to an atrocious criminal the benefit of a public exculpation. The Peishwa would not admit this; he appeared determined to make common cause with his favourite, and to stand or fall with him.

Trimbuckjee had not only been a supple agent in the political intrigues of the Peishwa, but also the active and ready promoter of the licentious and degrading pleasures in which a large portion of his life was spent. He had been found a useful instrument for effecting any purpose, however base or wicked, to which his master called him. Nothing disgusted him by its vileness; nothing deterred him by its atrocity: whether as the experienced purveyor to sensual indulgence, the adept in intrigue and chicanery, or, lastly, the unscrupulous villain, to whom murder was but one among various means of accomplishing a desired end, he could not be spared; and the Peishwa might moreover apprehend danger to himself from the discoveries which hope or fear might induce Trimbuckjee to make. The wildest and most dangerous schemes were, therefore, sought to secure impunity to the favourite. It was even proposed that he should quit Poona, and excite a feigned rebellion, in which, while ostensibly assailing the authority of the Peishwa, he was to receive his secret support. Insane as was this scheme, some preparations were made for carrying it into effect. At other times, various modes of compromise were offered; but all these the resident, with proper firmness

and a just sense of what was due to his country, rejected.

Some commotions at Hyderabad inspired the authorities at Poona with still greater confidence. Subterfuge and compromise then gave way to language and conduct approaching to defiance. It was determined that no concession should be made to the representations of the British resident; that Trimbuckjee should remain at liberty, at court, and in office, and that all demands for his punishment should be resisted. The tone assumed was that of menace and hostility, and the proceedings of the court corresponded with its language.

The resident had some time previously remonstrated against the concentration of the troops at Poona; but the sole effect was to remove the rendezvous to twenty or twenty-five miles from the city. Recruiting still went on, and the assemblage of troops, combined with the altered tone of the durbar, at length rendered it necessary for the resident to take corresponding measures. The sanction of the governor-general to the course to which his own conviction led, enabled him to pursue it with the greater confidence. On the 4th of September, he once more warned the Peishwa of the precipice on which he stood, and, pointing out the inevitable consequences of the continuance of his blind protection of his guilty minister, assured him that the British Government would not desist from demanding his surren-

der. The firm and decisive conduct of the resident diffused some alarm among those opposed to him. A long consultation ensued between the Peishwa and some of his more powerful followers, and the result was communicated in a message to Mr. Elphinstone. The proposal which emanated from the deliberations of this conclave was, that Trimbuckjee should be imprisoned on certain conditions. The number of these conditions was three:—the British Government was not to demand the capital punishment of Trimbuckjee, nor his surrender to its own officers, nor any further enquiry into the transaction. In the meantime, Trimbuckjee, after an interview with the Peishwa, said to be of a very friendly character, was sent off to Wassuntghur, a hill-fort near Sattarah.

The conditions attempted to be forced on the resident were of course rejected, and an unqualified surrender of Trimbuckjee to the British Government insisted on; but a private intimation was conveyed to the acting minister of the Peishwa that, after the prisoner was in British custody, no further enquiry would take place. The propriety of this promise seems open to question. It had the appearance of a relaxation in the terms which the British resident had laid down, and to which he professed tenaciously to adhere. If the British Government, satisfied with the possession of the person of Trimbuckjee, was willing to forego inquiry, still it could scarcely be prudent to bind itself

to this course by a promise. The dread of such an enquiry might have had a salutary effect upon the councils and conduct of the Peishwa, if it were lawful in such a case to abstain from following out the demands of justice; but it may be doubted whether it was either right or expedient to suffer so atrocious a criminal to escape with no severer punishment than personal restraint. The fear of inculpating the Peishwa, whom it was thought advisable to excuse, might be one motive for refraining from enquiry; but it is not likely that any very decisive marks of guilt would have been affixed to the person of a powerful prince, and, at all events, the common rule, which exempts sovereigns from personal responsibility, but punishes their agents and instruments, might have been his protection. The Guicowar prince, too, had, under the circumstances, an undoubted right to expect inquiry, and, on conviction, the severest punishment of the criminal. Public justice and public decency urged the same demands. If Trimbuckjee was innocent, he ought not to have been condemned to perpetual confinement; he ought not to have been subjected to restraint for any longer period than was necessary to establish the fact of his innocence. On the other hand, if he were guilty, he had no claim to escape the fearful sentence which heaven, and natural feeling, and human law, have alike passed upon the shedder of innocent blood. Such a compromise

bore the character of a sacrifice of right to expediency—the expediency itself being doubtful.

Passing over this error, the conduct of the resident was most firm and judicious. He continued to enforce the claims of the British Government to the custody of Trimbuckjee, and the fears of the Peishwa at length yielded what the sense of justice would never have extorted from him. The prisoner was removed from Wassuntghur to Poona, and there delivered over to a detachment of British troops; from thence he was conducted to Bombay with Bhugwunt Row and Bundojee, who were to be given up to the Guicowar government. On his arrival, Trimbuckjee was placed in strict confinement in the fort of Tannah.

At Baroda, the intelligence of the murder of the Shastry excited astonishment and dismay. It was communicated by the Government of Bombay to the British resident, and by him imparted to Futteh Sing. The effect upon the prince was petrific: he appeared for some moments unconscious of what he had heard, and then burst into denunciations of the treachery of the Peishwa, whom he accused of participation in the crime. Captain Carnac endeavoured to calm the irritation of his feelings, by representing the impossibility of then ascertaining how the catastrophe had been occasioned, and assuring him of the determination of the British Government to institute full enquiry. But these points were urged with little

effect, the prince remaining under the influence of the most violent passion, and conjuring the resident to interpose no objection to his attacking the Peishwa's authority in Ahmedabad, and expelling him from that district.

On the following day, his rage seemed in some degree to have given way to depression; a result aided by his having during the interval abstained from food. He still, however, breathed revenge against the Peishwa, and asserted that nothing less than the concession by that sovereign of all the points in dispute could be accepted as satisfaction by him; the surrender of all the perpetrators of the crime, including Trimbuckjee Dainglia, he alleged, would be insufficient, as if the disputes still remained open, the Peishwa would have the benefit of the murder, the Guicowar state being deprived of its most able and intelligent negociator. Nothing, he said, could ever repair the loss which he had sustained by the murder of the Shastry. He considered him as the guardian of his welfare, the guide of his conduct, the best and most faithful servant his government ever possessed, and he pathetically lamented that he had now no better means of testifying his regard for the Shastry, than by appointing his eldest son to the situation held by his father under the Guicowar government.

To divert the prince from unwise and dangerous acts of violence and aggression, was a task of no

small delicacy and difficulty; but it was one to which the talents of the resident were fully equal, and he acquitted himself with great address, and in a manner perfectly satisfactory to the government which he represented. On one point, there was happily an entire concurrence of opinion and feeling between the Guicowar prince and the resident. They both entertained the warmest sense of the deceased Shastry's merits, and felt the deepest regret for his loss.

The intentions of the Guicowar prince, with regard to the Shastry's son, were announced by himself in a letter of condolence addressed to the object of his favour, and on the arrival of the young man at Baroda, the prince solemnly invested him in the office, with many marks of respect and affection.

The murder of Gungadhur Shastry and its attendant circumstances have been related somewhat in detail, because the crime was not an isolated act of villainy, atrocious in its character, but unimportant in its effects; on the contrary, it was the source and origin of some of the greatest political changes which the modern history of India presents to notice, the relation of which is reserved for future chapters; and it will then appear that the perfidious conduct of the Peishwa was the opening of the fountains of strife and bitterness, the waters of which flowed forth in a deluge of

ruin over his own dominions and those of his associates.

The art of government, as practised in the native states of the East, consists of little more than a series of efforts to compass selfish schemes of aggrandizement, and to evade the satisfaction of just claims—intrigue and artifice for the most part furnishing the means, varied, however, when deemed necessary, by acts of open violence. No native rulers ever appear to esteem the fulfilment of their contracts a thing even to be thought of, except as a reluctant concession to stern necessity: obligations are annulled, by those who have consented to incur them, with a levity altogether astonishing to those accustomed only to European modes of thought. The limits of power are regarded as the limits alike of demand and of retention. Nowhere is more universally prevalent that standard of morality, as convenient as it is venerable, which declares—

> "That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."

Whatever is coveted, is taken, if the means of capture be sufficient; whatever is possessed, is parted with only to superior force or superior cunning; and it seems a recognized principle, that contracts are to be observed but just so long as the observance is convenient. The family of Gungadhur Shastry were destined to afford an exemplification of this,

as well as of the evanescent character of courtly gratitude.

