the same close dense description as in the low grounds. To the east is a plain many miles in extent, principally composed of a strong cohesive clay, much used for rice cultivation, and constantly irrigated by a stream which flows through it. In the immediate vicinity of the town the soil has a dark, unctuous appearance, and is chiefly laid out in gardens, whence abundant supplies of vegetables were obtained for the use of the troops.

“As most of the inhabitants returned to the town shortly after it was taken possession of, provisions of every kind became plentiful. *Good fresh meat was issued to the soldiers on five days in the week, and fresh bread was supplied to the hospitals, and occasionally also to the whole force during their stay.* Most of the corps were at first quartered in a low part of the suburbs, but as there was some danger of being swept away in consequence of the sudden rise of the river during the rainy season, two of them were ultimately removed to the adjacent heights which command the town.”—*Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch, Statistical Reports, &c.* This very active and intelligent officer served in the Burmese war with his Majesty's 45th regiment.

Pegu—now issued daily. The Mintha-gees, or hereditary head-men of the districts and chief towns, tendered their allegiance, and were restored to their municipal functions by the British general. A state of desolation and anarchy once more gave way to order and plenty; and from Rangoon to Prome, from Bassein to Martaban, all classes of natives not only contributed their aid in collecting such supplies as the country afforded, but readily lent their services in facilitating the equipment and movement of military detachments.\* The only anxiety which the people seemed to feel was, that the English would leave them, and give them back to their old masters. In the lower parts of the country, where the inhabitants are almost entirely Peguers, who had frequently felt how sharp is the edge of the king of Ava's sword of vengeance, this anxiety was very great; and yet it did not prevent the people of the town of Old Pegu from rising against one of the great Wongees who had retreated to that town with a discomfited detachment. Having defeated the detachment, and taken a Burmese chief of rank prisoner, these people of Old Pegu carried the said chief to Rangoon, and delivered him up to Brigadier Smith.

During the season of rain and repose, (it was no season of rest at Ava!) the king, encouraged by false reports, and by Sir Archibald Campbell's own assurances that he was still desirous of negotiating, took vigorous measures for recruiting his armies, and for providing them with powder and weapons. Men were levied in all the upper parts of the country, where the nature of the war, and the quality of the invader, were not yet understood by the people. Money, which had never been employed before for that purpose, was now freely spent in the enrolling of troops. Far away to the north and to the east, gold, and the Orders of the Golden Face, were sent. The tributary Shan tribes, whose country borders on

\* In the month of August Sir Archibald Campbell went down to Rangoon and returned from that place to Prome in the steam-vessel the “Diana,” with as much ease and tranquillity as we go from London Bridge to Ramsgate and back again.

China, were induced to put 15,000 men in march for Ava; and by the end of September, the whole disposable force of his majesty was estimated at 60,000 or 70,000 men. By the beginning of October, the head-quarters of the Burmese army were again at Meaday; and the breast-works and stockades, which Col. Godwin and his light column had seen in ruin and in ashes, began to raise their heads again. To oppose to these forces, General Campbell had at Prome something less than 3000 effective men: but he was to be joined by 2000 more men by the time the campaign opened. His instructions from the governor-general, Lord Amherst, bound him to neglect no opportunity of entering upon pacific negotiations; and being told by some of the people of the country that the war was highly unpopular, that the Lotoo, or great council of Ava, was much divided, and that the prince of Sarra-wuddy was very anxious for peace upon almost any terms, he wrote a letter to the chiefs in command of the army assembling at Meaday, to represent the ruinous consequences to the king of a continuation of hostilities, and to offer them lenient terms of peace. Some time after this letter had been received, the chiefs sent a complimentary mission to Prome, to speak many good words to the British General, and to state that the king and his ministers were equally desirous that a lasting peace should be concluded between the two great nations. Sir Archibald Campbell lost no time in sending two British officers to Meaday to offer an armistice, and to propose a meeting of commissioners from the two armies. The two officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Tidy, deputy adjutant-general, and Lieutenant Smith, of his majesty's ship "Alligator," were received by the Kee Wongee, or prime minister, who accepted the armistice, and agreed to the proposed meeting of commissioners. The Burmese prime minister, however, tried hard to delay the meeting; but our deputies would not do more than consent to a delay of two or three days. It was, however, found necessary to allow a delay of nearly two weeks, the Wongees protesting that they must wait until full powers arrived from their court. The Kee Wongee, or prime minister, agreed to be one of

