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A.D. 1800.

course having been maintained by the late Nabob Wallajah and the reigning prince, Omdat-ul-Omrah, with Tippoo Sultan, for objects hostile to the interests of the Company. Preparations were made for assuming the civil and military administration of the Carnatic by force, when Omdat-ul-Omrah died, and was succeeded by his reputed son, Ali Hussein, under the guardianship of two noblemen of the court. Lord Clive went in person to conduct the negociation with the young prince, who at first expressed his readiness to comply with the proposed terms, but, subsequently, retracted all his concessions. Not unreasonably offended at such vacillation, Lord Clive, with the concurrence of the Governor-general, resolved that Ali Hussein should be deposed, and the nabobship transferred to his cousin, Azim-ud-Dowlat. Ali Hussein protested against this change, and declared his willingness to accede to the terms offered by Lord Clive. No regard was paid to his remonstrances. He soon after fell a victim to dysentery, and Amar Sing, the deposed Raja of Tanjore, died nearly at the same time. The arrangements for the future administration of Tanjore and the Carnatic, were therefore completed without interruption.

His cousin
appointed.

Lord Wellesley was very eager to establish the same relations with the Mahratta states which he had completed with the Nizam, namely, to procure their assent to the establishment of an English subsidiary force in their dominions, and an assignment of a portion of territory sufficient for their support. The obvious recommendations of this plan were, that the troops of the native princes were little better than hordes of banditti, subsisting on plunder rather than pay, and that the existence of such armies was utterly inconsistent with the maintenance of peace in India. On the other hand, the presence of a subsidiary disciplined force was sure to deliver the Indian princes from the dread of insurrection, which was the only check to their habits of cruelty and oppression. Under such circumstances, the English necessarily appeared to themselves and others, little better than hiring supporters of tyranny, and thus, after having taken the military administration, they were frequently compelled, and in all cases were tempted to seize the civil government likewise.

The Governor-General
treats with the
Mahrattas.

The Governor-general commenced his negotiations with the Peishwa, who, by the Mahratta constitution, was the legal sovereign of all the Mahratta chieftains. But his authority, though nominally recognised, was virtually rejected by several of the powerful feudatories, who held under him by military tenure,

The Peish-
wa weak.

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A.D. 1810-2.

Holkar and
Scindiah
powerful.Scindiah
interferes
with
Holkar.Jesswunt
Rao defeat-
ed by Scin-
diah Oct. 14
A.D. 1801.Holkar's
victory.
Oct. 25,
A.D. 1802.The Peish-
wa escapes.

and particularly by Holkar and Scindiah. The latter, indeed, held the reigning Peishwa, Bajee Rao, in such a state of control that Lord Wellesley believed he would gladly embrace the proposal of receiving an English subsidiary force, in order to deliver himself from a degrading dependence upon his own vassal. Circumstances arose within the Mahratta states, which seemed to favour the Governor-general's design. The powerful family of the Holkars, which had for more than three-fourths of a century been settled in the northern Mahratta states, had not only established their virtual independence, but had acquired an extent of power and dominion not inferior to that of the Peishwa himself. A disputed succession gave Scindiah a pretext for interfering in the affairs of the Holkars; he conferred the sovereignty on Cashee Rao, put his rival and brother, Mulhar Rao, to death, but preserved the posthumous son of the latter as a hostage for the fidelity of his uncle. Jesswunt Rao, the son of the late Holkar by a concubine, escaped from Scindiah's search, and soon appeared in the field at the head of a numerous army of adventurers. He was severely defeated by Scindiah, in an engagement near Indore, the capital of Holkar's dominions, on the 14th of October, 1801, and fled, with the loss of his artillery and baggage. In the course of the next year, however, he had assembled a still more considerable force, and marched to attack the united forces of Scindiah and the Peishwa, in the vicinity of Poonah. A battle was fought on the 25th of October, 1802. After a warm cannonade of about three hours, the cavalry of Holkar made a general charge. The cavalry of Scindiah gave way, when that of Holkar cutting in upon the line of infantry, put them to flight and gained a decisive victory.

The Peishwa, not doubting of success, had quitted his palace with some intention of joining in the action, but being frightened by the noise of the firing, he turned off to the southward of the town, in order to await the issue. When he learned the result, he fled to the fort of Singhur, having previously sent to the British resident, Colonel Close, the preliminaries of a treaty, by which he bound himself to subsidize six battalions of British sepoys, and to cede twenty-five lacs of rupees of annual revenue for their support. During the engagement, the British flag floating over the residency, ensured the respect of both parties, to which the high estimation in which Colonel Close was held by the natives not a little contributed.

On the day following the battle, Holkar sent a message requesting an interview with the resident, which was, of course,

accepted. Colonel Close found the victorious chieftain in a small tent, ankle-deep in mud, wounded by a spear in the body, and by a sabre in the head. His conversation was polite and frank, he spoke lightly of his wounds, and expressed himself in the most friendly terms towards the resident and the British government. He seemed extremely desirous of obtaining the mediation of the resident in settling with Scindiah and the Peishwa, and solicited Close, whom he detained about a month in Poonah, to act as arbitrator. Holkar's moderation, whether real or affected, was lost on the Peishwa; he retreated from place to place, sent letters to the Bombay government, requesting that ships might be sent to convey him to that island, and actually proceeded in an English vessel to Bassein.

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A.D. 1802.

Holkar
an inter-
view with
the British
Resident.

The Peish-
wa goes to
Bassein.

We have already mentioned that the Guicowar abandoned to the Company his share of the *chout*, which had been levied on Surat; he also surrendered to them the district of Chourassy, and employed other means to obtain their alliance. The death of this prince, in September, 1800, exposed his country to mutinous disturbances. Anund Rao, his son and successor, was a prince of weak intellect, unable to control the intrigues of the various factions which divided the court of Baroda. These intrigues soon led to an open war between the illegitimate brother of the Guicowar and Raojee Appajee, who had been the chief minister under the late sovereign. The English government sided with the latter, and sent him a small detachment of troops. A decisive victory was gained over Mulhar Rao, the cousin of the late Guicowar, and the most powerful enemy of the minister. Mulhar Rao supported Kanhojee, the illegitimate brother.

Intrigues
at Baroda.

Raojee was thus left free to pursue the schemes of economical reform which he had intended. The most important of these was the dismissal of the Arab mercenaries in the Guicowar's service, but these fierce soldiers refused to disband until their demands of enormous sums as arrears had been complied with; they broke out into mutiny, seized Baroda, and detained the Guicowar a prisoner in his capital. Baroda was immediately invested by the English, and forced to surrender, after a siege of ten days. Many of the garrison, contrary to the articles of capitulation, went to join the rebel Kanhojee; but they were closely pursued by Major Holmes, who defeated them in two smart engagements, and ultimately drove Kanhojee from Guzerat.

The Gui-
cowar is
imprisoned
by his
soldiers.

A.D. 1803.

Holkar resolved to treat Bajee Rao's flight to Bassein as a formal abdication of his sovereignty, and, in conjunction with several other Mahratta chiefs, he proclaimed Amrut Rao the

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Treaty with
the
Peishwa.
Dec. 31.

legitimate Peishwa. Thenceforth all appearance of moderation was laid aside ; the ministers of the fugitive prince were tortured with the most dreadful cruelty, to force them to reveal the secret of their treasure ; and every respectable householder of Poonah, possessed of property, was seized and forced by every wicked means to give up his wealth. At the commencement of these cruelties Colonel Close quitted Holkar's court, and proceeding to Bassein, concluded with Bajee Rao a treaty on the basis of the preliminaries which had been transmitted to him at Poonah. By this treaty the Peishwa bound himself to receive an English subsidiary force, and provide for its subsistence ; to exclude from his territories Europeans of all nations hostile to the English ; to relinquish his claims on Surat ; and to submit to the arbitration of the English all points of dispute between him and the Guicowar.

The
Peishwa
intrigues.

It is not to be supposed that Bajee Rao very willingly signed a treaty which virtually deprived him of independence ; it was no sooner concluded, than he commenced secret intrigues with Scindiah and Raghojee Bhonsla to frustrate its execution ; and these chieftains willingly combined to prevent arrangements which threatened to destroy the power they had hitherto possessed in the court of Poonah, and over the Mahratta states generally. The Governor-general was prompt to fulfil his part of the engagement in restoring the Peishwa ; Colonel Stevenson, at the head of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, accompanied by fifteen thousand of the Nizam's troops, approached on the Peishwa's eastern frontier ; while Major-general Wellesley marched direct on Poonah, from the borders of Mysore, with a strong detachment from the Madras army. General Wellesley made a forced march on Poonah, in order to save the city, which, it was said, Amrut Rao intended to burn ; but both Holkar and he had evacuated the place previous to the arrival of the British troops. We may mention that Amrut Rao eventually entered into engagements with General Wellesley, and joined him during the progress of the war, with a body of horse. The Company rewarded his services by a liberal pension, and a residence at Benares.

Wellesley
saves
Poonah,
April 20.The Rajah
of Berar
plots.

After Bajee Rao's restoration, the efforts of the Governor-general were directed to obtain the acquiescence of the leading Mahratta chiefs in the treaty of Bassein. Raghojee Bhonsla, Rajah of Berar, opposed the conditions of the treaty with all his might, and laboured to reconcile Scindiah and Holkar, that they might unite in frustrating the English policy. General Wellesley having been vested with full powers as political agent of the

Governor-general, as well as military commander of the army of the Deccan, soon grew weary of the vexatious delays and protestations of the chieftains; he therefore demanded as a test of their sincerity, that Raghojee should withdraw his troops to Nagpore, and that Scindiah should cross the Nerbudda. This plain and distinct proposal, so characteristic of its author, perplexed the Mahratta chiefs; they were obliged to give a decisive answer, and that being a refusal, was regarded as a declaration of war.

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Wellesley
insists.
July 14.

An army was collected in the upper provinces, under General Lake, to act against the northern Mahrattas, where Scindiah had large bodies of troops commanded and disciplined by French adventurers. General Wellesley, assisted by Colonel Stephenson, directed the operations in the Deccan, which was the first theatre of war. Wellesley commenced by besieging Ahmednuggur, which had the reputation of being almost impregnable, but which only held out four days. He then went in pursuit of the Mahrattas, who were anxious to avoid an engagement, and on the 21st of September, 1803, formed a plan, by which, he moving in one direction and Stephenson in another, should unite and attack the Mahrattas on the morning of the 24th. On the morning of the 23rd, however, having learned that the Mahratta army, amounting to more than fifty thousand men, with a hundred pieces of cannon, had encamped in his neighbourhood, the general resolved to attack them, without waiting for Colonel Stephenson, though his whole force did not exceed four thousand five hundred.

War begins.
General
Lake in
the upper
provinces.Wellesley.
takes
Ahmed-
nuggur,
Aug. 12.

The Mahrattas were formed in a long line on the bank of the Kaitna river, near its junction with the Juah, with their infantry and guns on their left. General Wellesley, with the view of turning their left, crossed the Kaitna at Peepulgaon, and by thus placing his troops on the tongue of land between the two rivers, compelled the enemy to change their front, with their left on Assaye and their right on the Kaitna, and thus deprived them of the advantages they would have derived from their immense superiority of force.

Battle of
Assaye,
Sept. 23.

The battle commenced with a heavy fire of round and grape from the Mahratta artillery, which did terrible execution. The English line, though destitute of artillery, still pressed forward, when a large body of Mahratta horse charged the 74th regiment, which had suffered very severely. The English cavalry, consisting of the 19th light dragoons, and the 4th Madras horse, received the order to charge with a joyous shout, to which the infantry responded, the very wounded cheering them as they passed. Their onslaught was irresistible; the enemy's first line

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fell back upon the second, and the British infantry pressing forward, drove both into the Juah at the point of the bayonet. Every attempt which the fugitives made to form beyond the river, was defeated by the headlong charges of the British cavalry; the last body of infantry at length was broken; the battle was completely decided, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained in the hands of the victors. Many of the Mahrattas, however, who had thrown themselves on the ground as if dead, when the British advanced, rose after they had passed, and turned their guns on the British rear; after the more important parts of the victory had been secured, it was some time before the firing thus occasioned could be silenced. The loss of the victors was severe; upwards of one-third of their forces were killed or wounded, but they had achieved one of the most splendid victories recorded in Indian history.

Oct. 24.

Colonel Stephenson did not join the main army until the evening of the 24th, when he was sent in pursuit of the fugitives. He did not overtake them, but he reduced the city of Burhanpore and the strong fort of Aseerghur. At the same time, a detachment from the Guzerat army captured Broach and some other fortresses of less importance.

Alighur
taken,
Sept. 24.

In the mean time, General Lake, who had been invested with the same powers in Hindustan, which General Wellesley possessed in the Deccan, advanced from Cawnpore against Scindiah's northern armies, which were commanded by M. Perron, a French officer of some ability, and unquestioned valour. The first operation of the campaign was the storming of Alighur, a fort which might easily have been made impregnable. The British cantonment at Shekoabad was surprised by a detachment of Mahratta cavalry, under a Frenchman named Fleury, and the garrison compelled to capitulate, the detachment which Lake sent to his assistance, arriving too late to be of any use.

Perron
resigns.

Perron, at this crisis, received information that Scindiah had resolved to supersede him, and transfer the command to one of his personal enemies. He therefore addressed a letter to General Lake, requesting to be allowed to pass through the Company's territories with his property, family, and the officers of his suite, to Lucknow; by the direction of the Governor-general, the necessary safe-conduct was promptly granted.

From Alighur, General Lake advanced upon Delhi, but when within six miles of the city, his advanced guard of cavalry was suddenly exposed to a heavy and destructive fire of artillery.

Louis Bourquin, the French officer next in command to

Perron, assembled a powerful Mahratta force, and concealing his guns by high grass, completely took the English by surprise. Lake saw that it was necessary to draw the Mahrattas from their strong position ; he therefore commanded the cavalry to retire, and the enemy, mistaking the movement for a retreat, rushed after them in full assurance of victory. The cavalry, however, retired in good order, until it reached the head of the advancing column, when opening from the centre, they permitted the British infantry to pass to the front. The battalions moved forward under a tremendous fire of grape, round, and canister from the Mahratta guns, until within a distance of one hundred yards, when they fired a volley and then charged with the bayonet. Scindiah's infantry could not withstand the onslaught ; they abandoned their guns and fled. The English battalions then broke into open columns of companies, and the cavalry charging through the intervals, made dreadful havoc of the fugitives, many of whom only escaped the sabre to perish by drowning in the Jumna. The consequences of this victory, were the immediate possession of the imperial city of Delhi, and the deliverance of the Emperor Shah Alum from the degrading and painful captivity, in which he had long been held by the Mahrattas.

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Victory
near Delhi.Delhi
taken.
Sept. 11.

General Lake then marched against Agra, which was in a state of the greatest anarchy. Before the breaking out of the war, the garrison had been commanded by European officers, who had been confined by their own troops, on the commencement of hostilities. Seven battalions of Scindiah's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis ; but the garrison were afraid to admit them into the fort, lest they should plunder a rich treasury which they wished to reserve for themselves. These battalions were attacked by General Lake, and defeated with the loss of twenty-six of their guns. A few days afterwards, the garrison liberated their officers, and capitulated on condition of being permitted to retire with their private property ; the treasury, the arsenal and one hundred and sixty-two pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors.

Agra
taken.

Oct. 17.

General Lake next marched against the battalions sent by Scindiah from the Deccan, which had been reinforced by the relics of Bourquin's army. After a tedious pursuit, he came up with them at sunrise on the 1st of November, and believing them to be in full retreat, ordered his cavalry to intercept their flight. But the Mahrattas, instead of retreating, had taken up a very strong position ; their right resting on the fortified village

Battle at
Laswaree.

Nov. 1.

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of Laswaree, their left on the village of Mohaulpore, and their front lined with seventy-five pieces of cannon chained together, so as to resist the charge of horse. The cavalry were driven back, and the infantry with the brigade of guns came forward to the attack. Scindiah's horse behaved in the most cowardly manner, but the battalions which had been trained by the French officers, fought with a desperate determination, which nothing could subdue. The greater part of them refused to surrender, but fell where they stood, with arms in their hands. The battle of Laswaree cost the English more than eight hundred men in killed and wounded, but it completely destroyed Scindiah's power in Northern India; and, at the same time, English divisions completely subdued the districts of Kuttack and Bundelcund.

Battle of
Argaum.
Nov. 29.

In the Deccan General Wellesley, after many harassing operations, arising from the celerity with which the enemy moved from place to place, succeeded in bringing the confederates to an action at Argaum on the evening of the 29th of November, and routed them with very little difficulty. This success being followed by the siege and capture of Gawilghur, terrified the confederates into peace. The Rajah of Berar was the first to yield; he ceded a large portion of his territories to the English and their allies, abandoned all claims of *chout* upon the Nizam, and consented that no European should be admitted into his dominions without the permission of the British government.

Gawilghur
destroyed,
Dec. 15.

Peace made
with Berar.

Accredited ministers from each of the contracting parties were to reside at the court of the other, and the Rajah very reluctantly received a resident at Nagpore. Scindiah held out a fortnight longer, but finally yielded to similar terms; but he had to sacrifice a much larger portion both of territory and influence than his ally.

Holkar's
demands.

During the progress of hostilities, Holkar remained in Malwa, levying enormous contributions from friend and foe, scarcely crediting, or affecting to disbelieve, the accounts of the rapid victories of the English. When it was too late, he determined to make an effort for retrieving the independence of the Mahrattas; he sent ambassadors to Scindiah, urging him to break the treaty which he had just concluded, but that chieftain was, or pretended to be, so exasperated against Holkar, that he immediately communicated the fact to the British authorities. General Lake believed that Holkar was amicably disposed; he invited the chieftain to send ambassadors, in order that a treaty might be negociated; but he was mortified when the Mahratta deputies

urged the most extravagant demands, and supported them by a letter from Holkar, stating that, in case of a refusal, "his country and his property were on the saddle of his horse, and to whatever side the reins of his brave warriors should be turned, the whole of the country in that direction should come into his possession." The Governor-General having been made acquainted with Holkar's demands, resolved not to temporize any longer; orders were issued directing General Wellesley and General Lake to attack Holkar's troops and possessions in every direction. Scindiah at the same time professing the utmost readiness to co-operate with the British.

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He is
attacked.

After some trifling operations, General Lake placed his main army in cantonments, but sent Colonel Monson with a strong detachment, to co-operate with Colonel Murray, who was to attack Holkar's dominions on the side of Guzerat. Monson advanced with great spirit; but, hearing that Holkar was coming to meet him in force, he resolved to retreat. This movement, injudicious in itself, was conducted with a most lamentable want of skill, judgment, and discretion. Monson had no confidence in the sepoys, nor they in him; the officers and men desired for nothing so much as a halt and a fair fight; their leader's determination was to seek shelter under the guns of some fortress. But the governors of forts on his line of retreat declared against the English; the troops, dissatisfied, weary, and starving, burst through all bonds of discipline, and fled to Agra in broken parties. In consequence of this success, Holkar's fame spread through the country, and greatly increased the number of his followers.

Monson
retreats.

Disasters.

General Lake immediately took the field to repair these disasters; but, instead of making a dash on Holkar's infantry and guns, he wasted his energies in fruitless efforts to bring the Mahratta cavalry to action, and, when these failed, remained inactive at Muttra. This delay afforded Holkar an opportunity of attempting an important enterprise, the surprise of Delhi and the possession of the emperor's person, in which he very nearly succeeded. His failure must chiefly be attributed to the skill and valour of Colonels Ochterlony and Burn, who, with a small body of sepoys, made a successful sortie, repelled an assault, and, under incessant fatigue, defended a city ten miles in circumference. General Lake marched to the relief of the capital, but Holkar's infantry had gone, five days before his arrival, towards the states of the Rajah of Bhurtpore, who had broken his engagements to the English government. General Frazer undertook

Lake takes
the field.

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A.D. 1804.

Monson
successful,
Nov. 18.
Rout at
Deig.

the pursuit, and, on the 13th of November, came up with the Mahratta infantry strongly posted, near the fortress of Deig. Frazer headed the charging battalions in person; he drove the enemy from their first range of guns, and was advancing on the second when he fell mortally wounded. The command now devolved on Colonel Monson, who was eager to avenge his late disastrous retreat; under his guidance, the enemy were driven successively from each of their lines of battery until they got under the walls of the fort; one body which attempted to make a stand was driven into the lake, and many of them drowned. Eighty-seven pieces of cannon were taken, and among them Colonel Monson had the satisfaction to find fourteen of those he had lost during his retreat.

Four days afterwards, General Lake, after a most persevering pursuit, overtook Holkar's cavalry at Furruckabad. The surprise would have been complete had not the accidental explosion of a tumbril, just before the onset, roused the Mahrattas to a sense of their danger. Holkar and his immediate followers escaped, but three thousand of his troopers were put to the sword. Deig was immediately invested, and stormed after a siege of ten days. Holkar now appeared on the verge of ruin; his territory in the Deccan was reduced; his principal forts in Malwa, including his capital, Indore, were in the possession of the English; and the reduction of Bhurtpore was alone wanting to reduce him to the condition of a helpless fugitive.

Deig taken
Dec. 23.Holkar
reduced.

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Lake
besieges
Bhurtpore,
Jan. 2.Fails to
take it.

The town of Bhurtpore, eight miles in extent, was everywhere surrounded by a mud wall of great thickness and height, and a very wide and deep ditch filled with water. The fort was situated at the eastern extremity of the town; and the walls were flanked with bastions at short distances, mounted with a numerous artillery. The Jats had crowded in from the surrounding districts to the defence of their capital, and the broken battalions of Holkar had entrenched themselves under the walls of the place. General Lake arrived before Bhurtpore, January 2nd, 1805, with a very insufficient battering train, and without taking the ordinary precaution of reconnoitring the place, commenced a siege. Four desperate assaults were made, and repulsed with dreadful slaughter; the two first failed, from the breadth of the ditch and the depth of its waters not having been ascertained by the assailants. The two others were baffled by the unexpected strength of the defences, and the vigorous resistance of the besieged. All four were honourable to the valour of the troops, but not very creditable to the military skill of their general.

The Rajah of Bhurtpore was, however, disheartened by the preparations for continuing the siege ; he made proposals for peace, and was allowed to negotiate on very favourable terms, although every one of the British authorities felt the disadvantage of leaving Bhurtpore to be a monument of their failure. But it was deemed expedient to grant favourable terms to the Rajah, at a time when there was every appearance of a renewal of hostilities with Scindiah.

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Terms
granted.

Scindiah had actually advanced towards Bhurtpore with an intention of taking part in the war, and had permitted the camp of the British resident to be attacked and plundered, without making any attempt to discover and punish the offenders, when he heard that the Rajah had concluded a treaty with the British. Even then he allowed Holkar to join his camp, but could not be again induced to encounter the perils of war. His negotiations were protracted, until a change in the government of British India was followed by the adoption of a course of policy, by which most of the advantages gained in the Mahratta war were thrown away.

Peace with
Holkar.

CHAPTER XV.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF CORNWALLIS AND OF SIR
G. BARLOW, 1805—1807.

Review of Lord Wellesley's Government—His Proceedings with the Mahrattas—The Directors take a harsh View—He treats the Indian Merchants fairly—Jealousy of his Conduct—The London Shipbuilders raise an Alarm—He establishes the College at Fort William—He seeks to instruct the Native Indians—His Policy to create Alliances—The Necessity of a Supreme Government in India—The Marquis Cornwallis arrives July 30, 1805—Treaties with the Rajahs violated—Lord Cornwallis moves into the Interior—Dies Oct. 5—Sir G. Barlow succeeds—His Non-interference—Intrigues of the Nizam's Government—The good Policy of the Marquis Wellesley established—The Mahratta Confederacy broken up—Holkar's Troops revolt and murder Khondee Rao—Holkar quells the Sedition—Becomes insane—A deplorable Government at Indore—Scindiah in a reduced Condition—His Troops dissatisfied—The Peishwa in a better Condition under British Protection—Sir G. Barlow's Reforms—He improves the Finances—The Mutiny at Vellore startles the British—It is suppressed by Lieutenant Colonel Gillespie—The Marquis Wellesley returns to Europe.

Results
of the
Wellesley
government.

LORD WELLESLEY'S government of India had been very brilliant, but very expensive. His system of policy aimed at placing the entire military arrangements of India under the control of the British, by inducing or compelling the principal native princes to substitute a disciplined subsidiary force for their own undisciplined and turbulent hordes, leaving them, however, the power of administering the civil government at their pleasure. Such an arrangement would clearly have given the Company an absolute control over all the foreign relations of the Indian princes, and rendered that body the guardian of general tranquillity. The subsidiary treaties with the Peishwa and the Nizam enabled the Governor-general so to dispose the forces supplied to both these powers, that they formed a complete chain of defence against

any possible attack, not only covering the frontiers of both princes, but giving permanent security and tranquillity to all the southern parts of the Peninsula. Scindiah, to whom such an abridgement of the Mahratta power, which prevented the levying of *chout* on the feeble states of the south and west, was peculiarly obnoxious, had been so humbled that there was very little fear of his venturing to renew hostilities. Holkar was little better than leader of a body of cowardly banditti; his troops being so dispirited that they would not venture themselves within fifty miles of an English army. Great expenses, indeed, had been incurred, but it was certain that the pressure would only be temporary, for the revenues were beginning to improve, the conquered and ceded districts began to grow profitable after tranquillity had been restored, and the economic reductions, which were commenced as the war drew to a close, gave promise of a large and early surplus revenue from our possessions.

The court of directors, from the beginning, took a very harsh view of Lord Wellesley's policy, and thwarted him in every particular where they were not checked by the interference of the Board of Control. Even the conquest of Mysore was very ungraciously recognized by the authorities in England, and sixteen years elapsed before General Harris received any public reward for his services at Seringapatam. But this hostility was mainly owing to an act of justice towards the merchants of Calcutta which was deemed injurious to the interests of positive monopolies in England, and which undoubtedly diminished the unfair profits which accrued to certain parties possessing great influence in the direction. On the renewal of the Charter, in 1793, it had been stipulated that 3,000 tons of the Company's shipping were to be allotted annually to private merchants. The rate of freight, however, was not specified, and of course the Company's agents, with the usual impolicy and injustice of monopolists, fixed so high a rate that the British merchants and manufacturers were deterred from engaging to any extent in the trade. Thus the exports to India were very limited in amount; whilst there was an increasing amount of exports from India, which was liable to serious checks and hindrances from the uncertainty and cost of the means of conveyance. This was so strongly felt by the court of directors, that in 1798, they authorized the government of Bengal to take up ships on account of the Company, and re-let the tonnage to the merchants of Calcutta. Lord Wellesley refused to act on this notable plan, which would have superadded an immense quantity of fraud

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Disputes
about trade.

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and jobbing to the previous evils of expense and delay; he, therefore, permitted the merchants and ship-owners to make their own arrangements for the extent and rate of the freight, subject only to such regulations as would prevent any interference with the Company's privileges. Not a word need be said in favour of this policy; it was obviously nothing more than establishing a most advantageous principle in commercial affairs, by placing the merchant and ship-owner on an equal footing. But this partial opening of the trade, however urgently advocated, was the most inconvenient thing in the world to those accustomed to exorbitant profits; and the arrival in the port of London of Indian produce, in India-built ships, created a sensation among the monopolists, which could not have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames.

India
shipping.

The ship-builders of the port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm; they declared that their business was on the point of ruin, and that the families of all the ship-wrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation. The connection between ship-building and the maintenance of a rate of freight, so high as to prevent shipping from being employed, was not, indeed, very obvious, but it suited the convenience of the monopolists to keep their own delinquencies of exorbitant charge out of sight. The interest of the consumers, that is, of the people of the three kingdoms, in obtaining a more certain supply of the produce of India, at a cheaper rate than before, was, of course, more studiously concealed, and persons were allowed to declare that the trade of England would be ruined, because that trade with India had been greatly facilitated and increased. Fortunately, the President of the Board of Control, backed by nearly the entire of the independent mercantile interest of India, took the same view of the question as the Governor-general, and all the efforts of the monopolists to set aside the new arrangements were defeated. Their disappointment on the occasion was far from increasing their admiration of the government of the Marquis of Wellesley.

The view which Lord Wellesley took of the shipping question, was the calm and deliberate result of his investigation of a measure, concerning which he felt no particular solicitude. Any man of ordinary talents, who viewed the question without the bias of private interest, must have arrived at the same conclusion; had his arrangements been set aside, he would only have lamented the strength of sordid interest and prejudice, but personally, would have felt no annoyance. He shewed less indifference

in his efforts to maintain the College of Fort William—an institution of which he was the creator and fosterer—but which encountered the most strenuous opposition from the Court of Directors. His exertions, however, were so far successful that a college was maintained for the instruction of Bengal writers in the Oriental languages used in that part of India, and, some years later, a college was founded in England for the education of the junior civilians of all the presidencies in the usual objects of European study, and in the principal languages of the East. This institution has proved of so much service, that it is to be hoped its basis may be enlarged, and that it may extend instruction to those who are intended for official and mercantile situations in other Oriental countries, particularly Turkey and the Levant.

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XV.A.D. 1805.
College of
Fort
William.

But the question by which Lord Wellesley's administration must finally be judged, is the policy of the subsidiary alliances which it was his great object to establish throughout India. There can be no doubt that their universal acceptance would have established the supremacy of the Company, and secured the general tranquillity of India; but Lord Wellesley does not appear to have made sufficient allowance for the natural reluctance of princes to resign the military defence of their dominions into the hands of foreigners, and their dislike to the subjection which the nature of the subsidiary connexion necessarily imposed. Attempts to shake off such fetters ought to have been anticipated; and when they occurred there was no alternative between the restoration of the prince to complete independence, or the utter annihilation of his power. But the East India Company had now succeeded to the central power, which had been anciently possessed by the emperors of Delhi, and, upon the exercise of its controlling authority, the tranquillity of the whole Peninsula depended. If the Company ceased to assert and exercise supremacy, all India must have fallen into anarchy. Indeed, this result followed to a very great extent when the policy of Lord Wellesley was abandoned.

Numerous
alliances
formed.

The Marquis of Cornwallis, in spite of his accumulated years and infirmities, was appointed the successor of Lord Wellesley. He arrived at Fort William, in July, 1805, just as Lord Lake had intimated to Scindiah, that no further delay in the liberation of the British resident, whom he insolently detained a prisoner, would be permitted. Lord Cornwallis commenced his career by relaxing in this preliminary, and consenting to treat with Scindiah on his own terms. Fortunately, for the honour of the British

Cornwallis
sent again
to India,

July 30.

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A.D. 1805.

name, Lord Lake succeeded in obtaining the resident's liberation before the degrading concession of the Governor-general was made known. By the new treaty with Scindiah, the numerous rajahs west of the Jumna, who had been taken under the protection of the British government, were to be abandoned to their own resources, and to be compensated by cessions of the territories we had conquered, which they were manifestly unable to defend. The Rajah of Jeypore had entered into an alliance with the English against Scindiah; and, though he had on many occasions deviated from the letter and spirit of his engagements, yet, when Holkar's army approached his frontiers, he was induced by Lord Lake to take an active part in the war, and his services greatly contributed to its final success. Notwithstanding these services, and Lord Lake's remonstrances against the breach of the public faith, which he had plighted, the alliance with Jeypore was dissolved: the Rajah's representatives boldly protesting that the English had made their honour subservient to their convenience.

He dies,
Oct. 5.Sir George
Barlow
succeeds.His non-
interference

In the midst of his exertions, Lord Cornwallis sunk under the increased fatigue which he had imposed upon himself, by a journey to the upper provinces. He died at Ghazepore, near Benares, on the 5th of October. He was succeeded by Sir George Barlow, a civil servant of the Company, who had filled several subordinate situations creditably, but who did not possess the qualifications necessary for a post of so much importance and responsibility as that of Governor-general of India. Sir George Barlow not only adopted Lord Cornwallis's policy of non-interference, but carried it to a greater extent than his lordship ever contemplated. Treaties were concluded with Scindiah and Holkar, which left those chieftains free to form new schemes of dangerous ambition; he exerted himself to dissolve the intimate alliances which had been formed with some of the principal native states, and to free the English from the obligations of protection contracted with minor chiefs; it has even been said that both he and the Marquis of Cornwallis contemplated abandoning all the British possessions west of the Jumna, as likely to prove sources of expense, trouble and danger.

Intrigues
at Hyder-
abad.

But circumstances soon occurred, which led Sir George Barlow not only to doubt, but to depart from his policy of non-interference. Meer Alum, the able minister of the Nizam, whom the English had for many years supported, by his attachment to their interests, lost the confidence of his feeble sovereign. Intrigues were detected at Hyderabad, not only for removing the

minister, but for destroying the subsidiary alliance with the British government. The nature of this conspiracy and the character of those associated for its execution, which included all the discontented soldiery, required prompt decision. The necessary orders were sent to the resident and the commander of the troops, by whose promptitude the conspiracy was disconcerted. The Governor-general displayed equal wisdom in opposing the recommendations of the Court of Directors to modify the treaty of Bassein, which their persevering hostility to the Marquis of Wellesley led them to regard as the great source of all their difficulties; but every hour brought evidence from the Mahratta territories of the increasing importance and value of the arrangements made at Bassein.

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A.D. 1806.

The policy of the Marquis of Wellesley was most effective in India, and made an immense change in the condition of the Mahrattas; their perilous power was broken, their marauding expeditions checked, and their claims to *chout*, or payment for forbearance, which they had been accustomed to exact from their neighbours, were utterly annihilated. The Peishwa was forced to cede a large tract of country to the English; he was controlled in his foreign relations, and supported on the throne by a British force. The territories of the other Mahratta chiefs were dismembered; the emperor of Delhi was taken under the protection of the English; and the native princes sat down exhausted and dismayed, sensible of some of their own errors when too late; but with no plan, or even sentiment of union, except hatred to that nation by which they had been subdued.

When Jesswunt Rao Holkar was restored to his dominions, he intimated to his army that he was under the necessity of dismissing about twenty thousand of his cavalry, most of whom were natives of the Deccan. Large arrears being due to these men, they mutinied, and were only pacified by receiving Holkar's nephew, Khondee Rao, as a pledge for payment. The possession of the legal heir to the Holkar family, induced the mutineers to revolt, and proclaim their prisoner the legitimate sovereign. But the firmness of Holkar's infantry overawed them, and their arrears being paid soon afterwards, by a sum of money extorted from the unfortunate Rajah of Jeypore, the sedition was quelled. The innocent instrument of the mutineers fell a sacrifice to his enraged uncle, who put both him and his brother to death. Not long after, Holkar fell into a state of insanity, from which he never recovered until the day of his death, October, 20th, 1811.

Holkar's
troops
revolt.He dies
mad.

The regency of Indore, when it was found necessary to place

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Holkar under restraint, was divided between one of his concubines, Toolzee Bhæe, a woman of profligate habits and most vindictive disposition, and Ameer Khan, who was nothing better than a chieftain of banditti. They administered the government in the name of Mulhar Rao Holkar, a boy about four years of age, the son of Jesswunt Rao, by another concubine. This deplorable government, if such anarchy can be called a government, was alternately swayed by two factions, the Mahrattas and the Patans, who were constantly intriguing against each other, and nothing could exceed the miserable condition of the country. At the court, bribery, executions and murders; in the provinces, violence, rapine and bloodshed.

Scindiah
reduced.

Scindiah's territories were in a state scarcely less deplorable than Holkar's. His army was far too numerous for his finances; and, in order to appease the clamours of his troops, he was obliged to allow them to subsist at free quarters in his provinces. The burthen of their exactions became in many places intolerable; and districts which had previously been cultivated and profitable, were fast running to waste and wretchedness. The Peishwa was more fortunate; his troops, commanded by Bappoo Gokla, who had been recommended to this station by General Wellesley, united with the English subsidiary force, quelled every appearance of insurrection in his dominions.

Mutiny at
Vellore.

The nomination of Sir George Barlow to be Governor-general of India, was acquiesced in by the court of directors. His chief care was to spare money; he dismissed several corps of regular troops, introduced various retrenchments, and saved much by reductions of the regular army, and by establishing an effective system of collection in the revenue department. His efforts as a financier were successful. His rule was, however, signalized by an unexpected event, which startled the friends of the British government. A fearful mutiny took place at Vellore, a fortress eighty-eight miles west of Madras, in which the twelve sons and six daughters of Tippoo Saib were residing under surveillance. On the 9th of July, 1806, the sepoys of the 1st battalion of the 1st regiment, and of the 2nd battalion of the 23rd regiment, both of the Madras infantry, amounting to 1,500 men, with four companies of H.M. 69th regiment formed the garrison. At three o'clock in the morning of the 10th, the native troops attacked the Europeans, murdered thirteen officers and eighty-two privates, besides several other Europeans: ninety-two were wounded. The survivors made a determined defence; and in the evening Lieutenant-colonel Gillespie, with a strong force, hastened from

July 10.

Arcot, nine miles distant, and having blown open one of the gates, cut most of the mutineers to pieces. Some were executed, and the names of the two regiments were erased from the Army list. This mutiny is attributed to the attempt made by Sir John Cradock, who then commanded the Madras army, to assimilate the natives in dress and accoutrements to the European soldiers. This was construed into an attempt to force them to change their religion. The superciliousness of some officers contributed to the disaffection. In June, a sepoy gave information of the plot to his colonel; the colonel referred the matter to the native officers, and the informant was imprisoned. This mutiny alarmed the Honourable Company; and Lord W. Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, and Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-chief of the army of that presidency, were both recalled.

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A.D. 1806.

The Marquis of Wellesley left India in July 1805. After his return to Europe, he entered, like his illustrious brother, the Duke of Wellington, into public life, and gave proofs of the great talents which had distinguished his government of India. He died on the 26th of September, 1842, in his 83rd year.

CHAPTER XVI.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD MINTO, 1807—1813.

Lord Minto arrives in India, and soon discovers the Dangers of Barlow's System.—The Pindarrees in the Deccan.—Their fighting. — Their Atrocities and Torture. — Sir Charles Metcalfe's Opinion.—The Directors dissatisfied with Barlow's System.—They recommend that the Treaties be observed.—Lord Minto tries the Experiment of Half-government.—Confusion in the Deccan.—Differences in learning between the Brahmins and the Omrahs.—Chandu Lall a clever Hindu supports the English.—He governs the Nizam with a Rod of Iron.—Lord Minto's Policy upholds Chandu Lall.—Bajee Rao the Peishwa shows bad Faith.—General Wellesley (Wellington) gives a Caution.—The Jaghire-dars of the Deccan appeal for Protection.—Lord Minto obliged to consent.—The Peishwa hates the English.—Ameer Khan becomes Head of the Pindarrees.—Lord Minto protects Berar; but allows the Pindarrees to escape.—The French Schemes in Persia.—Two English Missions sent together to Persia; one from England and one from India.—Captain Malcolm's Etiquette leads him to Calcutta.—Sir Harford Jones makes a Treaty with Persia, 1809.—Results of that Treaty misrepresented.—A Mission under Mountstuart Elphinstone sent to Cabul.—Travancore disturbed by a fractious Vizier.—The French Squadrons plunder the East India Ships.—Lord Minto prepares an Expedition.—The Madras Army mutinies through Barlow's Plans.—Lord Minto goes to Madras and establishes Tranquillity.—The Islands of Bourbon and Mauritius taken, 1810.—The Island of Java taken.—The Dutch defend it well, 1811.—Lord Minto is embarrassed by Oude and the Pindarrees.—His quiet Policy excites the Goorkhas.—His Love of Peace induces him to remonstrate.—He threatens a little and asks an Answer from Nepaul.—His neutral Policy gives Cause for Delay.—He returns to Europe and dies.—He leaves War as an inevitable Legacy to his Successor.—The Dacoits suppressed.

CHAPTER
XVI.

A.D. 1807.

LORD MINTO reached India in July, 1807; he had previously acquired a high character as a statesman, and was remarkable for his reluctance to be fettered by mere precedent, and for his

determination to judge in all things for himself. If he had shared in the erroneous views which many persons in England had formed of the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley, he found soon after his landing, that the system which had been devised by the Marquis of Cornwallis, and pursued by Sir George Barlow, was pregnant with the most injurious consequences to all the native states, and perilous to the existence of the British empire in the East.

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July.
Lord
Minto's
character.
Changes
Barlow's
system.

The Pindarrees, a class of the lowest freebooters, had been long known in the Deccan; they were early employed in the Mahratta wars, and numbers of them engaged in the service both of Scindiah and Holkar. They were in general more attached to their immediate commander, than to the prince who hired their services; they not unfrequently changed sides, and plundered their masters whenever they found an opportunity. So soon as the tide of Mahratta conquest was turned, the Pindarrees were obliged to plunder the territories of their former masters for subsistence; the very desolation they carried along with them brought them recruits, and their numbers were greatly augmented by the bodies of irregular horse which Lord Lake disbanded at the termination of the war.

The Pin-
darrees
plunder.

In every thousand Pindarrees, about four hundred were well armed and mounted; of that number about every fifteenth man carried a matchlock, but their favourite weapon was the Mahratta spear, which is from twelve to eighteen feet long. The remaining six hundred were common plunderers and followers, armed like the bazar retainers of every army in India, with any sort of weapon which chance supplied. Before the Pindarrees set out on an expedition, a leader sent notice to the inferior chiefs, and hoisted his standard on a particular day after the cessation of the rains, generally about the period of the Dusserah, a Hindu feast in honour of the return of fine weather. As soon as the rivers were fordable and a sufficient number had assembled, they moved off by the most unfrequented routes towards their destination. Commencing with short marches of about ten miles they gradually extended them to thirty or forty miles a-day, until they reached some peaceful region against which their expedition was intended. Terror and dismay burst at once on the helpless population; villages were seen in flames; wounded and houseless peasants flying in all directions, fortified places shutting their gates, and keeping up a perpetual firing from the walls. The plunderers dispersed in small parties, and spread themselves over the whole face of the country; all acting on a concerted plan,

Their
modes of
fighting.

Their
atrocities.

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they swept round in a half circle, committing every sort of violence and excess—torturing to extort money—ravishing, murdering, and burning in the defenceless villages; but seldom venturing on danger unless the prospect of a booty was very certain. When they approached a point on the frontier, very distant from where they had entered, they united and went off in a body to their homes. Whilst they continued their excesses, marauders of all descriptions sallied out to join them, or profit by their presence, and whole districts became a scene of rapine and conflagration.

Their
torture.

The ordinary modes of torture inflicted by these miscreants were heavy stones placed on the head or chest; red-hot irons applied to the soles of the feet; tying the head of a person into a *tobra*, or bag for feeding horses, filled with hot ashes; throwing oil on the clothes and setting fire to them; besides many others equally horrible, which could not be named with decency. The awful consequences of a visit from the Pindarrees can scarcely be imagined by those who have not witnessed them. For some time their ravages were chiefly confined to Malwa, Rajpootana, and Berar; a few of them, however, ventured almost every year into the dominions of the Nizam and the Peishwa, though little notice was taken of them by the British government, while they refrained from molesting its own subjects and territory.

Sir Charles
Metcalf's
opinion.

The situation of the ancient Rajpoot states of Odeypore, Joudpore, Jeypore, and other principalities, became at this period truly deplorable; but their condition and sentiments cannot be painted in more striking colours than by using the terms of a despatch from Sir Charles Metcalfe, the enlightened resident at Delhi, who, adverting to their repeated applications for the aid of the British government, observes:—"When I reply to these various applications, I find it difficult to obtain even a confession that the moderate policy of the British government is just. People do not scruple to assert that they have a right to the protection of the British government. They say that there always has existed some power in India to which peaceable states submitted, and, in return, obtained its protection; that then their own governments were maintained in respectability, and they were secure against the invasions of upstart chiefs and armies of lawless banditti. That the British government now occupies the place of the great protecting power, and is the natural guardian of the peaceable and weak: but, owing to its refusal to use its influence for their protection, the peaceable and weak states are continually exposed to oppressions and cruelties

of robbers and plunderers, the most licentious and abandoned of mankind." Nor were the Rajpoots alone exposed to danger ; the Sikh chieftains west of the Sutledge, from whom our protection had been withdrawn, were in a state of alarm and disturbance, dreading to be reduced under the sway of Runjeet Sing, who had founded a kingdom in the Punjab, which daily increased in strength.

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The court of directors expressed some dissatisfaction at the extent to which the policy of non-interference had been carried by Sir George Barlow ; they censured the abandonment of the Rajah of Jeypore, expressing a hope that "the supreme government in India would take care, in all its transactions with the native princes, to preserve our character for fidelity to our allies from falling into disrepute, and would evince a strict regard in the prosecution of its political views, to the principles of justice and generosity." The government in India had also shewn that it was alive to the evil impressions which might result from Sir George Barlow's having rescinded the article of the treaty concluded by Lord Lake, which precluded Scindiah from ever again employing his profligate minister, Sirjee Rao Ghatkia, the author of the treacherous attack on the British residency. While bestowing a very qualified approbation on the altered treaty, the Court of Directors expressed a hope that "neither in the motives by which the supreme government was actuated, nor in the communications with Scindiah, any just ground was afforded for a suspicion on the part of the Mahratta chieftains, that the British government entertained any dread of the consequences which might possibly result from insisting on a scrupulous adherence to the stipulations of treaties." But, notwithstanding the justness of these views, there still existed in the Direction a strong desire to avoid, by every possible means, any further extension of political connexions. It was hoped that peace might be preserved without our being compelled to assume that paramount power, which seemed to be the more dreaded the nearer it was brought within our grasp. So Lord Minto was entrusted with the trial of the experiment, how far it was possible for us with safety to stop short of taking into our hands the supremacy, if not the sovereignty of India.

The
Directors
dissatisfied.

They re-
commend
that the
treaties be
observed.

Lord
Minto tries
the experi-
ment of
half-
governing
India.

Sir George Barlow had been obliged to make the court of the Nizam an exception to his policy of non-interference, and to take active steps to support that prince's prime minister, Meer Alum. On the death of that nobleman, there were several competitors for the vacant office ; but after some time it was arranged

Confusion
in the
Deccan.

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between the Nizam and the Governor-General, that the office should be divided, the name of minister being given to the Nizam's favourite, Mooneer-ul-Mulk, and its active duties being entrusted to an English partisan, Chandu-Lall, under the title of Dewan.

Difference
in learning
between
the Brah-
mins and
the Omrahs

Chandu-Lall was a Brahmin ; but this circumstance did not prevent him from being taken into the service of a Mohammedan prince. The Brahmins of the Carnatic are generally men of education, acquainted with at least the principles of mathematical science, and remarkable for their skill in commercial and financial affairs. On the other hand, the Mohammedan Omrahs, to which class Mooneer-ul-Mulk belonged, are generally conspicuous for their conceit and their ignorance, unable to keep an ordinary account, and yet ready to undertake the most complicated affairs of the exchequer. Chandu-Lall clearly saw that he would not long be permitted to retain his office as Dewan, unless English interest continued paramount at the court of Hyderabad ; he therefore exerted himself with all his might to forward those schemes of military reform, which had been originally suggested by the Marquis of Wellesley. Corps were disciplined by British officers, and a regular army sprung up, organised in all its branches by the British resident.

Chandu
Lall a
clever
schemer.

The Dewan, who personally derived great support from this force, implicitly acquiesced in every proposition which the resident made for the appointment of officers, and for the pay and equipment of the new battalions. In return for this, and his steady adherence to the engagements of the defensive alliance, he was protected by British influence and power from the attacks of his numerous enemies, and left to control, as he thought best, the internal government of the country, the prosperity of which began early to decline under a system which had no object but revenue, and under which, neither regard for rank nor desire for popularity existing, the nobles were degraded and the people oppressed. The Nizam (of whose sanity very reasonable doubts were entertained) lapsed into a state of gloomy discontent ; and while the Dewan, his relations, a few favourites, and money-brokers flourished, the good name of the British nation suffered ; for it was said, and with justice, that our support of the actual administration freed the minister and his executive officers from those salutary fears, which act as a restraint upon the most despotic rulers. The unhappy result of those arrangements, which the fear of greater evils had led him to confirm, appears to have been felt and deplored by Lord Minto ; but the remedy was most

difficult, without over-stepping the limits prescribed for his observance; and, in fact, no effectual effort was made to check these evils during his lordship's administration.

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Bajee Rao, the Peishwa, had scarcely been restored to his authority by the treaty of Bassein, than he began to evince the distrust and duplicity of his character towards his new allies; and openly avowed, in regard to many persons subject to his authority, that revenge was his principal motive for entering into alliance with the English. The Peishwa was, in fact, a profligate sensualist; his favour was reserved for those who pandered to his passions and his crimes, and his ministers were chosen from his agents in lust and murder. Through these unscrupulous agents he kept up a correspondence with the chief confederates against the British power, and ascribed his connexion with that government, which to them he reprobated and deplored, to necessity, occasioned by their absence, and to the treachery of the southern Jaghiredars. General Wellesley (since Duke of Wellington) had early appreciated the character of Bajee Rao, and had anxiously urged upon the government the necessity of speedily arranging the relations between the Peishwa and the southern chieftains. In fact, these powerful lords, though calling themselves the subjects of the Peishwa's family, had for ages shewn it a very lax obedience, submitting to its orders or usurping upon its rights, according to the character and means of the sovereign upon the throne. These Jaghiredars also had established a strong claim on the consideration of the English, by their conduct during the war against Scindiah and Holkar, so that, while the Peishwa was to be supported in the assertion of all his just rights as lord paramount, it was obviously desirable that he should be prevented from effecting what he earnestly sought, their utter ruin.

Bajee Rao shows bad faith.

General Wellesley recommends strict measures.

The native chieftains ask for protection.

The terms proposed by the resident at the court of Poonah, for adjusting the difference between the Peishwa and the Southern Jaghiredars were:—the mutual oblivion of past injuries—the abandonment of all pecuniary claims on either side—the guarantee to them of the *Serinjamny* lands, that is, lands granted to support a specific number of troops for the service of the paramount prince, so long as they served the Peishwa with fidelity—the relinquishment, on their part, of all former usurpations—their attendance, when required, with the whole of their contingents—and of a third part at all times—under the command of a relation. So long as the Jaghiredars adhered to these terms, the British government agreed to guarantee their personal

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Lord Minto
obliged to
give
protection.

safety, and that of their relations. Lord Minto sanctioned this departure from the policy of non-interference, which, from this time forward, may be said to have been virtually abandoned, and he sent orders to Madras, Mysore, and the Deccan, to have a sufficient force assembled to compel the submission of any chieftains who might prove refractory.

Bajee Rao and the Jaghiredars were equally unwilling to submit their claims to the arbitration of the British government. The Peishwa would not at first listen to any proposition which did not comprehend the entire resumption of the lands held by the southern chieftains, and their being compelled to submit to his authority by force of arms. The Jaghiredars were equally unwilling to resign their old usurpations, and enter into fixed stipulations of allegiance; but the presence of a large British force compelled obedience. They all joined the Peishwa at Panderpore, whence they accompanied him to Poonah, where all matters were finally arranged under the mediation of the British resident. Though these arrangements greatly increased the Peishwa's influences and resources, Bajee Rao never forgave the English for not having given him the aid of their troops to execute his meditated scheme of vengeance on the Southern Jaghiredars.

The
Peishwa
hates the
English.

We have already mentioned Ameer Khan, as one of those who had seized on the regency of Holkar's dominions, when the insanity of Jesswunt Rao rendered him incapable of conducting the government. He soon quitted Indore, and placing himself at the head of a large body of Pindarrees, began to levy exactions, sometimes in Holkar's name, and sometimes in his own. One of his first acts, was to threaten the territories of Berar with invasion, under the pretence that the Rajah, owed large sums to Holkar. Lord Minto could not contemplate with indifference an army of Pindarrees and other military adventurers, encamped on the banks of the Nerbudda, under an ambitious Mussulman chief, whose conquest of Berar would bring them into immediate contact with the territories of the Nizam. Community of religion would no doubt have induced a powerful party in those dominions, including most probably the Nizam himself, to join in schemes for the establishment of Mohammedan supremacy in southern India, and the consequent overthrow of British power. Under such circumstances it would have been ruinous to adhere to the policy of non-interference. Lord Minto abandoned it without hesitation, and tendered to the Rajah of Berar the gratuitous protection of the British government. Ameer Khan was

Ameer
Khan at
the head
of the
Pindarrees.

Lord Minto
protects
Berar, but
allows
Ameer
Khan to
escape.

driven from the frontiers of Berar, but Lord Minto would not sanction the pursuit of the freebooter into his own dominions, and Ameer Khan escaped with an unbroken army to prosecute new schemes of conquest and oppression.

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A.D. 1808.

Though the influence of the French in India was virtually annihilated by the destruction of Tippoo and the dispersion of the armies which Perron and other French adventurers had found amongst the Mahrattas, yet Napoleon frequently exhibited a settled purpose to contest with the English the empire of the East, and early in the year 1808, he sent ambassadors to Persia, who were said to have been most favourably received by Futteh Ali Shah, the reigning sovereign, and to have concluded a treaty very menacing to the English interests. This intelligence excited much alarm, both in London and Calcutta; missions, without any apparent concert, were sent to Persia by the Governor-general and the British ministry; the envoys took very different views of the course of policy which ought to be pursued, and that which was most absurd in itself and most pernicious in its consequences was eventually adopted. Captain Malcolm, Lord Minto's envoy, proceeded to Bushire, but on the king of Persia refusing him leave to advance to Teheran, and insisting on his negotiating with his son, the viceroy of Shiraz, he declined going any further, as unbecoming the dignity of the English nation, that its representative should treat with a prince at a provincial capital, while the French ambassador, who had been received in direct violation of an existing treaty, enjoyed the distinction of residing at the court and carrying on his negotiations with the king. These reasons and many others for not complying with his majesty's desire, were embodied in a memorial and sent to Teheran; but producing no effect, the representative of the supreme government sailed for Calcutta. On his arrival there, orders were given to prepare an expedition, which was meant to occupy one of the Bahrein islands, in the Persian Gulph; and as the early failure of the French promises was anticipated, they being quite inconsistent with the arrangements made between Napoleon and the Emperor of Russia, there existed no doubt that the Persian government would soon be reduced to the necessity of asking for that friendship which it had slighted; and until it should be in this temper, it was obvious to every person with the slightest pretensions to statesmanship, that the alliance would never take a shape which merited confidence or promised benefit.

The French
schemes in
Persia.

Missions to
Persia.

Captain
Malcolm's
etiquette.

Orders to
prepare an
expedition
at Calcutta.

Sir Harford Jones was the ambassador from the court of

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Sir Harford
Jones
spends
money.
Treaty
made in
1809.

London, when it was the fashion of the day for England to pay people for protecting themselves, and to subsidize every power which seemed willing to accept a subsidy. A treaty was concluded in March 1809, by which Great Britain was bound to pay the king of Persia an annual subsidy of one hundred thousand pounds, so long as he should be at war with Russia, to supply sixteen thousand stand of arms, with twenty field-pieces complete, and such numbers as could be spared of artillery-men and officers, to instruct the Persian army; on the other hand, Persia agreed to assist Great Britain in repelling any attempt on the part of the French, to invade the Company's territories in India.

Its results. The pecuniary loss was the least evil resulting from this disgraceful treaty. It was studiously circulated through the East, that England had been forced to purchase the protection of the Persian monarch; and the Asiatic princes, who well knew the feebleness of Persia, felt and expressed their contempt for those who stooped to accept of such protection. The treaty was concluded when Russia was an ally of France. It seems not to have entered into diplomatic consideration, that a contingency was possible of Russia becoming the ally of England. When this event took place, England was rather awkwardly situated, by having made opposite engagements with Persia and Russia; but Persia, as being the weaker power, was sacrificed.

The same alarm of a French invasion which had caused these missions to Persia, suggested one to the court of Cabul, then governed by Sooja-ul-Mulk, who had just conquered his brother Mohammed. An alliance was concluded with Shah Sooja; and though he was soon afterwards driven from the throne, and became a pensioner on the bounty of the British government, a favourable impression was made by the embassy on the minds of the Afghans. This favourable impression was created by the prudence and wisdom of Mountstuart Elphinstone, to whom the mission was entrusted, and to whose good conduct the west of India is much indebted.