In consideration of the services of Gungadhur Shastry,—services recognized alike by British and native testimony,—a *nemnook*, or provision, was made for his family, to the amount of Rs. 60,000 annually. This was the act of the durbar of Baroda, and it was successively approved by the British resident, by the Bombay Government, and by the authorities at home. It was beyond all doubt that the Company's Government intended to guarantee this allowance; but, from some cause, this intention was not ratified by any formal instrument, and the opportunity this afforded of evading an engagement was too tempting for native cupidity to resist. Next to the almost invariable accompaniment of bad faith, one of the most characteristic distinctions of a native government is the prevalence of pecuniary embarrassment. This mark of caste was possessed by the Guicowar states, and in seeking not unwisely to reduce its expenditure, it occurred to those on whom the work of retrenchment devolved, that the allowances to the family of Gungadhur Shastry would bear the operation of paring down. That useful and valued servant of the state had been dead several years, and the memory of his services was, it appears, rapidly following him. Another prince had succeeded; retrenchment was called for, and

a portion of the *nemnook* of the Shastry's family was withdrawn, for such alleged reasons as men always have at hand, for justifying that course to which their wishes incline. It was pretended that the Guicowar state was not bound to pay anything beyond what its rulers might deem due to the merits of the claimants; that the British Government had not guaranteed the payment; and, further, that the sons of the Shastry had been guilty of acts which incurred the just displeasure of their sovereign. The charges upon which the latter allegation was founded were altogether frivolous; and the intention of both the British and the Guicowar governments was too well known to enable the other grounds of defence to be successfully maintained. The aggrieved parties appealed to the justice of the Bombay Government, and its opinion was expressed in their favour. The deductions were, however, still persisted in, and the arrears at length amounted to a large sum. The Earl of Clare, while at the head of the Bombay Government, interfered, with that straightforwardness and decision which marked his public character, but his interference was met by the Guicowar with Oriental obstinacy. This state of things could not be suffered to continue without a compromise of the national character, and it is understood that it has been, at length, determined imperatively to demand both the payment of the

arrears, and the punctual discharge, in future, of the full amount of the stipulated *nemnook*. This arrangement the Bombay Government will have the means of enforcing, in consequence of their collecting certain tributes on account of the Guicowar.

CHAPTER XI.

EVENTS AT POONA.

When the guilty favourite of the Peishwa was surrendered to the British Government, the fortress of Tannah, in the island of Salsette, was selected as, in the first instance, the most convenient place of confinement. This arrangement, however, was not regarded as permanent, his removal into some of the territories subject to the presidency of Fort St. George having been contemplated by the Supreme Government. Some difficulty, however, appears to have arisen in finding a proper situation, and the consequence was, that the prisoner remained at Tannah. But the period of his captivity was brief. Trimbuckjee Dainglia had been given up to the British authorities in September 1815; on the evening of the 12th September 1816, he effected his escape from Tannah, again to become an engine of disorder

and mischief. There appears to have been some deficiency of vigilance in the custody of the prisoner. Little attention was paid to his personal movements, and in fact little was known of them. A habit, which it was subsequently ascertained he had for some time practised, of resorting every evening after dusk to a particular part of the fort, excited neither suspicion nor increased watchfulness, and natives were suffered to pass the gate without examination at hours when peculiar circumspection was called for. As soon as the escape was discovered, the different ferries were secured, with a view to prevent any person quitting the island; but the precaution was too late; Trimbuckjee Dainglia was beyond the reach of his pursuers.*

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* Bishop Heber gives the following version of the circumstances of Trimbuckjee Danglia's escape, which he received in his progress through some of the Upper Provinces of India.

"He was kept in custody at Tannah, near Bombay, and while there, a common looking Mahratta groom with a good character in his hand, came to offer his services to the commanding officer. He was accepted, and had to keep his horse under the window of Trimbuckjee's prison. Nothing remarkable was observed, except a more than usual attention to his horse, and a habit, while currying and cleaning him, of singing verses from Mahratta songs, all apparently relating to his trade. At length, Trimbuckjee disappeared, and the groom followed him; on which it was recollected that his singing had been made up of verses like the following:—

The escape of this miscreant was believed to have been contrived and carried into effect with the full concurrence of the Peishwa, but no substantial proof of this existed. That the prince, after the escape of his unworthy favourite, concealed and protected him, was also a belief sanctioned by the strongest presumption, although the sovereign gave the most solemn assurances to the contrary. In the absence of proof, there was no course for the British Government to pursue, but to yield apparent credence to the protestations of the Peishwa, and keep a vigilant eye on his future proceedings.

There was, indeed, abundant reason to be convinced that the Peishwa was exercising, and had long been employing, all his influence to undermine the British power in India. His intrigues extended far and wide, and the malignity of his hostile feelings was attested by his activity in

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

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

Heber's Narrative, vol. i. page 585.

This, the Bishop remarks, might have been the stratagem of a Scottish borderer.

diffusing them. From Baroda, the government were apprized by Captain Carnac of some proceedings, on the part of the Peishwa and his agents, sufficiently indicative of that prince's insincerity and hostility. Similar information was communicated from other quarters: every circumstance was calculated to inspire the British Government with distrust, and there can be no doubt that this was their feeling.

There was reason for concluding, that Trimbuckjee was concealed at no great distance from Poona; and suspicion was excited by intelligence of the assemblage of small parties of armed men in the neighbourhood of Mahadee, about fifty miles distant from the former place. It was subsequently ascertained that considerable bodies of horse and foot were collecting in the same direction; that recruiting was actively going on throughout the Peishwa's dominions, and that even in the city of Poona, under the very eye of the sovereign, the process was in full operation. Public opinion unanimously pointed out Trimbuckjee as the prime agent in these proceedings, and there was scarcely more hesitation in attributing to him the direct countenance and support of the Peishwa.

The resident, of course, remonstrated; he urged the importance of adopting vigorous measures for dispersing the armed parties, and thus crushing the insurrection in its commencement; a contrary

line of conduct, it was pointed out, would lead to the most unfavourable impressions as to the intentions of the Peishwa, and the necessity of prompt and active measures, to relieve himself from the imputation of participating in the designs of Trimbuckjee, was enforced by the fact, that it was commonly believed and reported, throughout the country, that the Peishwa approved and sanctioned them. The suppression of the rebel movements, and the capture and surrender of their guilty contriver, were represented as being the only means by which the British Government could be convinced of the falsehood of such reports and the fidelity of the Peishwa to his engagements.

The Peishwa, however, was not to be roused; and, in addition to this apathy to military preparations, which, if not sanctioned by his authority, were calculated to place that authority in danger, there were circumstances in his conduct still more suspicious. It was indeed reported that he was in constant communication with Trimbuckjee; that he had even had more than one secret interview with the arch-conspirator himself; and that he had provided considerable sums of money in gold, as if for some expected emergency. These were but rumours; but there were facts beyond all doubt, which placed the Peishwa's character for sincerity in a most unfavourable position. He affected ignorance of proceedings to which no one

in the country was or could be a stranger: Trimbuckjee's friends and family remained in high favour, and constantly made excursions into the country, said (and doubtlessly with truth) to be for the purpose of consulting with their chief; one of Trimbuckjee's principal officers, after repeated visits of this kind, finally disappeared, and the Peishwa declared himself unable to account for him. Some changes took place in the prince's habits so extraordinary as to excite general surprise. He made a journey to Joonere, while Trimbuckjee was supposed to be in that part of the country, which was alleged to be in discharge of an obligation of piety. He stated that, when in prison, he had made a vow of an annual pilgrimage to Joonere; but it was remarkable that for twenty years he had neglected to perform it—a fact exceedingly discreditable either to the activity of his memory or the stedfastness of his devotion. He chose also to seclude himself from observation at Phoolesehr, taking great pains to induce the British resident to believe that he was detained there much against his desire by an injury to his arm, the injury being only a slight bruise, and the distance which he had to travel but sixteen miles. He had been accustomed, from the time of his restoration, to make annual journeys to Goagur and Copergaum; but these places, not possessing the attraction of Joonere,

were now neglected, even when the state of his arm no longer afforded an excuse.

