of vacancies in the civil line of the Company's service in India to the civil servants of the Company. They directed accordingly, "that Mr. Wellesley be removed forthwith." This letter, dated the 19th of August, 1802, transmitted, as was legally necessary, to the Board of Control, was returned, on the 20th of September, with a prohibition to express for the present any decision upon the appointment of Mr. Wellesley, for the following reasons; first, because the service to which Mr. Wellesley was appointed, being not in the fixed and ordinary line of the Company's service, and not permanent, but extraordinary and temporary, it did not appear that the rights of the covenanted servants, or the law which prescribed the mode of supplying vacancies, were infringed; secondly, because occasions might occur in which, for extraordinary duties, the employment of persons, without the line of the Company's service, might be expedient; thirdly, because if there existed any such cases, it was proper to wait for the reasons of the Governor-General, before a decision was pronounced; especially, as Mr. Wellesley, it was probable, would have resigned his office, before the order for his removal could be received, and as he had disinterestedly declined all emoluments beyond the amount of what would have belonged to him, as private-secretary to the Governor-General.[1]

On the 13th of March, 1802, the Governor-General wrote to the Court of Directors in the following words: "I have the satisfaction to assure your Honourable Court, that the settlement of the ceded provinces has proceeded with a degree of facility and success, which has exceeded my most sanguine expectations."

A business, relating to another territorial cession, in the mean time occupied the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor. In addition to the territorial cessions which had been extorted from the Nawab Vizir, was the tribute paid to the government of Oude by the sovereign of Furruckabad. The ancestors of this Prince had long solicited, and enjoyed, the protection of the East India Company, against the wish to dispossess them, which they knew was cherished by the Nabobs of Oude. Their principality extended along the western banks of the Ganges,

[1] Papers, ut supra, ii. 42—44.

adjoining the north-western boundary of the principality of Oude, a space of about 150 miles in length, and a third of that extent in breadth; yielding a revenue of nearly ten and a half lacs of rupees. It was surrounded for the greater part by the territories belonging to Oude, which had been recently transferred to the East India Company. For terminating the disputes, which had long subsisted between the princes of Furruckabad and Oude, a treaty, under the influence of the English government, was concluded in 1786; according to which it was agreed, that the Nawab of Furruckabad should not retain any military force beyond what was requisite for purposes of state; that the Nawab of Oude should always maintain a battalion of Sepoys in Furruckabad for the protection of the territories and person of the Nawab; and "on account," says the treaty, "of the troops which the Nawab Asoph ud Dowla shall so maintain, the Nawab Muzuffer Jung will pay him the sum of four lacs and fifty thousand rupees yearly, instead of all the sums which the said Asoph ud Dowla, in capacity of Vizir, used formerly to take from him; and henceforth his people shall be at his own disposal." The English government having, in its quality of protector, quartered a Resident upon the Nawab of Furruckabad, and a use having been made of his power, which the Marquis Cornwallis, in a despatch to his masters, described as "having ever been highly offensive to the Vizir, as having in no degree promoted the interest or the satisfaction of the Nawab, and as having — while it produced no sort of advantage to the Company — by no means contributed to the credit of the government of Hindustan," that Supreme Governor, in 1787, determined, "That the English Resident at Furruckabad should be recalled, and that no other should afterwards be appointed."

The eldest son of the Nawab Muzuffer Jung being convicted of the murder of his father, was carried to Lucknow, and confined by orders of the Vizir, when the succession devolved upon the second son of the late Nawab, at that time a minor. The appointment of a regent was regarded as a point of too much importance to be left to the Vizir; the English government interfered, and made choice of an uncle of the young Nabob, who

had formerly been minister. On the visit paid by the late Governor-General to Lucknow, in 1797, he was waited upon by the young Nawab, and the Regent, who had numerous complaints to prefer against one another. The Regent was continued in his office, and terms were drawn up for better regulating the administration. The Marquis Wellesley, in his progress towards Oude, had required the presence of both the Nawab and the Regent at Caunpore, and had carried them with him to Lucknow. His purpose was, both to receive their acknowledgements upon the late transfer of the Furruckabad tribute; and "to adjust," as he himself expresses it, "the terms of a new and improved arrangement of the affairs of that principality — upon terms calculated to secure its prosperity, and beneficial to the interests of the Honourable Company." The pressure, notwithstanding, of other affairs, prevented him from engaging in the business of the meditated changes; and he left the execution of them to the Lieutenant-Governor of the ceded country, to whom the Nawab and Regent were desired to repair with all practicable expedtion.[1]

The termination of the Nawab's minority was now approaching, when he desired that the power and management of his principality should be put into his own hands. In writing his instructions to Mr. Wellesley, the Governor-General remarks, that the time was now come, when it became necessary either to vest the Nawab with the general government of the country, or to demand the cession of it to the Honourable Company.

The advantages of the cession to the Company, "both in a political and pecuniary point of view," he said, "were obvious." And to leave the principality to the rightful heir of its ancient masters, was extremely objectionable; inasmuch as the Regent, who had an interest in defaming him, had given him a very bad character. It is true, the Nawab had also given the Regent a bad character; but the Regent, it seems, met with belief; the Nawab, not.

Two remarks are here unavoidable. The first is, that whatever were the springs of action in the mind of the

[1] Papers, ut supra xii. 9. See also the article of charge against Marquis Wellesley, relating to Furruckabad. For the statistics of Furruckabad, see Rennel and Hamilton's East India Gazetteer.

Governor-General, he was forcibly drawn to believe, in conformity with his wishes; and few men, where the case is involved in any obscurity, are capable of believing in opposition to them. The next remark is, that we have here another instance of the doctrine, taught to the world, both by the reasonings, and still more remarkably by the practice of the Governor-General, that, wherever the character of a sovereign is bad, and his government either bad, or so much as likely to be so, he ought to be deposed, and his power transferred to hands, in which a better use may be expected to be made of it.

It is not to be supposed, that the Governor-General would wish to narrow his doctrine to the basis of his particular case; because that would reduce it to the atrocious Machiavelism, That it is always lawful for a strong prince to depose a weak one, at least if he has first kept him a while in the thraldom of dependence, whenever he chooses to suppose that he himself would govern better than the weak one.

The Regent arrived at Bareilly which the Lieutenant-Governor of the ceded districts had made the seat of his administration, on the 30th of April, 1802, a few days earlier than the Nawab. The Lieutenant-Governor requested to know what plan of reform he would recommend, for the government of the Nabob's country. "He appeared at first," says the Lieutenant-Governor, "very unwilling to disclose his sentiments, stating in general terms that he was unable to form any judgment of what was best for the country; but that he was willing to subscribe to any arrangement which the Governor-General might deem advisable." The Lieutenant-Governor, proceeded to press him, declaring to him, that "without a free and unreserved communication, on his part, no confidential intercourse could subsist between them." The Regent stated his wish to decline the suggestion of any opinions, and entreated to hear what were the designs of the British government. "Being desirous," says the Lieutenant-Governor, "that the proposal, of vesting the civil and military authority in the hands of the British government, should originate with the Regent, I continued to urge him to an unreserved disclosure of his sentiments with respect to the most eligible plan for the future

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government." He then stated, that three modes occurred to his mind. One was, that the administration should still remain in his own hands. Another was, that the Nawab, upon the expiration of his minority, should assume the reins of government. The third was, that the English should take the government to themselves. As to the first plan, the Lieutenant-Governor replied, that the aversion of the Nawab would render it impracticable. From the second, if the character ascribed to the Nawab, by the Regent himself, were true, the effects of good government could not be expected. Remained, as the only unobjectionable scheme, the transfer of all the powers of government to the Honourable Company. "Here," says Mr. Wellesley, in his account transmitted to the Governor-General, "I stated, that your Lordship had long been of opinion that this was the only arrangement which could ultimately afford satisfaction to all parties, and establish the welfare and prosperity of the province upon a secure and permanent foundation." The Regent was assured that a liberal provision would be made for all the persons whom this arrangement affected, and that his interests in particular would not be neglected. The Regent "stated in reply, that he had the fullest reliance upon the British government; and that he was ready to promote the Governor-General's views, by all the means in his power."

Upon the arrival of the Nawab, a representation was made to him of the necessity of a radical reform in the government of his country, and of the plan which the Governor-General approved. Requesting to receive the proposition in writing, it was transmitted to him in the following words; "That the Nawab should be continued on the musnud of his ancestors with all honour, consigning over the civil and military administration of the province of Furruckabad into the hands of the Company's government: that whatever balance should remain from the revenues collected, after paying the amount of the Company's tribute, the charges of government, and the expense of a battalion of Sepoys, in the room of an army now maintained by the Regent, should be paid without fail into the Nawab's treasury." What is here remarkable is the *language*; the Nawab was to be continued on the throne of his ancestors, with all honour; at the same

time that the government and dominion of the country were wholly and for ever to be taken from him, and he was to be reduced to the condition of a powerless individual, a mere pensioner of the state. A new degree of skill, in the mode of stating things, had been acquired since abdication was proposed to the Vizir. The Nawab remonstrated, in moderate, but pathetic terms: "I have understood the proposition for delivering up the country of Furruckabad into the hands of the Company's government. I have no power to make any objections to whatever you propose: but you know that the Governor-General, during my minority, delivered over the country to Khirudmund Khan, as deputy; now that my minority has passed, when I was in hopes that I should be put in possession of the country and property, this proposition is made to me. I am totally at a loss what to do. If I deliver over the country to the English government, all my relations and my neighbours, and all the nobility of Hindustan, will say that I have been found so unfit by the English government, and they did not think proper to intrust me with the management of such a country: and I shall never escape, for many generations, from the sneers of the people. If, on the contrary, I say anything in disobedience to your orders, it will be against all rules of submission and propriety." He then proceeded to propose, that the English government should appoint one of its own servants, as superintendent of revenue; who should take cognizance of the collections; send even his own agents to the villages, to act in common with the Furruckabad collectors; and transmit the stated tribute to the Company. "In this way," said he, "your wishes may be accomplished, and my honour and name preserved among the people.—As hitherto, no person throughout Hindustan, without a fault, has been deprived of the Company's friendship and generosity; if I should also gain my desires, it would not derogate from your friendship and generosity."

The Lieutenant-Governor immediately replied, that his proposition was inadmissible; that, according to the conviction of the Governor-General, nothing but transfer of the government could answer the ends proposed; and he renewed that proposition with an earnest request that

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the Nabob would take it into his cool and dispassionate consideration." The Nawab, still venturing to declare it "extraordinary, that no other mode could be devised," for the rectification of what was amiss, entreated to be furnished with a statement of the revenues, of the demands of the English, and of the balance which would remain for his subsistence, after deduction of them was made. By the account which was delivered to him, it appeared that he would receive 62,366 rupees, per annum. The Nawab offered little further objection. Some moderate requests which he preferred were liberally granted. And a treaty was concluded on the 4th of June, 1802, by which the country was ceded in perpetuity to the English, but instead of the balance of the revenues, a fixed sum of one lac and 8000 rupees per annum was settled on the Nawab.

"It may be proper," says the Lieutenant-Governor, in concluding his report, upon this transaction, to the Governor-General, "to observe, that Khirudmund Khan (the Regent) has afforded me no assistance towards obtaining the Nawab's consent to the cession, although upon his arrival at Bareilly, he confessed himself to be aware of the necessity of it.—I have great reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Nawab; who, if he had been suffered to follow the dictates of his own judgment, would, I am persuaded, have acceded to your Lordship's proposals with very little hesitation. He has invariably expressed himself desirous of promoting your Lordship's views, by all the means in his power." The ground, then, upon which the necessity of taking the country was founded, namely, the bad character of the Nabob, was discovered, and that, before the conclusion of the business, to be false.[1] "It is satisfactory," says the Lieutenant-Governor in another despatch, "to reflect that the transfer of the province of Furruckabad has not been less beneficial to the interests of the Nabob than to those of the Company. Previously to my departure from the ceded provinces, I had an interview with the Nabob at Furruckabad, who expressed himself highly gratified by the arrangement which had taken place; and whose respectable appearance, surrounded by his family and dependants, formed a striking

[1] P[illegible], ut supra, xii. 9—28.

contrast with the state of degradation in which he appeared, when the affairs of Furruckabad were administered by his uncle, the Nabob Khirudmund Khan."[1] It is curious enough to observe the doctrine which is held forth by the Anglo-Indian government. Uniformly, as they desire to transfer the sovereignty of any prince—the Nabob of Furruckabad, the Nabob of Oude, the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Raja of Tanjore,—to themselves, they represent it as no injury to the Prince to be deprived of his sovereignty; but, on the other hand a benefit, and a great one, if they are allowed to live upon a handsome income, as private men. Do the East India Company, and the servants and masters of the East India Company, limit their doctrine to the case of East India Princes, or do they hold it as a general doctrine, applicable to princes in every part of the globe?

In what was called the settlement of the country, for which the Lieutenant-Governor was specially appointed, the principal duty which he prescribed to himself, the principal duty which was expected of him, was to put in play the English machinery for the collection of the revenue. The English collectors were distributed; and, after as much knowledge as they could, by inquiry and personal inspection, obtain respecting the ability of the contributors, an assessment at so much per village was laid on the land; and the terms of it settled for three years. In some of the districts, in which the present desolation seemed easy to be repaired, an increase of rent was to be levied each succeeding year.

The Sayer, including duties of transit, and some other taxes, the Lieutenant-Governor found here to be characterized by the same inconvenience which had recommended the abolition of them in Bengal; namely, great expense of collection, great vexation to the people, and little revenue to the government. He, therefore, took them away; and established a regular custom-house tax, in their place.

Salt, in the ceded districts, had heretofore only paid certain duties to the government; and was imported into the districts by dealers. These dealers are represented by the Lieutenant-Governor as few in number, able to

[1] Papers, ut supra, i. 36.

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support a kind of monopoly, and regulate the price at their will. The sale of salt was now erected into a monopoly in the hands of government. The Lieutenant-Governor calculated, that the profit to government, "without," he says, "*materially* enhancing the price to consumers," would be eleven lacs of rupees per annum.

The commercial resources of the country presented to the Lieutenant-Governor an object of particular care. There was no obstruction, but what might easily be removed, in the navigation of the Jumna, from its entrance into the country, to its junction with the Ganges. By removing the evils which had driven commerce from this river, piracy, and vexatious duties, he expected to increase exceedingly the commercial transactions of the country, and to render Allahabad, which was a sacred city of great resort, a remarkable emporium between the eastern and western quarters of Hindustan.[1]

The Commissioners of the Board of Settlement, in addition to their administrative duties, as assistants of the Lieutenant-Governor, were appointed the judges of circuit and appeal; and six judges, with the title of registrars, were destined to hold Zillah Courts, at the six principal places of the country.[2]

In the new country were several Zemindars, who, as usual under the native governments, had enjoyed a sort of sovereignty, and of whom little more was exacted than an annual tribute, and sometimes the use of their troops in war. In the first year of the Company's possession, these Zemindars were only required to yield the same tribute which they had paid to the Vizir. To the alterations which were proposed in the second year, a Raja, named Bugwunt Sing, who possessed the two forts of Sasnee and Bidgeghur, and maintained an army of 20,000 men, showed an aversion to submit. He was given to understand, that in the terms no alteration would be made, and that non-compliance must be followed by the surrender of his forts. It was deemed a matter of more than ordinary importance to dispossess Bugwunt Sing of these two forts, both as they rendered him too powerful for a compliant subject, and as his example afforded encouragement to other Zemindars.

[1] Papers, ut supra, i. 34—42. [2] Ibid. p. 64.

On the 12th of December, 1802, Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, with a force consisting of four troops of native cavalry, four battalions of native infantry, and a supply of ordnance, took a position about two miles distant from the fort of Sassnee. He was not ready to commence the operations of the siege till the 27th, when the approaches were begun, at the distance of 800 yards from the place. On the 28th the garrison began for the first time to fire. On the 30th, towards evening, a sally was made against the head of the trenches, and repulsed with a very trifling loss. On the 3rd of January, 1803, about the same time of the day, another sally was made on the trenches, by a large body of infantry, under cover of a heavy fire from the fort; but though some of the enemy rushed impetuously into the trenches, they speedily retired. The breaching and enfilading batteries were completed on the night of the 4th. It was found necessary to increase the force, employed in the reduction of the Raja. The 4th regiment of native cavalry, the 2nd battalion of the 17th regiment, and five companies of his Majesty's 76th regiment were added; and the Honourable Major General St. John was sent to take the command. On the evening of the 14th, Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, judging the breach to be practicable, selected fifteen of the flank companies for the assault, and ordered them to storm a little before daybreak, while a false attack was made on the opposite side of the fort. They descended into the ditch, and planted their ladders; but unhappily found that by the unexpected depth of the ditch, and the sinking of the ladders in the mud, they came short of the necessary length by several feet. After an ineffectual endeavour to mount, and after the sepoys had remained fifteen minutes upon the ladders, exposed to a heavy fire, the party was withdrawn, with the loss of ten men killed, and somewhat more than double the number wounded.

The Commander-in-Chief repaired to Sasnee with the reinforcement of another regiment of cavalry; joined the besiegers on the 31st; ordered the approaches to be advanced 200 yards, and the place to be invested as closely as possible. On the 8th, the town adjoining the fort was taken. The enemy defended it feebly; but made a strong, though unsuccessful, attempt, to recover it the following night.

About eight o'clock on the evening of the 11th, the garrison evacuated the fort without being perceived. As soon as the event was known, a party of cavalry hastened, and with some success, to prevent them from getting into the fort of Bidgeghur. The Raja withdrew to a fort, which belonged to him, within the line of the Mahratta frontier.

The army proceeded on the 13th, and summoned Bidgeghur, which the commander, without the consent of his master, declined giving up. Weather being adverse, the batteries were not ready till the morning of the 21st. On the evening of the 27th, the breach was made practicable, and at five o'clock in the morning, the assault was to begin; but during the night, exceedingly dark and rainy, the garrison were discovered evacuating the fort. Though many were killed, the majority, and all the principal leaders escaped. The loss during the siege was trifling, but Lieutenant-Colonel James Gordon, an officer of merit, was killed by the explosion of a powder-magazine in the fort, the morning after it was taken.[1]

In the month of March, the commission appointed for the provisional government of the ceded provinces was dissolved; Mr. Wellesley resigned his situation of Lieutenant-Governor; and immediately returned to Europe. In a despatch, dated 19th of November, 1803, the home authorities declare their entire approbation of the late transactions with the Vizir; "the stipulations of the treaty being calculated to improve and secure the interests of the Vizir, as well as those of the Company;" nay more, "to provide more effectually hereafter for the good government of Oude, and consequently for the happiness of its inhabitants." "We cannot conclude," they say, "without expressing our satisfaction, that the cessions in question have been transferred, and provisionally settled, with so little delay, as already to admit of their being brought under the general administration of the Bengal government. The special commission, at the head of which Mr. Henry Wellesley was placed, appear to us to have executed their trust with zeal, diligence, and ability; and the settlement of the revenue, which they have concluded for a period of three years, holds out flattering prospects of

[1] Papers, ut supra, Supplement, No. 2, to vol. iii.

future increase. The general report, delivered in by Mr Wellesley, on the termination of his mission, has afforded us much satisfactory information with respect to the resources of the upper provinces; and we are happy to take this occasion of approving the conduct, and acknowledging the services of that gentleman."[1]

As the temptation of administrators to exaggerate the success of their measures is almost irresistible; as the distance of Indian administrators affords them, in this respect, peculiar advantages; and as it is pleasing to be led by flattering representations, this is a deception against which the public, as yet, are by no means sufficiently on their guard. "It is with the highest degree of satisfaction," says the Governor-General in Council, in a despatch in the revenue department, to the home authorities, dated 20th of October, 1803, "that his Excellency in Council acquaints your Honourable Court, that the wisdom of those measures, adopted during the administration of Mr. Wellesley, for promoting the improvement and prosperity of the ceded provinces, appears to have been fully confirmed by the tranquillity which has generally prevailed through the country, and by the punctuality and facility with which the revenue, on account of the first year of the triennial settlement, has been realized."[2] From such a representation as this, every man would conclude, that great contentment and satisfaction prevailed. Hear Mr. Ryley, who was appointed judge and magistrate of the district of Etawah, in February, 1803, and there remained till 1805. Being asked, as a witness before the House of Commons, on the 20th of June, 1806, "Were the Zemin-

[1] Papers, i. 58.

[2] Papers, ut supra, p. 46. "The satisfaction," says the judicial letter from Bengal, in the department of the ceded provinces, dated on the same 20th of October, "generally manifested by all descriptions of persons in the ceded provinces, at the transfer of these provinces to the authority of the British government, and the uninterrupted success which attended the measures adopted under the sanction of the Governor-General in Council, by the late Lieutenant-Governor, and the Board of Commissioners, for the complete establishment of the authority of the British government in these provinces, appeared to his Excellency in Council to leave no room to doubt of the expediency of immediately introducing into the ceded provinces the system of internal government established in Bengal. It is with the highest degree of satisfaction, His Excellency in Council is enabled to add, that the tranquillity which has in general prevailed throughout the country, and the submission and obedience, manifested by all classes of people to the authority of the laws, afford abundant proof, both of the beneficial operation of the new form of government, and of the expediency of its introduction." Supplement, ut supra, p. 301.

dars, and higher orders of the people, attached to our government during the whole period you were judge and magistrate of the Etawah district?"—he answered; "Generally speaking, I believe the higher orders of people in our district were not at all well-inclined to the British government.—Do you not believe that they are ripe for a revolt if a favourable opportunity should offer?—They certainly showed that disposition once or twice during the time I held that office. During your residence there, did the inhabitants become more, or did they become less reconciled to the British government?—I conceive they were subsequently much less reconciled, certainly, than they were at first.—To what cause do you attribute that?—To their being dissatisfied with the rules and regulations introduced into the country for their government.—Did that prevail principally among the Zemindars, or the inhabitants in general?—The inhabitants, in general, are so influenced by the conduct and desires of the Zemindars, who are independent princes, that their desire is principally that of the head men.—Do you consider that the Zemindars, while they were nominally under the Nabob, considered themselves as independent princes, and acted as such?—Certainly, they considered themselves as independent princes."[1] It by no means follows, that any blame was due to the government, on account of the disaffection of the Zemindars; because they were dissatisfied, from the loss of their power; and so long as they retained it, good government could not be introduced. Yet a desire existed, on the part of administration, to conceal the fact, to conceal it probably even from themselves.