Disturbances in Travancore. Travancore was the scene of some confusion in the years 1808 and 1809. The dewan or vizier, a Hindu, by name Vyloo Tambee, refused to allow the dismissal of some troops, and to pay the amount of the rajah's subsidy. He levied troops among the Nairs or military classes, and attacked several of the British positions. After some sharp conflicts he was routed, and the British troops occupied the country. The rajah made a new treaty and paid all the arrears. His new dewan pursued Vyloo

Quelled
Feb. 1809.

Tambee with great vigour ; he took refuge in the mountains, and hid himself in an ancient sanctuary. The new dewan's men broke into the sanctuary and found the object of their pursuit dying of his wounds. His brother was taken and hanged, and the dead body of the ex-dewan was exposed on a gibbet.

CHAPTER
XVI.

A.D. 1809.

We have mentioned in a former page, that the Marquis of Wellesley's wise plans for the reduction of the islands possessed by the French and Dutch in the Indian seas, had been frustrated by the unaccountable obstinacy of Admiral Rainier. The weakness of the French marine for several years prevented the enemy from availing themselves of their positions in the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius on one side, and the harbours of Java and its dependencies on the other, to annoy our commerce. But in the winter of 1808, a squadron of French frigates sailed from different ports of France and Holland, eluded the vigilance of the British cruizers, and reached the Indian seas in the following spring. Great injury was done to English commerce by these unexpected enemies ; consequences still more disastrous were not unreasonably anticipated, so that Lord Minto was universally applauded when he declared his resolution to reduce those islands, and deprive the enemy's ships of any harbour where they could find shelter. A large army was assembled in the Carnatic, and was almost ready for departure, when an unexpected event menaced the whole fabric of British power in the East with complete ruin.

The French steps injure the East India trade.

Lord Minto sends an expedition.

Sir George Barlow, on resigning the supreme authority at Calcutta, had been appointed governor of Madras, where he employed himself in devising plans for the reduction of the heavy expenses of the army. An order was issued, that the allowance called tent contract, made from 1802 to the officers commanding native regiments, for the purpose of providing camp-equipments for their soldiers, should immediately cease. The abruptness of this order, and the want of consideration for the feelings of the persons whose interests were concerned, gave general, and not unjust dissatisfaction. The dissatisfaction was fomented by some of the officers of the king's army, who quarrelled with the Madras government. General Macdowal was refused a seat in the council, and he entered warmly into the discussion, by condemning the conduct of Colonel Munro, who had sided with the government. General Macdowal was deprived of his command, and he issued a general order insulting to the civil power, before he left Madras for Europe, which he never reached, as the vessel on board of which he was a passenger foundered at sea.

Sir G. Barlow causes a mutiny at Madras.

CHAPTER
XVI.

A.D. 1809.

Lord Minto
quells it.

A dangerous spirit of mutiny spread abroad through the Madras army, which was greatly increased by Sir George Barlow's sending round a test of allegiance for signature to the whole of the officers, in order that he might ascertain the names of those who would support or oppose his acts. Those who refused to sign, amounting to more than two-thirds of the officers of the native army, were menaced with dismissal—a threat partially carried into execution. Some of the mutineers seized Seringapatam, and two battalions of sepoy had rather a smart skirmish with the king's troops that besieged them. Everything threatened a most perilous crisis, when the fortunate arrival at Madras of Lord Minto, who was universally respected, led to the restoration of tranquillity. Obedience was cheerfully tendered to his mild firmness, which the blustering violence of Sir George Barlow had failed to obtain. A general amnesty was published, excluding only those who had taken a leading part in the disaffection, and most even of these were subsequently restored.

A.D. 1810.
Bourbon
and Mau-
ritius
taken.

The year 1810 became remarkable for the subjugation of the French islands of Bourbon and Mauritius. The necessity of putting an end to the plundering of British vessels, carried on by their privateers and squadrons, was undeniable. In the early part of that year, they had captured or destroyed six English frigates and three Indiamen. Preparations were made in 1809, by having the small island of Rodriguez occupied; and on September 23rd, Lieutenant-colonel Keating took possession of it. He soon afterwards made a descent on the island of Bourbon; and having obtained a large quantity of plunder, he returned to Rodriguez. The French general, Brusleyes, committed suicide. Early in the following year, a large reinforcement was sent to Colonel Keating, who on the 6th of July made another attack, and the island was occupied after a short resistance. An expedition was then formed to capture the Mauritius, and troops were collected from Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, and the Cape. The naval force was commanded by Commodore Josias Rowley, and the troops by General Abercrombie. On the 29th of November, the expedition anchored in the passage called Coin la Mire, where ten thousand men were debarked without difficulty, and having made their way through some brush-wood, they were met by all the troops whom the Governor-general Decaen could collect—little more than two thousand men—whom they speedily routed. The French general capitulated in the evening of the 1st of December; and the nests of privateers in the Eastern Ocean were both destroyed, to the manifest advantage of British Commerce.

As the conquest of Java seemed to be a more perilous enterprise, the Governor-general made great exertions, and actually accompanied the expedition, which was commanded by Sir Samuel Auchmuty, serving as a volunteer. On the 4th August, 1811, the Java troops disembarked at a village about twelve miles from the capital of Batavia, and the landing of the whole was effected in twenty-four hours, without a single accident. After some minor operations, Sir Samuel Auchmuty marched against the Dutch forces, which were strongly posted at Cornelis, occupying an entrenched camp, having each flank protected by a river, with a chain of redoubts and batteries in front, mounted with three hundred pieces of cannon. Batteries were raised against two of these redoubts, which maintained so heavy a fire that the guns of the enemy were silenced. An assault was ordered on the morning of the 26th; the outworks were carried at the point of the bayonet, and the fugitives were so hotly pursued that they had not time to remove the bridges of planks which joined the works to the camp. Although the Dutch fought well on the outworks, they lost all courage when their camp was stormed; numbers fell without any attempt to resist, and five thousand surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Notwithstanding this decisive defeat, Governor Jansens, with the characteristic obstinacy of his nation, continued to protract the war; but garrison after garrison was yielded to the English, and at length, on the 16th of September, this valuable island was surrendered. We need only add, that it was retained until the end of the French war, when the English having just held it long enough to learn its great value, and to win the affections of the native inhabitants, restored it to the Dutch.

CHAPTER
XVI.A.D. 1811.
Java taken.

Sept. 16.

The policy of non-interference prevented Lord Minto from taking any steps to check the tyranny which the Nabob-vizier practised on his subjects in Oude; but he exerted himself to secure Travancore and Bundelcund in their fidelity to the Company, restoring to the latter country a tranquillity of which it had been for a long time deprived. Great alarm continued to be excited by the Pindarrees, who no longer abstained from violating the British territories, a party of them having burst into Mirzapore, and left behind them at their departure, the usual traces of their ravages, villages burned, fields laid waste, and the cultivators murdered. Dread of exciting a new Mahratta war, which was likely to be viewed with displeasure by the Court of Directors, prevented Lord Minto from taking effectual steps to punish these barbarous marauders; but his despatches showed how erroneous

Lord Minto
troubled by
Oude and
the Pin-
darrees.

CHAPTER
XVI.

A. D. 1812.
His quiet
policy
excites the
Goorkhas.

was the course of policy which had been pursued since the departure of the Marquis of Wellesley, and prepared the way for a return to the vigorous measures of that enlightened statesman.

The Pindarrees were not the only marauders who menaced the tranquillity and security of British India. The Goorkhas, a warlike race, on our north-eastern frontier, had, by dexterously availing themselves of the disputes and distress of their neighbours, extended their sway from the limits of their native hills over the entire province of Nepaul. They next turned their views to the adjoining plains, most of which were tenanted by Rajahs depending either on the Company or its allies, and committed several depredations in the districts of Gurruckpore and Sarun. These excesses seem, at first, to have been considered more as the irregular and unpremeditated acts of individual officers on the frontier, than as evincing any hostility in the nation. At length their frequency and increased boldness became intolerable, so that Lord Minto was induced to address the Goorkha Rajahs of Nepaul in very decided language. "I cannot believe," said his lordship, "that while an amicable inquiry into disputed points concerning lands is going on in the district of Gurruckpore, the unprovoked and unpardonable outrage just described to have taken place in the adjoining district, can have had the sanction of your government; on the contrary, I am convinced it will excite your severe displeasure. It is impossible for me, however, to suffer it to pass without bringing it distinctly to your notice, and calling on you to disavow and punish the perpetrators of this act, and to cause the people who have been forcibly carried away to be released, and the plundered property to be restored. Complaints have also reached me of encroachments committed by your subjects in the district of Terhoot, which cannot be permitted to continue.

Lord Minto
threatens,
and asks an
answer.

"If redress is not afforded, and similar proceedings in future not prevented, the British government will be obliged to have recourse to its own means of securing the rights and property of its subjects, without any reference to your government. But I will not relinquish the hope that your immediate compliance with the requisition contained in this letter, and a strict control over your officers and subjects in future, will prevent the recurrence of circumstances which cannot fail to render nugatory any attempt to adjust the disputed points by amicable enquiry and discussion, and to produce consequences which it must be the wish of the government to avoid."

This document amply shows that Lord Minto was prepared to

take active measures for checking the insolence of the Goorkhas, if it should be found that moderation and forbearance had no effect except to increase aggression. But he left India before an answer to this despatch could be received, and on his successor devolved the duty of checking the encroachments of this proud and warlike people, and of vindicating, by their punishment, the insulted honour of the British government. "The administration of Lord Minto," says Sir John Malcolm, "differs essentially from that of every Governor-General who preceded him. It was impossible for a man possessed of such clear intellect, and so well acquainted with the whole scheme of government, to be long in India without being satisfied that the system of neutral policy which had been adopted could not be persevered in without the hazard of great and increasing danger to the state. His calm mind saw, at the same time, the advantage of reconciling the authorities in England to the measures which he contemplated. Hence he ever preferred delay, where he thought that it was unaccompanied with danger; and referred to the administration at home, whom he urged, by every argument he could use, to sanction the course he deemed best suited to the public interests. But this desire to conciliate and carry his superiors along with him did not result from any dread of responsibility; for wherever the exigency of the case required a departure from this general rule, he was prompt and decided."

CHAPTER
XVI.A.D. 1813.
He quits
India.Remarks
on his
system.

In 1813, Lord Minto returned to England, where he had been but a few weeks when a sudden illness terminated his useful life. His loss at this juncture was deemed a very serious misfortune, for no one was thought more calculated to impress others with a just idea of the true condition of our Indian empire. His rule was one of peace, but he left war as an unavoidable legacy to his successors. One of his improvements was the suppression of "Dacoity"—a frightful system—in compliance with which the most horrible assassinations, robberies, and other atrocities were perpetrated at night by gangs of confederated miscreants.

CHAPTER XVII.

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, 1813—1823.

The East India Company discovers that the Robbers in India must be put down.—The Marquis of Hastings compelled to use strong Measures.—He is both Commander-in-chief and Governor-General.—The Nepaul Government tries to evade.—The British take their own Towns.—The Nepaulese murder several Persons.—War begins.—Money borrowed from Oude.—The Pindarrees wait their Opportunities.—The Supreme Government makes Treaties with Berar, Bhopaul and Saugur.—Scindiah is offended with these Treaties.—Attack on Nepaul.—Dehra Doon entered.—General Gillespie killed at Kalunga.—Gallant Defence of the Goorkhas at Jeytuk.—The English lose many Officers and Soldiers.—Ochterlony wins; while four other Generals lose.—Bad fighting produces worse Effects in India.—The Patans are enlisted.—Hearsay is beaten.—Colonel Gardner's Patans do good Service.—Ochterlony gains further Advantages.—Negociations for Peace continue during the Rains, 1815. Ochterlony turns the Cheree Gattee Pass.—The Goorkhas sue for peace and obtain Terms.—The Mahratta Intrigues.—Scindiah's Efforts against the English.—Mr. Elphinstone does great Service at Poonah.—Mr. Jenkins at Nagpore.—The Peishwa plots for Power.—He supports Pirates.—The Rajah of Nagpore dies.—His Successor, Appah Sahib, joins the British.—Mr. Russell controls the Nizam.—The Peishwa's Favourite, Trimback, hates the English.—He collects a large Sum of Money for War.—The Superstition of the Peishwa.—Elphinstone baffles his Schemes.—Negociations between the Guicowar and the Peishwa.—Gungad-hur Shastree, Agent for the Guicowar.—He is duped by Trimback and murdered.—Trimback taken Prisoner.—Escapes from Tannah Jail.—The Peishwa supports the Plots of Trimback.—Hattras bombarded and taken.—The Pindarrees increase in Boldness.—They invade and devastate the Madras Territory.—The Marquis of Hastings prepares to attack them.—The Charter

renewed in 1813.—*Jeypore protected.*—*The Peishwa's Schemes discovered.*—*He makes a Treaty.*—*Treaty with the Guicowar, Nov. 1817.*—*Plans made for suppressing the Pindarrees.*—*Scindiah watched.*—*His Schemes.*—*He makes a Treaty.*—*Effects of the Treaty.*—*He declines to surrender Asseerghur.*—*Three Armies attack the Pindarrees.*—*Events at Poonah change the Plan of the War.*—*The Peishwa quits Poonah.*—*He deceives Sir J. Malcolm.*—*His Preparations for War.*—*Offers Bribes for Assassinations.*—*Fidelity of the Sepoys.*—*Danger of Mr. Elphinstone.*—*Hostilities begun, Nov. 3, 1817.*—*The Mahratta Army.*—*Battle of Kirkee, Nov. 5.*—*Gokla fights well.*—*The Peishwa defeated.*—*The British Residency burned.*—*The Peishwa flees from Poonah.*—*Appah Sahib of Nagpore breaks the Treaty.*—*His secret Schemes and apparent great Protestations.*—*He contemplates an Attack on the Residency.*—*Mr. Jenkins makes Arrangements for its Defence.*—*The extraordinary Conflict at Seetabuldee.*—*The Madras Troops distinguish themselves.*—*General Doveton arrives with Reinforcements.*—*Appah Sahib temporizes.*—*Another Attempt at fighting.*—*He baffles the Negotiation and is taken Prisoner.*—*He escapes by a Stratagem and joins the Pindarrees.*—*General Smith pursues the Peishwa.*—*The Peishwa approaches Poonah at the Head of an Army.*—*The Defence of Corigaum, Jan. 1, 1818.*—*Siege of Sattara.*—*The Peishwa deposed.*—*Gokla killed.*—*The Pindarrees divide themselves into three Corps and flee.*—*They are pursued by the British.*—*The Cholera appears.*—*Cheetoo takes Refuge in Holkar's Camp.*—*The Patan Chiefs join him.*—*Sir T. Hislop takes command and brings the War to a Crisis.*—*Battle of Mahedpore won, Dec. 21, 1817.*—*Holkar begs Peace.*—*Scindiah is submissive.*—*Cheetoo's Bands dispersed.*—*The Pindarrees destroyed.*—*Resistance and Treachery at Talneir.*—*The Garrison put to the Sword.*—*The Killedar and Commandant hanged.*—*Other Forts yield.*—*The Peishwa, an Outlaw, makes Overtures which are refused.*—*He takes refuge near Asseerghur and surrenders.*—*He is allowed the enormous Sum of Eight Lakhs per Annum.*—*Asseerghur taken.*—*Cheetoo devoured by a Tiger.*—*The Vizier (Soubahdar) of Oude declares himself King.*—*Disturbances at Bareilly.*—*The Mohammedans infuriated.*—*Attack on Captain Boscawen.*—*The Moslems refuse to give Evidence.*—*Treaties arranged with Cutch, with the Ameers of Scinde, Angria Colabah and the Chiefs of the Concan.*—*Expeditions to the Persian Gulf.*—*The Tribe of Beni-bu-Ali nearly exterminated.*—*Expedition to the Red Sea.*—*Mocha bombarded.*—*The Settlement of*

the Rajpoots and other smaller States in the Interior.—The first Establishment of the Churches of England and Scotland in India.—Dr. Middleton appointed Bishop of Calcutta.—His Death, July 8, 1822.—The Marquis of Hastings returns to Europe.—His Services rewarded.—He dies Nov. 29, 1825.

CHAPTER
XVII.

A.D. 1813.
The
Marquis of
Hastings.

THE Marquis of Hastings arrived in Calcutta October 13th, 1813, with the authority of Governor-General, and of Commander-in-Chief, for the Government was fully aware that it would soon be necessary to resort to strong measures, for the protection of our subjects and allies from the inroads of those large hordes of freebooters, whose excesses appeared to increase with our forbearance. It seems, however, to have been expected that hostilities might be avoided, and tranquillity maintained, by forming alliances with such states as had not become predatory. At such a time it was fortunate that the government of India was entrusted to a nobleman equally distinguished for his diplomatic and military attainments, and who had given many signal proofs of his talents as a soldier and a statesman.

The Nepaul
answer is
evasive.

It was not until late in December that an answer was received to the despatch which Lord Minto had sent to the Rajah of Nepaul. The Goorkha's reply to the complaints of the English was obsequious even to servility; but it evaded every one of the points in issue. Commissioners were appointed to meet those of the Nepaul prince, but the discussions led to no useful result. Points which had been adjusted on apparently incontrovertible evidence, and with the assent of both parties, were revived by the Nepaulese commissioners; and on the Governor-General refusing to enter anew into discussions which he had been led to believe were already adjusted, his agent was warned to quit the frontier, and the representatives of the Goorkha government were recalled to Katmandu, the capital of Nepaul. The Governor-General then addressed a letter to the Rajah, reviewing the late negotiations, and requiring that orders should be sent for the peaceable surrender of the districts which the Nepaulese had seized, and of which they retained possession, though they had themselves confessed that these lands were the property of the British government. The Rajah was distinctly informed, that unless these districts were restored, possession of them would be taken by the British troops, and that all those villages which had been conditionally surrendered pending the negotiations, should be permanently annexed to the dominions of the Company. No notice being taken of these communications, Sir Roger Martin,

The
British
take their
own towns.

the magistrate of Gurruckpore, took possession of the Turace country, which skirts the base of the Nepaulese hills, and, at the same time, the villages on the Sarun frontier were occupied without resistance, the Nepaulese troops retiring as the English advanced. Such was the state of affairs when the setting in of the periodical rains, which in these districts is a most unhealthy period, made it expedient to withdraw the troops, and commit the charge of the disputed lands to the native officers who had been appointed to their management.

CHAPTER XVII.

A.D. 1814.

The Nepaulese had retired with a deliberate purpose; no sooner did they perceive that the civil officers and police were left defenceless than they rushed upon them from their fastnesses in the hills. After killing eighteen, and wounding six of the police establishment stationed at Bhotwal, they murdered the superior officer, who had been left in charge of the place by the British government, with circumstances of great barbarity. This atrocious murder, which was perpetrated in the presence of the Foujdar, or commander-in-chief of the Nepaulese on that frontier, was followed by several other insults and outrages. Remonstrances were again made to the prince of Nepaul, but the Rajah avowed and supported the outrages committed by his officers; and refused to make any reparation for the injury and insult offered to the British government.

The Nepaulese murder several persons.

All hopes of an amicable adjustment of the differences with the Goorkhas were now at an end; and the Marquis of Hastings prepared for war. At this time the finances of Bengal were in a very unsatisfactory condition; the treasury had been drained almost to its last rupee, so that it was difficult to find means for defraying the ordinary expenses of government. The young Nabob of Oude, who had recently succeeded his father, was induced, by his personal respect for the Governor-General, to lend large sums at a lower rate of interest than was usual in India, and thus a sufficiency was obtained to meet the immediate emergencies of the war.

War begins.

Money obtained from Oude.

Although the Pindarrees had not repeated their predatory visits, it was well known that they were only waiting for a favorable opportunity of renewing their incursions; and the Marquis of Hastings had represented to the government in England, in the strongest terms, the necessity of their immediate and specific sanction to a course of measures calculated to remedy this alarming and impending evil. As a precautionary means of effecting this object, negotiations had been commenced for concluding a subsidiary treaty, and defensive alliance, with the Rajah of

The Pindarrees.

CHAPTER
XVII.

A.D. 1814.
Treaties
with Berar,
Bhopaul,
and
Saugur.

Berar, or, as he is more frequently called, of Nagpore. But, after long delay, Ragojee Bhonslah broke off the treaty in 1814, and even entered into a league with Scindiah to reduce Vizier Mohammed, the Nabob of Bhopaul, a gallant chief, who had long maintained himself against the Hindu states, by whose combined arms he now appeared on the point of being overwhelmed. The position of the Nabob's territories, his personal character, and the friendship he had shown to the English in the former Mahratta war, pointed him out, on the failure of the negotiations with Nagpore, as a valuable ally, whose assistance was almost essential to the success of the operations contemplated for the suppression of the predatory system.

Scindiah
offended.

A treaty, offensive and defensive, was concluded with the Nabob of Bhopaul, and also with Govind Rao, the hereditary lord of Saugur. By these alliances the British stations in Bundelcund were connected with those of Berar, and means were provided for watching the intrigues of the various Mahratta princes, as well as of Runjeet Sing, the ruler of Lahore, and Ameer Khan, the principal leader of the Pindarrees. This alliance gave great offence to Scindiah, who affected to look upon the Rajah of Bhopaul as one of his dependents, but his remonstrances were unheeded; a communication was made both to him and the Rajah of Nagpore, that any attack on Bhopaul would be resented as an act of hostility against the English government, and, in order to give effect to the menace, a body of troops was formed in Bundelcund, while the subsidiary force with the Nizam, was advanced to Ellichpore, the capital of Berar. Having nearly completed these arrangements, the Governor-general directed all his attention to the Nepaulese war.

Troops
sent to
Bundel-
cund.

The frontier of Nepaul consisted, in addition to the Sal Forest, which separates it from the plains of the Turace, of a series of mountain ridges, intersected in various places by narrow valleys and rugged defiles; it extended about six hundred miles from east to west. It was resolved that this great frontier should be penetrated by four armies at the same time.

Attack
on the
Dehra
Doon.

The principal under Major General Marley was ordered to march to Hetura and from thence proceed to Katmandu, the capital: General Ochterlony, at the head of six thousand men, was ordered to proceed from Loodiana through the passes of the hills which overlook the Sutledge, and to act against the western districts: General Gillespie's division was to occupy the Dehra Doon, and having mastered the important town of Nahun, to seize the passes of the Jumna and Ganges, and to prevent the

retreat of the enemy to the westward ; and General Wood was ordered to proceed from Goruckpore for the purpose of resuming the lands in Bhotwal and Sheoraj and then of menacing Pulpa. The Company's armies amounted to nearly twenty-three thousand, that of the Goorkhas to about twelve thousand courageous men well accoutred, clothed and disciplined, as the sepoy. General Gillespie's division first entered the field, and Colonel Carpenter, at the head of the advanced detachment, crossed the frontier, and on Oct. 22, 1814, took possession of Dehra, the chief town of the valley. The fort of Kalunga was then reconnoitred, and the idea of taking it by a coup de main given up. General Gillespie took the command of the division on the 29th, and determined to make an attempt. The fort of Kalunga or Kalapanee, distant nine miles from Dehra, stands upon an insulated rugged ridge, nearly four miles in a straight line from north to south, which is covered with jungle and elevated upwards of 600 feet above the plain. The fort was quadrangular, built of stone and stockaded like all Goorkha defences. Its garrison consisted of six hundred men commanded by Balbhudra Sing, an officer of reputation. Small brass cannon were drawn up by the British, and a battery erected. The troops were divided into four columns, the first of which under Colonel Carpenter, with the reserve commanded by Major Ludlow, were stationed on a position to cover the working party. The three other columns, after a long circuit, took their positions. Batteries were erected during the night, and at day-break of the 31st the attack was begun. The difficulty of taking the place by escalade was then discovered. General Gillespie felt himself bound to use his utmost efforts, placed himself at the head of three companies of His Majesty's 53rd Regiment, and proceeded to the wicket, when a ball entered his heart and he fell, while cheering on his countrymen. The command then devolved on Colonel Mawbey, who considered it prudent to fall back on Dehra, while a battering train was ordered from Delhi. Four eighteen pounders and two eight-inch mortars arrived on Nov. 24, and operations were resumed. Major Pennington of the Artillery speedily effected a breach. The Grenadiers of the army with two companies of His Majesty's 53rd Regiment, attempted to storm the fort ; but their efforts were unavailing. Men, women and children, hurled spears, stones, and other missiles, while a fire of matchlocks killed and wounded nearly 500 of the assailants, including eleven officers. The batteries were then ordered to bombard the fort, and on Dec. 1, at 4 o'clock in the morning, Balbhudra Sing, with

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Attack on
Kalunga.

General
Gillespie
killed.

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seventy men, the remnant of his gallant followers, effected his retreat. He was overtaken by Major Ludlow, and after a conflict he fled into the recesses of the mountains.

Bravery
of the
Goorkhas.

On the 19th General Martindell took the command, and on the following day Nahun was taken. The Goorkha garrison escaped into Jeytuk, a post on a point where two mountain ridges meet, and elevated nearly 4000 feet above the plains, but otherwise of little strength. Two columns were ordered, on the morning of the 27th of December, under the command of Majors Ludlow and Richards, to mount by different tracks, and to dislodge the enemy. The first, with great difficulty reached the summit of the ridge, when the enemy shewed a slight resistance, and then fled within the stockade. The grenadiers, who led the column, rushed on, but were checked by a destructive fire on both flanks and in front. The sepoy, who supported them, were not formed in line, when the Goorkhas pushed forward and drove the British troops with great slaughter down the rugged face of the hill. The second column had, by a long and fatiguing detour of sixteen miles, succeeded in reaching the top of the hill to the northward, and within 800 yards of the fort, about one o'clock of the day, when a sharp fire from the column stopped the Goorkhas, who were flushed by their former success. The firing continued until night, when the British were compelled to retreat.

Disasters
at Jeytuk.

Two officers, Lieutenants Thackeray and Wilson, resolved to sacrifice themselves, and at the head of the light company of the 26th Bengal Infantry they for some time repulsed the enemy. As long as this undaunted little band held together the British troops descended the hill in order—but when Thackeray and Wilson were killed, confusion arose, and every one sought to escape by favour of the darkness, and under the cover of the rocks; and in the morning of the 28th the shattered remains of the routed detachment reached the camp. The loss in Ludlow's column amounted to four officers, and thirty-five Europeans, with one hundred and twenty sepoy, killed and wounded: in Richards's, three officers killed, and five wounded, seventy-eight men killed, and two hundred and twenty wounded. These disasters, so unexpected, unfortunate and pernicious in their effects, compelled the general to suspend all further operations against Jeytuk, until reinforced by fresh troops.

Ochterlony
fights
cautiously.

Ochterlony's cautious movements with the first division, which he led from the banks of the Sutledge, to the north-eastern hills, formed a complete contrast to the rash enterprizes we have just described. He was opposed to Amar Sing, the bravest and best

leader of the Goorkhas ; and instead of risking an engagement, he compelled the enemy, by a series of masterly manœuvres, to abandon one strong post after another, until he obtained possession of the hilly tract between Plassea and Belaspore. General Wood, with the third division, was less fortunate ; in passing through the Sal forest, which extends in front of the Bhootwal pass, his troops unexpectedly encountered a stockade, and received a volley which did great execution. Colonel Hardyman, of the 17th royal regiment, restored order and turned the position of the Goorkhas on both flanks ; but General Wood was so disheartened by the surprise, that he ordered the retreat to be sounded, much to the astonishment and indignation of the officers and men, who were thus obliged to relinquish a certain victory. The rest of Wood's campaign corresponded with this inauspicious commencement ; it was wasted in a series of timid movements, which showed an equal want of skill and courage in the commander.

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A.D. 1814.

General
Wood
unsuccess-
ful.

General Marley's career was scarcely less calamitous and was rather more discreditable, than that of General John Wood. Having injudiciously left three large detachments at posts, twenty miles distant from each other and from all support, he was thrown into a state of pitiable consternation, on learning that two of them had been cut off by the Goorkhas. Such an effect did this calamity produce, that he at day-light fled from camp, without leaving any instructions behind him, and made the best of his way to Calcutta. General George Wood, who succeeded him, adopted the cautious or timid policy of his namesake, already mentioned, and the campaign was spent in idleness.

General
Marley
beaten.

He flees.

General
George
Wood does
nothing.

So unexpected, and we may add, so disgraceful a commencement of a campaign, for which such ample preparations had been made, inspired confidence in all the enemies of the English throughout India. A marked change was observed in the tone assumed by the Peishwa and Scindiah ; Runjeet Sing and Ameer Khan made several suspicious movements, showing that they were in readiness to act so soon as an opportunity should offer. The Marquis of Hastings was not disheartened ; he learned that the district of Kumaon, in the north-west of Nepaul, was nearly destitute of troops, and as he could not spare any of the army to take advantage of its condition, he determined to entrust the service to an irregular force. For this purpose he empowered Lieutenant-colonel Gardner and Captain Hearsay, who had been formerly in the Mahratta service, to raise a force among the warlike Patans of Rohilcund, who readily enlisted under the English banners.

Bad effects
of bad
fighting.Patans
enlisted.

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Hearsay
beaten.Gardner
behaves
well.

Captain Hearsay possessed more bravery than skill; he unfortunately spread his troops over too wide a surface, and while a portion of them blockaded Koolulghur, he was forced to give battle with the remainder, to a very superior army coming to relieve the place. The Rohillas fought bravely, but were finally defeated; Hearsay was wounded and taken prisoner. The Goorkha conqueror, Hasti-Dal, conveyed his captive to Almora. This disaster was more than compensated by the distinguished success of Gardner's Patans; the colonel advanced from post to post, with equal celerity, caution and skill, availing himself so skilfully of the peculiar mode of fighting adopted by the Patans, that they proved superior to their antagonists in every engagement. He appeared before Almora, a little after Hearsay's defeat, where he was fortunately joined by two thousand regular infantry and a small train of artillery, under the command of Colonel Nicholls. Hasti-Dal, attempting to throw relief into Almora, was intercepted by a detachment, and slain in the skirmish which ensued. This so disheartened the Goorkhas, that they surrendered Almora after a very feeble defence, and Captain Hearsay was restored to his friends without ransom.

Attack on
Jeytuk.

On the 2nd of February a detachment was sent by Martindell, with some light guns and mortars to fire into the fort of Jeytuk. The enemy laughed at the trifling, until the 20th of March, when two 18-pounders, and some large mortars began to play on the stockade. The enemy then fired upon their assailants and did considerable execution. A blockade of the little fort was at last established, by which the garrison was reduced to the most pitiable extremity. Yet they held out, with famine staring in their faces, until they were honourably released by the articles of capitulation signed by Amar Sing Thappa, which placed Jeytuk in the hands of General Sir David Ochterlony. Fifteen hundred fighting men left it, with about one thousand women and children.

Ochterlony
gains.

In the meantime, General Ochterlony prepared to follow up the advantages which he had obtained. The Goorkhas retiring before him, fell back upon a most formidable position, on a mountain ridge of abrupt connected peaks, all of which but two were carefully stockaded, and were further protected by the stone redoubts of Malaoon and Suraghur. Ochterlony seized the two peaks which had been neglected, confident that the efforts of the Goorkhas to recover them would lead to a decisive action. He was not disappointed; the Goorkhas, headed by one of their

bravest chiefs, assaulted the English position with desperate heroism, and, for more than two hours, maintained the closest combat which had ever been witnessed in India; they were, at length, driven back, after having lost their leader and about one-third of their bravest men, and the entrenchments they had so carefully erected were rendered useless. Amar Sing was anxious to protract resistance, but the other chiefs were so disheartened that they abandoned him one by one, and he could only procure safety for himself and his few faithful followers, by agreeing to a convention, according to the terms of which all the country west of the Jumna was surrendered to the English. The success of Ochterlony made some compensation for the errors of Martindell.

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A.D. 1815.
April 16.

Proposals for peace were now made and entertained during the rainy season, but the Nepaul prince at last refused to accept the terms on which the English insisted, and the war was renewed. General Ochterlony, who was now deservedly placed at the head of the main army, advanced, in February, 1816, into the midst of those forests that guard the entrance into Nepaul, which had so long baffled the enterprize of his predecessors. He soon reached the first of the great series of fortifications which guarded the chief pass through the hills of Nepaul. A brief examination was sufficient to shew that the stockades could not be carried by assault; and he was, therefore, compelled to seek means by which they could be turned. Fortunately, a water-course was discovered by which it was barely possible to reach an eminence commanding the pass. Sir David Ochterlony himself took the lead of the column destined to thread this perilous labyrinth; it had to encounter the greatest perils and privations, but the summit was finally gained, and the enemies abandoned the entrenchments, which were thus rendered useless. The Goorkhas, in revenge, attacked, with their whole force, a post which the English had established at Makwanpore, but, after a severe contest, which lasted several hours, they were completely defeated. Another victory was obtained by a detachment under the command of Colonels Kelly and O'Halloran, which so disheartened the court of Katmandu, that the Rajah and his council intimated their readiness to comply with the terms which they had so recently rejected.

Ochterlony
commander
of the
whole
army.
A.D. 1816.

Forces the
passes.

The
Goorkhas
yield.

At this crisis a third power was invited to take part in the contest; the Goorkhas were nominally the subjects of the Chinese empire, and their Rajah applied for assistance to the sovereign power. The Chinese assembled an army, but, with

The
Chinese
prepare
for war,
but do
nothing.

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their usual procrastination, delayed their march until the war was over, and the terms of the treaty partially carried into effect. On receiving a statement from the English authorities of the causes of the war, and the purposes for which it was prosecuted, they at once declared that the Goorkhas were in the wrong, upbraided them for their treachery, derided them for their weakness, and then abandoned them to their fate. The Governor-General was, however, not disposed to encumber the Company with distant and unprofitable possessions; he confined the Goorkhas within the limits of Nepaul Proper, but required no sacrifice of their ancient dominions.

Scindiah's
intrigues.

The reverses which the English met in the early part of the Nepaulese war, gave a fresh stimulus to the Mahratta intrigues: Scindiah was the chief of the secret confederacy. The stationary camp which he had established under the protection of the fort of Gwalior, had, in a few years, become a very thriving town, almost deserving the name of a city, and his pride was greatly increased by witnessing such a proof of his growing greatness. He not only intrigued with the Peishwa's court in Poonah, and with Holkar's regency at Indore, but entered into close alliance with the Rajah of Berar, obtained promises of aid from Runjeet Sing and the Rajpoot princes, and even tried to gain over the Rajah of Mysore. Had the storm burst forth when the British were engaged in the Nepaulese war, the consequences might have been very disastrous; but the Mahratta powers were jealous of each other; they were equally conscious of their own perfidy, and suspicious of the faith of their allies; it consequently required a long time to organize such a confederacy as would have the remotest chance of inspiring mutual confidence. Before the confederated states were prepared to act, the fortunes of the war in the hills had completely changed, and the peace concluded with the Goorkhas of Nepaul, enabled the British to turn their undivided attention to Central India.

Elphinstone at
Poonah.
Jenkins at
Nagpore.

It was fortunate that, during this season of doubt and anxiety, Messrs. Elphinstone and Jenkins, the residents at the courts of Poonah and Nagpore, were gentlemen of unrivalled skill in diplomacy, possessing great firmness of mind and decision of character, and intimately acquainted with the varied relations between the Native states. The Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone was placed in a situation of peculiar difficulty at Poonah. Even when the Peishwa formed a treaty of defensive alliance with the British at Bassein, the Marquis of Wellesley foresaw that jealousy would rankle in his mind, and that he would, at some

future period, manifest his hostility. "It was manifest," as this distinguished nobleman observed, "that the Peishwa had only entered into the defensive alliance with the British government, because his highness was convinced he had no other way of recovering any part of his just authority, or of maintaining tranquillity in his empire. The state of his affairs taking a favourable turn, his highness, supported by the different branches of the Mahratta empire, would be desirous of annulling the engagements he had made with the British government."

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The Peishwa was also far from being pleased with some decisions of the British diplomatists when called upon to act as mediators or arbitrators between him and some of his nominal feudatories. He thought, and perhaps not altogether without reason, that the English adjudicated on conflicting claims with a greater regard to their own interests than his rights. He was particularly annoyed at being obliged to renounce his claim to supremacy over the petty states of Kolapore and Sawunt Warree. These little states on the coast of the southern Concan, had been, for more than a century, the scourge of the western seas. They fitted out piratical vessels of small size and light burthen, which easily baffled the vigilance of our cruisers, by keeping closer to the shore than would be safe for European vessels.

The
Peishwa
intrigues
for power.

In the year 1812, Lord Minto compelled these states to enter into certain engagements, by which their principal ports were placed in our hands, and, consequently, the continuation of their piracies prevented. This, however, gave great offence to the Peishwa, who expected to derive the same advantages from the pirates that Scindiah did from the Pindarrees. We need not repeat what has been already said of the character of Bajee Rao, the reigning Peishwa; like most Asiatic princes, he was equally timid and ambitious; daring in intrigue, but cowardly in action; his inordinate desires were restrained by his inordinate fears. Mr. Elphinstone knew him well, and, by uniting firmness with discretion, kept him in check, until, as we shall hereafter see, the influence of a profligate favourite led him through a disgraceful course of crime and treachery, which ended in the annihilation of his dynasty.

Pirates
in the
Concan
ports.

In March, 1816, the Rajah of Nagpore died, and was succeeded by his son Pursajee Bhonslah, who was blind, paralytic, and almost an idiot. Two factions contended for supremacy in the court, and the British resident entered into a secret alliance with Appah Sahib, the next heir to the *musnud*, or throne, to secure him the regency, provided that he would support British

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March.
Death
of the
Rajah of
Nagpore.

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Russell
controls
the Nizam.

interests. This arrangement gave a sudden shock to the Mahratta confederacy; for, though Appa Sahib eventually proved faithless, his withdrawal from the Mahratta alliance, in the first instance, was of the greatest importance to the British interests.

Although the Nizam was a Mohammedan prince, and therefore odious to the Mahrattas, efforts were made to engage him in the confederacy, which were defeated by the energy of the resident, Mr. Russell. But the close connexion between the British government and the obnoxious minister, Chandu-Lall, exposed the English to great unpopularity. Although the Nizam's sons were young men of the most profligate and dissolute habits, the general dislike of the dewan gave them considerable influence at Hyderabad. They maintained about their persons bands of ruffians, ready to perpetrate the most revolting crimes. On one occasion they seized a person in the employment of the British resident, threw him into prison, and put him to the torture, in order to extort money. Justly indignant at such an outrage, Mr. Russell made a very strong representation on the subject to the Nizam, and with his sanction sent a detachment of regular troops, under Captain Hare, to arrest the culprits. The princes stood on their defence, and repulsed the sepoys with some loss. A serious struggle seemed impending; but the resident immediately sent for reinforcements, and directed Colonel Doveton, who commanded the mass of the auxiliary forces concentrated at Ellichpore, to march upon Hyderabad. These prompt measures disconcerted the enemies of British power; the princes having laid down their arms, were sent prisoners to a distant fortress, and Colonel Doveton returned to his cantonments. This incident, though not attended with any important consequences, sufficiently proved that the inhabitants of Hyderabad were by no means favourably disposed towards the English alliance, which they associated with the unpopular administration of Chandu-Lall.

The
Peishwa's
favourite,
Trimbuck.

We have already noticed the readiness of Bajee Rao to give his confidence to unworthy ministers; but by far the most pernicious of his advisers was Trimbuck-Danglia, whose career is a lamentable exhibition of the low state of morals in Oriental courts. Trimbuck commenced life as a runner, or messenger, to some of the lowest officers in the Peishwa's service, but having manifested great activity and intelligence, he was soon employed as a *Jasoor*, or spy. His exertions in this degrading office were very important; and the Peishwa took him into his personal service. Though Bajee Rao was of a most suspicious temper,

the diligence and unscrupulous obedience of Trimluck won his confidence, and he trusted him with the secret management of his illicit amours. By pandering to the vicious indulgences of the Peishwa, and never hesitating at the commission of any crime which would facilitate the gratification of his depraved desires, the favourite acquired great influence over his master's mind, and was promoted to the command of the artillery, and finally to the rank of prime minister. Trimluck, like most of the Mahrattas, mortally hated all Europeans, but for whose presence, he believed, his nation would obtain the supremacy in India. His whole course of policy was directed to maturing a combined movement for the expulsion of the English, and at his instigation, Bajee Rao revived his claims upon the Nizam and the Guicowar. He also seized upon the estates of the principal jaghiredars, or landholders, and caused their revenues to be paid into the treasury, thus ensuring a plentiful supply of money for the ensuing struggle. By his oppression and violence he collected an enormous sum: it has been ascertained that the Peishwa, at the commencement of the war, possessed fifty crores of rupees, or about five millions sterling.

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A.D. 1814.

Trimluck
hates
the
English.Collects
£5,000,000.

It might be supposed that the rapacity and debauchery of Bajee Rao would have provoked an insurrection among his subjects; but he was supported by the influence of the Brahmins, whose favour he won by great largesses to themselves and their temples. He was, indeed, a slave to the grossest superstition: one of his *Gooroos*, or spiritual advisers, once told the Peishwa that the ghost of a Brahmin, unjustly slain by the Peishwa's father, had appeared to him in a dream, and required the murder to be expiated by giving a dinner to one hundred thousand Brahmins. This expensive entertainment was actually given by Bajee Rao. A more useful result of his superstition was the planting of more than a million of mango trees, in the vicinity of Poonah, as an expiation for his crimes.

The
Peishwa's
supersti-
tion.

Mr. Elphinstone was soon aware that the outstanding demands of the Guicowar and Nizam, were urged chiefly as pretences for maintaining communications between the courts of Poonah and those of Baroda and Hyderabad; he, therefore, strenuously exerted himself to have them arranged, but was baffled by the delays and pretensions of the Peishwa and his crafty minister. The Guicowar was equally anxious to have the pecuniary relations between himself and the Peishwa definitely settled, and he therefore sent Gungadur Shastree, a Brahmin of great reputation at Baroda, to be his representative at Poonah with

Elphin-
stone
baffles his
schemes.Delays
caused.

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power to conclude a final treaty. So great was the dread inspired by the violence and unprincipled conduct of Trimluck, that the Guicowar deemed it necessary to have his minister's safety formally guaranteed by the British government. The Shastree, after the delay of more than a year at Poonah, finding that the negotiations were not likely to be brought to a conclusion, resolved to return to Baroda, and to leave the entire affair to the arbitration of the British government.

How the
Minister
duplicates
the
Shastree.

Such a determination filled Trimluck and his master with alarm, the departure of the Shastree would have interrupted their communications with Baroda, and they therefore resolved to use every artifice for conciliating his favour. The Shastree was a man of inordinate vanity; he was, consequently, easily duped by the affectation of respect for his talents which Trimluck craftily manifested. It was stated, by some of the parties who actually participated in the intrigues, that Trimluck went so far as to propose resigning his own place to the Shastree, in order that the Peishwa might avail himself of the services of so able a minister. Mr. Elphinstone had proposed that the Shastree should be sent home in honour and safety; but he was disconcerted by the refusal of that personage to quit Poonah, and soon after he was surprised to find that a marriage was proposed between the Shastree's son and the Peishwa's sister-in-law. But this alliance was disconcerted by the refusal of the Guicowar to sanction some cession of territory proposed by his minister. The marriage was broken off, and Bajee Rao was further offended, by the refusal of the Shastree to permit his wife to visit at the palace. Indeed, no one who respected the honour of a female relative, could allow her to witness the series of gross debauchery and licentious profligacy, which formed part of everyday life, at the court of Poonah.

Bajee Rao's
debauch-
ery.

Trimluck saw that the Peishwa's quarrel with the Shastree, rendered a change in his own policy absolutely necessary; and as he was far too deeply committed to extricate himself by ordinary means, he resolved to have recourse to assassination. The Shastree was invited to accompany Bajee Rao and his minister on a pilgrimage to the temple of Punderpore, which is highly venerated by all the Mahrattas. Mr. Elphinstone and the Shastree's colleague accompanied the pilgrimage to Nasick, where they were induced to remain, by a series of ingenious devices, while the rest proceeded to Punderpore. On the night after their arrival, the Shastree was persuaded by Trimluck to join the Peishwa in performing some ceremonies of peculiar

A.D. 1815.
July 14th.

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The
Shastree
assassinated,

sanctity in the temple; he complied, although suffering at the time from fatigue and indisposition; the devotions were performed, and both Bajee Rao and his minister were lavish in their protestations of esteem and friendship. Scarcely, however, had the Shastree quitted the temple, when he was attacked by a body of hired assassins, and almost literally cut to pieces. This atrocious crime excited general indignation; the murder of an ambassador, for whose safety the British faith had been pledged, was aggravated by the facts, that the victim was a Brahmin, and the crime had been committed in a place of extraordinary sanctity.

Mr. Elphinstone instituted a minute and strict enquiry, which was conducted with great ability, under the obvious disadvantage of the criminals being the sovereign of the country and his powerful minister. Their guilt was incontrovertibly established; but the Peishwa was informed that he would be permitted to throw the blame upon the special perpetrator, if he would surrender his unworthy minister to British custody. Bajee Rao at first seemed resolved to protect his favourite; but the speedy assembling of a British force at Poonah so alarmed him, that he delivered up Trimluck to the resident, having first received an assurance that his life would be spared.

Trimluck was sent to Bombay, and was confined in the fort of Tannah, on the island of Salsette. During his captivity, he frequently admitted to British officers his share in the murder of the Shastree, but asserted that he had merely obeyed his master's orders. The garrison of Tannah was composed entirely of Europeans, and this circumstance enabled Trimluck to open a communication with his friends abroad, through some of the native servants in the fort. His principal agent was a horse-keeper, who daily, while airing his master's horse, passed and re-passed the window of the place where Trimluck was. He with apparent carelessness, sung the information he had to convey in the monotonous recitative, which forms the staple of Mahratta singing, and the sentries ignorant of the language, never felt the least suspicion. When all was prepared, Trimluck found means to change his dress in a stable, and with a basket on his head as a labourer, got through the gate, while a rope was fastened to a cannon, as if he had lowered himself from the rampart. His friends were ready outside, and long before his flight was detected, he was safe from all danger of pursuit.

Trimluck
taken
prisoner.

Sept. 17.

A.D. 1816.
Sept. 2.He
contrives
to escape
from
Tannah

The Peishwa denied all knowledge of Trimluck's movements, but Mr. Elphinstone discovered that he not only supplied the

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The
Peishwa
plots.

adventurer with money to levy troops, but had even granted him an audience. A singular scene of fraud and evasion followed. Trimbeck and other partisans organised large bodies of Mahrattas and Pindarrees, while the Peishwa, having first attempted to deny that any such assemblages were made, when this monstrous falsehood could be no longer maintained, disavowed their proceedings and affected to treat them as insurgents. Finally, he issued a proclamation, setting a price on the head of Trimbeck Danglia, and sequestered the property of some of his adherents.

Hattras
taken.

Before entering on the history of the important consequences which resulted from the transactions we have just recorded, it will be necessary to cast a glance at some other parts of our Indian possessions. The reputation which the British arms had acquired by the successful issue of the war against Nepaul, was increased in the following year by the reduction of Hattras, the stronghold of Dya-Ram, a chieftain tributary to the Company. Trusting in the extraordinary strength of his fort, which was regarded as impregnable by the Hindus, Dya-Ram exhibited a spirit of contumacy and disobedience, which it was resolved to punish in an exemplary manner. The vicinity of the great military depôt at Cawnpore enabled the British to bring a train of artillery against Hattras, equal, if not superior, to any that had ever been seen in India; a few hours of its tremendous fire breached that boasted fortification. Its surrender was hastened by the explosion of one of the two principal magazines, which destroyed many of its buildings. This achievement, which was attended with no loss to the British, made a most salutary impression, where it was much wanted, on their subjects in Hindustan Proper, and also on that turbulent class of feudatories to which the chieftain of Hattras belonged.

A.D. 1817.
March 2.The
Pindarrees
grow
bolder.

The boldness and number of the Pindarrees seemed to increase with the successes of the British. Immediately after the peace with Nepaul and the reduction of Hattras, a strong body of these freebooters invaded and devastated part of the Madras territories; and both in that and the succeeding year they repeated their incursions in the Deccan, which all our troops, and those of the Nizam, could not protect from their merciless ravages. The Governor-General, confident that the continued recurrence of these aggressions, and his repeated representations, would early draw the attention of the authorities in England to the consideration of this intolerable evil, limited himself to a defensive

system, whilst he proceeded in making every preparation for that early contest, which the treacherous proceedings of the Mahratta powers showed to be inevitable.

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He was cheered in this prudent course, by perceiving that the authorities in England had at length become convinced that the policy of absolute non-interference could not be maintained, and that they were disposed, in some degree, to adopt a course different from that which had been pursued by the Marquis of Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow. Immediately after the re-

The Marquis of Hastings follows the defensive system.

newal of the Company's charter in 1813,—an event which attracted a very small share of the public attention,—instructions were sent out to take the state of Jeypore, which had been abandoned in 1806, under our protection, whenever an opportunity should offer. The war in Nepal prevented the Marquis of

Renewal of the Charter.

Hastings from acting on these instructions ; but soon after its termination he was induced, by the imminent danger in which the capital of Jeypore was placed by the attack of Ameer Khan and his Pindarrees, to make an overture for an alliance with its prince. The offer of this alliance, which had been so sedulously courted when the British government withheld its protection, was now received coldly ; and it was discovered that the negotiations for its accomplishment were protracted, in order that Ameer Khan might be induced to abandon his views, from a knowledge that the Jeypore prince could at any time he pleased secure the protection of the British government. The Governor-General, disgusted at such conduct, and seeing no immediate prospect of impending danger, deferred the prosecution of the overture to the period of making the more extensive arrangements which he now contemplated.

The state of Jeypore.

Although the Peishwa continued to protest in the strongest terms, that his attachment to the English was unabated, the Resident was enabled to forward to the supreme government at Calcutta incontrovertible proofs that he was in secret league and correspondence with Trimbeck Dangle ; and that he was, in fact, the principal promoter of a rebellion which was ostensibly directed against his own government. Other facts proved that he was preparing for war : his treasures were removed from Poonah, his forts were repaired and garrisoned, his adherents began to levy troops in every direction. It was decided by the Governor in council, that Bajee Rao had violated his engagements, and placed himself in the relation of an enemy ; it was, therefore, resolved that he should be compelled to give us satisfaction for his past conduct, and security for the future, by a new

The Peishwa's schemes discovered.

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He is
forced to
sign a
Treaty.

treaty, which should increase our means of checking those dangers to which we had been exposed by his weak and treacherous proceedings. As some of his strongest forts had been placed in the possession of the British, when he was restored to the *musnud* by the treaty of Bassein, Bajee Rao was reduced to the alternative of hazarding an immediate contest, for which he was not prepared, or of signing the treaty dictated to him by the British government. Poonah was invested, and after a severe struggle, in which shame, fear, pride, and despair had alternate sway over his irresolute mind, he signed a treaty on the 18th of June, 1817, by which he abandoned his claims to be regarded as the head of the Mahratta confederacy, and ceded several districts to the English, including the important fortress of Ahmednuggur.

The southern Jaghiredars were by this engagement rendered more dependent on the British government than on the Peishwa, though the latter continued to be their nominal head. Some of their lands, of which Bajee Rao had taken possession, were restored; and the whole of the Jaghire of Rastea, which had been resumed, was, at the recommendation of the English government, given back to that once powerful Mahratta family. The Peishwa was thus deprived of that power which his perfidious conduct and hostile dispositions shewed that he was likely to employ in counteracting or opposing the plans then in progress for the destruction of the Pindarrees.

Treaty
with the
Guicowar.

The consequence of the treaty with Bajee Rao was the negotiation of a supplementary engagement with the Guicowar, to whom the events at Poonah were of the greatest advantage, as all the claims of the Peishwa were compounded for the trifling sum of four lacs of rupees annually. The object of a new settlement with the court of Baroda was to effect such a change in our relations as would benefit both states, and put an end to those recurring discussions and differences among local officers, resulting from governments administered on very opposite principles, having mixed territories and claims upon tributaries. The negotiation to accomplish this desirable object was protracted till November, 1817, when a treaty was concluded, which adjusted all points in a satisfactory manner, by mutual cessions of rights and interchanges of lands. The most important stipulations were those which gave to the British government the possession of the city of Ahmedabad. This city was the Mohammedan capital of Guzerat; it is situated on the banks of a small navigable river which falls into the sea near the city of

Cambay, and was a valuable acquisition, both on account of its political and commercial importance.

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These arrangements having been completed, the Marquis of Hastings prepared to execute his great plans for the extirpation of the Pindarrees. "What I contemplated," he says, describing these operations, "was the pushing forward, unexpectedly, several corps which should occupy positions opposing insuperable obstacles to the junction of the army of any one state with that of another, and even expose to extreme peril any sovereign's attempt to assemble the dispersed corps of his forces within his own dominions, should we see cause to forbid it." "The success of this plan," his lordship adds, "depended on the secrecy with which the preparations could be made, the proper choice of the points to be seized, and the speed with which we could reach the designated stations."

A.D. 1817.
The plans
for putting
down the
Pindarrees.

One of the first results of this prudent policy may be said, in a great degree, to have decided the success of the future war. Scindiah, to whom the chiefs both of the Pindarrees and the Mahrattas looked for aid, was so circumstanced by the position of a large division under the Governor-General's personal command, and a corps under Major-General Donkin, that he was reduced to the necessity of acceding to a treaty dictated by the Marquis of Hastings, or of exposing himself to defeat and ruin. Scindiah preferred the former course, however contrary to his inclination, and repugnant to all his cherished feelings as a member of the Mahratta confederacy. His public defection from a cause, the success of which rested chiefly on his efforts, was a fatal blow, not only to the Pindarrees, but to that more general combination against our power, the designs of which were so ably anticipated.

Referring to this critical period, and the local situation of Scindiah, Lord Hastings observes, "Residing at Gwalior, he was in the heart of the richest part of his dominions; but independently of this objection, that those provinces were separated from our territories only by the Jumna, there was a military defect in the situation, to which the Maharajah, (great chief or king, a title assumed by Scindiah) had never adverted. About twenty miles south of Gwalior, a ridge of very abrupt hills, covered with the tangled wood peculiar to India, extends from the little Scind to the Chumbul, which rivers form the flank boundaries of the Gwalior district and its dependencies. There are but two routes by which carriages, and perhaps cavalry, can pass that chain; one along the little Scind, and another not far from the Chumbul.

Position of
Scindiah.

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By my seizing with the centre a position which would bar any movement along the little Scind, and placing Major-general Donkin's division at the back of the other pass, Scindiah was reduced to the dilemma of subscribing the treaty which I offered him, or of crossing the hills through bye-paths, attended by the few followers who might be able to accompany him, sacrificing his splendid train of artillery, (above one hundred brass guns), with all its appendages, and abandoning at once to us his most valuable possessions.

His
intrigues
discovered.

"The terms imposed upon him were, essentially, unqualified submission, though so coloured as to avoid making him feel public humiliation. Their intrinsic rigour will not be thought overstrained or unequitable, when it is observed that I had ascertained the Maharajah's having promised the Pindarrees decisive assistance, and that I had intercepted the secret correspondence with which he was inciting the Nepaulese to attack us. Nothing, in short, but my persuasion that the maintenance of the existing governments in Central India, and the making them our instruments for preserving the future tranquillity of the country, were desirable objects, could have dictated the forbearance manifested under the repeated perfidies of that prince. He closed with the proffered conditions, and was saved by that circumstance. The advantage in another quarter could only be a transient ebullition. To the more distant states, this non-appearance of a formidable force, with which they were to co-operate, was an event which absolutely incapacitated them from effort."

Treaty
signed
Nov. 5,
1817.

Terms
of the
treaty.