The suspicious conduct of the Peishwa, in other respects, was corroborated by the warlike preparations which were evidently in progress. Troops were raised, forts repaired, and every thing seemed to announce impending hostility. Finding it useless to persevere in his former course, Mr. Elphinstone at length assumed a higher tone, and resolved upon more decisive measures. The British troops at Poona were put in motion, and by them the insurgents were driven from their haunts, near Mahadee, to the northern part of the Peishwa's territories. This being performed, and the Peishwa's preparations continuing, Mr. Elphinstone determined on drawing the light division of the troops at his disposal to Poona, to be there ready for any emergency that might arise. The impressions which the Peishwa's conduct had made on the resident were distinctly announced, and it was intimated that the latter abstained from measures even more active, only till he received the instructions of his own government.

By the time the purposed disposition of the British troops was completed, Mr. Elphinstone received such an intimation of the views of the Supreme Government, as enabled him to go on without hesitation. His first intention was to surround the city, demand from the Peishwa

hostages for the surrender of Trimbuckjee within a fixed time, and in the event of non-compliance, to force the palace and seize the person of the sovereign. The justice of such a proceeding could scarcely be dubious, considering the provocation we had received and the reasonable nature of our demand; but it was abandoned from two motives, highly creditable to the resident—a nice sense of honour, and a laudable feeling of humanity. Notwithstanding his repeated declarations, that decided measures would be resorted to if the conduct of the Peishwa continued to render them necessary, after the arrival of the sanction of the British Government, it was thought that, as intercourse with the resident had never been entirely broken off, the Peishwa had some reason to expect a more formal notice before proceeding to extremities. The nature of the connexion existing between the states, and the means by which we obtained a footing in the Peishwa's territory, were also justly regarded by Mr. Elphinstone as entitling that prince to be treated with more delicacy than an ordinary belligerent. The second ground of forbearance was a consideration of the probable fate of the city. The people had been accustomed to regard the British force as a friendly one: its approach and subsequent preparations had excited no more alarm among the inhabitants than the arrival of so many fellow-citizens. It was felt by the resident to be cruel

to expose them to injury from those whom they regarded as their friends; and, as the prince had upwards of seven thousand infantry in Poona, besides a body of cavalry, and a fortified palace in the centre of the city, it was obvious that he could not be expected to yield without a struggle, and that, in the event of a contest, it was impossible but that the inhabitants should suffer severely. From the influence of these considerations, Mr. Elphinstone was withheld from acting on his first feelings, and a further season of repentance was afforded to the Peishwa, if he were disposed to embrace it.

In the mean time the insurgents continued their progress, began to unite their forces from distant places, and took possession of one of the Peishwa's forts. They were represented as having obtained entrance by personating countrymen, carrying bundles of grass, in which they had concealed arms. This stratagem had been sometimes practised in towns where there was a considerable influx of country people, carrying their goods to the market, and under such circumstances the disguised persons might pass unsuspected; but it was little adapted to a hill fort, where there was only a small garrison, no market, and no great consumption of grass. The gross improbability of the story was pointed out to the person who related it to Mr. Elphinstone, and he was very clearly given to understand that the resident was

not imposed upon by the idle tale with which it had been attempted to abuse his judgment.

The stoppage of the post by the insurgents in Cuttack, in the early part of May 1817, rendered the receipt of the further instructions from his Government, for which Mr. Elphinstone was looking, a matter of great uncertainty. He was thus left in a great degree to the uncontrolled exercise of his own judgment. Every thing seemed to call for prompt and vigorous action. It was impossible to suppose that the British Government would be satisfied without the surrender of Trimbuckjee, and it was the universal opinion that the Peishwa would not give him up. In an extreme emergency, the probability was, that the Peishwa would fly to Ryeghur, in the Concan, where it would be impossible to carry on operations after the setting in of the monsoon, which might be expected to take place early in June. A lengthened contest was above all things to be avoided; the position of the Peishwa, as the nominal head of the Mahrattas, rendering a junction of all the Mahratta states against the British highly probable.

Feeling the pressure of these circumstances, Mr. Elphinstone sent a message to the minister, to the effect that he had a communication to make which must bring the question of peace or war to a decision, and that he should forward it on the following morning. The actual transmission of the communication referred to was delayed by a

message from the Peishwa, inviting the resident to a conference, which accordingly took place. Mr. Elphinstone then demanded the surrender of Trimbuckjee, as an indispensable condition of adjustment. The Peishwa, though informed that the consequence would be immediate war, still sought to evade compliance, and refused to be bound by any engagement. On the following day, the threatened communication was made to the Peishwa's minister. Its purport was, to demand that the Peishwa should engage within twenty-four hours to deliver up Trimbuckjee, within a month from that day, and should give up his forts of Singhur, Poorandur, and Ryeghur, as pledges for the fulfilment of his engagement.

The minister received the paper with extraordinary indifference. Before the expiration of the prescribed time, however, some attempts were made to procure a mitigation of the terms. This was refused, and the city was ultimately surrounded by the British forces. The people now manifested some alarm, but it was speedily allayed by the withdrawal of the troops, in consequence of a communication to the resident, accepting the proffered conditions. The forts were forthwith placed in possession of the British.

But, though the Peishwa yielded to difficulties, which he was not in a condition to overcome, he was still anxious to find some means of escaping the consequences of his engagement. He appears

to have courted the advice of counsellors of the most opposite sentiments, and to have vacillated between their conflicting opinions, as his inclinations or his fears preponderated. Terrified at the prospect of the precipice upon which he stood, and swayed in some degree by the judgment of the more moderate part of his advisers, he at length issued a proclamation, offering a large reward for the apprehension of Trimbuckjee, dead or alive, and smaller rewards for any information concerning his adherents; a pardon was at the same time promised to all who should desert him, with the exception of twelve individuals, and those who should still refuse to come in, against whom severe penalties were denounced: the property of the twelve excepted persons, as well as that of Trimbuckjee, was confiscated. Negociations then commenced for the purpose of fixing the future relations of the Peishwa state, and a treaty was finally concluded on the 13th June, containing some provisions of great importance.

By the first article of this treaty, the guilt of Trimbuckjee Dainglia, and the obligation to punish him, were admitted; the Peishwa engaged to use his utmost efforts to seize and deliver him up to the East-India Company; the family of the criminal were to remain as hostages with the British Government, and all who sided in his rebellion, and who had not surrendered to the proclamation, were to be punished. The second article confirmed

the treaty of Bassein in all points not varied by the new treaty. The third article extended one in the treaty of Bassein, by which the Peishwa engaged to dismiss all Europeans, natives of states at war with Great Britain. He was now bound never to admit into his territories any subject of either European or American powers, without the consent of the British Government. By the fourth, the Peishwa bound himself not to open a negociation with any other power, except in concert with the Company's Government, nor to admit the residence of vakeels or agents at his court. The great Mahratta confederacy was by this article dissolved, the Peishwa renouncing all connexion with the other Mahratta powers, and consequently his station, as their head, with certain exceptions.

The fifth article related to the matters in dispute between the Peishwa and the Guicowar; the former renouncing all right of supremacy over the latter, but with a reserve for his existing pecuniary claims, which, in accordance with the treaty of Bassein, were to be referred to the arbitration of the Company, unless the Guicowar should consent to the annual payment of four lacs of rupees, in which case the reference was not to take place. The sixth article annulled one of the articles of the treaty of Bassein, by which the Peishwa consented to furnish to the British Government, in time of war, a certain number of troops, with a due proportion of ordnance and military stores, and substituted

in its place one, by which he was required to provide funds for the payment of a force of similar strength, to place the British Government in possession of the means of providing this contingent.

The seventh article transferred to the British Government, in perpetuity, certain territories and rights, which were enumerated in an accompanying schedule. The eighth article provided for the convenient execution of the seventh; and the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, had the same object. By the twelfth, the fort of Ahmednugger was surrendered to the Company. The thirteenth and fourteenth extinguished the Peishwa's rights in Bundelcund and Hindostan. The fifteenth provided for an object very desirable to the British Government and the Guicowar state, the renewal of the lease of the farm of Ahmedabad. The sixteenth article related to the settlement of the southern jaghiredars, and the seventeenth to the evacuation of the fort and territory of Mailgaut. The eighteenth related to the authentication and confirmation of the treaty. With the efforts of Mr. Elphinstone, in conducting the negociation to such a conclusion, the British authorities had every reason to be satisfied; and the treaty, while it provided for the just expectations of the more powerful party, was not inequitable nor unreasonably harsh as concerned the vanquished.