After several manifestations of a refractory spirit, the Zemindar of Cuchoura agreed to deliver up his fort. On the 4th of March, 1803, an English captain, and two companys of sepoys, were admitted within the outer wall, when the army of intimidation, which had accompanied them, was withdrawn. After they had been delayed under various pretences, for several hours, a gun was run out from the upper fort to a position in which it could rake the passage in which the sepoys were drawn up, and the parapets of the walls on each side, were lined immediately with about eight hundred armed men; when a mes-

[1] Minutes of Evidence, p. 54—59.

sage was received from the Zemindar, that unless they retired, they would all be destroyed. As nothing could be gained by resistance, the commanding officer obeyed and was not molested in his retreat. When the army had taken up its position before the place, the Zemindar wrote a letter, in which he affirmed, that he had been treated with indignity by the gentlemen who had arrived to demand surrender of the fort, that hostilities were begun by the English troops, and that so far from intentions of war, he was ready to yield implicit obedience. After what had happened, he was told, that nothing would suffice but the unconditional surrender of himself, and all that appertained to him. The trenches were begun on the night of the 8th; the breaching battery opened on the morning of the 12th; and before night, had made such progress, that with two hours more of daylight, the breach would have been effected. Between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, the enemy rushed from the fort, with a resolution to force their way through the chain of posts which surrounded them. They were attacked, and pursued for several miles with considerable slaughter. The principal loss of the English was in Major Nairne, an officer of the highest promise, who was killed by a matchlock ball, as he was leading his corps to the charge.[1]

The evidence of disaffection in the ceded districts broke out, in a manner somewhat alarming, at the commencement of the Mahratta war. On the 4th of September, 1803, a party of Mahrattas, led by a French officer, made an incursion in the neighbourhood of Shekoabad, in the district of Etawah. Mr. Ryley is asked by the House of Commons, "Did the Zemindars and the other people not show an inclination to join him?" He answered, "They not only showed an inclination, but they actually did join him."[2]

The Raja Chutter Saul possessed the fort of Tetteeah, and had not only shown a refractory, but a predatory disposition; he was therefore considered in rebellion, and a

[1] Papers, ut supra, Supplement, No. 2 to vol. iii.

[2] Minutes of Evidence, p. 55. "From the general spirit of revolt which the Zemindars of this country exhibited, on the small check which our troops received at Shekoabad, &c." says a letter of Captain M. White commanding at Etawah, dated 12th September, 1803. Papers, ut supra, Supplement, No. 2, vol. iii.

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reward offered for his person, either dead or alive. On the 30th of September, Lieutenant-Colonel Guthrie marched to Teeteeah; and, as it had been dismantled by a detachment of the British army a few months before, expected to take it by assault. After a severe contest of some hours, he was overpowered by the enemy, and sent a message to Captain Dalston to hasten to his relief. On the arrival of that officer, he found the force under Colonel Guthrie completely broken, and sheltering themselves in the ditch, immediately under the wall of the fort: while the people within, not able to take aim at them with their matchlocks, were throwing powder-pots, which exploded among them in the ditch, and the people of the surrounding villages were assembling to attack them from without. Captain Dalston with his field-pieces soon cleared the tops of the walls; and enabled Colonel Guthrie and his party to make their escape from the ditch. The loss was serious, Colonel Guthrie and three other English officers were wounded, the first mortally. Of the native officers nearly one third were either killed or wounded. They were unable to bring off either their gun or tumbril, of which the one was spiked, the other blown up. On the following night, the enemy evacuated the fort, and the Raja fled to the other side of the Jumna.

Whatever belonged to the offenders was, in these cases, taken as forfeited to the government; for their persons, all the more eminent among them found the means of escape.[1]

CHAPTER X.

The Nabob of Surat deposed.—The Raja of Tanjore deposed.—The Nabob of Arcot deposed.—[*The Governor-General resigns.*]

THE city of Surat, situated in the province of Gujrat, on the south side of the river Taptee, was by far the greatest place of maritime commerce in India, when the

[1] Minutes of evidence, p. 55.—M. Whatever may be thought of the means by which possession of these districts was obtained, the occurrences narrated in the text are strong proofs that the change of masters was for the benefit of the country. It was quite impossible for any government to subsist where every petty chief intrenched himself in his castle, and was able to set his liege lord at defiance. It required the power and vigour of the British government to put an end to this state of anarchy in the Doab.—W.

Europeans first discovered the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. Communicating easily with some of the richest provinces of the Mogul empire, it was conveniently situated not only for the traffic of the western coast of India, but, what was at that time of much greater importance, the trade of the Persian and Arabian gulfs. As it was the port from which a passage was most conveniently taken to the tomb of the prophet, it acquired a peculiar sacredness in the eyes of Mussulmans, and was spoken of under the denomination of one of the gates of Mecca. It acquired great magnitude, as well as celebrity; for, even after it had confessedly declined, it was estimated in 1796 at 800,000 inhabitants; and though it is probable that this amount exceeds the reality, Surat may at this time be regarded as the largest city in India. When the votaries of the ancient religion of Persia, of which the Zend, and its commentary, the Pazend, are the inspired and sacred books, were driven from Persia, and the tolerating policy of Akbar drew a portion of them to India; Surat, as the most celebrated landing-place from Persia, became the principal place of their abode; and there, about 14,000 of their descendants still preserve their manners, and adhere to their worship.

The present fort or castle of Surat was erected about the year 1543, when Sultaun Mohammed Shah was King of Gujrat. As this kingdom soon after yielded to the Mogul arms, Surat became subject to the government of Delhi. It fell in with the Mogul policy, to separate the administration of the city, from the government of the castle. The Governor of the castle, and its garrison, were maintained by lands or jaghires, and tunkas or assignments on the revenue. The Governor of the town received the customs, or taxes on exports and imports; the taxes called mokaats, on almost all commodities; and the land revenue, subject to certain deductions for the Delhi treasury, of some surrounding districts.

For the maritime protection of the western side of India, the Mogul government established a fleet. Its expense, in the whole or in part, was defrayed by assignments on the revenues of Surat. Some time after the command of this fleet had fallen into the hands of the chiefs called the Siddees of Rajapoor, or about the year

1734, the Mahrattas, carrying their conquests over almost all the province, reduced the revenues of Surat to the taxes levied within the town, and the produce of a few remaining districts. The Nabob of Surat, thus straitened in his resources, began to fail in his payments to the fleet. Thereupon the Siddees blockaded the port; and compelled him to appropriate to those payments the revenue of the principal district from which any land revenue was now derived, as well as a considerable part of the duties collected within the town. In the year 1746, died the Nabob Teg Beg Khan, and was succeeded in the Nabobship by Sufder Khan, whose son, Vukar Khan, entered at the same time upon the government of the castle. But Mea Achund, who had married into the family of the late Nawab, and was supported by his widow, and some of the leading men, contrived to possess himself of the castle, to the expulsion of Vukar Khan. He also applied to the Mahratta, Damagee, the ancestor of the present Gaekwar princes; and promised him a portion of the revenues of Surat, if aided by him in expelling also the Nabob of the town. By this, commenced the Mahratta chout, which was afterwards shared with the Peshwa. An officer, as collector of chout, was established on the part of the Peshwa, and another on the part of the Gaekwar princes, who, under the pretence of its affecting the revenues, and hence the Mahratta chout, interfered with every act of administration, and contributed to increase the misgovernment of the city. Even when the English, at a much later period, conceived the design of forcing upon the Nawab a better administration of justice, they were restrained by fear of the Mahrattas, to whom the chout on law-suits (a fourth part of all litigated property was the fee for government) was no insignificant portion of the exacted tribute.

Mea Achund succeeded in expelling the Nabob of the city, and was himself after a little time compelled to fly; but a second time recovered his authority, which he permanently retained. Amid these revolutions, however, the government of the castle had been acquired by the Siddee. But the use which he made of his power was so oppressive to the city, that several invitations were soon after made to the English to dispossess him; and take

the command both of the castle and the fleet. Fear of embroiling themselves with the Mahrattas, and the danger of deficient funds, kept the English shy till 1758, when an outrage was committed upon some Englishmen by the people of the Siddee, and all redress refused. The Nabob agreed to assist them in any enterprise against the Siddee, provided he himself was secured in the government of the town. A treaty to this effect, reserving to the English the power of appointing a Naib or deputy to the Nawab was concluded on the 4th of March, 1759; and on the same day the Siddee agreed to give up the castle and the fleet. Sunnuds were granted from Delhi, vesting the Company with the command and emoluments of both; in consequence of which, the Mogul flag continued to fly on the castle, and at the mast-head of the Company's principal cruiser on the station. The annual sum, allotted by the sunnuds for the expense of the castle and fleet, was two lacs of rupees; but the sources from which it was to be derived were found to be far from equal to its production.

In 1763, the Nawab Mea Achund died; and, under the influence of the Bombay government, was succeeded by his son. In 1777, the office of Naib was wholly abolished, by consent of the Company; and its funds transferred to the Exchequer of the Nabob.

Another succession took place in 1790, when the father died, and the son, in right of inheritance, avowed by the English government, ascended the musnud. His right was exactly the same as that of the other governors, whose power became hereditary, and independent, upon the decline of the Mogul government; that of the Subahdars, for example, of Oude, of Bengal, and the Deccan, or the Nawab of Arcot, acknowledged and treated as sovereign, hereditary princes, both by the English government, and the English people.

The expense which the English had incurred, by holding the castle of Surat, had regularly exceeded the sum, which, notwithstanding various arrangements with the Nabob, they had been able to draw from the sources of revenue. Towards the year 1797, the English authorities, both at home and at the spot, expressed impatience under this burden, and the Nawab was importuned for two

things; the adoption of measures for the reform of government in the city; and an enlargement of the English receipts. The expedient in particular recommended, was, to disband a great proportion of his own undisciplined soldiery, and assign to the English funds sufficient for the maintenance of three local battalions. "The Nabob," says Governor Duncan, "betrayed an immediate jealousy of, and repugnance to, any concession; as well on the alleged ground of the inadequacy of his funds; as of the principle of our interference with his administration; which he declared to be inconsistent with the treaty of 1759." Notwithstanding this, he was induced, after a pressing negociation, to consent to pay one lac of rupees annually, and to make other concessions to the annual amount of rather more than 30,000 rupees. But on the 8th of January, 1799, before the treaty was concluded, he died. He left only an infant son, who survived him but a few weeks: and his brother, as heir, laid claim to the government.

The power of the English was now so great, that without their consent it was vain to hope to be Governor of Surat; and it was resolved, on so favourable a conjuncture, to yield their consent, at the price alone of certain concessions. These were, the establishment of a judicature, and the payment of a sufficient quantity of money. The negotiation continued till the month of April, 1800. The chief difficulty regarded the amount of tribute. Importunity was carried to the very utmost. The re-establishment of the naibship was the instrument of intimidation; for the right of the claimant was regarded by the Bombay government as too certain to be disputed. Governor Duncan, in his letter to the English chief at Surat, dated 18th April, 1799, describing a particular sum of money as no more than what the Nabob ought to give, to ensure his succession, and prevent the English from appointing a naib, adds, "which we have as clear a right to do, as he has to become Nabob; or to enjoy the fruits of our protection to his family and himself. Both points stand equally specified in the treaty." With regard to the right, however, of re-establishing a naibship, after having sanctioned its abolition, the case was by no means clear. The Court of Directors, in their letter to the Bombay Presidency, dated

the 17th of February, 1797, had declared, "Although it cannot be denied that the present Nabob, his father, and his grandfather, owed their elevation to the influence of the Company; we doubt our right to impose upon the Nabob an officer under this denomination; from the consideration that the first naib, nominated by the Company's representatives in 1759, was appointed under an express article of a written agreement with the then Nabob Mea Achund, and that upon the death of a second naib the office was consolidated with the office of Nabob, and was not renewed upon the succession of the present Nabob." With regard to the right of inheritance in the present claimant, beside the declarations of Governor Duncan, of which that above quoted is not the only one, Mr. Seton, the chief at Surat, in his letter to Mr. Duncan, of the 26th of December, 1799, says, "The Supreme Government determined the musnud to be the hereditary right of his brother, and from that decision, consequently now his established inheritance."

The claimant consented to pay a lac of rupees annually but perseveringly insisted that beyond that sum the revenues of the place would not enable him to go. After every mode of importunity was exhausted, and every species of inquiry was made, Mr. Seton became satisfied, that his statement was just, and on the 18th of August, 1799, wrote to the Governor of Bombay, in the following words "I have left nothing undone; and pressed him to the utmost. I am convinced he has not the means, or believe he really would pay more. Poor Mr. Farmer has been led into a false opinion of the resources of Surat; and I could almost venture to stake my life on it, that more than the lac is not to be got by any means short of military force. Take the Government from the family, and pension them (though such a measure would, in my humble opinion, be contrary to good faith), I scarce believe, after all endeavours, that the Company with these pensions, and the increased necessary establishments, would be more in pocket, than they will now with their present establishment and this donation. What were the views of the Company in possessing themselves of the castle? Whatever they were, they are not altered, and they were then satisfied with the castle, and tunka revenue, which is only

diminished from a decrease of trade; and here a lac is unconditionally offered, which exceeds the amount of castle and tunka revenue by 25,000 rupees per annum; yet the present government are not satisfied therewith, and still want more; which cannot be raised, if the Nabob does not squeeze it out of the subjects."

A despatch from the Governor-General, dated 10th March, 1800, was in due course received, which ordered the Nawab to be immediately displaced, and the government and revenues to be wholly assumed by the English. This was the most unceremonious act of dethronement which the English had yet performed; as the victim was the weakest and the most obscure. Some of the explanations with which this command was accompanied are not much less remarkable than the principal fact. Not negotiation, but dethronement, would have been adopted from the first, except for one reason, namely, a little danger. "The exigencies of the public service," says the Governor-General, "during the late war in Mysore, and the negotiations which succeeded the termination of it, would have rendered it impracticable for your government to furnish the military force, indispensably necessary for effecting a reform of the government of Surat, even if other considerations had not rendered it advisable to defer that reform until the complete re-establishment of tranquillity throughout the British possessions in India." It is here of importance, once more, to remark upon the phraseology of the Governor-General. To dethrone the sovereign, to alter completely the distribution of the powers of government, and to place them in a set of hands wholly different and new, though it constituted one of the most complete revolutions which it is possible to conceive, was spoken of as a "reform of the government."

The reasoning, by force of which the Governor-General claims the right to make such a reform, ought to be heard. "On a reference," says he, "to the treaty of 1759, concluded with Mayen-ed-din, we find that it was only a personal engagement with that Nabob, and that it did not extend to his heirs. Independent of the terms of the treaty, the discussion which passed in 1793, on the death of Mayen-ed-din, as well as the letter from your government, dated the 25th of March, 1790, when the office of Nabob

again became vacant, prove it to have been the general sense, that the operation of the treaty of 1759 ceased on the demise of Mayen-ed-din. The power of the Mogul having also become extinct, it follows, that the Company not being restricted with respect to the disposal of the office of Nabob by any specific treaty, are at liberty to dispose of it as they may think proper."

Here two things are assumed: first, that the English of that day were not bound by the treaty of 1759; the second, that, wheresoever not bound by specific treaties, the English were at liberty to dethrone any sovereign whom they pleased; or, in the language of the Governor-General, "to dispose of the office of Nabob, as they may think proper." Upon no part of this reasoning is any comment required.[1]

Attention is also due to the conduct of the Bombay rulers. Governor Duncan and Mr. Seton, had, both of them, previously declared their conviction of the clear right of the Nabob, not only to the Nabobship by inheritance, but to the support and alliance of the English, by a treaty which their acts had repeatedly confirmed. Yet, no sooner did they receive the command of the Governor-General to dethrone him, than they were ready to become the active instruments of that dethronement, and, as far as appears, without so much as a hint, that in their opinion the command was unjust.

The Governor-General next proceeds to say, that the sort of government which was performed by the Nabob, was exceedingly bad. Neither was the defence of the city from external enemies in a tolerable state; nor was its internal government compatible with the happiness of the people, under the prevailing "frauds, exactions, and mismanagement in the collection of the revenue, the avowed corruption in the administration of justice, and the entire inefficiency in the police. "It is obvious," he continues,

[1] To say that the English were at liberty to dethrone any sovereign they pleased is not putting the case fairly. The Nabob of Surat was no sovereign, but an usurping officer of the Mogul empire. Suppose that by any political vicissitude, the king of Delhi had been restored to the power of Akbar or Aurungzeb, would he not have been entitled to displace, and even punish, the Nabob of Surat, unless that officer had returned to his subordinate position? The English had appropriated, in this part of India, the possessions and authority of the Mogul, and had, therefore, the same rights over Surat. It was in this case, as in many others, not their ambition, but their moderation, that involved them in embarrassment and inconsistency.—W.

"that these important objects," namely, the security and good government of Surat, "can only be attained by the Company taking the entire civil and military government of the city into their own hands: and consequently," he adds, "it is their duty, as well as their right, to have recourse to that measure."

Here again we see the doctrine most clearly avowed, and most confidently laid down as a basis of action, that bad government under any sovereign constitutes a right, and even a duty, to dethrone him;[1] either in favour of the East India Company alone, if they ought to have the monopoly of dethronement; or in favour of mankind at large, if the privilege ought to be as diffusive as the reason on which it is founded.

It being deemed, by the Governor of Bombay, that his own presence would be useful for effecting the revolution at Surat, he left the Presidency in the end of April, and arrived on the 2nd of May. After endeavouring to secure the co-operation of the persons, whose influence was most considerable on the mind of the Nawab, he opened the business to that ruler himself, on the 9th, and allowed him till the 12th to deliberate upon his answer. At the interview, on that day, the Nawab declared; that he could not survive acquiescence in the demand; not only from a sense of personal degradation; but from the odium he must incur among all Mussulmans, if he consented to place the door of Mecca in the hands of a people who had another faith. The steps necessary for accomplishing the revolution without regard to his consent, were now pursued; and preparations were made for removing his troops from the guard of the city, and taking possession of it, by the Company's soldiers, the following morning. In the mean time, the reflections of the Nawab, and the remonstrances of his friends, convinced him that, opposition being fruitless, submission was the prudent choice; he therefore communicated to the Governor his willingness to comply, and the treaty was mutually signed on the following day. It had been transmitted by the Governor-General, ready drawn; and was executed without altera-

[1] It should rather be stated, the mal-administration of a subordinate functionary constitutes a right and duty to dismiss him; this is not quite the same thing as the right to depose independent sovereigns.—W.

tion. The Nabob resigned the government, civil and military, with all its emoluments, power, and privileges to the East India Company. And on their part, the Company agreed to pay to the Nabob and his heirs one lac of rupees annually, together with a fifth part of what should remain, as surplus of the revenues, after deduction of this allowance, of the Mahratta chout, and of the charges of collection.

When the powers of government were thus vested in English hands, establishments were formed for the administration of justice, for the superintendence of police, for the collection of the revenue, and for the provision of the Company's investment. For this purpose, the Governor-General had given two leading directions; the first was, that each of these departments should be committed to distinct persons; and the second, that the powers vested in the several officers should correspond as nearly as possible with those of the corresponding officers in Bengal. They have, therefore, no need of description.

Though stripped of all the powers of government, and a mere pensioner of state, it was still accounted proper for Meer Nasseer ud Deen to act the farce of royalty. His succession to the musnud of his ancestors was now acknowledged by the English government, and he was placed on it with the same pomp and ceremony, as if he had been receiving all the powers of sovereignty, on the day after he had for ever resigned them.

The great difficulty was, to obtain deliverance from the misery of the Mahratta chout. The Gaekwar prince expressed the greatest readiness to compliment the Company, to whom he looked for protection, with the share which belonged to him. With the Peshwa, the business was not so easily arranged.[1]

In the despatch of the Court of Directors, dated "Political Department, 18th October, 1797," and addressed "to our President in Council at Fort St. George," they say, "We have requested Lord Mornington to make a short stay at Madras, previous to his proceeding to take upon

[1] See a folio volume of 535 pages, of papers relating to this transaction solely, printed by order of the House of Commons, dated 14th July, 1806, and furnished with a copious table of contents, by which every paper, to which the text bears reference, will be easily found.—M.
See also Despatches, ii. 222, 259, 708.—W.

BOOK VI. CHAP. X. 1800.

himself the Government-General of Bengal, for the pu
pose of endeavouring to prevail on the Nabob of Arcot t
agree to a modification of the treaty with his highness
1792." Lord Hobart had just been recalled, because
differed with the Government-General of that day, in r
gard to some of the expedients which he adopted for t
attainment of this modification.[1] The Directors, notwit
standing, go on to say, "It were to be wished that t
zealous endeavours of Lord Hobart, for that purpose, h
proved successful; and as, in our opinion, nothing short
the modification proposed is likely to answer any bene
cial purpose, Lord Mornington will render a most essent
service to the Company, should he be able to accompli
that object, or an arrangement similar thereto. But fe
ing, as we do, the necessity of maintaining our credit wi
the country powers, by an exact observance of treaties
a principle so honourably established under Lord Cor
wallis's administration—we cannot authorize his Lordsh
to exert other powers than those of persuasion to indu
the Nabob to form a new arrangement."[2] It is sufficient
remarkable to hear ministers and directors conjunctly
claring, that "the principle of an exact observance
treaties" still remained to "be honourably establishe
at the time of Lord Cornwallis's administration. It w
the desire of credit with the country powers, that n
constituted the motive to its observance. But if t
Company when weak could disregard such credit with t
country powers, they had much less reason now to dre
any inconvenience from the want of it. Besides, t
question is, whether the country powers ever gave the
or gave any body, credit for a faith, of which they c
so little form a conception, as that of regarding
treaty any longer than it is agreeable to his interest
do so.

