



BOOK III. Some disturbances were created earlier in the year, in
CHAP. V. the same quarter, by the return of the Bhils to their
habits of plunder, especially in Baglana, where they were
1824. incited to insurrection by Godaji Danglia, a relative of the
notorious Trimbuk, who endeavoured to give a political
character to his proceedings, and pretended to act in the
name and on the part of the Raja of Satara, calling upon
the people to join his standard, as that of the Mahratta
empire. Some success attended his first operations ; and,
besides plundering the country, he gained possession of
the hill fort of Muralihar. The approach of a body of
regular troops disconcerted the insurgents, and they aban-
doned the post, and took refuge in the hills where they
could not be pursued. The presence of additional forces
from Hyderabad and the Dekhin, prevented the repetition
of these outrages ; and arrangements were devised for the
conciliation and civilisation of the Bhil tribes, in place of
those which had been hitherto proposed, and which had
met with imperfect success. The experiment of forming
a Local Corps, composed of the Bhils themselves, which
had been previously tried and failed, was now repeated,
and after some difficulty proved eminently beneficial.
From the time when it became effective, order was main-
tained ; and the Bhils of the Sathpur and Ajunta hills
were gradually weaned from their predatory propensities.¹

In Guzerat, towards the end of 1824, the Coolies, a rude
and turbulent race scattered over the province, from the
borders of Cutch to the Western Ghats, evincéd more
than their usual refractory spirit, and rendered military
coercion necessary. The first attempt to put them down
was unsuccessful ; and a party of Bombay N. I. was re-
pulsed, with the loss of an officer, Lieutenant Ellis, from
the village of Dudana, near Kaira, which was enclosed by
thick hedges of the milk plant, and defended by a mud
fort ; in storming which, the assailants were exposed to a
destructive fire, which compelled them to fall back. The
Coolies, however, evacuated the post, but still continued

¹ This success was mainly owing to the influence obtained over the Bhils, by the personal activity and intrepidity of Lient. Outram, who ventured among them without attendance, and won their confidence and respect by his participation in their habits of living, and the dexterity and intrepidity which he displayed in the chase of the wild animals of the forest.—“ Historical Sketch of the Bhil Tribes of Kandesh, by Capt. Graham, Bhil Agent, Bombay, 1843.”



their depredations, burning the villages and plundering the people, even in the immediate vicinity of Baroda. Parties of the Gaekwar Horse and the Subsidiary Force were sent against them, and generally dispersed them without much difficulty; but they retreated into the Run, and after a short interval, returned and renewed their ravages. Early in 1825, however, their main body was surprised by a wing of the 8th N. I., and a squadron of Dragoons, near Vitalpur, not far from Dudana. In their endeavour to escape into the adjoining thickets, they were intercepted by the Dragoons, and many were killed or taken, including several of their principal leaders. The check completed their discouragement, and they ceased for a time to harass and alarm the country. It was not, however, until a later period that the last bands of them were broken up by the capture of their principal leader, and a number of his followers, in the neighbourhood of Nasik, by a detachment of troops from Ahmednagar, under the command of Captain Mackintosh.¹

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1824.

At a period somewhat earlier than the first of these operations, and less connected than most of these petty outbreaks with popular agitation, the Southern Mahratta country presented an instance of resistance to authority, not unfrequent under the loose system of allegiance which the native chiefs acknowledged to the head of the state, but which was incompatible with the purposes of a well-organised administration. The Desai, or chief of Kittur, a small district near Darwar, held his chiefship under a grant from the British Government, as a tributary fief, descending to his heirs in a direct line. He died in September, 1824, leaving no children; and the district reverted to the paramount power. The principal servants of the late Desai were naturally averse to the loss of influence and emolument which they were likely to suffer from the change, and they instigated the mother and the widow of the chief, the latter of whom was a mere child, to declare that, prior to his decease, he had enjoined the adoption of a son, who had been in consequence adopted, and who succeeded to his territory in right of the adoption. The fact of the injunction was disputed, and the validity of the adoption in any case denied, as the sanc-

¹ General Orders by the Governor of Bombay, 9th June, 1829.