The Peishwa, however, was dissatisfied, and though unreasonably, not unnaturally. It was

impossible that he could forbear contrasting his present humiliated condition with his former lofty pretensions, as the head of a people who had spread the terror of their arms over a large portion of India. It had now been shewn to him that he held his dominions at the mercy of the British Government, and though the discovery was unavoidable, it was necessarily far from pleasing. The obstinacy of the Peishwa had accelerated a crisis, which the prudence of the Company's Government would have postponed indefinitely; and notwithstanding they were blameless, he was indignant.

A few months only elapsed before it became evident that the Peishwa was again preparing for some hostile proceedings. Levies of troops took place unremittingly throughout his dominions, and by the 1st of October (the treaty having been concluded on the 13th of June previously), there was not a single horseman in the country out of employ. The quality neither of the horses nor men was regarded; number seemed the only thing kept in view. The ostensible motive for these preparations was a desire to comply with the wish of the British Government for co-operation against the Pindarrees. This disguise was, however, worn too loosely to deceive. In an interview with the British resident, in which the intended movements of our armies against the Pindarrees were explained, the Peishwa did not

think it necessary even to affect any interest in the suppression of the marauders; his conversation being entirely confined to complaints of his own degradation. From various circumstances, it was inferred that he was about to aim a blow at the British power, and though an appearance of confidence was maintained on both sides, it was formal and hollow.

Among other indications of the spirit by which the government of the Peishwa was actuated, were numerous attempts to corrupt the native troops in the British service. It was in consequence deemed necessary to remove them from the town to a new position. The Peishwa then, as if in defiance, pushed forward his own troops, and it was announced that he intended to form a camp between the old cantonments of the British army and the new. At last, on the 5th November, hostilities actually commenced, by the Peishwa's troops moving so as to cut off the residency from the British camp. The residency was forthwith plundered and burned, but by the prompt advance of Lieut.-Colonel Burr, the enemy, after a severe action, was repulsed, and retired. The resident was on the field throughout the action, animating the zeal of the troops, and aiding the commanding officer by the suggestions which his local knowledge enabled him to offer. The strength of the British force was about 2,800; the Peishwa's army was composed of not less than 25,000 men.

It now became necessary to obtain possession of Poona; but this could not be effected by the small force in the neighbourhood. On the indication of approaching hostilities, Brigadier-general Lionel Smith, with the force under his command, had been summoned by Mr. Elphinstone from the south bank of the Godavery. That officer arrived at Poona on the evening of the 13th of November. On the 14th, arrangements were made for attacking the enemy, who were encamped on the opposite side of the river; but the design was abandoned, in consequence of the occurrence of unexpected difficulties. On the 16th, all the disposable corps, after providing for the camp, and for the position of Kirting, were formed in divisions of attack. The passage of one of the divisions over the ford was obstinately resisted by the Peishwa's troops, but the ill success of this resistance seems to have perfected the panic to which the previous defeat received from Colonel Burr had given rise. At two o'clock in the morning of the 17th, the Peishwa fled, and the enemy having thus disappeared, the British force recrossed the river to take the most favourable ground for bombarding the city; but this dreadful measure was happily unnecessary, the defence of the place having been left to a few hundred Arabs who were prevailed upon to withdraw.

The flight of the Peishwa was, in the first instance, directed to the southward. The advance

of a British force under Brigadier-general Pritzler obliged him to change his course, and he took an easterly direction to Punderpore, whence he struck off to the north-west, followed by General Smith, who had by this time been able to make the necessary arrangements for pursuit. Passing between Poona and Seroor, the Peishwa then advanced as far as Wrilloon, having been joined on the route by Trimbuckjee Dainglia with a considerable reinforcement. Finding that General Smith, who had moved to the northward, on a line east of that taken by the Peishwa, was in a position to intercept his retreat in that direction, he suddenly turned again to the south, taking the straight route for Poona, and still pursued.

On New Year's Day, he encountered a British detachment, consisting of about six hundred infantry, with about three hundred auxiliary horse, and a detail of artillery, commanded by Captain Stanton. The detachment had marched on the previous day from Seroor, and were proceeding to Poona. On reaching the heights overlooking Coregaum, they discovered in the plain the whole of the Peishwa's army, estimated at twenty thousand horse, and several thousand infantry. Capt. Stanton immediately moved upon the village of Coregaum, and on reaching it was attacked by three divisions of the Peishwa's choicest infantry, supported by immense bodies of horse, and two pieces of artillery. The enemy obtained immediate

possession of the strongest posts of the village; the possession of the remaining part was most obstinately contested from noon till nine at night. During this period almost every building in the place was repeatedly taken and re-taken; nearly the whole of the artillerymen were either killed or wounded, and about one-third of the infantry and auxiliary horse. Nearly all the officers were killed or disabled, while the men suffered dreadfully from want of water, amidst the unparalleled exertions which they had been called upon to make after a fatiguing march of twenty-eight miles. The result, however, was most honourable to the British arms, the enemy being compelled to abandon the village after sustaining an immense loss in killed and wounded.

On the following day, the enemy, though in sight, did not renew the attack, and in the evening Captain Stanton returned to Seroor, carrying away his numerous wounded; the whole detachment having suffered under an almost total privation of refreshment for two days. In this brilliant affair, the medical officers, having no opportunity for the exercise of their proper duties, aided their brother officers in leading on the sepoys to charges with the bayonet, and one of them was killed.* In such a struggle the example

* Assistant-Surgeon Wingate. Another medical officer, Mr. Wyldie, took a leading part in the conflict.

of even one European was of almost incalculable importance, from the confidence with which it inspired the native soldiers.

The Peishwa continued to vary his course as the approach of his pursuers warned him to escape them. After many changes of route, he arrived at Sholupore; but instead of pursuing him in that direction, General Smith resolved upon reducing Sattara, and effecting a junction with General Pritzler. These objects were accomplished. Sattara surrendered on the opening of the mortar batteries, and the desired junction of the forces under General Smith and General Pritzler was effected. Its object was to enable the entire force at disposal for field service to be formed into two divisions, one to be composed wholly of cavalry and light troops, to keep up an active pursuit of the enemy; the other of infantry, with an ample battering train to reduce forts, and gradually occupy the country. These arrangements being made, General Smith resumed the pursuit of the Peishwa, and General Pritzler proceeded to reduce the forts and strong holds in the neighbourhood of Poona. On the 19th of February, the former officer surprised the Peishwa's army at Ashta, and completely defeated it. The Rajah of Salmuh and part of his family, who were in the Peishwa's camp, fell into the hands of the victors; and Gokla, the

Peishwa's ablest general, as well as his chief counsellor, was killed.

In the mean time General Pritzler proceeded with the reduction of the forts south of Poona. Singhur alone offered very strong resistance, and there it was not protracted. Lieut.-Colonel Deacon was equally successful in the same species of service in the north. Other detachments were employed in the Concan, and Brigadier-General Munro was occupied in the reduction of the country south of the Kistna.

Little resistance was offered to the establishment of the British authority, excepting in Kandeish. Here a body of Arabs had established themselves, and were resolved to maintain their possession to the last. They had concentrated their force at Mulagâon, and against this fort Lieut. Col. M'Dowall moved, with a considerable body of troops. The construction of the works for the reduction of the place was interrupted by a sally from the garrison; and though the enemy was beaten back, it was not without loss to the besiegers. Further loss was sustained in an attempt to carry the place by assault a few days afterwards. In a short time reinforcements were obtained, and a battery was opened, some of the shells from which falling on the principal magazine, it exploded, blowing about thirty feet of the curtain outward into the ditch. The Arabs then offered

to surrender on receiving a written assurance that their lives should be spared. This was readily conceded; but the Mahratta moonshee, who drew the paper, employed words, either by mistake or design, which promised indulgences never intended. These, of course, were claimed, and the point was referred to Mr. Elphinstone, who, in an honourable and liberal spirit, decided that the Arabs must be admitted to the advantages which they had been led to expect.

It would be tedious to follow the tortuous flight of the Peishwa after the battle of Ashta. He wandered in almost every direction, in continual dread of some portion of the British force, which was gradually surrounding him. On the 17th of April, Colonel Adams came suddenly upon him, after a march over a most difficult country. The Peishwa was completely routed, with the loss of several hundred men, four brass guns, three elephants, nearly two hundred camels, and a variety of valuable property. The Peishwa himself had a narrow escape—the palanquin in which he had been borne having been taken immediately after he had left it to seek safety by flight on horseback. Hotly pursued by General Doveton, the Peishwa arrived at Ormekaii, where, overcome by fatigue, privation, and terror, his army broke up, and the fugitive prince was abandoned by most of his sirdars.