In a letter in council dated Fort William, 4th Ju
1798, the home authorities are told, that "immediate
on his arrival at Fort St. George, the Governor-Gene
lost no time in taking the necessary steps for opening
negotiation with the Nabob of Arcot, with a view to ta

[1] Vide supra, p. 49.
[2] Papers relating to the affairs of the Carnatic, ordered by the House
Commons to be printed, in August, 1803, i. 243.

accomplishment of your wishes, with regard to the modification of the treaty of 1792—The Governor-General, however, found his Highness so completely indisposed to that arrangement, as to preclude all hopes of obtaining his consent to it at present." The letter then promises, at a future day, a detailed account of the communications which had passed between the Governor-General and Nabob: but this was never sent.[1]

In 1799 the Governor-General, when he was again at Madras, and war with Mysore was begun, thought another favourable opportunity had arrived of urging the Nabob afresh on the subject of changes so ardently desired. The treaty of 1792 gave a right to assume the temporary government of the country on the occurrence of war in the Carnatic. To this measure the Nawab and his father had always manifested the most intense aversion. It was hoped that the view of this extremity, and of the burden of debt to the Company, with which he was loaded and galled, would operate forcibly upon his mind. The Governor-General accordingly proposed that he should cede to the Company, in undivided sovereignty, those territories which were already mortgaged for the payment of his subsidy, in which case he would be exempted from the operation of the clause which subjected him to the assumption of his country; while it was further proposed to make over to him, in liquidation of his debt to the Company, certain sums, in dispute between them, to the amount of 2,30,040 pagodas.

These conditions were proposed to the Nabob by letter, dated the 24th of April. The Nabob answered by the same medium, dated the 13th of May. The season for alarming him, by the assumption of his country, was elapsed, Seringapatam being taken, and the war at an end. The Nabob, therefore, stood upon the strength of his treaty, which he represented as so wise, and so admirable, that no change could be made in it without the sacrifice of some mutual advantage; that even if the assumption of his country were necessary, which, thanks to the Divine mercy, was at present far from the case; nay, "were the personal inconvenience ten times greater," the sacrifice would be cheerfully made, "rather than consent to the

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 204.

alteration of the treaty, even in a letter." Besides, there were other engagements, by which the Nabob must ever hold himself inviolably bound. These were, respect for "the loved and revered personages" by whom the treaty was framed, and the dying commands of his honoured father, to which he had pledged a sacred regard. He also plied the Governor-General with an argument, which to his mind might be regarded as peculiarly persuasive—an argument drawn purely from parliamentary stores—experience against theory; "I cannot," said he, "overlook a circumstance, which, in affairs of this sort, must naturally present itself to the mind of your Lordship; that the treaty, which is now suggested to be defective, has had a trial, my Lord, of more than seven years; and, without a single exception, has been found, for that period, not only sufficient for all common purposes, but has secured the fulfilment of every condition stipulated in it, with a harmony uninterrupted; and perhaps, I might add, almost unprecedented in any country or age."[1]

The Court of Directors, in their political letter to Fort St. George, dated the 5th of June, 1799, say, "We have been advised, by the Earl of Mornington, that the Nabob continues to oppose a determined resolution to the modification of the treaty of 1792, which has been repeatedly proposed to him. At the same time, we observe, that his Highness has distinctly acknowledged, that he is in the practice of raising money annually by assignments of the revenues of those districts, which form the security for the payment of the Company's subsidy." They add, "As this practice is unquestionably contrary to the letter and subversive of the spirit of that treaty, we direct, that, immediately upon the receipt hereof, you adopt the necessary measures for taking possession, in the name of the Company, of the whole, or any part, of the said districts, the revenues of which shall appear to be so assigned; and that you continue to hold the same, and collect the rents thereof, in order that the Company may not in future be deprived of the only security which they possess, under the before-mentioned treaty, to answer any failure in the Nabob in discharging his subsidy. You will immediately communicate to the Nabob the determination we have come

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 213—216.

to, and the orders you have received relative to this point." [1]

The affirmation, relative to the assignments on the districts in pledge, is contrasted with the following affirmation of the Nabob, in his letter of the 13th of May, just quoted, in which he answers the proposal and reasonings which the letter of the Governor-General had pressed upon his mind: "I do most unequivocally assure your Lordship, on the word and faith of a sovereign, that no one foot of the districts set apart by the treaty of 1792 have been, or are in any manner or way, directly or indirectly, assigned by me, or with my knowledge, to any individual whatsoever; and, having made this solemn and unreserved declaration, I would hope, that I need not urge more." [2]

With respect to the command of the home authorities, to take possession of the districts, and all the rest of their expedients, the Governor of Fort St. George, on the 11th of April, 1800, writes, "Your letter to the Governor-General, dated the 16th June 1799, is still under his Lordship's consideration. But it is material for me to repeat—and with impressive earnestness, that no security, sufficiently extensive and efficient, for the British interest in the Carnatic, can be derived from the treaty of 1792; and that no divided power, however modified, can possibly avert the utter ruin of that devoted country." [3]

On the 13th of June, 1799, the home authorities wrote to the Governor-General, "In the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun, the respective countries of the Nabob of Arcot, and the Raja of Tanjore, will of course come under the Company's management; and we direct, that they be not relinquished, without special orders from us, for that purpose; in order to afford sufficient time for the formation of arrangements for relieving those respective princes from all incumbrances upon their revenues." Upon this subject, the Governor-General writes, on the 25th of January, 1800, "The short duration of the war rendered it inexpedient for me to assume the management of the respective countries, of the Nabob of the Carnatic, and of the Raja of Tanjore, on behalf of the Company. The immediate effect of such an assumption would have been, a considerable failure of actual resource, at a period of the

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 216. [2] Ibid. p. 214. [3] Ibid. p. 216.

utmost exigency. I shall hereafter communicate my sentiments at large, with respect to the state of Tanjore, and the Carnatic. The latter now occupies my particular attention; and I fear that the perverse councils of the Nabob of Arcot will prove a serious obstacle to any effectual improvement of your affairs in that quarter.[1]

Tuljajee, the Raja of Tanjore, died in 1786, and was succeeded by Ameer Sing, his son. The conduct of this prince gave so little satisfaction to the English, that, after the peace of Seringapatam, which Lord Cornwallis concluded with Tippoo in 1792, they deliberated concerning the propriety of trusting him any longer with the civil administration of the country. But the supreme government "were of opinion, that, under all the circumstances in which the question was involved, it would be more suitable to the national character, to hazard an error on the side of lenity, than to expose themselves to the imputation of having treated him with excessive rigour." Accordingly, a treaty was concluded with him, dated the 12th of July, 1793, and his country, which, like the Carnatic, had been taken under English management during the war, was restored to him, in as full possession as before.

In the year 1798, a convenient discovery was made; that Ameer Sing was not the legal heir to the musnud of Tanjore; but Serfojee, the adopted son of Tuljajee. The question of the rights of these two princes remains in obscurity. The documents have not yet been made accessible to the public; and we know not upon what grounds the decision was formed.[2] This only we know, that it was

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 217.

[2] The circumstances of this case were so remarkable, that it is rather extraordinary the author should not have heard of them, and failed to trace a more particular account. The discovery was not made in 1798. The points in dispute were well known at Amar Sing's accession, but a judgment was then pronounced, which subsequent investigations, resumed in 1794 and terminated only in 1797, led both Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore to consider as erroneous, and at the latter date it was pronounced to be so by the Court of Directors. Amar Sing was the half-brother of Tuljajee; the latter, when dying in 1787, adopted Serfojee as his son, placing him under the private guardianship of the celebrated missionary Swartz, and the public tutelage of his brother. Upon the Raja's death, the validity of the adoption was disputed on three grounds, the imbecile state of the Raja's mind, the age of the boy, ten years, which it was affirmed exceeded that legally qualifying him for adoption, and his being an only son, which was also held a legal disqualification. Upon the two latter grounds the Madras Government, with the approbation of that of Bengal, cancelled the adoption, and placed Amar Sing upon the Musnud. The cruel treatment of Serfojee by the Raja was repeatedly brought to the

determined to dethrone Ameer Sing, and to set up Serfojee in his stead. Serfojee was obviously in a situation to submit implicitly to any terms which the English might think proper to prescribe. After some months, therefore, of preparation, a treaty was concluded with him, dated the 25th of October, 1799, by which he resigned for ever all the powers of government to the English, and received a pension of one lac of star pagodas, with a fifth of the net revenues.[1]

On the 7th of April, 1800, the Governor-General forwarded to the Governor of Fort St. George, certain letters and papers, found by the English in the palace of Seringapatam. These documents related to a correspondence of the two Nabobs of Arcot, the father and the son, with the Sultan of Mysore. The Governor-General directed Lord Clive to proceed, without loss of time, in conducting an inquiry into the circumstances of which the papers appeared to afford indication, and in particular transmitted a list of witnesses whose evidence was to be carefully and zealously collected. In the mean time, he himself had completely prejudged the question; and did what depended upon him to make Lord Clive prejudge it in a similar manner. "A deliberate consideration," says he, in the very letter which directed inquiry, "of the evidence resulting from the whole of these documents has not only

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notice of the British authorities by the vigilance of his reverend guardian; and upon his representations, and those of the Resident, the Madras Government insisted upon the removal of Serfojee and the surviving widows of Tuljajee, who were also objects of the Raja's oppression to Madras. This took place in 1793, and was followed immediately by an appeal to the Government against its former decision adverse to Serfojee's pretensions. The question was fully entered into by Sir John Shore, and as opinions were received from various Pundits of learning and character, which interpreted the law in favour of the adoption, the British authorities had no other alternative than to correct an error of their own commission, and restore Serfojee to that throne, of which they had, in the mistaken belief that they were acting according to the law, deprived him. It was not for their own convenience, therefore, that they deposed Amar Sing and set up Serfojee in his stead, although it was true that the change was for the better, as the administration of Amar Sing had been most injurious to the resources of Tanjore. The particulars of these transactions are interestingly and authentically related from the correspondence of Swartz and the records of the India House, by the venerable missionary's biographer, Dr. Pearson. Life of Swartz, ii. 132, 263, and 314. Raja Sarbojee, as he is more accurately named by Bishop Heber, was visited by that prelate in 1826, and is described by him as combining many of the best traits of the native character with European tastes and habits. Letter to R. V. Horton, Esq., Heber's Journal, ii. 459. See also Desp. i. 41, and v 47.—W.

[1] See certain documents in the Second Report of the Select Committee, 1810, p. 234—242.

confirmed, in the most unquestionable manner, my suspicions of the existence of a secret correspondence between the personages already named, but satisfied my judgment, that its object, on the part of the Nabobs Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, and especially of the latter, was of the most hostile tendency to the British interests.—The proofs arising from the papers would certainly be sufficient to justify the British government in depriving that faithless and ungrateful prince, of all means of rendering any part of the resources of the territories, which he holds under the protection of the Company, subservient to the further violation of his engagements, and to the prosecution of his desperate purposes of treachery and ingratitude." [1]

However, the Governor-General thought, it would, notwithstanding, be more consonant with "the dignity, and systematic moderation of the British government," not to take the country from its prince, till some inquiry had first been made. But he says, "Although it is my wish to delay the actual assumption of his Highness's government until that inquiry shall be completed, I deem it necessary to authorize your Lordship to proceed immediately to make every arrangement preparatory to that measure, which now appears to have become inevitable." [2]

Nothing, surely, ever was more fortunate, than such a discovery at such a time. This the Governor-General has the frankness to declare. "While those orders, lately conveyed by the Honourable Court of Directors relative to the Company's connexion with the Nabob, were under my consideration, a combination of fortunate circumstances revealed his correspondence." [3] When the Governor-General, and all his superiors, and all his subordinates, in the government of India, were languishing and panting for the possession of the Carnatic, but afraid, without some more plausible reason than they yet possessed, to commence the seizure, here it was provided for them in extraordinary perfection. But the very circumstance which recommended it to the eager affections of the East India functionaries, will recommend it to the rigid scrutiny of those whose minds are more happily situated for appreciating the facts.

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 2. Also Despatches, ii. 254, and App. 740.
[2] Ibid. p. 3.
[3] Ibid. p. 4.

The documents on which so extraordinary a value was set by the Governor-General, consisted almost entirely of certain things picked out from a mass of correspondence which purported to have passed between the "Presence" (the title which Tippoo bestowed upon himself), and the two vakeels, Golam Ali Khan, and Ali Reza Khan who accompanied, in 1792, the hostage sons of the Sultaun to Madras. Besides these, only two letters were produced; one from a subsequent vakeel of Tippoo at Madras; another, supposed to be from Omdut ul Omrah, but under a fictitious name.

It is proper to ascertain the value of one circumstance, on which those who are not partial to the British character will not fail to animadvert. As the British government was situated with respect to the papers of Tippoo, it was, it may be affirmed, the easiest thing in the world to procure evidence for any purpose which it pleased: and I wish we could say that civilization and philosophy have made so great a progress in Europe, that European rulers would not fabricate a mass of evidence, even where a kingdom is the prize. The time is so very recent, when such expedients formed a main engine of government, and the progress in political morality appears to be so very slow, that it would be utterly unsafe to proceed upon the supposition that forgery is exploded as an instrument of government. Yet in the case of the British government, so much the greater number of those employed in carrying it on would probably refuse to share in the fabrication of a mass of evidence, that the small number of individuals who might have no insuperable objection to it would find it, in few cases, easy; in most, impossible, to accomplish their purpose. With regard to Lord Wellesley, even his faults bear so little affinity with this species of vice, and his most conspicuous virtues are so directly opposed to it, that we may safely infer it to be as unlikely in his case, as in any which can well be supposed, that he would fabricate evidence to attain the objects of his desire; notwithstanding the violence with which he was apt to desire, and the faculty which he possessed of persuading himself, that everything was righteous by which his desires were going to be fulfilled.

But an argument, more conclusive than any argument

from character, either national or individual, can almost ever be, at any rate to strangers, and those whose partiality one has no reason to expect, is this; that the papers prove nothing; which most assuredly would not have been the case, had they been fabricated for the purpose of proving. On the other hand, if they had exhibited a proof which was very strong and specific, it would have been no easy task, after the very exceptionable manner in which they were examined, to have proved that all suspicion of them was utterly groundless.

Among the objects recommended to the vakeels who accompanied the sons of Tippoo to Madras, one, very naturally, was, to communicate to him useful intelligence of every description. They had even a particular commission with regard to secret intelligence, in which a delineation of the defensive works of Fort St. George was particularly included; and they were furnished with a cipher for carrying it on.

With other articles of intelligence, which the vakeels availed themselves of their situation to transmit to their royal master, an account was given of the deportment of the Nabob of Arcot, towards the princes, and towards themselves; and of the conversations which took place between them. The letters relating to this subject were those which were regarded as affording evidence against Wallajah, the deceased, and Omdut ul Omrah, the reigning Nabob.

It is to be remarked, that Lord Cornwallis, after he had reduced Tippoo to a situation, in which he regarded him as too weak to be any longer formidable, adopted the liberal design of conciliating his mind, and gaining it, if possible, by a respectful, generous, and even flattering style of intercourse, to a state of good-will towards the English nation. The same course he recommended to the Nabob Wallajah, who had suffered so deeply by the raising of Tippoo's house, and towards which he had often manifested so great a degree of contempt and aversion.[1]

There were various circumstances which just at that

[1] This recommendation may have been given, but the only evidence for it, which is here received without question, appears to be that of one of the Nawab's officers, under suspicious circumstances, on attempting to vindicate his master from the charge of treacherous correspondence with the Vakeels. See subsequent page.—W.

time induced the Nabob to follow these injunctions of the Governor-General with great alacrity. The fame and authority of Tippoo were now sufficiently high to render his friendship an object of importance. The Nabob of Arcot, on the other hand, felt himself in a state of degradation, and reduced to a cipher among the princes of India. It soothed his vanity to hold some intercourse with as many of them as possible; and not least with one who now occupied so large a space in the eye of the world as the Sultaun of Mysore. It increased his dignity and consequence, when he induced other princes to use towards him the language of friendship, and to treat him as a prince upon a level with themselves. This rendered it more difficult for the English to accomplish their design of divesting him, as he dreaded, of all his sovereign powers, and reducing him and his family to the condition of mere pensioners of state. He seems, accordingly, to have been very eager, to add the forms of a confidential intercourse with Tippoo to the other circumstances which held him forth to the world as a sovereign prince, and which he regarded with justice as the only barrier between him and dethronement.

Attentions to the princes while at Madras, with assurances of his favourable sentiments towards the Sultan, and of his ardent desire of a suitable return, were the expedients of which he made use. Oriental expressions of compliment are all extravagant, and hyperbolical; and we cannot, on such an occasion, suppose, that the Nabob would use the most feeble and cold. Another circumstance of great importance to be remembered was, that the letters contained not the expressions of the Nabob, but only the expressions of the vakeels reporting them; and that Indian agents, reporting to their principals, seldom pay any regard to realities, but, as far as they can go with advantage to themselves, heighten whatsoever they think will be agreeable to their master, extenuate whatsoever they think he will dislike. Now, when all the expressions which the vakeels of Tippoo report to have been used by the Nabob and his son are tortured to the utmost, nothing can be extracted from them but declarations of friendly sentiments, in an hyperbolical style. Even the Persian translator of the English government, who drew

up a report upon the documents, highly praised by the Governor-General, and in which every effort is made to draw from them evidence of guilt, has the candour to say, "The accuracy of reports from agents, natives of India, to their principals, cannot, under circumstances, be implicitly relied on; and in one of the reports of the vakeels which contains the substance of a conference between themselves, the princes, and the Nabob, at which Colonel Doveton was present, a speech is ascribed to that gentleman which is evidently fabricated; a circumstance which tends to weaken the validity of all their reports;—and if the evidence of the Nabob's conduct rested solely upon them, the proofs might be considered as extremely defective and problematical."[1]

Thus far, then, the ground is clear. But, beside the reports of the vakeels, what further proof is alleged? There are the letters of Tippoo, and the key to the cipher. The letters of Tippoo contain no more than a return to the civil expressions of the Nabob; vague declarations of good-will, couched in a similar style The key to the cipher shows that Wallajah was designated by the term *Well-wisher of Mankind*, the English by that of *New-Comers*, the Nizam by that of *Nothingness*, the Mahrattas that of *Despicable;* and so on. And this is the whole matter of evidence which the papers contained.

To establish still further the dark designs which the Governor-General firmly concluded that a few hyperbolical expressions had already proved, a list of nine witnesses was transmitted to Madras, of whom the two vakeels, Golam Ali Khan, and Ali Reza Khan, were the chief. A commission consisting of two of the most approved servants of the Company, Mr. Webbe, the secretary to the Madras government, and Colonel Close, were selected to conduct the investigation. Every precaution was taken, such as that of preventing communication between the witnesses, to get from them either the evidence pure, or the means of detecting its impurity.

It was resolved to begin with the two vakeels, who of course could best elucidate their own correspondence. To form a proper judgment of their testimony, several circumstances ought to be remarked. In the first place, they

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 14.

were Orientals; that is, men, accustomed, in the use of language toward those on whom their hopes and their fears depended, to regard very little the connexion between their words and the corresponding matters of fact, but chiefly the connexion between those words, and the impression, favourable or unfavourable, which they were likely to make on the minds of the great persons, on whose power the interests of the speaker most remarkably depended. In the second place, it is impossible to conceive any dependance more abject, than was, at this time, the dependence of the khans, Golam Ali, and Ali Reza, upon the English government. The government, under which they had found employment, was totally destroyed. Every source of independent subsistence was cut off; they lived upon a pension which they received from the English government, and which it was only necessary to withhold, to plunge them into the deepest abyss of human misery. They had every motive which interest could yield, to affirm what would be agreeable to the English government. They could have no interested motive to speak what would be agreeable to Tippoo, Wallajah, or Omdut ul Omrah. In these circumstances, if they had given a testimony in every respect conformable to the wishes of the English government, what depended upon their affirmation would have been regarded as of little or no value by any impartial judge. But in as far as they gave a testimony in opposition to those wishes, that is, in opposition as they must have believed, to their own interests, their testimony has some of the strongest possible claims upon our belief.

Every thing was done to remove any obstructions which might exist in the minds of the witnesses to the production of such evidence as was expected. They were given to understand that no blame would be attached to them, who only acted under legitimate orders, for their instrumentality in the designs of their master. And they were assured in the strongest language, that any appearance of a design to conceal the truth, and they well knew what eastern rulers were accustomed to call the truth, would be visited upon them with all the weight of English indignation.

Of the two vakeels, Ali Reza was residing at Velore,

Golam Ali at Seringapatam. As least remote, Ali Reza was examined first. In him, the examining commissioners say, in their report to the Governor, "we think it necessary to apprize your Lordship that we discovered an earnest disposition to develop the truth. Golam Ali they accused of base endeavours at concealment. The evidence of both, taken together, tends not to confirm one single suspician, if any could have been justly derived from the papers, but to remove them, every one.

They both distinctly and constantly affirmed, that the expressions of good will towards Tippoo, made use of in their hearing by Wallajah or his son, were never understood by them in any other sense than that of vague compliments. Ali Reza gave testimony to another point, with regard to which the Persian translator, commenting on his evidence, thus declares: "In the report of the Persian translator," namely, the report on the documents, "it has been observed, that the expressions of attachment and devotion, ascribed by the vakeels to the Nabob Wallajah, and Omdut ul Omrah, are probably much exaggerated; and that little dependence ought to be placed upon the existence of facts, inferred merely from such expressions; this conjecture is confirmed by Ali Reza Khan, who acknowledges they were much exaggerated, and that it was customary with the vakeels to heighten the expressions of regard, which fell from Lord Cornwallis, or the Nabob Wallajah, for the purpose of gratifying the Sultan; and observed very justly that the people of this country constantly exaggerate their expressions of regard to an extravagant degree." [1]

The vakeels reported several expressions of the Nabob, complimenting the Sultan as a pillar of the faith, and admiring the union of Mussulmans; certain articles of intelligence which he was described as conveying; and expedients of secrecy which he was described as having employed. All this, however, is only the report of the vakeels, which is acknowledged to be incapable of proving any thing, and which, as it forged a speech for Colonel Doveton, would just as probably forge for the Nabob and his son. But the circumstances, even if the statement of them is supposed to be just, afford no ground for an

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 47.

inference of guilt. To call Tippoo a pillar of the Moslem faith, one of the most flattering of all compliments to his bigoted mind, was not criminal; nor to speak with approbation of the union of Moslems, which might be an exhortation to the Sultaun to favour the Nabob, that is, the English, who always represented their interests as the same with his.

The articles of intelligence which he is said to have conveyed are exceedingly trifling; and have at any rate the appearance of having been conveyed for a good, not for an evil purpose; for the preservation of that harmony between Tippoo and the English, which at that time the English had very earnestly at heart. Having learned, that suspicions were caused, by some intercourse which appeared to take place between the Mysore and Mahratta Durbars, the Nabob sent him his advice, that it would be better he should desist, and suspend his negotiations, at least during the administration of Marquis Cornwallis. Again, having learned the existence of a French war, and that Pondicherry was about to be attacked, the Nabob sent his advice to the Sultaun to withdraw his vakeel from Pondicherry, and to intermit all correspondence with the French. This is the whole of the intelligence, the conveyance of which was construed into direct acts of hostility.