the commissioners, and it was finally settled that the meeting should take place at a spot mid-way between the two armies on the 2nd of October, and that each party should be escorted by 600 men—the rank of the Kee Wongee not permitting him to move with a smaller escort. The Chinese themselves could hardly have been more punctilious than were the Burmese chiefs in arranging the forms, ceremonies, and etiquette to be observed at the conference.

On the appointed day the meeting took place, Sir Archibald Campbell being accompanied by Commodore Sir James Brisbane, commander of his Majesty's naval forces in the Indian seas, who had come up to Prome to take the direction of the operations by water; and the general and the commodore being attended by their respective staffs. The Kee Wongee was accompanied by another chief and minister, named Lamain Woon, and sundry other chiefs, arrayed in splendid state dresses, and wearing the gold chains which denote their rank. After many kind inquiries as to the health of the king and royal family of England, in which every allusion to the governor-general or East India Company was carefully avoided, the Wongees requested that negotiations should be suspended, and all business deferred till the next day, in order that a better acquaintance might be formed between them and the English chiefs before entering upon business. This was assented to, and the first day was spent in an interchange of ceremony and compliments. On the following day Sir Archibald Campbell entered upon business by recapitulating the many unprovoked aggressions which had obliged the Indian government, after many vain endeavours to obtain redress by milder measures, to appeal to arms. After referring to the success which had attended his arms, and to the imposing strength of the British, which had subdued the best half of the Burmese dominions, and which now threatened the capital, Sir Archibald stated the conditions upon which peace would be granted and the country evacuated. The Wongees confessed that many aggressions had been committed on our frontiers; but they pretended that these deeds had not been authorised by the king

or his government; and that three wicked men who had held employment in Arracau, and who had withheld the letters from our Indian government to their king, had been the cause of all the mischief. They declared that it might cost them their heads to show to the king such terms as were offered by Sir Archibald. They said that the best thing to do was to forget the past, and pledge a mutual friendship for the future; that although the dignity and sacred customs of the nation forbade the king of Ava to accede to any dictated terms, if the British troops would only quit the country every thing might be expected from the generosity of his majesty's heart, &c. They concluded by proposing that the armistice should be prolonged for twenty days beyond the 17th of October, the term fixed. Although our officers suspected that nothing was meant but to gain time in order to bring more troops down the valley of the Irawaddi, and erect more stockades, they agreed to this last proposition.\* On quitting the Wongees they were assured by those double or treble faced diplomatists that peace was the object nearest the hearts of all of them, and that the Burmese would observe the armistice most scrupulously. Sir Archibald Campbell and Sir James Brisbane had scarcely reached Prome, on their return from these conferences, ere reports poured in from all quarters of the irruption of predatory bands from the Burmese army within our line, and into the districts under our protection. And these bands, continuing their inroads, burned and plundered the country almost to the gates of Prome, and cut off some of the supplies for our army that were coming up the river from Rangoon. But such is the way in which truces are always observed by semi-savages. When Sir Archibald Campbell remonstrated with the Burmese