The sudden dispersion of the several sirdars and

their followers, in various directions, rendered it difficult to ascertain the course of the Peishwa himself, and both Generals Smith and Doveton were led into wrong tracks. But the meshes were closely drawn around him, and escape being impossible, he made overtures of submission to Sir John Malcolm. That officer, having asked the vakeel by whom the message was conveyed, whether he thought the Peishwa was sincere in the proceeding, received an answer highly expressive of the opinion entertained of the fallen prince by one who may be supposed to have enjoyed opportunities of knowing him well. "I should imagine," said the judicious officer, "that he must be sincere, for I cannot guess what possible illusive project he can now have left." His situation was indeed desperate, and was so felt by himself. In an interview with Sir John Malcolm, which followed, the Peishwa exclaimed, "How can I resist now? I am surrounded! General Doveton is at Berhampore; you are at Metowla; Colonel Russell at Burgham—I am enclosed." After some ineffectual attempts to obtain delay, in the hope of making better terms, he yielded to the force of the circumstances in which he was placed, and surrendered to the British Government.

Long before this event it had been determined to deprive him of all sovereignty, and of this he was apprized by Sir John Malcolm previously to his surrender. The determination was

just and wise. The perfidy which had marked his conduct, and the inveterate hatred which he had displayed towards the British power, rendered this course the only one consistent with prudence. If, indeed, additional grounds of justification were required, they would be found in the atrocious proceedings in which he had been implicated subsequently to his attack upon the British residency. His flight had been a career of crime, as well as of misfortune and suffering. He had put to death two British travellers in cold blood, and committed other acts at variance with the usages of even semi-civilized nations. None but himself and his coadjutors in crime could lament his fall.

The Governor-general had resolved upon restoring the house of Sattarah to sovereignty.* A portion of territory was assigned for that purpose, and the prince publicly installed with much ceremony. With the exception of the tract of land thus appropriated, the Peishwa's dominions were annexed to the British territories, and he became a pensioner upon the British Government. In

* The reason for this proceeding was, that the Sattarah rajah was the descendant and representative of Sevajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, of which Sattarah was regarded as the capital. The Peishwa was nominally but the vicegerent of the rajah of Sattarah; he received the dress of investiture from his hands, and rendered some other acknowledgments of dependency; but, practically, the superior was the slave and prisoner of his lieutenant.

these few words is recounted the end of a state and dynasty, which had been regarded as the key-stone of Mahratta power.

The life of Bajee Row, its last head, had been eventful. On the death of his father, his brother and himself were alternately raised to the musnud and dethroned, as rival parties gained or lost the ascendancy. Bajee Row was at last apparently fixed on the throne by the assistance of Scindia, but, shortly afterwards, he and his ally were defeated by Holkar, and Bajee Row arrived at Bassein a fugitive and a wanderer. Here he formed an alliance with the British Government, by whose assistance he was restored to a throne of somewhat diminished splendour; its federal grandeur being destroyed by the acknowledged independence of several of its former feudatories. This restoration, however, he owed entirely to the British Government, and the favour might have been expected to attach him to its interests. The general characteristic of Oriental potentates is, however, intense and unalloyed selfishness, and the Peishwa's afforded an instance, not an exception. His character was marked by timidity, his habits were those of the grossest sensuality, and he manifested an utter destitution of all honourable principle. His cowardice probably led him to suspect the intentions of the British Government to be less friendly towards him than they originally

were; his debasing sensuality led to the encouragement of despicable parasites, who at once flattered and ministered to his vices; and his total insensibility to those principles, which impose restraint on better natures, made him unscrupulous as to the means employed for accomplishing his ends. From the time of the murder of Gungadhur Shastry, his course was that of a man predestined to destruction. In addition to the qualities already mentioned, he possessed an unusual portion of blind obstinacy, which was eminently displayed in the tenacity with which he clung to his wretched favourite Trimbuckjee Dainglia, in the hope of rendering him as serviceable a minister to his ambition and revenge, as he had already been to vices of a different character. By this mad adhesion to a connexion as dishonourable as its object was hopeless, he involved himself in a dispute with the British Government, from which he escaped, not indeed unharmed, but still in a better condition than he had reason to expect. Although the result of this attempt might have shown him the folly of his course, he repeated the error which had deprived his throne of a portion both of solidity and splendour, and he lost all. He descended from the rank of a sovereign to that of a dependent on the bounty of foreigners. The justifiableness of his deprivation can scarcely be questioned by any but those who deny the lawfulness of war. If men have a right to repel

wrong by an appeal to arms, and to deprive their enemy of the means of inflicting injury, the moral part of the question, as regards the Peishwa, is decided. The expediency of the proceeding is equally clear, and all that remains questionable is the propriety of annexing the forfeited dominions to the British territories.

There are persons who entertain great apprehensions of the evils likely to result from the extension of our empire in the East; but those evils are never very clearly defined. If the territory be tolerably compact, it is not easy to perceive why a dominion extending through twenty or thirty degrees may not be as secure and as well-governed, as one of a hundred miles. The probability, indeed, is that it will be better governed, for all small settlements at a distance from the parent country, are notoriously the seats of the most scandalous abuses. When the peace of India, and the safety of the British empire there, rendered it necessary that the Peishwa should cease to reign, three courses only were open to the victors,—to place on the throne one of the royal blood, — to place a stranger there, — or to incorporate the territories of the dethroned prince with those of the state by whom he had been conquered. In choosing between them, the conquerors cannot fairly be expected to lose sight altogether of their own interest; at the same time, they ought to pay due attention

to a subject rarely thought of by native sovereigns,—the interests of the people to be governed. Had the British elevated to the musnud some member of the subdued Peishwa's family, all the evils of the Mahratta confederacy would have been perpetuated, and Poona would always have been a focus of anti-British intrigue. "We have had full and most serious proof," said the Marquis of Hastings, "that no distinctness of obligation will prevent a Peishwa from secretly claiming the allegiance of the other Mahratta sovereigns; and irrefragable evidence has shown that the implicit obedience recognized as due to the mandates of such a head of the Mahratta empire will operate in violation of every solemnity of pledge to us—nay, in despite of the individual's feelings of attachment to us. There must, then, be no Peishwa. But our abrogation of the title would be nugatory were we to raise to the musnud a person whose indefeasible right by blood to claim the prerogatives of the Peishwaship would be acknowledged by every Mahratta."

Such were the views of the Marquis of Hastings, and they were sound and just. The gratitude to be expected from a prince elevated to the throne by the favour of the British Government was exemplified in the case of Bajee Row. Had the second course been taken, and a stranger been installed in the sovereignty, he must have been

maintained there by British force, and the only difference between this and the actual assumption of dominion would have been, that in the former case the government would be much weaker and infinitely more corrupt. To the third course no objection appears but the vague one, which is derived from the belief that all increase of territory is an evil. This may suffice to settle the question with regard to the interests of the conquerors. As to the interests of the people to be governed, the question is still more easy of answer. Whoever knows what even the best native government is, must be aware that an exchange for British rule must ever be for the benefit of the people. Abuses may be perpetrated under the British Government, but they are mostly traceable to the native officers employed; and if they take place under all the checks imposed by European principles, what must be their extent when the higher functionaries of the state are as ready as the lower to participate in and profit by them? The truth, that in a native state the government itself is but one vast abuse from the monarch to the pettiest retainer of office—no one even supposes that it exists for the public benefit—it is regarded as an engine to enable those who can get possession of it to gratify their own avarice and ambition. It will require a long period to establish sounder views, and for years

to come no native government can be a good government. The elements of good government do not exist.

The wretched person whose guilty subservience to a profligate master had reduced that master from a sovereign to a captive, was rendered too important by the extensive mischief which he caused for his fate to be a matter of indifference. When the army of the Peishwa broke up, Trimbuckjee Dainglia retired to the neighbourhood of Nassick, where he for some time remained concealed. After an attempt to make terms through Sir John Malcolm, which ended in nothing, a body of horse under Capt. Swanston was detached from a distant station, the selection being made with a view to avert suspicion. The detachment marched with so much rapidity that no intelligence of their approach preceded them, and they were, consequently, enabled to surround the village of Ahirgaum, where the fugitive lay. Trimbuckjee was reclining on a cot when the gates of the house were forced, and the British troops entered. He had just time to fly to the upper part of the house and conceal himself among some straw. From this covert he was taken without any resistance, and sent to Tannah, the place of his former confinement. He was shortly afterwards sent round to Bengal, and lodged in the fort of Chunar.*

* It was here that he was visited by Bishop Heber, whose account of his escape is quoted in a note on pages 335-6.