The terms of the treaty dictated by the Governor-General, were, in substance, that Scindiah should contribute his best efforts to destroy the Pindarrees; that he should furnish a specified contingent to act in concert with the British troops, and under the direction of a British officer, against these freebooters; that the contingent should be kept in a state of complete efficiency; that to provide for the pay of these troops, Scindiah should resign for three years his claims upon the British government, which had been recognized in the treaty he had concluded with General Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) in 1804; that the amount of annual sums hitherto paid as pensions to his family and ministers, should be applied, through British officers, to the regular payment of the bodies of cavalry he was to send to co-operate with the British troops; and it was arranged, that, with the exception of these corps, all the divisions of Scindiah's army should remain stationary at the posts assigned by the British government, without whose concurrence none of them should move.

It was further stipulated that Scindiah should admit British troops to garrison the forts of Asseerghur and Hindia, during the war, as pledges for the faithful fulfilment of his engagements; and he consented to abrogate the eighth article of the treaty concluded with him on the 22nd of November, 1805, by the Marquis of Cornwallis, which left the Rajpoot states at his disposal. By the new arrangements, the English government was placed at liberty to conclude treaties with the Rajpoot states of Jeypore, Joudpore, Oudeypore, Khottah, Bhondee, and others on the left bank of the Chumbul. This article, however, secured to Scindiah, under the guarantee of the British government, his established tribute from these principalities, but restricted him, in the event of their forming engagements with the Company, from any future interference in their concerns.

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Treaties
with the
Rajpoots.

However contrary such a treaty was to the inclinations of Scindiah, it had the effect of rendering him inactive, if not neutral, throughout the operations that immediately ensued; and much effort was necessary to bring into action even those parts of his army which we had obtained the means of paying. The strong fortress of Asseerghur was not delivered over to the English troops. The pretext was the disobedience of its governor, Jesswunt Rao Lar, who, in the subsequent war, openly espoused the cause of Bajee Rao. When the same chief subsequently gave protection to Appah Sahib, the fugitive Rajah of Nagpore, he was summoned to surrender, and orders were sent by Scindiah requiring prompt obedience. With these he refused to comply, and the fort was regularly besieged by the British troops. After its capitulation, accident brought to light a letter from his prince, directing him to obey all commands which he might receive from the Peishwa.

Asseerghur
retained.

When Mr. Close, the resident at the court of Scindiah, shewed this letter to the Maharajah, he at once admitted its authenticity, and the violation of faith of which it was an evidence; but he pleaded in palliation those friendly relations which had, for several generations been established between his family and that of the Peishwa. This fair plea was not rejected. Lord Hastings, with politic liberality, limited his demand consequent on this discovery, to the perpetual cession of the fortress of Asseerghur, which, from its position, became in our hands, a check upon robbers and freebooters. Before the cession, it was occupied by bandits of the worst character, and it would have continued to be a place of refuge and protection for them, so long as it remained in the possession of a Mahratta prince.

Scindiah's
treachery.

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Three
armies
attack the
Pindarrees.
Sir T.
Hislop at
the head of
the army
of the
Deccan.

These arrangements being completed, the Marquis of Hastings arranged the plan of operations against the Pindarrees; their settlements being chiefly in Malwa and the valley of the Nerbudda, it was resolved to act upon them simultaneously by the armies of the Deccan, Bengal, and Guzerat. Sir Thomas Hislop commanded the Deccan forces, which amounted to fifty-three thousand men, in six divisions, communicating with the Bengal force at one extreme, and the Guzerat army, commanded by Sir William Grant Keir, at the other. The Bengal army, amounting to thirty-four thousand men, was arrayed in four divisions, with two corps of observation; and there were besides several bodies of irregulars engaged, amounting altogether to about twenty-four thousand soldiers. The whole disposable force of the Pindarrees did not much exceed thirty thousand men, and the dissensions between their principal chiefs, Cheetoo Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed, prevented them from forming any plan of united action. Ameer Khan, imitating the policy of Scindiah, had entered into a treaty with the English, and all the minor states had effected stipulations engaging themselves to prevent the Pindarrees from obtaining shelter in their dominions. At this crisis, events occurred at Poonah which changed the entire plan of the campaign, and involved a war, not only with the freebooters, but with the acknowledged lord of the Mahratta confederacy.

The
Peishwa
quits
Poonah.

It could not be supposed that Bajee Rao would have been satisfied with the treaty of Poonah, which had been forced upon him at a moment when his secret preparations for war were incomplete, and to which he never would have submitted but from the most imperious necessity. In the month of July, 1817, he proceeded on his annual visit to the temples of Punderpore; he was not accompanied by the resident, for Mr. Elphinstone believed that an abatement of vigilance would have a good effect, and be received as a mark of the restoration of confidence on the part of the British government. At the same time the Peishwa apparently reduced his military establishment, by dismissing a large number of his cavalry; but it was subsequently discovered that he had given each of his officers seven months' pay, with orders to remain at his village, and to hold himself in readiness to return when summoned, with as many followers as he could collect. Every exertion was made by the British to raise the stipulated number of horse, but the Peishwa's emissaries resisted the recruiting by every means they could devise.

Prepares
for war.

After having performed his pilgrimage to Punderpore, the Peishwa, instead of returning to Poonah, proceeded to Maholy, a

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Sir J. Malcolm
treats with
the
Peishwa.

village near Sattara, at the junction of the Yena and Kistna, which was regarded by the Hindus as a place of peculiar sanctity. During his stay there, he was visited by the political agent of the Governor-General, Sir John Malcolm, who had just made a tour through the Deccan, for the purpose of instructing the different Residents in the nature of the operations about to be commenced against the Pindarrees in Malwa. Sir John Malcolm was generally an able diplomatist, and had displayed much skill in various negotiations with the Mohammedan powers, but he was unable to compete with the craft of the Hindus, being easily duped by their protestations of personal admiration and regard. The Peishwa's professions were most cordial, and communicated with such an appearance of earnestness and candour, that Sir John Malcolm was completely deceived, and returned to Poonah in the full conviction that Bajee Rao would now heartily engage in the British cause; and that by encouraging him to raise troops, and treating him with perfect confidence, he would prove a faithful ally. Mr. Elphinstone took a much wiser view of Bajee Rao's character; he expressed, in plain terms, the little reliance which could be placed on Mahratta promises: but Sir John Malcolm was not to be convinced; he gave orders that the hill-forts which had been pledged for the execution of the treaty should be restored to the Peishwa, and that General Smith's force, which occupied a position to overawe Poonah, should march on the frontiers of Candeish, leaving a mere handful of troops for the protection of the residency.

He is
deceived
by the
Peishwa.And
reduces the
troops at
Poonah.

The Peishwa did not return to his capital until the end of September. During his stay at Maholy, he was actively engaged in maturing the schemes which he had long meditated against the British government. Bappoo Gokla, an able Brahmin, possessing more of a chivalrous character than is usual in the Hindu warriors, strenuously urged Bajee Rao to commence open war instead of the secret plots to which he was attached. As neither Gokla nor any of the Mahratta chieftains confided in the Peishwa's firmness, it was required that he should bind himself on oath to be implicitly guided by Gokla's counsels, and, at the same time, nearly a million of money was placed at the disposal of that able general.

The
Peishwa
matures
his plans.

Sir John Malcolm, in his exuberant confidence, had recommended the Peishwa to recruit his army for the purpose of aiding the English in suppressing the Pindarrees, and this afforded him an excellent plea for all his suspicious movements. His recruiting went forward with remarkable activity; his forts also were

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garrisoned, stored, and repaired ; and orders were issued to prepare his fleet. Many Bheels, Ramoosies, and other plundering hordes, were engaged in his service by Trimbuck Danglia ; and special missions were despatched to Nagpore, and the camps of Scindiah, Holkar, and Ameer Khan. At the same time he took upon himself the direction of the plans he had formed for the assassination of the resident, and the seduction of the native troops.

Fidelity
of the
sepoys.

The reports of corrupting the troops were brought from all quarters ; some of the sepoy indignant refused what to them were splendid offers ; and others, pretending to acquiesce, communicated the circumstances to their officers ; but the extent of the intrigues could not be ascertained, and they at last became alarming, even to those who knew the fidelity of the Bombay sepoy, from the circumstance of the Peishwa's having many of their families and relations in his power, against whom he commenced a system of persecution, which he threatened to perpetuate if the sepoy refused to desert the English service. Gokla resisted all the attempts which were made to engage him to sanction Mr. Elphinstone's assassination, and secret notice of his danger was sent to that gentleman ; he was not, however, to be induced to abandon his post ; a European regiment was on its march to join him, and the notorious indecision of Bajee Rao gave hopes that his heart might fail him at the critical moment.

The danger
of Mr. El-
phinstone.

As the position of the British cantonments was very unfavourable, Mr. Elphinstone moved the few forces he had at his disposal to the village of Kirkee, which had been early pointed out by General Smith as the best post that could be occupied in case of the apprehended rupture. The Mahrattas believed that the British had withdrawn through fear, and were much encouraged in consequence. The abandoned cantonment was plundered ; an officer on his route to Bombay was attacked, wounded, and robbed in open day ; the language of the Peishwa's ministers became menacing and insulting ; and parties of horse pushed forward to the British lines as if in defiance. It was evident that hostilities could not long be delayed, and, on the 3rd of November, Mr. Elphinstone directed the light battalion, and a body of auxiliary horse, stationed at Seroor, to march upon Poonah. When this intelligence reached the Peishwa, he resolved that his troops should be called into action.

Hostilities
begun
Nov. 8.

No part of the Mahratta army was visible from the British residency, excepting bodies of infantry which were assembling

along the tops of the adjoining heights, with the intention of cutting off the residency from the camp. "On ascending one of these eminences, on which they were forming," says Captain Grant Duff, the able historian of this war, "the plain beneath presented at that moment a most imposing spectacle. This plain, then covered with grain, terminates on the west by a range of small hills, while on the east it is bounded by the city of Poonah, and the small hills already partially occupied by the infantry. A mass of cavalry covered nearly the whole extent of it, and towards the city, endless streams of horsemen were pouring from every avenue." The additional description given by this intelligent writer, is too graphic a picture to be omitted.

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The
Mahratta
army.

"Those only who have witnessed the bore in the gulf of Cambay, and have seen in perfection the approach of that roaring tide, can form the exact idea presented to the author, at sight of the Peishwa's army. It was towards the afternoon of a very sultry day; there was a dead calm, and no sound was heard except the rushing, the trampling, and the neighing of the horses, and the rumbling of the gun-wheels. The effect was heightened by seeing the peaceful peasantry flying from their work in the fields, the bullocks breaking from their yokes, the wild antelopes startled from sleep, bounding off, and then turning for a moment to gaze on this tremendous inundation, which swept all before it, levelled the hedges and standing corn, and completely overwhelmed every ordinary barrier as it moved."

Perceiving that efforts were being made to intercept his communication, Mr. Elphinstone retired with his family to Kirkee, not without having been exposed to some danger from the fire of the Mahrattas on the opposite side of the river. At the same time he sent orders to Lieutenant-colonel Burr, the officer in command, to move down and attack the Peishwa's army, while the irregulars, under Major Ford, were directed to second his efforts. Both officers promptly obeyed, and Colonel Burr, though suffering under a severe and incurable attack of paralysis, advanced to the attack. The Mahrattas, who had sent on their skirmishers, some of whom had already suffered from the fire of the light infantry, were surprised by this forward movement of troops, who, they had been led to believe, were cowed and dispirited. Gokla, however, cheered them on; he rode from rank to rank, employing exhortations, praises, taunts, as he thought most effectual; but the Peishwa's heart failed him, and, after the troops had advanced, he sent a message to Gokla, "not to fire the first gun." At this moment the British troops were halting; resolution.

Battle of
Kirkee.
Nov. 5.

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Gokla's
bravery.

their guns were unlimbering ;—it was the pause of preparation and anxiety on both sides ; but Gokla, observing the messenger from the Peishwa, and suspecting the nature of his errand, instantly commenced the attack by opening a battery of nine guns, detaching a strong corps of rocket-camels to the right, and pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left. The British troops were soon nearly surrounded by horse ; but the Mahratta infantry, owing to this rapid advance, were left considerably in the rear, except a regular battalion under a Portuguese named De Pinto, which had marched by a shorter route, concealed for some time under cover of the hedges and enclosures. De Pinto's men were forming with great steadiness, when they were suddenly charged by the English sepoy, who by this impetuous movement became detached from the line. Gokla led forward a select body of six thousand horse, to take advantage of their imprudence. Colonel Burr fortunately perceived the moving mass, in time to stop the pursuit of De Pinto's routed battalion ; he called upon the men to reserve their fire, as there was no opportunity to dress them in line. Unknown to either party, there was a deep slough immediately in front of the British left ; the foremost of the Mahratta horses rolled over in the marsh, and many others, before they could be pulled up, tumbled over those in front. The sepoy poured in their reserved fire on this mass with dreadful effect ; they fell into confusion, the force of the charge was checked, and the few horsemen who came into contact with the bayonets were easily repulsed. Some had galloped round to plunder the camp, but were driven off by a few shots from two iron guns at Kirkee. A company of Europeans coming up to support the sepoy, the British line advanced, and the Mahrattas fled from the field. This decisive victory was won by the British, over more than ten times their number, with a loss of only eighty-three in killed and wounded ; the Mahrattas lost more than five hundred men, and a still greater number of horses.

The
Peishwa
defeated.The
British
residency
burned.Atrocities
ordered
by the
Peishwa.

Hostilities were no sooner commenced, than the ferocious and vindictive character of Bajee Rao's previous orders became apparent. The residency was plundered and burned ; the families and followers of the troops, who fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, were robbed, beaten, and frequently mutilated ; the gardens were destroyed, the trees torn up by the roots, and the very graves violated. An engineer-officer on survey was attacked and killed. Two brothers of the name of Vaughan, one of them a captain in the Madras army, were taken while travel-

ling between Bombay and Poonah, and though they made no resistance, were both barbarously hanged. A stop, however, was put to these atrocities, when Mr. Elphinstone communicated to Gokla his determination to exact a severe retaliation for the murder of any British prisoner.

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So soon as the communications from Poonah ceased, General Smith, judiciously conjecturing that something was wrong, prepared to return. From the time his division quitted Seroor he was followed by flying parties of the Mahrattas, who severely harassed his march, for want of cavalry prevented him from pursuing them when repulsed. He joined the force at Kirkee on the evening of the 13th of November, and made preparations for the attack of the Peishwa's camp, but Bajee Rao was afraid to hazard another engagement; he fled to Sattara, abandoning his capital to the mercy of the English. General Smith took every possible care to ensure the protection of the peaceable part of the community; order and tranquillity were soon re-established, and, after a halt of a few days, preparations were made for an active pursuit of the fugitive Peishwa.

The
Peishwa
flees to
Sattara,
Nov. 13.

We must now turn our attention to Nagpore, where events had occurred very similar in their character to those which we have just described at Poonah. Although the Rajah Appah Sahib was mainly indebted to the English for his elevation to the *munud*, he early evinced a disposition as inconsistent with the gratitude which he owed them as with the obligations of good faith. He dismissed from their situations Nagoo Pundit and Narrain Pundit, the two ministers who had been instrumental in forming the subsidiary alliance, and he entered into an active and secret correspondence with Bajee Rao, at a period when that prince was occupied in plans known to be hostile to our interests. This correspondence was an infraction of the stipulations of the treaty; but the English government winked at the delinquency, having no desire to press a point of this nature to an unpleasant issue. Every allowance was made for Mahratta habits, and for the weak character of a young prince exposed to artful intrigue.

Appah
Sahib of
Nagpore.

Breaks the
treaty.

Intrigues at
Nagpore.

The court of Nagpore was at this period divided into two parties, one of which was decidedly adverse to the English interests. The influence of this party had latterly much increased; but still the Rajah appeared so open and sincere in all his personal communications with the Resident, that a gentleman, less acute and vigilant than Mr. Jenkins, would have been lulled into fatal security. He, however, attended to actions rather than words; the additions made to the Nagpore army—the increased

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activity of the correspondence with Poonah—the public reception, on the 24th of November, of a *Khelat*, or dress of honour, from the Peishwa, and some other circumstances of the same kind, though palliated by plausible excuses, were clear evidences of a spirit of hostility. It was hoped, however, that the intelligence of Bajee Rao's defeat at Poonah, and of the treaty which the Governor-General had concluded with Scindiah, would teach the Rajah a lesson of moderation; still it was necessary to be prepared for the worst, and a requisition was sent for immediate reinforcements.

The
treachery
of the
Rajah.

Notwithstanding the amicable protestations which the Rajah continued to make, Mr. Jenkins had obtained positive information that he intended to attack the residency and British cantonments; and the movements of his army coincided exactly with the reports of his intended proceedings. Preparations for defence were therefore made at the residency with the greatest activity, and the brigade, commanded by Colonel Hopeton Scott, was removed from its inconvenient cantonments to occupy the residency and the adjoining heights of Seetabuldee. Here the British, who did not number more than thirteen hundred and fifty rank and file, were attacked on the night of the 26th of November by eighteen thousand of the Rajah's troops, including four thousand Arabs. After an action which lasted eighteen hours, the gallant British band gained a decisive victory. It will be necessary to give a full account of an engagement which is generally believed to have done much to establish the moral supremacy of the British in Southern India.

His troops
attack the
British.

The residency of Nagpore is separated from the city by a rocky ridge on the north, and immediately over the residency is a considerable eminence, capable of being turned into a strong position. The side facing the continuation of the rocky ridge is, however, exposed to a second and lower eminence on the south side of the ridge, at the foot of which is a considerable village, surrounded with shrubs and trees, extending to the suburbs of Nagpore. This village affords every facility for concealing the approach of an irregular force, and also good cover for an assaulting party.

Battle of
Seeta-
buldee.

During the day, the enemy dragged artillery to positions bearing upon the eastern and northern faces of the two hills, and, before sunset, had filled the village of Telpooree and its neighbouring houses with a large body of Arabs. In the meantime, the officer commanding the resident's escort posted small parties of infantry in the various houses and buildings near it. The

action began at six o'clock in the evening, by the Arabs attacking the officers while placing sentries on the southern hill. This produced a spirited return from the British artillery and infantry, and a general battle ensued. It appears to have been hastened by the fierce passions of the Arabs; for when they began the attack, two of the Rajah's ministers were in conference with the British Resident. The firing from the village was very destructive; and the efforts of the British troops to dislodge the enemy from it not being successful, the whole was set on fire. The Arabs resolutely kept their ground, and continued the fight, until midnight, when the troops were withdrawn to the right. A battalion, drawn up on the edge of the hill to the right, with a six-pounder, although greatly exposed, did great execution; they were joined by a part of the Resident's escort, commanded by Captain W. Lloyd, and kept the enemy at bay, until the limber of their cannon was blown up. Another gun was procured, and the Arabs refrained for a time from any assault. To the left, Captain Macdonald had, under a harassing fire, constructed a breastwork, while his two six-pounders were on the summit of the hill, and his infantry poured volleys into the village. Here he was joined by a party of the escort under its gallant commander: by six o'clock the breastwork was completed. Some of the troops having been withdrawn, the Arabs exultingly took their place, and greatly harassed the working party. An attempt was made to send a troop of cavalry to the rear of the Arabs, but they soon perceived the movement and the troop was recalled.

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Bravery
of the
Arabs.

At sun-rise the British troops, for the first time, had a distinct view of the formidable force which beleaguered them. The Mahratta cavalry was drawn up and extended near the hills, in large masses; their guns, supported by infantry, were well stationed in favourable places—the Arabs were active and bustling—and from seven o'clock the defenders of the position had to sustain an exceedingly well-directed fire from nine guns, playing for hours at a hundred yards distance upon the small hill. An ineffectual dash was made at the two advanced guns. The difficulties of maintaining the hill were increased; the lines of the escort were on fire. At length the British were thrown into confusion by the explosion of a tumbril; the Arabs charged up the hill, sword in hand, drove back the detachment with great loss, and having captured a six-pounder, directed a harassing fire on the northern hill. Encouraged by this success, the Mahrattas assailed the British lines in every direction; the huts where the British had been encamped were seized, and the sepoys were

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Captain
Fitzgerald
wins the
battle.

appalled by the shrieks of their wives and children, to whom they could render no assistance. The enclosures where the cavalry stood were menaced, and guns brought up to assail them; Captain Fitzgerald, who held the post, repeatedly sent for permission to charge, and was forbidden by his commanding officer. To his last request Colonel Scott replied, "Let him do so at his peril." "At my peril be it," replied Fitzgerald; and leading his men out of the enclosures, he formed them into line, and charged the main body of the Mahratta horse with irresistible fury. The ease with which the British squadrons cut their way through the Mahratta lines was subsequently compared, by one of the vanquished, to the burning of a thread by the flame of a candle. Fitzgerald not only dispersed the enemy's horse, but cut to pieces a body of infantry advancing to their support, and captured two guns. The defenders of the north hill saw this brilliant exploit with feelings of the highest admiration, and giving vent to their enthusiasm in loud cheers, proposed immediately to recover the southern hill. At this instant, the accident which led to its temporary loss was repeated; the Arabs in their turn were thrown into confusion by an explosion of ammunition; the British troops could no longer be withheld; the orders of the commanding officer were not waited for, or not heard; men and officers rushed forward, mingled together by one common impulse, drove the Arabs down the hill, pursued them to its base, and spiked two of their guns. The Arabs once more rallied, and prepared to advance; but they were charged in flank by a troop of the cavalry, thrown into confusion, and dispersed over the field. Before noon the battle was at an end, and the victory of the British over the Mahrattas was complete. A fourth of the British force was killed or wounded, and among them were seventeen officers. To the honour of the Madras army, it ought to be recorded that the 24th Regiment, which formed a part of this force, petitioned to be restored to the number of which it had been deprived on account of the mutiny at Vellore. The old number and the old facings were, of course, restored to the men who had so gallantly fought for them.

Fresh
troops
arrive.

The complete defeat of the enemy at all points, and the approach of the reinforcements which had been ordered to advance, put an end to all hope of success in the mind of Appah Sahib; he commenced a negotiation for a renewal of friendship, with a solemn declaration, that the late attack upon the British troops had been made without his will or consent. He was ordered to withdraw his army from the vicinity of the scene of action before

any answer could be returned to his communication. He immediately complied with this demand, and during the period which intervened between the removal of his troops and the arrival of Brigadier-General Doveton's army, the advance of which reached Nagpore on the 12th of December, this infatuated prince continued making protestations of submission, but pursuing at the same time a weak and vacillating course of conduct.

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General
Doveton.

Soon after General Doveton's arrival, preliminary terms were offered to Appah Sahib; he was required to deliver up his ordnance and military stores, to disband his Arabs immediately and the rest of his troops in a reasonable time, to allow Nagpore to be occupied by the British, and to repair to the residency until the terms of the treaty were finally arranged. Although these conditions greatly limited his power, they still left to him the name and functions of sovereignty, of which it was the wish of the Governor-General that he should be deprived. Local circumstances, however, induced Mr. Jenkins to continue, if possible, the rule of Appah Sahib; and he therefore urged upon that prince a speedy acceptance of, and an agreement with, the proffered terms. After many evasions and efforts to obtain delay, he accepted them and repaired to the British residency, attended by some of his ministers. The troops, who, on the 16th of December, made a weak attempt at resistance, were attacked and routed. The horse dispersed in every quarter, a great part of them retiring to their homes; a large corps of Arabs, however, retreated into the city and to a fort which was in the palace, which they defended for some days, and then capitulated.

The Rajah
temporizes.

Terms
proposed
to him.
Dec. 16.

The Marquis of Hastings directed that the provisional engagements made with Appah Sahib, should be embodied in a treaty; but before the instructions for the final arrangements could reach Nagpore, another revolution had taken place in that capital. The refusal of the governors of several of the forts in Berar, to surrender their positions, gave rise to suspicions, which were soon confirmed by the most indisputable evidence, that their treacherous prince had given them orders not to obey his reluctant summons. Ere long his correspondence with the disaffected part of his troops, and with those ministers who had instigated his former conduct, was detected, and it was distinctly established that he continued, in spite of the moderation with which he had been treated, to cherish designs of renewed hostility. It was also discovered at this period, by proofs deemed conclusive, that he had murdered his predecessor, Bala Sahib, in order to obtain that elevation which he had so disgraced. These plots and

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Jan. 1.
Treaty
offered.

He is taken
prisoner,
and
deposed.

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He
escapes by
stratagem.

May 18.

Joins the
Pindarrees.Pursuit
of the
Peishwa.

crimes, although flagrant, might have admitted of the Resident waiting the result of a reference to the Governor-General ; but the information that the Rajah intended making his escape from his capital, and the renewed activity of his communications with Bajee Rao, who, as we shall have occasion presently to show, made a demonstration about this time in the direction of Nagpore, left Mr. Jenkins no time to deliberate. He ordered a detachment of troops to take possession of the palace, and seize Appah Sahib, who was brought immediately to the residency, where he continued in confinement, till orders were received that he should be sent under a strong escort to a secure place in the Company's dominions. While on his journey to Benares, the place appointed for his future residence, the Rajah effected his escape, by feigning illness and bribing some of his guard.

The stratagem was contrived and executed with great skill and cunning. When the officer in charge came to visit the Rajah at the usual hour of the night, he found him to all appearance fast asleep in his bed, and the attendants requested that he would not disturb their master, as great repose was absolutely necessary in his present exhausted condition. The officer, instead of making any minute examination, contented himself with casting a hasty glance round the apartment, and thus failed to discover that his prisoner's place was occupied by a long bolster. In fact, the Rajah was at that moment many miles off, attended by some sepoy, whom he had induced to desert. It appears that the troops appointed for his escort, were selected by Appah Sahib himself, the British authorities being anxious to soothe his irritation at the loss of his dominions. But yielding to this particular request was very injudicious, for the troops selected, were men who had been favourably disposed towards the Rajah ; indeed, there is good reason to believe that they had not only been tampered with, but won over, previous to their departure from Nagpore. Appah Sahib fled first to the Mahadoo hills, and thence to Aseerghur, where, as we shall subsequently have occasion to relate, he joined Cheetoo, the leader of the Pindarrees, just before he was routed by a British detachment.

The Peishwa fled before General Smith's active pursuit, and led the English a long and wearisome chase through the Ghauts. General Smith's army having pushed too far northwards, Bajee Rao retraced his steps and declared his intention of recovering Poonah. Colonel Burr immediately ordered the detachment at

Seroor to march to his assistance. It set out on the last day of the year, under the command of Captain Francis Staunton ; the troops consisted of one battalion of native infantry, three hundred irregular horse, and two six-pounders of the Madras artillery, manned by twenty-four Europeans, under the command of a lieutenant and a serjeant. After having marched all night, Captain Staunton, on reaching the high grounds overlooking the village of Corigaum, on the Beema, suddenly found himself in the presence of the Peishwa's whole army, amounting to twenty-five thousand men.

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A.D. 1817.

The defence which ensued was one of the most remarkable in the history of British India ; our soldiers fatigued by a long march, without food or water, and exposed to the heat of a burning sun, had to maintain themselves against the immense disparity of force until nine o'clock at night. The British officers conducted themselves most nobly. Lieutenant Patterson, a gentleman of herculean frame, though mortally wounded, led the grenadiers in a desperate charge, and recovered a six-pounder which the enemy had seized. A choultry, where some of the wounded officers had been placed, was seized by the Mahrattas, who murdered Surgeon Wingate ; but his fall was avenged and his companions rescued, by Lieutenant Jones and Dr. Wylie, who retook the choultry in spite of superior numbers and desperate resistance. The artillery-men, who were at first disposed to surrender on terms, no sooner saw the mutilated body of their officer, whose head the savages had cut off when he fell mortally wounded, than they declared that they would conquer or die, and they nobly maintained their resolution. The Peishwa, Gokla, and Trimbuck Danglia witnessed the conflict, and directed the attacks. On every successive repulse, the Peishwa bitterly reproached those officers whose vaunts had induced him to engage in the war ; and, when night approached, he not only ceased from attacking Corigaum, but made a precipitate retreat.

Defence of
Corigaum.

A.D. 1818.
Jan. 1.

The pursuit of the Peishwa was actively resumed after his defeat at Corigaum, but it was productive of nothing important except the political effect of exhibiting him as a fugitive. Whenever he was hard-pressed, Gokla, with all the light troops, hovered round the pursuing divisions, firing long shots with their matchlocks, throwing rockets in favourable situations, and cutting off cattle and baggage. Some skirmishes took place in consequence, and the Mahrattas frequently suffered from the shrapnel shells of the horse artillery ; but these affairs were attended with no advantageous result to either party.

Pursuit
of the
Peishwa
continued.

CHAPTER
XVII.A.D. 1818.
Sattara
taken.The
Peishwa
deposed.Gokla
killed.The
Pindarrees
divide
themselves
into three
corps.

General Smith, having united all his forces, laid siege to Sattara, which surrendered on the 10th of February. A manifesto was then published, stating all the particulars of Bajee Rao's conduct, pronouncing his deposition, and declaring that all his territories, with the exception of a small tract to be reserved for the Rajah of Sattara, should be annexed to the dominions of the Company. Equitable regulations were promulgated for regulating the taxation and rental of the country; and many flagrant abuses which had prevailed under the Mahratta government were abolished. In the mean time, Bajee Rao had retreated to Sholapore, where he was joined by a body of horse, under Gunput Rao, from Nagpore. Thus reinforced, Gokla persuaded the Peishwa to make a movement to the westward. General Smith having received information of the plan, immediately commenced an active pursuit with the cavalry and the horse-artillery, and, on the 19th of February, overtook the Mahrattas at Ashtee, just as they were preparing to move off the ground. Bajee Rao sent Gokla a taunting message, intimating that it was to his negligence the exposure of the Mahratta movements to the English had been effected. Gokla replied that the Peishwa's rear should be effectually guarded, and then advanced with a strong detachment of horse, to check the progress of the English. In the slight skirmish which ensued, Gokla was cut down by a dragoon; the Mahrattas instantly fled, leaving behind them several elephants, a quantity of baggage, and the Rajah of Sattara, whom they had detained as a captive and hostage. Bajee Rao then moved towards Nagpore, where he expected to be joined by Appah Sahib; but, learning that the treachery of the Rajah had been detected and foiled by the English, he fled back again to the northern districts.

The Pindarrees, in three separate bodies or *durras*, under their leaders, Cheetoo, Khareem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed, occupied positions between Indore and Sagur, when the Marquis of Hastings had completed his combinations for their destruction. The mutual animosities of these chiefs prevented them from combining in self-defence, or taking any advantage of the events in Poonah and Nagpore. The only enterprise attempted by the Pindarrees was to send a detachment from the *durra* of Wasil Mohammed, which got into the rear of General Marshall's division of the Bengal army, and committed some ravages in Bundelound; the Marquis of Hastings sent a small body of troops, which drove these marauders back to Malwa, and General Marshall's advance was not interrupted. Sir John Malcolm and Colonel Adams,

with their divisions acting in concert with Marshall, soon drove the Pindarrees from their accustomed haunts, and either took possession of their lands, or restored them to the agent of Scindiah and the Nabob of Bhopaul. Wasil Mohammed, and Khareem Khan, uniting their *durras*, took the road to Gwalior, whither they had been secretly invited by Scindiah; Cheetoo went off to the north-west, in hopes of receiving support from Holkar.

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A.D. 1817.
Their
movements
to avoid
fighting.

When these movements were ascertained, the Marquis of Hastings sent a detachment across the Sindh, so as to cut off the Pindarrees from Gwalior, and, at the same time, brought his own division within thirty miles of Scindiah's camp, which had the effect of completely overawing that chieftain.* The Pindarrees, unable to penetrate to Gwalior, or to return to the southward, directed their flight westwards into Meywar. Many of them were left behind, who were cut off either by the troops or the exasperated villagers. One considerable body, however, got clear off to the southward, and, after traversing the whole

Cheetoo
flees to
Holkar's
camp.

* At this time the army was attacked by an epidemic, which raged with fury; and during ten days the camp was an hospital. It is now known as the cholera. It is thus described by Prinsep:—

“The symptoms of the disease may be described in few words. Its approach was indicated by giddiness that came on suddenly and without any warning, attended with an immediate and total prostration of strength; inasmuch that men fell from their horses in the line of march, and were unable afterwards to rise from the ground, though perfectly well when they started in the morning. A nausea succeeded, with purging and vomiting, so violent as to defy the power of medicine. Laudanum was generally given at this stage in large quantities; but the stomach would retain nothing, throwing up a peculiar green or whitish fluid. After this, the patient was seized with cramps and coldness, from the extremities upwards, even to the parts about the heart. In the midst of his agonies he felt a burning thirst, and called incessantly for cold water, but vomited it the instant it was given. This lasted from twenty-four to forty-eight hours, and the person affected either died under its severity, or was left in a state of such extreme debility, that the utmost power of medicine availed nothing. The cure was very rare when these spasmodic affections came on with any degree of violence. It was observed of this malady, that neither the voice, nor the power of swallowing, nor the intellect, were ever lost while life remained: also that after death the bodies had a peculiar smell, which was immediately perceptible at some distance. Medical men have never yet discovered wherein the disease lay; much less have they found any probable cure. Laudanum or opium to allay the irritation within, and calomel, the universal specific of India, with stimulants, when the patient is about to sink from exhaustion, form the most approved, if not the general practice. The medical art has gone no further.”

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A.D. 1817.
The Patan
chiefs seek
war with
Holkar's
army.

Deccan, entered the Company's provinces in the Carnatic, where they were annihilated or dispersed before the end of the ensuing January.

Cheetoo, in the meantime, being closely pursued by Sir John Malcolm, found refuge in Holkar's camp, in the vicinity of Mahedpore. Gunput Rao, the paramour of Toolzee Bhasee, was at this time the chief director of Holkar's agency, and, as he was a bitter enemy of the British, it soon became evident that hostilities could not be avoided. Indeed, so resolved were the Patan Sirdars on war, that, suspecting the regency of an intention to open negotiations, they put Toolzee Bhasee to death, and placed Gunput Rao in confinement. Sir Thomas Hislop, who had now arrived with his division and taken the supreme command, finding that his detached parties were severely harassed, resolved to bring matters to a crisis.

Battle of
Mahedpore,
Dec. 21.

Shortly after daylight on the morning of the 21st of December, 1817, the English troops came within sight of the enemy's camp. They found Holkar's army strongly posted near the town of Mahedpore, within a bend of the Seeptra river, which covered the left flank, the right being protected by a deep ravine. Its front was protected by a formidable park of artillery, consisting of seventy heavy guns ranged in the form of a crescent. These guns being admirably served by the Patans, overpowered the light English field-pieces, and occasioned a heavy loss before the British troops had time to form and advance, after crossing the ford of the Seeptra. The ford was steep and narrow, the ascent on the opposite bank, naturally difficult, was further obstructed by several guns, carriages, etc., which had been disabled and rendered useless by the enemy's fire, when the head of the advancing column first appeared from the river. When the whole of the infantry had obtained their footing on the opposite bank, they deployed by columns diverging by the right into line, and took up their respective positions in front of the enemy, each regiment lying on the ground, until the whole line was completed, as Sir Thomas Hislop had directed. At a preconcerted signal, they rose, advanced, and fired a volley; orders were then given to charge; the soldiers at once pushed forward, broke Holkar's battalions, and made themselves masters of his artillery. The Patans fought desperately in defence of the cannon; many of these brave and devoted men refused to abandon their guns, and were bayoneted or sabred where they stood. A few, who saw that any further resistance would be useless took up their swords and shields, and quietly retreated; but

Sir Thomas
Hislop
wins the
battle.

they were overtaken and cut to pieces by the British cavalry. Holkar's horse and infantry had fled on the first onset, and their camp was found standing, but with very few articles of any value in it: at some distance in its rear, five guns, which had been left to cover the retreat, were discovered and taken. The victory was complete, and it lowered the vaunting boasts of Holkar's troops, who, it appears, prided themselves much on a trifling advantage which they had formerly gained over a detachment of the Bengal army, when attacked under unfavourable circumstances.

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A.D. 1818.

A heavy fall of rain took place at the close of the action which greatly aggravated the sufferings of the wounded, and afforded opportunities for plunder to the marauders, who wandered over the field, robbing the living and the dead, and assassinating those who attempted to make any resistance. A large quantity of military equipments and stores were found upon the field. Among the enemy's supply of ammunition for their heavy ordnance, a large quantity of balls was discovered, which, from the private marks of manufacturers, and the names of gunners upon them, must have been obtained, by some treacherous means, from British arsenals. The enquiries instituted on the subject led to no satisfactory result.

From the field of battle the English advanced to Mundisore, where they met envoys bringing offers of peace from young Holkar. A treaty was concluded on terms more favourable than that chieftain had a right to expect, and an English residency was established at Indore. Scindiah's court was rendered perfectly tractable by the victory over Holkar; but one of his feudatories having afforded a refuge to Cheetoo and his Pindarrees, General Browne was sent to punish this delinquency. This service was performed promptly and efficiently; Jesswunt Rao's camp was surprised, his guns captured, and his principal town stormed. The district which he had governed, was then transferred to another ruler.

In the meantime, Cheetoo with his *durra* of Pindarrees, fled in a north-westerly direction, when the pursuit was taken up by the Guzerat division with considerable effect. His *durra* was now the only one at all formidable, the rest had either been destroyed or dispersed, and their chiefs had yielded themselves prisoners. At length, Cheetoo's division was completely surprised and dispersed by a detachment from the fort of Hindia: he escaped with about two hundred followers, and sought refuge with the Nabob of Bhopaul, but the terms which he offered to

Treaty
made with
Holkar.

Cheetoo's
bands
dispersed.

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A. D. 1818.

that chieftain being rejected, he continued his flight until he joined the fugitive, Appah Sahib, to whom his habits of vigilance and activity rendered him a valuable ally. The Pindarrees, thus dispersed, without leaders and without homes, soon ceased to be formidable; they were finally absorbed in the agricultural population of Malwa and the Deccan, where many of them became active and improving farmers.

Resistance
made at
Talneir.

Sir Thomas Hislop now prepared to return to Madras, resolving on his way to take possession of the several forts to the southward, which had been ceded by Scindiah or Holkar. No resistance was made until the army approached the Fort of Talneir, situated on the right bank of the Taptee river, when a fire was suddenly opened from the walls on the advance and the quarter-master-general's department. The aggression was equally unprovoked and unexpected, being obviously an infraction of the treaty by which Talneir and the other forts south of the Nerbudda were ceded to the English. Information of these stipulations was sent to the Killedar or governor of the fort, together with a sharp remonstrance on his breach of the treaty, and a threat to treat him as a rebel if he persevered; but he met these representations with an evasive and rather hostile reply.

The gar-
rison offers
to yield.

Feb. 27.

One six-pounder and two small howitzers, the largest guns present with the army, were hastily formed into a field battery, and brought to bear on the gateway of the fort from a neighbouring eminence. The fire of the enemy was soon overpowered and silenced, the parapets destroyed, and the defences dismantled; but, from the small calibre of the artillery employed, no material damage was done to the main wall. It was resolved to force an entrance at the gateway, but, as the storming party advanced, a flag of truce was displayed from one of the bastions; soon after the Killedar or native commander of the garrison came out, declaring that the gates of the fort should be opened as soon as terms of capitulation could be arranged. The English officer in command, replied that the surrender of the place must be unconditional, and directed that this reply should be communicated to the garrison. No one seemed willing to convey the message, and hostilities were resumed. The storming party pushed forward into the traverse, through the broken masonry on each side of the gateway, and advanced with little order, finding all the gates but the last open before them. Here, after a brief delay, a wicket was opened, through which Major Gordon entered with a small party. A short parley followed, when the

Treachery.

wicket was suddenly and treacherously closed ; the Major, and his few followers, hemmed in on every side by ferocious enemies, and cut off from all possibility of relief, were overpowered and slain. CHAPTER
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When the first effects of the surprise were abated, the English soldiers rushed forward to the assault, with equal fury and desperation ; a party of pioneers broke through the fastenings of the wicket, and opened a passage ; the Arabs, who formed the garrison, made a vigorous effort to defend the entrance, but they could not resist men almost maddened by the unexpected resistance, and by the base treachery practised on their beloved officer and his followers. Under the circumstances, no quarter could be given ; about one hundred and fifty Arabs fell beneath the hands of the avengers. Some fugitives, in the hope of escape, concealed themselves in haystacks, but their places of refuge were discovered and fired ; the helpless wretches, driven out by the flames, were shot down like beasts of prey by the enraged soldiers. The extermination of the garrison was all but complete ; a woman and two Arab boys, who had secreted themselves in a dry well, were the only persons saved. The
garrison
put to the
sword.

Nor was this all : the Killedar being considered a rebel by Sir T. Hislop, was tried in a summary manner, and condemned to be hanged on one of the bastions. Some officers remonstrated against his execution as being unnecessary ; but the example soon produced the best effect. A full explanation was subsequently required by the Governor-General, and by Parliament. The circumstances have been misrepresented and discoloured by party-spirit ; but it is undoubted that the Killedar was bound to surrender the place instead of resisting the orders of his sovereign, and thereby causing the loss of many lives. He disguised himself, and quitted the fort, leaving the ignorant and infuriated Arabs to yield, or to carry on the defence, as they pleased. The
Killedar
hanged.

The fall of Talneir, and the fate of its governor, ensured the quiet surrender of the remaining fortresses. The keys of the strong hill-forts of Chandore, Rassaighur and Galna, were sent to the English camp by their respective Killedars, who did not wait to be summoned, and these important posts were immediately secured by British troops. Nothing now remained to bring the war to a conclusion, save securing the persons of Bajee Rao, Cheetoo, and Appah Sahib. Other forts
yield.

After wandering about for some time, with an army daily diminishing by desertion, the Peishwa was surprised and routed by an English detachment under Colonel Adams, who followed up his victory by besieging and capturing the important fort of The
Peishwa
an outlaw.

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Chandah. General Pritzler, about the same time, made himself master of Wusota, where two English officers were found, who had been made prisoners in the beginning of the war, and had been kept ever since in ignorance of the movements of their countrymen, even when they had opened a fire on the place in which they were confined. Bajee Rao now saw that his affairs were desperate; he made many overtures to Mr. Elphinstone, but as they always implied an ability to treat, he was distinctly told that his unconditional submission only could be accepted. At length he sought shelter, with about eight thousand men, under the guns of Aseerghur, whence he sent agents to General Sir John Malcolm, the nearest of his pursuers, to treat for a surrender.

Sir J.
Malcolm
offers
lenient
terms.

Sir John Malcolm's better judgment was lulled by the flattery of the Peishwa's envoys; and he was besides anxious to have the glory of bringing the war to a conclusion; he, therefore, opened negotiations, though contrary to the directions which had been issued by the Governor-General. It must, however, be confessed, that the ready shelter afforded to the Peishwa at Aseerghur—a fortress which Scindiah had agreed to surrender to the English, but which its Killedar retained by the secret directions of his sovereign—gave reasonable ground for believing that the Peishwa might rely on the aid of Scindiah if he protracted the war. After some negotiation, Bajee Rao surrendered to Sir John Malcolm; he agreed to abdicate the throne, and to spend the rest of his life within the English territories; but it was stipulated that the Company should make him an annual allowance of one hundred thousand pounds; while, at the same time, he was permitted to retain all that he had preserved of his treasures.

They are
assented to
reluctantly.

Terms so utterly disproportioned to the Peishwa's position and claims were with very great reluctance confirmed by the Governor-General, and on many occasions he condemned in the most pointed terms the impolitic concessions made by Sir John Malcolm. Trimbeck Danglia escaped for a time; but after many perilous adventures, he was made prisoner by a party of irregular horse, and confined for life in an English fortress.

Aseerghur
taken,
April 9.

Appah Sahib and Cheetoo, after having been closely blockaded in the hills, made their escape to Aseerghur, and that celebrated fortress was immediately invested by General Doveton; Sir John Malcolm co-operating, with a force from Malwa. Cheetoo's Pindarrees had been received into the fort, but he was himself excluded by the jealousy of the Killedar. Great uncertainty prevailed respecting his fate; but, at length, it was discovered

that he had fallen a victim to a tiger, in the jungle where he sought shelter. His body, when found, was so mangled that it could not have been identified, but for the fragments of his dress which lay near. Aseerghur made a vigorous defence, but was at length surrendered on the 9th of April, 1819, when it was found that Appah Sahib was not in the fort, but had fled to some other place before its investment was completed.

CHAPTER
XVII.
A.D. 1819.

It required some vigorous management to compel the surrender of several of the forts which their Killedars retained; but one after another was surrendered or taken, and the Governor-General was enabled to develop his plans for the regulation of the conquered country. In general, the rights of the possessors of property were treated with great respect; and the administration of law was very little changed from the Mahratta form of procedure; but the greatest vigilance was introduced into the criminal courts, for the purpose of putting an end to the organized system of plunder which had previously prevailed.

The
English
rule
established.

In 1819, the Subahdar or Vizir of Oude assumed the title of "king," in order to establish his personal independence as far as the name could secure it.

The only place where any resistance was made to the changes which the Marquis of Hastings introduced, after establishing British supremacy in India, was at Bareilly, in Rohilcund. A tax had been introduced for the support of the police force, unpopular in itself, and levied in a way very offensive to the prejudices of the Moslems. The magistrate of Bareilly entrusted the collection to the *Cutwal*, or native head of the police, against whom popular indignation was vehemently excited, on account of his harshness, cruelty, and venality. He was particularly detested by the higher class of Patans in Rohilcund, who are feelingly alive to everything which concerns their personal honour, and to whose prejudices the coarse language of a vulgar Hindu villager, as the *Cutwal* is described to have been, was peculiarly offensive. Several tumultuous meetings were held at Bareilly; and a petition against the tax was presented to the magistrate, through the Mufti, who, according to Mohammedan usage, combined the functions of a judge and a priest. No notice was taken of this address; the popular discontent continued, and the bad feeling which existed in the town was greatly increased, by the circumstance of a woman being wounded by some police officers while in the act of levying the tax, by distraining a trifling article equivalent to its amount. This female was carried to the Mufti, who advised that she should be taken to the magis-

Disturb-
ances at
Bareilly.

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XVII.

A.D. 1816.

trate. He refused to interfere, directing that a complaint should be formally lodged in the courts if any wrong had been done. The dissatisfied mob brought the woman back to the Mufti, who exclaimed, "If such is the magistrate's justice, no person's life or honour is safe in the town; and it is high time for me to leave it." He then quitted his house, with the avowed intention of making a complaint to the judge of the circuit, who was in the neighbourhood; but, unfortunately, he encountered the magistrate, accompanied by a few troops, on the road. The Mufti believed that the magistrate was coming to arrest him; an affray ensued, in which several lives were lost.

The mob, which from the first had shewn no disposition to resist authority, soon dispersed; but the Mufti, who had been slightly wounded, and who was still persuaded that it was intended to make him prisoner, took refuge in a mosque at the outskirts of the town, and caused the green flag of Mohammed to be displayed from its minaret, as a signal that he required his friends and adherents to assemble for his protection.

Captain
Boscawen
tries to
quell the
disturbance

On the morning of the 18th of April, 1816, Captain Boscawen, with two companies of sepoy and two guns, took post close to the mosque, a circumstance which confirmed the general belief that it was intended to arrest the Mufti; who, in addition to that veneration in which, from his age and the sanctity of his character and office, he was before held, was now viewed as a popular victim, in whose defence it was the duty of all ranks and classes to unite. Negotiations were begun with the multitude, but their irritation and fanaticism were increased by the arrival of aid from different towns in the vicinity, until the crowds were no longer under the control of those who had first called them into action. A desperate attack was made upon Captain Boscawen's detachment, but after a fierce struggle, which lasted several hours, the infuriated insurgents were repulsed, with the loss of two thousand in killed and wounded.

A furious
fight
with the
fanatics.

Many tried
but no good
evidence
given.

When the insurrection was quelled, and the excitement so far abated as to allow of an investigation in legal form, a number of persons supposed to have been most active were taken up, and brought to trial before the criminal court. It is a significant and remarkable fact, that they were all acquitted from want of evidence, except one ignorant youth, who was pardoned. A general amnesty was extended to all the inhabitants, with the exception of some of the principal instigators, who, however, provided for their safety by an early flight.

The misconduct of the Rao of Cutch, Barmaljee, compelled

the Bombay government to send a division to take his capital, Bhooj, and to place his infant son, Rao Desal, in his stead. This was effected on the 26th of March, 1819, when the walls were escaladed and the town taken. Treaties were formed with the new government, much to the dissatisfaction of the Ameers of Scinde, who were mortified on finding their designs on that principality thus frustrated by the British protection of the young Rao. A treaty was made with two Ameers, yet disputes and quarrels arose about the boundaries, which caused a rankling feeling to prevail amongst them. Along the sea-coast of Western India, the petty states of the Concan, and especially Angria Colabah, in which piracy and robbery had long prevailed, to the injury of commerce, were obliged to submit to the laws of civilization, after the subjugation of the Mahrattas. Treaties were arranged with the chiefs, and the renewal of their depredations prohibited.

CHAPTER
XVII.

A.D. 1819.
March 26.
The Rao of Cutch deposed.
His son placed on the musnud.

The
Concan
settled.

An expedition was despatched from Bombay, in September, 1819, under the command of Sir William Kerr, to attack Ras-ul-Khaima, in Arabia, which was, in December, speedily occupied, and a treaty made with the Sheiks, who promised to abstain from piracy, from killing their prisoners, and from dealing in slaves. A political agent was left at Ras-ul-Khaima, with instructions to retire to the island of Kishme. An Arab tribe, the Beni-bu-Ali, having captured a trading vessel, one of the Company's cruisers was sent to enquire into the matter. The tribe, having thrown off their allegiance to the Imaum of Muscat, prepared to resist his troops, and those of the Company. Six companies of sepoy, with six guns, and a thousand of the Imaum's men marched against the tribe, who numbered only six hundred. A fight ensued, in which six British officers, and four hundred sepoy were killed. The rest were saved by the efforts of the Imaum, who was wounded in the battle. The Arabs protested that they had not participated in the piracy, and were bound to defend their homes. The Bombay government sent a strong expedition under command of Sir Lionel Smith, and the tribe of Beni-bu-Ali was nearly exterminated. Some few, taken as captives to Bombay, were, after two years' detention, restored to their homes—a proof that war is not always carried on with justice.

Expedition
to Ras-ul-
Khaima.

Expedition
against the
Beni-bu-
Ali.

The interests of British commerce in the Arabian Gulf (or Red Sea) having required the establishment of an agent at Mocha, one was appointed; but the hatred of the governor caused him to be cruelly treated. The British factory was pillaged; redress

Mocha
bombarded.

CHAPTER
XVII.

A.D. 1820.

was refused ; an expedition was sent in 1820 ; the town was bombarded and nearly reduced to ashes. The Dola, or Governor of Mocha, who had caused the beating of the Resident, was surrendered to Captain Lock, of H.M.S. *Eden*, who held the command ; but after a short detention the Dola was released, on his promise of good behaviour. Various favourable stipulations were agreed to, and peace was concluded with the Imaum of Senna, as the head of the district.

Settlement
of the
small states
in the
interior.

The settlement of the various small states in the interior of India occupied much of the attention of the Governor General. The whole of the possessions of the Peishwa, together with large cessions from the Nagpore districts, became the dominions of the Company. The Rajahs of Rajpootana, long known as the proudest of the Indian chiefs, submitted to the British influence. Even the Rajah of Odeypore, who had refused obedience to either Mahratta or Moslem, accepted the terms of protection proposed by the British negotiators. The Bheels in Candeish were brought into order, and the small state of Sattara was advanced to prosperity. The West of India had then the advantage of being governed by the judicious Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose calm and gentle manners won the confidence of every native that approached him.

Ecclesiastical
arrange-
ments.

The first attempt at forming in India an ecclesiastical establishment, according to the principles of the churches of England and of Scotland, was made during the government of the Marquis of Hastings. Doctor Middleton was appointed Bishop of Calcutta, in 1814 ; on taking possession of his diocese, which embraced all India, he organised his clergy, built churches, and founded the Bishop's College in Calcutta. This building was nearly completed before his death, which occurred on the 8th of July, 1822.

The
Marquis of
Hastings
returns to
Europe.

The Marquis of Hastings quitted India in January, 1823, with the satisfaction of having greatly consolidated the British power therein. At the close of the Mahratta war, in 1819, the Company unanimously voted him the sum of 60,000*l.*, in consideration of his high and meritorious services. On his arrival in Europe, an attempt was made to grant him 5,000*l.* per annum for twenty years ; but the proposition was not successful. In 1824 he was appointed Governor of Malta, where his impaired constitution became more enfeebled. He embarked on board H.M.S. *Revenge* to proceed to Naples, and died in the Bay of Baia on the 29th of November, 1825. In August, 1827, the sum of 20,000*l.* was invested by the Company in the hands of trustees, for the benefit of the young Marquis on his coming of age.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GOVERNMENT OF JOHN ADAM, 1823.

State of India on the Departure of the Marquis of Hastings.—Mr. John Adam succeeds as Governor-General, Jan. 1.—Four Matters demand especial and prompt Attention, viz. : 1. The Discussions with the Dutch about the Spice Islands.—2. The Affairs of the Nizam's Government.—3. The Disputes with the Burmese. 4. The Movements of Runjeet Sing, the Maharajah of Lahore. I.—The surrender of Java by the Treaties of 1814 much regretted.—Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Governor of Bencoolen.—He takes Possession of Singapore.—Treaties formed with the Dutch who give up their Settlements on the Continent of India.—The British yield in exchange Bencoolen, 1824.—II. The Affairs of Hyderabad.—Palmer & Co.'s Dealings.—Chandu-Lall borrows Money from them at exorbitant Rates.—Bevan's Description of the Infamies at Hyderabad.—The Soucars or Bankers described.—Chandu-Lall applies for a large Loan to Palmer & Co.—The Loan objected to by Members of the Supreme Council.—It is sanctioned by the Vote of the Marquis of Hastings.—On his Departure Mr. Adam condemns it.—The Ruin of Palmer & Co. involves many worthy Persons.—III. The War with Burmah an inevitable Legacy.—The Burmese vain, and flushed with Victories.—They seek a Quarrel with the British.—The Mughs, an agricultural Race, oppressed by the Burmese.—They flee for Refuge to the British frontier Provinces.—The Burmese demand their Extradition.—Captain Cox settles many Thousands in the Districts.—The Burmese Governor of Arracan demands the Fugitives.—He threatens Invasion in insolent Language.—The Governor-General sends an Ambassador to the Burmese Capital.—After Explanations Peace continues for several Years.—The Burmese Viceroy of Pegu sends Agents to excite Rebellions in India.—Incursions by Khyen-bran into the Burmese Territory.—Death of Khyen-bran in 1816.—The Rajah of Ramree, a frontier Ruler, sends a bombastic threatening Letter, as dictated by the King.—In 1818 another Letter sent by the Rajah's Son,

declaring War unless Tribute is paid for Four British Provinces. This Letter is treated as unauthorized.—The Company refuses to surrender any of the Mughls.—Their quiet reserved Proceedings inflame the Passion of the Burmese for War.—IV. The State of the Punjab, Runjeet Sing, and the Sikhs.—The Twelve Missuls. Runjeet born Nov. 2nd, 1780.—He is disfigured and blinded of an Eye by the Small Pox.—His Youth is spent in Debauchery and in Sporting.—On taking the Government he causes his Mother to be assassinated.—His first Acts of Aggrandisement.—He declares his Independence, and becomes Maharajah.—His first Acquaintance with the English.—He resolves to cultivate a good Understanding with them.—He has his Troops instructed on the European Model.—He receives Shah Sooja and plunders him.—The Efforts of Futteh Khan, the Afghan, in Cashmeer.—Runjeet Sing takes Attock, and drives Futteh Khan off.—Futteh Khan is murdered.—Runjeet gains Peshawur and Cashmeer.—His Army is disciplined by Four French Officers.—He conquers Moultan and extends his Dominions.—The Opinions formed of the Indian Empire.—Its Size thought to be inconvenient.—Mr. Adam, as Governor-General, quarrels with the Calcutta Newspapers.—Obnoxious Editors sent to Europe.—Mr. Adam banishes Mr. Buckingham and becomes highly unpopular.—Mr. Adam died on his Passage to England, June 4, 1825.—The Court of Directors express their Opinion of his Services.