leaders, they denied all knowledge of or connexion with the marauders. With an undisciplined army like theirs, these protestations might very possibly have been true, and the chiefs might have been unable to prevent the infraction of the truce: but it appears that the most satisfactory evidence was procured of the predatory bands acting under their immediate and express commands. The armistice was on the point of expiring, and our irritated troops were eager to begin their march upon Ava, when the Kee Wongee sent the following laconic epistle to Sir Archibald. "If you wish for peace you may go away; but if you ask either money or territory no friendship can exist between us. This is Burmese custom!" This ultimatum was accompanied by a general advance of the Burmese army from Meaday upon Prome. All the chiefs had received peremptory orders from Ava to surround and attack the "rebel strangers" on all sides. The Burmese advanced in three great divisions: the centre, about 25,000 strong, being commanded by the Kee Wongee in person, and being accompanied by a considerable fleet of war-boats. The right division was about 20,000, the left about 15,000 strong. And in addition to these three corps there was a reserve of 10,000 men, in a strongly-fortified post at Mel-loone, on the right bank of the Irawaddi. Sir Archibald Campbell, who had received his reinforcements, after providing a garrison for Prome, had a field force of about 5000 men, of whom 3000 were British. On the evening of the 15th of December, the General sent Colonel Macdowall with two brigades of native Madras infantry, to dislodge the left division of the Burmese, who had advanced to within 16 miles of Prome, and were stockading themselves at Wattygaun. Instead of succeeding in their object, Macdowall got killed, four of the junior officers got wounded, and the sepoys commenced a rapid retreat, leaving nearly all their wounded behind them to the merciless fury of the enemy. The sepoys were pursued through a thick jungle for six or seven miles, and many of them were killed and wounded in their flight. The news of this affair, which was ra-

\* "Among ourselves," says Major Snodgrass, "many believed that the war was at an end, while others could not forget that we were dealing with a government proverbially false, and so completely influenced and guided by signs and omens, that an unusual grunt from the white elephant was at all times sufficient to interrupt the most important affairs, and cause the most solemn engagements to be broken off."

pidly conveyed to Ava, raised the confidence of the court. The fortunate left column presently advanced from Wattygaun to a post within a short morning's walk of Prome; and the grand centre of the army, and the right division, began to close round the English positions.\* For some days these were allowed to gather; but, on the 1st of December, all the three divisions were attacked simultaneously by Sir Archibald Campbell, Sir Willoughby Cotton, and Commodore Sir James Brisbane, who carried the flotilla up the river, and cannonaded the stockades in flank, while the land troops attacked them in front. Everywhere the Burmese and the Shans were defeated and dislodged, as soon as our troops got a lodgment in the interior of their crowned works. The Wongee who commanded the left division was slain; and a great many of the Shans, who did not understand the signs that were made to them to surrender and take quarter, were killed in a most desperate and most useless struggle within the stockades.† The mass of the retreating army rallied on the heights of Napadee, in front of a deep jungle a few miles higher up the Ira-

\* In the left division 8000 men were Shans from the country bordering upon China. These Shans, who had not yet come in contact with our troops, were expected to fight with more spirit than those who had been previously engaged. In addition to their Chobwas and petty princes the Shans were accompanied by three young and handsome women of high rank, who were believed to be endowed with the gift of prophecy and foreknowledge, and to possess the miraculous power of turning aside the death-dealing balls and bullets of the English. These Amazons, in strange warlike costume, rode constantly among the Shan troops, inspiring them with ardent wishes for an early meeting with their foe, as yet known to them only through the deceptive accounts of their Burmese masters.—*Snodgrass*.

† One of the Shan Amazons received a fatal bullet in the breast. The moment her sex was recognised, our soldiers bore her from the scene of carnage to a cottage in the rear, where she soon expired. In the retreat, another of the Shan ladies was seen flying on horseback across a little river with the defeated remnant of her people. Before she could gain the opposite bank of the river, where a friendly forest promised safety and protection, one of our shrapnels exploded over her head, and she fell from her horse into the water. Whether she was killed or only frightened could not be ascertained, as she was immediately borne off by her attendants.

waddi. This new position, in which they were attacked the very next day, — the 2nd of December — was uncommonly strong. The nature of the country admitted of no approach to the main defences upon the hills, except in front, and there only by a narrow pathway. Their stockades at the foot of the hills were more readily assailable, and from these they were speedily driven. To carry the works on the hill was a slower and more costly operation: many of our people fell in ascending the steep and narrow path; but nevertheless the storming column went on under a heavy fire, and finally succeeded in expelling the enemy at the point of the bayonet, and in driving them from hill to hill, until the whole of the position, nearly three miles in extent, was entirely in our possession. Our loss during the two days' fighting, on the part of the regiments of the line, was 25 killed and 100 wounded. During the attack, our flotilla, pushing rapidly past the works, succeeded in capturing all the boats and stores that had been brought down for the use of the Burmese army. That army was now in fact utterly broken up and ruined: many had fallen in battle, more than one third of the survivors deserted, and those who remained were threatened with starvation. In the course of the 4th and 5th of December, a few weak or feebly defended stockades were carried—some by the land-troops and some by the sailors of the flotilla: both banks of the Irawaddi were completely cleared, and nothing was left to check Sir Archibald Campbell's advance upon Melloone.\*