A few expressions of want of regard for the English, mixed in the reports of the vakeels, hardly deserve attention; both because nothing was more likely to be inserted by the vakeels, they knowing nothing much more likely to be agreeable to their master; and because, if the attachment of the Nabob to the English had been ever so entire, it was perfectly in character with oriental sincerity, to affect to despise and abhor them, in order to conciliate a mind by which it was known they were disliked.

As to the appearance of a concern about secrecy, it is well known to be a feature of the human mind in the state of civilization under which the Sultaun and Nabob were educated, and in India to a singular degree, to make a great affectation of secrecy on very trifling occasions; and, for the show of importance, to cover every thing as much as possible with a veil of mystery. Under the designation of "*the affair you know*," something was mentioned in the

letters of Tippoo and the vakeels; and under this mysterious appellation the deepest villany was supposed to be couched. On this, after examining their witnesses, the commissioners report, "We have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the expression of '*the affair known of*,' so frequently repeated in the correspondence, appears to refer to the subject of a proposed connexion by marriage between the families of Tippoo Sultaun and the Nabob Wallajah."[1]

On two occasions, while the vakeels remained at Madras, the Nabob made appointments for meeting with them secretly. But both of them persisted in steadily affirming, as witnesses, that nothing passed beyond general professions of regard. The affectation of a wish to conceal from the English the warmth of the attachment he professed, might well be one of the artifices made use of by the Nabob for extracting those appearances of regard from the Sultaun, which it was at this moment his interest to obtain. In exact conformity with this idea, he made offer, upon the departure of the vakeels from Madras, to establish a cipher for the purpose of secret communication. But so little value did the Sultaun attach to any expected communication from the Nabob, that he treated this proposal with total neglect; than which a stronger proof can hardly be expected of the innocence of all the communications which from that quarter he had ever received.

The commissioners say, "We examined Gholam Ali Meer Suddor, the Dewan Purniah, and the Moonshee Hubbeeb Olla," that is, the men above all others acquainted with the secrets of Tippoo's government; "but as their testimony did not establish any fact, we thought it unnecessary to record their evidence."[2]

Not only does this evidence afford no proof of a criminal correspondence with Tippoo, on the part of the Nabob; but the total inability of the English to produce further evidence, with all the records of the Mysore government in

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 36.

[2] Ibid. p. 39.—The papers from Seringapatam, and the examination of the witnesses, are in a collection of House of Commons "Papers concerning the late Nabob of the Carnatic, ordered to be printed 21st of June, 1802;" the rest of the documents are in the volume of papers quoted immediately above.

their hands, and all the living agents of it within their absolute power, is a proof of the contrary; since it is not credible that a criminal correspondence should have existed, and not have left more traces of itself.

It is just to bewail the unhappy situation, in which the minds of Englishmen in India are placed. Acted upon by circumstances which strongly excite them, their understandings are dragged, like those of other men, towards a conformity with their desires; and they are not guarded against the grossest illusions of self-deceit by those salutary influences which operate upon the human mind in a more favourable situation. The people of India among whom they live, and upon whom the miserable effects of their delusion descend, are not in a situation to expose the sophistry by which their rulers impose upon themselves. They neither dare to do it, nor does their education fit them for doing it, nor do they enjoy a press, the instrument with which it can be done. Their rulers, therefore, have no motive to set a guard upon themselves; and to examine rigidly the arguments by which they justify to themselves an obedience to their own inclinations. The human mind, when thus set free from restraint, is easily satisfied with reasons for self-gratification; and the understanding waits, an humble servant, upon the affections. Not only are the English rulers in India deprived of the salutary dread of the scrutinizing minds, and free pens, of an enlightened public, in the regions in which they act; they well know, that distance and other circumstances so completely veil the truth from English eyes, that, if the case will but bear a varnish, and if they take care to stand well with the minister, they have in England every thing to hope, and seldom any thing to dread, from the successful gratification of the passion of acquiring.

It is most remarkable, that of all the Englishmen in India, of whose sentiments upon the occasion we have any record, the Governor-General and his council, the Governor of Fort St. George and his council, the examining commissioners, and the Persian translator, the very foremost men in India, not one appears to have doubted, that the evidence we have examined estab-

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lished undeniably the facts which they so eagerly desired to infer.[1]

The examination of the witnesses was closed, and the report of the commissioners drawn up, and signed at Seringapatam, on the 18th of May, 1800.[2] It was not till the 28th of May, 1801, that any further instructions of the Governor-General were despatched. In the memorable document of that date, addressed to Lord Clive, he states one reason of delay, as follows: "The critical situation of the negotiation depending with the Nizam, appeared to me to render it advisable to postpone the adoption of measures required for the security of the Carnatic. The successful issue of that negotiation appeared likely to facilitate the arrangements which became indispensably necessary in the Carnatic; while a premature prosecution of these arrangements might have impeded, and perhaps frustrated, the successful issue of the negotiation at Hyderabad." Another reason was, that for some time he indulged the hope of being able to employ the weight of his own presence, in removing the obstacles which he expected to oppose the intended revolution in the Carnatic. When that hope was relinquished, he desired that Mr. Webbe, the chief secretary to the government at Madras, might join him in Bengal, to communicate a more minute knowledge of circumstances than he could otherwise acquire.

[1] A disposition to disbelieve is quite as likely to misjudge the weight of evidence as a disposition to believe. Scepticism is as unpropitious as credulity to the appreciation of truth. It may be admitted, that upon the face of the correspondence little appeared to convict the Nawabs of the Carnatic of actual treachery against the British Government, yet there can be little difficulty in crediting that they entertained hostile sentiments towards it, or that they expressed those sentiments to Tippoo's vakeels. It is possible that the vakeels exaggerated the expressions of the Nawabs to gratify their master, but it cannot be reasonably doubted by any who know the passion of native princes for intrigue, and the intense detestation borne by all Indian Mohammedans towards their Christian masters, that much that was conveyed to Tippoo by his agents, was said and intended by Walajah and his son. The inferiority of Tippoo's origin was a much greater bar to any cordial intercourse between the Nawabs and the Sultan; but that would probably have given way before community of religious intolerance, if the former could have anticipated any prospect of benefit to themselves from the latter's success. Although, then, the correspondence with Tippoo may not substantiate any conspiracy against the English power, it is impossible to question the inference that is reasonably drawn from it, an inference which scarcely required such testimony:—That no reliance could be placed upon the fidelity or attachment of the Nabobs of Arcot. Their political position and their religious creed rendered them irreconcilable foes, and with this conviction it would have been folly to have intrusted them longer with any degree of political power.—W.

[2] Despatches, ii. 515.—W.

"The delay," says the Governor-General, "which has occurred, has enabled me to receive the sentiments of the President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, on the subject of the correspondence of the late and present Nabob of Arcot with Tippoo Sultaun. Those sentiments entirely accord with your Lordship's, and with mine, on the same subject."

He proceeded to declare, that from the evidence which we have examined, he confidently inferred the existence of a criminal correspondence between the Nabob and Tippoo; and that the measure which, in consequence, he resolved to adopt, was the dethronement of the Nabob, and the transfer of his sovereignty to the Company.

An attempt, however, was still to be made, to obtain an appearance of the Nabob's consent to his own degradation. "I consider it," says the Governor-General, "to be extremely desirable, that the Nabob should be induced to accede to the proposed arrangement, in the form of a treaty. In order to obtain his Highness's acquiescence in this mode of adjustment, it will be proper for your Lordship, after having fully apprized the Nabob of the nature of the proofs which we possess of his correspondence with Tippoo Sultaun, to offer the inducement of the largest provision to be made for his Highness's personal expenses, and in that event I authorize your Lordship to insert in the treaty the sum of three lacs of pagodas."

The Governor-General had no very sanguine hopes, that the Nabob would smooth all difficulties by resigning the dignity to which he clung. He gave directions, therefore, on the contrary supposition, and said, "If the Nabob, Omdut ul Omrah, by refusing to acquiesce in the proposed arrangements, should compel the British government, contrary to its wishes and intentions, to exercise its rights and its power to their full extent, I authorize and direct your Lordship to assume the civil and military government of the Carnatic."

The Governor-General anticipated even another contingency. "It is possible," says he, "that in the actual state of his Highness's councils and temper, the Nabob may be disposed to appeal to the authority of the Honourable the Court of Directors." Well, and what was his

Excellency's determination in that event? "Being already," said he, "in possession of the sentiments of the Secret Committee, founded on the discovery of the Nabob's faithless conduct, I shall consider it to be injudicious and unnecessary to admit the appeal: and by that admission to enter upon a formal trial of his Highness's criminal conduct."[1]

Now, finally, the case stood, therefore, as follows. In a dispute, in which the Company, or their representatives, the rulers in India, on the one hand, and the Nabob on the other, were parties, and in which a great kingdom was at issue, the first of the parties not only resolves upon deciding in its own cause, which in the case of disputes about kingdoms can seldom be avoided, but, upon a mass of evidence of its own providing, evidence altogether *ex parte*, evidence which it examined by itself and for itself and upon which it put any construction which it pleased, did, without admitting the opposite party to a hearing, without admitting it to offer a single article of counter-evidence, to sift the evidence brought to condemn it, or so much as to make an observation upon that evidence, proceed to form a decision in its own favour, and to strip the opposite party of a kingdom. It is perfectly obvious, that, upon principles of judicature such as these, a decision in favour of the strongest will seldom be wanting.

Had the actions of the Nabob corresponded with the inference which the English rulers so eagerly drew, their conduct would still have implied a most extraordinary assumption. The principle of their conduct was, that, if an Indian prince did any injury, or but showed that he meditated injury, to the English, that moment the English were entitled to dethrone him, and take his kingdom to themselves. If the Nabob had actually contracted an alliance offensive and defensive with Tippoo, he was not a subject of the British government; he was a sovereign prince; and the utmost such an action implied was a violation of the treaty which subsisted between the English and him. But all that is necessarily done by the violation on one side of a treaty between sovereign states, is only to relieve the party on the other side from all the obligations which it imposed; to leave the two parties, in short, in

[1] For the above extracts, see papers, vol. i. ut supra, p. 42—47.

the same situation, in which they would have been, if the treaty had not existed. It may happen, that, in such a case, it would be improper, in the obeying, so much as to make war upon the infringing party. That would entirely depend upon other questions, namely, the refusal of redress for injury, or of security against indubitable danger. But, even when war takes place, and two princes stand in the relation of active enemies, it is not the principle of just and polished nations to push the warfare to dethronement; nor can it ever be any thing but the height of injustice to carry hostilities beyond the line of redress for indubitable injury, and security against indubitable danger. How the assumption of the English, in the case before us, can be reconciled with these established principles, it is not difficult to determine.[1]

[1] The conclusions are wrong because the premises are so. The Nabob had never been a sovereign prince. The ministers of the British crown had, indeed, most impolitically and mistakingly treated him in that capacity, but the history of his connexion with the Company was an irrefutable argument of their error. The Nabob of the Carnatic was originally nothing more than an officer of the Subahdar of the Dekhin, appointed and removed at the pleasure of his superior. That he had been rendered independent of the Subahdar was not even his own act, it was the work of the English; he owed every thing to their protection: he was their creature, not their equal. The dispute lay not between two potentates of independent origin and power, but between the master and servant—the sovereign and the subject. The timidity and the ignorance of the superior had suffered the inferior to appropriate what did not appertain to him, and had recognised pretensions to which he had no claim. That is no reason why the error was to be perpetuated, or that it should not be remedied when it was discovered. The established principles which regulate even hostilities between sovereign states were here inapplicable,—for the sovereign state was one, there were not two sovereign states, consequently there could not be hostilities between them. Whatever may be the law of nations in regard to the treatment of independent sovereigns, it will scarcely be denied that the sovereign has a right to degrade a refractory or rebellious dependant. It is true, however, that the Governor-General deprived himself of any advantage from this view of the case, by treating the Nawab as a sovereign prince in alliance with the English. He observes: 'The case requires that we should act as against a state, on the basis of the general law of nations, and that we should employ the power of the British empire in India to demand, and if necessary, to enforce an adequate security for our rights and interests against the machinations of a faithless ally, who has violated the fundamental principles of a public alliance to the extent of placing himself in the light of a public enemy.' Despatches, ii. 523. This means, it is to be presumed, that a sovereign who is an enemy, and who is too weak to resist, may be deprived of his sovereignty: but even if this doctrine were generally true, which it is not, the public hostility of the Nawab of the Carnatic, had not been so decisively manifested as to justify such extreme punishment. The inconsistencies and unsoundness of many of our attempts to vindicate our political measures in India are undeniable. It would have been more honest and honourable to have confined ourselves to the avowal that the maintenance of the British dominion in India was the main-spring of all our policy. It might also have been safely asserted, on this occasion at least, that the interests of the people demanded the separation of the double administration of the affairs of the Carnatic, and an end being put to the misgovernment of the Nabobs of Arcot.—W.

As if aware, after all, how little all other pleas were qualified to support the measure which he was eager to pursue, the Governor-General forgot not his standard reason for the dethronement of princes; namely, the badness of their government. He affirmed, that no other expedient but the dethronement of the Nabob of Arcot, and the total transfer to the English of the government of the Carnatic, afforded any chance for that reform which the impoverishment of the country, and the misery of the people, so forcibly required. Here, at last, he obtained a ground, on which, if the end for which government was instituted, and for which it ought to be upheld, is worthy of being regarded, he might stand with perfect assurance. Though we may suspect the servants of the Company of some exaggeration, when they describe the horrible effects of the Nabob's administration, there is no doubt that they were deplorable. It is equally certain, that no considerable improvement could be introduced, while the powers of civil administration remained at the disposal of the Nabob. And, though what the Company had attempted for improving the condition of their subjects, where they possessed the undivided powers, had hitherto displayed but little either of skill or success, some efforts had been nobly intended, and will doubtless be followed by more judicious expedients. Even under the bad system of taxation, and the bad system of judicature which the English would employ, the people would immediately suffer less than under the still more defective systems of the Nabob; and they would reap the benefit of all the improvements which a more enlightened people may be expected to introduce. On this ground, we should have deemed the Company justified, in proportion as the feelings of millions are of more value than the feelings of an individual, in seizing the government of the Carnatic long before; and, on the same principle, we should rejoice, that every inch of ground within the limits of India were subject to their sway. In matters of detail, I have more frequently had occasion to blame the Company's government than to praise it; and, till the business of government is much better understood, whoever writes history with a view solely to the good of mankind, will have the same thankless task to perform; yet I believe it will be found that

the Company, during the period of their sovereignty, have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shown more of good-will towards them, have shown less of a selfish attachment to mischievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are now more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other sovereign existing in the same period, but than all other sovereigns taken together upon the surface of the globe.

When the instructions for assuming the government of the Carnatic arrived at Madras,[1] the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah was labouring under an illness which he was not expected to survive. In these circumstances, the Governor forbore to agitate his mind with the communication of intelligence, which he was expected to receive with agony. On an occasion, when the whole family would naturally wish to be assembled, the younger son of the Nabob arrived from Trichinopoly with his attendants, who are not described as being either more numerous or better armed, than those who usually escorted a person of similar condition. Upon a report to the Governor, that some of these attendants had been, or had been proposed to be, admitted into the palace of the dying Nabob, the Governor immediately concluded, that this was for some evil purpose unknown, and resolved to anticipate the effects, by taking possession of the palace immediately with an English force. Communication was made to the Nabob, with all the delicacy of which the circumstances admitted, prevention of confusion at his death being the motive assigned; and the troops took a position commanding all the entrances into the palace, without resistance or commotion. The commanding officer was directed "to exert his vigilance in a particular manner, to prevent the removal of treasure from the palace, sufficient grounds of belief existing that a considerable treasure, a large sum of money, had been accumulated by their Highnesses, the late and present Nabob."[2] The English, even yet, were but ill cured of their old delusion, that every Indian prince was enormously rich. Of this supposed treasure we perceive not another trace.

[1] Despatches, 525, 533.

[2] Such are the words of the Governor of Fort St. George, in a letter to Lord Wellesley, 7th of July, 1801; papers, ut supra, p. 65.

BOOK VI. CHAP. X. 1801.

On the 15th of July, 1801, the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah died. Immediately a commission was given to the two gentlemen, Webbe and Close, to state to the family the crimes which were charged upon the two Nabobs deceased, and to demand, with information that a due provision would be made for their support, that their consent should be given to the destined transfer of the Carnatic government.

The business was urgent; and, without permitting the lapse of even the day on which the sovereign had expired, the gentlemen repaired to the palace. They were met by some of the principal persons in the service of the late Nabob. They first requested to know if any particular arrangement had been traced by Omdut ul Omrah. Having been informed that a will existed, they desired that it might be produced. Being informed that, without the violation of all decorum, the son and heir of the deceased could not be called upon to attend to ordinary business, before the ceremonies due to his royal father were performed, they replied that on ordinary occasions it was the principle of the English to respect the feelings of individuals, but, where this respect interfered with the business of a great government, the less must, in propriety, yield to the greater interest. The personages, who received their commands, retired to deliberate; and had not long returned with a declaration of submission, when the young Nabob was introduced, bearing the will of his father in his hand. The will directed, that Ali Hoosun, his eldest son, should succeed to all his rights, all his possessions, and "the sovereignty of the Carnatic:" and that the Khans, Mohammed Nejeeb, Salar Jung, and Tuckia Ali, the individuals now present, should be regents, to assist the young Nawab in the affairs of government, till his arrival at competent maturity of years.

The Nabob retired, and the commissioners desired, that the rest of the conversation should be private, between the regents and themselves. The pretended discoveries were described. The following passage, in the report of the commissioners, is memorable: "Nejeeb Khan expressed his surprise at this communication; professed his entire ignorance of the subject; and protested that it was impossible for the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah to

cherish the intentions imputed to his Highness. Some of the principal documents having been produced, Nejeeb Khan asserted, that they contained none but expressions of civility and compliment; that the Marquis Cornwallis had repeatedly enjoined the Nabobs, Mohammed Ali, and Omdut ul Omrah, to cultivate a friendly intercourse with Tippoo Sultaun; that the whole tendency of the correspondence produced was directed to that object, in conformity to the injunctions of Lord Cornwallis; and that the Nabob Omdut ul Omrah had recently addressed himself to Lord Cornwallis on the subject of these communications. The particular warmth of the expressions used by Omdut ul Omrah, in his letter addressed to Gholam Ali Khan on the 14th Mohurrum, 1209, having been pointed out to Nejeeb Khan—he observed that it was nothing more than an expression of civility, which might have been used on any ordinary occasion. On the cipher, of which a proposal appeared to have been made to the Sultan, and which proposal he entirely disregarded, the Khan observed, "that the moonshee of the Nabob was present, and could be examined with respect to the authenticity of the hand-writing, that the cipher might have been conveyed into the archives of Tippoo Sultaun by the enemies of Omdut ul Omrah;" and concluded by a most important request, that the family should be furnished with the evidence, stated to exist, of the supposed criminal intercourse, and have an opportunity of offering such explanations as they might be able to give, and of presenting such counter-proofs as they might have to furnish; when, said he, "the proofs being compared, the Company might form a complete judgment."

A more moderate proposition, on such an occasion, was certainly never advanced. He did not so much as appeal from the judgment of an opposite party; he only requested that party to look first at both sides of the question. If the object had been to explore the truth of the accusation, it would have been easy to secure the papers of the late Nabob, in which, if no marks of a criminal correspondence existed, it would not be very probable that it had ever taken place.

"This discourse," say the commissioners, "being apparently intended to confound the object of our deputa-

tion," — yes, that object, to be sure, was a very different thing — "we stated to the two Khans, that the British government, being satisfied of the sufficiency of its proofs, had no intention of constituting itself a judge of the conduct of its ally." There is here one of the most astonishing instances, which the annals of the human mind can exhibit, of that blindness, which the selfish affections have a tendency to produce, when, unhappily, power is possessed, and all prospect both of shame and of punishment is removed. The British government had taken evidence upon the conduct of its ally, had pronounced a sentence of condemnation, and was proceeding, with impetuosity, to carry its decision into execution, yet it would not "constitute itself a judge of the conduct of its ally!" As if one was not a judge, so long as one abstained from hearing both sides of the question; as if, to all intents and purposes, saving only those of justice, it was not easy to be a judge upon very different terms!

The whole of the conference of this day, it appears, was spent, on the part of the Khans, in "asserting their disbelief of the hostile intercourse with Tippoo; and insisting on the reasonableness of their entering into the defence of Omdut ul Omrah's conduct in regard to the several points in which he was accused. When the day was far advanced, they were permitted, on their earnest request, to retire for the purpose of making the necessary preparations for the funeral of the deceased Nabob, and a second interview was appointed for the evening of the following day.

At this meeting, the evils of a divided government, the abuses which prevailed, and all the other arguments, which had been so often urged to prevail upon the Nabobs to resign their authority, were stated to the regents; they were assured that no remedy would suffice, except the revolution proposed; and they were asked, whether they were prepared to enter into an amicable negotiation for that purpose. They remarked, that, "if the entire government of the Carnatic should be transferred to the hands of the Company, the station of Nabob of the Carnatic would be annihilated." The answer of the commissioners is memorable. It seems to prove, that the English in India have so long, and successfully, made use of fiction,

that they take their own fictions for realities. The commissioners had the confidence to tell the regents, "that the rank and dignity of the Nabob of the Carnatic could not be injured," by actual dethronement. Nay, what is more, they state in their report, that the argument which they made use of to prove it, for they did not leave it without an argument, "was admitted by the Khans to be conclusive." The Khans, notwithstanding, declined any answer, on a proposition of so much importance, till they got the benefit of consultation with the different heads of the family; and they were allowed till the next day to prepare for a final declaration.