CHAPTER
XVIII.
A.D. 1823.

THE government of the Marquis of Hastings was most successful. The situation of the British power in India was very different when he resigned from what it had been when that nobleman assumed the reins of government. The Company's territories were greatly enlarged, and their revenues increased; the Pindarrees were annihilated; the power of the Mahrattas, the most formidable enemies of the British, was annihilated; and Scindiah, the only ruler whose resources were undiminished, had shewn by all his acts that he had ceased to cherish any plans of ambition. Many things, nevertheless, remained unsettled, which required prompt attention from the government at home, as well as from the Governor-General in India. Among them we must specially enumerate the discussions with the Dutch, the affairs of the Nizam's government, the disputes with the Burmese, and movements of Runjeet Sing, the Maharajah of Lahore. We shall, therefore, take a succinct view of those four subjects, as they presented themselves during the short rule of Mr. John Adam, who, as being the senior member of

Council, succeeded the Marquis of Hastings, when the latter sailed from Calcutta on the 1st of January, 1823. Mr. Adam held the reins of government until the 1st of August of that year. The struggle which Mr. Adam carried on with the newspapers of Calcutta deserves, also, a particular notice.

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A.D. 1823.

I. At the peace of 1814, the insular possessions of the Dutch in the Indian seas, were restored by the English negotiators at Vienna, with a facility, or rather a precipitancy, which prevented any stipulations being made in favour of the growing and lucrative trade which the British merchants had opened with the Spice Islands. It was, in fact, virtually recognized that the old Dutch monopoly of the spice trade, and their preponderating influence in the Indian Archipelago, should be restored and maintained, until such time as the government of the Netherlands should, of their own accord, think fit to relax in their pretensions. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, governor of the British settlement of Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, soon saw the necessity of adopting some efficacious remedy, to redress the wrongs which the Dutch, from the very first moment of their restoration, began to inflict on the British trade, and he resolved to occupy some place which might in some degree compensate his countrymen for the abandonment of their former conquests. Animated by these views, he took possession of Singapore, off Point Romania, on the Malacca coast, in the direct route to China. The wisdom of his selection soon became apparent; in a very few years Singapore, from a mere cluster of huts, became one of the most thriving commercial cities in the Eastern seas; and its prosperity still continues progressively increasing.

A.D. 1819.

Singapore
taken
possession
of.
Feb. 26.

Though supported by the Marquis of Hastings, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles received no encouragement from the British ministry, and there was some reason to fear that the representations of the Dutch would lead to the frustration of his prudent measures. Fortunately, Mr. Canning, who was then President of the Board of Control, suggested the nomination of a select committee, with whom he could hold confidential communications, to enable him to meet the Commissioners of the Netherlands. The more the subject was investigated, the more clearly was it seen that the Dutch had completely overreached the English negotiators at Vienna, and that some new arrangements were necessary to preserve the British trade in the Indian Archipelago, and even to secure British commerce with China. The negotiations were greatly protracted, from the necessity of reference on various points to India. At length the whole terminated in the

Treaty
with the
Dutch.

CHAPTER
XVIII.

A.D. 1820.

Palmer
& Co. at
HyderabadChandu-
Lall's
dealings.Horrible
crimes at
Hyderabad

treaty of 1824, by which the Dutch settlements on the continent of India, with Malacca, and the undisputed right to Singapore, were ceded to the British government, the Dutch acquiring in exchange, Bencoolen and all the Company's rights in the island of Sumatra.

II. The affairs of Hyderabad exposed the Marquis of Hastings to considerable odium, and led to the refusal of the pension from the Company which his eminent services deserved. In the year 1811, Messrs. W. Palmer and Co. formed a mercantile establishment and bank at Hyderabad, for which they did not obtain the necessary allowance from the Governor-general until after a lapse of two years and four months. During this time the house had dealings with Chandu-Lall, on behalf of the Nizam's government, to the extent of more than 700,000*l.*, with a balance in favour of the former, amounting to about 100,000*l.* This was contrary to the act of parliament passed in 1797, which declared all pecuniary transactions with native princes, unless sanctioned by the Court of Directors or the Supreme Council of Calcutta, to be illegal. On the commencement of the Pindarree war, the Messrs. Palmer were empowered to advance money on two separate accounts to the Nizam, for the purpose of enabling him to send his stipulated contingents to take a share in the Deccan war. This loan was granted at a very exorbitant rate of interest, but it must be remembered that the Messrs. Palmer had themselves to borrow the greater part of the sum required, and that the raising of money in India is a far more difficult operation than in Europe. It is also necessary to take into account the state of society in Hyderabad, which is thus forcibly portrayed by Major Henry Bevan.

"Hyderabad is of very great extent, and very densely populated; the inhabitants are Patans, Indian Mussulmans, and Hindus, but the followers of the prophet greatly preponderate. The Mohammedans of Hyderabad are the most disorderly, turbulent, and ferocious set of ruffians within the limits of India. They are descended from the Jagatay Turks, absurdly called Moguls, who conquered northern India under Baber, and established the empire of Delhi; and they are not one whit less haughty, bigoted, and ferocious than their ancestors were in the days of Timur. It has never been forgotten by them that they were once the lords of India, and therefore they regard us as the usurpers of their heritage, with a hatred not the less intense because they are compelled to keep it concealed. No European can venture to pass through the city unprovided with a suitable

escort ; were he to make the attempt, he would not escape insult, and perhaps, personal injury. No specimens of their abusive and insolent language to British travellers, can be given without grossly offending decency. The state of morals in Hyderabad is execrable ; a detestable crime is so common that it forms a topic of ordinary conversation, and is never attempted to be denied or concealed. An officer, who resided a short time in the city, declared that, compared with Hyderabad, Sodom would be found innocent, and Gomorrah the perfection of purity. The lives and properties of the nobles, the merchants, and the bankers, would not be safe for a single day if the British forces were withdrawn. The crowds of half-starved bullies that infest its streets would plunder the place, but for the awe with which they always regard the garrison.

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A.D. 1820.

“ The *soucars*, or bankers, at Hyderabad, are far from being so respectable a class as in other parts of India. Loans are obtained from them by mortgaging property, or giving a deposit of jewels or other valuables. It is a general rule that the value of the deposit should exceed that of the loan by at least one-half. In these transactions, the *soucars*, by the exorbitant interest which they charge, and the frauds they use in depreciating the value of the deposits, far transcend the worst class of pawnbrokers in England.”

The
soucars or
bankers.

We have already referred to the weakness of the Nizam's character, and to the support which his profligate minister, Chandu-Lall, received from the English government. In fact, when the Nizam proposed, in 1811, to investigate the accounts of that minister, the Resident, Mr. Russell, interfered to shelter Chandu-Lall, and prevented any of his subordinate agents from being examined. When the debts claimed by the Messrs. Palmer, on their three accounts against the Nizam, had amounted to an immense sum, Chandu-Lall declared that he was anxious to introduce a thorough reform into the financial affairs of the Nizam, and for this purpose he required the command of money to a considerable extent. He applied to the Messrs. Palmer, for the loan of sixty lacs of rupees, on the condition that the Nizam should mortgage a portion of his revenues as a security both for the principal and the interest, and that Mr. Palmer should appoint his own collectors to receive the revenues assigned to him. This arrangement was warmly opposed in the Supreme Council, and was only carried by the casting vote of the Governor-General. It soon appeared that the loan was a mere fiction, and was, in fact, merely a means for capitalizing all the old demands

Chandu-
Lall effects
a loan.

Sanctioned
by the
Marquis of
Hastings.

CHAPTER
XVIII.

A.D. 1820.
Mr. Adam
condemns
it.
Palmer
& Co.
ruined.
A.D. 1828.

of the house upon the Nizam. Matters remained unsettled when the Marquis of Hastings returned to Europe; but scarcely had his temporary successor, Mr. Adam, been installed in office, than he condemned the whole affair as fraudulent and usurious. Furthermore, he peremptorily ordered the assigned revenues to be restored to the Nizam, without making any reservation whatever for the payment of anything beyond the principal of the loan. Palmer's house was, of course, ruined; and many meritorious officers, who had invested their savings in its custody were involved in its fate.

State of
Burmah.

III. The war with Burmah, like that with Mysore in 1799, and that with Nepaul in 1814, devolved upon the new Governor-General as a legacy from his predecessor. Hostilities had commenced and outrages been perpetrated for years before the war was officially commenced. It will be necessary to refer to past events, in order to explain the causes of the war against Burmah, which the Company had to wage beyond the limits of India.

Rise of the
Burmese
power.

The power of the Burmese over the countries to the east of the Bay of Bengal, took its rise about the time when the English began to acquire supremacy in India. The progress of both was rapid. Conquests brought them into contact. The acquisition of Arracan, Assam, and Cachar, placed the Burmese on our north-eastern frontier. Instead of having to deal in this quarter with petty Rajahs, we were brought into a collision with a race flushed by recent victories, ignorant of British power, and vain of their own. The preservation of friendly relations was difficult until one or the other was allowed to be the superior power.

They
violate the
British
territory,
but gize-
apolo

During the government of Lord Teignmouth, a Burmese general advanced into the province of Chittagong in pursuit of three criminals. A force was sent to repel this violation of territory; the Burmese general prevented hostilities by waiting upon the English officer, by explaining all the circumstances, and by exhibiting his instructions and pleading his motives. On his retiring, the criminals were surrendered to the Burmese authorities; two of them were put to death by the most cruel tortures, but the third again effected his escape into the British territories.

The Mughls
emigrate.

The Mughls, an agricultural race, settled in Arracan, were subjected to oppression and tyranny from their Burmese masters. Some of them had long settled in Chittagong, and learned to appreciate the mildness of the British rule; they invited the sufferers of Arracan to join them, and during the years of 1797 and 1798, thousands of the Mughls migrated into the British

territories. Their numbers created alarm; the offence which CHAPTER
 harbouring the fugitives would give to the Burmese was foreseen; XVIII.
 and orders were sent to prevent any more from crossing the A.D. 1798.
 frontier. The orders were not obeyed; for new emigrants re-
 solved to die rather than return. On one occasion, when the
 British authorities required a body of Mughs to go back to their
 old homes, the leader boldly replied, "We will never return to
 the Arracan country: if you choose to slaughter us here, we
 are ready to die; if by force you drive us away, we will go and
 dwell in the jungles of the great mountains, which afford shelter
 to wild beasts."

Refuse to
 go back.

About the close of the year 1798, not fewer than ten thousand Others
 of the Mughs rushed to the frontier, in a state of agony and follow.
 distress. This body was followed by another more numerous.
 Two-thirds of the Mughs forsook the province of Arracan, the
 capital of which was nearly depopulated. The fugitives are
 described as "flying through wilds and deserts without any
 preconcerted plan, numbers perishing from famine and fatigue.
 The road from the Naaf river (which forms the boundary between
 the Burmese province of Arracan and the British district of
 Chittagong), was strewed with the bodies of the aged, and of
 mothers with infants at their breasts." Policy became enlisted
 on the side of humanity, in dictating that, at least, a temporary
 asylum should be granted to the despairing fugitives. Coercive
 measures, if successful, would have consigned thousands of un-
 offending individuals to the cruel vengeance of a barbarous
 government. The government of Calcutta, resolved to assign to
 the refugees grants of waste lands, of which there were vast
 tracts in Chittagong. In the meanwhile, hundreds perished
 daily, as they were constrained to feed upon leaves and reptiles.
 The authorities came to the determination of relieving the
 wants of the survivors, by providing them with food, and with
 materials for constructing huts to shelter them from the ap-
 proaching rains.

They
 settle
 in the
 districts of
 Chittagong

Captain Hiram Cox, an officer previously employed on a mis-
 sion to the court of Ava, and well acquainted with the Burmese
 language and customs, undertook the onerous duties of carrying
 these arrangements into effect; and his success fulfilled the ex-
 pectations of those by whom he was appointed.

Captain
 Cox
 appointed
 to arrange
 their
 locations.

When the last migration of the Mughs took place, there were
 no more than three hundred Burmese troops in the capital of
 Arracan; and they were intimidated by the extent of the dis-
 affection. They did not pursue the fugitives, who were enabled
 Letters
 demanding
 them.

CHAPTER
XVIII.

A.D. 1799.
Burmese
entrench
themselves
in Chitta-
gong.

to cross the Naaf. The oppressors were not disposed to lose their victims. They made vigorous exertions, and, collecting an army of about four thousand men, followed the emigrants into Chittagong, and fortified themselves in the dense woods of that province, by stockading their position: they maintained themselves for several weeks in an intrenched camp, carrying on a petty warfare with the British troops. The commander of the invaders addressed a letter to Mr. Stonehouse, the civil magistrate of Chittagong, in which he observed, "If you, regarding former amity, will deliver us up all the refugees, friendship and concord will continue. But, if you persist in keeping in your country the slaves of our king, the broad path of friendship and intercourse between the states must be blocked up. Our disagreement is only about the fugitives: we wrote to you to deliver them, and you have been offended. We again write to you, who are in the province of Chittagong on the part of the king of the Company, that we will take away the whole of the Arracanese; and further, in order to take them away, more troops are coming. If you will keep the Arracanese in your country, the cord of friendship will be broken."

To this demand Mr. Stonehouse replied, that no negotiations could be entertained so long as the Burmese troops remained within the British territories, and that the commander must abide by the consequences, should he disregard this admonition. The Burmese continued, however, to maintain their post, where they were successful in repelling an attack made upon them by a detachment of British sepoys, July 18th, 1799. Soon afterwards, they retired within their own frontiers; and Lieutenant Hill was deputed by the Supreme Government to the governor of Arracan, to effect an amicable settlement.

Such was the state of affairs when Captain Cox reached Ramoo, on the banks of the Naaf, and entered upon the performance of his duties. He reported, that since the orders of government had arrived for the admission of the Mughs, they necessarily, for the sake of subsistence, widely dispersed themselves; that some time would elapse before their numbers could be accurately ascertained, but that they were generally computed at from twenty-five to thirty thousand persons, of all ages and both sexes; and that, notwithstanding the relief extended to them by their countrymen, long settled in Chittagong, and by the native inhabitants who had hired several of them, the mortality continued to be very great, especially among the children, of whom not less than twenty perished daily.

The great
distress of
the Mughs.
July 18.

On the 18th of April, 1799, Captain Cox reported to the Governor-General that he had registered thirteen thousand of the emigrants, and that he had reason to believe that there were between forty and fifty thousand in the province, who would come forward as soon as he had ground enough for their subsistence. Before he left Chittagong, in the middle of the year, he settled ten thousand four hundred and sixty Mughs in the district. Their principal settlement was named after him, Cox's Bazaar.

CHAPTER
XVIII.

A.D. 1800.

Soon after the return of Captain Hill from his mission to Arracan, the Burmese monarch sent an envoy to Calcutta, who was received in a very friendly manner by the Marquis of Wellesley, then the Governor-General. The ambassador made very strong remonstrances respecting the encouragement which had been given to the emigrants. The Marquis of Wellesley replied, that the British government was willing to surrender any of the Mughs who could be found to have been guilty of crimes which might render them unworthy of protection; and that all emigrants, without distinction, who might be so disposed, should be at perfect liberty to return to their native country. A proclamation was issued at the same time, declaring that any subjects of the Burmese king, who might thereafter migrate, should not be received within the British territories.

A Burmese
Envoy
sent to
Calcutta.

Towards the close of the year 1800, the governor of Arracan peremptorily demanded the unconditional surrender of the Mughs, and addressed a letter to the magistrate at Chittagong, conveying threats of invasion if the requisition was not complied with. The Governor-General, in remarking on this communication, stated, that he would have considered himself justified in resorting to arms for the purpose of obtaining reparation for this insult, if he had not believed that the governor of Arracan had acted without the authority of his court. To ascertain this point, and to improve our commercial and political relations with the Burmese government, Lieutenant-Colonel Symes was sent as ambassador to Ava, the Burmah capital, in 1802; and, in the meantime, a considerable detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fenwick, was posted on the frontier of Chittagong.

A.D. 1802.

Colonel Symes received general assurances of the friendly disposition of the Burmese court, which he impressed with full confidence in the good faith and amicable views of the British government. Several years elapsed, during which the question of the emigrants lay dormant. When Captain Canning was at

An
Embassy
sent to
Ava.

CHAPTER
XVIII.

A.D. 1811.

The Mughs
make
inroads on
Arracan.

the Burmese court, in 1809, he ascertained that the king had long entertained the design of conquering the provinces of Chittagong and Dacca.

During the year 1811, the British government began to experience the evil consequences of establishing the Mugh refugees in a situation which afforded them a constant view of their native country, and was well calculated to keep alive the memory of their wrongs, and to inspire them with a desire to recover their ancient rights and former homes. Bold adventurers belonging to the colony of Mughs, settled in Chittagong, formed themselves into a band under the command of a chieftain named Khyen-Bran, and commenced predatory attacks on the exposed country of Arracan. The Burmese troops entrusted with the defence of that province, retaliated by incursions into the Company's territory; these acts of hostility were resented, and much recrimination took place between the officers on the British and Burmese frontiers.

A.D. 1813.

The
Burmese
Viceroy
encourages
plots in
India.

In 1813, a mission from the Burmese viceroy of Pegu reached Calcutta. The deputies were preceded by a person charged with a commission from the Burmese sovereign, professedly to purchase some of the sacred books of the Hindus at Benares. Although there was reason to suspect that this person had other designs, he was permitted to proceed; but, instead of purchasing books, he spent his time in intrigues of a character hostile to the British government. Another officer of the Burmese government solicited permission to visit Delhi, on the pretext of collecting manuscripts; but it was discovered that his real object was to form a confederacy among the native powers for the expulsion of the English from India. The Supreme government refused him permission to travel through the British provinces, and apprised the viceroy of Arracan that, on his furnishing a statement of the sacred writings and other articles required, they would be procured and transmitted, without his having the trouble of deputed agents. As this offer was not accepted, the insincerity of the pretext was rendered apparent.

The
Burmese
prepare
for war.

It appears from the despatches sent home from the government of Calcutta to the Court of Directors in England, that the attention of the Supreme Council during the year 1813, was frequently engaged by the rumours of active and extensive preparations being made by the Burmese government for the invasion of the British territories. It was stated that the King of Ava, as the Burmese monarch is called, had been ascertained to cherish plans for the conquest of the provinces of Chittagong

and Dacca; and that he suspected the British government of encouraging the repeated incursions of the fugitive Mughhs. On the other hand, there was reason to suspect that Khyen-Bran and his followers persevered in their predatory enterprizes, notwithstanding many severe defeats and failures, in the hope of precipitating a rupture between the British government and the court of Ava. They believed that the intolerable conceit of the Burmese would lead them to provoke a war, by committing acts which must be resented; and they entertained no doubt that in such a contest the British would be victorious. As a final consequence of the war, they anticipated the conquest of Arracan, and their restoration to their homes under a government of their own.

CHAPTER
XVIII.
A.D. 1813.

The death of Khyen-Bran, in 1815, and the efforts made to preserve the peace of the frontier, seemed to have averted the threatened war; it was therefore not without astonishment that a letter was received in April, 1816, from the Rajah of Ramree, Governor of the Burmese frontier provinces, written in a style of more than ordinary bombast, and containing a demand for the surrender of all the Mughh emigrants, with a very plain menace that a refusal to comply with this demand must produce immediate hostilities.

The
Rajah of
Ramree
sends
a bold
message.

"The English government," says this singular document, "does not try to preserve friendship. You seek for a state of affairs like fire and gunpowder. The Mughhs of Arracan are the slaves of the king of Ava. The English government has assisted the Mughhs of our four provinces, and has given them a residence. There will be a quarrel between us and you, like fire. Formerly the government of Arracan demanded the Mughhs from the British government, which promised to restore them, but at length did not do so. Again the Mughhs escaped from your hands, came and despoiled the four provinces, and went and received protection in your country. If at this time you do not restore them according to this demand, or make delays in doing so, the friendship now subsisting between us will be broken."

This letter was brought to Mr. Pechell, the magistrate at Chittagong, by the son of the Rajah of Ramree, who declared that the contents of the letter had been dictated by the king himself, and were therefore not open to discussion. On communicating with the Governor-General, Mr. Pechell was directed to answer the Rajah of Ramree in a firm and conciliatory manner, and at the same time a letter was sent to the viceroy at Pegu,

And
a letter.

CHAPTER
XVIII.

A.D. 1816.
The
Governor-
General
refuses to
give up the
refugees.

stating the reasons which induced the government to refuse the surrender of the Mughas.

In this letter the Governor-General stated "that the British government could not, without a violation of the principles of justice on which it invariably acts, deliver up a body of people who had sought its protection, and some of whom had resided within its territories for thirty years ; but that no restraint was imposed on the voluntary return of the people to their native country, although no authority would be exercised for the purpose of effecting their removal from the British territories : more especially, when there appeared to be less cause than ever for such a measure, the exertions of the British government having restored tranquillity: the death or captivity of Khyen-Bran and his principal associates, and the return of the Mughas in general to industrial pursuits, having rendered the renewal of disturbances a matter of great improbability." The viceroy was assured that the vigilance of the British officers would be continued, and that any persons who might engage in criminal enterprizes would be punished with the utmost severity. After the full explanation which had been made of the principles, views, and resolutions of the British government, the Governor-General expressed himself persuaded "that the enlightened mind of his Burmese majesty, would perceive the inutility of agitating a question, the further discussion of which could lead to no result advantageous to either state."

The
magistrate
of
Chittagong
threatens
to give up
the Mughas.

In 1817, the chief magistrate of Chittagong issued a proclamation, threatening the emigrants, that if their incursions into the Burmese territories were renewed, the perpetrators should be delivered over to the authorities of Arracan. Soon after the issuing of this proclamation, Charipo, one of the most daring leaders of the Mughas, committed a desperate robbery beyond the frontiers ; he was seized, with a number of his followers, and Mr. Pechell recommended that this incorrigible offender, with the most guilty of his associates, should be instantly delivered over to the Burmese government. The Marquis of Hastings was at this period absent from Calcutta ; but the matter was taken into consideration by the Vice-president and Council. The course recommended by Mr. Pechell was rejected as equally cruel and impolitic. Their reasons for dissenting from his recommendations were thus stated in a letter from the chief secretary of the Supreme Government to Mr. Pechell ; "that when the Vice-president in Council contemplated the barbarous punishments, which the Burmese might be expected to inflict on the wretches

The
Calcutta
govern-
ment
forbids
their being
surren-
dered.

delivered up to their vengeance, he felt that it would be repugnant to the merciful character of the British nation, to expose so many persons to the vindictive resentment of their enemies, exasperated, as they justly were, by repeated aggressions. In resolving to abstain from delivering up the prisoners, the Vice-president in Council was influenced by the consideration that it would probably constitute an encouragement to a repetition of demands, on the part of the Burmese authorities, for the surrender of fugitives, and form a precedent which on such occasions would create a considerable degree of embarrassment."

CHAPTER
XVIII.
A.D. 1820.

A judge of circuit was appointed to assist Mr. Pechell, in the trial of the offenders; but from the difficulty of obtaining the kind of evidence required by the Mohammedan law, Charipo and his party escaped conviction, though their guilt was their boast, and notorious to the whole country. Such a result naturally gave great dissatisfaction to the Burmese; and their determination to retaliate on the British provinces was loudly and frequently expressed.

In 1818 the son of the Rajah of Ramree arrived on a second mission at Chittagong; from whence, he informed Mr. Pechell, that he wished to proceed to Calcutta, in order that he might deliver to the Governor-General, a letter, which he declared that his father had written under the direct orders of the young King of Ava. An authenticated copy of this letter was communicated by the young Rajah to Mr. Pechell. The following is a summary of its contents: "The countries of Chittagong and Dacca, Moorshedabad and Cossimbazar, do not belong to India. Those countries are ours. The British government is faithless; this was not formerly the case. It is not your right to receive the revenues of these countries; it is proper that you should pay the revenues of these countries to us; if you do not pay it, we will destroy your country."

There can be no doubt that the Rajah of Ramree, from the very beginning of the Nepaulese war, had urged his sovereign to declare war against the British government, influenced probably by a knowledge of the intrigues and machinations against the Company's power, which were rife through the interior of India. It is probable that the Burmese monarch believed that the moment was favourable to his views, and that he had opened some secret negotiations with the Mahrattas. Before, however, the mission could reach its destination, the British arms had gained a decisive triumph over the Mahratta powers, and the Burmese troops had sustained a reverse in the contest with the Siamese.

Another
threat of
war by
the king of
Burmah.

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~~~~~  
A D. 1820.

Under these circumstances, the Marquis of Hastings resolved to treat the obnoxious communication as a forgery, or, at least, as an unauthorised proceeding on the part of the Rajah of Ramree. This course was probably not disagreeable to the Burmese monarch, when he found that the grounds on which he based his confidence had slipped from under his feet. "By this procedure," said his lordship, "I evaded the necessity of noticing an insolent step, foreseeing that his Burmese majesty would be thoroughly glad of the excuse to remain quiet, when he learned that his secret allies had been subdued."

No  
chance of  
settling the  
dispute.

From the day that the Mugh emigrants were permitted to colonise near the frontier, the natural passions and patriotic resentment of this tribe, the feelings of British humanity, and the principles of internal government established throughout the Company's dominions, came into violent collision with the arrogant pretensions, the offended pride, and the indignant jealousy of the Burmese government, which a long series of successes had rendered one of the haughtiest in Asia. When, in comparatively recent times, the exertions of the Lords Wardens of the English and Scottish Marches, even though they acted in concert, were insufficient to preserve peace on the borders, it could not be expected that the magistrate of Chittagong, who could obtain no co-operation from the impracticable Burmese authorities, should have been able to prevent the aggressions and retaliations which it was easy to foresee must soon terminate in war.

The  
Directors  
sanction  
the pro-  
ceedings  
of the  
Bengal  
govern-  
ment.

The Burmese would never have consented to the establishment of a joint court, for the trial of what our ancestors used to call "March-treason," or marauding crimes on the borders; and if they had consented, it is not easy to see how such a court could have been constituted. British and Burmese rules of justice are too decidedly opposed to admit of their being united in one administration. We have already quoted from the letter of the Supreme Council to Mr. Pechell, the strong objections which existed against surrendering real or suspected offenders for trial to the Burmese authorities. A similar view of the question had been taken by the authorities in England. So early as the 6th of January, 1815, the Court of Directors, in a letter to the Supreme government at Calcutta, observed, "We earnestly hope that you have not been driven to the necessity of delivering up Khyen-bran, because we observe that every Mugh who is suspected of being a partisan of Khyen-bran is put to death, and that a whole village, containing about two thousand five hundred souls, were massacred on this account, when neither men, women nor

children were spared. If, therefore, for the sake of avoiding hostilities with the king of Ava, you should have been compelled to the adoption of this measure, we trust that Khyen-Bran has been the single person surrendered, and that none of his infatuated followers have been included in such surrender. Should Khyen-Bran not have been delivered over to the Burmese government when you receive this letter, we should prefer his being kept in strict confinement, agreeably to the assurance given by the Governor-General to the viceroy of Pegu." And in another letter, dated in the May of the same year, after noticing, in terms of approbation, the proposal of uniting the Burmese troops with the British, in the pursuit of the marauding insurgents, the Court remarked, "We are pleased to observe, that the magistrate was cautioned to avoid using language which might be interpreted by the Rajah of Arracan into a promise, on the part of our government, to deliver the chiefs of the insurgents into the hands of the Burmese authorities, in the event of their surrendering themselves to the British troops."

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A.D. 1815.

The reasonable grounds which the Burmese had for discontent, received no aggravation during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings. No serious incursions of the Mugh emigrants into Arracan had taken place subsequent to the death of Khyen-Bran; nevertheless, the tone of the communications and the letters of the high officers of that state, became every day more insolent; and an evident desire, on the part of the British authorities, to avoid a rupture, seemed only to inflame their proneness to hostilities.

IV. The reader is now requested to turn his attention to the North-west of India, where Runjeet Sing, the founder of the kingdom of Lahore, who had rapidly risen into notoriety by his union of the Sikh tribes into an organized state, had established a compact monarchy in the Punjab, long a most distressed part of Asia. A sketch of this extraordinary man, and of the rise and progress of his power is required in order to understand the important events that follow.

The Sikhs of the Punjab have been mentioned as an extraordinary sect, driven by persecution to exchange a creed of patience and submission, for a religion of violence and the sword. When the power of the court of Delhi, so long paramount in Northern India, had fallen into decay, the landholders of the Punjab, driven to desperation by the extortions and cruelties of their viceroys, had recourse to plunder for the support of themselves and their families; and they adopted the Sikh

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A.D. 1770.  
The twelve  
Missuls.

religion, more military than that of the Hindus, as a bond of union amongst themselves, and a means of producing popular excitement against their oppressors. The disunion between the Mussulmans—the invasion of the Afghans—and the rebellions in every part of the Delhi empire, favoured the growth of their power. About the year 1770, not only the Punjab, but the country east of the Sutledge, as far as the Jumna, was subjected to twelve *missuls*, or associations of confederate Sikh chiefs, whose united forces amounted to about seventy thousand cavalry, or rather, as called in India, “irregular horse.” The smallest of these *missuls* was governed successively by the grandfather and father of Runjeet Sing, both of whom being men of valour and ability, possessed moral power which compensated for the weakness of their military force.

A.D. 1780.  
Runjeet  
Sing.  
His  
neglected  
youth.

Runjeet Sing was born 2nd of November, 1780, at a time when his father's influence was daily acquiring strength. Attacked by the small pox at a very early age, he was badly treated by the native physicians, and narrowly escaped death. He recovered with the loss of an eye, and with a countenance terribly disfigured. In his twelfth year he lost his father; his mother acted as regent, and preserved the minor's inheritance from the rapacity of his neighbours; but she designedly neglected the boy's education, to prevent him from becoming the rival of her power. He was never taught to read: ample means were supplied for gratifying every passion; and his early years were spent in the indulgences of debauchery, or in following the sports of the field. On attaining his seventeenth year, Runjeet assumed the reins of government; and one of his earliest acts was to sanction the assassination of his mother, whose profligacy had excited such universal indignation that her death was necessary to the stability of the throne.

His mother  
assassi-  
nated.

His  
successes.

Between the years 1795 and 1798, the Punjab, as already mentioned, was three times invaded by Shah Zeman, king of the Afghans; the Sikh chieftains fled before him, and he entered Lahore, the capital city, without opposition. But the expenses of retaining the country being greater than its advantages, and being threatened with an invasion from Persia, Shah Zeman returned home, leaving twelve of his guns in the bed of the Jhelum. Ere this, Runjeet had begun to carve out a kingdom for himself east of the Sutledge; but, hearing of the retreat of the Afghans, he hastened into the Punjab, which, he believed, would afford him more favourable opportunities for the exercise of his ambition. He recovered eight of the guns which the

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A.D. 1805.

Afghans had abandoned, and forwarded them to Shah Zeman ; the monarch was highly gratified with this mark of attention, and, in return, granted to the chieftain the investiture of the province of Lahore. The Mussulmans of the town readily yielded obedience to the mandates of the Afghan monarch ; they proffered their aid to Runjeet Sing, who, by their assistance, expelled the rival Sikh chieftains from the city. His efforts were now directed to forming the Sikhs into a united body, ready to assert their independence ; and, while under his guidance, they rapidly acquired a national organization, the Afghans were distracted by a series of sanguinary civil wars. After asserting his independence, and assuming, with the general consent of the Sikhs, a royal title, the Maharajah of Lahore resolved to seize all the Afghan provinces east of the Indus. Towards the close of 1805, their reduction was almost completed, when Runjeet was recalled to Lahore by intelligence of the approach of the Mahratta chieftain, Holkar, closely pursued by a British army under Lord Lake. Holkar hoped to secure the co-operation of the Sikhs, or, in case of failure, to continue his retreat into the Afghan dominions ; but, being baffled by the steadiness of Runjeet, he yielded to the difficulties of his situation, and concluded a peace with the British. Friendly messages passed between Runjeet and Lord Lake, but no regular treaty was formed.

After a lapse of two or three years, the efforts of the king of Lahore to add to his dominions the territories of the independent Sikh chieftains between the Sutledge and the Jumna, brought him into collision with the British government. Runjeet, however, unwilling to risk a war, agreed to limit his dominions to the eastward by the Sutledge, and the British undertook to protect the small States lying on the left bank of that river.

It was at that time that Runjeet learned to appreciate the power of the British government, and afterwards cautiously avoided everything which could give offence to the Company or its officers. The excellent discipline of the sepoys who accompanied the British envoy sent to conclude a treaty, attracted his notice ; he became anxious to have an army instructed in European tactics, and offered large rewards to the deserters that would enter his service. His success was rapid ; in a few months he formed several regular battalions. In 1810, he tried the effect of his new soldiers, by invading the province and besieging the city of Mooltan, but was forced to retire with loss. He was, however, more successful in reducing to obedience the

He learns  
how to  
approach  
the  
English.

A.D. 1810.

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A.D. 1812.

He receives  
Shah  
Soojah,  
and  
plunders  
him.

chieftains in the hills north of the Punjab. The civil wars of the Afghans still continued, and Runjeet took advantage of them to extend his dominions to the south and west.

In 1812, Runjeet celebrated the marriage of his son, then only ten years of age, and invited Colonel Ochterlony, the British Resident at Loodiana, to witness the festivities. The colonel being the official protector of the independent Sikh tribes on the east of the Sutledge, was treated with great courtesy, and his opinion sought respecting the discipline of the Sikh battalions, and the merit of the fortifications erected around Lahore. A revolution in Afghanistan compelled Shah Soojah to seek shelter in Lahore. Runjeet made the unfortunate exile a prisoner, and compelled him to surrender his jewels, including the celebrated *Koh-i-noor*, or "mountain of light." Shah Soojah, found means to escape into the British territories, where he and his blinded brother, Shah Zeman, were supported by pensions from the Company.

Futteh  
Khan  
the great  
Afghan  
minister.

As we shall have occasion to refer again to this period of Afghan history, it will be sufficient to state here, that the revolution was effected chiefly by the abilities and influence of Futteh Khan, who became the vizir of the successful candidate for the throne of Afghanistan. This celebrated minister applied to Runjeet for assistance in reducing the province of Cashmeer, the governors of which province had pretended to embrace the cause of the exiled monarch, but were, in reality, anxious to establish their own independence. On the other hand, the agents of Shah Soojah, at the court of Lahore, made large promises to engage Runjeet in supporting that monarch's restoration. The politic ruler of the Sikhs negotiated with both parties, and deceived both. While Futteh Khan was engaged in reducing the turbulent chieftains of Cashmeer, Runjeet bribed the governor of Attock to yield him that important fortress, by which he at once secured his own dominions, and opened for himself a passage to Peshawur, a small province west of the Indus. Futteh Khan returned hastily from the mountains, and attempted to recover a fortress which, ever since the time of Alexander the Great, has, when joined with Peshawur, been regarded as the key of India, but he was defeated with loss, and forced to retire beyond the Indus.

Runjeet  
takes  
Attock.

Cashmeer.

A.D. 1814.

Cashmeer now became a tempting object to the Sikhs. It was invaded in the beginning of the year 1814; but the Afghans were in possession of all the mountain passes, and the army of Lahore

was forced to make a very precipitate and ruinous retreat. The fatigues of this very difficult campaign, united to disease, produced by the malaria of Cashmeer, and an uninterrupted course of sensual indulgence, broke down the health of the Sikh monarch, and reduced him, for a time, to a state of inactivity. On his recovery in 1818, his army, which was disciplined by four officers of the Bonaparte school, Avitabile, Ventura, Court, and Allard, again took the field, and he subdued the province of Mooltan, which rounded and secured his southern frontier.

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A.D. 1818.

The close of that year was productive of events still more favourable to the growing ambition of the Maharajah of Lahore. In consequence of the murder of Futteh Khan, the able Afghan vizir, by the son of the monarch whom he had placed upon the throne, the numerous brothers of that minister dethroned Shah Mohammed, and parcelled out that kingdom into petty principalities, which they divided amongst themselves. Runjeet took advantage of their weakness and mutual jealousies; he crossed the Indus, and made himself master of Peshawur. In the following year he renewed his attack upon Cashmeer; and the Afghans, no longer supported by the abilities of Futteh Khan, fled over the mountains and abandoned this beautiful valley.

The British dominions were thus placed nearly in close contact with the frontiers of the Sikhs, the Chinese, and the Burmese nations, requiring great tact and delicacy of management, since in case of a war with any of them, insurrections of the discontented throughout the interior of India might be expected. On this account, and also because the empire possessed by the Company had already acquired an inconvenient extent, the Marquis of Hastings earnestly deprecated any war beyond the frontiers of India, which was not absolutely necessary to the maintenance of British supremacy within the Peninsula itself.

The  
extent  
of the  
British  
empire  
in India.

One of the most remarkable events in the brief administration of Mr. Adam, was the struggle in which he became involved with the newspapers of Calcutta. For some years previously, various efforts had been made to establish a free press in the Presidencies, but the Governors-General had invariably assumed the right of censorship, and sent the authors of obnoxious articles back to Europe. The *Calcutta Journal*, established by Mr. Buckingham, had on more than one occasion given offence by the freedom of its strictures, until at length Mr. Adam, provoked by some very trifling observations, banished Mr. Buckingham

Mr. Adam  
suppresses  
a news-  
paper.

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A.D. 1825. from India. This exertion of authority provoked much discussion; and, though it received the sanction of the Court of Directors, it was generally reprobated by the British nation, as an inordinate overstretch of power.

Mr. Adam died on his passage to England, on board the *Albion*, on the 4th of June, 1825. The ship arrived in September. On hearing of his death, the Directors unanimously expressed their sense of his distinguished services during thirty years.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

GOVERNMENT OF EARL AMHERST, 1823—1828.

*Review of the Recall of Lord Wm. Bentinck from Madras.—Appointment of Earl Amherst to be Governor-General.—Quiescent State of India.—The Burmese begin War.—They seize Shapoor.—They advance into Sylhet 226 miles from Calcutta.—They defeat Colonel Bowen, and are proud of Victory.—Great Alarm in Calcutta.—Great Ignorance prevails.—Various Plans proposed.—An Expedition ordered.—Rendezvous at Port Cornwallis.—Sir A. Campbell.—The Expedition takes Rangoon, May 11, 1824.—Difficulties.—The Burmese Mode of Fighting.—Kemmendine stormed.—Sykia Wongee defeated.—Kummeroot stormed.—Soomba Wongee defeated and killed.—An Expedition sent to Tenasserim.—That Climate good.—The King of Ava sends his Brothers to the Army.—The “Invulnerables” attack the English and are routed.—Colonel Smith’s Failure at Kyhloo.—Is heart-broken.—His Death.—Another Failure at Ramoo.—Alarm in Bengal.—Maha Bandoola commands a fresh Army.—His singular Approaches and Circumvallation at Rangoon.—His Attack with ingenious Fire-rafts.—He causes Rangoon to be set on Fire.—He is routed at Kokien.—Mutiny at Barrackpore, Oct. 31, 1824.—The Expedition moves up the Country.—The Carian Land-tillers are friendly.—Sarrawah occupied.—Mr. Gibson, a Native, found useful.—Donoobew approached.—Bandoola’s Night Attack.—Donoobew bombarded and evacuated.—Bandoola’s Death.—Promé taken.—Operations in Assam and Arracan.—The Burmese raise a new Army.—The English at Melloone.—The Shan’s fight desperately.—Women Warriors.—The Heights at Napadee stormed.—Fearful Slaughter.—The Cholera attacks the Army.—Burmese false Negotiations.—Fifteen Days’ Truce, Jan. 1, 1826.—Colonel Conroy defeated in Pegu and killed.—Hostilities renewed by the “Prince of Darkness,” who is defeated.—Treaty signed at Yandaboo, Feb. 24, 1826.—The Troops return.—They discover the strange People called Kieaans.—Sir T. Munro at Madras.—His Death is regretted.—Disturbances at Bhurtpore.—*

*Sir D. Ochterlony's Efforts neutralized.—His Resignation and Death.—Doorjun's Intrigues.—Siege of Bhurtpore.—The celebrated Fortress taken, Jan. 1826.—Disturbances at Kolapore.—They are settled.—Earl Amherst at Delhi.—The Titles of the Imperial Family extinguished.—English Independence declared.—Earl Amherst returns to England.—W. Butterworth Bayley Governor-General ad interim.*

CHAPTER  
XIX.

A.D. 1820.

It is necessary to explain the circumstances under which Lord Amherst became Governor-General of India. On the accession of George IV., the name of Queen Caroline was expunged from the Liturgy, and a bill of pains and penalties was introduced into the House of Lords, and a long investigation into her conduct took place. Mr. Canning, although one of the ministry, separated himself from his colleagues by withdrawing from England. When the bill against the Queen was abandoned, Mr. Canning resigned his office as President of the Board of Control, and in March 1820, he was unanimously chosen Governor-General of India, by the Court of Directors. The suicide of the Marquis of Londonderry, having opened for him a brilliant career in Europe, he resigned the Indian appointment, and became Secretary of State for Foreign affairs. Two candidates for the government of India were then offered, Earl Amherst and Lord William Bentinck. The claims of the latter arose from circumstances, which require us to go a little back in this history. Lord William Bentinck, when Governor of Madras, introduced a variety of economic and salutary reforms, which were acceptable to the Court of Directors. By some inadvertence, a regulation was introduced respecting the sepoy uniform, which, as previously stated, offended the prejudices of the native soldiers, who forthwith broke out into mutiny, at Vellore, and massacred a European detachment. The mutiny was promptly suppressed; but the greatest alarm prevailed, and considerable discussion arose respecting the course of conduct which ought to be pursued towards the prisoners, whose numbers exceeded six hundred. The military officers were disposed to have them shot in detachments, as soon as found guilty, in front of the several divisions of the Madras army. This wholesale butchery was reprobated by the Council; but they proposed the (to the sepoys) harsher measure, of transporting all the mutineers to a penal settlement. Lord William Bentinck zealously advocated measures of leniency, though many around declared he was perilling the safety of the Presidency, by the dangerous example of extending mercy to mutineers. The wise

A.D. 1806.

and benevolent measures of Lord William Bentinck were, however, adopted to some extent; but before their efficacy was decisively established, a strange event caused him to be recalled from his government.

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A.D. 1806.

The commanding officer at Palamcottah, Major J. Welsh, seized by an inexplicable panic, decided on disarming his whole garrison, separating the Mussulmans from the Hindus, putting guns into the hands of the latter, and expelling the former from the fort. He then sent expresses to the commanding officer at Travancore, and to General Maitland, Governor of Ceylon, requesting European aid with all possible promptitude, as he had detected a desperate conspiracy among the troops along the coast. General Maitland promptly despatched the required aid, and also sent an account of the affair direct to England, without making any communication to the government of Madras. When the reports of the Palamcottah affair came to be investigated, the alleged plot proved to be a mere phantom of the imagination. The arms were restored to the Mohammedan troops, who returned to their duties, without showing the least symptom of disaffection. The panic wore away; the sepoy forgot their fears of an attack upon their religion; and the European officers were no longer in apprehension for the safety of their lives, and ventured to sleep without pistols under their pillows. At this critical moment Lord Minto, as has been already mentioned, reached Madras, on his way to Bengal as Governor-General. His lordship gave his sanction to the lenient course of policy, and agreed with Lord William Bentinck in setting the prisoners gradually at liberty.

General Maitland's despatch arrived in England shortly after the Directors had received accounts of the mutiny at Vellore, with the usual proportion of misrepresentation and exaggerations. The testimony of the Governor of Ceylon seemed decisive, and a vote was hastily passed for the recall of Lord William Bentinck, which implied the harshest censure. It had been usual to allow the superseded Governor the possession of his office until the arrival of his successor, or until he could meet with an opportunity of returning to England; but his lordship's functions were ordered to cease immediately on the arrival of the despatches. No measure was taken to enable his lordship to return home; and, but for the voluntary kindness of Sir Edward Pellew, he would have been obliged to remain, stripped of authority, till the departure of the homeward-bound fleet.

The Court of Directors, in July, 1809, expressed their wishes

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A.D. 1823.

to employ Lord William Bentinck as he deserved, and between 1807 and 1822 his lordship acquired a well-earned reputation by military and diplomatic services in various parts of Europe. The Court of Directors then learned to appreciate his policy in Madras, and lamented their own precipitancy. He had strong claims on the considerations of the Company; he had rendered them good and faithful service, and had been unceremoniously dismissed. However, Earl Amherst was supported by ministerial influence, and on him the appointment was first conferred.

August.

Lord Amherst had been ambassador to China in 1815, and knew something of the East. He found India in a state of tranquillity; it had recently suffered from the cholera, and a famine had produced much evil in the presidency of Madras, but the country acquiesced in the establishment of British supremacy, and in the measures which the Marquis of Hastings had adopted for settling the conquered provinces. The Mahrattas were tranquil, the Pindarrees had disappeared, and the services of the troops were only required occasionally to pursue some bands of men who found it difficult to abandon their old military and predatory habits, or to check refractory Zemindars, discontented with the regularity and punctuality introduced into the financial administration. This calm was suddenly interrupted by the breaking out of the Burmese hostilities.

State  
of the  
country.The  
Burmese  
begin war.Seize  
Shaporee.Other  
hostilities.

War was commenced by the Burmese; their chiefs made a night attack on the island of Shaporee, at the entrance of the Tek-Nauf, or arm of the sea which divides a part of the province of Chittagong from Arracan. It had been customary to keep a small guard on this islet, for the purpose of checking any predatory expedition of the Mughls. An attack from the Burmese was not anticipated; the sepoy were defeated, several lives were lost, and the Burmese took formal possession. When an explanation was demanded from the governor of Arracan, he vauntingly declared, that, unless the right of the court of Ava to Shaporee was admitted, his sovereign would invade the British territories. In a short time the commanding officer and some of the crew of the Company's cruiser, *Sophia*, were detained by the Burmese, and carried into captivity; they were ultimately released, but no explanation or apology was offered. Hostile acts were committed at the same time by the Burmese governors on the frontiers of Assam and Munnipore; they drove off many elephant-hunters, and plundered several villages. The local authorities, finding their remonstrances disregarded, drew together some companies of infantry to repel the invaders by

force ; but the sepoys, being scattered over a wide surface, were out-numbered and severely handled by the invaders. The Burmese advanced into the province of Sylhet, and took up a position within five miles of its capital, and only two hundred and twenty-six from Calcutta. Here they were attacked by Colonel Bowen with an inadequate force ; the British were repulsed, with the loss of five officers and a hundred men. This success emboldened the Burmese ; they called upon the Rajah of Jynteea to withdraw his allegiance from the Company, and acknowledge himself a subject of the king of Ava.

CHAPTER  
XIX.A.D. 1824.  
Jan. 17.  
Within  
226 miles  
of  
Calcutta.

Great alarm was excited in Calcutta ; the Governor-General issued a manifesto, by which the Burmese were declared to be enemies ; and British subjects, both European and native, were prohibited from holding intercourse with them.

Want of information and alarm prevailed at Calcutta regarding the Burmese country. Nothing was known of the geographical aspect of the land, its military resources, its capability of furnishing provisions, or the nature and amount of its population. The Supreme Government wavered for some time in determining whether it would be preferable to commence the war by land or by sea. It was proposed to march into Ava through Arracan, while a subsidiary force was to proceed from Cachar ; but, on enquiry, it appeared probable that Arracan would be found unhealthy.

Alarm and  
ignorance  
prevail.

A second plan for the campaign was hastily adopted, that an army, composed of detachments from the Bengal and Madras presidencies, should proceed under convoy of a squadron, and take Rangoon, the chief sea-port of the Burmese empire, at the mouth of the Irrawaddy river. It was supposed that the seizure of this great emporium would daunt the king of Ava, and induce him to offer peace ; but, in case of his refusal, it was intended to make Rangoon a depot for ammunition and military stores, to seize the boats and to ascend to the capital, six hundred miles up the river ; a second army being prepared to co-operate by an overland march upon Amerapoora.

Plans  
for the  
campaign.

Port Cornwallis, in the Andaman Islands, was chosen as the place of rendezvous, and thither the Bengal division was transported in the month of April. It was principally composed of royal troops, for the Bengal sepoys have a religious aversion to voyages on the sea, which, fortunately, is not shared by the native army of Madras. While detained in Port Cornwallis, the British officers made vain attempts to open an intercourse with the few inhabitants of this island. The Andamanners are

Rendez-  
vous at  
Port Corn-  
wallis.

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A.D. 1824.

Expedition  
of 11,000  
men.

savages in the fullest sense; they shun the approach of civilized man; and if at any time they are discovered in the jungle, which reaches to the margin of the sea, evince the hostile feelings with which they regard a stranger's visit.

In May the Madras troops arrived, in number about eleven thousand men; they were in the highest state of discipline and efficiency. The united forces, half being Europeans, were placed under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, an officer who had served with distinction in the Spanish campaigns. Commodore Grant commanded the naval armament, which consisted of the royal ships *Liffey* and *Larne*, several of the Company's cruisers, and a steam-vessel called the *Diana*. A small force was detached under Brigadier-General M'Creagh, to take the island of Cheduba, on the Arracan coast, and another detachment was sent against Nigraia, at the entrance of the Irrawaddy; both were successful, but the last-named island was not worth retaining.

Reaches  
Rangoon.

On the 10th of May the squadron and transports anchored within the bar of the Rangoon river; the Burmese authorities were thrown into consternation. Beacons were kindled at the *Chokies*, or guard and custom-houses at the mouth of the river, which were repeated during the night by signal fires from every prominence.

The town  
occupied.

The fleet sailed up the river on the morning of the 11th, with a fair wind, the *Liffey* leading the way. Some harmless shots were fired from the *Chokies* or guard-houses. At noon the *Liffey* anchored close to the principal battery, the other vessels and transports taking their stations successively in her rear. The Burmese seemed daunted, and the British officers hoped that the proclamations, which had been sent on shore the preceding day, would induce the people of the town to make an offer of capitulation. The Burmese opened a feeble fire. The *Liffey* replied with a cannonade which silenced every gun on shore; the enemy fled in confusion, and the troops took possession of the deserted town.

When the intelligence of the appearance of the British on the coast had reached Rangoon, the governor directed the inhabitants to be assembled, and to be driven in a mass into the jungle. The men are in such cases regimented into divisions, and their families guarded, in order that the women and children be hostages for the conduct of their fathers, brothers, and husbands.

The pity and regret which the invaders felt for the citizens of Rangoon, expelled from their homes during the inclement rainy

season which was approaching, soon gave way to anxiety for themselves. They were deserted by the people of the country, from whom they could expect supplies ; they were unprovided with the means of moving either by land or water, and no prospect remained but that of a long residence in the hovels of Rangoon, and trusting to the transports for provisions.

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There were no stores, and nothing was found in the neighbourhood beyond some *paddy*, or rice in the husk ; the careful policy of the Burmese authorities had removed far beyond reach everything that was likely to be useful to an invading army. Great anxiety was felt for the fate of the few British merchants and American missionaries residing in Rangoon ; they had disappeared, and it appeared probable that they had been sacrificed. It was found that all the foreigners in Rangoon were seized, chained, and confined in the king's *Godown*, or custom-house. They were repeatedly brought up for examination to the hall of justice ; but, ignorant of the intentions of the British government, they were incapable of giving any information. They were accused not only of having been aware of the invasion, but also of having concerted measures for the attack. They pleaded their innocence, representing the improbability of their remaining in the country if they had known that war was at hand. The excuses were disregarded ; the Burmese chiefs declared that they should be put to death, and sent them back to the custom-house to undergo the sentence. The guards in their prison took pleasure in sharpening the instruments of execution before their eyes, in strewing sand, and in making preparations for the work of death. At length a thirty-two pound shot struck the *Godown*, where the authorities were assembled, and broke up their meeting. The chiefs marched with the prisoners into the country. The advance of British troops, sent to reconnoitre, alarmed the Burmese escort ; the prisoners were left in a house, where they were found and liberated.

The  
foreigners  
at Rangoon.

Are saved.

Sir Archibald Campbell's first operation was to take possession of the Shwe-da-gon, or Golden-Dagon Pagoda, about two miles and-a-half from Rangoon.

The policy of the Burmese was to blockade the invaders, and to avoid a pitched battle ; their troops formed a cordon round the British cantonments.

This plan of defence baffled the calculations of the English commander ; he had hoped that the occupation of Rangoon would induce the court of Ava to accede to the demands of the Governor-General. If the Burmese persevered, he had been taught

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The  
Burmese  
proceed-  
ings.

to hope that the people of Pegu would embrace the opportunity of asserting their independence. It was forgotten that from the despotism of the court of Ava, the Peguers looked upon their masters as irresistible, and that a European force could inspire little confidence into serfs who had witnessed the unchecked conquests of the Burmese for half a century. From the constitution of Burmese society, the boatmen of the Irrawaddy are closely attached to the crown, and immediately dependent on royal authority. Every town on the river, according to its size, is obliged to furnish a gilt or common war-boat, and to man and keep it in constant readiness, so that two or three hundred, carrying from forty to fifty men each, could be mustered at a moment's notice. As the boatmen live chiefly by rapine, and are in constant hostility with the people, they are audacious, and prompt to execute any orders. On this occasion, they proved their devotion by removing every boat. Such was the hazardous condition of the British troops at the commencement of the rainy season, during which no troops could keep the field for twenty-four hours continuously.

The province of Rangoon, or, as it is called by the natives, Henzawaddy, is a delta formed by the mouths of the Irrawaddy, and, with the exception of some considerable plains, or rice-ground, is covered by a thick jungle, intersected by numerous creeks and rivers. Roads are wholly unknown. Footpaths lead through the woods, but require great toil and labour to render them applicable to military purposes; they are impassable during the rains, and are only known to the Carian tribes, who cultivate the land, and are exempt from military service, as the slaves of the soil, living in wretched hamlets by themselves, heavily taxed and oppressed.

Stockades.

The Burmese, in their mode of warfare, rarely meet their enemies in the field. Trained from their youth, in the formation of stockades, they display in them great judgment. Every attempt of the neighbouring nations, to check their victorious career, had failed; and the Burmese had subdued and incorporated into their overgrown empire, all the petty states by which it was surrounded, and stood confessedly feared and respected even by the Chinese.

The court of Ava had never imagined that the British forces would invade their frontiers, and still less that operations would commence on the shores of Pegu and Tenasserim. On the contrary, they had begun arrangements for invading Chittagong from the frontiers of Arracan, and had spread reports that an

army of thirty thousand men would invade Bengal, and march direct on to Calcutta. But, when the intelligence of the invasion arrived, no time was lost in making vigorous preparations. Every village within three hundred miles of the seat of war, sent in its contingent of armed men; the Irrawaddy was covered with fleets of warriors hastening to join the general rendezvous of the grand army of Henzawaddy.

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About the end of May the Burmese became daring as their forces increased; they approached the British position, and commenced stockading within hearing of the advanced posts. On the 28th, the Burmese having stockaded an advanced copse within a short distance of the piquets, the British commander led out a reconnoitring party, as it had been reported that the governor of the Shwe-da-gon was stationed there for the purpose of harassing the English outposts, and for preventing the inhabitants of Rangoon from returning to their homes.

As the reconnoitring party wound its way through a broken track, unfinished breastworks and stockades proved that this movement had not been anticipated. As the soldiers emerged from the jungle, a violent storm of rain burst, and obliged them to leave their field-pieces. On approaching some villages they were found protected by two stockades. The rain had so wetted the muskets, that the British troops could not return the fire of the enemy; three companies rushing forward forced their way into the interior, and as the Burmese would neither give nor take quarter, a fearful butchery ensued. The Burmese general made no movement to assist the stockaders until the English were in the work; his whole line then moved forward with horrid yells, but, daunted by the firm front of the British soldiers, they retired.