On the 9th of December our first division, accompanied by head-quarters, began its march through a melancholy, deserted country, and through jungles and swamps overgrown with reeds and elephant-grass fifteen feet high. The king's 1st regiment, or "Royals," went by water, on board the flotilla; the other regiments of the line in two divisions by land. [Two corps of native infantry or sepoy were left to garrison Prome, in which a field-hospital was established for all the sick and wounded who were un-

\* *Snodgrass*, H. H. Wilson. Alex. M. Tulloch.

able to keep up with the army.] On the 12th the cholera broke out among the troops; and ere it could be checked, it carried off many men of the native Madras divisions, and rendered two British regiments almost unfit for duty.\* The roads continued to be execrably bad, and the advance to be very slow. It was the 19th before the first division reached Meaday, where a scene of misery and

\* "For two or three days after leaving Prome, the route lay through a thick and gloomy forest, along paths so obstructed by jungle as to be almost impassable; the weather was lowering and unsettled, and, what is rather unusual at so late a period of the year, on the 11th of December the rain began to pour in torrents, and the roads soon became a mass of mud, through which it required the utmost exertions of the troops to force the artillery and commissariat waggons. So shut in was the army on every side by dense forest and jungle that when it halted for the day, a sufficiently clear space could not be obtained even for pitching the tents; those parts which were free from forest being covered with elephant-grass from fifteen to twenty feet high. In this position, surrounded by rank and insubrious vegetation on every side, cholera broke out in the camp and committed great havoc, particularly in the 89th regiment, which lost about 30 men in less than a week from it. On the army reaching a better position, which, however, it was not enabled to do till the 15th, the violence of the epidemic somewhat abated, but cases continued to occur throughout the whole of that month.

"This visitation of pestilence was not confined to the invading army, the Burmese troops and inhabitants suffered very severely from it, as was evident from the number of dead bodies found along the road; and at Meaday, to which the main body of the Burmese army retreated on their defeat before Prome, the town and its vicinity was literally crowded with the dead and dying. The epidemic attacked both divisions of the army, though at a considerable distance from each other, and the "Royals" on board the flotilla also suffered from it, but still more from a continuance of the severe dysentery and diarrhoea with which they had been afflicted at Prome, and which was now supposed to be aggravated by the crowded state of the boats and the unwholesome character of the food.

"Along the greater part of the route the villages were found deserted, and, as at Rangoon, the enemy had carried off all the cattle, and burned and laid waste the country to prevent the army obtaining supplies; unfortunately, too, our stores of biscuit and rice had been much injured during the heavy rains, so that the troops soon began to experience the same privations as at Rangoon, and with similar consequences. Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, they pressed on towards the capital."—*Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch, Statistical Reports, &c.*

death surrounded them. Within and among the stockades the ground was strewn with dead and dying Burmese lying promiscuously together, the victims of wounds, of disease, or of want. Several large gibbets stood about the stockade, each bearing the mouldering remains of three or four crucified Burmese, who had been thus barbarously put to death for having wandered from their posts in search of food, or for having followed the example of their chiefs in flying from the enemy. Beyond Meaday similar horrors presented themselves, and the country seemed to grow more and more dreary and difficult. "We appeared," adds Major Snodgrass, "to traverse a vast wilderness from which mankind had fled; and our little camp of two thousand men seemed but a speck in the desolate waste that surrounded it, calling forth, at times, an irksome feeling which could with difficulty be repressed, at the situation of a handful of men in the heart of an extensive empire, pushing forward to the capital, still three hundred miles distant. . . . An occasional shot from the flotilla, which had got considerably higher up the river, from time to time broke the silence of the desert, and reminded us that we had still much work before us, and were fast approaching Melloone, where every effort of art and labour had been exhausted to arrest our progress on the imperial city." On the 26th of December, when the division had marched 140 miles from Prome, and was within ten miles of Melloone, a flag of truce was sent to Sir Archibald Campbell from the last-named place, with letters communicating the arrival of a high commissioner sent down from Ava with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace. On the 27th Sir Archibald encamped on the banks of the Irrawaddy about four miles below Melloone, and was there joined by the flotilla. On the 28th he sent two officers to the Burmese chiefs for the purpose of arranging an immediate meeting with the new negotiator. Our officers plainly saw that the Burmese chiefs wanted to procrastinate, and that the forces they had collected behind the stockades of Melloone were numerous, and were busily occupied in improving the defences of the place.