CHAPTER XII.

EVENTS AT NAGPORE.

On the 1st of February 1817, Appa Sahib succeeded to the musnud of Nagpore, by the death of Pursajee Bhooslah; having for some time previously exercised the sovereign power as regent.

Nagpore was one of the states with which a subsidiary treaty existed. There had been considerable irregularity as to the organization and maintenance of the stipulated contingent, which had subjected the British Government to additional expense. Discussion, of course, arose; but native evasion contrived for a while to postpone the fulfilment of engagements which could not be denied. Procrastination is of too common occurrence in the proceedings of Oriental courts to excite much surprise, and the disposition of Appa Sahib was regarded as not unfriendly to the English. Circumstances, however, soon occurred, and especially a change with regard to his minis-

ters, which convinced the British authorities that his professions of friendship were hollow and insincere.

At this period, indeed, the seeds of hatred to British influence were scattered throughout India with an unsparing hand, and the Peishwa was the prime instigator and fomenter of the hostile feeling. Habits of ancient standing gave him considerable influence with the native princes. The Mahratta states might also be supposed to feel their pride in some degree wounded by the humiliation of their chief, and some suspicion may be supposed to have existed as to the probable aim of the British Government, and the extent to which it proposed to carry its acquisitions. There might be an apprehension that England was looking to the entire dominion of India; and though this consummation would be devoutly wished by the people, if they understood their own welfare, the prospect of it could, under no circumstances, be very acceptable to those whose thrones were to fall before the march of the victors.

It is certain that the plans of the governor-general for the extirpation of the Pindarrees were regarded with great suspicion. This must, in most instances, have arisen from the apprehension of ulterior measures, for, with the exception of Scindia and Holkar, who entertained bodies of the Pindarrees in a sort of feudal dependence, no prince would appear to have had any interest in supporting

them. The interest of the Rajah of Nagpore, indeed, lay quite the other way; for his dominions had suffered most severely from the devastations of these marauding adventurers; and by an express article of the subsidiary treaty, the British Government was required to defend the state of Nagpore against their incursions.

It was probably to some of the causes which have been mentioned, or to a combination of them, that the mad hostility of the Rajah of Nagpore to the British is to be ascribed, aided, no doubt, by that uneasy feeling, which must ever operate upon the mind of a prince fettered by such engagements as are imposed by the subsidiary treaties of the East. Unless, like many of his brethren, he is content to forget that a ruler has any thing to do but to collect treasure and dissipate it in a career of sensual indulgence, he must be annoyed by the consciousness that, though he enjoys the name of sovereign, his office is but a pageant, all substantial power resting with another. He who promises deliverance from this thraldom, generally, therefore, finds an advocate in the party whom he seeks to win to his purposes. Fear will frequently impose a restraint; "I dare not" will wait upon "I would;" but the heart of the person assailed will generally be with the tempter; and if he resist effectually, it will seldom be without a struggle.

The motives by which the Rajah of Nagpore

might have been actuated upon have been suggested—and this is all that is now possible. Perhaps, even at the time, the most sagacious and best informed observer could not have satisfactorily determined by which, or by how many, of them he was really impelled, nor to what extent they respectively operated. His conduct seemed to partake in an extraordinary degree of blind wilfulness;—he followed the example of the Peishwa, and he shared his fate. He affected to owe a certain homage to that sovereign,—the Rajah of Nagpore enjoying hereditarily the nominal office of commander-in-chief of the forces of the Mahratta empire, as the Peishwa held the nominal viceroyalty. What degree of importance he attached to the connexion, may admit of question; but it is certain that he most dutifully followed his leader to ruin.

The slenderness of the thread which binds to us our subsidiary allies, renders imperative the greatest circumspection in selecting the representatives of the British Government at their courts. The resident at Nagpore, at this time, was fortunately a gentleman whose sagacity and prudence were not to be overcome even by Mahratta dissimulation. Mr. Jenkins* distinctly perceived the tendency which events were taking, and if the British con-

* Now Sir Richard Jenkins, C.C.B., Chairman of the East-India Company.

nexion could have been preserved by judgment, firmness and caution, combined with suavity, that connexion would not have been severed, nor the rajah divested of his power.

The resident was apprized that the rajah was engaged in intrigues with the Peishwa. Conferences were held with an agent of that sovereign, who received letters almost daily from Poona, which he immediately carried to the Rajah. Such proceedings at such a period were calculated to excite suspicion and alarm. Mr. Jenkins accordingly remonstrated against them, reminding the Rajah that all communications similar to those with the Peishwa, ought in conformity with the treaty to be immediately communicated to the British Government, and that the observance of this provision, at all times incumbent, was of peculiar importance at a period when it was notorious that measures of hostility were in progress at the court of Poona. The reply of the rajah was unsatisfactory. He admitted that he had received overtures from Poona, but observed, that it did not consist with his dignity to repeat them, and this with general expressions of unceasing attachment to his English connexion, constituted his answer. The objectionable communications continued, and the renewed representation of the resident on the subject produced no change of conduct.

The period was evidently approaching when the

Rajah was to throw off the mask of friendship, and, in anticipation of it, Mr. Jenkins apprized the military authorities of the prospect of their being speedily called into action, and urged the march of troops towards Nagpore to uphold the British interests. The rajah had dismissed the Peishwa's vakeel, but he still retained at his court the brother of that functionary, and through him, as well as other channels, the intercourse with Poona continued to be carried on. The assemblage of troops at Poona was accompanied by a simultaneous collection of force at Nagpore. The completion of the contingent was delayed, and when troops were assigned for the purpose, they consisted mostly of new levies, evidencing that the rajah had no mind to part with his good troops. In addition to their being raw and undisciplined, the fidelity of the recruits to the British cause was more than suspected. The levies extended beyond Nagpore, and were conducted with great secrecy. This infatuated prince even entered into negociations with the Pindarries, who were invited to bring down a force to attack the British. The Pindarries were also made useful in another way, by assigning the fact of their ravages as an excuse for keeping up an extraordinary number of troops.

In the midst of these warning circumstances, a khelaut arrived from the Peishwa, and the rajah sent to inform the resident of his intention to receive it with all the usual ceremonies indicative

of his being invested with the character of commander-in-chief of the Mahratta armies. The principal ceremony consisted in going out to his camp, and remaining three days at the head of his troops. The communication was accompanied by a request that the resident, or some gentlemen of the service, would attend the ceremony, and that a salute might be ordered. As the British Government was then in a state of actual warfare with the Peishwa, it was quite obvious that such a request could not be complied with; and this public acknowledgment by Appa Sahib of a community of interest with the declared enemy of his protectors, would seem to amount almost to insanity. Mr. Jenkins, of course, refused any participation in the ceremony. On the following day, all communication between the residency and the city was interdicted. The palaces were stripped of every thing of value, and the families of the rajah and principal ministers left the city. These movements were followed by an order for the contingent to remove to the city, the old cry of the Pindarries being set up as a pretext. Upon this, Mr. Jenkins lost no time in sending for the troops from their cantonments.

An attempt was now made, on the part of the rajah, to open a negociation; but the hostile manifestations which were contemporaneous shewed it to be altogether delusive. The 26th of November placed the matter beyond question, by a repeti-

tion of the treacheries of Poona. An interview between the British resident and two of the rajah's ministers was interrupted by the commencement of firing. The strife of words was now to give way to the combat of more deadly weapons. The conference was dissolved abruptly, and Mr. Jenkins repaired to the scene of action.

Reinforcements had been sent for, but they had not arrived. The duty of repelling the attack consequently devolved upon a very small body of troops, under Lieut. Col. Scott, who had to resist a force of about eight thousand infantry and twelve thousand cavalry, supported by thirty-five guns.

When these troops had, at the request of the resident, marched from their cantonments, they took post on the hill of Seetabuldee, overlooking the residency and the city; at the same time taking possession of another hill, about three hundred yards distant, the occupation of which was necessary to their retention of the former. In the course of the day, large bodies of Arabs, with five guns, were observed to enter a village at the foot of the hill, where a strong body of the rajah's infantry had previously been posted; and at six o'clock in the evening, while Col. Scott was engaged with Capt. Bayley in posting sentries on the face of the hill, the Arabs in the village opened a fire. This was entirely unexpected, as no overt act of hostility had yet taken place on either side, and the rajah's troops were aware that the posting of the

sentries by the British was only a customary act of military precaution, and that no intention existed of attacking them. The small party of British troops, who found themselves thus suddenly engaged in action, returned a volley upon their assailants, and then retreated to the top of the hill, under the fire of all the troops in the village.