BOOK III. tion of the Government had not been previously obtained,
CHAP. V. as the performance of the ceremony did not take place
1824. until after the Desai's demise, and as the relationship of
the boy to the family of the chief was distant and
doubtful. As the objects of the party by whom the
claimant was set up were clearly the retention of power
in their own hands during the minority of the adopted
son, and the appropriation of the accumulated treasure
of the late chief, to the prejudice of the right of his
widow, Mr. Thackeray, the collector, refused to recognise
the adoption without the sanction of the Government of
Bombay; and, in the mean time, assumed charge of the
effects of the Desai, and the management of Kittur.
These measures were confirmed; and he was instructed
to institute a careful inquiry into the circumstances of
the adoption, and, in the mean time, to retain the control
of the district. A ready access had at first been allowed
to the interior of the fort; seals had been placed upon
the treasure, and a slight guard was stationed at the inner
gate, to prevent the property from being clandestinely
carried off. The collector, with two of his assistants, and
a small escort, a Company of Native Horse Artillery, and
one of Native Infantry, were encamped without the walls.
On the morning of the 23rd of October, when the guard
in the fort was to be relieved, the outer gates were shut,
and all admission refused. On proceeding to force the
gates open, the garrison rushed forth in such overpower-
ing numbers, as to overwhelm the party. Mr. Thackeray,
Captain Black, and Lieutenant Dighton, commanding the
escort, were killed, Captain Sewell was wounded, and Mr.
Stevenson and Mr. Elliott, assistants to the collector, were
taken and carried into the fort, where they were threatened
with death, if any assault should be made upon the place.
The excitement occasioned by this transaction rapidly
spread, and the people of the country between the Mal-
parba and Kittur, manifested a disposition to join the
insurgents. The Mahratta Chiefs preserved their loyalty,
and tendered their contingents. These were not required;
but to prevent the mutinous spirit from extending, troops
were despatched without delay against Kittur from the
Presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and a respectable



force was speedily assembled before its walls,¹ under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Deacon, and the directions of Mr. Chaplin, the Civil Commissioner. Immediate submission and the release of the prisoners was demanded, in which case pardon was offered to all except the principal instigators of the insurrection; and, as the rebels hesitated to accede to these terms, batteries were opened, and a practicable breach effected by the evening of the 4th of December. A flag of truce arrested the assault. The prisoners had been previously set at liberty. The leaders, twelve in number, surrendered, stipulating only that their lives should be spared: some of the most refractory escaped. As soon as Kittur was captured, the popular fermentation ceased, as the insurrection had been the work of an interested party, and involved no question affecting the rights or feelings of the people.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1824.

An affair of a somewhat similar character, although originating in a different cause, the contumacy of a refractory Patel, occurred in the same part of the country. The head-man of Omraiz refusing to pay his revenue, and, sheltering himself in a stronghold, from whence his followers committed depredations on the surrounding villages, it became necessary to employ a military force against him. A squadron of the 7th Cavalry, and three hundred men of the 44th N. I. with one six-pounder, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Collette, marched from Sholapore against Omraiz in February, 1825, and attempted to carry the place by blowing the gate open. The attempt failed. The outer and one of the inner gates were forced, but the gun could not be brought to bear upon a third gateway, and the endeavours of the assailants to enter, exposed them to a heavy enfilading fire from the walls of the fort. Lieutenant Phillipson, who led the party, and several of the 44th were killed, and the rest were recalled; operations were suspended; before they could be resumed with effect, the garrison evacuated the fort, and fled to the thickets, where they dispersed. The peace of the country was consequently restored.²

¹ The 4th and 8th L. C. Brigade of Madras and Bombay Artillery, His Majesty's 46th Regiment, 1st Bombay European Regiment, the 3rd, 6th, 14th, and 23rd Regiments N. I.

² An interesting account of the attack on Omraiz is to be found in the East India United Service Journal, March, 1836.