On this occasion, they began by representing, that the whole family, and the ministers of the late Nabob, having, been assembled to deliberate, had come to certain conclusions. All these persons were convinced, that the British government would not insist upon the utmost severity of the terms which had been recently announced; and they had ventured to propose a different plan, by which, in their opinion, the security, which was the professed aim of the Company, would be completely attained. Their proposition was, to give up the reserved sovereignty over the Polygars, and the right of collecting the revenues in the assigned districts, and along with this to make some better regulations in regard to the debts. The commissioners repeated that "the proposition for vesting exclusively in the hands of the Company the entire administration of the civil and military government of the Carnatic, contained the basis on which alone the proposed arrangement could be founded." After strong expostulation, on both sides, the Khans declared, "that they were prepared to give a decided answer; and that the propositions which they had offered, and of which they delivered a written statement, contained finally, and unequivocally, the terms on which they could accede to an arrangement of the affairs of the Carnatic by negotiation."

The commissioners resolved to accept of an ultimate refusal from no lips but those of the Nabob himself. Upon their request that he should be introduced, the Khans manifested considerable surprise; and expostulated against the proposition, on the ground both of decorum, from the recency of his father's death, and the

immaturity of his judgment at eighteen years of age. "It was not," say the commissioners, "without a very long and tedious conversation, that we obtained from the Khans the appointment of a time for our receiving, from the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah, his own determination on the proposition communicated to the two Khans."

On the second day, which was the 19th of July, the projected interview took place. The proposition was restated, to which the acquiescence of the young prince was required; and the consequences held up to his view: the title of Nabob, with the dignity and emoluments of the head of the family, if he complied; the loss of all these advantages, if he refused. "He replied, the Khans being present, that he considered them to have been appointed by his father for the purpose of assisting him; and that the object of his own councils was not separate from that of the Khans." He was then given to understand that Lord Clive, the Governor, required an interview with him. To this proposition also, the Khans manifested reluctance, but they were immediately informed that it was altogether useless. During a short absence of the Khans, for the purpose of preparing the equipage of the prince, "the young man," say the commissioners, "with much apparent anxiety in his manner, whispered in a low tone of voice, that he had been deceived by the two Khans. Ali Hussain, accordingly, proceeded, without further communication with the two Khans, to the tent of the officer commanding the troops at Chepauk, at which place we had the honour of a personal interview with your Lordship." The attendants of the Prince, including even the regents, were ordered to withdraw. At this meeting, it appears that the prince was even forward to declare his disapprobation of the refusal given by the Khans to the proposition of his Lordship; and "proposed that a treaty should be prepared, upon the basis of vesting the entire civil and military government of the Carnatic in the hands of the Company; and stated, that he would be ready to execute the instrument, with, or without the consent of the Khans, at another separate conference, which was appointed, for the next day, within the lines of the British troops."

At that interview, however, Ali Hussain withdrew his acquiescence of the former day, which he described as the sudden and inconsiderate suggestion of the moment. He was again conveyed to a tent, to meet with Lord Clive, apart from his attendants and advisers. Being informed that his sentiments of yesterday were understood to be still his real sentiments; that his altered declaration might be the offspring of fear; that he was at present, however, within the British lines; and, if it was necessary should receive the effectual protection of the British power; he said that he acted under no constraint, and that the determination he had now expressed was that of his own deliberate, clear, and unalterable judgment. "It was then explained to him," say the Commissioners, "that no pains had been omitted, which could warn him of the consequences he was about to incur; that the duties of humanity towards him, and the duties of attention to the national character of the British government, had been satisfied; that he had himself determined the situation in which he would hereafter be placed; and that your Lordship, with concern for himself individually, now apprized him that his future situation would be that of a private person, hostile to the British interests, and dependent on the bounty of the Company.—This declaration Ali Hussain received with a degree of composure and confidence, which denoted that he acted from no impression of fear; and a smile of complacency which appeared on his countenance, throughout this discussion, denoted an internal satisfaction at the line of conduct he was pursuing. Being asked if he wished to make any further observation, he said that he did not; and being also asked whether he had any objection to the introduction of the Khans into the tent, he said he had none; which being accordingly done, he was directed by your Lordship to leave the tent."

The British rulers had all along reserved to themselves an expedient against Ali Hussain, to wit, chicanery about his birth, and had regularly denominated him the reputed son of Omdut ul Omrah; though all that is stated is, that his mother, which, according to the Mussulman law, is a matter of indifference, was not the principal among

BOOK VI. CHAP. X. 1801.

the women in the zenana ;[1] and though, at last, too, they precluded themselves from this pretence, by choosing him as the man with whom, in preference to all the rest of his family, they wished to negotiate, and at whose hands to accept the grant of the sovereignty.

Negotiation being in this manner closed on the part of Ali Hussain, the son of Omdut ul Omrah, the English rulers directed their attention to Azeem ud Dowlah, a son of Ameer ul Omrah, who, since the death of his father, had been kept in a state of great seclusion and indigence. To make known the intention of dealing with him as successor to the Nabob might shorten his days. But the English soon found an occasion of delivering themselves from this difficulty. The family resolved to place the son of Omdut ul Omrah on the musnud, to which they held him equally entitled by his birth, and by the will of his deceased father. The English held it necessary to prevent that ceremony; for which purpose the troops already commanding the entrance took possession of the palace, and placed a guard of honour about Azeem ud Dowlah. He was not long kept ignorant of what was to be done with him. The forfeiture of the government by Omdut ul Omrah, and "that satisfaction and security," as they expressed it, which the English rulers "deemed to be necessary to the preservation of their interests in the Carnatic," were explained to him; and he was asked whether, if acknowledged as the head and representative of the family, these were terms to which he would submit. He made as little difficulty in expressing his compliance as the circumstances in which he was placed gave reason to expect.[2] A reflection, however, suggests itself, which, at the time, the English rulers were probably too full of their object to make. If Azeem ud Dowlah had to the inheritance of the family any title whatsoever beside the arbitrary will of the English rulers, his title stood exempt from that plea of forfeiture on which the

[1] Lord Mornington writes, "It is certain that the mother of the young man was of low origin, and that she was never married to the Nabob." This would affect his pretensions, according to the Mussulman law. Despatches, ii. 249.—W.

[2] The report from which the above particulars and quotations are taken, is in the volume of papers (p. 8—25), ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 21st and 23rd of June, 1801.

measure of dethronement was set up. It was not so much as pretended that his father, Ameer ul Omrah, had any share in the pretended criminal correspondence of the late and preceding Nabob; and to punish a man for the sins of his grandfather, however it may be reconcileable with some systems of law, will not be denied, it is presumed to be utterly irreconcileable with the essential principles of justice. Besides, though in a certain sense of the word, a prince may forfeit his crown to his subjects, it was not in the relation of subject and prince, that the British Company and the Nabob of Arcot stood; and in what sense it can be said that one prince forfeits his crown to another, it would not be easy to explain.

A treaty was immediately drawn up and signed, according to which all the powers of government were delivered over in perpetuity to the English, and totally and for ever renounced by the Nabob. Yet such is the memorable harmony between the language which the English rulers desired to employ, and the actions they performed, that the first article of the treaty stands in the following words: "The Nabob Azeem ud Dowlah Behauder is hereby formally established in the state and rank, with the dignities dependent thereon, of his ancestors, heretofore Nabobs of the Carnatic; and the possession thereof is hereby guaranteed by the Honourable East India Company to his said Highness, Azeem ud Dowlah Behauder, who has accordingly succeeded to the Subahdarry of the territories of Arcot."

As a provision for the new Nabob, including the maintenance of the female establishment, or Mhal, of his father, one-fifth part of the net revenues of the Carnatic were pledged. The Company engaged to make a suitable maintenance for the rest of the family, and took upon itself the whole of the debts of the preceding Nabobs.[1]

Against this revolution, there was transmitted to the home authorities a remonstrance in the name of the regents. A letter, as from the rejected Nabob, setting forth, in vehement and pathetic language, the proceedings which had taken place, and the cruel effects, as regarded himself, with which they were attended, was transmitted to two gentlemen in England, of the names of Hall and

[1] See the Treaty and Papers, ut supra, i. 74.

Johnstone, who acted there as agents of the deceased Nabob. The rest of the family continued to vent their indignation, in acts of disrepect to the new Nabob, and in such other demonstrations as they dared to risk. The displays of their dissatisfaction were sufficiently active and manifest to give not only displeasure, but some degree of disturbance to the government. In due time the approbation of the Honourable the Court of Directors, a favour as often as acquisitions were made, not often denied, arrived in proper form. "We have been induced," said the Secret Committee, "to postpone expressing our opinion on the late important transactions in the Carnatic, from a desire to be previously furnished with every information which could bear in any material degree upon the question; and we have accordingly waited with impatience for a review of the circumstances which led to the late arrangement in the Carnatic, which the Governor-General, in his letter of the 28th of September, 1801, to the Secret Committee, acquainted us he was then preparing, and which he proposed to forward by the Mornington packet." The Mornington packet arrived, and the promised review was not received. It was never sent. The Directors accordingly were compelled to approve without it. "We do not," they say, "feel ourselves called upon to enter into a detail of the circumstances connected with this case; or to state at length the reasoning upon those circumstances which has led to the conclusion we have come to, after the fullest and most deliberate consideration. It is enough to state to you, that we are fully prepared upon the facts, as at present before us, to approve and confirm the treaty in question; and we are of opinion, that, acting under the instructions of the Governor-General, you stand fully justified, upon the evidence, written as well as oral, on which you proceed, in deeming the rights of the family of Mohammed Ali, as existing under former treaties, to have been wholly forfeited by the systematic perfidy and treachery of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic, Wallajah and Omdut ul Omrah, in breach of their solemn treaties with the Company. The claims of the family having been thus forfeited, and right having accrued to the Company of making provision, at their discretion, for the future safety of the Carnatic, we are

further of opinion that the nature of the security which has been provided by the treaty, for the defence and preservation of our interests in that quarter, is of a satisfactory description."[1]

One expression alone, in this quotation, appears, on the present occasion, to require any comment. The Directors say, that the Nabob Mohammed Ali forfeited the rights which he enjoyed "under treaties with the Company." But surely his right to the throne of the Carnatic was not created by any treaty with the Company. It had for a long series of years been acknowledged, and proclaimed by the English, as resting on a very different foundation. At the commencement of their political and military operations in the Carnatic, the right of Mohammed Ali by inheritance, to the musnud of his ancestors, was the grand plea which they made use of against the French; and a zeal for the rights of the lawful prince, was one of the colours with which they were most anxious to adorn their conduct. If, by the violation of a treaty, an hereditary sovereign incurs the forfeiture of his sovereignty, how would the case stand, not to speak of other sovereigns, with the East India Company? At a previous epoch, the Directors themselves had vehemently declared, that the treaty was violated; namely, by the assignments which the Nabob had granted on the districts set apart for securing the subsidy. All the rights, therefore, which a violation of the treaty could forfeit, were of course forfeited on that occasion. Yet the Directors by no means pretended that they had a right to dethrone the Nabob on that occasion.[2]

In the letter of Ali Hussain to the agents of the family in England, "Being informed," he says, "on the 29th, that public notification had been made through the different streets of Madras, that the Ameer's son would be placed on the musnud on the 31st instant, under the influence of government, I immediately addressed the Governor with the advice of the regents, on the suggested measure, and proposed to accept the terms which had been at first offered; a measure which my mind revolted at, but which

[1] Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 29th of September, 1802, to the Governor in Council of Fort St. George; papers, ut supra, i. 153.
[2] Vide supra.

seemed to be demanded by the trying exigencies of the moment: and I felt confidence within myself, that, if my offer had been accepted, the liberality of the British nation would have never held me bound by conditions which had been so compulsorily imposed on me; or would have ameliorated a situation, that had been produced by means, which neither honour nor justice could bear to contemplate. My address was wholly and totally disregarded."[1]

Of this offer no mention whatsoever appears in the correspondence of the Company's servants with their employers.

On the 6th of April, 1802, the deposed Nawab died. He was residing in the apartment of the Sultana Nizza Begum, his paternal aunt, when the malady, supposed a dysentery, began; and, in display of the resentments of the family, his situation was concealed from the English government, and the medical assistance of the English refused, till the case was desperate. Nearly at the same time, died Ameer Sing, the deposed Rajah of Tanjore.[2]

Pondicherry having been restored to the French, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens, Bonaparte alarmed the English by sending out a great list of military officers; seven generals, and a proportional number in the inferior ranks, with 1400 regular troops, and 100,000*l.* in specie. The speedy renewal of the war gave them relief from their fears. Possession of Pondicherry was resumed by the English in 1803; but the French Admiral, Linois, had intelligence sufficiently prompt, to enable him to escape with the fleet.[3]

Several occurrences of interest took place in this and the immediately subsequent period of the administration of the Marquess Wellesley, which as they are not adverted to in the pages of the original, it will be convenient to notice in this place.

DURING the year 1800, the Isle of France had been the resort of a number of armed vessels, which with singular

[1] Papers, ut supra, ordered to be printed 21st and 23rd of June, 1802.
[2] Papers, ut supra, i. 95, 96, 145, 146.
[3] Papers ordered to be printed in 1806, No. 25, p. 192.

activity and boldness carried on a predatory warfare against British commerce in the Indian Ocean. The protection afforded by the presence of his Majesty's ships of war was of comparatively little avail against the sudden and rapid operations of the French privateers; and grievous injury was inflicted upon the country trade, and even upon that between England and India.[1] It was computed that between the commencement of the war and the end of 1800, the naval force of the French islands had carried into Port Louis, British property to the amount of above two millions sterling. That such a source of annoyance and injury, such a rallying point for any armament which might be equipped from France against the British possessions in India, should be suffered to exist, was as discreditable to the national reputation, as it was destructive to the mercantile interests of British subjects, and incompatible with the safety of the Indian territories of Great Britain. It was not to be expected, therefore, that a Governor-General of the energetic character of Lord Mornington would fail to attempt the extinction of the evil by the subjugation of the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon.

Accordingly, in the latter months of 1800, as soon as the affairs of Mysore were settled, three of his Majesty's regiments, with 1000 Bengal volunteers, and details of native and European artillery, were ordered to assemble at Trincomalee, on the Island of Ceylon, under the command of Colonel Wellesley, to be employed towards the close of December in an expedition against the Isle of France, if the accounts from Europe and from Egypt were of a nature to leave the Governor-General at liberty to make the attempt.[2] At the same time, the plan of the expedition was communicated to Admiral Rainier, who commanded the British squadron in the Indian Ocean, and he was earnestly requested to proceed to Trincomalee and meet the force and transports assembled there, and co-operate in the attack upon the Isle of France, the

[1] The Kent Indiaman was captured by a French privateer off the Sand Heads, on the 7th of October, after an action of an hour and three-quarters. She was carried by boarding, and the passengers and crew were treated after the capture with brutal barbarity. Despatches, ii. 395.

[2] Letter to the Hon. Col. Wellesley, 5th Nov. 1800. Despatches, ii. 413. See also Wellington Despatches, i. 24, 31.

successful result of which admitted of no reasonable doubt, from the feeble means of resistance which the colony possessed.[1]

The attempt upon the Isle of France was retarded, however, by the extraordinary scruples of the British Admiral, who withheld his concurrence in the proposed expedition, chiefly because, in his opinion, no such enterprise could with propriety be undertaken, unless by the express command of the king, signified in the usual official form to the British government of India, and to the commanders of his Majesty's sea and land forces. It is difficult to believe how such a plea could have satisfied the understanding of a British officer, or that a mere defect of form should have imposed upon the Admiral the duty of frustrating or impairing the use of such means as the government of India might possess, for the seasonable annoyance of the enemy, instead of zealously seizing the opportunity to direct against them such additional and powerful resources. The principles urged by Lord Wellesley in reply to the Admiral's objections,[2] received the fullest confirmation from the home authorities; and Lord Hobart expressly states that it is of the utmost importance that it should be understood that in the distant possessions of the British empire during the existence of war, the want of the regular authority should not preclude an attack upon the enemy in any case that may appear calculated to promote the public interests.[3] Full credit is given to Admiral Rainier for having acted under a sense of public duty, but it is impossible to avoid suspecting that he was influenced, however unconsciously, by a jealous tenaciousness of authority which disdained receiving orders from an East India Company's Governor, a feeling which has on various occasions been manifested by those intrusted in India with high naval commands, to the serious detriment of the public cause. On the present occasion, its effects were most mischievous, for the privateers of the Isle of France continued, during several subsequent years after the renewal of the war, to harass

[1] Letter to Admiral Rainier, 22nd Oct. 1800. Despatches, ii. 399. See also Letter to Sir G. Younge and Sir Roger Curtis. Ibid.
[2] Despatches, Appendix, 753, 755.
[3] Letter from Lord Hobart to the Marquess Wellesley, 13th Sept. 1802. Despatches, 700.

and plunder with impunity the commercial navigation of the Eastern seas. When the reluctance of Admiral Rainier was found insuperable, the Governor-General resolved to resume a design which had been suspended for a season, and send the troops collected at Ceylon against Batavia.[1] Before this project could be realized, instructions were received from England to undertake an expedition in a different direction, and to send a force from India to Egypt, to assist in the expulsion of the French from that country.[2] The instructions had been in some degree anticipated, and the destination of the troops assembled at Trincomalee was dependent upon the nature of the advices which should be received from England,[3] and which it was thought probable would direct the equipment of an armament for the Red Sea. The force assembled in Ceylon was therefore despatched to Bombay, to be joined there by 1600 native infantry, which had been held in readiness for foreign service.[4] The force was placed under the command of Major-General Baird, who left Bengal on the 14th February; and after touching at Ceylon proceeded to Bombay, where he arrived on the 31st March.

The forces collected for the Egyptian expedition were embarked as fast as transports could be provided for them, and in successive detachments sailed to Mocha as the first point of rendezvous. They had been preceded in December by Rear-Admiral Blankett, with a squadron of the Company's cruisers, and a small body of troops, intended to act as an advance-guard to the expedition, and prepare the way for its reception. Letters were also addressed by the Governor-General to all the principal Arab chiefs on the coast of the Red Sea, to conciliate their good offices and secure their assistance.[5]

After touching at Mocha, General Baird proceeded to Jidda, where he arrived on the 18th of May, and was joined by Sir Home Popham, who had been sent out from

[1] Wellington Despatches, 155.
[2] Letter from the Right Hon. H. Dundas to the Marquess Wellesley, 6th Oct. 1803. Despatches, ii. 436. The measure had been suggested by Lord Wellesley long before. Letter to the Right Hon. H. Dundas, 16th May, 1799. Despatches, i. 587.
[3] From Marquess Wellesley to Major-General Baird, 10th Feb. 1801. Despatches, ii. 440.
[4] Ibid. ii. 471.

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England to take the command of the naval part of the expedition. There also he received intelligence of the action which had taken place between the French army and the British forces on the 21st March, the defeat of the former, and death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Proceeding to Koseir, General Baird arrived there on the 8th June, and having concentrated his troops, commenced his march towards the Nile. The passage of the desert, although impeded by a variety of vexatious embarrassments and delays, was effected without any serious loss, and the troops performed the rest of their route down the Nile in boats.

By the 27th of August, the whole of General Baird's force, amounting to 7000 men, was assembled in the Isle of Rhouda. Thence they marched to Rosetta, with the hope of contributing to the capture of Alexandria, but were there met by intelligence that the French were in treaty for surrender; and with this event terminated hostilities in Egypt.

After the cessation of active operations, the two armies from India and England were united under the command of Lord Cavan, and the Sepoys were to be marched to Alexandria to form part of the garrison. The blending of two bodies, differing in many respects as to their pay and organization, was ill-calculated to give satisfaction to either, and the detention of the native troops to perform the duties of garrisons would have been a breach of the implied obligation under which they had consented to engage in foreign service. These objectionable projects were, however, obviated by the intelligence that preliminaries of peace had been signed; and by the end of April orders were received for the return of the native troops, and a portion of the European to India. They were embarked at Suez, in the beginning of June, 1802, and arrived at the Presidencies to which they severally belonged in the course of the two following months.[1] This demonstration of the power of the British empire, which thus brought together numerous and effective armaments from the West and from the East, to fight the battles of England, upon the Banks of the Nile, was calculated to

[1] Besides the Despatches of Lord Wellesley and the Duke of Wellington, see the Life of Sir David Baird for these and other details.

enhance her renown, and confirm her moral, as well as display her political strength. The demonstration was not needed; there was already, as the event proved, a sufficient force to overpower the reliques of the French army, and it would have been economy both of blood and treasure, to have adhered to the Governor-General's original design, and been contented with the less splendid but more serviceable conquest of the Isle of France.

Before the return of the troops from the Egyptian expedition, Lord Wellesley had tendered to the Court of Directors his resignation of the government of India. On the 1st of January, 1802, he conveyed to the Court his wish to be relieved before the end of the current year. In his despatch to the Court, he assigned no other causes for that step than the successful accomplishment of the most essential branches of his general plan for the security of India; the prosperity of the existing state of affairs, and his expectation of completing in the course of the year as great a proportion of improvement in the affairs of India, as he could hope to accomplish within any period of time, to which his government could be reasonably protracted.[1] In a letter addressed to Mr. Addington, the Secretary of State,[2] his Lordship is more explicit: his continuance in India, he states, is precluded by powerful causes, and his administration is brought to a premature conclusion by the authority most interested in its extension; that is, by the Court of Directors, whom he charges with having manifested a want of confidence in him, with having interfered in details of local administration, usually left to local authority, and with having refused their sanction or expressed their disapprobation of arrangements which he had adopted, upon a conviction of their expedience or necessity. He then specifies the particular cases, included under these three general heads.

Without following the Governor-General through all the circumstances which he details, it will be easy to select such as will prove that his accusations were not unfounded and that the Court of Directors had adopted towards him,

[1] Letter to the Court of Directors, 1st Jan. 1802. Despatches, ii. 616.
[2] Letter to the Right Hon. H. Addington, Cawnpore, 10th Jan. 1802. Despatches, iii. Introduction, p. iv.

opinions and feelings, with the influence of which his continuance in his situation was wholly incompatible. They had learned to look upon him with distrust and fear, on various grounds, some of which were not wholly untenable, but of which others were inconsistent with the extension of the British power in India, and the more decidedly political nature of the position in which the Company had been placed by the results of the war with Tippoo Sultan. Unquestionably the accession of territory acquired by that war; the more complex relations in which it had involved the British government with the neighbouring states; and the continuance of hostilities in Europe, fully justified Lord Wellesley in making an addition to the strength of the Company's army. The Court of Directors, influenced by considerations of economy, which, to say the least of it, were ill-timed, disapproved of the augmentation, and peremptorily ordered a reduction to be made. To have obeyed these orders, would not only have incapacitated the government from co-operating in the Egyptian campaign, but would have exposed the newly-acquired provinces to be the prey of rebellion or invasion. Lord Wellesley was therefore compelled to suspend obedience to the orders of the Court, and they never were obeyed. The Mahratta war, which presently followed, was an unanswerable argument against any diminution of the military strength of British government.