The action now became general, and continued without intermission for eighteen hours. A part of the troops being entirely exhausted, it was found necessary to confine the defence of the inferior hill to its summit. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 27th, a body of Arabs, by charging up the face of the hill with an overwhelming force, succeeded in gaining possession of the British post. The vast disproportion between the numbers of the contending bodies now appeared to give a fearful preponderance to the rajah's party, when the current of fortune was turned by one of those acts of romantic valour, which have so often changed the face of the battle-field, struck panic into the hearts of a powerful enemy, and secured the victory to the weaker side. At the moment when there seemed most cause for despondency, Capt. Fitzgerald, commanding a detachment of Bengal cavalry, reinforced by a native officer and about twenty-five troopers of the Madras body guard, charged an immense body of the enemy's best horse, and having taken their guns and turned them against their late possessors, stood master

of the plain, which was covered in every direction by the flying foe. Accident aided the advantage which daring courage had secured. While preparations were making for an attack upon the Arabs, who had obtained possession of the smaller hill, an explosion was observed to take place in the midst of them. No sooner was this perceived than the British troops made a rush towards the spot, and it was with great difficulty that Col. Scott could prevent the hill which he occupied from being deserted, or even prevail upon the infantry to wait the arrival of the cavalry who were to support them. Their impatience for action would doubtless have been justified by their bearing through its dangers; but the trial was not afforded. On their approach, the enemy abandoned the guns and fled. Shortly after, the Arabs beginning to collect in considerable numbers in front of the hill, a troop of cavalry, led by Cornet Smith, charged round its base, and numbers of the enemy were cut to pieces. All hope now seemed to be extinct with the defeated party; the attack slackened in every quarter, and by noon it had entirely ceased.

Courage and military conduct, like other meritorious qualities, are not always appreciated according to their deserts. The magnitude of the stake contended for, the proximity or distance of the scene of action, the numbers engaged, and various other accidents, influence the judgment of mankind

with regard to them. Little is recollected of the heroic band who, on this occasion, illustrated the triumphant supremacy of living burning courage over the dead force of mere numbers. Yet the prodigies of valour, which they performed, have rarely been equalled either in ancient or modern times. If glory were to be proportioned to difficulty and danger, the memory of such men would be imperishable. The noble spirit by which they were animated, extended even to the civil servants of the Company. The resident, Mr. Jenkins, was present throughout the action, and, on the testimony of Colonel Scott, it is established, that his animated conduct tended in a very considerable degree to excite the troops to their duty. His first assistant, Mr. Sotheby, exhibited the same contempt of danger, and the same generous ardour, not merely to satisfy the claims of duty, but to surpass them. The latter gentleman met an honourable death on the field which he contributed to win; the former still lives, to enjoy the approbation of his conscience and his country. Such are the men which the Company's service has from its commencement never ceased to produce, and their best eulogium is to be found in the magnificent empire acquired by their exertions.

Dismayed by the result of the first attempt in hostility, Appa Sahib sought refuge in negociation, and the resident consented to a suspension

of arms, on condition of the rajah's troops being withdrawn from the positions which they then held to those which they had formerly occupied. Any final arrangements he professed himself unable to make, until he received further instructions from his Government. Appa Sahib, in the mean time, remained still, but continued to increase his army, and render his artillery more efficient; and as no instructions arrived for the guidance of the resident, that gentleman determined, on the 14th of December, to offer terms for the rajah's acceptance. Terms were accordingly tendered, and four o'clock on the morning of the 16th fixed as the latest period for accepting them. If the rajah then consented to the proposal made by the British resident, the troops of the former were to be withdrawn from their positions, and the city occupied by British troops, not later than seven o'clock on the same morning. The rajah was to repair to the British camp, and to remain there until every thing was settled.

On these terms being submitted, the rajah at first required further time to consider of them, and to suggest some modification. This being refused, he sent a message on the evening of the 15th, signifying his assent to the terms, but requesting their execution to be deferred till noon on the following day. Subsequently he sent another message, intimating that he would proceed to the residency either that night or early in the morning.

The morning brought to the residency, not the rajah, but a message announcing that the Arabs would not allow him to come in. The resident, however, was prepared for this; reinforcements having a few days before arrived, and among them a division under the command of Brigadier-General Doveton. The troops were now drawn out, and three hours allowed to the rajah to come in; his refusal or neglect involving an immediate attack by the British force. This demonstration was successful, and the rajah proceeded to the residency.

The British authorities were thus relieved from further anxiety on that head; but the surrender of the guns, and the evacuation of the city by the rajah's troops, which were also among the stipulated conditions, still remained to be carried into effect. An agent from the rajah, with instructions for the surrender of the whole of the artillery, proceeded according to promise to General Doveton's camp, and, accompanied by him, the whole force moved forward to take possession of it.

On reaching the first battery, symptoms of resistance were manifested; but the approach of the British force being rather unexpected, the enemy quitted the guns, and retired. Having taken possession of them, and left them in charge of a division, General Doveton advanced, when a heavy fire was opened upon him from a large body of troops, which was followed by a general dis-

charge from the batteries. The infantry, however, continued to advance until the ground admitted of formation in line, when the batteries in front were carried in a gallant manner at the point of the bayonet. The horse artillery and cavalry, supported by a reserve, having made a *detour*, charged, and carried the remainder of the batteries with equal gallantry, driving, at the same time, before them an immense mass of the enemy's cavalry, which having routed, they pursued as long as a chance remained of doing them any mischief. A few of the enemy's guns which had been charged by the British cavalry, but had been re-opened upon that body, when it advanced in pursuit of the cavalry of the enemy, were again charged, and again carried; and the whole of the enemy's guns and camp equipage fell into the hands of the victors, together with upwards of forty elephants.

The two succeeding days were fixed for the evacuation of the city by the Arabs; but difficulty attended every step taken towards carrying the terms of the surrender into execution. Though all arrears had been paid, these troops refused to depart, and an attack upon the part of the city which they occupied became unavoidable. It was conducted by General Doveton, who having occupied a commanding position within two hundred and fifty yards of one of the gates of the town, erected a battery, which was opened on the morning of the 21st, with the view of effecting a

breach in the old palace wall. This, however, being found unattainable, the firing was directed to another point; and on the 23d it was reported, that such an effect had been produced as would render an advance practicable with little or no loss. An attack on three different points was determined; and at half-past eight o'clock the troops, on a preconcerted signal, rushed to their various destinations. The principal attack was conducted by General Doveton; but the breach not being sufficiently wide to admit of a section entering at once, and the troops being exposed to the fire of the Arabs sheltered within the houses, it failed. The other attacks, which were conducted by Lieutenant Colonel Scott and Major Pitman, were more fortunate; but the failure of the main attack rendered it necessary, in the opinion of General Doveton, that both officers should resume their original positions. These attempts, though unsuccessful, were sufficient to deter the Arabs from offering a protracted resistance, and on the following day they signified their desire to surrender on conditions. The conditions were few and simple: the Arabs asked only personal safety, and a British officer, with a small escort, to give them and their families safe conduct to Muleapore. Immediate possession being highly desirable, and if possible without injury to the city, the request was granted, and on the morning of the 30th the Arabs marched out.

The evacuation of the city was followed by the conclusion of a provisional engagement, under which the rajah returned to his palace. The conditions were, that certain territory should be ceded to the British Government in place of the former subsidy and contingent aid; that the civil and military affairs of the government should be conducted by ministers in the confidence of the British authorities, and according to the advice of the resident; that the rajah and his family should reside in the palace at Nagpore, under the protection of British troops; that the arrears of subsidy should be paid up, and the subsidy itself should continue to be paid until the final transfer of the territory stipulated to be surrendered; that any forts in the territory, which it might be necessary for the British to occupy, should immediately be given up; that the persons alleged to have been concerned in originating the recent disagreements should be discountenanced, and if possible be delivered up; and that the two hills of Seetabuldee, with the bazaars, and an adequate portion of land adjoining, should be ceded to the British Government, which should be at liberty to erect on them such military works as might be requisite. This engagement was confirmed by the governor-general, who instructed the resident to conclude a definitive treaty on its basis.

This was suspended by a proposal from Appa Sahib, intended to supersede the proposed treaty.