BOOK III. The tranquillity of the western Dekhin was more per-
CHAP. V. severingly interrupted by the pretensions and unreason-
1825. ableness of Kshetrapati Karavir, the Raja of Kolapur, a
young and inconsiderate chief, who boasted a direct
descent from Sivaji, and who, under the impulse of
impetuous feelings and disorderly habits, committed acts
of aggression, which called for the imposition of military
restraint. Claiming a right of supremacy over the district
of Kagal, which was held by Hindu Rao, the brother-in-
law of Sindhia, under a grant, as he maintained from the
Peshwa, and independent of Kolapur, the Raja assembled
a considerable body of troops, and took forcible posses-
sion of the disputed territory. The Bombay Government
was disinclined to interfere, although Sindhia urgently
remonstrated against the inconsistency of a system, which,
while it debarred him from upholding by force of arms,
the just rights of a near relation, permitted a petty prince
to violate them with impunity. Emboldened by the for-
bearance, the Raja next attacked the lands of a Zemindar,
partly dependent on Satara, partly on the Bombay
Presidency; and, being in the field at the head of six
thousand horse and foot, and a brigade of guns, levied
contributions indiscriminately from the subjects of either
state, plundered the villages and murdered the people.
Troops were then necessarily sent against him, upon whose
approach he retired to Kolapur, whither he was followed
by the detachment. Their proximity recalled him to a
sense of his inability to resist, and he professed his sub-
mission to the will of the Company. He was accordingly
compelled to restore the districts he had seized from both
Hindu Rao and Satara, to pay a compensation for the
damages inflicted by his depredations, and to engage to
reduce his military establishment to a scale consistent
with a state of peace. A treaty was concluded with him
to this effect; but, after the first alarm had subsided, its
stipulations were little regarded, and the Raja continued
to keep on foot a large body of troops, whose excesses
filled his neighbours with apprehension, and rendered it
necessary to maintain a vigilant watch upon his proceed-
ings. At length they once more became outrageous; and,
in the beginning of 1827, a considerable body of troops'

Consisting of the left wing of His Majesty's 41st, the Bombay European



under Colonel Welsh was despatched from Belgam against Kolapur, with the sanction of the supreme Government.¹ The troops advanced again to Kolapur, and occupied the different forts in its vicinity. No resistance was offered; and the Raja, having once more professed submission, a revised treaty was concluded, by which he was prohibited from entertaining a force exceeding four hundred horse and eight hundred foot. Districts formerly granted to him were resumed. Lands seized by him were ordered to be given back, compensation for damage done to different districts was demanded, and territory was sequestered until the amount was paid. British garrisons were stationed in the forts of Kolapur and Panala; and the right of nominating the chief ministers was reserved.² No molestation of any serious description was afterwards experienced from the conduct of the Raja, although his occasional excesses rendered it expedient to keep up the military control until his death and the succession of his son, a minor, under a regency approved of by the Government of India.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1826.

To the north-west, disturbances broke out towards the end of 1824, in Cutch, which threatened to assume political importance, from the secret encouragement which the authors of them received from the Amirs of Sindh, who, like the rest of the native princes, catching eagerly at the rumours of disaster suffered by the British Government, were prepared to take advantage of the verification of those reports. Some of the Jhareja chiefs, disaffected to the Regency, and who had been banished for acts of insubordination and rapine, had sought refuge in Sindh, and finding that the British force in Cutch had been much reduced in numbers, they conceived the season propitious for the recovery of their forfeited lands, and the restoration of the deposed Raja, Bharmal Ji, to power. With the connivance of the Amirs, they assembled a body of about two thousand Mianis and Sindhis; and, in the beginning of

Regiment, 49th N. I., eight Companies of the Wallajabad, Light Infantry, 4th and 7th Light Cavalry, and Foot and Horse Artillery. They were joined by detachments, and a battering-train, from Poona.

¹ Colonel Welsh has given an account of the expedition, and of the country, in his *Reminiscences*, ii. 263.

² Definitive treaty with the Raja of Kolapur 15th of March, 1829, ratified by the Bombay Government 18th of July.—*Treaties with Native Powers*, Calcutta, 1845.



BOOK III. 1825, crossed the borders, addressing a laconic epistle to
CHAP. V. the Resident, calling upon him to restore the Raja.¹ The
1825. troops in the province were unable to attempt more than
the defence of the capital. Meeting with no opposition,
the insurgents ravaged the country, and advanced to a
strong post in the Hubbai Hills, within a few miles of
Anjar, where a portion of them occupied the fort of
Balari, and cut off the communication between Bhoj and the
rest of the province. A native force, levied by the
Regency, and sent to dislodge the rebels from Balari, was
defeated, and several Jhareja Chiefs who commanded it
were killed. A detachment from the British force at Bhoj
was more successful, drove the insurgents out of the fort,
rescued their prisoners, and recovered much of their
plunder. The absence of this party encouraged the main
body of the rebels to make an attack upon Anjar, which
was garrisoned only by the troops of the Regency, rein-
forced by a party of Arab mercenaries. They repulsed
the assailants, after a well-maintained struggle. The in-
surgents retreated to the Kaimal Hills, and, being driven
from that position, disappeared in the Run. The coun-
tenance shewn to their incursion by the Amirs was not
withdrawn upon their repulse, and large bodies of troops
continued to be assembled on the frontier, menacing the
province under British protection. It became necessary,
therefore, so to strengthen the force in Cutch, that it
should be capable of repelling any invasion from Sindh,
and reinforcements were in consequence despatched from
Kaira and Bombay.² The whole was placed under the
orders of Colonel M. Napier. Their strength, and the
improved state of affairs in the east, with the successful
operations against Bhurtpore, checked the mischievous
projects of the Amirs of Sindh; and, with the exception
of their reluctance in uniting to put an end to the depre-
dations of the marauding tribes of the desert, the inter-
course with Sindh reverted to its former tone.