Though successful in this affair, and in a previous reconnoissance up the river, the English had learned to respect the Burmese, who generally allowed themselves to be cut down at their posts rather than flee. It was remarked, that at Kemmendine a female warrior had exhibited extraordinary courage; she was the young wife of the governor of Rangoon, and was found expiring of an agonizing wound, the torture of which she endured with exemplary fortitude.

A female  
warrior.

The Burmese had recourse to their favourite system of intrigue and cunning, hoping to lull the invaders into inactivity by professions of friendship, while they completed the fortifications of their own entrenchments. Sir Archibald Campbell saw through their professions, and did not relax in his arrangements

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Kemmen-  
dine  
stormed.

for an attack upon Kemmendine, an important position, situated on the river three miles above Rangoon,—a war-boat station, and inhabited by the king's war-boat men. The ground behind the village is elevated, and it is surrounded by a thick forest. Arrangements were made for attacking this post on the morning of June 9, when it was announced that two men of rank, desirous of conferring with the English general, requested passports. Leave was granted, and two war-boats made their appearance, from which the deputies landed, and proceeded to the house where the British commissioners were waiting. The two chiefs assumed, at their entrance, all the familiarity of old friends; they asked that a delay of a few days might be granted, but the motives of this request were too obvious, and it was refused.

June 10.  
Advance to  
Kemmen-  
dine.

At two o'clock on the morning of June 10, the British army advanced towards Kemmendine by a road which lay parallel to the river. About nine, the advancing column found its progress checked by a stockade, protected on three sides by the jungle, and the visible part being fourteen feet high. Two eighteen pounders opened a great gap in its outward defences. The troops soon obtained complete possession; the enemy retreated leaving two hundred men dead. At the rear gate of the fort the gilt chattah (umbrella), sword, and spear of the Burmese commander were seen, the chattah much shattered by a shower of grape, and the body of the chief was found. He was recognized as the elder deputy of the day before.

At five in the evening the British force came in front of the great Kemmendine stockade. On reconnoitring the works, General Campbell found them much stronger than he had anticipated. A bombardment was ordered for the following morning, and the troops took up their position within a hundred yards of the stockade waiting for the attack. The rain poured down in torrents, but the English were too much on the alert to be conscious of their uncomfortable situation. The shouts of the Burmese had a curious effect, which was heightened by the wild scenery of the gloomy forest; first a low murmur, rising gradually in tone, and followed by the wild huzza of thousands; then all was silence, save now and then a straggling shot or challenge from their own sentries, and soon afterwards another peal of voices would resound through the trees; towards morning the yells became fainter, and at daybreak they ceased. At dawn the mortar batteries opened, and, after a short bombardment, the columns of attack moved forward; but they arrived to witness the last of the Burmese retreating with rapidity. The effect of

shells in a crowded stockade was terrific to persons unused to these implements of war.

Their defeat at Kemmendine produced no desire for peace in the court of Ava, nor did a single native inhabitant return to his home. The chiefs, confident in the ultimate success of their plans, pursued their desolating system. Towards the end of June the Burmese recovered from their panic; intelligence was received that Sykia Woongee, third minister of state, had received orders to drive the English into the sea. About mid-day on the 1st of July the attempt was made, large bodies of the enemy issuing from the jungle to the right and left of the great Da-gon Pagoda. Two field-pieces, with grape and shrapnel, checked their advance, while the 43rd regiment of Madras Native Infantry, advancing to the charge, compelled them to flee. The Sykia Woongee, having failed, gave orders for a retreat. When the news reached Ava, he was recalled in disgrace, and the command was conferred upon Soomba Woongee, the second minister.

The war had lingered, and the English troops suffered severely from the want of vegetables and fresh meat. The Burmese were found to be expert thieves, as a plundering incident in the Great Pagoda testifies:—The soldiers, for several nights, had missed arms, although a sentry paced before the door, and they slept with their firelocks by their sides. Extra sentries were posted. On a sudden, the alarm being given, the officer on duty, who was reposing in one of the little temples, ran to the door, and inquired what had occurred; but hearing that no traces existed of the depredators, he turned to lie down again, and, to his astonishment, found that his bed had vanished! A light was in the room, and a servant sleeping near it, yet the thieves had ransacked every basket, and escaped with the contents. The robbers were Burman soldiers, belonging to the camp at Kummeroot.

Kummeroot, where the new Burmese commander had stockaded his army, was within five miles of the Da-gon Pagoda. A commanding point on the river above Kemmendine was fortified; and the Burmese chief not only obstructed the navigation of the river, but obtained an excellent position for the construction of fire-rafts. Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to attack both positions simultaneously. He led the column designed to assail the position on the river, while General M'Bean led the division against Kummeroot. The position above Kemmendine was found well provided with artillery. A naval force was sent to clear the way, under the command of Captain Marryat. The Burmese

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Sykia  
Woongee  
third  
minister  
of state  
defeated,  
July 1.

Kumme-  
root  
stormed.  
July 8.

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Soomba  
Woongee  
defeated  
and killed.

guns were silenced by the fire of the shipping, and a signal having announced that the breach was practicable, the storming party pushed across the river in boats, and carried the stockade; numbers of the Burmese were killed, and many drowned.

On approaching Kummeroot, General M'Bean found himself surrounded with stockades, occupied by vast numbers. Unprovided with guns, he assaulted the principal works, which consisted of three stockades, one within the other; the last being the head-quarters of Soomba Woongee. The Burmese commander-in-chief was sitting down to his forenoon repast, when the approach of the British troops was announced; he directed his chiefs to drive the audacious strangers away. When the nearer approach of the rapid volleys of musketry shewed that the assailants had forced his outer line of defence, he hastened to place himself at the head of his men, whom he found crowded into the centre stockade, a confused mass, on which the fire of the British did fearful execution. At length Soomba Woongee himself fell; and the Burmese fled, leaving eight hundred men on the field, while the jungle and the surrounding villages were crowded with wounded.

An expedition sent  
against  
Tenasserim.

The capture of ten stockades, protected by thirty pieces of artillery, disheartened the Burmese; but General Campbell was unable to advance a single day's march into the country. An expedition was then sent against the maritime province of Tenasserim. Its principal cities were reduced with little difficulty; and, in addition to obtaining possession of several excellent harbours, it was found that the climate of Tenasserim was so salubrious, that the Europeans who had been prostrated by the pestilential climate of Rangoon, rapidly recovered their health.

Its climate  
good.The king  
sends his  
brothers.

Towards the end of July, the king of Ava, sorely perplexed by the continued success of the British troops over his innumerable hordes, sent two of his brothers to superintend the war, accompanied by astrologers, to point out the moment most favourable to their plans, and by a detachment of the king's "Invulnerables." These warriors were distinguished by the short cut of their hair, and by the manner in which they were tattooed, having the figures of elephants, of tigers, and of other ferocious animals marked upon their arms and legs; they had gold, silver, and sometimes precious stones, inserted in their arms. One or two of these heroes generally exhibited the war-dance of defiance upon the most exposed part of the defences, infusing courage and enthusiasm into their comrades, and affording much amusement

The  
"Invulnerables."

ment to the assailants. The infatuated wretches, under the excitement of opium, frequently continued the ludicrous exhibition until they fell.

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The Burmese princes were warned to wait for the first lucky moon ; and, as this was not very near, Sir Archibald Campbell, who had received information of their arrangements, attacked some strong posts on the rivers, by which fishermen and others were prevented from bringing provisions to Rangoon. Syriam, the ancient capital of Pegu, and a fort, originally erected by the Portuguese, was taken by a party sent in boats ; and the Burmese were driven from the fort, leaving behind them eight pieces of cannon and a considerable quantity of ammunition. From the fort the English proceeded to the Pagoda, which was easily captured. Among the plunder was found an edict, issued by the prince of Sarrawaddy.

At length, information was received that the astrologers had fixed a time for the attack on the British position, at midnight of the 30th of August. The "Invulnerables" rushed boldly up the road leading to the Pagoda, shouting out threats and imprecations against the impious strangers whose presence defiled that sacred place. The English remained quiet, until the multitude approached the gateway ; then heavy discharges of grape, followed by volleys of musketry, did fearful execution. In a short time the "Invulnerables" lost courage and fled. An incident, in another part of the line, deserves a passing notice :—A piquet of one hundred sepoy was attacked, and, while the men were drawn up to receive the Burmese in front, some of these latter crept to the rear, and entered the house which the piquet occupied, from whence they carried off the sepoy's knapsacks !

Attack  
on the  
English,  
Aug. 31.

General Campbell resolved to drive the Burmese from the vicinity of Rangoon. For this purpose Major Evans was sent with three hundred men, to ascend the Lyne river, while Colonel Smith, with the light division, consisting of sepoy, made an advance on the road to Pegu. After clearing several stockades, Colonel Smith learned that a large division of the enemy, with some cavalry, elephants and guns, had established themselves in a pagoda at Kykloo ; he therefore sent to General Campbell for a European reinforcement. This request was refused, with something like an imputation on the motives by which it was dictated. The colonel, thus taunted, resolved to hazard an assault. The officers displayed great courage and conduct ; but it was impossible to induce the sepoy to advance against the Burmese, whose physical strength is greater than that of other

Colonel  
Smith  
fails at  
Kykloo,  
Oct. 7.

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Maha  
Bandoola  
in Arrac-  
can.Takes  
Ramoo,  
May 17.Alarm in  
Bengal.Bandoola  
sent to  
Rangoon.Appearance  
of his  
troops.

Asiatics. The signal for retreat was given, after a severe loss. This unhappy result was made the subject of injurious comment. Although Colonel Smith exonerated himself in the minds of fair and honourable men, yet the circumstance weighed so heavily on him, that he gradually sunk into an early grave.

Arracan, where the Burmese had begun to make preparations for invading Bengal, now demands our attention. Maha Bandoola, their leader, advanced with a strong corps to Ramoo. A small British detachment, under Captain Noton, left to defend that post, was, after a gallant resistance, overwhelmed by numbers. On hearing of this disaster, the commanding officer, who was marching to the relief of Ramoo, retired on Chittagong. Before Bandoola could prepare for any fresh enterprise, he was recalled to the defence of his own country.

This trifling affair excited extraordinary alarm throughout Bengal; the peasants on the frontiers fled from the fields; reports were circulated that the Burmese were invincible, and the native merchants of Calcutta were with difficulty dissuaded from removing their families and property. It subsequently appeared that these alarms, and the mutiny at Barrackpore, were in some degree excited by the Peishwa and the other Mahratta chiefs at Benares.

At the end of the rainy season, the British in Rangoon began to entertain favourable views of their situation. A great improvement in the health of the troops was manifest at the beginning of November, and the promise of an early movement in advance had its influence even upon the sick. Five hundred Mugh boatmen, from Chittagong, were busily employed in preparing boats for river service, and a reinforcement had arrived, consisting of two British regiments, some battalions of native infantry, a squadron of cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, and a rocket-corps. Transports with draught-cattle were beginning to arrive, and the men were preparing for a march, when their attention was directed to the approach of Maha Bandoola and his army.

Bandoola was the best general in the Burmese service, and his army the most formidable that the court of Ava had ever sent into the field. Notice of his approach was fortunately obtained by an intercepted letter from the new general to the ex-governor of Martaban, in which he notified having left Prome at the head of an invincible army, with horses and elephants, and warlike stores, for the purpose of expelling the English from Rangoon. On the 30th of November the Burmese army assembled in the

extensive forest in front of the Shwe-Da-gon Pagoda ; their lines, extending from the river above Kemmendine in a semicircular direction, towards the village of Puzendoon. A distant hum of voices was heard from this multitude, as if they had established themselves for the night ; but darkness scarce set in when it ceased, and there was heard in its room a sound as of heavy columns marching, which drew onwards till it seemed to approach to the edge of the jungle. The utmost watchfulness prevailed within the Golden Pagoda, where both officers and men anticipated a furious assault. The day broke and the enemy continued still, under cover of the forest, watching the manœuvres of the English.

On the 1st of December the attack commenced with a heavy fire of musketry at Kemmendine. At the great Pagoda, nearly two miles distant, the yells and shouts of the infuriated assailants could be heard occasionally, returned by the hearty cheer of the British seamen, as they poured in their heavy broadsides.

Six different divisions of the Burmese were discovered in the course of the forenoon, marching across the plain of the Dalla river. As they advanced towards Rangoon, the appearance of the chiefs on horseback, with their gilt chattahs or umbrellas glittering in the sun, produced an imposing effect. Later in the day, dense columns issued from the forest, about a mile in front of the east face of the great Pagoda, their lines being decorated with an extraordinary profusion of flags and banners. The divisions took up their position on the crest of a woody ridge in front of the Pagoda, resting on the river at Puzendoon, which was occupied by cavalry and infantry. They were the left wing of the Burmese army. The centre, or the continuation of the line from the great Pagoda up to Kemmendine, was posted in a forest. In the course of a few hours, the British found themselves surrounded, with the narrow channel of the Rangoon river alone unoccupied in the rear, and with only the space within their lines. The line of circumvallation taken up by the enemy extended for some distance, and, divided as it was by the river, weakened his means of assailing any particular point ; but the celerity, order, and regularity in which the different corps took up their stations in the line, reflected credit on the Burmese commander.

His army  
surrounds  
the British.

When this singular formation was completed, the soldiers of the left columns, laying aside their spears and muskets, commenced operations with entrenching tools, and with such good will, that, in the course of a couple of hours, their line wholly

His  
singular  
approaches.

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disappeared, and could only be traced by a parapet of new earth, gradually increasing in height. The moving masses which had attracted attention, had sunk into the ground ; and by any one who had not witnessed the scene, the existence of the subterranean legions would not have been credited : the occasional movement of a chief, with his gilt chattah, superintending their progress, was the only thing that at last 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 enemy ; but to those who had watched the whole proceeding, it seemed the work of enchantment.

Major  
Sale makes  
a sortie,  
Dec. 1.

In the afternoon, an English detachment, under Major Sale, made a sortie. The Burmese were taken in flank, and driven from their cover with considerable loss, and a great quantity of their arms and tools were destroyed before they could muster their forces. New information respecting the Burmese mode of warfare, and the manner in which they push forward their approaches was obtained. Their 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 trenches, could only kill two men at the most. As it was not the Burmese system to relieve their troops in making these approaches, each hole contained a supply of rice, water, and even fuel ; 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 the trench is completed, its occupiers, taking advantage of the night, pushed forward to where the second line is to be opened, their place being immediately taken up by fresh troops from the rear, and so on progressively, the number of trenches occupied varying according to the force of the besiegers, the plans of the general, and the nature of the ground.

The  
Burmese  
attack  
Kemmen-  
dine.

In the evening, the Burmese returned to their trenches and recommenced their labours. Soon after sunset a fierce attack was made upon the post of Kemmendine, while on a sudden, the heaven and the whole surrounding country, became brilliantly illuminated by the flames of several tremendous fire-rafts, which had been set to float down the river for the purpose of destroying the shipping in Rangoon ; and these were followed by war-boats, ready to take advantage of any confusion which might ensue should any of the vessels be fired. The skill and intrepidity of the British seamen averted the danger ; entering their boats, they grappled with the fire-rafts, and ran them ashore

Their  
fire-rafts.

upon the banks of the river, where they were harmlessly consumed. The attack upon Kemmendine was repulsed, with heavy loss to the assailants.

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The fire-rafts, upon examination, were found to be made wholly of bamboos firmly wrought together, between every two or three rows of which a line of earthen jars, filled with petroleum or earth-oil, and cotton, was secured. Other inflammable ingredients were also distributed in different parts of the raft, and the flames proceeding from them were almost unextinguishable. Many of the rafts were upwards of a hundred feet in length, and divided into pieces, attached to each other by long hinges, so arranged that when they caught upon the cable or bow of a ship, the force of the current would carry the ends of the raft round her, and envelop her in flames. From Kemmendine these rafts could be launched with a certainty of reaching the shipping, and hence arose Maha Bandoola's anxiety to become master of that post.

For three or four days, Sir Archibald Campbell allowed the Burmese to push their approaches until they had come within half musket-shot of the British lines. When the enemy had brought their munitions and stores into their entrenchments, a decisive attack was ordered. Two columns were mustered, under the command of Majors Sale and Walker, while a flotilla of armed boats, under the direction of Captain Chads, proceeded up the Puzendoon creek, and opened a heavy fire on the rear of the enemy's entrenchments. On the morning of the 5th, the columns advanced; that commanded by Major Walker encountered a spirited resistance, and lost its leader; but the troops pressed forward, and drove the Burmese from trench to trench at the point of the bayonet. Major Sale's column forced the centre with great ease, and the British columns uniting, drove the Burmese from every part of the works, leaving their guns, entrenching tools, and a vast quantity of small arms.

They make  
nearer  
approaches.

Dec. 5.

Notwithstanding his failures and defeats, Bandoola persevered, and his troops laboured with unabated zeal in making their approaches. On the morning of the 7th, four columns of attack emerged from the British lines, and, after sustaining a heavy fire, forced their way into the trenches; the Burmese were driven from their numerous works, curiously shaped and strengthened by strange contrivances, into the forest. In the evening, a British detachment, from Rangoon, took the enemy's position at Dalla, which had hitherto enabled them to keep Kemmendine in a state of siege. The Burmese were driven from their entire

The  
British  
drive them  
away.

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Bandoola  
causes fire  
to be set to  
Rangoon.Bandoola  
defeated at  
Kokien,  
Dec. 15.

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Mutiny at  
Barrack-  
pore.

position, with the loss of all their guns and materiel. It was impossible to ascertain the number of the slain, as the enemy removed and concealed the dead in the forest. Hundreds of Bandoola's men deserted him after these reverses ; and he had to fear his tyrannical sovereign.

About four miles from the Golden Pagoda, Bandoola had established an army of reserve, which was busied in stockading a position of which the village of Kokien formed the key. To it he now retreated, where considerable reinforcements meeting him, he found that he could muster five-and-twenty thousand men, with which force he determined to risk another action. Not content, however, to rely upon the valour of his soldiers, he bribed some of the few inhabitants who had returned to Rangoon, to set fire to the city ; the fire was speedily extinguished. On the 15th, the army advanced for the purpose of attacking, the entrenchments at three different points. The enemy maintained a fire so long as the troops were rushing on, but fled whenever the heads of the columns penetrated the works ; and the line of entrenchment was carried with little loss to the assailants, the slaughter among the fugitives being appalling. It is computed that, from the 1st to the 15th of December, there fell of the Burmese not less than six thousand men, of whom many were chiefs and officers of rank, while the total of the British killed and wounded, did not exceed forty officers and five hundred rank and file.

We have already mentioned the alarm produced in Calcutta, when intelligence was received of the slight successes obtained by the Burmese in Chittagong. A report was circulated among some of the sepoy regiments, that the Burmese were in possession of charms which rendered them invulnerable, and that the spell could not be dissolved by lead or steel. This strange rumour was believed by the credulous natives of Bengal, and, added to their superstitious hatred of the sea, made many of them secretly resolve not to form part of the reinforcements which were about to be sent to Rangoon. Their reluctance to embark, was greatly increased by the appearance of an order for curtailing the extra allowances which had been previously made to troops about to take the field. Several minor causes of dissatisfaction existed, and the discontent of the sepoys was secretly aggravated by some of the native inhabitants of Calcutta, and by religious impostors, who were believed to have been hired by a few of the state prisoners at Benares. All these causes combined to produce a formidable mutiny. In the cantonments of

Barrackpore, were quartered the 26th, the 47th, the 62nd, and the 10th regiments of Bengal infantry, all under orders for service; some being directed to march upon Arracan, others to prepare for embarkation. When directed to parade, on the morning of the 31st of October, in order that their appointments might be inspected, the 47th positively refused to turn out. Every exertion was made by the European officers to overcome the spirit of disaffection, but without effect. Portions of the 62nd and of the 10th joined the mutineers; and, for a few hours, matters wore an unpleasant appearance. But the Royals, and the King's 49th, which had not yet quitted Calcutta, were promptly moved to the scene of difficulty, and a battery of guns was planted, so as to command the rear of the malcontents when drawn up upon the esplanade. Another effort was then made to lead them into submission; they rejected it, and the guns opened. Some were cut down; others tried to escape across the river and were drowned; the ringleaders were put to death, the No. 47 erased from the Army List, and the mutiny suppressed. There was no longer the slightest reluctance manifested to proceed either to Arracan or Pegu; nor was any bad impression left upon the minds either of soldiers or people.

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A.D. 1825.

Oct. 31,

It is  
suppressed  
by force.

After the defeat of Bandoola at Kokien, many of the inhabitants of Rangoon returned to their homes, and the population of the city was further increased by multitudes of deserters, who brought with them numerous articles of provision and conveyance, which proved eminently useful to the invaders. Still, there was a lack of means by which to move an army of ten thousand men, through a country where it was felt that no reliance could be placed on the inhabitants; and where any deficiency of provisions, or interruption of the line of communication, might be attended with fatal consequences. As it was manifest that the war would be much protracted, unless an attempt were made to penetrate into the interior, Sir Archibald Campbell resolved to march against Prome, the second city of the Burman empire, with a column of two thousand five hundred men, while General Cotton proceeded in boats, with a water-column of one thousand men, and a train of artillery escorted by the ships' boats. A detachment of seven hundred and fifty men under the command of Major Sale, was, at the same time, directed to reduce the important town of Basseen, situated on a branch of the Irrawaddy. On the 11th of February, 1825, the march was commenced; miles of stockading proved that the Burmese had resolved to check the invaders; but they

The inha-  
bitants  
return to  
Rangoon.

The troops  
march,  
Feb. 11.

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The  
Carians.

did not appear. The few villages of the district had been destroyed, and the inhabitants driven into the interior. The cultivators of the soil were a tribe called the Carians, one of whose villages escaped the general ruin, and it offered a strange spectacle. The houses were of the most miserable description—mere pigeon-houses perched in the air on poles, with a notched pole as the sole means of egress and ingress to the dwelling; they were, however well adapted for protecting their inmates from the ravages of the periodical deluge, and the still more destructive inroads of prowling tigers, with which the woods abound. The Carians, the quietest and most harmless people in the world, are of the strongest and most robust frame. Although their numbers are very limited, such is the fertility of the soil, that they not only keep up the consumption of their own districts, but send large quantities of grain to the royal granaries, for the use of Upper Ava. They pay heavy taxes to government, but are free from the conscription laws. The women bear the marks of premature old age, probably from a too great share of the work falling to them. These people appeared glad to see the invaders, and cheerfully assisted in repairing the roads; they also brought ducks, fowls, and other articles for sale. They undertook to carry letters and communications from one corps of the army to another, and no instance occurred of their having deceived their employers.

Maha  
Bandoola's  
official  
residence.

At Mophee was found the mansion of Maha Bandoola, built for him when coming down to Rangoon in all the pomp of state; it had not been inhabited since he left it, for the Burmese laws punish with death any person who inhabits a house of a higher order of architecture than that to which he is entitled by his rank. The town of Lyne, prettily situated on the banks of the river of the same name, was found uninjured, but nearly deserted; those inhabitants who remained willingly brought buffaloes and other necessaries into the camp. On the 2nd of March the invaders reached Sarrawah, a large and populous town on the Irawaddy; a place of considerable trade, and the depot for the war-boats.

March 2.

The magnificence of the river, which now, for the first time, rolled its mass of waters before the British, was most striking. Of great depth, and exceedingly rapid in its course, it measured during the droughts about eight hundred yards in width; but the population had placed its channel between them and the strangers. Sarrawah, like Rangoon, was deserted. It was evident that the migration had just been completed; crowds lingered on

the opposite bank, whom all the efforts of the general, though exercised through the agency of one or two old priests, failed to bring back to their homes.

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At Sarrawah were many handsome kioums, or monasteries, containing large collections of Gaudmas,\* ranged on stands, richly ornamented with stained glass and gilding fancifully disposed in several grotesque shapes, and surmounted by canopies. About the apartments were numerous offerings; and in one of the houses a book was found, which was considered of great importance, as shewing the estimation in which Burmah was held by a religious power in Europe, at a time when the English in India, its neighbours, were ignorant of everything concerning it. This was a plain and simple exposition of the Christian faith, in the Latin and Burman languages, and printed at the press of "the Society for the Propagation of the True Faith" at Rome, in 1785. It appeared that some Italian priests were then settled near Ava, and had taught Latin to several people, and among others, to Mr. Gibson.† For many years past, no persons of the Roman Catholic persuasion visited Ava as missionaries; but the religion is still followed by a few individuals, and is represented by priests called "Portuguese." From intermarriage with the natives of India, this race retains but little trace of its origin, except a dialect of the language of its forefathers.

The sound of cannon in the direction of Donoobew showed the falsehood of the report that it had been evacuated by Maha Bandoola. The water column reached Donoobew on the 8th of March; attacked the place in two columns; but being repulsed, General Cotton reembarked his men. As no one believed in the possibility of a repulse, Sir Archibald Campbell continued to advance for the purpose of occupying Prome, and cutting off the retreat of the Burmese. He had not proceeded two days' journey beyond Sarrawah, when he received the unwelcome intelligence that the attack on Donoobew had failed. It was, therefore, necessary to make a retrograde movement.

Late on the evening of the 24th, the column, after an exhausting march, reached a village, from whence the position which

The water  
column at  
Donoobew.

\* Gaudma is the image of "the Beneficent Being."

† A remarkable personage, a native of Madras, the son of an English father and a low-caste mother, who had spent all his days in Ava, and stood high in the confidence of the government. He joined the British army at Rangoon, and astonished the heads of departments by his knowledge of general history, and his acquaintance with the English, the Portuguese, the French, and a whole host of Eastern languages.

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Bandoola occupied at Donoobew became visible. The works were extensive, and full of troops; while the river was crowded above the stockade by swarms of war-boats. As the army approached, bodies of cavalry hovered along its flank, and the war-boats, starting from their anchorage, came in close to the brink of the river, and opened their fire. On the 25th, a position was taken up within cannon-shot of the stockades; while General Campbell, on reconnoitering, found that they embraced an oblong square, which measured about a thousand yards in length, by five hundred in breadth; and that they masked the brick walls of an old Pegu fortress, round three sides of which a moat was drawn, the river washing the fourth.

March 29.

A night  
attack.

The day passed over quietly; for an occasional attempt from the war-boats, scarcely sufficed to disturb tranquillity. The picquets, too, were strong and well posted: and as the night brought with it a bright and cloudless moon, both men and officers lay down to rest. Considerable uneasiness had prevailed because no intelligence of General Cotton's approach had been received, and the exhausted stock of the commissariat threatened, in the event of his protracted absence, to occasion a scarcity. Suddenly the rapid discharge of thirty or forty muskets, and the immediate running in of the picquet on the right flank, called the men to their guns, and to prepare for battle. Then arose a discordant yell, while a crowd of Burmans rushed towards the camp, and began a desultory fire. This bold manœuvre on Bandoola's part, failed to produce any effect. The latter part of the night was very dark, and enabled the enemy to carry off their killed and wounded. The loss of the British was three killed, and about twenty wounded.

March 27.

Donoobew  
bombarded,  
April 1.

On the morning of the 27th, the flotilla conveying the marine column, was seen in full sail up the river. The Burmese made the most desperate efforts to resist its progress; but thirteen of their war-boats were soon captured by the steam-vessel. In like manner a sortie, in which seven elephants took a part, was repelled with great slaughter; the body-guard charging both elephants and cavalry, and overthrowing them. The result was, that mortars, battering guns, and all things needful, were landed at night. A heavy bombardment was commenced. The batteries opened a steady fire on the 1st of April, and, on the 2nd, dispositions were made to carry the place by assault. The day had scarcely dawned, when a couple of prisoners who escaped from the fort, came in with intelligence which excited astonishment. Bandoola had been killed on the previous day by a fragment

Bandoola  
killed.

of a shell, and the troops refused to obey any other officer, or to remain in Donoobew. The works were evacuated in the dead of the night, with a degree of regularity which set the vigilance of the besiegers at defiance. Nothing remained but to take possession of the abandoned redoubt; and to recommence the march to Prome.

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As the troops advanced, efforts were made by the Burmese to delay their march, by engaging the general in negotiations; and when these proved ineffectual, the prince of Tharawadee laid the villages waste, driving thousands from their homes. Prome was abandoned as the English advanced, and cantonments were provided for the troops in its neighbourhood, as the setting in of the rainy season, early in June, put an end to the campaign. Encouragement was held out to the inhabitants to return to their homes. Their houses were unoccupied; their property scrupulously guarded and preserved; while proclamations, inviting them to return, and promising protection and liberal payment for the fruits of their industry, were distributed.

The persecuted inhabitants poured in from the woods, bringing their families, cattle, waggons, and other property; but by far the greater number returned in a starving condition, having lost, or been plundered of all that they possessed. The tide of the population, having once over-leaped the barriers which restrained it, now flowed back towards the deserted provinces; the natives retiring from their own armies, to seek for protection under the British flag. Plentiful bazaars at every station, soon bore ample testimony to the confidence of the inhabitants in the good faith of the invaders; the troops lived in the midst of comfort and abundance. To the Burmese, unused to receive anything but stripes for their labour, the liberal conduct of the British was novel and pleasing. They worked diligently when they found the certainty of liberal payment. Large fleets of canoes, constructed to stem the torrents of the Irrawaddy, were soon placed at the disposal of the commissariat, and a stock of provisions conveyed to, and kept at Prome, adequate for the support of the British force, and the whole province.

The inhabitants contented.

Subordinate operations were directed from the frontiers of Bengal, against the Burmese provinces of Assam, Cachar and Arracan. On the 1st of February, Rungpore, the capital of Assam and the whole province submitted to Colonel Richards. Colonel Shulldham, pushed through Cachar in the direction of Munnipore; while General Morrison, after a series of actions, which occupied the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of March, succeeded

Operations in Assam, Cachar and Arracan.

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in clearing Arracan of the Burmese. He then detached a force under Brigadier-general M'Bean, which occupied the islands of Ramree and Sandowey. Had it been practicable to cross the hills, so as to winter beyond the swampy forests of Arracan, the results of his campaign would have been highly satisfactory. The army, which had carried all before it in the field, became disorganized by disease, and was broken up.

The  
Burmese  
raise  
a new  
army.

While the British were preparing their magazines in Prome, the Court of Ava was making exertions to recruit a new army. Men were levied in every part of the country, and for the first time in its history, the Burmese government offered large bounties to induce men to enlist. The tributary Shan tribes bordering on China, were ordered to furnish their quotas; and an armed contingent of fifteen thousand men was embodied there. Filled with extravagant ideas of the powers of their masters, these wild tribes, under the command of their *chobwas*, or chiefs, hastened to take a share in defeating the strangers who had dared to profane the soil of Ava. Before the end of September, the Burmese had organized a force of about seventy thousand men, better armed and disciplined than any army which they had yet brought into the field.

Negocia-  
tions.

Negotiations were not neglected; but the Burmese ministers were found so full of treachery, that the conferences were unsatisfactory; the armistice granted to afford them an opportunity of consulting with the Court of Ava, was violated, and no notice was taken of the remonstrances against this breach of faith. At length, the answer arrived from the Court, couched in these laconic terms:—"If you desire peace, you may go away; but, if you ask either money or territory, no friendship can exist between us. This is Burman custom."

Kee  
Woongee,  
the Prime  
Minister,  
at the head  
of the  
army.

The Burmese army began by attacking Prome in three divisions. Sudda Woon led the right division along the western bank of the Irrawaddy; Kee Woongee, the prime minister, took the command of the centre on the other side of the river, accompanied by a large fleet of war-boats; and the left, under the command of Maha Nemiow, moved by a route ten miles distant from that of the central division, from which it was separated by an impervious forest. There was, besides, an army of reserve under the king's brother at Melloone; with a corps destined to repel invasion from the side of Arracan; and another watched the English garrison in Rangoon. On the 10th of November, Maha Nemiow's army took post at Watty-goon, sixteen miles from Prome, with the intention of pushing forward to the British

Nov. 10.

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rear. Colonel M'Dowall, with two brigades of native infantry was sent to prevent these operations; but the Burmese, receiving information of his advance, came to meet him. The British centre, driving the enemy before them, penetrated to the stockades of Watty-goon; at this moment, Colonel M'Dowall was slain, and the sepoys, disheartened at the loss of their leader, retreated. This movement was conducted with regularity, but with severe loss. This slight advantage gave courage to the Burmese, and they resolved to advance upon Prome, stockading themselves at every mile. Maha Nemiow's corps at Simbike, had come within a morning's walk of the English lines. Eight thousand of his men were Shans, who were accompanied by three young and handsome women of high rank, believed to possess the power of rendering bullets harmless, by sprinkling them with enchanted water as they passed through the air. These Amazons rode constantly amongst the troops, inspiring them with courage.

The last day of November was spent by the British in making arrangements for a movement on the enemy's stockades. Sir Thomas Brisbane, with the flotilla, was directed to cannonade the positions of the other Burmese divisions, while a body of sepoys drove in Kee Woongee's outposts, so as to prevent any suspicion of the real attack on Maha Nemiow. Early on the morning of the 1st of December, two columns marched against Nemiow; one, commanded by General Cotton, proceeded direct to Simbike, while the second, under the superintendence of Sir Archibald Campbell, crossed the Nawine river, and moved along its right bank for the purpose of attacking the enemy in the rear. Sir Thomas Brisbane's cannonade so completely deceived the enemy, that General Cotton's division reached the first line of palisades before their approach was suspected. The storming parties were soon formed, and moved forwards with intrepidity; the Shans, encouraged by the presence of their veteran commander, who, unable to walk, was carried from point to point in a handsomely gilded litter, and further, cheered by the exhortations and example of the fearless Amazons, offered a brave resistance. At length, however, a lodgment was made in their crowded works; they fell into confusion, and were mowed down by the close and rapid volleys from the troops who had gained their ramparts. The strongly-built enclosures of their own construction everywhere preventing flight, the dead and dying soon blocked up the few and narrow outlets from the works. Horses and men ran in wild confusion from side to side, trying to avoid the fatal fire; groups were employed in breaking down and trying to force a

The  
English  
attack.  
Dec. 1.

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The Shans  
fight desperately.

passage through the defences, while the brave, who disdained to fly, still offered a feeble opposition to the advancing troops. The gray-headed Chobwas of the Shans, showed a noble example to their men, sword in hand singly maintaining the unequal contest; nor could signs or gestures of good treatment induce them to forbearance:—attacking all who offered to approach them with humane feelings, they sought the death which many of them found. Maha Nemiow himself fell, while urging his men to stand their ground; many of his attendants were likewise wounded, while in the act of carrying him off. His body, with his sword, Woongee's chain, and other insignia of office, was found. One of the Amazons also received a fatal bullet in the breast, but the moment she was seen, and her sex recognized, the soldiers bore her from the scene of death to a cottage, where she soon expired.

Sir Archibald Campbell's column met the defeated and panic-struck fugitives as they emerged from the jungle to make their escape over the Nawine river. The horse-artillery was instantly unlimbered, and a heavy fire opened upon the crowded ford; here another of the Amazons fell, with numbers of her countrymen. The consternation of the Burmese was such that they dispersed in small groups into the jungle. A few of the Shans assembled again in arms; but being obliged, in order to escape the Burmese, to follow a route through forests and deserts, perished from famine and disease in their attempt to return to their country.

The victors encamped on the banks of the Nawine river, in order to be ready to attack Kee Woongee's division at Napadee. On the morning of the 2nd of December, the first English division, after a march of two hours, through a thick forest, debouched upon a plain upon the river-side, opened a communication with the flotilla, and drew up in front of the stockaded heights of Napadee. The natural obstacles opposed to an advance upon those heights, independent of the artificial means which the enemy had not failed to employ, were the range of hills rising in succession, the second commanding the first, and the third the second; their base washed by the river on one side, and covered by the forest from the approach of any force upon the other. The road to the heights lay along the beach, until checked by the termination of the first hill, up the sides of which the troops had to scramble, exposed to the fire of every gun and musket upon its summit. In addition to these diffi-

The  
stockades  
at Napadee  
attacked.

culties, the enemy had a numerous body of men stockaded along the wooded bank, which flanks and overlooks the beach.

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There was a considerable pause, as Sir Archibald Campbell had resolved to wait for the appearance of a detachment which had been sent to force a passage through the jungle, and turn the enemy's right. Every effort to penetrate the forest having failed, it was resolved to assail Napadee in front. The flotilla moved forward, and opened a spirited cannonade on each side of the river. A detachment under Colonel Elrington stormed some flanking outworks, while the main body of attack marched steadily up the hill, without returning a shot to the continued volleys of their opponents; the crest of the hill was at length won, the British pressed forward with the bayonet, and, in the course of an hour, the whole position, nearly three miles in extent, was mastered. A prodigious carnage ensued, as the fugitives, crowding upon one another, strove to escape from their own enclosures. Thus in the course of two days, the main body of the Burmese army, which it had taken four months to assemble, was destroyed. Between forty and fifty pieces of artillery, with ammunition and stores, remained in possession of the conquerors. During the attack, the flotilla pushed past the works, and captured all the boats and stores which had been brought down for the use of the Burmese army; in this service the steam-vessel was particularly useful. Her unusual appearance excited great alarm, as the Burmese had a tradition that their capital would remain unassailable, until a vessel should advance up the Irrawaddy without oars or sails!

Routing  
and  
slaughter.

On the morning of the 5th of December, a detachment was sent against the remaining division of the Burmese on the west bank of the Irrawaddy, under the command of Sudda Woon. The troops commenced the attack in flank and rear, while the batteries and men-of-war's boats cannonaded them in front, and the enemy evacuated their line upon the river, retreating to a second line of stockades which they had prepared in the jungle in their rear. The British, following up their first success, and not aware of the existence of any second line, came suddenly upon the crowded works, where the confused and disorderly defenders were slain in hundreds, in their desperate efforts to escape.

Dec. 5.  
Sudda  
Woon  
routed.

Sir Archibald Campbell, though disappointed in his hope of co-operation from the side of Arracan, resolved to bring the war to a conclusion, by marching with the army of the Irrawaddy direct on the enemy's capital, which was three hundred miles

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The  
cholera.

distant. On the 9th of December, the army advanced. A storm of rain, on the third day of the march, caused considerable suffering, and was followed by the breaking out of malignant cholera. The army, however, pushed forward, and, on the 19th, reached the abandoned stockades at Meaday, where the ground was strewn with dead and dying, lying promiscuously together the victims of wounds, disease and want. Here and there a small white pagoda marked where a man of rank lay buried; while numerous new-made graves plainly denoted that what we saw was merely the small remnant of mortality which the hurried departure of the enemy had prevented them from burying. Several gibbets were found erected about the stockades, each bearing the remains of three or four crucified victims; thus cruelly put to death, for perhaps no greater crime than that of wandering from their post in search of food, or, at the very worst, for having followed the example of their chiefs in fleeing.

The Army  
moves to  
Melloone.

The army pursued its course towards Melloone, meeting frequent examples of similar suffering. At length they reached Patanagoh, a town upon the river, exactly opposite Melloone. The Irrawaddy, at this place, is six hundred yards broad, and the fortifications of Melloone, built upon the face of a sloping hill, lay fully exposed, within good practice of the artillery. The principal stockade appeared to be a square of about a mile, filled with men, and mounting a considerable number of guns, especially on the water face; and the whole position, consisting of a succession of stockades for two miles along the beach. In the centre of the great stockade, a handsome new gilt pagoda was observed, which had been raised to the memory of Maha Bandoola, as a testimony of approbation of the services of that chief. Under the stockade, a large fleet lay at anchor, consisting of war-boats, commissariat-boats, accommodation-boats, and craft of every description.

Its defences

After the British had reached their ground, their attention was excited by the clang of gongs, drums, and other warlike instruments. Crowds of boatmen, with their short oars across their shoulders, were seen running to the beach; in an instant every boat was manned and in motion. As the flotilla and steam-vessel had been detained below by the intricacies of the river, the artillery was ordered to open fire, upon which the boatmen either jumped into the river or returned to their former situations. In the meantime, the steam-vessel and flotilla having got under weigh, passed close to the enemy's works, without a shot

being fired on either side, and anchored at some distance above the place, thus cutting off all retreat by water.

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Fifteen  
days' truce,  
Jan. 1.

Offers of negotiations having been renewed, a large accommodation-boat was moored in the middle of the river, and the first diplomatic meeting fixed for January 1st, 1826. After a long discussion, the treaty was accepted and signed, fifteen days being allowed for sending it to receive the King's ratification. Long before that period elapsed, the British had reason to believe that some treachery was intended, and when the armistice expired, a formal notice was sent that hostilities would be renewed at midnight of the 18th. When the specified hour arrived, the English began to erect batteries and to land their heavy ordnance; so heartily did they labour, that before ten o'clock on the following morning, twenty-eight pieces of artillery were in position. Shortly after eleven, the batteries opened and maintained a heavy fire, without intermission, for two hours, during which time the troops intended for the assault were mustered and embarked in boats, forming four brigades. The first brigade arrived at its point of attack before the others, moved forward to the assault with regularity, and established themselves in the interior of the works. The Burmese officers could not induce their dispirited soldiers to make any defence; they abandoned every position, until the other brigades, having cut in upon their line of retreat, they were driven with severe loss from all their stockades, leaving behind them the whole of their artillery and military stores. The booty included eight gilt war-boats, three hundred other boats of different descriptions, forty thousand rupees in money, with gold chains, gilt umbrellas, and swords without number. In Prince Memiaboo's house, a decisive proof of dishonesty in the late negotiations was discovered—the identical treaty which the Commissioners had signed on board the barge, and which it was now evident had never been sent for approval.

Melloone  
bombaraded.

Memiaboo and his army retired with all possible haste, and the British commander prepared to continue a close pursuit. Before, however, commencing his march, he sent the unratified treaty to Kee Woongee, telling him that, in the hurry of his departure from Melloone, he had forgotten a document, which he would probably find more useful and acceptable to his government, than he had considered it some days previously. The Woongee and his colleague returned their best thanks for the paper, but observed that the same hurry which had caused the loss of the treaty, had compelled them to leave behind a large sum of money, which they also

The  
Burmese  
retreat.

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much regretted, and which, they were sure, the British general only waited an opportunity of returning.

On the 25th, the army resumed its march over the worst roads which had been met since leaving the frontiers of Henzawaddy. They passed through a barren but interesting country, abounding with "oil wells," or reservoirs of petroleum. Every village and cabin was in ruins; along the road-side, the bodies of men and women were attached to gibbets—terrible proofs of the ferocity of those who determined to exterminate their own subjects.

The king  
sues for  
peace.

On the 31st a boat was seen coming direct from Ava, having on board Dr. Price, an American missionary, Surgeon Sandford, of the Royals, three European soldiers, and the master of a little gun-boat, who had been made prisoners in the course of the war. These poor fellows had their hair uncut and beards unshorn ever since they had been taken. These were accompanied by one or two Burmese of rank, who came with full powers to conclude a peace, and who, on Sir Archibald Campbell's positive refusal to abate one jot of his demands, assured him, without hesitation, that all would be granted. Not all their entreaties could, however, prevail upon him to suspend his march. Sir Archibald Campbell, however, consented not to pass Pagahm Mew for twelve days, as he knew the army was not within ten days' march of that city.

Colonel  
Conroy  
killed  
in Pegu,  
Jan. 7.

Unpleasant news was received from the small British force which had been left in Pegu; part of it had been repulsed with heavy loss, in an attack upon the strong stockade of Zitoung, the commanding officer, Colonel Conroy, and another officer killed, and several wounded. No time was, however, lost in remedying this failure. Colonel Pepper, who held the chief command in Pegu, immediately advanced upon Zitoung with a stronger detachment than that which had been defeated, and, after some sharp fighting, routed the enemy.

As Sir Archibald Campbell advanced towards Pagahm Mew, he received intelligence that the Court of Ava had resolved to renew hostilities, at the instigation of a savage warrior of mean birth, who had boasted, that with thirty thousand men he would utterly annihilate "the rebellious strangers." The Burmese monarch, influenced by his queen, a zealous supporter of the war-faction, accepted the offer of the boaster, and conferred upon him the title of Nooring Phoorring which signifies "Prince of Darkness," or rather "Prince of Sunset." A new levy was speedily made, and the soldiers were honoured with the

"The  
Prince of  
Darkness."

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flattering appellation of Gong-to-Doo, or "Retrievers of the King's glory." Though the British army was much diminished by the absence of two brigades, and did not amount to two thousand fighting men, Sir Archibald Campbell pressed forward to Pagahm Mew, and on emerging from the jungle, he saw the Burmese army, amounting to more than sixteen thousand men, drawn up in an inverted crescent, the wings of which threatened the little body of assailants on either flank. Undismayed by the position of the enemy, the British pushed for their centre, which was instantly overthrown, leaving the wings severed from each other, so that it required the utmost activity on their part to reach the second line of redoubts, under the walls of Pagahm Mew. The British column, following up the enemy's retreat with celerity, afforded them little time for rallying in their works, or in the city, into both of which they were closely followed and again routed; hundreds, to escape their assailants, jumped into the river and perished. Of the army which thus endeavoured to protect the capital, only thirteen hundred men, with their leader, "the Prince of Sunset," returned to Ava. The fate of the latter was tragical. Notwithstanding his disaster, he had the audacity to present himself before his sovereign, and to assure him, that if his majesty would grant him a thousand more men, and allow him again to try his fortune, he would positively defeat the invaders. The king allowed him to finish his tale; but then making a motion with his javelin to his surrounding attendants, they seized the unfortunate chief and dragged him off. He was hurried forth, and whilst on his way to the place of execution suffered every indignity. Yet, even at this awful moment, a sentiment of loyalty burst from him; for when on the point of losing sight of the imperial palace, he suddenly turned round, and inclining his head, said, "Let me make one parting obeisance to the residence of my sovereign." In a few moments more he was thrown under the feet of horses and elephants, and trampled to death.

The  
Prince of  
Darkness  
is beaten at  
Pagahm  
Mew.

Executed  
by order of  
the king.

The army continuing to advance until it reached Yandaboo, forty-five miles from the Burmese capital, the king of Ava consented to accept peace on any terms, sent back the prisoners, and commissioned two ministers of state to sign the articles of treaty.

The king  
signs a  
treaty,  
Feb. 24.

At four o'clock on the 24th the commissioners assembled, and signed and sealed the Treaty of Yandaboo, the Burmese affixing, as their signet, the impression of a peacock.

On the morning of the 26th, Captain Lumsden, of the horse-

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artillery, Lieutenant Havelock, Deputy-Assistant Adjutant-General, and Dr. Knox, proceeded up the river and reached the Burman camp at Yeppandine, when they were stopped in consequence of the king having expressed his determination not to receive the British officers.

Deputation  
recalled.

On this conduct of the King being made known to Sir A. Campbell, he immediately sent to recall the deputation ; but, in the interim, the "Golden Foot" had changed his mind, and sent a handsome gilt war-boat to convey the officers to Ava. He received them, and signed the document. By this treaty the king of Ava renounced his right of sovereignty over Assam, Cachar, and Jyntee ; permitted Munnipore to be erected into an independent kingdom ; recognised the mountains of Arracan as the boundary between his dominions and those of the Company, and gave up the whole of Tenasserim to his conquerors. He pledged himself to pay in four instalments one crore of rupees ; engaged not to molest any of his subjects on account of any part which they might have taken against him during the war ; agreed to include the King of Siam in the general pacification ; and granted to British vessels, trading or otherwise, which might visit his ports, the same privileges which were enjoyed by his own ships. The English, in return for all this, undertook to fall back to Rangoon immediately ; to evacuate the country altogether, as soon as the second instalment should have been paid ; and to send in all the prisoners taken during the war with as little delay as might be compatible with their removal from a distance. It deserves to be recorded, that the Burmese promptly and honourably discharged all the conditions to which they had engaged themselves ; and that, while the monarch who signed it held the sceptre, there was no reason to complain of the infraction of a single article.

The king  
submits.

The  
Burmese  
negotia-  
tions.

It was discovered, that the breaking off of the former treaty, which had been concluded at Melloone, was owing to the perfidious conduct of a priest called Raj Gooroo, who had been intrusted with a pacific message from the British commander to the King of Ava. Instead of executing this commission, he persuaded the weak monarch that the English were a mere handful of desperate adventurers, anxious only to extort money. Ample evidence was also obtained that the Burmese monarch had not only sanctioned, but commanded the outrages of the Arracan chieftains, which had been the original cause of the war ; and that twelve months before hostilities had commenced, his majesty had been engaged in devising plans, and making arrangements for

the conquest of Bengal. Maha Bandoola, then high in favour, was the great projector of the plan, and, with a hundred thousand men, a number which it was believed that the king could easily assemble, pledged himself for its execution. So high were the hopes of conquest entertained by the court, that when Maha Bandoola went to commence his campaign in Arracan, he was furnished with golden fetters, in which he was to bring the Governor-General of India a captive to Ava.

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On the 5th of March, Sir Archibald Campbell began his retrograde march, which was marked by no important incident. But all the troops did not come home by way of Rangoon. A battalion of sepoy, with a few elephants, being supplied with Burmese guides, received orders to penetrate across the country of Arracan; and it accomplished the task with comparatively little trouble, and a total absence of all suffering. While this proved that Ava was accessible over land, it also showed that the misfortunes which overwhelmed General Morrison's army, might have been avoided by a little more knowledge of the country on the frontiers, and a greater exertion of promptitude and enterprise. The march of that division of the army passed over the mountains of Arracan, and brought the English acquainted with the Kieaans, one of the most singular races in Asia.

The  
Kieaans.

Throughout the course of the Burmese war, the Madras government, which was then administered by Sir Thomas Munro, gave efficient support to the operations of the army. His exertions were the more valuable on account of the ignorance which prevailed at Calcutta, respecting the country, the habits and the resources of the enemy. Sir Thomas Munro died of cholera at Putteecondah, near Gooty, in July, 1827, regretted by the company whom he had so well served. In England a strong feeling was raised against Lord Amherst, on account of the length to which the war was protracted, and the strange errors in the commissariat department, by which the advance of the troops was delayed, and the men exposed to a series of sufferings at Rangoon, which would have demoralized and destroyed any but a British army.

Sir  
T. Munro  
at Madras.Excited  
feelings in  
England  
against  
Lord  
Amherst.

In the early part of 1825, during the operations against the Burmese, the attention of the Bengal government was called to certain proceedings, at Bhurtpore, where Doorjan Sal, aided by his brother Mundoo Sing, attempted to usurp the rights of their cousin, Bulwunt Sing, a minor and the rightful heir to Baldeo Sing, the late Rajah. The failure of Lord Lake before Bhurtpore, had filled the inhabitants with the most extravagant pride, and had

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Doorjan  
Sal.

Bhurtpore.

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Intrigues  
of Doorjan.

produced a very strong impression, not only on the neighbouring principalities but throughout India. Much importance was attached to the fortress of Bhurtpore. Even in the Carnatic, the native princes would not believe that it ever could be taken, or that the forts were not destined to be the rallying point of India. The expression had become a sort of proverb, that India was not yet conquered, for Bhurtpore had not been taken. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that a strong anti-English party had been formed in Bhurtpore, and that the reluctance of the Rajah to engage in hostilities, gave offence to the ambitious and enthusiastic portion of his subjects, but especially to his nephew, Doorjan Sal, who had been regarded as his probable successor.

In his old age, the Rajah, hitherto childless, was made happy by the birth of a son. Aware of the ambitious temper of his nephew, Baldeo Sing made haste to secure the especial protection of the English, by soliciting, while he was yet alive, the *khelet* or robe of inauguration for his son as heir to the throne. He had not long done so, when he died, leaving the prince Bulwunt Sing in his sixth year, surrounded by enemies.

He usurps  
the throne.The  
gallant  
Ochterlony  
is badly  
treated.  
He dies.

Scarcely was the Rajah dead, when Doorjan Sal usurped the throne, seized the young prince, and murdered his uncle. The guardians of the boy fled with him to Calcutta, and besought the assistance of the Governor-General. Sir David Ochterlony, who was Political Agent at Delhi, collected troops and a large battering train, and issued notice to the Jats not to obey the usurper. The measures of this gallant officer would have reduced the fort in a short time, but the Council at Calcutta directed him to withdraw the troops, and to adopt no hostile proceedings. He resigned his political appointments, and soon afterwards died at Meerut on the 15th of July, 1825, regretted by the natives and Europeans. He was born in America of Canadian royalist parents, and died in his sixty-eighth year, fifty of which had been spent in the service of the Company. He was succeeded at Delhi by Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, on being consulted, gave it as his opinion that arms alone could settle the dispute with Doorjan, and that it was desirable to remove the unfavourable impression produced by our former failure before Bhurtpore.

When the arrangements were nearly completed, Lord Combermere arrived in India, to take the command of the army. The enterprise was one of difficulty and danger, as will appear from a description of Bhurtpore.

The city stands in a plain, begirt by an extensive forest. That

forest constituted, in former times, a preserve for the Rajah's game; but on the first hostilities, care was taken to open a space of six or seven hundred yards round the ditch. The ditch was wide and deep; and from a jeel or lake, by piercing a narrow embankment, the whole might be filled with water. A wall runs round the town, flanked at intervals by towers and bastions, but the curtains are low, while the bastions, by reason of their circular form, stand exposed to the fire of a besieging artillery. There was a citadel apart from the town.

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Siege of  
Bhurtpore,  
Dec. 10.

On the 10th of December, Lord Combermere appeared before the walls with twenty thousand men, and a field of a hundred pieces of artillery. During the night the enemy had cut the embankment to the northward, for the purpose of filling the ditch. The British troops arrived in time to make themselves masters of the embankment and repair the breach, before a quantity of water had flowed into the fosse.

Lord Combermere, to save the women and children from the horrors of a siege and of a bombardment, addressed a letter to Doorjan Sal on the 21st, promising them a safe conduct through the British camp, and allowing four and twenty hours for that purpose. Having received an evasive answer, his lordship again sent a further extension of the time for twelve hours, but the offer was not accepted.

On the 23rd, the north-east angle of the works having been fixed upon as the point of attack, the besiegers took possession of a ruined village called Kuddum Kundee, and of Baldeo Sing's garden, and completed their first parallel at the distance of about eight hundred yards from the fort. On the morning of the 24th, two batteries erected at these two points, opened upon the town, and on the 25th, another more advanced battery between them, having likewise begun its fire within two hundred and fifty yards of the north-east angle, the defences of the east side of that part of the works was in a great measure destroyed. A battery was then constructed, bearing on the north face of the same angle, at a distance of about two hundred and fifty yards. The rest of December was employed in strengthening the old batteries, erecting new ones, and pushing forward the works; a constant fire being kept up against the town; while the enemy seemed to be reserving their resources to the last. On the 3rd of January, 1826, the artillery began to breach the curtains: the ditches in front were found to be dry, and from the raggedness of the counterscarp, offered few obstacles. Such, however, was the tenacity of the tough mud walls, that they resisted the effects

The town  
bombarded.

A.D. 1826.

Jan. 3,  
Breaching.

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of shot better than masonry; the batteries were insufficient to reach them, and recourse was had to mining. On the evening of the 6th, a mine was commenced in the scarp of the ditch on the northern side-face of the work; but the engineers, fearing that they might be discovered if they continued their operations during the day, sprung it at daylight on the following morning, when it was not sufficiently advanced to have any material effect upon the wall; in making a second attempt, the miners were driven away, having been countermined from the interior before they had entered many feet, and the gallery was subsequently blown up. On the 14th, another mine, under one of the bastions, was exploded precipitately and failed. Two more mines were immediately driven into the same work, which were sprung on the 16th so successfully, that with the aid of a day's battering, they effected a breach, which was reported practicable. On the 17th, the mine under the north-east angle was completed, and the following day fixed for the storm.

One of  
its bastions  
blown up.