On leaving the Burmese chiefs, our officers told them that the British general would not prolong the truce, but recommence offensive operations forthwith. On the 29th Sir Archibald took up a position at Patnagow directly opposite to Melloone, and with the aid of the flotilla scattered some of the king's war-boat people, and destroyed some batteries by the river side.\* The flotilla, led by the "Diana" steam-vessel, glided up until it came abreast of the town, and pointed its guns against the stockades of Melloone. Upon this the Burmese commanders gave unequivocal proof of their being anxious to treat; not a shot was fired upon our vessels, nor was a shot fired by them: a chief put off in a war-boat to compliment the commander of the flotilla, and to tell him that the new and high delegate from Ava would gladly open negotiations on the 1st of January. At the appointed day and hour the conferences were commenced on board of a large boat moored in the middle of the Irawaddi between the two armies. After four meetings, and long and most wearisome discussions, the Burmese accepted the conditions which were offered, and a treaty of peace and amity was signed. Fifteen days were allowed for obtaining the ratification of the Golden Foot and the execution of preliminaries, such as the delivery of Mr. Henry Gouger and all other prisoners up the country, and the payment of the first instalment of the money indemnity. During the interval which ensued, the Burmese visited our camp by day in the most friendly manner, and by night they worked at their stockades. On the 17th of January, the day preceding that upon which the ratified treaty was to be presented to Sir Archibald and his coadjutors, three officers of state visited the British camp, and declared that some un-

fortunate accident, of which they were entirely ignorant, must have delayed the arrival of the king's ratification, and the arrival of the prisoners and money. They vowed, in their way, that they had not heard from Ava since the treaty was sent up for his majesty's signature. They offered to pay on the spot a small instalment, and to give hostages for the payment of the rest of the money and the due execution of the other articles of the treaty, if Sir Archibald would only return to Prome. Having received a decided negative to this proposal and to another, they at last entreated for a delay of five or six days. This also was refused by Sir Archibald, who acquainted them that if they evacuated Melloone within thirty-six hours, and continued retiring with their forces before the British army upon Ava, hostilities would not be recommenced, and our march would be suspended as soon as the ratified treaty should be received—but not until then. The Burmese officers rejected this proposition as peremptorily as our commissioners had rejected theirs. On the next day, the 18th, three British officers proceeded to Melloone to tell the Wongees that they had broken their promises, and had rendered it impossible to trust them, and that after twelve o'clock that night hostilities would recommence. And at the midnight hour the British camp was on the alert; and by ten o'clock the next morning twenty-eight pieces of artillery were in battery, and ready to open upon the enemy's defences. Two hours of heavy firing opened the way for our storming column (formed of the 13th and the 38th British regiments), which was carried across the river in boats under the superintendence of Captain Chads, now senior naval officer, and which was headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Frith, Lieutenant-Colonel Sale having been badly wounded in the boats. In a very brief space of time the column entered by escalade, and established itself in the interior of the works. This always finished the affair. From 10,000 to 15,000 armed men were driven away in a confused and helpless mass from the strongest work they had ever erected. Our other brigades, cutting in

\* Here, at Patnagow, the Bengal division, while encamped on the base and slope of a hill covered with high grass, was attacked by cholera, particularly the 13th and 38th regiments; but on their removal to a hill adjacent, which was clear of grass and underwood, it immediately ceased. To the cholera, succeeded several cases of remittent fever; but during the latter part of their stay the troops were tolerably healthy.—*Lieutenant-Colonel Tulloch, Statistical Reports, &c.*