¹ The letter was from Sarak Jas, Mima Joomoo, and others, to Captain Walter. "We are Grasiass: if you will restore Rao Bharmal Ji to the throne, we are all your servants."

² The force when assembled, consisted of a troop of Horse Artillery, and a Company of Foot: His Majesty's 4th Dragoons, detachments of the 1st and 2nd Regiments N. C., His Majesty's 6th Foot, the flank Companies of the 2nd European Regiment, the Grenadier Regiment of N. I., and the 3rd, 8th, 10th, 18th, and 21st Regiments—General Orders, Bombay, 20th September, 1825.



These different disturbances, however unimportant in their results, unconnected in their origin, and unmeaning in their objects, were not wholly unworthy of regard, as indications of the feelings entertained by considerable portions of the people in different parts of India towards their rulers. The necessity of an adequate military force to keep down the tendency of refractory chiefs and turbulent tribes to recur to habits of tumult and depredation, was clearly manifested by the disorders which ensued, wherever the regular troops were weakened or withdrawn, as they had been in various places by the exigencies of the war. This disposition was, however, to be expected, and must continue to be experienced, until the people of India become accustomed to acknowledge the supremacy of law over the sword, and the chiefs and people relinquish the use of arms to the disciplined bands of the government. The eager credulity with which the inhabitants of the British provinces received every rumour of discomfiture and every tale of declining resources was a more alarming feature in the complexion of the times, and shewed how little sympathy united the subject and the sovereign, and the satisfaction with which the people were disposed to contemplate the downfall of their rulers.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1826.

The ferment which was excited throughout the British territories, by the indistinct reports of the early mischances of the war with Ava, were not confined within their limits, but extended to several of the native Courts, who had been brought under the protection, and at the same time under the supremacy of the Government, by the results of the Pindari war. Although the Princes were freed from the extortion and insolence of military rapacity, the relations established with the British were found to be scarcely less irksome, and the prohibition of international warfare, the shield thrown over their dependents against their tyranny or vindictiveness, and the pecuniary tributes imposed upon them, with the rigid punctuality with which payment was demanded, mortified their extravagant notions of their own dignity and importance, and subjected them to frequent and serious embarrassment. Notwithstanding they owed their security to the control exercised by British interposition, they were



BOOK III. most anxious to throw it off; and they were encouraged
CHAP. V. to expect their being consigned to their own passions and
1825. incapacity, if not from the course of events,¹ yet from the
wavering and uncertain policy which the orders from home
impressed upon their Indian Governments, and which
enjoined the discontinuance of interference with the
internal arrangements of the native powers. The conse-
quences of this vacillation were almost universally mis-
chievous; but as they did not reach maturity until
towards the close of the succeeding administration they
need not be dwelt upon at present. It will be here suffi-
cient to particularise the transactions which took place
with the states of Alwar and Bhurtpore.

Upon the death of Bakhtawar Sing, the last Raja of
Macheri, or, as more usually entitled from this period, the
Raja of Alwar, from the name of his capital, the claimants
for the succession were an illegitimate son and a nephew,
both under age. Each had his partisans; but as they
were nearly balanced, a compromise was effected, which
suspended an actual contest; although it was evidently
an arrangement to which the parties, when old enough to
decide for themselves, were little likely to conform. It was
agreed that Beni Sing, the nephew, should be the nominal
Raja; but that the administration should be exercised by
Balwant Sing, the son, who had been entrusted to the
guardianship of Ahmed Bakhsh Khan, the Nawab of the
neighbouring principality of Firozpur under the British
supremacy. The Nawab was originally a soldier of fortune,
in the service of the Raja of Macheri. He had been in-
vested with his chiefship in consequence of his having
joined the army of Lord Lake, but had maintained a
friendly intercourse with his first patron; and on his
death had been appointed the guardian of his son. When
the boys became men, the results which might have been
anticipated occurred. Intriguing individuals attached
themselves to their respective interests; and tumults
took place at their instigation, in which many lives were
lost, and the principals themselves were endangered. In
1824, after a serious affray, the son consented to resign his