Early in the morning of the 18th, the troops destined for the assault, established themselves in the advanced trenches. The left breach was to be mounted by the brigade under General Nicholls, headed by the 59th regiment; that on the right by General Reynell's brigade, headed by the 14th regiment, the explosion of the mine under the north-east angle was to be the signal. At eight o'clock the mine was exploded with terrific effect; the whole of the salient angle, and a part of the stone cavalier in the rear, were lifted into the air, which for some time was in total darkness; but from the mine having exploded in an unexpected direction, or from the troops having crowded too near it, the ejected stones and masses of earth, killed in their fall, several men of the regiment at the head of the column, and severely wounded three officers.\* They fell so thickly about

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\* An eye-witness has given the following description of this fearful scene:—"The general had departed but a few minutes, and we were all in that state of breathless excitement which our situation was calculated to produce, when a spectacle was presented to us, to which I have never beheld, and shall probably never behold, any thing akin. I had fixed my eyes intently on the angle of the bastion, beneath which I was aware that the mine had been formed, when, suddenly, the ponderous wall heaved as if shaken by the power of an earthquake. There was no noise, no explosion, and, as it happened, the very firing had for the instant ceased, but the wall rocked like a ship lifted upon a wave, and then sunk down again. This occurred twice, and then, with a sound, to which the loudest thunder was soft music, stones, earth, logs of wood, guns and men, flew into the

Lord Combermere, Brigadier-general M'Coombe, who was standing next to him, was knocked down, and two sepoys who were within a few feet, were killed. The troops immediately mounted to the assault, and, notwithstanding a determined opposition, carried the breaches. The left breach was the most difficult; the ascent was steep, but the troops quickly surmounted it, the grenadiers moving up it resolutely, without drawing a trigger, in return for the volleys of round shot, grape and musketry fired upon them. Some of the foremost of the enemy defended the breach for a few minutes with great resolution, but the explosion of the mine had blown up three hundred of their companions, and they were compelled to give way, and were pursued along the ramparts. Whenever they came to a gun which they could move, they turned it upon their pursuers, but they were immediately killed by the grenadiers, and the gun upset. In two hours the rampart surrounding the town, although defended at every gateway and bastion, along with the command of the gates of the citadel, were in possession of the besiegers, and in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. Brigadier-general Sleigh, commanding the cavalry, having been entrusted with preventing the escape of the enemy's troops after the assault, made such a disposition of his forces, that he succeeded in securing Doorjan Sal, who with his wife, two sons, and one hundred and sixty chosen horse, attempted to force a passage through the 8th Light Cavalry.

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The  
fortress  
taken,  
Jan. 18.

The loss of the enemy could not be computed at less than four thousand killed; all the stores, arms, and ammunition fell into the possession of the victors. The fortifications were demolished; the principal bastions, and parts of several curtains, were blown up on the 6th of February. The Futteh Bourg, or "Bastion of Victory," built, as the Bhurtporeans vaunted, with the bones and blood of British soldiers who fell in the assault under Lord Lake, was laid low, and among its destroyers were some of those very men who, twenty years before, "had been permitted," in the boasting language of the natives, "to fly from its eternal walls." The fort was in a state of ruin, open in

The fortifi-  
cations  
demolished.

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air. Of more I cannot speak, except that shrieks and groans burst upon the ear, as soon as that tremendous crash was over, giving evidence, but too decisive, that the engineer's assurances as to the safety of our position were groundless; but as to seeing the objects from whence they came, that was out of the question. A dense cloud of smoke and dust was over us: to breathe, far less to command the sense of sight, amid which was no easy matter."

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every direction, and would require as much expense to render it formidable, as would raise another in a new position. All the other fortresses within the Rajah's dominions immediately surrendered, the inhabitants returned to their abodes, and the Rajah was reinstated in his authority.

Lord Combermere broke up his camp to return to Calcutta, on the 20th of February, and arrived there early in April. Thanks were speedily voted by Parliament, and by the East India Company; the prize-money arising from the capture, granted to the Company by the King, was ordered by the Court of Directors to be distributed among the army. Lord Amherst was made an earl.

Slight disturbances took place in different small states, which were sufficient to keep the attention of the British awake to the spirit of disaffection prevailing against their rule.

Disturbances at  
Kolapore.

In January 1826, the Bombay Presidency was involved in a discussion with the Rajah of Kolapore, a small independent Mahratta state, in the province of Beejapoor. The British government, anxious to avoid a rupture, endeavoured, through the Resident, to adjust the difference which had arisen, without having recourse to extreme measures.

The Rajah, deaf to all remonstrance, and blind to the real interests of his state, continued to disregard the advice offered to him; he levied troops, and at once placed himself in a hostile attitude, which rendered it incumbent on the government to prepare against aggression. Their remonstrance not only remained unanswered, but the Rajah, at the head of large bodies, commenced plundering the properties and territories of his own dependant chiefs, and those under the especial protection or guarantee of the British government, extorting money from the inhabitants, by means of excessive cruelties. Thus forced into active operations, Colonel Welsh marched from Belgaum, with the whole of the disposable troops of that station, crossed the Gutpurba river, on the 12th of September, and subsequently took up a position in the vicinity of Katbughee, in the Kolapore territories, the inhabitants of which flocked in numbers to Colonel Welsh's camp, soliciting protection. These measures had the desired effect; the questions pending with the state of Kolapore, were brought to a satisfactory conclusion without recourse to actual hostilities; arrangements were entered into for securing the peace and tranquillity of the country, and to prevent, on the part of the Rajah, any violation of his engagements.

Treaty  
signed.

The articles of agreement were confirmed by the Governor-General, on the 24th of January, 1826. CHAPTER XIX.

Earl Amherst proceeded to the Upper Provinces in 1827. On his Lordship's visit to Delhi, a final settlement took place of the relations in which the British Indian government in India stood towards the king of Delhi. It terminated the implied vassalage previously rendered, or which was supposed to exist, towards the Royal Family by the Indian government. The event created very naturally a strong sensation at the time, as it was the first instance of our openly and decidedly asserting the independence of the British Indian power: it was generally believed that the crown of Hindustan had been transferred to the British nation.

A.D. 1827.  
Earl Amherst in Delhi. The independence of the British government established.

The event is said to have been viewed with deep melancholy by the Delhi family and their dependents. They felt, whatever privations they might have suffered from the Mahrattas, their title to the sovereignty of India had been acknowledged. The feeling of the public corroborated the opinion expressed by General Wellesley, that the natives were indifferent as to who were their governors. They contemplated without surprise our assumption of a character "which had been purchased with the talents, treasure, and blood of our nation."

Earl Amherst, having returned to the Presidency, embarked in H.M.S. *Herald* at the close of March, 1828, for England, resigning the government into the hands of W. Butterworth Bayley, Esq.

A.D. 1828.  
W. Butterworth Bayley, Governor-general, *ad interim*.

Mr. Bayley performed the duties of provisional Governor-General until the 4th of July. He returned to England, and became a Director on the 23rd of July, 1833.

## CHAPTER XX.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, 1828—1835.

*Lord Wm. Bentinck arrives in Calcutta, July 4, 1828.—Financial Difficulties of the Government.—Great Increase of Debt.—Extensive Reforms required.—Discussions about Batta.—Great Discontent at Calcutta and elsewhere.—Public Meetings to protest against Innovations.—Opium Monopoly.—Restrictions on the Trade in Malwa.—Bad Effects of the Restrictions.—The Freedom of the Press asked for.—Suttee abolished.—The Ex-Emperor of Delhi dissatisfied.—He sends Rammohun Roy to England.—The Progress of the Governor into the Provinces.—He visits the Eastern Settlements and the Straits.—Great Improvements.—Encouragement given to the Natives to learn English.—Suppression of Thuggism and Dacoity.—Changes in the Administration of Justice and Civil Department.—The New Settlement and its Provisions.—The Influence of Public Opinion.—The Bill is hurried through Parliament, and the Settlement is accepted by the Directors and Proprietors after a Discussion.—Lord Wm. Bentinck arranges the Legislative Council at Calcutta.—His Progress through the North Western Provinces.—He becomes Commander-in-Chief, 1833.—Discussions at Bombay between the Government and the Supreme Court respecting the Rights of the Habeas Corpus Writ.—The Dispute settled.—Disturbances at Coorg.—Mudgherry taken and the Rajah deposed.—Disputes at Gwalior.—Baiza Bhaee forced to resign the Government.—Severe Strictures on the Governor-General's Conduct.—Treaties with the Rajpoot Chiefs, who are dissatisfied.—Lord Wm. Bentinck holds a Congress of them (1832) at Ajmeer.—Maun Sing of Joudpore becomes refractory and is forced to submit.—The Shekhawattee Marauders suppressed.—Jeypore disturbed by a plotting Minister.—Mr. Blake murdered, June 4, 1835.—The Assassins punished.—Rammohun Roy's Mission to England fails.—He dies at Bristol, 1833.—Delhi disturbed.—Mr. Frazer murdered at Delhi, March 1, 1835.—Lord Wm. Bentinck has in view two grand Objects; to promote Trade in Central Asia, and to establish a Steam Communication from India to Europe.—*

*His Efforts.—His Interview with Runjeet Sing.—Lieutenant A. Burnes sent on a Mission into Central Asia.—Fears of Russian Intrigues.—Results of Burnes' Mission.—Steam introduced into the River Navigation of India, and the three Routes to Europe tried.—Commercial Derangements in India.—Great Failures.—Criticisms on the Government for ruining their Servants.—Addresses presented on Lord Wm. Bentinck's Departure, March, 1835.—Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeds as Provisional Governor-General.—Lord Heytesbury appointed in England, but his Appointment is cancelled.—Sir C. Metcalfe grants the Liberty of the Press, Aug. 3, 1835.—He returns to England and resigns the Company's Service.—His subsequent Acts, until his Death in 1846.*

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, who was appointed by the Canning ministry, entered on the duties of Governor-General of India under circumstances of delicacy and difficulty. The expenditure in the Burmese war and in the reduction of Bhurtpore had added thirteen millions to the debt of the Company; there was an increasing expenditure in every branch of the administration, and the outlay of the government far exceeded the resources. The necessity of retrenchment was earnestly and imperatively urged by the Court of Directors; and the new Governor made his appearance in Calcutta under the unpopular character of a financial reformer. Two committees were formed, one charged with the reduction of the civil, and the other of the military expenses. The resistance to the latter was so great, that its functions were soon suspended. Reductions were, however, made in the batta, or extra allowances of pay, at five of the military stations. Urgent remonstrances, including one from the Commander-in-Chief, were made; but the Directors insisted on their right to effect retrenchments. General discontent was excited by the imposition of a stamp duty; the Europeans in Calcutta were unanimous against the justice and expediency of the measure: they questioned its legality; and counsel were heard for three days against the registration of the act. Public meetings were summoned to prepare petitions to the Court of Directors and the English parliament; these assemblies were prohibited by the Council, but were nevertheless held and the petitions were adopted.

In order to protect the monopoly of opium at Patna, the government entered into treaties with the native princes of Rajpootana and other districts to paralyse, as far as possible, the culture of the poppy in those states. Exorbitant duties were

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A.D. 1828.  
Lord W.  
Bentinck  
Governor-  
General,  
July 4.  
Great debts.

Great  
reforms.

Public  
meetings  
and  
protests.

Opium  
trade over-  
taxed.

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also levied upon its passage through the Company's states. Thence ensued smuggling of the drug into Scinde and the Portuguese ports of Diu and Damao, as well as dissensions with the native princes and merchants, and seizures and confiscation of various parcels passing through the Company's territory. Discontent and injury to the revenue followed. A partial remedy was then devised, of granting licenses or passes for the removal of the drug to Bombay. This mode, although it has brought large sums to the Company, is one of the measures that tend to injure the commerce, and to demoralise the habits of the people of India. The produce of any district of India ought not to be overwhelmed by taxation before it is exported.

The restrictions on the press resisted.

Great opposition was made to the restrictions placed on the press; the regulations prohibiting the publication of any periodical work, without an express license from the Supreme Council, were resisted by a strong party in Calcutta, and were absolutely rejected in Bombay, the three judges refusing to register the act, as being contrary to law. While the Europeans were thus agitated, not a little excitement was produced among the natives, by the publishing of a proclamation, strictly forbidding the practice of *Suttee*, that is of burning or burying alive the widows at the same time as the remains of deceased Hindus. It was feared that this interference with the usages of the natives might provoke an insurrection; but Lord William Bentinck was not to be daunted in enforcing obedience to the laws of humanity; and, in a short time, many of the Hindus themselves expressed their satisfaction at the abolition of the detestable practice.\*

Suttee abolished.

The Ex-Emperor of Delhi sends Rammohun Roy to England.

The still self-styled Emperor of Delhi began to feel sensibly the degradation of his condition; and after he had made representations on the subject to the authorities in Calcutta, he sent an agent to represent his case to the government of England. He chose the Rajah Rammohun Roy, a Hindu of distinguished literary attainments, and well acquainted with the English language and literature. The mission was unsuccessful; indeed, during the tour which the Governor-General made in the Upper provinces, he found the natives contented with the Company's government; and the readiness with which he afforded access to

Natives contented.

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\* It was easy to prevent the suttee; but the fanatical feelings which lead a woman to sacrifice her life on the pyre, require also to be repressed by correct instruction. In India some women look upon burning with their husband's body as an honour. That is Brahminical doctrine, and not yet extinct.

any who had a real or imaginary cause of complaint increased these feelings of loyalty.

After having examined the provinces of Bengal, Lord William Bentinck embarked, in February, 1829, on board the *Enterprise* steamer, to examine the condition of Penang, Singapore, and the other Eastern settlements. On his return, he recommended that the government of these provinces should be placed under the council of Calcutta, and that many reductions should be made in other offices. He gave private audience to the natives of respectability; he acquired information from various sources. While he exerted himself to improve the affairs of the Company by judicious retrenchments, he was not negligent of the improvement of the people; his exertions to promote the diffusion of education and knowledge among the native Hindus were incessant; he founded schools, used every means in his power to procure proper teachers, and encouraged by personal distinction any young students who were remarkable for their industry. He also laboured with considerable success to suppress the practices of Thuggism and Dacoity, as the notorious associations for murder and robbery were called, and tranquillity prevailed in India.

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A.D. 1829.

The Governor-General visits the straits and the Eastern settlements, Feb.

Encourages the natives to learn.

Thuggism and Dacoity suppressed.

Changes were effected in the administration of justice, particularly in the civil department. Natives were employed to decide, and the two Courts of Ameens and Sudder Ameens established, together with the Courts of Appeal of Sudder Dewanee and Sudder Adawlut, at Allahabad. Similar arrangements were adopted for the revenue department. In the Presidencies, the best measures were adopted for the administration of justice and the collection of the revenue. It must not be forgotten that Madras and Bombay were then possessed of their own special legislative powers, of which they were afterwards deprived, when Calcutta was constituted the capital of India, and a special legislature for all fixed there.

At this time, the approaching termination of the Company's Charter rendered it necessary for the British parliament to take into consideration the principles on which the government of the British dominions in the East were hereafter to be conducted. On the 13th of June, 1833, the President of the Board of Control, Mr. Charles Grant (now Lord Glenelg) introduced the subject to the reformed parliament, and developed the ministerial arrangements in a series of resolutions, which were sanctioned by both houses. It was determined that the government of India should be entrusted to the Company till the 30th of April, 1854, on the ground that its administration during the last forty years

The new settlement of India.

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XX.

A.D. 1833.

Arrange-  
ments of  
the new  
settlement.

had, with all its faults and imperfections, proved of the greatest benefit to the people of that country. It was next resolved, that, from the 22nd of April, 1834, the trade with China should be thrown open to the public, and that the Company should abandon all its exclusive privileges as a commercial body.

Of the new Settlement, the other principal arrangements are as follow :—The property of the Company was vested in the Crown, but declared to be held in trust by the Company. The privileges and powers granted in 1813 were continued. The Company was required to close its commercial concerns, all its debts being charged to the revenues of India. Powers to legislate were vested, to a certain extent, in the Governor-General, under the control of the home authorities. A legislative commission was appointed for India, to enquire into and to examine the jurisdictions of existing Courts—into the police establishments, and the operations of the laws. The right of trading and of purchasing lands in India was granted to all British subjects. No native, or other British subject resident in India, was to be disabled from holding office or employment by reason of his colour, birth, or descent. Slavery was to be abolished. Two additional Bishops were to be created, viz., of Madras and of Bombay; the Bishop of Calcutta to be metropolitan. The island of St. Helena was to belong to the Crown.

The influence of the Board of Control was extended considerably by this Settlement, and the whole powers of India were concentrated in the hands of the Supreme Government at Calcutta. The Governors of Madras and Bombay became merely lieutenants of the Governor-General, for they were restricted even in laying out any sum for improvements, without the previous authorisation of their chief.

Reasons for  
granting it.

The reasons adduced for continuing the old system were found in the good which the Company's government had done in India. There were, no doubt, evils in the system of administration; there was sometimes too great a weight of taxation; there was often a delay of justice; but what had been the condition of the people of India under previous governments? The wise administration of one of the Mogul monarchs was still a subject of praise amongst them to the present day. But the Company did great good; for although its government had been sluggish, and not calculated to make any great or rapid strides of improvement, yet it gave ample security to person and property—it excited vigilance against any encroachment of violence and rapacity, and insured to the people that which they most required, viz. repose,

security, and tranquillity. The very jealousy hitherto caused by the Company's monopoly had been a security to the natives against the encroachments of others. Within the last twenty years the native population had acquired a political existence, which was fully recognised by the British government; a circumstance which would formerly have been treated as quite chimerical. The consequence of this improvement was, that the people of India began to acknowledge the value of the English system. Public opinion and public feeling in England acted on the governments of India; not by producing violent effects, but by operating to the amelioration of the condition of the natives by the slow but certain process of kindness. Such were the reasons which justified the continuation of the political government of India in the hands of the Company for some time longer.

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A.D. 1833.

Public opinion has influence even in India.

It was, however, contended, by the opposition, that to entrust the political administration of the British East-India possessions, with the interests of 100,000,000 human beings, to the direction of a Joint Stock Company, and to grant to that company, consisting of ever-varying holders of East-India stock, the power of taxing these natives for the payment of the dividends of their mercantile concerns, was a question involving too many important considerations to be hastily decided on, and more especially for so long a term as twenty years. The Bill for the new settlement was nevertheless, hurried through both the Houses of Parliament.

On the 12th of August, the Court of Directors came to the resolution:—That the East-India bill, having arrived at its last stage in the House of Lords, it became their duty to submit to their constituents, the proprietors, a final opinion regarding that Bill:—that, although they were still impressed with the belief that the cessation of the Company's trade would greatly weaken its position at home, and consequently impair its efficiency in the administration of the government in India, and although they regarded, with much anxiety, the increase of powers given by the said Bill to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and greatly regretted that Parliament had not provided some rule of publicity to act as a salutary check, both upon the said Board of Control and the Court of Directors; yet, reviewing all the correspondence which had passed with his Majesty's ministers, trusting that the extensive powers of the Board would be exercised with moderation, and so as not to interfere with the independence of the Company, as a body acting intermediately between the King's government and the government of India, (an independence all parties had admitted it to be of vital

The Bill hurried through Parliament.

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The  
Directors  
and the  
Company  
accept it.

importance to maintain) and relying, with confidence, that parliament would interpose for the relief of any financial difficulties into which the Company might unavoidably be cast through the operation of such extensive changes, the Court of Directors felt they could not do otherwise than recommend the Proprietors to defer to the pleasure expressed by both Houses of Parliament, and to consent to place their right to trade for their own profit in abeyance, in order that they might continue to exercise the government of India for the further term of twenty years, upon the conditions and under the arrangements embodied in the same Bill. After some discussion, the Proprietors assembled in a very thin General Court, and resolved by ballot, and by 173 balls against 64, that the Bill ought to be accepted. The Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords, on the evening of that day; and on the 28th of August it became law. The rapidity with which it was carried through parliament was considered extraordinary; and such, also, have the changes been which it has since effected in the proceedings of the Company.

One of the local discussions excited, at this time, considerable interest in India and England; it arose from the conduct of the Judges of the Supreme Court at Bombay. The administration of justice to the Europeans in that Presidency was, in August, 1798, established in a Court under a Recorder, of which the duties were for several years performed by the celebrated Sir James Mackintosh. In May, 1824, it was raised to the dignity of a "Supreme Court," and the then Recorder, Sir Edward West, was appointed Chief Justice, having two puisne judges to assist him. A conflict soon arose with the government. The judges being educated in the principles of a free country, and appointed to secure the rights of all British subjects within their jurisdiction, claimed the power of compelling the natives to obey their writs. This claim was more than the Company's government could bear; for if the judges could order the attendance of natives from a distance on their writs, the next step would necessarily be to try the cases in which the writs were issued. The risks of exposure, the numberless irregularities, the strange discrepancies, and the want of sound and solid justice, to which the natives are too often forced to submit, would speedily be detected in a British Court of Judicature. Resistance was therefore offered to a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, issued to bring before the court a Mahratta youth, of some wealth, who was detained by his grand uncle at Poonah. The magistrate at Poonah refused to obey the writ, on the ground that the youth or the uncle had never been at Bombay, one hundred

The  
Habeas  
Corpus at  
Bombay.

miles distant, and was, therefore, not subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Two of the judges died, and Sir J. P. Grant was alone on the bench; and he resolved to maintain his right to administer British justice to every applicant. The Governor, Sir John Malcolm, and his Council were equally resolved not to permit the writs of *Habeas Corpus* to extend into the interior. Soldiers were placed at the defendant's door to prevent the writ being executed. Application was made to the home authorities; and in the mean time Sir J. P. Grant suspended the sittings of the Supreme Court. The Governor issued a proclamation declaring his determination to protect the lives and properties of British subjects in Bombay. The government at Calcutta refused to interfere, and awaited the decision from the Privy Council. The Supreme Court was re-opened after a suspension of its proceedings from the 21st of April to the 17th of June, 1829. The discussion was of high interest, as involving some of the highest prerogatives of the Court of King's Bench, which exercises the right to demand the cause of the imprisonment of any subject: but the Governor of Bombay claimed the right of the Indian laws, and the natives of India are still ruled by military regulations, mixed up with their own peculiar notions of jurisprudence; for the Privy Council decided that writs of *Habeas Corpus* do not extend to natives without the immediate local bounds of the island of Bombay. Fortunately for Europeans their birth-right remains intact and intangible for them, within or without those bounds, and they claim to be personally subject in all cases, civil or criminal, to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Sir J. P. Grant, who had two judges (called by Lord Ellenborough the "tame elephants") appointed to quiet him, resigned the office in September, 1830; and of the two "tame elephants," one died within a few months after he was sworn into office, and the other died soon after the resignation of Sir J. P. Grant.

Lord William Bentinck, who had the advantage of the counsels of Sir Charles Metcalfe, was about to send that gentleman to China, when news arrived, at Calcutta, that the disputes with the Canton authorities were temporarily arranged, and a good understanding restored. A measure was then brought forward for constituting a Legislative Council in India; and it was subsequently introduced amongst the arrangements of the new settlement. Finding that his presence, as Governor-General, would be useful in the regulation of several important questions relating to the revenue, the police, and the judicial systems, in

Lord Wm.  
Bentinck  
settles the  
Legislative  
Council.

CHAPTER  
XX.

A.D. 1830.

His  
progress  
through  
the north-  
western  
provinces.

A.D. 1831.

He  
becomes  
Command-  
er-in-chief,  
A.D. 1833.  
May.

the upper and western provinces ; he proposed to have the members of Council and the secretaries of government removed with him to the various stations ; but, although Sir Charles Metcalfe concurred in the proposal, it was discovered that the law did not permit their exercising their functions except at Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck was, therefore, obliged to proceed as Governor-General alone, and he issued a proclamation, in October, 1830, declaring his intention, and stating the different places at which, on the days named, he should be able to receive letters and petitions. He soon after proceeded leisurely on his progress, and ascended the hills at Simla, in April, 1831. While there, the camp was joined by Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, of the Bombay military service, who had navigated the Indus, and was anxious to explore the countries of central Asia, between that river and the Caspian. Lord William Bentinck gave him every encouragement. Colonel Pottinger was despatched from Bombay to Scinde, as envoy, with powers to effect a treaty, and was ultimately successful. In October, 1831, an interview took place, at Roopur, between Lord William Bentinck and the Maharajah of Lahore, Runjeet Sing. The latter being always desirous to conciliate the good-will of the British authorities, formed an alliance with Shah Soojah, who had for twenty years lived at Loodiana, under British protection. Some alarm was subsequently manifested by Runjeet in consequence of the proceedings of Lieutenant Burnes and of Colonel Pottinger ; and Captain Wade was commissioned to repair to the Court of the Maharajah and to satisfy all his doubts. This object was speedily effected. Lord William Bentinck afterwards visited Delhi, where he introduced some very salutary regulations, and thence proceeded by Agra to Ajmeer, where, in 1833, he was joined by Lord Clare, then Governor of Bombay, who communicated the results of his negotiations with the Guicowar at Baroda, with whom satisfactory arrangements had been completed. His Lordship arrived in Calcutta, 2nd February, 1833, and in the following month he received the appointment of Commander-in-Chief, in addition to that of Governor-General. He was the third possessor of that supreme power. Lord Cornwallis in 1786, and the Marquis of Hastings in 1813, had previously held it.

During the absence of the Governor-General from Calcutta, some disturbances occurred, which were promptly suppressed. An ignorant Mohammedan fanatic collected a mob and committed outrages in the Baraset district. His pretext was that a fine was levied on beards. The government sent a force and

soon dispersed the rioters. Disturbances were also suppressed in Chota Nagpore and Malacca. CHAPTER XX.

The Rajah of Mysore was deprived of his authority, and the administration of his territories assumed by the Company. A.D. 1837  
 Changes were made in various places, but none involved any serious operations, save the expedition against the Rajah of Coorg. Disturbances at Coorg.  
 His father was a zealous ally of the English, during the war with Mysore; and the memory of the services he had then performed, induced the British to tolerate many equivocal acts of the reigning prince. His cruelties and oppressions, rendered him very unpopular amongst his own subjects, whilst his haughty demeanour was very offensive to his neighbours. At length, he behaved so violently towards his sister and her husband, that they were forced to seek refuge in the British territory. Cruelties of the Rajah.  
 The Rajah, indignant at the escape of his intended victims, addressed letters to the Governor-General, couched in the most insulting terms; he assumed an attitude of defiance, instigating and encouraging others to pursue the same course. Many of his excesses had been passed over or only noticed with gentle remonstrance, but this forbearance served only to increase his pride, and intoxicate him with the belief that he was dreaded by the British government. At length, the Governor-General was convinced that further endurance was equally impracticable and impolitic; a large force was assembled under the command of Colonel Lindesay, and a proclamation issued, announcing that Vera Rajendra Woodier should no longer be considered Rajah of Coorg, and that his territories were about to be occupied by British troops. The Rajah is declared unfit to reign, A.D. 1834. April.  
 All British subjects in his service, were ordered to withdraw, under pain of being considered traitors.

On entering the Coorg territory, the British troops at first met but little resistance, but upon approaching the capital, they found that strong stockades had been erected. The defences were spiritedly, and, save in one instance, successfully, attacked by the British divisions. The attack on the Bāk stockade was repulsed, with the loss of seventy men and four officers. It was however a work of considerable strength, having ramparts of masonry, together with a ditch and a stockade, and was memorable as the spot where Hyder Ali was routed in the preceding century, with prodigious loss. Mudgherry, the Rajah's capital, however, having been captured by another division, that prince lost all courage, and voluntarily surrendered himself a prisoner. Mudgherry taken.  
 He entered Mudgherry, attended by two thousand unarmed men, and preceded by fifty palanquins, containing the females of his April 10.

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## XX.

A.D. 1834.

establishment; in front of the procession were two fiddlers, who struck up the "*British Grenadiers*" on passing the guard at the Fort-gate. Notwithstanding this musical compliment, the Rajah was sent off under an escort to Bangalore, and subsequently to Benares. The province of Coorg was annexed to the Madras Presidency.

The conquest of Coorg was dignified as a war, on account of the difficulty of the country and the approved valour of its inhabitants. Accordingly, prize-money to the amount of thirteen lacs of rupees was distributed to the victorious troops. The expeditions which had been previously undertaken against the Chooars, in the eastern districts of Bengal, and the Filloorydas, in the hill-country behind the Circars, were not regarded as wars, for they were in truth rather expeditions to break up gangs of robbers, than hostilities against an enemy. The robbers were hunted from place to place, and their fastnesses destroyed. Their leaders were taken and executed.

Dowlut Rao Scindiah was the most powerful of the Mahratta princes who had been permitted to retain their independence, and his administration of his dominions greatly added to his strength. The stationary camp, which he had established at Gwalior, in process of time became a considerable city. Experience had taught him his inability to cope with the English, he therefore avoided anything which would excite their jealousy or hostility; but his success in consolidating his power naturally produced some anxiety, and a close watch was kept on the interior movements of the court of Gwalior. Scindiah's death, without male heirs, in March, 1827, placed the regency in the hands of his widow, the Baiza Bhaee; but she felt the difficulty of maintaining a female administration, over such turbulent subjects as the Mahratta chiefs, and, to ensure a male successor, she adopted a youth, who took the name of Jhundkoo Rao, and was invested with the title of Maharajah. During the minority of this favoured young man, Baiza Bhaee administered the government with great ability, but when he came of age, he aspired to the actual possession of supreme power, which the Bhaee was by no means willing to grant. The intrigues and disputes of their several partizans, filled the court of Gwalior with confusion; those who favoured the maintenance of tranquillity being anxious to continue the regency, while the youthful and ardent, wished to enforce the claim of Jhundkoo Rao, who, without any regard to his obligations to his benefactress, determined to enforce his claims. Such was the condition of

Scindiah's death and results. His relict, Baiza Bhaee, rules.

Jhundkoo Rao is adopted.

affairs, when Lord William Bentinck, in one of his tours, visited the Mahratta capital; the young prince immediately applied to the Governor-General to place him upon the *musnud*, promising in return, a faithful adherence to the policy of the British government. Lord William intimated in reply, that Gwalior being an independent state, the British government could not interfere with its internal arrangements; he then reminded him of what he owed to his patroness, recommended him to pay the utmost deference to her wishes, and to wait patiently for the time when she would voluntarily resign by surrendering the government into his hands. Jhundkoo Rao, though he feigned acquiescence, was by no means disposed to follow this advice, and in July 1833, made an attempt to seize the supreme power. This being frustrated, he repaired to the mansion of the Resident, who, unwilling to interfere, had left it locked. The young prince sat the whole day in the court of this official dwelling, without food, and under a burning sun; but having at last obtained an audience, and being refused all support, he made his submission to the Bhaee. Meantime, however, a large body of the military, impatient of a female government, discontented with Baiza Bhaee, and desirous of change, applied a ladder to the Maharajah's apartment, brought him out, and proclaimed him their sovereign. The lady took refuge with some troops who still adhered to her; but they were unequal to contend with the opposite party, who were more numerous, and possessed all the artillery. An agreement was made, under the mediation of the Resident, that Jhundkoo Rao should be placed on the *musnud*, and acknowledged by Britain; while the regent should retire unmolested to Dholpoor. There she attempted to make a stand; but being closely invested and reduced to great distress, she at length surrendered, was allowed a revenue of ten lacs of rupees, and took up her residence near Futtyghur.

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A.D. 1833.

Baiza Bhaee.

There were many persons who condemned the course of policy pursued by the Governor-General at this crisis, believing that it approached too closely to the mischievous system of non-interference, adopted by Sir George Barlow. They deemed it dangerous to have the sovereignty of the most powerful of the Mahratta states transferred from the hands of a female of pacific habits, to a young and ambitious man, surrounded by warlike and violent chiefs, ready to lead him into the most perilous and desperate enterprizes. In fact, there were some threatening appearances both in the court and army of Gwalior, which at one time seemed to menace a renewal of hostilities, or, at least,

Public strictures on the non-interference of the Governor-General.

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## XX.

A.D. 1832.

an interference with British interests. Jhundkoo Rao was, however too prudent to gratify the warlike inclinations of his chiefs; he vigorously exerted himself to suppress their demonstrations of discontent, and finally compelled them to acknowledge his uncontrolled sovereignty. Although it cannot be said that the Mahratta powers were reconciled to British supremacy, yet they seemed to feel that if they provoked a contest it would end in their utter ruin; they were even doubtful of the fidelity of their own subjects.

The  
Rajpoot  
chiefs.

The Rajpoot princes, although they never possessed such authority as the chieftains of the Mahrattas, are far more haughty; so great is their pride of birth, that they generally murder their infant daughters through fear, that if they were permitted to attain maturity, they might degrade their families. When the Mahratta power was at its summit, the Rajpoots would gladly have availed themselves of British protection, to escape the heavy impositions of *chout*, or tribute; but their offers having been rejected by Lord Cornwallis, it was subsequently found difficult to prevail upon them to accept the terms of protection which they had so earnestly solicited. Even when they had concluded subsidiary treaties, they looked upon themselves as persons who had granted a favour, and were generally reluctant to fulfil the obligations they had contracted. During his tour through the Upper Provinces, in the year 1832, Lord William Bentinck convoked a congress of the Rajpoot princes at Ajmeer, where he exerted himself with considerable success, to impress upon their minds the necessity of observing the faith of treaties. Promises of obedience were lavishly made; but, as their sincerity was rather questionable, it was resolved that an example should be made of the first Rajah who failed to fulfil the conditions of his tenure. Maun Sing, Rajah of Joudpore, had been restored to power by the Governor-General on the usual terms of subsidiary dependence. It soon appeared that he had no intention of discharging his obligations; he absented himself from the conferences at Ajmeer, he allowed his stipulated tribute to fall two years into arrear, and he afforded shelter to bands of marauders chased from the British provinces. It was also believed that he had engaged in intrigues to induce other Rajpoot princes to imitate his contumacy, if not to join in a confederacy for the purpose of recovering their independence. When remonstrances were made against these equivocal proceedings, Maun Sing evinced no desire to comply with the requisitions of the Governor-General; his answers were not only equivocating, but

Maun Sing,  
the Rajah  
of  
Joudpore,  
refractory.

insinuated menaces of hostility. It was at length resolved that a force should be assembled, sufficiently numerous to compel him to an unqualified submission, or, if he continued obstinate, to deprive him of his throne. For this purpose an army of ten thousand men was ordered to assemble at Nusserabad, on the 10th of October, 1834, and the greatest activity was displayed in preparing the equipments necessary for the force. Maun Sing was far from expecting such promptitude; no sooner had he learned that matters were coming to so serious a crisis, than he sent a deputation of thirty of his principal courtiers, with a gorgeous train of attendants, to Ajmeer, for the purpose of holding an amicable conference with the British Residents in that city, Major Alves and Captain Trevelyan. The envoys made lavish professions of their master's attachment to the British government; they protested that he never had any intention of giving dissatisfaction, and that it was with surprise and regret he learned that offence had been taken. These protestations were received by the Residents for their worth; it was obvious that Maun Sing was anxious to gain time by protracted negotiations; in reply, the Residents informed the envoys that words were of no value without actions, and that the hostile demonstrations must proceed, unless Maun Sing immediately proved his sincerity by delivering up the criminal refugees to whom he had given shelter, and by paying down a sum of money sufficient to defray his arrears and the expenses of the forces collected at Nusserabad. This plain dealing perplexed the envoys; they made many apologies, pleading their master's inability to fulfil such conditions, and making use of every evasion to escape compliance. But when the Residents informed them, that the only alternative would be the immediate dethronement of the Rajah, they showed the utmost consternation, and humbly requested a delay of three days that they might consider the proposals. At the end of that time a second conference was held; the envoys again made every exertion to evade yielding to the conditions demanded, but, finding that the Residents were inexorable, they finally acceded to an unqualified submission.

The peace of Western India was otherwise menaced. A rude tribe, called the Shekhawattees occupied the almost desert territory west of Rajpootana, and were divided into marauding hordes, under petty chiefs. They had long been accustomed to subsist by plundering the neighbouring districts. Acquiring courage from continued impunity, they at length began to extend their incursions into the British territories. A portion of the

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A force sent  
against  
him,  
Oct. 10.

His  
schemes.

The Shek-  
hawatee  
marauders.

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Suppressed.

force levied to punish Maun Sing was sent against these freebooters, under the command of General Stephenson. Very little resistance was made to the invasion ; the bands of the Shekhawattees did not venture to meet the regular troops in the open field, and their forts were either abandoned, or surrendered. Finally, the district of Sambhur was retained as a security for the expenses of the war, and a detachment was left to overawe the rude inhabitants.

Jeyapore  
disturbed  
by a  
plotting  
minister.

A tragical and distressing event occurred about the same time in the Rajpoot state of Jeyapore. The Rajah, a thoughtless youth, left the whole administration in the hands of Jota Ram, originally a banker, an able but unprincipled man. The prince died suddenly ; and the inspection of his body was refused to the public. A strong suspicion arose that the minister, finding his master about to shake off his influence, had murdered him. The British Resident interposed, and procured the removal of Jota Ram, and the transference of the government to a regency,—measures entirely accordant with public feeling. Soon, however, a jealousy was entertained, that public affairs were placed under the dictation of a few foreigners, and a feeling of enmity arose.

A.D. 1835.  
June 4.

On the 4th June, 1835, Major Alves, the Resident, with Mr. Blake, Cornet M'Naghten, and Lieutenant Ludlow, had an interview with the Bhaee Saheb, or dowager-princess. After taking leave, as the first-mentioned gentleman was mounting his elephant, a man rushed out of the crowd with a drawn sword, and inflicted three wounds, one in the forehead ; these were immediately dressed, and he was placed in a palanquin, and conveyed home. The assassin having been seized, Mr. Blake undertook to conduct him to the place of confinement ; but as he proceeded, the cry was raised, "The Feringees have shed blood in the palace !" A crowd instantly assembled, and were joined by many of the police ; stones were thrown, and attempts made to stop him by maiming his elephant. He reached the city gate, which was shut, whereupon he turned back, and sought shelter in a mundur or temple, which he then fastened on the inside ; but the mob burst in, and he fell pierced by numerous wounds. He was a very promising officer, and generally popular. M'Naghten, by galloping in another direction through the crowd, though assailed by stones and other missiles, reached the residency. The government disowned all knowledge of this outrage ; but five individuals, whose guilt was clearly proved, were condemned and executed. Suspicion, however, soon fell upon Jota Ram, the late minister, and, after long preparation, he and several grandees

Mr. Blake  
murdered.

connected with him, were brought to trial before a native tribunal. Being found guilty of instigating and abetting the crime, sentence of death was pronounced ; but it was commuted to exile and imprisonment.

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Rammohun Roy's mission to England excited little attention in Europe ; but in India, and particularly in Delhi, it made an impression in favour of the imperial family, and tended to revive the hereditary respect felt for the house of Timur\*. The emperor's reviving popularity was not a little increased by the conduct of the acting British Resident at Delhi. He insulted and beat the passengers in the streets whenever they omitted to make obeisance to him. This treatment naturally gave great offence to the people, and even excited an angry sensation throughout northern India. The injured natives had no means of redress ; there was no law to which an appeal could be made, no regular process by which they could procure relief from such oppression ; they were subject to the arbitrary will of the acting Resident, whose distance from all authority by which he might be controlled, left him at liberty. At length, a general resolution was taken by the natives, to abstain from appearing abroad when the acting Resident was expected to take his daily rides. None but the emperor himself was free from the caprice of this gentleman ; and, though the monarch sensibly felt his dependence, he long abstained from such a confession of inferiority as appeared to be involved in an appeal to the Governor-General. When, however, the appeal was made, it was received by Lord William Bentinck, with the respectful attention due to fallen royalty : the Resident was removed by the Governor-General, and this circumstance tended to strengthen the growing opinion of the influence, which of right belonged to the emperor of Delhi, being acknowledged by the English authorities, since so high an officer had been removed through his interference.

Rammohun  
Roy's  
mission to  
England.

A.D. 1831.

Delhi  
disturbed.

These occurrences, and some others scarcely less annoying, showed the necessity for erecting a fourth Presidency in the north-western provinces, and the introduction of a regular system of law and judicial administration. Until this was done, the situation of acting Resident at Delhi was one of great difficulty and even danger, for he had to act in direct opposition to

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\* Rammohun Roy, originally a Brahmin, was born in Burdwan in 1780. Having, when a boy, learned Persian and Arabic, he studied Sanscrit and English. In after life he adopted Monotheism. His courteous Asiatic manners rendered him a favourite in England. He died at Bristol, Sept. 1833.

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Mr. Frazer  
murdered  
at Delhi.

The  
Nabob of  
Ferozepore  
found  
guilty and  
hanged.

Lord Wm.  
Bentinck's  
commercial  
policy in  
Central  
Asia.

Interview  
with  
Runjeet  
Sing,  
Oct.

A.D. 1831.

Lieutenant  
A. Burnes  
sent on a  
mission.

the prejudices and feelings of all by whom he was surrounded. Even the greatest exertion of caution and prudence was insufficient to overcome these perils. In March, 1835, Mr. Frazer, the acting Resident and commissioner at Delhi, was shot dead by a hired assassin, who fired three balls into the body of the unfortunate gentleman, and galloped off before he could be seized by the escort. It would have been perilous to the security of British power if such a crime had been allowed to have passed unpunished. A very strict enquiry was made; and it was discovered that this atrocious crime had been contrived by a native chieftain, the Nabob of Ferozepore, an unprincipled debauchee, who had hired Kurreem, the actual murderer. Both were brought to trial, condemned, and executed.

The general tranquillity of India during Lord William Bentinck's administration afforded an opportunity for the prosecution of two great projects, the consequences of which have not been thoroughly developed: the opening of communications with the countries west of the Indus, between that river and the Caspian Sea; and the establishment of a steam communication between England and India. The primary object in forming any connection with the countries west of the Indus was the extension of British commerce. It was believed that it would be possible to open markets for the sale of British manufactures in the great trading cities of Central Asia, the goods being conveyed in steam-boats up the Indus, and then transported by native merchants across the mountain-passes of the Indian Caucasus. In order to facilitate this desirable object, Lord William Bentinck, as already stated, had an interview, in October, 1831, with Runjeet Sing; the ruler of Lahore, which was one of the most gorgeous displays of Oriental magnificence that can be imagined. The king of Lahore expressed himself favourable to such an extension of intercourse, and, with marked reluctance, the Ameers of Scinde were induced to adopt the same course of policy. Lieutenant, afterwards Sir Alexander Burnes, was encouraged by the Governor-General to undertake an exploring tour through the countries of Central Asia. This enterprising traveller collected important information respecting the political condition, the commercial relations, and the geographical features of the countries between the Caspian and the Indus; and his subsequent publication of his travels excited public attention in England.

But these countries were interesting in a different and important point of view. It had been for some time suspected

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Fears of  
Russia.

that the Russians, adopting the policy of Napoleon, looked with a covetous eye on the supremacy which the British had acquired in India; and that plans for destroying the English power in that peninsula had been discussed in the cabinet of St. Petersburg. It was, therefore, part of the instructions given to Lieutenant Burnes, that he should examine the military capabilities of the countries between the Caspian and the Indus. The general opinion founded upon his enquiries was, that no danger can reasonably be dreaded from a Russian invasion proceeding through the desert countries east of the Caspian, which are destitute of the provisions necessary to support a large army, and which present obstacles in the nature of their surface to the transport of a commissariat and military stores. The tribes of the Desert were found to be jealous of strangers, and especially of the Russians, as they have been long in the practice of kidnapping Russian peasants from the frontiers, and reducing them to slavery. The investigations of Lieutenant Burnes were not so fruitful in beneficial results as it was at first supposed that they would have been. It is not easy to see how trade can be opened with the natives of Central Asia, until they produce commodities which they can offer in exchange for British manufactures.

Three routes were proposed for steam-communication with India. The first was the course taken by sailing-vessels round the Cape of Good Hope; this was tried by a vessel called the *Enterprise*, in 1825, and, though she made the voyage in safety, yet little appeared to have been gained in the saving of time. The second route was from Bombay, through the Red Sea to Suez, and thence through Egypt to the Mediterranean. The experiments by this route, and in particular those carried on by Mr. T. Waghorn, were decisive, and a monthly line of packets was established. A third route by the Euphrates and Persian Gulph, was examined by an expedition under the command of Colonel Chesney. He demonstrated the practicability of navigating that river, and the tractability of the Arabs; but before further enquiries could be set on foot, the feasibility of the passage by the Red Sea was fully proved.

The navigation of the Ganges by river-steamers also occupied the attention of the Governor-General, and under his patronage the system was commenced. It has had the most complete success, both in affording security and rapidity to communication.

Commercial derangements threw a gloom over the close of

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## XX

A.D. 1835.

Lord William Bentinck's Indian administration. The fluctuations to which the government loans were liable, induced many persons to invest their capital or their savings in the houses of agency established at Calcutta. Unfortunately, the command of money induced many of these houses to enter into ruinous speculations, which soon led to a commercial crisis. One house after another became bankrupt, until the last failed in January, 1834, inflicting a fearful loss on the commercial community of Calcutta, and reducing many worthy officers to a state of the greatest distress, as they lost in the crash the accumulated savings of their lives.

Lord W.  
Bentinck's  
retrench-  
ments.

Measures relating to the civil branches of the Company's service, by no means palatable to its members, were also introduced, by which zeal and energy were infused into some breasts, in which inertness and apathy had previously been tolerated. The difficulties of the Governor-General's position were enhanced by reports calculated to unsettle the public mind regarding the future system for governing India. An extensive enquiry, instituted by parliament, had been prosecuted amidst shifting ministers, each entertaining opposite views of the principles upon which a settlement was to be made between the public and the Company: the whole frame of Indian society, but more particularly that portion at the seat of government, was thereby shaken. Publications, emanating from members high in the services, evinced little respect for the authority of the Company in whose name affairs were administered, while free comments were made on the conduct of the heads of the government in India. These feelings were embittered by the effects of the ruin caused by the failures of the agency houses, which scattered havoc and dismay. Savings had been deposited by many, in the cherished expectation that they would be enabled to return to close their lives in their native land; but, at one fell swoop, they saw their all swallowed up, their prospects blasted, and themselves left to prolong an unwilling and cheerless service, with broken spirits, and minds soured by severe disappointment.

His conduct  
appreciated.

Lord William Bentinck, nevertheless, received a series of addresses, bearing the strongest testimony which could be offered to a public functionary.

The addresses from the mercantile community declared, that they felt themselves impelled by a sense of duty to contribute their testimony in approval of numerous measures, completed

or in preparation, having for their object the improvement of the country, the moral and social advancement of its population, and the development of its commercial and agricultural resources.

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At a public meeting at the Town-hall, a resolution was passed, requesting his lordship to permit his statue to be erected in some conspicuous part of Calcutta, to be of bronze, and equestrian, and to be executed by Chantrey.

His  
departure  
from India.

Lord William Bentinck quitted Calcutta in March, 1835.

March.

The Court of Directors, on learning that his lordship's health constrained him to relinquish the government, passed the following resolution on the 26th of September, 1834:—

A. D. 1835.

Resolved, That this Court deeply lament that the state of Lord William Bentinck's health should be such as to deprive the Company of his most valuable services; and this Court deem it proper to record, on the occasion of his lordship's resignation of the office of Governor-General, their high sense of the distinguished ability, energy, zeal and integrity, with which his lordship has discharged the arduous duties of his exalted station.”\*

After the intelligence of Lord William Bentinck's resignation had been received, the Court of Directors appointed Lord Heytesbury Governor-General. The choice was approved by Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, then ministers; but, before his lordship could sail to his destination, the Whigs returned to power, and an intimation was conveyed to the Court of Directors, that the restored Whig ministers annulled the appointment of Lord Heytesbury. Some dissatisfaction was expressed by the Court of Directors, and long discussions took place between them and the government. In the meantime, the supreme authority of Calcutta devolved on Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose administration, although briefer than the Directors wished, was marked by several concessions to popular opinion, particularly by the abolition of all restrictions on the freedom of the press.

Lord Heytesbury's  
appointment.

Annulled.

Sir C.  
Metcalfe  
Provisional  
Governor  
General.  
August 3.

Sir Charles Metcalfe returned to Europe in 1837, and in consequence of some differences with the Court of Directors, he resigned the East India Company's service. He was soon afterwards appointed Governor of Jamaica; but after a residence of

\* After his return to England, Lord Wm. Bentinck became Member of Parliament for Glasgow. He died at Paris, June 17, 1839.

CHAPTER  
XX.

A.D. 1837.

two years he was compelled, by ill health, to resign that office. His conduct was such as to ensure him a marble statue, which was erected in the chief town of the island. He was subsequently placed in Canada, as Governor-General of Her Majesty's North American Colonies. A cruel disease, which inflicted on him the most painful ravages, forced him to resign on the 26th of November, 1845. His parting address speaks his generous and patriotic feelings. He was raised to the peerage on his return to England, where he died on the 12th Sept., 1846.

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## CHAPTER XXI

## GOVERNMENT OF LORD AUCKLAND, 1836—1842.

*Lord Auckland lands at Calcutta, March 5, 1836.—His Intentions are highly pacific.—The Rajah of Gumsoor is refractory.—He submits.—The Khoonds subdued.—Anarchy in Oude.—Irregular Adoption by the King.—He dies.—Conflicts respecting the Succession.—The Queen Dowager forced to submit.—A Claimant comes to England, but gains nothing....Details of Afghanistan.—Futteh Khan is Vizir.—He is cruelly put to Death by Shah Mahmood.—The Barukzye Family take up Arms.—They select a King whom they soon depose.—The Country is divided into many small Principalities.—Dost Mohammed obtains Power.—His early Ferocity and Treachery.—His Treatment of Khoja Khanjee.—He uses Power moderately.—His deranged Finances cause Revolts.—He is attacked by the Sikhs, who take Peshawur. Kamran's Rule at Herat.—Persia influenced by Russia.—The Afghans ally themselves with Persia.—The English begin to negotiate West of the Indus.—The Persians attack Herat.—It is well defended by Lieutenant Pottinger.—The English Minister quits Persia.—Karrak occupied.—The Persians repulsed from Herat.—Lord Auckland's Grand Manifesto, Oct. 1, 1838, shewing his Reasons for interfering in Afghanistan.—The Details given in the Manifesto—of Burnes' Mission—of the Attack on Herat—of the Afghans being influenced by Persia—of the Propriety of supporting Shah Soojah—of the Necessity of reinstating him on the Throne of Cabul, and of the Determination of the British Government to send an Expedition for that Purpose.—A tri-partite Treaty is concluded between the British, Runjeet Sing, and Shah Soojah.—The Army is prepared.—Bombay Troops proceed by the Indus.—Sir J. Keane commands.—Kurrachee taken.—The Ameers of Scinde resist, but are terrified into Submission.—The Bengal Division comes to Bhawalpore and crosses the Indus under General Nott.—The whole Army assembled at Shikarpore.—Passage of the Bolan.—The Beloochees annoy the Troops.—The Khan of Khelat is the Leader of the Marauders.—The Army reaches Candahar.—Shah Soojah*

installed.—Ghusnee stormed.—Hyder Khan taken Prisoner.—  
 The Army advances to Cabul.—Colonel Wade's Column passes  
 through the Khyber.—Death of Runjeet Sing, June 30, 1839.—  
 The Army reaches Cabul, Aug. 6.—Dost Mohammed escapes to  
 Bokhara—Is pursued in vain.—Disturbances in the Districts  
 suppressed.—Khelat stormed by General Willshire and the Khan  
 killed.—Shah Soojah enthroned at Cabul....Menacing Appear-  
 ances in Nepaul and Burmah.—The Rajah of Sattara deposed.  
 —Troubles suppressed at Kurnoul and Joudpore.—Aden taken  
 after a long Negociation, Jan. 22, 1839....Shah Soojah's Position  
 not stable.—Colonel Orchard at Pooshut.—Dost Mohammed  
 makes great Efforts.—His Escape from Bokhara....Various En-  
 counters with the Murrees.—Lieutenant Clarke killed at the Pass  
 of Surtoff.—Major Clibborn's Disaster at Nuffosk.—His Troops  
 routed.—The good Conduct of Captain Brown at Kahun.—  
 Review of the Russian Progress to Khiva.—Details of the Russian  
 Manifesto.—Expedition against Khiva fails.—Captain Abbott at  
 Khiva....Dost Mohammed levies Troops, which are soon routed.  
 —Several Officers slain.—Dost Mohammed surrenders himself to  
 Sir W. M'Naghten at Cabul, and is sent to India.—The Arabs  
 attack Aden.—Afghanistan disturbed.—The Eastern Ghilzies  
 revolt, because Payment is refused for passing through the  
 Khyber Defiles.—General Sale sent to suppress their Revolt.—A  
 fearful Outbreak at Cabul.—Sir A. Burnes and several Officers  
 killed.—Causes of the Outbreak.—The Insurrection promoted.—  
 The Troops concentrate on the Cantonments.—General Elphin-  
 stone an enfeebled Commander.—Brigadier Shelton's Unfitness.  
 —The Afghans take the Forts near the Cantonments.—Confusion  
 in the Council.—Brigadier Shelton brave, but nothing more.—  
 Major Pottinger forced to quit Charekar.—Frightful Difficulties  
 of the Troops.—Negociations are tried and fail.—Akbar Khan  
 arrives—Negociations again tried—Shah Soojah rejects the Con-  
 vention.—The British Troops evacuate the Bala Hissar.—Exor-  
 bitant Demands of the Afghans.—Sir W. M'Naghten murdered.  
 Major Pottinger becomes Political Agent.—He makes a Con-  
 vention on the most humiliating Terms.—After various Delays the  
 Army moves, Jan. 6, 1842.—The infuriated Ghilzies enter the  
 Cantonments, to which they set fire.—Hundreds die on the March.  
 —Continual Attacks by the Afghans.—Akbar Khan proposes his  
 own Terms, and obtains Hostages.—Pottinger, Lawrence, and  
 M'Kenzie delivered up.—Butchery at Khoord Cabul.—The  
 Ladies demanded and are surrendered.—Disorganisation of the  
 Army.—Akbar demands the Arms, and that the Camp followers

*should be left to their Fate.—These Conditions refused.—The Remnant reaches Tezeen.—Twelve Thousand Persons killed in four Days.—Akbar Khan requires the Generals to come to confer and makes them Hostages.—The Remnant of the Troops try to force their Way, but they are cut to Pieces at Jugdulluk.—Massacre at Gundamuk.—One Man reaches Jellalabad....Sale defends his Position at Jellalabad.—Disasters at Ghuznee.—The Garrison surrenders.—Khelat-i-Ghilzie well defended.—General Nott's Gallantry at Candahar.—He is well seconded by Major Rawlinson, the Political Agent.—His signal Victory.—Earl Auckland panic-stricken.—He leaves India.*

CHAPTER  
XXI.

A.D. 1836.

LORD AUCKLAND, who was named Governor-General by the Whigs, landed at Calcutta, on the 5th of March, 1836, and assumed the reins of government. It was then expected that his administration would be pacific. He was known to be a supporter of peace, and eager to carry out schemes of social improvement. His attention was at first devoted to the promotion of schemes formed for the advancement of native education, and the communication of knowledge to the Mohammedans and Hindus. But circumstances occurred, which induced Lord Auckland to enter into the troubled politics of Central and Western Asia, and to involve the empire in a dangerous struggle.

About the time of his lordship's accession to power, the Rajah of Gumsoor, a mountainous tract, inhabited by a race called the Khoonds, displayed a refractory spirit; a considerable force was sent to reduce him to obedience. The troops experienced some difficulty in ascending the rugged mountain chain which fenced the frontiers of Gumsoor; and when they reached the summit, they were surprised to see, expanded before them, an extensive and fertile tract of country, covered with flourishing villages, and richly cultivated. At first they encountered but little resistance; Gumsoor and the principal forts were occupied with difficulty; the Rajah, and, afterwards his son submitted to the English. Several subordinate chieftains, however, continued to resist, confiding in the strength of their fastnesses and jungles. Two campaigns were spent in this desultory warfare; the troops suffered severely from sickness in this unhealthy country, and several casualties were sustained in desperate skirmishes. At length the Khoonds were subdued, and their chief fortresses demolished.

The kingdom of Oude is an important dependency of the Anarchy government of Bengal, and its internal condition is a source of in Oude.