Some of the proceedings of the Court regarded the abolition of various salaries and allowances which the Governor-General had sanctioned or granted: this gave him deep offence, and he resents it in strong terms. "It cannot be denied," he observes, "that the Court, by reducing the established allowances of Colonel Wellesley, has offered me the most direct, marked, and disgusting personal indignity which could be devised. The effect of this order must be to inculcate an opinion that I have suffered my brother to derive emoluments beyond the limits of justice and propriety, and that I have exhibited an example of profusion and extravance in an allowance granted to my nearest connexion. I have already stated that the ground of the order is as unjust and unwarranted in point of fact, as its operation is calculated to be

injurious and humiliating to my reputation and honour." It would appear that the Court had not sufficiently considered the nature of Colonel Wellesley's political as well as military functions in Mysore, or the unavoidable expenses of his situation; and it is undeniable, as Lord Wellesley urges, that if the Court conceived Colonel Wellesley and the Governor-General capable of the conduct which their orders insinuated, they should not have stopped short with such imputation, but should have removed Colonel Wellesley from his command, and Lord Wellesley from his government.

Besides objections to the amount of remuneration for public services, the Court of Directors assumed a right to nominate individuals to offices of trust, and to displace those appointed by their Governors in India. Thus a peremptory order directed Lord Wellesley to appoint a particular person to be Acting President of the Board of Trade, to the supersession of another individual, who had been placed in that office by the government; and at Madras the Court, in opposition to the opinions and wishes of Lord Clive, removed the chief secretary to the government and appointed another, displaced a member of the Board of Revenue, and directly nominated two members to that Board, and granted one of the most important commercial residences on the Coast in reversion upon the first vacancy. These measures undoubtedly constituted an usurpation of patronage contrary to the letter and spirtt of the Act of Parliament of 1793, which, in vesting the privilege of nomination to all offices under Members of Council in the local authorities, subject to the control of the Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, did not intend to give to either of the latter more than the power of checking any abuse of local patronage, and protecting the just rights of their servants in India: where these were flagrantly and systematically invaded, it was, no doubt, the duty of the authorities in England to interfere, but it is obvious that if the interference is perpetually called for, the legitimate remedy is not an assumption of the patronage, but the removal of the offender.

In addition to the counteraction and mortification thus complained of, the Governor-General, at the time he wrote,

anticipated exposure to still further offence; "I am menaced," he observes, "with angry orders of various descriptions, for the subversion of many of the most important acts and institutions of my administration, and for the entire change of its general tenor and spirit." Although not mentioned, he especially alludes to two sets of measures in which he took an active interest, and in which he was most pointedly at variance with the Court of Directors—the establishment of the College of Fort William, and the extended facilities afforded to private trade in Bengal.

It has been already noticed, that in compliance with the requisition of the trading interests of England, a provision was introduced into the charter of 1793, by which 3000 tons at least were to be annually allotted to private merchants. Two objects were proposed by this condition, which was considered to be consistent with the general principle of the Company's monopoly. These were, First, the augmented export of British manufactures; Secondly, the remittance direct to England of that portion of British capital which the Company's investment could not take up, and which was therefore sent in articles of Indian export by foreign shipping, whenever British tonnage was deficient. The provision had failed in both respects. The high rate of freight charged on the Company's shipping, and the delays and interruptions to which their vessels were subjected, were justly complained of as deterring merchants and manufacturers from engaging extensively in the trade. In fact, however, there was no great demand in India at that time for British goods; and the amount of export tonnage, even if the expense had been reduced, would probably have been more than equal to the demand. The case was different with Indian goods. There was a large capital in India, in the fortunes of individuals, that wanted employment, and there was a very extensive demand in Europe for a variety of articles besides those which the Company reserved as objects of their exclusive trade;[1] consequently, the tonnage offered to private mer-

[1] The amount of private, exclusive of privilege goods, shipped from Bengal in the period between the passing of the Act of Parliament and 1800, is thus stated:—

	Tons.		Tons.		Tons.
1794—5	2473	1796—7	4659	1798— 99	6223
1795—6	5346	1797—8	3787	1799—1800	7748

At the latter period above 10,000 tons of shipping, built in India, were tendered for the voyage to England.

chants by the Company, was wholly insufficient for their wants, besides being ruinously costly and uncertain. So strongly was this felt, that the Court of Directors, in May, 1798, authorized the government of Bengal to take up ships, on the account of the Company, for the purpose of re-letting, on the same account, the tonnage to the merchants of Calcutta. Their plan, however, was objectionable on the same grounds as before, expense and delay; and, the principle having been admitted, the practice was modified by Lord Wellesley so far that the merchants and ship-owners were permitted to make their own arrangements for the extent and rate of the freight, and the despatch of the vessels, subject to such conditions as were thought necessary to protect the Company's privilege.[1] The discretion thus exercised created exceeding alarm and anger at home. As the ships taken up were India-built, the ship-builders of the Port of London anticipated the destruction of their business, and the Court of Directors proclaimed that the Company's monopoly was subverted. The views of the Governor-General were advocated by a strong mercantile interest in England, and were upheld by the President of the Board of Control, so that the disapprobation of the Court was not allowed to be directly and immediately expressed.[2] The Governor-General repeated the same arrangement in 1800, and in his report of the circumstance to the Court, declared it to be his decided and conscientious conviction that the permanent establishment of a systematic intercourse between the ports of India and that of London, regulated by principles similar to those adopted by his government, had become indispensable to the united and inseparable interests of the Company and of the nation in India. The liberal and unanswerable arguments by which this opinion was vindicated, were not calculated to render the measure acceptable to the narrow and selfish jealousy of the ship-owners or of the Court of Directors. That the Governor-General's

[1] Advertisement of the Board of Trade, Calcutta, 5th Oct. 1798. Despatches ii. Append. 736.

[2] Letter from the Right Hon. H. Dundas to the Committee of Ship Builders, 1st July, 1797, and to the Chairman of the Hon. E. India Company, 2nd April, 1800. Wellesley Despatches, v. 117, 121. Letter from the same to Lord Mornington, 13th March, 1799. Ibid. ii. 101. Letter to the Court, 30th Sept. 1800, Despatches, ii. 376.

unpopularity with both at this early period of his administration must be mainly referred to the encouragement which he thus afforded to the private trade of India cannot be doubted, and was his own impression. "I apprehend," he observes, "that my conduct on the question of the private trade has been the main source of the virulence which has been betrayed by the Court on various other topics."[1]

The support given by Lord Wellesley to the trade from India to England in British-built ships, was the result of the calm and deliberate consideration of a measure concerning which he himself declares he felt no particular solicitude. The same indifference did not attach to an institution of which he was the creator and fosterer — the College of Fort William—and in respect to which he was fated to encounter the no less strenuous opposition of the Court of Directors.

The alteration which had taken place in the situation of the Company in India, and their assumption of a political to the comparative extinction of a mercantile character, had permanently changed the objects which their civil servants were appointed to accomplish, and the denominations of writer, factor, and merchant, by which they were still distinguished, were utterly inapplicable to the nature and extent of their duties and occupations. Not only had they for the greater part ceased to have any connexion with trade, but they were bound by oath to abstain from every commercial and mercantile pursuit, and it had now become their task to maintain civil order through an extensive and populous country; to dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, and creeds; to administer a complicated system of revenue and finance; to conduct difficult and intricate negotiations with all the powers of India; and in several of the chief native states to exercise, as Residents, a peculiar and

[1] See Letter of Mr. Grant and Mr. Twining, two of the Directors, to Lord Wellesley. Despatches, v. 142, 143; also Marquess Wellesley to Lord Castlereagh, 12th Feb. 1803. Despatches, iii. 54. Papers on the Private Trade. Asiatic Annual Register, 1801; also Debates at the India House on the same subject. In a debate on the 28th May, 1801, one of the Directors, who had recently been chairman, asserted, that "it was through the impropriety of Lord Wellesley's conduct that the agents and merchants were admitted into what they wanted and what they enjoyed." Ibid. p. 176. See also Henchman's Observations on the Reports of the Court of Directors, 1801, and Auber's Rise and Progress of the British Power in India, ii. 232.

invidious control over vast principalities. They were required, in short, to discharge the duties of statesmen in every other part of the world, but under difficulties of a characteristic description, arising from the total dissimilarity that existed between the languages, manners, and opinions of England and India — between all the circumstances in which the public functionaries had been educated, and those to which the fruits of their education were to be applied. It may seem extraordinary, that the incongruity of the two had not previously been discovered, and that it was reserved for the Marquess Wellesley to discover that a knowledge of the languages spoken by the people of India, and of the people themselves, was an essential part of the education of those Englishmen who were to be charged with the offices of magistrates, judges, collectors, ambassadors, and governors in India.

The views entertained by the Marquess Wellesley of the sort of instruction required, although sound in principle, were of an extent which it would be difficult under any circumstances to realize, and which in India it was hopeless to attempt. The state of preparation in which the junior civil servants of his day were sent out, justified him, no doubt, in desiring that even their European education should be continued after their arrival. Some of the writers he describes as unfit to execute any duties beyond those of a copying-clerk, whilst of those who had received the benefits of a superior education, the studies had been prematurely interrupted at the age when they were about to yield the reward of application. An adequate remedy for this was not to be found in India, but in England; and the attempt to prolong a course of European study in Bengal, where few of the inducements or facilities for such an object were available, and where the services of competent instructors could not at all times or for a continuance be procured, was justly condemned by the Court of Directors as an unprofitable expenditure both of money and of time.

Whilst, however, it was obviously a matter of easy regulation to enforce, in the case of every junior civil servant, the acquirement at home of the highest possible attainments that could be gained by English education, it

was equally evident that certain local qualifications were indispensable, which could not at any time be conveniently, or at that time be at all obtained in Europe. It was scarcely possible to add to the most approved course of juvenile instruction in England, an intimate acquaintance with the history, customs, and manners of the people of India, with the Mohammedan and Hindu codes of law and religion, with the commercial and political interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia, or with the code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in council, for the purpose of securing to the people of India the benefit of the ancient and accustomed laws of the country, administered in the spirit of the British constitution. Knowledge of this description could be acquired only in India, and an adequate provision for its being effectively imparted was well worthy of the care and encouragement of the state. There are, however, in the constitution of the civil service, and in the condition of society in India, serious obstacles to this part of the plan; and the only realizable results of the projected establishment were the means of acquiring a command of the languages of the country, of receiving through their literature an honest and authentic expression of the feelings and sentiments of the people, and of learning something of their history, institutions, and laws. The plan of the College also afforded occasions of intimate and creditable intercourse with natives of learning and talent, by which many ignorant prejudices were removed from both the native and European mind, and mutually favourable impressions were acquired. It also offered encouragement to native learning and talent, and the plan extended throughout Hindustan the reputation of the Company's government. Although, therefore, its operations were not as comprehensive as its founder designed, the college of Fort William was productive of important public advantages, exercised for several subsequent years a beneficial influence upon the character of the junior servants of the Company, and was instrumental to the service and credit of the state. A spirit of retrenchment and private interests at last combined to effect its extinction, leaving in its room a meagre contrivance for teaching the smallest possible quantity of

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the languages of Bengal, necessary for imperfectly understanding the mere speech of the people.[1]

The arguments urged by Lord Wellesley with considerable ability, and in general with unanswerable truth, as to the necessity of an improved scale of education for their servants, and the expedience of a collegiate establishment in India for their use, failed to satisfy the Court of Directors, who alarmed at what they termed the considerable and unknown amount of the expense by which it was to be attended, and entertaining an exaggerated apprehension of the financial embarrassments of the Indian government, ordered its immediate abolition. At the same time they could not deny the necessity of providing for instruction in some of the native languages; and they furnished a sketch of a more economical establishment which they were prepared to sanction. Although, in obedience to the orders of the court, the Governor-General announced it to be the intention of the government to abolish the college, he postponed, for various reasons, the actual abolition, until the close of 1803, expressing his hope, that in the mean time, the representations addressed by him to the court might prevail upon it to suffer the establishment to remain unaltered, until he should be enabled to report in person the condition and effects of the institution, and submit such details as might enable the court to exercise its final judgment on the whole plan. This representation, backed by the decided support of the Board of Control, was not without effect upon the proceedings of the Directors, and the sanction of the Court was eventually given to the continuance of a college for the instruction of Bengal writers in the Oriental languages in use in that part of India. Arrangements of a more restricted nature were adopted, for the like instruction to be given to the young civilians of Madras and Bombay, in the languages of the Peninsula; and a college was a few years afterwards founded in England, for the better education of the junior civilians of all the Presidencies, in the usual objects of European study, as well as for a preparatory instruction in the languages of the East. However mutilated, there-

[1] Notes by the Governor-General on the foundation of a College at Fort William, 10th July, 1800. Despatches, ii. 325. Regulations for the Foundation, &c. Ibid. 356.

fore, by the economy or jealousy of the Court of Directors, the projected college of Lord Wellesley had the merit of awakening public attention to an object of vital importance to the prosperity of British India, and of originating useful, although still imperfect measures for its attainment.[1]

The announcement of Lord Wellesley's wish to be relieved from the labours of his government, proved acceptable to neither the ministry nor to the Court of Directors, and both addressed him to urge his remaining in India for a further period,[2] at least until the month of January, 1804. In writing to his Lordship on this occasion, the Court of Directors expressed their persuasion, that in another season the Governor-General would be able to terminate, with honour to himself and advantage to the Company, every measure of importance connected with the recent acquisitions, perfect the retrenchments, as well those resulting from the peace, as others of which their affairs might be susceptible, and in concert with the home authorities lay the foundation of an efficient system, for the liquidation of the Indian debt. These expectations were disappointed. The war with France was speedily renewed, and the war with the Mahrattas called upon the Indian governments for renewed exertions and augmented expense.

CHAPTER XI.

Two Sets of Princes connected with the English; one, whom they made resign both the Military and the Civil Powers of their Government; another, whom they made resign only the Military Powers.— Endeavour to make the Peshwa resign the Military Part of his Government.— Negotiations for that Purpose, from 1798 *to* 1802.*— Negotiations with Dowlut Rao Sindiah for a similar Purpose.— The Dependance of all the Mahratta States expected as the Effect of the Resignation to the English of*

[1] Lord Castlereagh to the Marquess Wellesley, 28th April, 1803. Despatches, iii. 379.

[2] From Lord Castlereagh, President of the Board of Control, 10th August and 10th Sept. 1802. Despatches, iii. 31, 33. From the Court of Directors to the Governor-General, 29th Sept. 1802. Despatch, iii. Introduction, xxv.

the Military Power of any one of them.—Negotiation with Sindiah ineffectual.—War between Sindiah and Holkar.—The Peshwa driven from Poonah.—For the Sake of being restored by English Arms, the Peshwa consents to the Resignation of his Military Power.—A Treaty for that Purpose signed at Bassein.—The Governor-General expects that the other Mahratta States will not dare to quarrel with the English on account of the Treaty of Bassein.—Sindiah assembles his Troops, and marches to the Vicinity of Boorhanpore.—Persevering Attempts to make Sindiah execute a Treaty similar to that of Bassein.—The Peshwa restored.—Probability of a War with the Mahratta Princes on account of the Treaty of Bassein.—Junction of the Armies of Sindiah and the Raja of Berar.—Sindiah and the Raja required by the English to quit their present menacing Position, and replace their Armies at their usual Stations.—Sindiah and the Raja evading Compliance, the English regard them as Enemies.—Arguments by which the Governor-General endeavoured to prove that the line of Policy which led to this Crisis was good.—Investigation of those Arguments.

THE relations, which the British government endeavoured to establish with the Princes of India, were different in different circumstances. They with whom their connexion was the most intimate, the Nabob of the Carnatic, the Raja of Tanjore, the Nabob of Oude, formed one class. Another was formed by those who stood in the circumstances of the Nizam, of the Peshwa and other Mahratta powers.

From the Princes of the first class, it had lately been the object of the British government to take away not only the military, but likewise the civil power, in the countries to which their titles respectively extended; and, leaving them the name of sovereign, to make them simply pensioners of state. With the rest, this object had been completely attained: with the Nabob of Oude, it was found expedient to make something of a compromise. A sort of delegated administration, which, however, he bound himself to carry on according to the pleasure of the delegator, was left to him in civil affairs, in a portion, not much more than a third, of his former dominions.

To this point the pretensions of the British government had advanced by degrees. At first they were neither very high, nor very definite. The English, for their own security, found it necessary to aid the Princes in defending themselves; and the Princes agreed to re-imburse the English for the expenses which they incurred.

The powers of government, that is, in India, the powers of the sovereign, may be looked upon as divided (in India they are very conspicuously divided) into two portions; the one, the military power; the other, the civil power; the one consisting in authority over the military force; the other in the administration of what is called the civil or non-military affairs of the state, the collection of the revenue, judicature, and police.

The English arrived at the first remarkable stage, when they made the Princes, with whom they were most nearly connected, strip themselves of their military power, to place it in the hands of the English. At this stage affairs remained during a considerable number of years. The sovereigns, placed in these circumstances, held their civil power in a state of absolute dependence. When the civil power, also, was taken away from them, nothing of sovereign remained, but the name. They were in the situation of the Raja of Sattarah, only in the hands of a people, to whom it was agreeable to treat them with more indulgence.

With the Princes of the second class, the object at which the British government had begun to aim, was, to make each of them resign the military part of his power to the English. In respect to the Nizam, the business had been effectually accomplished by the treaty of 1800; when he agreed to receive the subsidiary force of the English, and alienated a great proportion of his dominions to defray its expense.[1] The eagerness with which Lord Wellesley endeavoured to establish the same relations with the principal Mahratta states, he himself informs us, was extreme.

It had suited the English, in their transactions with the Mahratta people, to suppose, in the chieftain called the Peshwa, a species of sovereign authority over the rest of the Mahratta potentates; an authority, which it was

[1] Despatches, ii. 135, 258, 270, 275, and Appendix, 709, 726.

abundantly evident that he did not exercise, and to which it was equally evident that the rest of the Princes paid no respect.[1] In the spirit of this policy, it was the wish of Lord Wellesley to induce the Peshwa, in preference to all the rest of the Mahratta chiefs, to consign the defence of his government and dominions to a British force, and to alienate a part of those dominions for the maintenance of that force; an arrangement which that Governor denominates, "an intimate alliance, founded upon principles which should render the British influence and military force the main support of that power."[2]

In 1798, when the Nizam consented to transfer the military powers of government within his dominions to the English, a similar proposal of "general defensive alliance, and mutual guarantee,"[3] as it is called by Lord Wellesley, was strongly pressed upon the Peshwa. The moment was conceived to be favourable. "The authority of Bajee Rao," says the Governor-General, "was then reduced to a state of extreme weakness by the imbecility of his councils, by the instability and treachery of his disposition, and by the prevalence of internal discord; and in that crisis, his government was menaced with destruction, by the overbearing power of Sindiah. It was evident that the Peshwa could not expect to be relieved from the oppressive control of Sindiah, and to be restored to a due degree of authority within his own dominions, by any other means than by the aid of the British power."[4] The Governor-

[1] The whole history of the Mahratta states shows, that the Peshwa's supremacy was not merely what it suited the English to represent it, but was an essential part of the constitution of the state. The overgrown power of some of the chiefs had, it is true, rendered the Peshwa's authority little more than nominal as regarded them; but even Sindiah and Holkar ever professed to consider the Peshwa as their sovereign, or at least as their sovereign's representative. The title by which they held their lands was originally a grant from the Peshwa in consideration of military service. Undoubtedly, as far as this kind of contract was a leading feature in the feudal system of Europe, the same system may be said to have been found in India. Territory held by the tenure of military service occurred throughout India, and was the loose bond which held the Mahratta chiefs together under a common head. With exception, too, of some of the most powerful of the chiefs, the Peshwa's authority was exercised over the Mahratta jagirdars or feudatories.—W.

[2] Governor-General's Narrative of the late Transactions in the Mahratta empire: East India Papers, Mahratta War, 1803, ordered to be printed 5th and 29nd June, 1804, p. 304.—M.

Besides the Narrative, the same collection contains another communication from Lord Wellesley, entitled Notes relative to the late Transactions in the Mahratta Empire. This was separately printed, with an appendix of official documents, by Debrett, 1804. See also Despatches, iii. 26.—W.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Governor-General's instructions to the Resident at Poonah, dated 23rd

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General informs us, that Bajee Rao did even apply to him for assistance. But when he was made to understand, that it would be granted only on the condition of permanently confiding his defence to a British force; that is, of transferring his military power to the hands of the English, "he deliberately," says the Governor-General, "preferred a situation of degradation and danger, with nominal independence, to a more intimate connexion with the British power; which," adds the Governor-General, sufficiently disclosing his views, "could not be formed on principles calculated to secure to the Peshwa the constant protection of our arms, without, at the same time, establishing our ascendancy in the Mahratta empire."[1] The length of time, during which the Peshwa amused the Governor-General, is thus commented upon by that disappointed ruler. Subsequent events justify a conclusion, that the long and systematic course of deceitful policy, pursued by the Peshwa on this occasion, was not less the result of a determined spirit of hostility, than of his characteristic jealousy and irresolution."[2]

The prospect of the war between the British power and Tippoo Sultaun inspired not the Peshwa, we are assured by the Governor-General, with any of the sentiments of a generous ally; but turned his attention solely to the advantages which the crisis presented "to the faithless and sordid policy of that Prince;" who not only, "by a course of studied and systematic deceit, avoided all active interference in the contest, but actually maintained an amicable intercourse with the enemy.[3]

The Governor-General even makes profession of having been duped by the Peshwa. "His Excellency," says he, speaking of himself in the third person, a novelty which this Governor-General introduced, and of which, in the end, the Directors complained, "in a letter addressed to the Honourable the Court of Directors, under date the 20th of March, 1799, expressed his conviction, that the disposition of the Court of Poonah continued perfectly

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of June, 1802, transmitted in a letter from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated 24th of December, 1802, and received the 9th of May, 1803. Ibid. p. 34.—M. Despatches, iii. 3. 12.—W.