The purport of the proposal was, that the rajah should transfer to the British Government the whole of the possessions of the state of Nagpore, he retaining only the name and form of sovereignty, and receiving a certain share of the revenues. The proposal was rejected by the governor-general, and the original plan ordered to be carried into effect. But before the despatch conveying the final instructions of the Government was received by the resident, the state of circumstances again forced him to act upon the dictates of his own sound and vigorous judgment.

The delivery of certain fortresses stipulated to be surrendered was refused or evaded. Mundela was one of these. When the order for its surrender arrived from Nagpore, the rajah's ministers requested that a little time might be allowed for the evacuation of the fort, in order that persons might be sent to settle with the garrison, and thus prevent any demur to the delivery of the fort, under the pretence of arrears being due. A person deputed from Nagpore ostensibly for this purpose arrived at Mundela; but the surrender was still deferred, under the plea that an order had been received to make the collections for the year from the pergunnahs dependent upon Mundela, and to pay the garrison with the produce. The resident having brought the subject to the notice of the rajah's ministers, they stated the order in question to be, that payment should

be made from the revenue already collected, and sufficient for the purpose. As a part of the territory from which the revenue was to be drawn was actually occupied by the British troops, and nothing could be obtained from the remainder but by gross extortion and oppression, the resident authorized the payment of the garrison from the British treasury, and Major O'Brien proceeded with a small escort to Mundela to make the necessary arrangements. On the arrival of this officer, various communications passed between him, the killadar of the fort, and the person deputed from Nagpore, professedly for the purpose of settling the arrears. These communications appeared to promise a satisfactory adjustment, and Major O'Brien was in expectation of being put in immediate possession of the fort. Instead of this result, Major O'Brien, on the third morning after his arrival, while riding near the fort, found that the garrison during the night had sent over the Nerbudda about four hundred cavalry, with four thousand infantry, and four guns. The cavalry advanced upon him, and the guns opened; but he was enabled, with his small escort, to reach his camp in safety; the enemy, whenever they approached, being successfully repelled.

In consequence of this treacherous proceeding on the part of the killadar of the fort, Major-Gen. Marshall, with a considerable force, was ordered to advance upon Mundela. Having arrived be-

fore it, he proceeded to erect batteries, which, being completed, were opened by daylight on the 26th April. They were answered by a spirited fire from the whole of the enemy's works. After several hours' battering, Lieutenant Pickersgill, with extraordinary gallantry, proceeded to ascertain by personal inspection the effect produced, mounting, with the assistance of his hircarahs, to the top of the breach; from which, after making his observations, he returned with so favourable a report, as induced General Marshall to make immediate preparations for storming the works. The necessary dispositions having been made, Captain Tickell, field engineer, examined the breach, and at half-past five o'clock the signal was given to advance. The storming and supporting columns, both under the direction of Brigadier-General Watson, moved forward, the breach was instantly mounted and carried, and in a very short time the town was in the possession of the assailants. The troops were immediately pushed forward to the fort, and at daybreak on the 27th the garrison came out unarmed, and quietly surrendered themselves. At midnight, a small boat had been observed crossing the river, with four persons: by good management on the part of one of the advanced posts they were secured on landing, and one of them turned out to be the killadar of the fort. The governor-general had given orders that, if taken, the killadar and other principal

officers should be immediately brought to a drum-head court-martial, and that any punishment that might be awarded by such tribunal, whether death or imprisonment with hard labour, might immediately be carried into effect.

It would be difficult to shew that these orders were consistent either with discretion or with a regard to the usages of war. They appear to have been an ebullition of that infirmity of temper which shadowed the high character of the Marquis of Hastings. The orders were so far followed, that the killadar was brought to a court-martial, charged with rebellion and treachery. He was acquitted of the charge of rebellion, on the proper ground of his having acted under the orders of the Nagpore government. The charge of treachery arose out of the attack on Major O'Brien. Of this the killadar was also acquitted, the major declaring his belief that the prisoner was not concerned in the attack upon him. This appears a somewhat refined view of the matter. If the attack was an offence against military law, it could be of little importance whether the killadar was personally engaged in it or not; as it must be quite certain that the movement of the garrison must have taken place with his cognizance and sanction; but the court must have been aware that they had no proper jurisdiction in the case, and that conviction and punishment under such circumstances could not be justified. Another

officer was put on trial, charged with abetting his superior; but he, of course, shared the impunity of his principal.

The surrender of Chouragurh, another fortress which was to be ceded to the British Government, was postponed by the same bad faith which had delayed the delivery of Mundela, and the pretence was the same —time was asked to settle the arrears of pay due to the garrison; but the killadar soon assumed a posture of direct hostility. A body of men armed with matchlocks sallied from the fort, and attacked a British force under Colonel Mac Morine, and the garrison systematically plundered the villages which had been placed under the British Government. A body of about five hundred, employed in the latter occupation, were attacked and put to flight by a small detachment under Major Richards. After the reduction of Mundela, the division under Gen. Watson was ordered to march to Chouragurh, but before their arrival the fort and adjoining town were evacuated, and possession taken by Colonel MacMorine.

The possession of Chanda, a strongly fortified city, situate about a hundred miles southward of the capital of the Nagpore state, was an important point for the security of British interests; and after various attempts at negociation had failed, its reduction was effected on the 20th May, by Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, in command of the

Nagpore subsidiary force. Batteries had been at work for three previous days, and, on the evening of the 19th, a practicable breach was effected. It was deemed expedient to defer the attack till the following morning, when an assault was made, and in little more than an hour the whole city was in possession of the British force.

It has been seen that the fortresses of Mundela and Chouragurh were withheld from the British authorities in defiance of the provisions under which they were to be surrendered, and notwithstanding public orders had been given for their delivery. The effect of those orders was counteracted by secret orders of a contrary purport—a fact suspected at an early period by the resident, and ultimately placed beyond the possibility of doubt. In addition to these circumstances, Mr. Jenkins received reports that an intercourse was kept up with the Peishwa, and that the rajah held secret conferences with persons hostile to the influence of the British Government, while those who entertained friendly feelings towards it were regarded with aversion. Rumours of the rajah meditating an escape were general; it was understood that one of the disaffected chiefs had received a sum of money for the levy of troops; and attempts were made to intercept the progress of supplies intended for the British force. Every thing conspired to shew that Appa Sahib was

irretrievably leagued with the enemies of the British power. New and incontestable proofs of the rajah's treachery continually occurred, and were multiplied, till it became evident that extreme measures could no longer be postponed without compromising the honour and safety of the British Government. The resident now acted with his usual vigour, and arrested both the rajah and his confidential ministers. This bold step was accellerated by the discovery of facts which impressed Mr. Jenkins with a conviction that Appa Sahib had been the murderer of his kinsman and sovereign, Baba Sahib, formerly rajah of Nagpore. At the time of Baba Sahib's death, Mr. Jenkins had been led to suspect this; but circumstances having induced him in some degree to moderate his suspicions, and the difficulty of obtaining satisfactory proof of the suspected fact being apparently insurmountable, no measures were taken in consequence. Such additional information was now acquired as led to a conviction of Appa Sahib's guilt. His arrest took place on the 15th March. Subsequently he was declared to be dethroned, and this step was followed by the elevation to the musnud of a descendant of a former rajah by the female line.

As soon as a sufficient escort could be obtained, Appa Sahib was sent off to the British provinces, and provision was made at Allahabad for his re-

ception and custody. He contrived, however, on the road, to effect his escape, and was accompanied by six sepoys in the British service. Being joined by a band of adherents who anticipated his escape, and relying upon finding a party in Nagpore disposed to support him, he, after a short period, proceeded to Chouragurh, and the garrison being very weak, he obtained possession of the fort. He also maintained a correspondence with his connexions in the capital of his former dominions. These laboured indefatigably to enrol and organize bodies of armed adherents in the interior, while they supplied Appa Sahib with money for the collection and payment of troops on the frontier. Their exertions were further directed to undermine the fidelity of the British troops, and to a certain extent they were successful. So alarming were the various indications of active hostility, that the resident felt it to be necessary to apply to General Doveton and Colonel Adams for reinforcements. The latter officer, towards the latter end of October, projected a combined irruption of different columns into the Mahadoo hills, for the purpose of surrounding Appa Sahib, and he moved accordingly. Appa Sahib then fled, closely pursued. He was overtaken near Asseergurh, a fortress belonging to Scindia, and would probably have been captured, had not a part of the garrison sallied out to his assistance.

From Asseergurh, Appa Sahib escaped in the disguise of a fakeer to Boorhampore, and from thence he proceeded to Lahore, where he took up his residence, receiving a trifling allowance from Runjeet Singh.