CHAPTER  
XXI.

A. D. 1837.

Irregular  
adoptions.Death  
of the king.  
July 7.The Queen  
Dowager  
tries to  
rule.She is  
forced to  
surrender.

continual anxiety. Anarchy and confusion were produced in Oude by the misgovernment of the monarch, so that the Governor-General was induced to make some preparations for transferring its management, at least for a time, to the English authorities; but the court of Lucknow took the alarm, and averted the danger by the introduction of several reforms. In 1837, before his death, the king acknowledged as his sons two youths, Kywan Jah and Moonah Jaun; but it was generally believed that they were not his children, and that he had been induced, by undue female influence, to recognise them. His family interfered, and obtained from him a formal declaration of the fraud; on his death, the question of succession was referred to the British authorities. After a long consideration, it was resolved to set the two young men aside, and, according to the Mohammedan law, to confer the crown on Nusseer-ud-Dowlah, the eldest surviving uncle of the monarch. In the mean time, the queen, a bold and ambitious princess, espoused the cause of Moonah Jaun, whom she treated as her adopted child. On the night of the 7th of July, 1837, Colonel Low, the Resident at Lucknow, received a message that the king was taken suddenly ill, and believed to be dying. This officer ordered his troops to be in readiness, when he found that the king had expired. Having, in this crisis, obtained from Nusseer-ud-Dowlah an engagement to sign such a treaty as the Governor-General should dictate, he led him to the royal residence, where preparations were made for his installation. Suddenly, however, a great noise was heard, and it soon appeared that the Padishah Begum (queen dowager), with an armed force of about two thousand men, was approaching the palace, which, as the British soldiers had not come up, was slightly guarded. In spite of a warm remonstrance, the natives burst open the gates, filled the edifice with shouts and clamour, seized both the prince and the Company's servants, in presence of whom Moonah Jaun was placed on the throne, the Begum being seated in a palanquin beneath him. The insurgents, after some violent proceedings towards the Resident, allowed him to retire, when, upon finding that his men had assembled, he sent repeated messages to the Begum, calling upon her to surrender. As she returned evasive answers, a battery was opened, and, in a short time, she and her minions were made prisoners. The old prince was immediately seated on the throne, and his accession announced by a royal salute.

Claims were advanced by two nephews, sons of a deceased elder brother, who urged that, as their father, if alive, would have succeeded, they ought to inherit. This question had

attracted the attention of the Indian government; and, after reference to high authorities, as well as precedents (among which was that of the present king of Delhi), it was decided that, according to the principles of the Sonnee sect, a son cannot succeed to rights or property to which his father was heir, if he died before coming into actual possession. In this case, the inheritance goes to a brother. A curious contest also arose between the two princes, which was the eldest. One of them spent a considerable time in England, but without being able to obtain any attention either from parliament or from the Company.

CHAPTER  
XXI.

A.D. 1888.  
A Moham-  
medan  
claimant  
comes to  
England.

We shall now enter into the details of the war in Afghanistan.

The revolutions in Afghanistan have been already noticed, which terminated in the dethronement and exile of Shah Soojah, who, after a brief residence at the court of Lahore, became a pensioner on the bounty of the English government, and made the frontier town, Loodiana, his principal abode. Shah Mahmood, who expelled him, was equally unfit for the throne, to which he was elevated by the vizir Futteh Khan. He was menaced with danger from Persia, the monarch of which country claimed tribute from Herat. It was refused, and he advanced to besiege that city. The Afghan king sent his able vizir, Futteh Khan, to aid in its defence. The Persians were defeated with loss, but the Afghans gained no advantage; for being seized with a sudden panic, they abandoned the field, after they had achieved the victory. Futteh Khan effaced the memory of his services by seizing the person of the ruler of Herat, although he was the brother of his sovereign, by depriving him of the whole of his wealth, and by violating his harem while searching for concealed treasure. Prince Kamran, Shah Mahmood's eldest son, vowed revenge for the insult offered to his uncle; he watched his opportunity, seized the unfortunate vizir, and deprived him of sight. After a lapse of five or six months, Shah Mahmood followed up this cruelty, by putting to death the minister to whom he owed his crown.

Afghan-  
istan.

Shah  
Mahmood  
and his  
vizir.

Kamran  
blinds  
Futteh  
Khan.  
A.D. 1818.

The tragedy, which terminated the life of Futteh Khan, Barukzye,\* is, perhaps, without parallel in modern times. Blind and bound he was led into the court of Mahmood, where he had so lately ruled with absolute power. The king taunted him for

The cruel  
death of  
Futteh  
Khan.

\* The Barukzye, or Barak Zai tribe, to which the vizir belonged, had long been regarded as the rivals of the Dooranee, or royal tribe, from which the Afghan monarchs were descended.

CHAPTER  
XXI.

A.D. 1818.

his crimes, and desired him to use his influence with his brothers, then in rebellion. He replied, with great fortitude, that he was now but a poor, blind man, and had no concern with affairs of state. Mahmood, irritated at his obstinacy, gave the last orders for his death, and this unfortunate man was deliberately cut to pieces by the nobles of the court; joint was separated from joint, limb from limb, his nose and his ears were lopped off; nor had the vital spark fled till the head was separated from the mangled body. Futteh Khan bore these cruel tortures without a sigh; he stretched out his different limbs to those who thirsted for his blood, and exhibited the same cool indifference, the same reckless contempt for his own life, which he had so often shown for that of others. The bloody remains were gathered in a cloth and sent to Ghuznee, where they were interred.

The  
Barukzye  
family take  
up arms.

Mohammed Azeem Khan, a brother of the murdered vizir, had recourse to arms, and his first intention was to restore Shah Soojah. Shah Soojah might have re-ascended the throne; but before Azeem Khan had reached Peshawur, he (Soojah) prematurely displayed his notions of royal authority, by insulting some friend of his benefactor, whom he considered to be encroaching on his dignity *by using a palanquin*. The Barukzye family took offence at such ill-timed pride, and Azeem Khan determined to place a compliant master on the throne. A favourable opportunity presented itself. *Ayooob* (or Job), a brother of Soojah, entered the camp of Azeem Khan, and sued for the throne as an abject slave. "Make me but king," he said, "permit money to be coined in my name, and the whole power and resources of the Afghan kingdom may rest with yourself; my ambition will be satisfied with bread, and the title of king." This was the person the Barukzyes wanted, and his conditions were accepted.

Ayooob.

Afghan-  
istan is  
divided  
into small  
states.  
A.D. 1823.

Ayooob was a mere puppet; Azeem Khan possessed the supremacy; but on his death, in 1823, the country fell into confusion: a series of civil wars arose between his children and his numerous brothers, which ended in their parcelling out the empire into petty principalities. Herat, one of these principalities, however, remained in the possession of Shah Mahmood, and was long retained by his son Kamran. Ayooob, forced to become an exile, was supported by a pension from Runjeet Sing.

Although the Barukzye brothers never formed a perfect confederacy, they for the most part recognised the supremacy of Dost Mohammed, who, after having overthrown his nephew, took possession of Cabul. Next to him, the important rulers were

Shere Dil Khan, who took possession of Candahar, and Sultan Mohammed Khan, who established himself in Peshawur. Cashmeer was conquered by Runjeet Sing: and the province of Balkh was seized by the Sultan of Bokhara, while the Ameer of Scinde proclaimed their independence.

CHAPTER  
XXI.

A.D. 1819.  
Cashmeer  
taken,  
June.

Dost Mohammed was the son of an inferior wife, and not regarded as of equal rank with his twenty brothers. His education was neglected; and he is said not to have learned reading and writing until after his accession to power. When the death of Senafraz Khan left his mother without a protector, and Dost Mohammed a young orphan, she destined the boy to a menial situation in the mosque erected to the Afghan saint, Lamech. He took no share in the several revolutions organised by his active brother, Futteh Khan, which ended in the dethronement of Shah Zeman, the expulsion of Shah Soojah, and the elevation to royalty of Shah Mahmood, with Futteh Khan as vizir. On the second assumption of power by Shah Mahmood, he was advancing in youth, and was always about the person of his brother the vizir, rather as a dependent than a relative, serving him with wine and preparing his chillam. Events led the court to Peshawur, when Dost Mohammed brought himself into notice by an atrocious deed, which well marked the reckless and daring disposition of a true Afghan. Amongst the brothers of the vizir, Mohammed Azeem Khan, of nearly the same age, was distinguished by his dignified deportment and propriety of conduct in the administration of affairs. The vizir was so indifferent to his personal matters that frequently no dinner was prepared for him, and his horses were often without barley; he was piqued at the better management of his brother, and annoyed when he heard him lauded. He imputed the prosperous condition of his establishment to the ability of the steward, Mirza Ali Khan, who had made a man of his brother. One day, exhilarated by wine, he exclaimed, "Would to God that some one would kill Mirza Ali, and deliver me from the dread of Mohammed Azeem Khan." Dost Mohammed, present, asked if he should kill the Mirza; the vizir replied, "Yes, if you can." Next morning Dost Mohammed, in the bazaar of Peshawur, proceeded to pay his respects to Ali Khan, and accosted him with "How are you, Mirza?" while he placed one hand upon his waist-shawl, and with the other thrust a dagger into his bosom. He immediately galloped off, not to the quarters of the vizir, but to the tent of Ibrahim Khan Jemsetjee, a Sirdar. Here he was within the circle of the royal tents, and it would have been indecorous to remove him. Mo-

Dost Mo-  
hammed.

His early  
ferocity.

CHAPTER  
XXI.  
A.D. 1825.

The  
Afghan  
treachery  
exempli-  
fied.

hammed Azeem Khan, incensed upon hearing of the catastrophe, vowed that nothing but Dost Mohammed's blood could atone for the murder, and sought the vizir. That profligate man expressed his regret, that a remark made by him should have caused the perpetration of a foul crime; but pointed out that the Mirza could not be recalled to life, that Dost Mohammed was still a brother, and could not be taken from his asylum.

Dost Mohammed obtained supreme power during the distractions that followed the dissolution of the Afghan monarchy; by his means the sturdy leaders of the Kohistan, were fully circumvented. One of the most cautious, Khoja Khanjee, of Karrezae, was nearly the only one who remained, and he rejected every overture, and refused to attend the camp of the Sirdar. It was felt by Dost Mohammed, that nothing was done while Khoja Khanjee remained; and he redoubled his exertions to ensnare him. He sent Koran after Koran; engaged to marry his daughter; but the old chieftain was not enticed from his castle. The Khoja, like other men, had enemies. The chief most inimical to him, was in attendance upon Dost Mohammed, who, as a means of winning the confidence of the Khoja, put his enemy to death, claiming the merit of having proved the sincerity of his desire to become friendly with him, at the risk of incurring disgrace in the eyes of the world. The murder took place at Baiyan, and Dost Mohammed invited the Khoja to meet him, and cement their friendly understanding, at the castle of his former foe. The Khoja was now overcome, and repaired to Baiyan with a numerous retinue. Dost Mohammed received him with a thousand protestations of friendship, and addressed the old man as his father. At night, Dost Mohammed took the hand of the Khoja, and led him within the castle, that he might witness the preparation of an inventory of the effects of the slain. As soon as the castle was entered, the gates were closed, and as the Khoja passed into an apartment, said to be the Tosha Khana, Dost Mohammed gave the word, in Turkee, to his attendants, who cut the victim down. His head was thrown from the battlements amongst his followers. In the first transports of their indignation, they commenced an attack upon the castle; but disunited and disconcerted, they retired before morning. Dost Mohammed was left at leisure to rejoice in his victory, and the triumph of his dexterity, by which he proved that he was a true Afghan in principle and action.

His power, thus erected on the basis of fraud and overreaching, was always liable to be destroyed by the same weapons. Had

he been born to legitimate power, his talents would have had a fair field for their development and exercise, and he might have been spared the commission of many enormities. In youth he had been dissipated, and prone to the vices of the country; when Master of Cabul, he abjured wine and pleasure. In matters where political questions were not involved, he was fair and impartial; free from haughtiness, and accessible to all. By his vigilant administration of the country, crimes became few, for people ceased to commit them, fearful they should be called to account.

It was not in the power of Dost Mohammed Khan to repress the ambition of his brothers, or the turbulence of the Afghan chiefs, especially as he was prevented by the war with the Sikhs, and the repeated attempts of Shah Soojah to recover the crown. At the beginning of the year 1836, Cabul was in a state of anarchy, and Dost Mohammed could think of no better mode of insuring tranquillity, than by treacherously seizing all the chiefs whom he suspected of intriguing against him. This design was defeated by his taking as his adviser their chief agent, who, of course, revealed his intentions to the chiefs. It would be tedious to enter into the detail of Dost Mohammed's plans for the destruction of his brothers, or of their machinations against him. The condition of Afghanistan in 1836, was fearful.

The large force the Ameer, as the Dost was also entitled, deemed it advisable to keep up, pressed heavily upon his finances. No opportunity was neglected of seizing property; and extreme dissatisfaction prevailed. An effort made to increase the revenues derived from the Ghilzie districts of Ghuznee, threw them into insurrection, and the Ghilzie districts of Cabul were on the verge of revolt. In both instances the Ameer gained a trifle, notwithstanding the Ghuznee Ghilzies defeated his troops. In the autumn, his son, Akbar Khan, marched into Taghow, and after some severe fighting, in which men of consideration were slain, possessed himself of the valley. Here tribute was enforced. Many of the troops employed in this expedition, went provided with barats, or orders for their pay, drawn out in anticipation. Such orders are described as being on the stag's antlers, meaning that the stag must first be caught.

In such a state of affairs, it was difficult to resist such active enemies as the Sikhs; and Runjeet Sing having crossed the Indus, made himself master of Peshawur, which had belonged to the sultan, Mohammed Khan, an elder brother of Dost Mohammed.

CHAPTER  
XXI.A D. 1835.  
Kamran's  
rule at  
Herat.

Events more perilous to the peace of central Asia, occurred in other quarters.

We have mentioned that one branch of the royal family of Afghanistan had retained possession of Herat. When Kamran assumed the sceptre in that city, he was daunted by the success of the Persian prince, Abbas Mirza, and consented to become a tributary to the Shah of Persia, and to raze his strong fortress of Ghoriah on the frontiers of Khorasan. The death of Abbas Mirza, which was soon followed by that of his father, Futteh Ali Shah, exposed Persia to the hazard of civil war, which was averted by the prompt interference of the English. The confusion appeared to Kamran a favourable opportunity for evading the fulfilment of his engagements: he refused to demolish Ghoriah; or to permit the Persian families in Herat to return to their homes; and to pay the tribute. He went farther, and allowed his vizir to invade Khorasan, and to carry away twelve thousand persons, who were sold as slaves. Such was the aspect of affairs when the English envoy, Mr. Ellis arrived at Teheran on a mission of condolence to the king of Persia. He found the young Persian king, Mohammed Shah, bent on attacking Herat, to punish the perfidy of Kamran, and disposed to extend his claims to Ghuznee and Candahar, which had formed part of the Persian monarchy in the time of Nadir Shah.

Persia in-  
fluenced by  
Russia.

The causes of war against the prince of Herat were not to be denied; but it was felt that serious interests would be endangered by the approach of the Shah of Persia, either in the way of direct conquest, or by the admission of his right of dominion to the frontiers of India. Such an event would unsettle the minds of the Mussulman population throughout the Peninsula, and awaken a dangerous fanaticism. There were, moreover, considerations still more serious; Mr. Ellis found the Russian influence predominant in the councils of Persia, and the Russian ambassador, Count Simonich, anxious to precipitate the march of the Shah's army on Herat. There was reason to believe that the Persians would be the advanced guard of the Russians, who would thus be brought into proximity with the most exposed frontier of British India.

Dost  
Moham-  
med leans  
to Persia.

The Barukzye brothers were at this time alarmed by the progress and victories of the Sikhs, and they hated Shah Kamran as the bitter enemy of their family. They were anxious to secure the friendship of Persia, though they professed that they would rather gain their objects by the intervention of the British

government. No effort had been made by the authorities in India, to mediate between the Sikhs and Afghans, whose wars at a distance from the English frontiers, had excited but little attention. The hatred, however, which the Afghans and other Mohammedans bear to the Sikhs is so intense, that any war between them ought to be carefully observed, lest it lead to outbursts of Mohammedan enthusiasm. Dost Mohammed's inclination to form an alliance with Persia, was not wholly caused by his dread of the Sikhs. By his mother's side he was descended from the Persian tribes, which had been sent to colonize Afghanistan in the reign of Nadir-Shah; they are called Kuzzilbashes, that is, "Red-heads," from their retaining the cap which forms part of their costume; and they follow the Shiah form of the Mohammedan faith, in opposition to the Afghans, who are strongly attached to the Sonnee creed. His connection with these tribes, disposed Dost Mohammed to form a Persian alliance, and, in the state of the court of Teheran, it was scarcely possible to negotiate an alliance, without also entering into diplomatic relations with Russia.

CHAPTER  
XXI.

A.D. 1837.

The attempt which Shah Soojah made to recover his throne, in 1834, was believed at Cabul to have been favoured by the English authorities. Its failure was not expected at Calcutta, and there is no doubt that many subordinate officers gave the Shah assistance. But, notwithstanding these suspicions, Dost Mohammed sought the interference of the British to prevent the encroachments of the Sikhs, and made a strong application to Lord Auckland. The Governor-General resolved to embrace the opportunity of opening negotiations with the countries west of the Indus, and to secure to British merchants the free navigation of that river. He therefore sent Captain Burnes, on a mission to Cabul.

The  
English  
negotiation  
west of the  
Indus.

The Afghan chiefs, however, could not appreciate the advantages of a commercial treaty. They were willing that the English should mediate between them and the Sikhs; and they felt grateful for the acknowledgment of the independence of the Barukzyes, which had been obtained from Shah Kamran, in return for his being secured against the attacks of Persia. Captain Burnes reached Cabul in September, 1837, when recent events appeared to give him the power of accomplishing the objects of his mission with little difficulty, for Dost Mohammed was anxious to recover Peshawur from the Sikhs.

Captain  
Burnes at  
Cabul.

It is now known that Dost Mohammed, having an agent named Vicovich at his court, was secretly negotiating with

CHAPTER  
XXI.

A.D. 1837.  
The Persian king sends an army to Herat. Mr. McNeill quits Persia.

A.D. 1838.  
Karrak occupied.

Herat well defended.

The Persians repulsed. Siege raised, Sept. 9.

the Persians and the Russians, and that the Persian king, Shah Mohammed, was slowly advancing on Herat, with the prospect of being joined by the Barukzye brothers. In December, 1837, the Persian army laid siege to Herat, and the Russian emissary Vicovich, made his appearance in Cabul, where he was received with studied attention. Mr. McNeill, the English envoy in Persia, offered to mediate between the Persian monarch and the ruler of Herat, but the Russian ambassador counteracted his exertions, and the siege was continued. The envoy soon after quitted that country, and an expedition was sent from Bombay to occupy the island of Karrak, lying off the harbour of Bushire; the island was occupied on the 19th of June, 1838. Herat was vigorously defended; the Persians lay several months before the walls, and did not hazard an assault until they had battered the city for six days with an incessant fire from forty pieces of cannon. When the signal for attack was made, the Persians planted their standards three several times upon the breach, but were unable to maintain that position. The Afghans attacked them, sword in hand, and drove them across the ditch. The loss of the assailants amounted to nearly two thousand men, including a number of officers. More than three-fourths were found to have fallen by sabre wounds. The preservation of Herat was owing, in a great degree, to the abilities and valour of Lieutenant Pottinger, who happened to be present; he taught the Afghans how to resist the military arts of the besiegers, and he thwarted the attempts of the Russian agents to excite dissensions in the garrison.

Such was the situation of affairs in Persia and Cabul, when the Indian government deemed it necessary to interfere. The principles by which such an interference was justified are laid down in a manifesto issued by Lord Auckland from Simla, as follows:

Oct. 1.  
Lord Auckland's grand manifesto.

1. The Right Honourable the Governor-General of India having, with the concurrence of the Supreme Council, directed the assemblage of a British force for service across the Indus, his lordship deems it proper to publish the following exposition of the reasons which have led to this important measure.
2. It is a matter of notoriety that the treaties entered into by the British Government in the year 1832, with the Ameers of Sind, the Nawab of Bahawalpore, and Maharajah Runjeet Sing, had for their object, by opening the navigation of the Indus, to facilitate the extension of commerce, and to gain for the British nation, in Central Asia, that legitimate influence which an interchange of benefits would naturally produce.
3. With a view to invite the aid of the *de facto* rulers of Afghanistan to the measures necessary for giving full effect to those treaties, Captain Burnes was deputed, towards the close of the year 1836, on a mission to Dost Mohammed Khan, the

Chief of Cabul. The original objects of that officer's mission were purely of a commercial nature. 4. Whilst Captain Burnes, however, was on his journey to Cabul, information was received by the Governor-General that the troops of Dost Mohammed Khan had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient ally, Maharajah Runjeet Sing. It was naturally to be apprehended that his highness the Maharajah, would not be slow to avenge this aggression; and it was to be feared that the flames of war being once kindled in the very regions into which we were endeavouring to extend our commerce, the peaceful and beneficial purposes of the British government would be altogether frustrated. In order to avert a result so calamitous, the Governor-General resolved on authorizing Captain Burnes to intimate to Dost Mohammed Khan that, if he should evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms with the Maharajah, his lordship would exert his good offices with his highness for the restoration of an amicable understanding between the two powers. The Maharajah, with the characteristic confidence which he has uniformly placed in the faith and friendship of the British nation, at once assented to the proposition of the Governor-General, to the effect that, in the meantime, hostilities on his part should be suspended. 5. It subsequently came to the knowledge of the Governor-General, that a Persian army was besieging Herat; that intrigues were actively prosecuted throughout Afghanistan, for the purpose of extending Persian influence and authority to the banks of, and even beyond, the Indus; and that the court of Persia had not only commenced a course of injury and insult to the officers of Her Majesty's mission in the Persian territory, but had afforded evidence of being engaged in designs wholly at variance with the principles and objects of its alliance with Great Britain. 6. After much time spent by Captain Burnes in fruitless negotiation at Cabul, it appeared that Dost Mohammed Khan, chiefly in consequence of his reliance upon Persian encouragement and assistance, persisted, as respected his misunderstanding with the Sikhs, in using the most unreasonable pretensions, such as the Governor-General could not, consistently with justice and his regard for the friendship of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, be the channel of submitting to the consideration of his highness; that he avowed schemes of aggrandizement and ambition, injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India; and that he openly threatened, in furtherance of those schemes, to call in every foreign aid which he could command. Ultimately, he gave his undisguised support to the Persian designs in Afghanistan, of the unfriendly and injurious character of which, as concerned the British power in India, he was well apprised, and by his utter disregard of the views and interests of the British government, compelled Captain Burnes to leave Cabul without having effected any of the objects of his mission. 7. It was now evident that no further interference could be exercised by the British government, to bring about a good understanding between the Sikh ruler and Dost Mohammed Khan; and the hostile policy of the latter chief showed too plainly that, so long as Cabul remained under his government, we could never hope that the tranquillity of our neighbourhood would be secured, or that the interests of our Indian empire would be preserved inviolate. 8. The Governor-General deems it in this place necessary to revert to the siege of Herat, and the conduct of the Persian nation. The siege of that city has now been carried on by the Persian army for many months. The attack upon it was a

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Details  
given of  
Burnes' mission;of the  
attack on  
Herat;of the  
Afghans  
being in-  
fluenced by  
Persia;of the  
gallant  
defence of  
Herat.

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of the  
dangers  
from  
Persia ;of the  
rightful  
claims of  
Shah  
Soojah.Shah  
Soojah  
to be  
supported.

most unjustifiable and cruel aggression, perpetrated and continued, notwithstanding the solemn and repeated remonstrances of the British envoy at the court of Persia, and after every just and becoming offer of accommodation had been made and rejected. The besieged have behaved with gallantry and fortitude worthy of the justice of their cause, and the Governor-General would yet indulge the hope that their heroism may enable them to maintain a successful defence, until succours shall reach them from British India. In the meantime, the ulterior designs of Persia, affecting the interests of the British government, have been, by a succession of events, more and more openly manifested. The Governor General has recently ascertained, by an official despatch from Mr. McNeill, Her Majesty's envoy, that his excellency has been compelled, by the refusal of his just demands, and by a systematic course of disrespect adopted towards him by the Persian government, to quit the court of the Shah, and to make a public declaration of the cessation of all intercourse between the two governments. The necessity under which Great Britain is placed, of regarding the present advance of the Persian arms into Afghanistan, as an act of hostility towards herself, has also been officially communicated to the Shah, under the express order of Her Majesty's government. 9. The chiefs of Candahar (brothers of Dost Mohammed Khan of Cabul) have avowed their adherence to the Persian policy, with the same full knowledge of its opposition to the rights and interests of the British nation in India, and have been openly assisting in the operations against Herat. 10. In the crisis of affairs consequent upon the retirement of our envoy from Cabul, the Governor-General felt the importance of taking immediate measures for arresting the rapid progress of foreign intrigue and aggression towards our own territories. 11. His attention was naturally drawn, at this conjuncture, to the position and claims of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, a monarch who, when in power, had cordially acceded to the measures of united resistance to external enmity, which were at that time judged necessary by the British government, and who, on his empire being usurped by its present rulers, had found an honourable asylum in the British dominions. 12. It had been clearly ascertained, from the information furnished by the various officers who have visited Afghanistan, that the Barukzye Chiefs, from their disunion and unpopularity, were ill fitted, under any circumstances, to be useful allies to the British government, and to aid us in our just and necessary measures of national defence. Yet, so long as they refrained from proceedings injurious to our interest and security, the British government acknowledged and respected their authority. But a different policy appeared to be now more than justified by the conduct of those chiefs, and to be indispensable to our own safety. The welfare of our possessions in the East requires that we should have on our western frontier, an ally who is interested in resisting aggression, and establishing tranquillity, in the place of chiefs ranging themselves in subservience to a hostile power, and seeking to promote schemes of conquest and aggrandizement. 13. After a serious and mature deliberation, the Governor-General was satisfied that a pressing necessity, as well as every consideration of policy and justice, warranted us espousing the cause of Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, whose popularity throughout Afghanistan had been proved to his lordship by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities. Having arrived at this determination, the Governor-General was further of opinion, that it was just and proper, no

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less from the position of Maharajah Runjeet Sing, than from his undeviating friendship towards the British government, that his highness should have the offer of becoming a party to the contemplated operations. Mr. M'Naghten was accordingly deputed in June last to the court of his highness, and the result of his mission has been the conclusion of a tripartite treaty, by the British government, the Maharajah, and Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, whereby his highness is guaranteed in his present possessions, and has bound himself to co-operate for the restoration of the Shah to the throne of his ancestors. The friends and enemies of any one of the contracting parties, have been declared to be the friends and enemies of all. Various points have been adjusted, which had been the subjects of discussion between the British government and his highness the Maharajah, the identity of whose interests with those of the honourable Company, has now been made apparent to all the surrounding states. A guaranteed independence will, upon favourable conditions, be tendered to the Ameers of Scinde; and the integrity of Herat, in the possession of its present ruler, will be fully respected; while by the measures completed, or in progress, it may reasonably be hoped that the general freedom and security of commerce will be promoted; that the name and just influence of the British government will gain their proper footing among the natives of Central Asia, that tranquillity will be established upon the most important frontier of India; and that a lasting barrier will be raised against intrigue and encroachment. 14. His majesty Shah Soojah-ool-Moolk, will enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference, and factious opposition, by a British army. The Governor-General confidently hopes that the Shah will be speedily replaced on his throne by his own subjects and adherents, and when once he shall be secured in power, and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan established, the British army will be withdrawn. The Governor-General has been led to these measures, by the duty which is imposed upon him of providing for the security of the possessions of the British crown; but he rejoices that, in the discharge of this duty, he will be enabled to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Afghan people. Throughout the approaching operations, British influence will be sedulously employed to further every measure of general benefit; to reconcile differences; to secure oblivion of injuries; and to put an end to the distractions by which, for so many years, the welfare and happiness of the Afghans have been impaired. Even to the chiefs, whose hostile proceedings have given just cause of offence to the British government, it will seek to secure liberal and honourable treatment, on their tendering early submission; and ceasing from opposition to that course of measures, which may be judged the most suitable for the general advantage of their country.

Other  
conditions.Offers  
of good  
treatment  
made  
to the  
Afghans.

A tripartite treaty was concluded, between the British government, Runjeet Sing and Shah Soojah, whereby the Maharajah of the Sikhs, was confirmed in his possessions, and bound to co-operate in the restoration of the Shah. It was also resolved to tender a guaranteed independence to the rulers of Scinde, and to leave Herat under the government of Kamran. Shah Soojah was to levy an army of his own, but was to be supported by a British

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June 26.  
British  
treaty with  
Runjeet  
Sing and  
Shah  
Soojah.

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The  
Bombay  
army  
moves up  
the Indus.  
Sir John  
Keane  
commands  
it.

force, until his restoration was effected and the security of his dominions established. Two corps of the army were prepared; one from Bombay was to ascend the Indus, and enforce, if necessary the co-operation of the rulers of Scinde, while another from Bengal was to descend by the left bank of the Sutledge so as to form a junction with the Bombay division, at Shikarpore, a town containing about 6,000 houses and 30,000 inhabitants. It was then a place of much resort, between Rohree and Dadur, near the entrance to the Bolan pass.

The news of the raising of the siege of Herat, and the retreat of the Shah of Persia reached the Governor-General, and led to some changes. It was resolved, that only a portion of the Bengal force should be sent forward, and that the command of the entire expedition, should be given to Sir John Keane, the chief of the Bombay division. At the same time, a personal interview took place between the Governor-General and Runjeet Sing, which was conducted with extraordinary magnificence, and tended to secure for the expedition, active aid from that energetic sovereign.

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Kurrachee  
taken,  
Feb. 2.

It soon appeared that the rulers of Scinde were unwilling to fulfil their stipulations, and to permit the march of a European force through their territory; it was, therefore, necessary to force a passage. A strong division marched upon Hyderabad, the appearance of which soon induced the Ameers to succumb. This was followed by the capture of Kurrachee, the chief seaport of Scinde, which so terrified them, that they submitted to a new treaty, agreeing to make an immediate payment of 300,000*l.*; to maintain an auxiliary force of 4,000 men, under the command of British officers; to pay a tribute amounting to nearly one-half of their revenue; and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Company, to whom their sovereign, Shah Soojah, had resigned it.

Treaty  
with the  
Ameers.

The Bengal  
division  
comes down  
by the  
Sutledge  
under  
General  
Nott.

In the meantime, the Bengal division pursued its course along the Sutledge, until it reached Bhawulpore. In pursuance of a treaty with the Ameers, possession was obtained of the fortress of Bukkur, where a bridge of boats was constructed, for the passage of the Bengal army over the Indus, and upon the 14th of February, General Nott had the honour of leading the first body of disciplined Bengal troops, to the opposite banks of this noble river, with all the "pride, pomp, and circumstance" of military progress.

The army  
at Shikar-  
pore.

Towards the beginning of March, the whole army assembled at Shikarpore, and soon began to thread its way through the

difficult country leading to the Bolan pass. Here their sufferings commenced; the wild tribes of Beloochees, who could never be got to attack them in front, hung upon the flanks and rear of the army, sweeping off the camels and the baggage. These marauders were well-mounted, and carried sometimes a sabre in each hand, in addition to their daggers, bucklers and guns. One of their means of defence, was to inundate the country, by damming up the rivers, so that the troops were forced to march through the water, until they came to the dykes. Their progress was also impeded by the dense jungles which they were obliged to clear for their encampments.

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The Beloochees obstruct the passage through the Bolan.

It was in the passage of the defiles of the Bolan pass, that their hardships really began; as the Bengal column entered them on the evening of the 18th of March. Although the heat in the plain which they had left was intolerable, a hurricane of snow swept over the Bolan, and the way was encumbered with great fragments of rock; the troops were compelled to abandon their tents, together with the greater number of their camels, to the wild robbers who hovered day and night on their flanks. The principal promoter of these outrages was Mehrab Khan, the chief of the strong fortress of Khelat, who instigated the plundering tribes to assault and murder the followers of the army, at the same time that he was ostensibly negotiating a treaty with the representative of the British government.

Beloochees led on by Mehrab Khan of Khelat.

On the 26th of March, the army reached Quetta, where, from the want of provisions, the soldiers were placed on limited allowance. As they advanced towards Candahar, the want of water caused the death of nearly sixty horses; but fortunately, when their distress was at the highest, a supply of water and forage was discovered at the Doree river.

The scene which ensued there was most appalling. The moment the horses saw the water, they made a sudden rush into the river, as if mad; both men and horses drank till they nearly burst themselves. Officers declare that their tongues cleaved to the roof of their mouths; the water was very brackish, which induced them to drink the more. The river was three feet deep, and more in some places, and was five or six miles off the proper road.

Candahar having been abandoned by the Barukzye chiefs, was occupied by the British troops, and the army halted for some weeks in its vicinity, to recover from its recent fatigue. The Commander-in-chief addressed the soldiers, and gave a lively description of the difficulties. "The engineers had to make roads,

Candahar occupied. April 25.

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Shah  
Soojah  
installed.  
May 8.

and occasionally, in some extraordinary steep mountain passes, over which no wheeled carriage had ever passed. This was a work requiring science, and much severe labour; but so well has it been done, that the progress of the army was in no manner impeded. The heavy and light ordnance were alike taken over in safety, by the exertion and good spirit of the artillery, in which they were most cheerfully and ably assisted by the troops, both European and native, and in a manner which gave the whole proceeding the appearance, that each man was working for a favourite object of his own."

During the delay at Candahar, the ceremony of Shah Soojah's installation was performed. The whole of the British army (Bengal and Bombay) amounting to about seven thousand five hundred men, was drawn up in line, at the dawn of day, in front of the city of Candahar to the north. A platform, or throne, was erected in the midst of an extensive plain. At sunrise, the guns of the palace announced the Shah's departure from the palace. On his ascending the throne, a salvo was discharged from one hundred and one pieces of artillery. Sir J. Keane, and the Envoy and minister at his court, offered presents on behalf of the British government, and then the officers, British and Native, in the King's service, offered *nuzzurs* (presents). The "army of the Indus" then marched round, in front of the throne.

Ghuznee  
stormed.

July 28.

On the 27th of June, the army advanced from Candahar, to assail the celebrated fortress of Ghuznee. The fort, which looked formidable, with its fortifications rising upon the side of a hill, Sir John Keane found much stronger than he had anticipated; it was surrounded with a ditch and a high wall, flanked by towers and protected by a citadel. There was no heavy artillery suitable for sieges, with the army, and the garrison seemed decided on making a resolute defence. A heavy fire was opened on the British troops, as soon as they came within range of the guns. It was resolved to take it by storm, and the whole of the 22nd was spent in making preparations. By three o'clock the next morning, the detachments were all at their respective posts, and the guns, chiefly field-pieces, in position at points which commanded the eastern face, as well as the Cabul gate of the fortress. So secretly were these proceedings conducted, that not a single shot was fired by the Afghans until they were aroused from their security by a feigned attack on the opposite quarter. The storming party under Colonel Dennie, then marched up to the Cabul gate, where they opened a fire upon

the ramparts and parapets which commanded the entrance, whilst Captains Thompson and Peat attached the bags of powder to the gates. These exploding, burst the gates open, and before the defenders could recover from their astonishment, the gallant Colonel Dennie, at the head of the storming party, rushed into the town. As at Herat, so here; the Afghans disputed the ground, inch by inch, hand to hand, with pistol, dagger and sabre. The darkness was more favourable to the assailants, than to the besieged: every street was strewn with the slain; out of the garrison, which consisted originally of three thousand five hundred men, more than five hundred were killed within the walls, and fifty men fell in the defence of a single fortified house. "There was a heap of straw here," says an eye-witness, "some stray shot struck it, a moving was observed, a shower of balls was poured in, the straw fired, only one man escaped, and he was shot close to the burning mass. This house was the residence of the Governor, Hyder Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed, and the females of the principal people of the place were collected here. They became prisoners, and were treated with respect." The centre square exhibited a scene of blood and confusion; horses, many wounded, were kicking and biting, and running furious at every one they saw; so dangerous had these animals become, that the men were obliged to shoot them in self-defence, as they endangered the lives of all, and particularly of the wounded men. Before sunrise, the British banners were waving from the citadel. Protection was granted to the women, and to such of the garrison as laid down their arms. Hyder Khan, a son of Dost Mohammed was among the prisoners.

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Hyder  
Khan  
taken  
prisoner.

The capture of one of the strongest places in Asia, with such apparent ease, made a deep impression on the minds of the Afghans. Dost Mohammed, believing that the fortress would keep the English for some time, was proceeding towards the capital with his cavalry and a park of artillery; but when the news of the fall of Ghuznee arrived, his army dispersed, apparently in despair.

While Sir John Keane was advancing leisurely towards Cabul, through the rich valley between Ghuznee and that city, Colonel Wade was making his way forward to that capital, through the formidable Khyber Pass. The Khyber Pass is about twenty-eight miles in extent. From the entrance on the Peshawur side it is seven miles to Ali Musjid, from which it is two miles to Lalibeg Ghuree, a valley which is about six miles long, and one and a quarter broad; hence is the Pass of Lundeeckhana; in fact,

The army  
advances to  
Cabul.Colonel  
Wade's  
column  
passes  
through the  
Khyber.  
June 22-27.

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excepting the valley, the rest of the Pass, or for twenty-two miles, can be commanded by Jinjals (wall-pieces), or even by the mountain rifle (Juzzail) fired with a rest, and in many places by the common musket. The road being stony, the movements of troops with guns is necessarily slow. The first four miles, after the entrance to the Pass, the road is contracted, and the hills on each side, are nearly perpendicular; to the left, two miles up the Pass, there is a road which leads up to the top of the hills. The Pass widens after the third mile, but still the road is exposed to a fire from either side. At about five and a half miles is the town of Jaghir on the right, which could fire on any enemy moving by either road. From this tower, Ali Musjid is one and a half mile; on the left is the range of hills by which one ascends to the fort; on the right is the hill which runs parallel to, and which is commanded by the fort. The range of hills to the left leads to the cantonment of the Khyberees; that of Choorah is about eight miles from the fort; that of Teerah seven or eight marches off. The town of Jaghir was filled with the enemy. The fort contained a considerable garrison. There were breast-works thrown up on the hills: so that it was necessary to move on slowly, and at each halt to stockade the troops, as well as to protect the position.

Death of  
Runjeet  
Sing.  
June 30.

The death of Runjeet Sing created some difficulties in the management of the auxiliary Sikhs, who acted under Colonel Wade; but he steadily pressed onwards, and easily made himself master of Ali Musjid, on the 27th of July. The garrison evacuated it, after a very slight resistance. Colonel Wade reached Cabul on the 3rd of September.

The army  
reaches  
Cabul,  
Aug. 6.

On the 6th of August, "the army of the Indus," after a march of more than fifteen hundred miles, reached its destination at Cabul, and on the following evening, Shah Soojah made his entry into his capital. Dost Mohammed, abandoned his baggage and artillery, and fled with a few followers over the Hazareh mountains into Bokhara. He was pursued by some British troops, under the guidance of an Afghan, who led them a "wild-geese chase."

Disturbed  
districts  
subdued.

In order to follow out the conquest, Major Outram was sent into certain disturbed districts, between Cabul and Candahar, to tranquillize the disaffected Ghilzie tribes, which had not yet acknowledged Shah Soojah. Nor was the treachery of the Khan of Khelat forgotten; General Willshire, led a strong detachment against his fortress. After some smart skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Khelat, the besiegers resolved to adopt the same

course of tactics which had proved so successful at Ghuznee CHAPTER  
A storming party succeeded in blowing open the gate, and made XXI.  
their way into the town, the enemy disputed every inch of A.D. 1839.  
ground up to the walls of the inner citadel. After a sharp Khelat  
struggle, the troops forced an entrance into the last stronghold stormed by  
of the capital of Beloochistan. A desperate defence was made General  
there by Mehrab Khan in person, and he with several of his Willshire.  
chiefs fell. With his death all resistance ceased. Nov. 13.

After leaving a detachment for the protection of Shah Soojah, Shah  
the main body of the troops returned home by the route of the Soojah  
Khyber Pass and Peshawur, and were rewarded by a liberal enthroned.  
distribution of honours and pensions. Shah Soojah instituted an  
order of knighthood on the occasion.

During this campaign, menacing appearances on the part of Disturb-  
the Nepaulese and Burmese seemed to threaten wars on the north ances  
and eastern frontiers of India; but the fall of Ghuznee induced threatened  
the chiefs of both nations to abstain from any attack. elsewhere.  
Rumours  
were rife of a plot having been formed, for a general insurrection  
of the Native princes throughout India, which excited alarm in  
Calcutta. Whether true or false, they led to the dethronement

of a prince who was indebted for his sovereignty to English  
generosity. The Rajah of Sattara, as mentioned in a former The Rajah  
chapter, having been drawn from the prison in which the Mah- of Sattara  
ratta chiefs held him, and having been invested with that sove- removed,  
reignty, on condition of his being guided by the advice of the and his  
British Resident, and holding no intercourse with foreign states brother  
through any other channel, was found to have violated this made  
engagement, and even to have taken a share in hostile negocia- ruler.  
tions. Yet, he was offered a continued enjoyment of power, Dec. 7.  
provided he would renounce unfriendly measures, and dismiss  
the minister who was supposed to have prompted them.\* Hav-  
ing refused to comply, he was seized, and Appah Sahib his  
brother, placed on the throne. Slight disturbances also took  
place at Poonah. At Hyderabad, a serious conspiracy was formed  
among thirty or forty leading men, headed by the Nizam's brother,  
a proud and daring chief; but, being discovered, it was  
baffled, and the prince conveyed to the fort of Golconda. During  
the investigation which followed, the Nabob of Kurnoul, a place  
situated about one hundred and twenty miles farther south, was  
found implicated. A force marched to reduce that town, which

\* Sir James R. Carnac the Governor of Bombay, went to Sattara to point  
out the futility of the Rajah's acts, and to request him to observe good faith.

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Troubles at  
Kurnoul.  
and at  
Joudpore  
suppressed.

was entered without opposition, and the Nabob was pursued and captured after a sharp conflict. Within the fortress were found a number of well-constructed furnaces, in which cannon and shot had been cast on a large scale, and in forms fitted not for defence only, but for active proceedings in the field. These preparations had been secretly carried on for a considerable time. The Rajah of Joudpore, after yielding in 1834, to all the demands of the Governor-General, had evaded their fulfilment, and now showed himself refractory. Six regiments, with cavalry and artillery, were sent against him; he abandoned his stronghold, which was entered without resistance. Thus the troubles brooded in many quarters were crushed, and British ascendancy was fully established throughout Hindostan.

Aden  
taken.  
A.D. 1839.  
Jan. 22.

The possession of the fortress of Aden, at the entrance of the Red Sea, was deemed necessary to the completion of the plans for a regular steam-communication between England and India, on account of its convenient position as a station; a treaty for its surrender was therefore concluded with the Sultan, which was signed both by him and the Abdallah chiefs. Notwithstanding these arrangements, the Sultan's nephew resisted an English expedition, sent to take possession of the town. A combat ensued, which was of short duration, but vigorously maintained; it ended in the defeat of the Arabs, on the 22nd of January, 1839; but several months passed before the tribes in the neighbourhood could be induced to abstain from hostilities.

Shah  
Soojah not  
settled.

Although the prowess of British arms obtained for Shah Soojah possession of the throne of Afghanistan, it soon became obvious that it would be impossible for him to retain possession of it without European protection. The Afghans, who are among the most bigoted of the Mohammedan races, asserted that he had sold his nation to the Feringhees (foreigners)—that he was a traitor to his country, and a renegade to his religion. One influential nobleman, Syed Hossein, chief of Kooner, sent an insulting letter to the king, upbraiding him with his apostacy, and declaring that if the Russians were on their march, it was his intention to join them. Such an insult could not be passed over, and Sir Willoughby Cotton, who commanded one division of the force returning to India, despatched Colonel Orchard with a strong detachment to attack the fort of Pushoot, where the Kooner chief resided. The soldiers suffered severely from the weather; rain fell in torrents, and the snow on the neighbouring hills rendered the cold so intense, that the men's limbs became quite benumbed. On arriving before the fortress, the Colonel com-

Colonel  
Orchard at  
Pushoot.

menced operations by battering down the gate with cannon ; the soldiers were on the point of rushing in, when they discovered a second gate and a second wall, from which a murderous fire was opened. The British, unable to return this fire with effect, as their muskets and ammunition had suffered from the rain, were obliged to retire. After some delay, an attempt was made to blow open the inner gate, but the powder was too damp to explode. It was then resolved to renew the assault on the following morning. Syed Hossein evacuated the place during the night, and on the 18th of January, 1840, it was occupied. The continued rain and the deep mud prevented any pursuit of the insurgent chief, which was unfortunate, as his escape gave encouragement to the disaffected throughout the country.

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Jan. 18.

Dost Mohammed at first despaired of recovering his power ; but the unpopularity of Shah Soojah revived his hopes, and the intelligence that the Russians were advancing upon Khiva, led him to hope that he would obtain from them an auxiliary force. He laboured diligently to form a confederacy of the Mohammedan powers, north and west of Afghanistan, for the purpose of expelling the Feringhee infidels from Central Asia. The king of Bokhara affected to enter warmly into the project, and invited Dost Mohammed to his court. He accepted the invitation, but soon had reason to suspect the sincerity of the Bokhara monarch, whose object was simply to seize and imprison Dost Mohammed and his family, until he had extorted from them their valuable jewels. Dost Mohammed refused to allow his family to follow him, which so enraged the king of Bokhara that he threw his guest into prison, and would have put him to death but for the active interference of the Khan of Kokan. The king of Bokhara refused to relinquish his prisoner, who would have been sacrificed at the first opportunity, had he not contrived to make his escape in the Afghan fashion.—Dost Mohammed, who was confined in a small mosque, succeeded in bribing an Uzbek guide to procure a good horse, which he posted a few miles from the city, and to remain himself close by for the purpose of shewing the way. He then assumed the Uzbek dress, and finding an opportunity of joining his conductor, who was ready and mounted in the thronged bazaar, jumped up behind him. The Dost and the Uzbek trotted unnoticed through the city, and reached the spot where the other horse was stationed. In a few days he discovered that the animal had become lame, and, dreading the chance of being detected, and unable from that circumstance to accomplish his own deliverance, he thought it more safe to have

Dost Mohammed's efforts.

His escape from Bokhara.

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recourse to an inferior steed, which was sound in wind and limb. He changed with his guide. Proceeding onwards, the Uzbek, who had obtained the bribe, repented of his undertaking, and, apprehensive of the consequences, considered in what way he might avert any punishment. He was not long in forming the scheme of getting the ex-ruler back to Bokhara, and delivering him up. Next day he fell in with a few horsemen, with whom he entered into conversation about Dost Mohammed and the Feringhees; and finding they were enemies of his charge, he said to them, "Perhaps you would like to gain a prize. Do you see that horseman? that is Dost Mohammed, who has just escaped from prison at Bokhara," pointing to the Cabui chief, a few hundred yards a-head of them. "No! no!" they replied, "that is impossible; Dost Mohammed would never ride on such a sorry hack, and you, his follower, mounted on this fine horse; no, no! you are yourself Dost Mohammed in disguise. We know you well, so come back with us to Bokhara." The consternation depicted on his countenance was to the horsemen an additional proof that they had "the real Simon Pure," who, in spite of his remonstrances, was borne away, and Dost Mohammed left to pursue his course to Kholoom, eastward of Balkh.

Lieutenant  
Clarke  
killed  
at Surtoff  
Pass.  
May 7.

During the progress of these events, several disasters were experienced by the British troops in various encounters with the Murrees. Lieutenant Clarke, who was escorting a convoy of five hundred camels through the dangerous defiles in the hills, on his return from Kahun, was surrounded and slain, with the greater part of his detachment. On this and other subsequent occasions, it was observed that the sepoys did not display their usual firmness and gallantry in fighting with the Murrees, a mountain tribe of the Beloochees.

Major  
Clibborn  
routed at  
Nuffoosk.

A second encounter with the Murrees, at a later period, was scarcely less disastrous. Captain Brown, who commanded the garrison in the fort of Kahun, being closely besieged by them, Major Clibborn was sent to his relief on the 12th of August, with a convoy consisting of about five hundred infantry, fifty of the Scinde cavalry, and two pieces of cannon. After a fatiguing march for fifteen days, the troops reached the pass of Nuffoosk, about eight miles from Kahun, on the 28th.

Two days afterwards, while engaged in defiling through the pass, the enemy appeared in front, and commenced a destructive fire. The Beloochees had destroyed the regular road, and obstructed the only path left, by breastworks covered with thorny bushes. The guns of the convoy were immediately placed in

position to enfilade the pass in front, and the major ordered the left flank companies of the 1st and 2nd Grenadiers to storm the heights where the enemy were posted. The enemy rushed down with such impetuosity, that the troops had hardly time to form; there was hard fighting on both sides, but the well applied rounds of grape from Captain Stamford's howitzers, soon repulsed them with considerable loss.

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The heat was intense, and the sufferings of the men and cattle were painfully apparent; the little water remaining from the last halting place was dried up, and no water was procurable unless the pass was carried, and the post of Kahun was distant about six miles. The water carriers with the gun-horses and officers' horses, under an escort of fifty regular cavalry, went for water. The cries of the wounded and dying for, "Water! water!" gave rise to scenes of frenzy and despair, while awaiting the arrival of the water-party. Some stragglers came in and reported that the water-party was surrounded in a nullah. They had lost

Aug. 31.

one hundred and fifty men, the remainder were enfeebled by thirst, and most of the camel-drivers, dooley-bearers, etc., had absconded, after plundering the commissariat. The gun-horses were gone, and the men of the Golundauze (native artillery), prostrated from fatigue and thirst, could scarcely rise to fire a gun. Major Clibborn, an unlucky commander, found he could not throw provisions into the fort of Kahun, and moved off with as much quietness as the state of the men permitted. Everything was abandoned; baggage, stores, and treasure, fell into the hands of the enemy. A number of camp-followers were massacred. Without food and tents, and marching in the burning heat of the sun, they made one forced march to Poolajee, and arrived nearly famished. The good conduct of Captain Brown

Sept. 28th.

It is necessary here to glance at the proceedings of the Russians, who had declared war against the Khan of Khiva in the December of 1839. Khiva is a Mohammedan principality, situated on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea; having on its north vast steppes traversed by Cossacks, nominally dependent on Russia, and by the wild tribes of Turcomans; it has Bokhara and Balkh on the east, and Persia on the south. It is sufficiently near Afghanistan to render any movement of Russia for its acquisition a matter of grave importance; but it was difficult for the English government to remonstrate against the expedi-

War  
declared  
by Russia  
against  
Khiva.

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tion, as the people of Khiva had frequently committed atrocious ravages on the Russian frontier. The manifesto issued by the Russian government, describing the situation of Khiva and the nature of the insults provoking the war, is a document of interest, from the distinctness with which it sets forth the designs of the Russians on Central Asia. It is as follows :

The  
Russian  
Manifesto.

Khiva, which borders on the Kirghiz-Cossacks, the inhabitants of which are Russian subjects, has constantly, for a series of years, shown, by acts of hostility, the little esteem it entertained for a power with which, for its own sake, it should have kept up a friendly intercourse. Our trade with the provinces of Central Asia was a source of prosperity for the inhabitants of Khiva, who drew from it their principal resources, and possessed through it in Russia the rights and privileges granted to the other inhabitants of Asia; but Khiva, far from appreciating advantages and benefits, has been guilty of the most flagrant disloyalty and unparalleled audacity. It daily harasses the wandering tribes that encamp on our frontiers, interrupts the intercourse the other states of Asia keep up with us, detains the caravans of Bokhara on their way to and from Russia, obliges them to pay extravagant duties, and compels them, by main force, to pass through its territory, and there seizes a considerable portion of their merchandize. These insults to foreigners holding commercial intercourse with Russia are, however, of less importance than the attacks which have been made on Russian caravans. Not one of these can now cross the deserts without danger. It was in this manner that a Russian caravan from Orenburg, with goods belonging to our merchants, was pillaged by the armed bands of Khiva. No Russian merchant can now venture into that country without running the risk of losing his life, or being made a prisoner. The inhabitants of Khiva are constantly making incursions into that part of the country of the Kirghiz which is at a distance from our lines, although the Kirghiz recognized the sovereignty of Russia under their khan, Abul Chaix; they destroy their camps, lay them under heavy tribute, excite them to disobedience against the legal authority, give an asylum to those who revolt; and to crown all these insults, they detain several thousand Russian subjects in slavery. The number of these unfortunate wretches increases daily, for the peaceful fishermen on the banks of the Caspian are continually attacked and carried off as slaves to Khiva. The unfortunate condition of so many victims has naturally excited the solicitude of our government, which, of course, considers it to be a most sacred duty to protect and insure the lives and tranquillity of all the subjects of the empire. But the generous manner in which it called the attention of the inhabitants of Khiva, to the consequences to which their criminal conduct would infallibly give rise, has unfortunately been disregarded. Deaf to entreaty, they despise the indulgence we have shown, and, confounding in their ignorance moderation with weakness, they have calculated on impunity. In their blindness they have gone so far as to construct two forts beyond the frontiers, on the road of the caravans proceeding to Bokhara, in order to attack our merchants with less danger. Since then their incursions and robberies have daily increased, and, at present, their implacable hatred against Russia knows no bounds.

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As a last resource to bring these barbarians to reason, the Khiva merchants in Russia were arrested, and the release of the Russian prisoners and the cessation of hostilities, were announced as the condition of their liberty. But this measure was not attended with success, for, after having waited three years, at most 100 persons were sent back, though last spring, on the borders of the Caspian, 200 Russian subjects were carried off as prisoners. But now every means of persuasion has been exhausted. The rights of Russia, the security of her trade, the tranquillity of her subjects, and the dignity of the state, call for decisive measures, and the emperor has judged it to be high time to send a body of troops to Khiva to put an end to robbery and exaction, to deliver those Russians who are detained in slavery, to make the inhabitants of Khiva esteem and respect the Russian name, and, finally, to strengthen in that part of Asia the lawful influence to which Russia has a right, and which alone can insure the maintenance of peace. This is the purpose of the present expedition, and as soon as it shall be attained, and an order of things conformable to the interest of Russia and the neighbouring Asiatic states, shall be established on a permanent footing, the body of troops, which has received orders to march on Khiva, will return to the frontiers of the empire.

A Russian force of twenty thousand men with ten thousand camels, was despatched under General Peroffsky, in the beginning of the year, on the pretext of liberating the slaves: they marched through the steppes of Kirghiz, between the Caspian sea and the lake of Aral. Their arrangements were well made, but the cold was intense, the climate so rigorous, and the ground so difficult for movement, that they marched not more than twenty German miles in a month. Each column was obliged to cut out a road through the heavy crust of snow which was falling and freezing around them. Having lost half their men and their camels and beasts of burden before they had reached half way, they, instead of facing, a little further on, that death which was inevitable, retreated to Orenburg. By the intervention of the British government, the slaves were subsequently restored to Russia, and the independence of the Khan of Khiva was for a time secured.

The  
Russian  
expedition  
fails.

Dost Mohammed having escaped from the clutches of the king of Bokhara, began to levy troops for the avowed purpose of expelling the English and Shah Soojah from Afghanistan. Accounts were received at the same time, that Khelat, which had been so gallantly taken by General Willshire in the preceding year, had been retaken by the son of its late ruler, Mehrab Khan, and that the Beloochees were rising to join in an attack on the English. It was difficult to obtain any correct information of the motions of the enemy, so completely had the insurgents closed up every source of intelligence. On the night of the 17th

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Nov. 2.

Dr. Lord  
and three  
officers  
killed.