[1] Despatches, iii. 12.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Letters, ut supra, p. 34.

favourable to the British interests; and that want of power would be the sole cause of its inaction, in the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun." The course of the war, however, he says, suggested doubts; and at the termination of it they were confirmed, "by the correspondence between Tippoo Sultaun and his agents at Poonah, and by letters from Nana Furnavese, and other Mahratta chieftains, to Tippoo Sultaun, which were discovered among the records of Seringapatam. The combined evidence of those documents, and of the Peshwa's conduct during the war, affords unequivocal proofs of the hostility of his disposition towards the British power; and justifies a conclusion, that, if fortune had appeared to favour the enemy, the Peshwa would openly have espoused his cause." [1]

Here was the conduct most exactly, which had been ascribed to the Nabob of Arcot, and by which that prince was declared to have forfeited his throne. The Nabob of Arcot, and the Peshwa, were both princes, connected, by treaty, in alliance with the British power. Both were accused of violating the obligations of that treaty, by corresponding with Tippoo Sultaun. We have seen the treatment bestowed upon the one; it remains to contrast with it, that which was bestowed upon the other, of the two offenders.[2]

"Although," says the Governor-General, "the faithless conduct of the Peshwa not only deprived him of all title to participate in the advantages of the war, but exposed him to the just resentment of the allies, the Governor-General determined to refrain from any measures of a vindictive nature; and to adopt the more liberal policy —of conciliating the Peshwa's interests—and of providing for the security of the allies, and for the general tranquillity of India—by repeating his invitation to the Peshwa to accede to the proposal of general defensive alliance and mutual guarantee; which his excellency had before unsuccessfully offered to the Peshwa's acceptance." [3]

[1] Letters, ut supra, p. 34.

[2] It scarcely needs to be observed, that they were situated, in relation to the British power, in totally dissimilar circumstances: the mere existence of a treaty with each constituted no analogy: the identity or difference depended upon the conditions and objects of the treaties made with them.—W.

[3] Letters, ut supra, Ibid. p. 34.

Such was the difference of treatment intended for the Peshwa. The following was the result. "At the close of the war in 1799," says the Governor-General, "the propositions for the conclusion of defensive and subsidiary engagements with the Peshwa were renewed; under circumstances of peculiar advantage to the latter; who, by acceding to those propositions, would not only have been emancipated from the oppressive control of Sindiah, and have been reinstated in the due exercise of his authority—but would have been admitted to a participation in the conquered territory of Mysore.

"But, after a vexatious and illusory discussion of the propositions, during a period of several months, the negotiation was closed, by the Peshwa's rejection of the conditions of defensive alliance, under any admissible modification of them.

"The circumstances of that negotiation afford the strongest reasons to believe, that the Peshwa never seriously intended to enter into any engagements, on the basis of those propositions; and that he had no other intention, from the commencement of the negotiation, than, to avoid the consequences of an unqualified refusal to treat; to deceive the public, and the Governor-General, by the appearances of a disposition to concur in the views of the British government for the tranquillity of India; and to deter Sindiah from the prosecution of his ambitious designs, by persuading that chieftain, that the Peshwa had it in his power, and in his contemplation, to avail himself of the protection of the British arms."[1]

Nor were these the only occasions on which the Peshwa had been importuned on the same subject. "The negotiations," continues the same high reporter, "which followed the renewal of the Governor-General's propositions in the month of April, 1800, were conducted, on the part of the

[1] Letters, ut supra, Ibid. p. 34.—M.

These were, no doubt, his intentions; as beside his own very reasonable aversion to arrangements which would have placed the Peshwa under the control of the English, the same policy was always enforced upon him by the sagacity of Nana Furnavese, who, to the period of his death in 1800, was decidedly averse to the admission of a body of foreign troops in the manner proposed by the Marquess Wellesley, if the energies of the Government could be restored without their aid. Nana Furnavese respected the English, admired them sincerely, and the vigour of their government, but as political enemies, no one regarded them with more jealousy and alarm. Mahr. Hist. iii. 188.—W.

Peshwa, in the same spirit of temporizing policy, and studied evasion, which characterized his conduct in every previous discussion. His long and degrading subjection to the power of Sindiah; his repeated experience of the perfidy and violence of that unprincipled chieftain; the internal distraction which prevailed in his government; and the consciousness of his inability to relieve himself from the pressure of his accumulated difficulties, and to secure the efficient exercise of his authority; were insufficient to subdue the emotions of his jealous fears, and to induce him to rely, with confidence, on the protection of that state, which alone possessed the power and the will to extricate him from his embarrassments, and to place him in a situation of comparative dignity and security. Those negotiations were closed in the month of September, 1800, when various unprecedented acts of violence and extortion, on the part of Sindiah, had aggravated the pressure of the Peshwa, and virtually annihilated his authority — by the Peshwa's absolute rejection of the principal articles of the Governor-General's proposition.

"And he may be considered to have rejected those propositions again, by his refusal to become a party in the treaty of general defensive alliance, concluded with the Nizam in October, 1800, which was tendered to his acceptance." [1]

But the complaints of the Governor-General are not confined to the arts by which the Peshwa endeavoured to preserve the advantage of appearing to enjoy the friendship of the British government, and at the same time to avoid the transference and loss of his military power. "While these several negotiations were depending," says the great informant, "the Peshwa was at different times employed in carrying on intrigues at the court of Hyderabad, to effect the dissolution of the alliance between the Company and the Nizam, and to engage his Highness to unite with the Mahrattas, at any future favourable opportunity, for the subversion of the British power." [2]

Towards the end of the year 1801, the Peshwa came forward with a proposal "for subsidizing a body of British troops." To this, according to the Governor-General, he was "influenced, either by views and intentions similar to

[1] Letters, ut supra, Ibid. 35. [2] Ibid.

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those which regulated his conduct during the negotiations of 1799 and 1800; or, if sincere in his proposal, by the hope of obtaining the aid of the British for the re-establishment and security of his authority, without hazarding the introduction of that degree of control and ascendancy, which," says the Governor-General, "it must be our interest to establish in the Mahratta state, and which it is his object to avoid."[1]

"The Peshwa," continues the Governor-General, "is aware that the permanent establishment of a British force, in the vicinity of Poonah, would immediately place him, in some degree, in a state of dependance upon the British power. And, therefore, he has stipulated, that the subsidiary force shall be retained within the Company's dominions at all times, except when he shall require its actual services."[2] For the charges of the troops, the Peshwa proposed to assign a territory, in a part of the Mahratta country over which he had only a nominal authority, and "the cession of which," says the Governor-General, "would not in any degree contribute to render the Peshwa dependent on the support of the British power."[3] Because this arrangement would be extremely advantageous to the Peshwa, without yielding correspondent advantages to the British government, it was the opinion of the Governor-General, that it ought to be rejected. But he was of opinion, that rather than not get a British force subsidized, as he termed it, by the Peshwa; that is, placed in the service, and at the expense of that prince, it was advisable to consent to his proposition with regard to the station of the troops, provided he would make an acceptable provision in land, or even in money, for their maintenance. The Governor-General reasoned thus: "The measure of subsidizing a British force, even under the limitations which the Peshwa has annexed to that proposal, must immediately place him, in some degree, in a state of dependance upon the British power; provided that measure be uncombined with any other arrangement, calculated to defeat its operation. The dependance of a state, in any degree, upon the power of another, naturally tends to promote a sense of security, derived from the support of a foreign power; produces a

[1] Letters, ut supra, Ibid. p. 35. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

relaxation of vigilance and caution; and the operation of natural causes, in augmenting the dependance of the Peshwa on the British power, under the operation of the proposed engagement, would be accelerated by the effect which those engagements would produce, of detaching the state of Poonah from the other members of the Mahratta empire." [1]

When "the Governor-General," these are his own words, "notwithstanding his frequent disappointment in the accomplishment of his salutary views, determined, in June, 1802, to renew his negotiations for the conclusion of an improved system of alliance with the court of Poonah; the increased distraction in the Mahratta state, the rebellion of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and his success against the combined forces of the Peshwa and Sindiah, appeared to constitute a crisis of affairs, favourable to the success of the proposed negotiation at Poonah. In the course of the discussions which ensued, the Peshwa manifested a desire to contract defensive engagements with the Honourable Company, under circumstances of more apparent solicitude, than had marked his conduct at any former occasion. The Peshwa, however, continued to withhold his consent to any admissible modifications of the Governor-General's propositions, until Jeswunt Rao Holkar, at the head of a formidable army, actually arrived in the vicinity of Poonah." [2]

The crisis to which the Mahratta affairs were then approaching, was preceded and produced by the following circumstances.

Mulhar Rao Holkar, one of the leaders in the army of the first Peshwa, was instrumental in pushing the conquests of the Mahrattas towards the north; and, according to the usual policy of the Mahratta government, received a portion of territory, in the province of Malwa, for the support of his troops. This happened about the year 1736; and laid the foundation of the sovereignty of the Holkar family; for, as the power of the primary government declined, that of the principal viceroys, according to custom, became independent; and, although the memory of the primitive connexion with the Peshwa was not obliter-

[1] Letters, ut supra, Ibid. p. 37.
[2] Governor-General's Narrative, Ibid. p. 305.

ated, they not only acted as his equals, but frequently as his masters; and on no occasion, except when it suited their interest, allowed their will to be governed by his. Mulhar Rao Holkar died in the year 1766. He was succeeded by his nephew, Tukajee Holkar. This prince reigned till the year 1797. He left four sons, Cashee Rao, Mulhar Rao, Etojee Holkar, and Jeswunt Rao Holkar; the two former alone by the wife or principal female in the harem. Cashee Rao succeeded Tukajee, as the eldest son by his wife. A dispute, however, soon arose between Cashee Rao and his brother Mulhar Rao, who claimed an equal share in the inheritance; and they both repaired to Poonah, for the purpose of settling their disputes by the intervention of the Peshwa.[1]

Dowlut Rao Sindiah exercised at that time a despotic authority over the Peshwa; and regarded the occasion as highly favourable for adding the possessions of the Holkar family to his own. Having made his terms with Cashee Rao, who is said to have renounced a claim of sixty, and paid a sum of six lacs of rupees,[2] he surprised and slaughtered Mulhar Rao, with all his attendants, at Poonah, in the month of September, 1797. The wife of Mulhar Rao, left in a state of pregnancy, produced a son, who was named Khundeh Rao. Sindiah possessed himself of the person of

[1] Mulhar Rao, named Holkar, or, more properly, Hulkur, from the village of Hul, where he was born, was of the Dhoongur or Shepherd caste. His father was a small farmer, and he himself, whilst a youth, tended the flocks of the family; he was afterwards enlisted in his troop by an uncle who commanded a small party of horse in the service of a Mahratta chief. Distinguishing himself as a brave and active soldier, he was taken into the service of the Peshwa, the first Bajee Rao, was appointed to the command of five hundred horse, and, in the course of a short time, acquired higher distinctions. The first grant of land for his services was made in 1728. In 1732 he commanded the advance of the Mahratta army which conquered Malwa; and, in the following year, Indore, which became the capital of his descendants, was assigned to him for the support of his troops. To the territory round Indore he made large accessions, so that, with exception of one district, all that belonged to his successors was bequeathed by Mulhar Rao. The only son, Kundee Rao, being dead, he was succeeded by his grandson, Mallee Rao, but this prince reigned only nine months. Upon his decease, a distribution of the powers of the state of Indore took place, which, however, apparently precarious, continued undisturbed for thirty years. Alia (Ahalya) Bhye, the mother of Mallee Rao, widow of Kundee Rao, the son of Mulhar Rao, boldly assumed the office of regent, and elected for the commander of the army, and to fulfil those duties which she could not as a female perform, Tukajee Holkar, a chief of the same tribe, but no way related to Mulhar Rao. Ahalya Bhye died in 1795; Tukajee in 1797. Malcolm's Central India, i. 1. 142. The character of Ahalaya Bhye is there delineated at length in the most favourable colours. She was undoubtedly a woman of singular merit.—W.

[2] Fifteen according to Malcolm; ten in cash, and five in the mortgage of the revenue of Amber in the Deccan. Central India, i. 197.—W.

the infant; retained Cashee Rao in a state of dependence; and proposed to govern the Holkar dominions in his name. The two brothers Etojee and Jeswunt Rao, had attached themselves to the cause of Mulhar Rao, and were both at Poonah at the time of his murder. Etojee fled to Kolapore, where he was taken, in the commission of hostilities; sent to Poonah; and deprived of his life.[1] Jeswunt Rao, made his escape to Nagpore; and was protected for some time; but the instigations of Sindiah at last prevailed, and the Raja placed him in confinement. He contrived to effect his escape, and fled to Muheswar, on the Nerbuddah.[2] Sindiah, at that time deeply engaged in his schemes for securing the ascendancy of Poonah, had not leisure to pursue the fugitives with vigour and expedition, and probably thought his resources too contemptible to excite any apprehension. This remissness enabled Jeswunt Rao to avail himself of the means which so plentifully exist in India, of collecting an army of adventurers, by the prospect of plunder. It was not till the year 1801, that Sindiah really became alarmed at the progress of Jeswunt Rao.[3] He then began to collect an army on the Nerbuddah, and ordered the chiefs in his dependance to join him with the smallest possible delay. On the 14th of October, 1801, a general engagement took place between the armies of the two chieftains, in the neighbour-

[1] Malcolm says he had joined a body of freebooters, and being taken, was trampled to death by an elephant. Grant Duff gives a particular account of his execution and the savage exultation of Bajee Rao at his destruction. Mahr. Hist. iii. 199.—W.

[2] Jeswunt Rao, after escaping from Nagpoor, took refuge at Dhar with Anand Rao, of the Puar tribe, to whom he rendered some important service. Compelled by the threats of Sindiah to withdraw his protection, the chief of Dhar gave him a small supply of money, with which he raised a force of fourteen horsemen, and a hundred and twenty ragged, half-armed foot. With this small band he commenced a course of depredations, the success of which added to his adherents. Being the son of a concubine, Jeswunt Rao refrained from claiming the rights of legitimacy, and professed himself the servant of Kundee Rao, the infant son of the murdered Mulhar Rao, a prudent regard for the feelings of his family and clan which contributed materially to his strength. He next formed an alliance with Amir Khan, a Mohammedan leader, who like the Mahratta became, subsequently, of great celebrity in the predatory warfare of Hindustan, was eventually joined by the troops of Kasi Rao, assembled at Indore, and by the end of 1788 was at the head of a considerable army: he encountered Sindiah with between 60,000 and 70,000 men. Central India. See also Life of Amir Khan, by H. T. Prinsep.—W.

[3] There is some disagreement in the dates of these events between the different authorities. According to Malcolm, Sindiah marched against Holkar in 1799. Grant says, he moved from Poonah in November, 1800. The battle of Indore, according to the latter, was fought upon the day mentioned in the text. Mahr. Hist. iii. 201.—W.

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hood of Indore, the capital of the Holkar family. Holkar was completely vanquished, and fled with the loss of his artillery and baggage.[1]

In this situation of affairs, a favourable opportunity appeared to the Governor-General to present itself, of extending his favourite plan for engrossing the military power of the princes in India, or (as he himself chose rather to name it) "the system of general defensive alliance and guarantee." Colonel Collins, who had acted for some time as resident at Futty Ghur, was, in the month of December, 1801, directed to repair to the camp of Dowlut Rao Sindiah. And in the instructions of the Governor-General to that officer, dated the 15th of January, 1802, are the following words: "The events which have lately occurred in Hindostan, and the actual situation of the affairs of Dowlut Rao Sindiah, appear to his Excellency to afford a more favourable opportunity than any which has hitherto offered, of persuading that chieftain to become a party, in the proposed system of defensive alliance and reciprocal guarantee, under the provisions of the treaty concluded with his Highness the Nizam, on the 12th of October, 1800."

The next paragraph of this official paper is important, as exhibiting the views of the Governor-General, with regard to the effect which this defensive alliance, with any one of the Mahratta powers, would have upon all the rest. According to him it would produce one of two effects. Either it would compel them to give up their military power, in imitation of the state which had submitted to that stipulation; or, it would place them "in a dependent and subordinate condition,"—a condition in which "all their ambitious views, and aggressive designs, would be controlled." "It may reasonably," says the Governor-General, "be expected, that the success of a negotiation, for that purpose, with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, will materially promote the complete accomplishment of his Excellency's views, by inducing the other Mahratta powers to concur in the proposed arrangement, with a view to avoid *the dependent and subordinate condition to which they must be reduced*, by their exclusion from an alliance, *of which the operation*,

[1] For these particulars of the dispute between Sindiah and Holkar, see the same volume of Parliamentary Papers, p. 258, 1, 5.

with respect to them, must be, to control all ambitious views and aggressive designs on their part, without affording to those powers the benefits of the general guarantee." The doctrine of the Governor-General, therefore, was, that, in this manner, every one of the Mahratta states would become dependent upon the English government; those who accepted the alliance, by the alliance; those who did not accept it, by being deprived of it; the same happy effect, in two opposite cases, by the same ingenious combination of means.

In regard to the terms of the proposed alliance, the document in question says, "The general conditions to which, in conformity to the proposed arrangement, it is desirable that Sindiah should accede, are, 1st. To subsidize a considerable British force, to be stationed within his dominions: 2ndly. To cede in perpetual sovereignty to the Company, an extent of territory, the net produce of which shall be adequate to the charges of that force: 3rdly. To admit the arbitration of the British government, in all disputes and differences between Sindiah and his Highness the Nizam, and, eventually, between Sindiah and the other states of Hindustan: and 4thly. To dismiss all the subjects of France now in his service, and to pledge himself never to entertain in his service persons of that description."

It was declared to be "extremely desirable that Sindiah should subsidize the same number of British troops, as are subsidized by his Highness the Nizam. If Sindiah, however, as was suspected, would not, unless in a case of extreme necessity, agree to that proposal, the Governor-General was inclined to come down in his terms. He would consent to such a number of troops as even that of two battalions. The obligation of submitting Sindiah's relations with other states to the will of the English, it was not, in the opinion of the Governor-General, very material to exact; for this reason, that, if the other conditions were accepted, this would follow, as a necessary consequence, whether agreeable to Sindiah or not. "His Excellency," says the paper of instructions, "considers Sindiah's positive consent to the third condition, to be an object of inferior importance to the rest: as, without any specific stipulation, the arbitration of the British govern-

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ment will necessarily be admitted, to an extent proportioned to the ascendancy which that government will obtain over Sindiah, under the proposed engagements — and to the power which it will possess of controlling his designs.[1]

Though Sindiah had not only been disposed to receive, but forward to invite the British Resident to his camp, he would offer no specific proposition when Colonel Collins arrived. It was the wish of the British negotiator, who joined the camp of Sindiah on the 20th of February, 1802, to draw from that chieftain a declaration of a desire for British assistance; and afterwards to present the scheme of the Governor-General as the condition on which that advantage might be obtained. Sindiah, however, would not admit that he had any other motive for desiring the presence of a British Resident, than to cement the friendship which already subsisted between him and the British government; and to possess a more immediate channel of communication: especially, "as he was guarantee to the treaty between the English government and the Peshwa;" in this expression, exhibiting, even at this early period, his jealousy with respect to the negotiation, which was now carrying on at Poonah, for superseding the existing treaty with the Peshwa, by a treaty upon the Governor-General's favourite system, called "the system of defensive alliance, and mutual guarantee."

After allowing time for ascertaining the state of Sindiah's councils, the Resident informed the Governor-General, that "Sindiah was anxiously desirous to preserve the relations of friendship at that time subsisting between him and the English government. At the same time," said he, "I consider it my indispensable duty to apprize your Excellency, that I am firmly persuaded he feels no inclination whatever to improve those relations." In other words, he was not yet brought so low, as willingly to descend into that situation in which a participation in the "system of defensive alliance and mutual guarantee" would of necessity place him.

It is important, at the same time, to observe the opinion of this select servant of the Company, with regard to the influence which the treaty so eagerly pursued with

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 7—9.

the Peshwa would have upon the interests of Sindiah; an influence sufficient to make him court as a favour what he now rejected as equivalent to the renunciation of his independence and power. "Indeed," says the Resident, "were the Peshwa to accept the aid of a subsidiary force from our government, I should, in this event, entertain strong hopes, that Sindiah, apprehensive lest the authority of the head of the Mahratta empire might be exerted against himself, would solicit as a favour to be admitted to the benefit of the treaty of general defensive alliance." The Resident, in this instance, declared his belief, that the same effect would result from this treaty with regard to Sindiah, as the Governor-General had stated to him would be the effect of such a treaty, with any one of the Mahratta powers, upon every one of the rest.[1]

As the Resident was convinced, that, in the present circumstances, it was in vain to hope for the submission of Sindiah to the system of the Governor-General, he thought the dignity of the British government would best be consulted, by forbearing to present the proposition.[2]

Holkar repaired so quickly the disaster sustained near Indore, that early in 1802 he resolved to change the scene of his operations from Malwa to Poonah. Cashee Rao, who had been allowed to repair to Kandeish, had for some time shown a disposition to aid in carrying on a joint war against Sindiah, for the preservation of the Holkar dominions; but as the resources both of his mind and of his fortune were small, so he had latterly professed his determination to adhere to a system of neutrality in the dispute between Sindiah and Jeswunt Rao. The release of the infant Khundeh Rao had been always demanded

[1] On this subject, he further says, in the same despatch: "It must likewise be considered, that, however much it may be to the interest of the Peshwa to engage in the defensive alliance, with a view to the restoration of the due exercise of his authority, as head of the Mahratta empire; yet that Sindiah is by no means in a similar predicament. On the contrary, as the Maharaja (Sindiah), by the real superiority of his power, is now enabled to intimidate Bajee Rao into concessions suitable to his purposes, he is apparently urged, by principles of self-interest, not only to decline becoming a party himself in the treaty, but moreover to exert his utmost influence, in order to prevent the Peshwa from entering into engagements which, if carried to the extent originally proposed, would completely render him alike independent of Sindiah, and of every other chieftain of the Mahratta state."

[2] See the despatch of Colonel Collins, dated Ougein, 8th of March, 1802. Ibid. p. 13—15.

by Jeswunt Rao, as a condition without which he would listen to no terms of accommodation. Representing Cashee Rao as incapacitated by mental imbecility for the exercise of the powers of government, he proclaimed the infant, head of the Holkar family; demanded, as uncle, the custody of his person, and the administration of his dominions; and gave out his design of marching to Poonah, for the purpose of receiving justice at the hand of the Peshwa; that is, of putting down the authority of Sindiah, with respect to whom the Peshwa had long been placed in a state of prostrate subjection.