¹ The late Lord Metcalfe, when member of the Supreme Council of Calcutta, recorded his opinion that "the Burma war produced an extraordinary sensation all over India, amounting to an expectation of our immediate downfall."



authority, and retire upon an adequate Jagir; and the nephew became the effective Raja. Whether the act originated in personal feelings of vindictiveness, or in the machinations of the Raja's principal advisers and favourites, an attempt was made to assassinate Ahmed Bakhsh Khan. The assassin was seized, and accused a person named Mulha—a man of low caste but the minister and favourite of the Raja of Alwar—with some other influential individuals of the Court, of having employed him to murder the Nawab. The latter, precluded by the conditions of his connection with the British Government from redressing his own wrongs, appealed to it for protection; and the Raja of Alwar was consequently directed to apprehend the persons accused, and send them to Delhi for trial. At first, the Raja professed himself willing to obey, and affected to place the culprits in confinement. They were soon, however, released even from the show of durance in which they had been held; and Mulha, the principal, was taken into greater favour than before. The representations of the Resident were disregarded; and, finally, a judicial investigation by British functionaries was repudiated as being incompatible with the rights of the Raja, as an independent prince. To uphold this assertion of independence, an armed force was assembled. The fortress of Alwar was put in a state of defence, and active negotiations were opened with Jypore and Bhurtpore, in both of which, dissatisfaction with British policy was busily fermenting. The discontents of Jypore did not come to a crisis for some years. The transactions at Bhurtpore very soon assumed a formidable aspect, and compelled the Government of India to prove to the native powers, that the war with Ava had neither humbled its spirit, nor impaired its strength.

The danger apprehended from the disorders in the neighbouring states had rendered the Rajas of Bhurtpore more unreservedly dependent upon the British Government; and the triumphs of the Marquis of Hastings had confirmed the disposition of the Jaut principality to look up to it for protection. The treaty concluded with the Raja Runjit Sing was faithfully observed by his successors, Ranadhir Sing and Baldeo Sing: and the latter relied upon

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1825.



BOOK III. the Government of India to defend the interests of his son, Bulwant Sing, in the event of his death while the latter was in his minority : accordingly, at his earnest solicitation, the Political Agent at Delhi, Sir David Ochterlony, consented to invest the boy with a Khelat, or honorary dress, as a pledge of the recognition of his right of succession. The Raja's infirm health, and his apprehension of the ambitious designs of his nephew Durjan Sal, were the motives of his request. The investiture was performed at Bhurtpore, early in 1824, by one of the Political Agent's assistants ; and a twelvemonth afterwards, Baldeo Sing died while on a pilgrimage to Goverdhan, not without suspicion of poison. The young Raja, about five or six years of age, succeeded under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, Ram Ratan Sing, but the arrangement was soon disturbed ; and in the month following the demise of Baldeo Sing, the son of a younger brother of the Raja, Durjan Sal, having seduced the soldiery to join his party, broke into the citadel and killed the guardian, possessed himself of the person of the young Raja, and assumed the direction of affairs. Sir David Ochterlony was not of a temper to suffer the guarantee of the British Government to be violated with impunity, and immediately addressed a proclamation to the Jauts, requiring them to withhold obedience from the usurper, and assuring them of the support of a British force, which he proceeded without delay to assemble at Mathura, on the confines of the Bhurtpore territory. These prompt measures intimidated Durjan Sal from at once setting aside, or murdering his cousin ; and he professed it to be his purpose merely to retain the regency of the state until the young Raja should arrive at maturity, in compliance with the wishes of the whole of the tribe, who were dissatisfied with the tyrannical conduct of the late Regent. The tone of his correspondence was, however, unsatisfactory : his intentions were evasively indicated, and he declined an invitation to visit the British cantonments, and place the young Raja in the hands of the British Agent. Sir David Ochterlony determined, therefore, to waste no time in inconclusive negotiation, but to compel Durjan Sal to relinquish his ill-gotten power, by marching against him before he should have had leisure to mature his designs, to



collect adherents, and repair and strengthen the fortifications of Bhurtpore. A respectable force was speedily assembled for this purpose, and was about to move against the fortress, when the execution of the project was arrested by the cation of the Supreme Government.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1826.