Nov. 3.

of September, Dost Mohammed actually slept within three miles of the English camp ; and the knowledge of his proximity was derived from the appearance of some hundreds of Uzbeks on the heights at the dawn of the following morning. Brigadier Dennie, who commanded the detachment at Bameean, though his forces did not amount to one thousand men, consisting entirely of native corps, resolved at once to attack Dost Mohammed's forces, which were more than eight times his number. The Uzbeks broke at the first charge, and suffered severely from the active pursuit of the cavalry in the flight. Dost Mohammed lost his tents, baggage, kettle-drums, standards, and his only piece of artillery. A series of petty expeditions against the chiefs, who were known to be in correspondence with Dost Mohammed, engaged the attention of the British during the greater part of the summer, until intelligence was received that the Khan had succeeded in assembling a new army, and had taken post at Purwan. On the 2nd of November, a detachment under Colonel Salter advanced against this position ; as he proceeded, he was informed that Dost Mohammed was endeavouring to escape by a flank movement through the hills. Two squadrons of cavalry were sent to intercept the fugitives, accompanied by the Political Agent, Doctor Percival Lord, who had accompanied the late mission to Cabul, and being personally acquainted with Dost Mohammed, might, as it was hoped, induce that chieftain to a peaceful surrender, if any opportunity for opening communications should be afforded. As the cavalry approached the enemy, some unexpected resistance was offered, upon which the men, seized with an unaccountable panic, galloped back to the rear, leaving their officers without protection. Dr. Lord and three officers were killed, and others were severely wounded. Dost Mohammed contrived to escape in the confusion. It was supposed that he would hasten into Kohistan, which was ripe for revolt, but on the evening of the day after the battle, to the great surprise of everybody, he surrendered himself to Sir William M'Naghten, the British Resident at Cabul, whilst taking his ride. A horseman, passing his escort and the gentlemen with him, rode suddenly up and said, "Are you the envoy ?" "Yes." "Then," rejoined the horseman, "here is the Ameer." "What Ameer ?" "Dost Mohammed Khan !" Sir William M'Naghten in an instant afterwards, beheld the ex-chief himself alighting from his horse, and claiming protection. The scene was electrical. The Dost was requested to remount and ride on to the gateway, where both alighted. The envoy then took his arm, and led him through

the garden up to the house, saying, "Why have you persevered so long in opposing our views, and subjecting yourself to so much vexation and anxiety, aware as you must have been of the good faith and liberality of the British government, as well as of its power?" but his only reply was in the true Asiatic spirit—"that it was his fate! he could not control destiny!" Arrived at the house, and seated in the room where, a year before, he was monarch, he delivered up his sword, observing that he had no further use for it; but the envoy begged him to keep it.

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From Cabul Dost Mohammed was sent to Peshawur, where he was joined by his nine wives and the rest of his family; from thence he was removed to Loodiana, where he became a resident in the house which had long been inhabited by Shah Soojah.

Dost  
Mohammed  
sent to  
India.

Pleased with the successful movement to Cabul, the British government distributed honours with a lavish hand. Lord Auckland was created an earl, Sir John Keane was raised to the peerage, Mr. M'Naghten and Colonel Pottinger were created baronets, Captain Burnes, Colonels Wade and Thackwell were knighted, and many other distinctions were given.

In the course of the year, several desperate attacks were made on the fortress of Aden by the discontented Arabs; and, though they were all repelled with great slaughter of the assailants, yet the garrison suffered severely from the incessant vigilance which was rendered necessary by their inveterate hostility. So ferocious were these fanatics, that it was unsafe to give them quarter; in many instances they attempted the lives of those who mercifully endeavoured to rescue them from danger, or even to dress their wounds. Indeed, at this period, a great increase in the enthusiasm and fanatical spirit of the various Mohammedan races was manifest throughout Asia; they seemed to feel that a time was come when the existence of their religious system was menaced by the progress of the Christian influence, and they therefore prepared to defend it with all the zeal and fury of ignorant bigotry. The appearance of the English west of the Indus increased this feeling; for Christians were thus introduced into the lands where Mohammedanism retained its pristine fanaticism.

The Arabs  
attack  
Aden.

Afghanistan had been too long a prey to anarchy, for the chiefs to appreciate the blessings of order and tranquillity; the heads of the Ghilzie tribes had been accustomed to receive from the government a regular stipend, for keeping open the roads between Cabul and Peshawur. As this was nothing better than a payment of "black mail" to marauding hordes, Sir William M'Naghten resolved to diminish and finally to abolish the allowance, which

Afghan-  
istan  
disturbed.

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The  
Ghilzie  
tribes  
plunder the  
British  
caravans.

was a heavy drain and a great degradation to the government. The chiefs protested vehemently against this curtailment of their accustomed gains ; but, finding that their remonstrances were disregarded, they resolved to adopt retaliatory measures. A caravan, valued at twenty thousand rupees, was seized at Tezeen ; the *daks*, or post-messengers, were intercepted, and all communication with India was cut off. A large detachment, under Sir Robert Sale, was sent to open the passes ; but, though the Ghilzie chiefs pretended to negotiate, the column had to fight its way forward during a toilsome march of eight days, and the rear-guard suffered very severely from the attacks of the mountaineers, who rushed upon the troops from their fastnesses whenever they saw them entangled in the defiles. General Sale's energetic exertions finally prevailed over the untrained ferocity of the assailants.

Formidable  
outbreak  
at Cabul.

In the month of October, the districts around Cabul presented an unusual appearance of tranquillity, and the envoy, Sir W. M'Naghten, who had, in consequence of his distinguished services, been appointed by the Court of Directors to be Governor of Bombay, was making arrangements for proceeding to his new post, and for leaving Sir A. Burnes to be the Political Agent at Shah Soojah's court, when one of the formidable and fanatical outbreaks, which are peculiar to the Afghans, scattered destruction amongst the English troops. Sir John Keane, who was raised to the peerage, had withdrawn in 1840, and left the command of the army in Afghanistan to Sir Willoughby Cotton, who had also retired, and resigned the command to Major-General Elphinstone. He and the two Political Residents, M'Naghten and Burnes, were not apprehensive of any danger, when the insurrection burst forth in the city of Cabul on the 2nd of November, 1841. So unexpected was the attack, that letters were written the previous week by the envoy, in which he declared that the affairs of the Shah were in a prosperous condition, and that the capital was tranquil. The causes of this outbreak are variously told : some

Causes.

asserted that it was a sudden burst of Moslem fanaticism, produced by supposed attacks on their religion and their females, both of which attacks are violently resented by the Afghans, who adhere to the extreme prejudices of the Sonnee creed, and who were indignant at being governed by Christians, and by Shah Soojah, whom they regarded as a renegade. Others attributed the popular rage to their indignation at some wanton massacres perpetrated on the insurgent eastern Ghilzies, who obstructed the road to India. Whatever may have been the immediate

occasion, no doubt exists that a general confederacy was previously formed of all the Afghans to expel the English from their country. The favourite son of Dost Mohammed, who had always refused to surrender his person and family, was stopping at Khooloom, waiting for a favourable moment to head the insurrection. Many of the chiefs of the tribes near Cabul, who lived from confusion and plunder, resolved to promote the turmoil, which promised them a rich booty. On the first of November the mosques were filled with enthusiasts, who became frantic at the denunciations by the Mollahs of the Feringhee invaders, and who sallied forth from their prayers with a determination to massacre the infidels.

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The insurrection promoted.

Cabul is built on the river from which the name is derived. On an elevated position, to the north-east of the town, is the Bala Hissar or citadel, in which the king resided; on the west, at about a mile distance, the British commander had fixed his entrenched cantonment, which was 1,000 yards in length and 600 in breadth. It was surrounded by a low rampart and a narrow ditch. A space to the north, of nearly half the size, was called the Mission compound, and was occupied by the Envoy, with his staff and attendants. By a fatal mistake, the old rules of occupying the stronghold in a hostile district were forgotten. Shah Soojah, as sovereign, claimed the Bala Hissar, and the English allowed him to occupy it. General Elphinstone, advanced in years and enfeebled by disease, was positively unable to discharge the active duties of his arduous position; and, feeling his own weakness, had obtained permission to resign the appointment in favour of General Nott. Brigadier Shelton, the second in command, was not adapted to compensate for the deficiencies of his superior; and the fate of the English army was sealed.

The cantonments.

General Elphinstone an enfeebled commander

Brigadier Shelton his second.

On the morning of the 2nd, the mob attacked the house of Sir A. Burnes, which was situated in the Kuzzilbash (Persian) part of the town. He endeavoured to pacify them, and would not permit his guard to fire; as he was persuaded, that from his never having injured them they would not injure him; but he was hated by Shah Soojah. Soon afterwards, he was tempted, under a wish to obtain some troops for his protection, to entrust himself to a Cashmeer Mussulman, who quickly betrayed him, and he was slain by Abdoolla Khan Alchukzie, and his remains grossly maltreated. The rabble rushed into his house, and murdered not only his brother and Lieutenant Broadfoot, but every human being they found in the building. The alarm soon spread to the cantonment, and orders were sent to Brigadier

November.

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Several  
officers  
murdered.

The  
Afghans  
take the  
forts.

Confusion  
in the  
council.

Brigadier  
Shelton is  
brave, but  
nothing  
more.

Shelton, who was encamped with some regiments near the Siah-Sung hills, above the Bala Hissar, to go with some troops to the Bala Hissar, while the rest were to return to the cantonment. Staff officers, while moving about on duty, were wounded by the long knives of the Afghans. On the 3rd, the 37th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry arrived in the cantonment from Khoord Cabul, having brought its baggage safe from the attack of several thousand Ghilzies. On the 4th the assailants got possession, through an error of General Elphinstone, of the fort called Mohammed Shereef, which was situated within a hundred yards of the cantonment, and in which were placed the stores of rum, medicine, clothing, etc. The ensign, to whom the defence was entrusted, was forced, by the desertion of his men, to escape, when the enemy had set fire to the gate. The General and the three superior officers held a council in the night, when, at the instance of Sir W. M'Naghten, it was resolved to send a detachment in the morning; but, in the interval, the fort was abandoned, and the cantonment had not provisions for more than two days. The Kuzzilbashies, who had thus far observed neutrality, now joined the Ghilzies; and the doom of the British was easily foreseen. On the 5th an attempt was made to recapture the fort; but it failed from want of judgment. On the 6th the fort was stormed, and an attempt was made to take the Shah's bagh (garden), which was at hand; but the Ghilzies assembled in such numbers, that the Shah's bagh could not be taken. Doubts and hesitation prevailed among the superior officers. General Elphinstone was declared incapable, and Brigadier Shelton was invited to come from the Bala Hissar. He came, but his counsel added to the difficulties, for he could think of nothing but how to get back to India; and he urged an immediate retreat through the passes. Sir W. M'Naghten opposed this proposition, as likely to be attended with the most disastrous consequences. Shelton was brave, but unfit to command at this emergency. Despondency begun amongst the officers, and soon spread amongst the men.

The Ghilzies increased their numbers, and soon occupied various forts around the cantonment. Brigadier Shelton on the 10th, went with a party to storm one of them, so as to allow the free admission of provisions. The officer who had to blow open the gate, mistook a wicket for it, and only a few soldiers got inside. Those on the outside were alarmed at a cry of the approach of cavalry, and fled in disorder; but Brigadier Shelton rallied them, and returned to the fort, where they found all their

comrades butchered except two. The loss of the British was two hundred men. Grain was found in some of the forts; but although only one half was removed before dusk, the Brigadier refused to leave a guard to protect the rest, which was carried off during the night by the Afghans. Brigadier Shelton had some hard fighting on the 13th, and drove the enemy from a position on the hill which overlooked the cantonment. This was the last success; all afterwards is a melancholy detail of reverses. On the 15th, Major Pottinger, the Political Agent in Kohistan, reached the cantonment. He and his assistant, Lieutenant Haughton, had been badly wounded and escaped from a position at Charekar, one hundred and thirty miles north of Cabul, and had fled with three men to join their affrighted countrymen, leaving the one hundred men who had been their escort, either dead or wanderers amongst the ferocious tribes. Captain Woodburn's detachment, coming from Ghuznee to Cabul, was cut to pieces.

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Major  
Pottinger  
forced  
to quit  
Charekar.

Frequent discussions took place as to the propriety of taking refuge in the Bala Hissar; but some points of etiquette prevented the adoption of this plan. Brigadier Shelton continually recommended a retreat to Jellalabad and merely sent some ammunition into the Bala Hissar. Provisions had been hitherto procured, at an enormous cost, from the village of Behmaroo, about half a mile from the cantonment; and the Afghans resolved to stop that source. They assembled in crowds on the hill which overlooked the village. Major Swaine of the 5th Regiment of Native Infantry was sent to drive them off; but he kept his men under cover, and contented himself with firing at the houses. Lieutenant Eyre went with a gun, but could not obtain a secure position. On the 23rd, Brigadier Shelton sallied forth again in force, to clear the way for the foraging parties, but after a number of blunders, he was compelled to retreat with a severe loss. Winter was now set in at Cabul, and the poor sepoy were starved by the cold as well as by hunger.

Frightful  
difficulties  
of the  
troops.

A chief proposed that the British should retire, and leave the Afghans to govern themselves, and choose their own king. General Elphinstone willingly assented; but other conditions proposed by two deputies who came from the chiefs, could not be accepted. These were, "that the British should surrender Shah Soojah and give up their own arms, and then they would be allowed to go away, on promise of never returning," Sir W. M'Naghten declared such conditions inadmissible, and that if persisted in, there was no recourse but to arms. "Then we

Negocia-  
tions fail.

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Akbar  
Khan  
arrives.Negocia-  
tions again  
tried.Shah  
Soojah  
rejects the  
convention.The British  
troops  
evacuate  
the Bala  
Hissar.

shall meet again in battle," said the deputies. "We shall meet on the day of judgment," replied the British envoy.

On the 22nd of November, Akbar Khan arrived at Cabul: he was accompanied by hundreds of mounted men. His appearance was the signal for the desertion of many chiefs, who had previously professed friendship for Shah Soojah and the English. He soon became the leader of the assailants. On the 8th of December, Sir W. M'Naghten asked General Elphinstone to state publicly whether any alternative remained but to negotiate for permission to withdraw the troops from Afghanistan. General Elphinstone gave the fiat, and negotiations were attempted; but negotiation with the Afghans is merely "writing on water." On that day, Sir W. M'Naghten, with Captains Lawrence, Mackenzie and Trevor met, in the open plain, the leaders of the Afghans, who professed to be desirous of making a convention. Akbar Khan insisted on an unconditional surrender. During the conference, a bullet was heard to pass close to the head of Sir W. M'Naghten, whom Akbar Khan wanted to seize, but the other chiefs opposed that act. Terms were agreed that "the British troops should be allowed to quit all Afghanistan, that is, Candahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, Jellalabad, etc., and to be furnished with provisions; that Dost Mohammed was to be allowed to return to Cabul; that Shah Soojah was to be permitted to act as he thought fit, but if he withdrew with the British troops, that he was to be allowed a lac of rupees per annum for his support, and that no British force was ever to be sent into Afghanistan unless called for by government." This convention was a waste of time, words and paper, for the Afghans never observe treaties. Shah Soojah knew his countrymen, and he would not assent to any conditions unless absolutely extravagant ones, and soon rejected the convention altogether.

On the 13th of December, the British troops commenced their evacuation of the Bala Hissar, at the gate of which Akbar Khan attended and endeavoured to force an entrance; but Shah Soojah's agents were on the alert, and kept his bitter enemy out. Finding the attempt baffled, Akbar Khan stopped the British troops, and maintained that it was too late for their marching. Shah Soojah refused to open the gate, and to readmit them; and the poor soldiers had to spend the night without shelter or covering, and at nine o'clock in the morning Akbar Khan allowed them to proceed. On the 16th, Shah Soojah refused all assent to the convention, and the difficulties were as before. The chiefs insisted on obtaining possession of

the forts; and to this destructive proposition the British general and his council assented. Heavy snow fell on the 18th, and on the 20th the Afghan leaders demanded the surrender of the guns and ammunition, and that Brigadier Shelton should become a hostage for the British. But Shelton refused. The council of war fumed, fretted and did nothing. General Sale had sent word that it was then not possible for his troops to march back to Cabul, and the intelligence arrived that the snow prevented the troops from coming from Candahar and Ghuznee. There was treachery to each other among the Afghans; for on the 21st, Akbar Khan proposed to be vizir; to take Shah Soojah as his king, and that the British troops should occupy the Bala Hissar, and some of the forts. Sir W. M'Naghten accepted the proposal in despair; but it was but a feint of the Afghan. On the 23rd, the British Envoy, with Captains Lawrence, Trevor and Mackenzie, went to hold another conference with Akbar Khan. The party sat down on a small hillock unseen from the cantonment, and Sir W. M'Naghten presented a beautiful Arab horse to Akbar Khan, which he accepted. Many armed Afghans were seen around, and on Captain Lawrence remarking their presence, Akbar Khan said that it did not matter as they were in the secret. Seeing all ready for his plans, Akbar Khan cried out, "begeer," "seize them." The four Englishmen were suddenly caught from behind, and their arms were taken from them. Akbar himself seized the envoy, who made resistance and struggled. As he was dragging Sir W. M'Naghten down the hill, Akbar Khan, irritated by his struggles, fired a double-barrelled pistol into the body of his victim, by whom this pistol had been presented to the murderer on the previous day. The head of Sir W. M'Naghten was cut off, and his body treated with every indignity. His escort fled into the cantonment. Thus fell Sir W. M'Naghten, to whose counsels the first advance of the ill-omened Afghan expedition was attributed. His efforts in the fearful struggles were but weakly seconded by the superior officers, and with his spirit the courage of the British leaders fled.

The other three officers were forced to mount the horses behind the chiefs. A crowd of the Moslem fanatics, called Ghazees, strove to kill them. Poor Trevor, who slipped off and fell, was cut to pieces. The horseman before Mackenzie saved him from a similar fate, by receiving a cut on his own arm. The chiefs got into Mohammed Khan's fort, when the Ghazees tried to shoot the prisoners, who at midnight were removed into Akbar Khan's house in the town. The chief officers in the canton-

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A.D. 1841.

Exorbitant  
demands  
of the  
Afghans.Sir W.  
M'Naghten  
murdered.  
Dec. 23.Captain  
Trevor  
murdered.

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A.D. 1841.

Major  
Pottinger  
becomes  
political  
agent.He patches  
up a con-  
vention.The terms  
are humili-  
ating.A.D. 1842.  
The army  
marches.The can-  
tonments  
burned.Hundreds  
perish.Continual  
attacks  
by the  
Afghans.

ment requested Major Pottinger, upon whom the duties of Envoy devolved, to endeavour to patch up a convention for their safe retreat to India. The chiefs now required that all the guns but six should be left behind, that all the treasure should be given up, and that married men with their wives and families should become hostages. Lieutenant Eyre was the only officer who consented to these conditions; the others declared that they would sooner slay their wives than entrust them to the Afghans. Proposals for a safe escort to Peshawur were made by Osman Khan and others, who demanded large sums of money. Major Pottinger protested against binding the British government by any such negotiation; but the council of war resolved to pay and to promise every thing rather than to fight. Four officers were accepted as hostages; they were Captains Drummond, Walsh, Warburton, and Webb. Preparations for the retreat were made, but the chiefs interposed various subterfuges, and caused delays while their agents in the mountains were collecting myriads for the slaughter and plunder of the victims.

At length, at nine o'clock in the morning of the 6th of January, 1842, the fatal retreat of the British army was commenced. Their number was about four thousand five hundred soldiers, with camp followers, amounting to nearly twelve thousand, besides women and children. The infuriated Ghazees, as the "murderers for religion" are called by the Mohammedans, were ready to begin the slaughter; and they butchered such of the wretched soldiers as remained in the cantonments, to which they afterwards set fire. It was mournful to see the unhappy, half-torpid British Indians dragging themselves through the snow; they had suffered from starvation during the siege of the cantonments, and were scarcely able to crawl. Numbers fell from exhaustion, and being soon benumbed by the cold, perished. The frosty nights killed hundreds. The Afghan escort was commanded by Jubar Khan; but he exercised little control. Experienced persons wished that the army should get through the pass of Khoord Cabul on the first day, but the General halted when he had marched six miles; and the army bivouacked in the snow, in which many died before morning. The second day of the march was equally wretched. The mountaineers made an attack on the rear guard, and took two guns, while a detachment of Afghan cavalry charged into the midst of the baggage column, and carried off large quantities of plunder. Two more guns were abandoned, as the horses were found unable to

drag them. After some delays, Brigadier Shelton was sent with a detachment to drive off the plunderers, and he by scaling the heights kept them at bay for an hour. Akbar Khan was become the leader of the Ghilzies, and upon an appeal to him he said that the British army had been attacked because it had marched contrary to the will of the chiefs; but that he had come to escort it in safety to Jellalabad, provided it would halt at Tezeen, until Jellalabad was abandoned according to the terms of the convention. The army, at his demand, stopped at Boot-kak, having marched only four miles. This was the entrance of the Khoord Cabul pass, and there the army spent another night of horrors.

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XXI.  
A.D. 1842.

Akbar  
Khan  
proposes  
his own  
terms.

In the morning of the 8th, the Afghans were found ready for an attack, and they began by firing into the camp. Major Thain put himself at the head of Her Majesty's 44th regiment, and rushing forward, dispersed the enemy. Akbar Khan was again remonstrated with on this act of treachery; and he demanded as hostages, Major Pottinger, and Captains Lawrence and Mackenzie. They were delivered up, and hostilities ceased for the moment. Then began the march through the thread-like defiles of the Khoord Cabul pass, which gradually narrowed before them. The heights were covered with mountaineers, who with their *jezails*, or long rifles, fired into the mass below with terrible effect. The English ladies rode on rapidly in the advance, but they were fired at, and Lady Sale was wounded in the arm. The mountain torrent, which flowed rapidly, had to be waded through twenty-eight times, yet all the unfortunate beings, huddled together, strove to hurry out of the destructive fire which was poured on them from the mountain sides. Another gun was abandoned, and all its artillerymen were slain in the dark vale called Tungee Tareekie. Three thousand perished in this fatal pass, amongst whom was the gallant Lieutenant Sturt. At Khoord Cabul the remainder of the army bivouacked. Akbar Khan then proposed to take all the women and children under his protection, and to escort them, by keeping them one day's march behind the army. This offer was accepted, and the married officers, with their families, were entrusted to a party of Afghan horse. The motive of the Afghans was evidently to obtain many hostages.

Akbar  
Khan  
takes  
several  
hostages.

Butchery  
at Khoord  
Cabul.

The ladies  
are de-  
manded  
and taken.

The army was fearfully reduced; its advanced guard mustered about one hundred men of Her Majesty's forty-fourth regiment, with fifty troopers of the fifth cavalry, and the one gun remaining. As this miserable force came into a narrow gorge, the rocks

Disorgan-  
ization of  
the army.

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above showed a large body of Ghilzies who poured in a tremendous fire, which soon filled the pass with the dead and dying. The native regiments were disorganized, and the main and rear columns were cut to pieces. All that remained of the Cabul force were about fifty horse artillerymen, with one gun, seventy soldiers of the forty-fourth, and one hundred and fifty native troopers. A crowd of wretched camp followers came on as well as they could.

Akbar  
Khan  
demands  
the arms  
of the  
troops.

On the 10th, Akbar Khan came forward at Kubbur-i-Jubbar, and proposed that the remaining troops should surrender their arms, and that the camp followers should be left to their fate. General Elphinstone refused the disgraceful proposal, and the desperate march was resumed. On entering the steep and dangerous defiles of Huft Kotul (the seven passes), they saw the bleeding bodies of wounded officers, who, with some camp followers had attempted to precede the march by starting at an early hour. The Ghilzies assailed them, and having massacred all ascended the heights to wait for the other victims. Brigadier Shelton again showed his undaunted personal courage; for with a few Europeans he kept the Ghilzies off until the troops passed the defile. They reached Tezeen and halted, having lost twelve thousand men, including the camp followers, in four days.

12000  
killed in  
four days.

Negotiations were renewed with Akbar Khan;\* but Captain Skinner, by whom the labour of treating with the treacherous Afghan had been frequently discharged, found that no dependence could be placed on his promises. Efforts were made to push on for Jugdulluk, twenty-two miles in advance of Tezeen, and the last gun was abandoned, together with some wounded and exhausted officers. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 11th they reached Kuttur Sung, ten miles distant from Jugdulluk, when everything portended the annihilation of the little force. Every inch of the road was disputed, and Brigadier Shelton defended them with obstinacy; the peaks of the pass were crowded with marksmen; the want of water added to their

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\* Lieutenant Crawford, of the Bombay army, who, after a long confinement at Ghuznee, was removed to Cabul, and handed over to Akbar Khan, describes him as "giving the kindest reception; so that I could not bring myself to believe that the stout, good-humoured, open-hearted looking young man, who was making such kind inquiries after our health, and how we had borne the fatigues of the journey, could be the murderer of M'Naghten, and the leader of the massacre of our troops. . . He chatted and joked away, on indifferent subjects, during the meal, calling himself the Wuzeer." It is the Afghan practice "to smile before they stab you."

sufferings. Akbar Khan sent a request for a conference with General Elphinstone, who gave over the command to Brigadier Anquetil. Brigadier Shelton and Captain Johnson were taken as hostages for the surrender of Jellalabad. The conference was an Afghan scheme to remove the Generals commanding; for the troops, although every assurance had been given by Akbar Khan of their receiving food, were left to starve, and on the 12th Captain Skinner was treacherously murdered by a Ghilzie. The deepest despondency prevailed, and their miseries increased every hour, in the midst of hunger, thirst, cold, starvation, fatigues, and murders. For two days they waited in suspense: still the general came not. The handful of Europeans made sally after sally to drive off the Ghilzies, who were firing into the camp; but, as fast as one mass were driven off, others rushed to the onslaught. Night came on, and they resolved to force their way to Jellalabad through the pass of Jugdulluk, which is two miles long. The Ghilzies were prepared; they had barriers formed across the defile, which required time to break down. While the men were busy in clearing a passage, the enemy gathered in numbers, and poured in a most destructive fire. Brigadier Anquetil, Colonel Chambers, Major Thain, and thirteen other officers were slain. The survivors got through the barrier and hurried on to Gundamuck, where they, after having been forced to wade the Soorkab river, from the bridge of which they were galled by a severe fire, took up a position on a hillock. At daylight of the 13th the whole force of the Cabul army amounted to twenty British officers, fifty men of the 44th, and a dozen of sepoys and artillery-men. Under pretence of negotiating, the Afghans came upon the hillock, and tried to get possession of the muskets, but the soldiers drove them off with desperate energy. The tragedy was drawing near to its close. The Ghilzies, seeing the number so much reduced, made violent exertions; volleys after volleys were discharged, until the heroic little band were reduced to thirty, when the Afghans rushed on them and slaughtered them, merely taking Captain Souter and some privates as prisoners. A few officers, who were well mounted, attempted to ride to Jellalabad, and six of them reached Futteabad, where they stopped for food. Deceived by the apparent professions of the inhabitants, they halted too long, for to the last treachery was at work. The inhabitants sallied out and shot five. One—only one officer of the whole army reached Jellalabad. Doctor Brydon was the bearer of the disastrous intelligence. Akbar Khan had gained his object, for but one of the force in Cabul

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Akbar Khan requires the generals to come to a conference and makes them hostages.

The small remnant attempt to force their way to Jellalabad.

Massacre at Gundamuck.

Only one man reaches Jellalabad.

## CHAPTER

## XXI.

A.D. 1842.

was to be allowed to carry the news of the Afghan revenge to the British authorities.

The causes of the Afghan disasters are thus detailed by the then Commander-in-Chief of India :—"There were 33,000 men in our pay in Afghanistan, including Shah Soojah's troops, but not the rabble attached to his person ; yet how insufficient that number has been to awe the barbarous, and at first disunited, tribes of Afghanistan and Scinde, our numerous conflicts—our late reverses, and our heavy losses—fully prove. I admit that a blind confidence in the persons around the late envoy—a total want of forethought and foresight on his part—unaccountable indecision at first, followed by cessions, which day by day rendered our force more helpless—inactivity, perhaps, on some occasions—have led to these reverses ; but we must not overlook the effects of climate, the difficulty of communication, the distance from our frontier, and the fanatical zeal of the Afghans."

The British people heard of these disasters with feelings of indignation ; they saw that incapacity, vacillation, and treachery had brought about the destruction of a gallant army, and they resolved to remove the stain from the escutcheon of their country. Sale in Jellalabad, and Nott in Candahar, still maintained the honour of England ; and preparations were made to relieve them. In November, General Sale, while clearing the passes, found himself in the midst of enemies ; and he resolved to secure the important position of Jellalabad, which he did on the 12th. A letter, written by General Elphinstone on the 9th, ordered him to return to Cabul with all his force. General Sale, in reply, on the 15th, stated that "he had neither means of transport, nor sufficient ammunition, to force his way through the passes, while the whole country was up in arms and ready to oppose his march in every defile. They had, to the number of 5,000, attacked Jellalabad on the 14th, and, although repulsed by a sally of 700 men with the bayonet, many investments were to be expected."

General  
Sale  
defends his  
position.

Defence of  
Jellalabad.

The defences of Jellalabad consisted of a mud *enceinte*, of upwards of 2,000 yards, with weak curtains and round towers, and a narrow rampart with an insufficient parapet. By great efforts it was put into a state of defence ; the women and children were told to withdraw, strangers and suspicious persons were excluded, and, with the exception of the shop-keepers, the male population was diminished as far as possible. Supplies were procured from the neighbouring country. The men worked cheerfully seven hours every day in making the defences ; without wine or spirits, and without money, even, in the general's

chest, they did their duty nobly. On the 27th of December twenty-five horsemen arrived, each carrying one thousand rupees in his saddle-bags. They were sent, as well as others in succession, by Captain Mackeson from Peshawur. Forays were made by the garrison, and several hundred head of cattle driven into the fortress. During January and February the garrison were left in quiet; but no aid reached it, for the Khyberces allowed but single horsemen to pass as messengers.

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In the meantime, great anxiety was felt for the troops at Ghuznee, Candahar, and Khelat-i-Ghilzie. The incapacity of the rulers at Cabul was felt at Ghuznee; for, notwithstanding his repeated applications, Colonel Palmer, who commanded there, was unable to obtain the necessary sanction for repairing the works and laying in provisions for the winter. At length he attempted the task on his own responsibility. Snow fell on the 20th of November, and the enemy appeared; but they retired in the following week, on hearing that troops were coming from Candahar. Early in December they re-appeared in great numbers. Colonel Palmer, from motives of humanity, did not expel the inhabitants from the fortress, and they dug a hole under the wall and let their countrymen enter inside. A hard day's fighting ensued on the 17th, when the garrison were forced to take refuge in the citadel. The cold became severe, and increased the sufferings of the Indian sepoy to an unbearable extent. A kind of truce was concluded on the 15th of January with the assailants, by which the place was to be surrendered to Shumood-deen; and, after various negotiations, the citadel was surrendered to the Afghans, on the 6th of March, on condition of the garrison being retained until the road to Cabul was cleared. The Ghazees attacked their quarters on the following day and killed many. The Afghans offered terms to the officers, if the sepoy were abandoned, which they, of course, declined. Some sepoy attempted to escape through the country, and were cut to pieces. At length the remaining force were taken prisoners, and, after some months' confinement, were made over to Akbar Khan.

The  
garrison  
surrenders.

The little garrison at Khelat-i-Ghilzie did their duty most efficiently; they maintained that position against the Ghilzies, and withstood a bold attack by escalade, which was made one morning after the moon had gone down, and in which the enemy lost four hundred men. The garrison resisted cold, hunger, and many other ills, until they were relieved in May, and the fortifications destroyed.

Khelat-i-  
Ghilzie  
well  
defended.

General Nott, who commanded at Candahar, was, during the

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General  
Nott's  
gallantry at  
Candahar  
well  
seconded  
by Major  
Rawlinson.

His signal  
victory.

Earl  
Auckland's  
departure.

disasters at Cabul, ably seconded by Major Rawlinson, the Political Agent there. A brigade was, in November, sent, under the command of Colonel McLaren, to relieve the Elphinstone division at Cabul; but the fall of snow, and the severity of the season, prevented its proceeding. It therefore returned to Candahar, and rendered Nott's force strong enough to resist every assailant. Precautions were adopted against surprise and treachery. By the judicious expenditure of some thousands of rupees, Major Rawlinson secured the attachment of several chiefs. Candahar was cleared of strangers and suspicious characters. During November, and the early part of December, all was tranquil. The Jaunbaz cavalry corps revolted and killed their commander, and fled with all their baggage: they were pursued by Captain Leeson's horse, and forty of them cut to pieces; the rest escaped to Dalla, the focus of the rebellion in Southern Afghanistan. Suftur Jung, a son of Shah Soojah, fled from Candahar and joined the insurgents, who soon after approached that city with the intention of attacking General Nott. This gallant officer sallied out from the city on the 11th of January; marched for four hours over a difficult country; came up to the enemy; attacked and routed them in twenty minutes. The rebels afterwards assembled and plundered the villages near Candahar. General Nott set out to attack them—they would not wait to meet him. A party burned one of the gates of the town, but they were repulsed by the garrison. Colonel Wymer was detached to protect the villages, in which the marauders had committed excesses. He drove them before him, like chaff before the wind.

Thus two divisions of the British army behaved admirably in Afghanistan—that commanded by General Sale at Jellalabad, and that by General Nott at Candahar. Preparations were going forward to send them aid, when a new Governor-General arrived; and Earl Auckland, who seemed to have been panic-stricken, quitted India on the 12th of March, 1842, and proceeded to England. He afterwards joined the Whig administration, and died suddenly on the 1st of January, 1849.

## CHAPTER XXII.

GOVERNMENT OF LORD ELLENBOROUGH, 1842-1844. — THE TERMINATION OF THE AFGHAN WAR — CAMPAIGNS IN SCINDE AND GWALIOR.

*Lord Ellenborough arrives. — Alarming State of India. — Two Garrisons in Afghanistan. — Sale at Jellalabad. — Nott at Candahar. — Brigadier Wild's Failure in the Khyber Pass. — General Pollock's Success on reaching Jellalabad. — Sale's Defence. — Death of Dennie. — Lord Ellenborough orders a Retreat from Afghanistan. — Gives Reasons for such weak Conduct. — General Nott, eminently successful, objects to a Retreat. — Brigadier England is sent to relieve Nott. — Fails miserably. — He retreats and entrenches himself at Quetta. — Nott commands him to advance, which he does with ease. — Shah Soojah assassinated. — Lord Ellenborough moves into the Provinces. — The Prisoners are not to be ransomed for Money. — Reiterated Orders for a retreat cause annoyance to the Army. — Pollock's Delays. — State of Cabul encourages a forward Movement. — Pollock advances to Cabul. — He defeats the Afghans. — Nott's admirable Conduct. — He marches to Ghuznee and takes it. — His excellent Discipline at Rozeh. — The Prisoners are recovered. — Akbar Khan escapes. — General M'Caskill destroys Istaliff and Charekar. — Cabul Bazaar blown up. — The Troops return through the Khyber. — The Afghans make every Resistance. — Good Generalship shown by Nott. — Dost Mohammed liberated. — The Troops received with Triumph at Ferozepore. — Nott brings back to India the Gates of Somnath. — Lord Ellenborough issues an Eastern Proclamation. — Severe Criticisms. — Notification respecting the Evacuation of Afghanistan. — Discussions in Parliament. — Thanks voted to the Army . . . State of Scinde. — The System of the Ameer's Government. — Their Debaucheries and love of Hunting. — Noor Mohammed's Opinion of English Civilization. — Runjeet Sing forces them to yield him Tribute. — The English make various Treaties with them. — They do not observe the*

*Treaties.—They do not pay their Subsidies.—Sir Charles James Napier sent to Scinde to enforce the Treaties.—He discovers the Faithlessness of the Ameers.—He demands New Treaties.—The Ameers object.—He insists.—Meer Rustoom Khan flies to Enam Ghur.—He is pursued by Sir C. Napier. — The Fort is blown up.—Major Outram tries to conciliate the Ameers.—The Ameers and their Soldiers plot against him.—They attack the British Residency.—The Ameers collect Armies.—Battle of Meeanee, Feb. 17, 1843.—Napier's Address to the Twenty-second Regiment. Battle of Dubba, March 24.—Scinde declared a British Province.—Napier is appointed its Governor.—His Measures conciliate the Inhabitants.—The Ameers removed as Prisoners.—Comments on the Conquest of Scinde.—Favourable State of that Country.—Conduct of the Native States of India . . . Disturbances at Gwalior.—The Ranee supports Dada.—Remonstrances of the British.—Guarantees demanded.—The Governor-General moves with the Army to the Frontiers of Gwalior.—Sir Hugh Gough enters the Gwalior Territories.—The Gwalior Durbar tries to shuffle.—The British Army advances.—The Battle of Maharajpore.—Major General Grey gains another Battle at Punniar.—The Durbar submits.—Lord Ellenborough's Proceedings are severely criticised.—His military Tastes.—Discussions with the Directors.—He is not popular with the Civil Servants.—He is recalled from India by the Directors.—He is fêted by the Military.—After his Return to England he is raised to the Rank of an Earl.*

# CHAPTER XXII.

A.D. 1842.

Alarm about India.

Wild repulsed in the Khyber.

THE state of India was calculated to produce great alarm, when Lord Ellenborough, who had been twice President of the Board of Control under the Tory administration, assumed, on landing in Calcutta, the reins of government, on the 28th Feb., 1842. The treachery of the Afghans had reduced the British army in that country to two garrisons, one commanded by Sir Robert Sale at Jellalabad, and the other by General Nott at Candahar. An attempt was made by Brigadier Wild, in January, to enter the Khyber Pass, and to seize there the small fort of Ali Musjid; but from want of European troops, and from an insufficiency of carriages, from faithless allies and worthless guns, together with bad arrangements, the fort, although carried, was subsequently with severe loss abandoned. In February, Major-General Pollock took at Peshawur, the command of the forces destined to relieve Jellalabad. Having overcome many difficulties, and having infused a good spirit into the minds of the

sepoys, who at the time were afraid of the Afghans and their treatment, he, on the 5th of April, marched into the formidable defiles, and forced the Khyberees to retire, by driving them from the heights. On the 14th, the whole force had cleared the pass, and on the 16th reached Jellalabad. There a most enthusiastic welcome met them from the gallant defenders, whose unceasing efforts had, during five months, maintained that position against the strenuous efforts of the treacherous Akbar Khan, who had converted the siege into a blockade, and by several daring attacks tried to storm the fort. The garrison had been reduced to great straits from want of forage for the cattle, and by several shocks of an earthquake, which destroyed a third of the town on the 19th of February. On the 7th of April, General Sale made a sortie, and gained an important victory over Akbar Khan; it was however, purchased dearly by the loss of Colonel Dennie, who was shot through the body while leading on his regiment to the assault of a small fort.

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A.D. 1842.

General  
Pollock's  
success.Sale's  
defence.

Akbar Khan retreated to Cabul, leaving his prisoners in the valley of Tezeen, where General Elphinstone, the unfortunate commander of the army that had been cut to pieces three months previously, expired on the 23rd of April. His remains were treated with great indignity. The government of India having taken into consideration the revolution of Cabul and the disastrous consequences of it, and especially the destruction of a numerous division of the army, a calamity unparalleled in the history of British India, came to the resolution of withdrawing the troops from Afghanistan; especially as the subsequent conduct of Shah Soojah proved that he was compelled, for his preservation, to side with the revolution. The British government then declared itself not bound in blind and solitary observance of the tripartite treaty to peril its armies and its Indian empire, in support of a precarious throne. Orders were issued to withdraw the troops from Jellalabad and Candahar, at the earliest practicable period, into positions from which they could with ease have certain communication with India. This order was much canvassed; for the British officers were not disposed to quail before the Afghans. Mr. Clerk at Delhi, and Major Outram in Scinde, strongly recommended the retention of Candahar and Jellalabad as defensive positions.

Orders for  
retreating.

Reasons.

The government sent orders to General Nott to take the command in Lower Afghanistan, and directed Brigadier England, with four thousand men, to take a quantity of treasure and medicine; to proceed through the Bolan Pass, and to hasten,

General  
Nott's  
eminent  
services.

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XXII.A.D. 1842.  
General  
England's  
absurdities.

*via* Quetta, to the relief of the army at Candahar. Brigadier England reached Quetta on the 10th of March, where he waited some days for reinforcements from Scinde. On the 26th, he moved from that place, and having met with little difficulty, he approached Hykulzie, where he met a force strongly posted, under the command of Mahomed Sadik. He was led forward by the specious friendship of the Afghans, and had never supposed that any opposition would be made to his movements, until his advance-guard was caught in an ambuscade, when he lost nearly one hundred men in killed and wounded. He then shifted to a position some distance from Hykulzie, and found out for the first time that the enemy had four hundred excellent cavalry. On the 29th, he soon discovered that the insurgents had collected a large force during the night, and were prepared to dispute the road. He, therefore, attributing his failure to imperfect information as to the entrenched position of his foe, marched back to Quetta, to wait until General Nott should send a force, provided with mortars, to clear the pass for him. In the meantime he entrenched himself for the protection of Quetta. He was actively employed in these defensive proceedings, when a peremptory order reached him from General Nott, commanding his immediate advance, and he set out on the 29th of April, with three thousand men, two thousand camels, and one hundred thousand pounds in money, with military and medical stores for the use of the army. On the 28th he reached Hykulzie, where the enemy were posted in their former position. Her Majesty's 41st regiment was led by Major Simmons; they quickly carried the heights to the right and left, with trifling loss, and the enemy fled in all directions. The troops got through the Kojuk Pass and joined General Nott on the 9th of May.

March.

Shah  
Soojah  
assassi-  
nated.

Some of the parties at Cabul, after several scenes of confusion, agreed to acknowledge Shah Soojah, now left completely to his own resources, as their sovereign, and he was invited to quit the Bala Hissar, and give his favour to the "haters of the Feringhees." The Koran was sworn by, and coins were struck in his name. He left his lair and placed himself under the protection of a mild-looking handsome young man, by name Soojah-ud-Dowla. Soojah-ud-Dowla was a friend of Akbar Khan, and as he rode with Shah Soojah to review the troops, the travelling chair of state was taken to a place where fifty men with guns lay in ambush. At a signal from Soojah-ud-Dowla, they rose and fired; two balls struck the Shah—one perforated his skull, and another his breast. His body was plundered. The excuse for this atrocity

was, that some time previously Shah Soojah, after he had given numberless cautions to the British authorities relative to their dangerous position, and finding himself surrounded by traitors whom he feared and hated, tried to procure the assassination of Akbar Khan, whose adherent paid him off according to the common Afghan fashion.

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During this period Lord Ellenborough started from Calcutta, and proceeded towards the north-western provinces, where the Commander-in-Chief was residing. At Benares he learned that General Pollock had reached Ali Musjid, and he published a notification which raised the spirits of the British in India; but he at the same time declared his resolution to withdraw the troops from Jellalabad and Candahar to safer positions.

Lord  
Ellen-  
borough  
moves  
into the  
provinces.

The fate of the unfortunate prisoners, who were in the hands of the Afghans, excited compassion throughout the British empire. Lord Ellenborough declared that they could not be ransomed for money, but might be surrendered or exchanged; and that even negotiations might be entered into for that purpose with a *de facto* government, or with the chiefs who had them in custody, but he refused, in the general exchange, to include Dost Mohammed, and desired that endeavours should be made for the release of the last sepoy as much as for that of the first European. General Sale, whose wife and widowed daughter were amongst the prisoners, offered two lacs of rupees for their liberation; but although this offer was reluctantly sanctioned by the Governor-General, no bargain was effected.

The  
prisoners  
are not to  
be  
ransomed  
by money.

The orders of the Governor-General and of the Commander-in-Chief were, in the month of May, explicitly given, that Generals Pollock and Nott should quit their positions, and make retrograde movements; but both those gallant leaders demurred. They knew the Afghans, and they resolved to obtain signal redress for past treachery. General Sale was kept in the straight course by the courage of his officers; while, supported by innate courage, General Nott, although left in a more advanced position, took special care to make effective preparations for retaining Candahar. He therefore recommended, that the garrison should remain in that position until autumn; for, although the troops were, in April, four months in arrear of pay, without a rupee in the treasury—without medicine, without draught or baggage cattle, he was not afraid of an untrained, unorganised, and half-civilised rabble, however numerous. This prudent and energetic decision forced Brigadier England to advance from his entrenchments at Quetta; it quieted the retrograding notions of Lord Ellenborough.

Reiterated  
orders for  
retreat  
cause  
annoyance  
to the  
troops.

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General  
Pollock  
delays his  
retreat.  
The state  
of Cabul  
encourages  
an advance.

General  
Pollock  
advances  
towards  
Cabul.

He defeats  
the  
Afghans.

Excellent  
conduct of  
General  
Nott.

The want of carriage-cattle prevented any movement on the part of General Pollock for four months; and the Sikh government refused to occupy Jellalabad. During that time the state of affairs at Cabul showed clearly the facility with which that capital could be captured. The chiefs, and even Akbar Khan, attempted to negotiate for their own benefit. There were two factions there struggling for mastery and plunder. The delay of the troops gave time for reflection; and Generals Pollock and Nott, both Company's officers, were left at liberty to act as they thought best for the honour and interest of England. Preparations were at last effected for an advance on Cabul, and on the 20th of August General Pollock moved from Jellalabad to pass through the defiles, where the bones of the butchered British soldiers lay still unburied. He defeated twelve thousand Afghans on the 24th at Mammoo Khail, and remained a fortnight at Gundamuck. On the 8th of September he reached Jugdulluk, the scene of former disasters; and he forced the Ghilzies, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, to retire from the heights that commanded that dreaded pass. On the 11th he arrived at Tezeen, of which celebrated valley the heights around were crowded by Afghans. Sixteen thousand men under the command of Akbar Khan advanced, contrary to their usual custom, even to the British bayonets. They disputed to the last for the Huft Kotul; but the gallantry of the British soldiers forced them to disperse, leaving behind them a twenty-four pound howitzer, several guns, and three standards. At Khoord Cabul there was no opposition, and on the 15th General Pollock entered Cabul, and the British colours were planted in the Bala Hissar amidst the cheers of the troops and the roar of a royal salute from the Horse Artillery. Futteh Jung, son of Shah Soojah, who had been made king by Akbar Khan, went, with the permission of General Pollock, to the Bala Hissar, to witness the ceremony.

The conduct of General Nott, who had offered, in December, 1841, to march from Candahar to Cabul, will ever be the theme of the highest praise; it will endear his memory to British history. He resisted every movement in Afghanistan, unless such as was calculated to wipe out the stains that the treachery of the chiefs had cast upon England. He infused confidence into his troops; and when the time for quitting Candahar arrived, he sent Major-General England with a portion of the troops, all the sick, and the women and children, back to Scinde, *via* Quetta, where the Major-General had the gratification of levelling his previous entrenchments before he entered Scinde in safety.

General Nott, with 7,000 men, lightly equipped and in high spirits, set out on the 10th of August for Ghuznee and Cabul, which latter place he promised to reach in the beginning of October. He had a quantity of ammunition, and provisions for forty days. The march was unopposed until the 30th, when the Ghuznee Afghans, commanded by Shums-ud-deen Khan, a cousin of Akbar, attempted at Gonine, thirty-one miles S.W. of the fortress, to stop his progress. General Nott, with one half his force, gave battle, and in a short time routed the twelve thousand Afghans, and took their guns, ammunition, tents, and baggage. On the 4th of September he approached Ghuznee, which was full of men, had it reconnoitred, and at once determined to carry the enemy's mountain positions, and erected his batteries. Early on the morning of the 5th, the fortress was discovered to have been evacuated during the night. On its being entered by the British troops, it was found that not a single person was in the city—neither man, woman, nor child; there was no property, and there was not a single house standing entire in the town; the whole had been unroofed and destroyed by the factions of the Afghans for the sake of the timber. The fortifications and citadel were then destroyed, as having been the scene of treachery, mutilation, torture, starvation, and cruel murder to the unresisting British prisoners. But, as a contrast, we may refer to the treatment of the extensive village of Rozeh, one of the loveliest of the country. It was full of inhabitants, with houses filled with property, the farm-yards stocked with poultry, the gardens laden with fruit, and the vineyards bending with ripe grapes; yet all was sacred—nothing was touched by the soldiers, even after four years' sufferings. During four days, the victorious Candahar army was encamped quite near the village of Rozeh, but while the soldiers paid dearly for even the fruit, nothing was taken by force or stolen from the village. Such was the discipline of General Nott's army. He punished all thefts, marauding, and violence with severity; and the soldiers knew his decision. He recovered three hundred and twenty-seven sepoy of the 27th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry, who had been sold as slaves within forty miles round. Shums-ud-deen, and some other chiefs, again tried to throw obstacles in his way on the 14th and 15th of September; but he routed them with the greatest facility, and reached Cabul two days after General Pollock.

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He  
moves to  
Ghuznee  
and  
takes it.His  
excellent  
discipline  
at Rozeh.

One of the first duties of the British General on reaching Cabul was to effect the restoration of the prisoners, who, after various removals, had ultimately, on the 25th of August been recovered.

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A.D. 1842.

Akbar  
Khan  
escapes.

hurried to Bameean, where they arrived on the 3rd of September, and whence Akbar Khan declared his intention to have them sent to Kholoom, to be then sold as slaves. His pretext was, that General Pollock refused to evacuate the country. Fortunately for them, their chief guard had been an officer in Shah Soojah's service, and although the order had come from Akbar for their removal to Kholoom, he, on the 11th, proposed to effect their liberation, provided they secured to him twenty thousand rupees in cash and one thousand rupees per month for his life. They assented, and the documents were signed. Major Pottinger, then, in the name of the British government, nominated two governors of the district, and secured some forts; and the tribe which inhabited the valley being Kuzzilbashs and Shiahhs, supported their cause. On the 15th, hearing that Akbar Khan had after his defeat fled to Kohistan, the British prisoners ventured upon a flight towards Cabul. They marched to Tepchy Bala, and encamped near some castles, which they intended to seize in case of being attacked. On the 17th, they, having marched through the Kaled pass, and having reached that of Hajykek were met by Sir Richmond Shakespeare and six hundred Kuzzilbash horsemen, who had traversed ninety miles of that mountainous country in two marches. On the 18th they marched to Geedendewar, where they heard that a party of horse had been despatched from two neighbouring districts to intercept their retreat. On the 19th they marched to Thikaneh, and there hearing that the Afghans had occupied the pass of Sufeyd Khak; they proceeded towards Argendeh, where they met Sir R. Sale's troops holding the pass and the heights, and were thus restored to freedom and their friends. The number of the prisoners exceeded eighty European men; and, including Ladies Sale and M'Naghten, there were eleven ladies and nineteen children, of whom eight belonged to Mrs. Trevor, the widow of the officer murdered at Cabul. Captain Bygrave, who was with Akbar, was allowed to return in a few days. Lady Sale acknowledged that the prisoners had been well treated by the Afghans. Two thousand Indians were recovered.

General  
M'Caskill  
destroys  
Istaliff and  
Charekar.

Shortly after General Nott had joined General Pollock, a force was detached under Major-General M'Caskill, with strict orders to proceed into Kohistan, having Major Pottinger with them, in order, if possible, to secure the person of Akbar Khan, to punish the inhabitants for their cruel treatment of the British troops ten months previously, and to bring to the army the sepoy and camp-followers who were detained as slaves. Major-General

M'Caskill issued stringent orders to restrain all pillage and violence. Istaliff is situate on the slope of a mountain, and was considered unassailable by the natives, who had retired thither from Cabul. On the approach of the British troops they fired some of their long guns, but they were soon forced to flee up to the mountain top. A quantity of property, plundered from the British army, was found, and after it was removed, and some supplies useful for the troops were taken, fire was set in different places, and about a third of the town was destroyed; but no wanton cruelty was perpetrated; the women and children were respected. Charekar, where Major Pottinger and Lieutenant Houghton had been wounded, and their guards cut to pieces, in the month of November previous, received similar treatment; but the inhabitants had taken care to remove themselves and their property. Signal vengeance was taken on the bazaar at Cabul, in which the mutilated body of the British envoy had been treated with indignity, while dragged about by the populace, and afterwards hung up in derision. Notice was given for two days to those who had property in it and near it, that it would be destroyed; and the chiefs in the town aided the engineer employed on the occasion, when the bazaar and the mosque adjoining were, on the 9th of October, both blown up. On the following day two other covered bazaars, and the houses of Akbar Khan and a new mosque, ornamented with European materials, and specially built to record the destruction of the Feringhees, were also blown up. The Bala Hissar was about to share the same fate, but Shah Soojah's son, Shahpore, having assumed the insignia of royalty, it was left for his protection. Cabul, thus ravaged, was abandoned on the 12th of October. While returning through the defiles, the remains of the soldiers murdered months before, and which had lain unburied, were consigned to the earth. The army Khoord Cabul was passed without molestation; but in the Tezeen valley the mountaineers took advantage of the night to fire on the troops; the fortified house of the chief, one of their most infuriated opponents, was destroyed. At Jugdulluk a desperate attack was made on the baggage, but nothing was lost. The fortifications of Jellalabad were blown up; and, as the army approached the formidable Khyber, the chiefs sent a deputation to ask what would be given for a safe passage. "Nothing" was the answer. On the 27th, Generals Pollock and M'Caskill started with their divisions, and Nott followed on the 29th. A persevering opposition was made. Pollock lost some men and a quantity of baggage, and reached Peshawur on the 3rd. M'Caskill's

The army  
returns to  
India.

The  
Khyber  
Afghans  
try to  
obstruct  
them.

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Dost Mo-  
hammed  
liberated.The troops  
received  
with  
triumph at  
Ferozepore.Lord  
Ellen-  
borough's  
Eastern  
proclama-  
tion.Official  
notification  
of the  
abandon-  
ment of  
Afghan-  
istan.

column suffered severely, losing two officers and sixty sepoy, and reached on the 5th. Nott, with the rear, having destroyed the fort of Ali Musjid, reached on the 6th. He had been furiously assailed, but lost nothing of his baggage, and had four killed and two officers and nineteen men wounded.\*

On the 25th of October, the Governor-General ordered that Dost Mohammed, with his wives and children, and those of his sons and their families, and all other Afghans in India, should be permitted to return to their country.

From Peshawur to Ferozepore the troops passed quietly through the Sikh country. At the Indus they were met, on the 17th of December, by the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, who received them in a triumphant manner, and with every honour. Distinctions, medals, and rewards were bestowed. Among the trophies brought by General Nott were the celebrated sandal-wood gates, taken one thousand years previously from Somnath by Mahmood of Ghuznee, together with a mace found on his tomb.† These ancient trophies gave occasion to an address from the Governor-General to all the Native Princes of India. When translated into English, it appeared turgid and bombastic; but, in their languages, it produced great effect amongst the native princes and their people; for they saw that notwithstanding the fatal reverses of 1841, the British troops were thoroughly successful in 1842.

The student of Indian history will feel pleasure in learning the public grounds of Lord Ellenborough's decision for abandoning Afghanistan. They are contained in the following proclamation, dated 1st of October, 1842:—

“The government of India directed its army to pass the Indus, in order to expel from Afghanistan a chief believed to be hostile to British interests, and to replace upon his throne a sovereign represented to be friendly to those interests, and popular with his former subjects. The chief believed to be

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\* Lady M'Naghten, on quitting Cabul, caused the remains of her husband to be taken from the pit into which the Afghans had thrown them, and brought them to Calcutta, where they were decently interred, amidst undisguised proofs of respect from the community. A large public subscription was made for erecting a suitable monument to his memory

† Major General Nott was subsequently obliged, by ill health, to relinquish the appointment of Resident at Oude, and to return to Europe, where he was welcomed by universal sympathy. His disease was an enlargement of the heart. He died in his native city, Carmarthen, Jan. 1, 1846, in his 64th year. His foresight, judgment, decision and courage, were the theme of eulogy not only from the Court of Directors, but from the country at large.