Before the middle of the year 1802, Holkar had prepared a large, and, as compared with that of his opponents, a well-disciplined army; and began his march to the south. Sindiah, alive to the danger which threatened his interests at Poonah, detached a large portion of his army under one of his principal generals, Suddasheo Bhao. This force arrived in the vicinity of Poonah, at the close of the month of September: and afterwards effected a junction with the troops of the Peshwa. On the 25th of October the two armies engaged. After a warm cannonade of about three hours, the cavalry of Holkar made a general charge. The cavalry of Sindiah gave way, when that of Holkar cutting in upon the line of infantry, put them to flight and gained a decisive victory.[1]

Colonel Barry Close had been sent in the capacity of Resident to Poonah, in the month of December of the preceding year, with much reliance upon his approved

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 258, 343.—On the 8th of March, Colonel Collins, in the camp of Sindiah, estimated the prospects of Holkar thus: "Since the defeat of Jeswunt Rao at Indore, where he lost the whole of his artillery, this chief has merely been able to carry on a depredatory war; and as he possesses no other means of subsisting his troops, than by plundering, it is not unlikely that they may disperse during the rainy monsoon. Yet should he even find it practicable to retain them in his service, still they are not so formidable, either from discipline or numbers, as to create any serious grounds of alarm to this court." (Ibid. p. 14.) The Governor-General, in his letter to the Secret Committee, 24th of December, 1802, speaking of the situation of the Peshwa, previous to the battle of the 24th of October, says: "The superiority of Jeswunt Rao Holkar's troops, in number and discipline, to those of the Peshwa and Dowlut Rao Sindiah, rendered the issue of any contest nearly certain." Ibid. p. 29.—M.

The cavalry of Holkar gave way after an unsuccessful charge upon the Peshwa's household horse, but they were stopped, and led again into action by Holkar himself. The victory was owing to his personal efforts, and the steadiness of his infantry, under European officers. The fullest account of it is given by Grant: that of Malcolm agrees with it in the most essential point, Holkar's own share in restoring the day. Mahr. Hist. iii. 206. Central India, i. 226.—W.

ability and diligence for leading the Peshwa to a conformity with the earnest wishes of the English government, on the subject of the defensive alliance.

A few days before the arrival of Colonel Close, the Peshwa had communicated to Colonel Palmer, his predecessor, his consent "to subsidize a permanent force of the Company's infantry, to the extent of six battalions, with the corresponding artillery, as the Governor-General had proposed; and to assign territory in Hindustan, producing twenty-five lacs of rupees annual revenue: but that the troops should be retained within the Company's dominions at all times, except when the Peshwa should formally require their actual services." There was still a great distance between the compliance of the Peshwa, and the Governor-General's demands. "I am to have my last private audience of the Peshwa," says Colonel Palmer, "this evening: when I will make a final effort to convince his Highness of the lasting security, power, and prosperity," (such was the language which the Governor-General and his agents held even to one another upon their scheme for reducing to dependance the Princes of Hindustan,) "which he will derive from embracing your Lordship's proposals; though I apprehend, that nothing short of imminent and certain destruction will induce him to make concessions, which militate with his deep-rooted jealousy and prejudices," (so the aversion to a final renunciation of all independent power was coolly denominated;) "of which he thinks," continues the despatch, "that he had already made extraordinary sacrifices."[1]

The negotiation languished for six months, because the Governor-General, who, during a considerable part of that time, was earnestly endeavouring to accomplish a similar treaty with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, did not transmit to the Resident his instructions upon the subject of this proposal, till the month of June.

During this interval, the new Resident had time to make his observations upon the character and views of the Peshwa, of which he delivered a most unfavourable report. "Every day's experience," said he, "tends to strengthen the impression, that from the first, your Lordship's amicable and liberal views, in relation to this state,

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 39, 40.

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have not only been discordant with the natural disposition of the Peshwa; but totally adverse to that selfish and wicked policy, which, in a certain degree, he seems to have realized: a slight recurrence to the history of his machinations is sufficient to demonstrate, that, in the midst of personal peril, and the lowest debasement, he viewed the admission of permanent support from your Lordship with aversion."

"With regard to the Peshwa's government," he says, "it seems, if possible, to become less respectable every day. The great families of the state, with whom he is at variance, prevail over him at every contest."[1]

When the instructions of the Governor-General arrived, he remarked, upon the stipulation of the Peshwa respecting the station of the subsidized battalions, that "if the Peshwa should ever conclude subsidiary engagements on these terms, he would never apply for the aid of the stipulated force, except in cases of the utmost emergency: and his expectation probably is, that the knowledge of his ability to command so powerful a body of troops would alone be sufficient to give due weight to his authority, and to preclude any attempt which might otherwise be made for the subversion of it."

On the next great point, "as the Peshwa," he said, "probably derives no revenue from the territory which he proposes to assign for the charges of the subsidiary force; and his authority in it is merely nominal, his power and resources would not in any degree be reduced by the cession; and the situation of the districts would be too distant and distinct from those territories in which the Peshwa's authority is established and acknowledged, to excite in his mind any apprehension of being overawed or controlled by the proximity of the Company's territorial power and resources. In his Excellency's judgment, therefore, the cession of the proposed territory in Hindustan would not in any degree contribute to render the Peshwa dependent on the support of the British power."

The expense, also, both of taking and of retaining possession of these territories, surrounded as they were by the territories of other Mahratta chiefs, and subject to

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 42, 46.

their claims, was stated by the Governor-General as a ground of objection.

Upon the whole, he observes, "By this arrangement, the Peshwa would derive the benefit of our support, without becoming subject to our control." He, therefore, concludes; "Under all these circumstances his Excellency is decidedly of opinion that an unqualified concurrence in the Peshwa's propositions would produce more injury than benefit to the British interests in India." At the same time, "From the view," he declares, "which has thus been taken of the disposition and conduct of the Peshwa towards the British power; and from a consideration of the actual condition of his government, with reference both to its internal weakness, and to the state of its external relations, it is to be inferred, that in the actual situation of affairs, no expectation can reasonably be entertained of the Peshwa's acquiescence in any arrangement founded on the basis of the Governor-General's original propositions."

What was then to be done? Was the pursuit of the subsidizing arrangement to be resigned? The desires of the Governor-General were too ardent for that conclusion. He resolved, on the other hand, to accede to the wishes of the Peshwa, in regard to the station of the troops, provided he would either assign a less exceptionable territory, or even engage to pay a competent annual sum from his treasury.[1]

Of the discussions on this new proposition, the detailed reports have not been communicated to parliament, and hence the particulars are unknown. Though Bajee Rao manifested, as the Governor-General informed his honourable masters, a solicitude apparently more sincere than formerly, to contract defensive engagements with the British government, he would assent to no admissible modification of the proffered plan, till Jeswunt Rao Holkar was in the vicinity of Poonah.

To whomsoever of the two antagonists the impending contest should yield the ascendancy, the Peshwa perfectly foreknew that the result would be equally fatal to his authority. On the 11th of October, he transmitted

[1] See, for these facts and quotations, Governor-General's Instructions to the Resident at Poonah, dated 3rd of June, 1802; papers, ut supra, p. 33—39.

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through his principal minister a set of proposals to the British Resident. In these, it was proposed to agree, that the troops should be permanently stationed within his dominions, and that a district should be assigned for their maintenance in his territories bordering on the Toombudra.[1] We are informed by the Governor-General, that "during the discussions which ensued on the basis of these propositions, the evasive conduct of the Peshwa excited considerable doubts of his sincerity, even at that stage of the negotiation: and that on the 24th of October, when the army of Jeswunt Rao Holkar had arrived within a few miles of Poonah, the Peshwa despatched a deputation to that chieftain, with distinct proposals for an accommodation, which Jeswunt Rao Holkar rejected."[2]

On the day of the action, the Peshwa, surrounded by a body of troops, waited for the result, and then fled; leaving in the hands of his minister, for the British Resident, a preliminary engagement to subsidize six battalions, with their proportion of artillery, and to cede a country, either in Guzerat or the Carnatic, yielding twenty-five lacs of rupees.

The wishes of the Governor-General were accomplished, beyond his expectation. And he ratified the engagement on the day on which it was received.[3]

Two grand objects now solicited the attention of the British government. The first was the restoration of the Peshwa; and his elevation to that height of power, which, nominally his, actually that of the British government, might suffice to control the rest of the Mahratta states. The next was, to improve this event for imposing a similar treaty upon others of the more powerful Mahratta princes; or, at any rate, to prevent, by all possible means, their alarm from giving birth to an immediate war, which (especially in the existing state of the finances) might expose the present arrangement to both unpopularity and trouble.

The following occurrences were meanwhile taking place.

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 63.
[2] Ibid. p. 30.—M. The proposals were no doubt insincere, for Grant affirms that the Peshwa entertained no doubt of Holkar's being defeated. The purport of the only mission noticed by the author of the Mahratta History, was a command to Holkar to retire. iii. 206.—W.
[3] Ibid. p. 30, 64.

The Peshwa, having repaired in the first instance to a fortress, not far distant from Poonah, afterwards pursued his flight to the fortress of Mhar, on the river Bancoote, in the Concan, a maritime country on the western side of the Ghauts. Holkar, whose object it probably was to obtain possession of the person of the Peshwa, and to make the same use of his authority which had been made by Sindiah, attempted, but not with sufficient rapidity, to intercept his flight.

Disappointed in this prospect, Holkar turned his views to Amrut Rao, the adopted son of the Peshwa's father, the late Ragoba; and detaching a body of troops to the place of his residence, brought him to Poonah. The Peshwa's flight from his capital was treated as an abdication, or akin to an abdication, of the government; and affairs were administered in the name of Amrut Rao.[1]

To the British Resident, who remained at Poonah, when it fell into the hands of Holkar, that chieftain, as well as Amrut Rao, diligently represented their views as friendly toward the British state, or even submissive; and they employed their earnest endeavours to prevail upon him to remain at Poonah. As this, however, might appear to afford the sanction of his government to the new authority, he thought it his duty to withdraw, and having, not without difficulty, obtained that permission, departed on the 28th of November.

"At the conferences," says the Governor-General, "holden, by the Resident, with Amrut Rao and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, on the eve of the Resident's departure from Poonah, both those chieftains expressed the solicitude for the preservation of the friendship of the British government; and directly and earnestly appealed to the Resident for his advice in the present situation of affairs. Jeswunt Rao Holkar expressly intimated a wish for the mediation of the Resident, for the express purpose of effecting an accommodation with the Peshwa."[2]

The Peshwa seemed unable to believe himself in safety, in any place accessible to Jeswunt Rao Holkar; and

[1] Not as Peshwa but as Regent for his son Vinayak Rao, who was placed by Holkar on the musnud. The Government was, however, conducted by Amrut Rao. Mahr. Hist. iii. 223.—W.

[2] Papers, ut supra, iii. p. 32, 223.

requested that a British ship might be sent to Bancoote, to convey him, when he should account it necessary, to Bombay. This determination the Resident at Poonah thought it would not be advisable to encourage. But, "under the determination," says the Governor-General, "which I had adopted, of employing every effort for the restoration of the Peshwa's authority, and in the actual situation of the Peshwa's affairs, it appeared to me, to be extremely desirable, that the Peshwa should immediately place himself under the protection of the British power, by retiring to Bombay."[1]

The Resident from Poonah arrived at Bombay on the 3rd of December. The Peshwa, notwithstanding the permission to place himself under the protection of the British government at Bombay, had yet remained in the Concan, with a declared desire, however, of repairing to his own city of Bassein, where he would enjoy the protection of a British force. His minister arrived at Bombay on the 8th of December. At a conference, the next day, with Colonel Close, he expressed the earnest desire of his master to conclude the proposed engagements with the British government; to the end that, all its demands being complied with, and all obstacles removed, he might as speedily as possible be restored to his authority by the British troops. On the 16th, the Peshwa arrived at Bassein; and was presented with a draught of the proposed treaty. The 18th was appointed for the day on which the arrangement should be completed. After a long discussion, the whole of the draught was accepted, with some alterations in one or two of the articles. And the treaty, called, from the place of transaction, the treaty of Bassein, was signed on the 31st.

The great and leading articles were those to which the

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 31, 32. "I considered," he further says, "that this measure would preclude all hazard of precipitating hostilities with Jeswunt Rao Holkar, by any advance of the British troops, for the protection of the Peshwa's person; and would enable the British government to open a negotiation with Jeswunt Rao Holkar for the restoration of the Peshwa on the musnud of Poonah, under every circumstance of advantage. This event would also enable us to combine with our other measures, under great advantage, the proposed negotiation with Sindiah, for the conclusion of defensive arrangements. It was obvious, also, that the Peshwa's arrival at Bombay would afford the most favourable opportunity for the adjustment of the terms of the defensive alliance with the Peshwa, on the basis of my original propositions, with the addition of such stipulations as might appear to be expedient, with reference to the actual crisis of affairs."

Peshwa engaged himself, by a paper left behind him, when he fled from Poonah; the permanent establishment within his dominions of the force hired from the Company; and the assignment of a portion of territory, convenient for the English, as the equivalent in exchange. Of the remaining articles, the most important was that by which the Peshwa bound himself never to make war upon any state, but to submit all his differences with other powers to the English; and, in short, not to hold any intercourse with other states, except in concert with the English government.

A local affair of considerable importance was commodiously regulated through this treaty. The pecuniary claims of the Peshwa upon Surat, and the territory lately ceded by the Gaekwar in Guzerat, were commuted for a territory yielding a revenue of the same annual amount.

In one respect, this Mahratta ally was left in a situation different from the situation of those other allies, the Nabobs of Oude and the Carnatic. In their case the English rulers insisted upon a power of ordering, agreeably to their wisdom, the internal administration of the country; or, rather, of taking it wholly into their hands; alleging, as cause, the bad government of those rulers, which it was neither consistent with the interest, nor the humanity, nor the honour of the English government, to render itself the means of preserving in existence. With regard to the one of these powers, the design was partially, with regard to the other, it was completely, executed. With the Peshwa, for the present, the same demand for good government produced not the same effects. In the 17th article of the treaty, "The Honourable Company's Government," it is said, "hereby declare, that they have no manner of concern with any of his Highness's children relations, subjects, or servants; with respect to whom his Highness is absolute." Nay more, "the subsidiary force is to be at all times ready for such services as the due correction of his Highness's subjects and dependants, and the overawing and chastising of rebels, or exciters of disturbance." In other words, to what degree soever of misery the vices of the Peshwa's government may reduce his subjects, the English have "no manner of concern" with that: but, if these unhappy subjects make any effort to

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relieve themselves, the English troops shall be employed in exterminating them. When combinations of rulers take place, and the control of subjects is sufficiently removed, the treatment which is carved out for subjects is pretty much the same, whether the soil be Asiatic or European; the subjects, Mahrattas or French.[1]

The turn which the councils of Sindiah might take, or might receive, in consequence of the present transactions with the Peshwa, was the object which next solicited, and that in a high degree, the attention of the British government. By a letter dated the 16th of November, 1802, the Resident at Poonah is apprized, "that it is the Governor-General's intention to avail himself immediately of the state of affairs at Poonah, and of the defeat of Sindiah's troops by Holkar, to renew overtures to Sindiah, for the purpose of inducing that chieftain to enter into the terms of the general defensive alliance." And along with the notification of the engagements concluded with the Peshwa, Sindiah received an invitation to co-operate with the British government in the restoration of that chief to his throne, and also proposals for a treaty to be concluded with himself, on terms similar to those which had been accepted by the Peshwa.[2]

In another letter, on the 22nd of the same month, the Governor-General still further unfolded his policy. "In fulfilling the obligation now imposed on us, of reinstating the Peshwa in his government and restoring his authority, his Excellency is anxious; first, to avoid all contest with Sindiah or Holkar; and secondly, to refrain from checking the progress of the present warfare between these chieftains." As the immediate march of the British troops for the restoration of the Peshwa would be likely to begin a war between Holkar and the Company, and to terminate that between him and Sindiah; as the intermediate period, at the same time, "presented the most favourable crisis for the accomplishment of his Excellency's views of defensive alliance with Sindiah;" and, as "a delay in the advance of the troops might afford the

[1] This is an unfair view of the stipulation, which was not designed for the people, but their chiefs, whose turbulence and power, as in the case of Sindiah and Holkar, demanded that the Peshwa should be protected against them.—W.

[2] Papers, ut supra, p.64, 67.

further advantage of improving the terms of the defensive alliance with the Peshwa, by obtaining his consent to those conditions which he theretofore rejected," the Resident was informed that there was no occasion to be in a hurry, in commencing operations for the reinstatement of the Peshwa.[1]

Though the Governor-General expressed his conviction, that "nothing but necessity would induce Sindiah to co-operate in the success of the present arrangement;" he yet entertained the hope, that he would perceive his inability to prevent that success; and, as the engagement with the Peshwa would place him under the power of the English, whether he consented to the plan of hired troops, or did not consent to it, that he would account dependance, with the benefit of their alliance, less objectionable than dependance, without it.[2] The home authorities, accordingly, who are always presented with the fair face of things, were told by his Excellency, under date the 24th of December, 1802, "I entertain a confident expectation of the complete accomplishment of all our views, and of the restoration of tranquillity within the Mahratta dominions, by the means of amicable negotiation. It appears probable that Sindiah will cordially co-operate with the British government, in the restoration of the Peshwa's authority; and will consent, in the actual state of his own affairs, to become a party in the proposed system of defensive arrangements."[3]

Yet the Resident at Poonah is told, in a letter dated the 30th of the same month: "Notwithstanding the Peshwa's recent recognition of his engagements with you, his Excellency the Governor-General is induced to apprehend, from the general tenor of the information contained in your despatches, and from the character and disposition of the Peshwa, that his Highness is more disposed to rely on the exertions of Sindiah, than on those of the British government, for his restoration to the musnud of Poonah." Under such views, "his Highness," he added, "may possibly evade the conclusion of a definitive treaty, on the basis of the preliminary engagement. This result will be rendered still more probable by an accommodation between Sindiah and Holkar. The intelligence contained in a despatch

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 64, 65. [2] Ibid. p. 67. [3] Ibid. p. 33.

from the Resident with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, under date the 19th instant, strongly indicates the probability of that event. And it is apparent, that the principal inducement, both of Sindiah and Holkar, to enter into such accommodation, is the apprehension which they entertain of the interference of the British power, for the restoration and establishment of the Peshwa's authority. It may be expected, therefore, that an accommodation between these chieftains will be accompanied by proposals to the Peshwa, under the mediation and guarantee of Sindiah, of a nature which his Highness may be disposed to accept, rather than be indebted for the restoration of his authority to the interposition of the British government." [1] It was the 10th of February, 1803, before the Governor-General disclosed to the home authorities his opinion that, "the knowledge," as he expresses it, "of our arrangement with the Peshwa, may induce Dowlut Rao Sindiah, and Holkar, to compromise their differences; and to offer to the Peshwa proposals for restoring his Highness to the musnud of Poonah, which his Highness may be disposed to accept, notwithstanding the actual conclusion of engagements for that purpose with the British government." [2]

With regard to the policy which the state of things created by this conduct would suggest, he says: "In such an event, it is not my intention to attempt to compel the Peshwa to adhere to the faith of his engagements, at the hazard of involving the Company in a war with the combined Mahratta states." [3]

This is an admission, that the probable evil of a war with the combined Mahratta states was more than a counterbalance for the probable good to be derived from placing them all in dependence; the effect, which the treaty with the Peshwa, he said, would produce, whether they entered, or refused to enter, into the scheme for hiring the British troops.

Notwithstanding this opinion of the preponderant evil of a war with the combined Mahratta states, the Governor-General declares, that, if the Peshwa adhered to his engagements, and had the concurrence of his principal subjects, he should not allow the chance of any other opposition to deter him. Yet from that preponderant evil, the power of

[1] Papers, ut supra, p. 76. [2] Ibid. p. 68. [3] Ibid.

the Peshwa would still be the only defalcation; and how little the account which could be justly made of the power of the Peshwa, the Governor-General was amply informed.[1]

To one view, taken by the Marquis Wellesley, of the question of restoring the Mahratta sovereign, philosophy will not withhold unqualified praise. "The stipulations of treaty" (says he, in his instructions, dated 2nd of February, to 1803, the Governor of Fort St. George), "on which I founded my intention to facilitate the restoration of the Peshwa's authority, originated in a supposition that the majority of the Mahratta jaghiredars and the body of the Peshwa's subjects, entertain a desire of co-operating in that measure. Justice and wisdom would forbid any attempt to impose upon the Mahrattas a ruler, whose restoration to authority was adverse to every class of his subjects. The recent engagements with the Peshwa involve no obligation of such an extent. Whatever might be the success of our arms, the ultimate objects of these engagements could not be attained, by a course of policy so violent and extreme. If, therefore, it should appear, that a decided opposition to the restoration of the Peshwa is to be expected, from the majority of the Mahratta jaghiredars, and from the body of the Peshwa's subjects, I shall instantly relinquish every attempt to restore the Peshwa to the musnud of Poonah."[2]

[1] It made a very material difference, however, whether the Peshwa desired to depart from the conditions of the treaty, or whether he desired to observe them. The Governor-General would not compel him to adhere to the faith of his engagement, but if he did so voluntarily, it was, of course, incumbent upon the English faithfully to fulfil the promises of support which they had made to him. It was not a question of the degree in which the Peshwa's co-operation might or might not diminish the chances of unsuccessful war, but whether the British character for faithful observance of their political engagements should be forfeited or preserved. No risk of war could be put in balance with national reputation. It is true, that the Peshwa had scarcely signed the treaty of Bassein, when, with that duplicity which characterized his whole reign, and eventually hurled him from his throne, he began intriguing with Sindiah and the Raja of Berar, to instigate them to hostilities against the English, with the professed, but, possibly, insincere hope, that they would release him from the dependence to which he had precipitately subjected himself. This negotiation was kept secret from his new allies; and any show of reluctance on their part to reconduct him to Poonah, would, no doubt, have been met by the most vehement remonstrance, and earnest protestations of fidelity and attachment. They had no present reason, therefore, to suppose that they were forcing upon the Peshwa an unacceptable alliance, and as long as he manifested the will to keep his engagements, they were bound in honour and in policy to hazard war, if war was the consequence of the treaty which they had formed.—W.

[2] Papers, ut supra, p. 78.