Embarrassed at this period by the continued difficulties and heavy disbursements of the war with Ava, and aware of the unfriendly feeling with which its progress was watched by the native princes of India, the British Government was not unnaturally anxious to avoid a rupture, the consequences of which, in the case of any reverse, might endanger the stability of the British Indian empire. Influenced also by the spirit of the injunctions from home, which so decidedly deprecated interference with the internal affairs of the native principalities, the Governor-General was averse to take part in the adjustment of the succession to Bhurtpore, and disallowed the existence of any obligation to uphold the claims of the minor Raja. The grant of the honorary dress, it was affirmed, was made without the previous sanction of the supreme authority, and without the receipt of the preliminary information that had been required, with regard to the equity of such an acknowledgment. In the absence of any express stipulation to guarantee the succession, the complimentary recognition of the young Raja did not impose upon the British Government the necessity of embroiling itself in the quarrels of the several competitors, or of taking up arms to compel the ruler *de facto* to vacate the throne in favour of the claimant whose title might be the best, but who had been unable of himself to maintain his right. It was observed, also, that Durjan Sai, in his correspondence with the Political Agent, had disavowed the intention of permanently appropriating the paramount authority, and had only claimed the exercise of the regency, to which his relationship to the Raja, his age and his popularity, appeared to give him reasonable pretensions. Should such be the case, the Government would not consider itself warranted in opposing the arrangement by force of arms. Although some of the members of the Council were of opinion that the minor Raja was entitled to the protection of the British Government, and the majority considered



BOOK III. that interference might become indispensable for the pre-
CHAP. V. servation of tranquillity in Hindustan, the sentiments of
1826. the Governor-General so far prevailed, that it was resolved to countermand the military preparations which had been set on foot, and to retract the hostile declarations which had been published. Sir David Ochterlony was accordingly directed to remand the troops to their stations, to recall his proclamations, or to neutralise their effect by issuing others in a less menacing tone, and to adopt no measure likely to commit the Government to any course of policy involving an appeal to arms. These orders were so far modified, that the Political Agent was subsequently authorised to use his discretion in keeping together a part of the force assembled at Agra and Mathura as a check upon any outrages that might be attempted on the frontier by the followers of Durjan Sal.

The immediate consequences of the disapprobation of his proceedings expressed by the Government, were the resignation by Sir David Ochterlony of his political appointments and, a few months afterwards, his death. He had attained an advanced age, being sixty-eight years old of which fifty had been passed in India, and he had latterly laboured under the natural infirmities of declining life; but it is not unlikely that the mortification which he experienced on this occasion, and the disappointment of the, proud hope he had cherished of seeing Bhurtpore fall before him, accelerated his decease. His eminent merits, the long period during which he had filled the highest military and political stations, the amiableness of his temper, and the disinterested generosity of his character, had endeared him to a numerous body of the European society and natives of Upper India; and their respect for his memory was evinced by the erection of a monumental column in honour of him, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta: nor was the Government backward in acknowledging his worth¹, although their somewhat harsh and

¹ As by the following General Order:—

"Fort William, Political Department, July, 28, 1825. The Right Hon. the Governor-General has learned with great sorrow the demise of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, resident in Malwa and Rajputana. This melancholy event took place on the morning of the 15th inst. at Meerut, whither he had proceeded for the benefit of change of air. On the eminent military services of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, it would be superfluous to dilate; they have been acknowledged in terms of the highest praise by successive



peremptory revocation of his measures, and the results to which his sense of undeserved censure indirectly contributed, brought upon them temporary obloquy, both in India and in England. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to admit the wisdom of their hesitation to countenance the hazard of precipitate hostilities. The force assembled by Sir David Ochterlony with the most commendable promptitude and activity, however formidable, was confessedly inadequate to overcome a prolonged and national resistance. His expectations of success, although confidently cherished, were based upon his being able to anticipate the preparations of Durjan Sal, and to advance against Bhurtpore before the fortifications should be fully repaired, and a garrison sufficient to defend them should be collected. He also calculated upon a division of feeling among the Jauts, and the co-operation of a strong party inimical to the usurpation. These were not impossible contingencies; but they were not certainties. Armed men from all the neighbouring territories, including those of the Company, were daily gathering round the banners of Durjan Sal. The actual condition of the ramparts was not very authentically known; and whatever enmity to the usurper might be entertained by a portion of the Jaut tribe, their national spirit, their pride in their former repulse of a British army, and their confidence in the impregnability of Bhurtpore, were not unlikely to have com-

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1826.

Governments; they justly earned a special and substantial reward from the Hon. East India Company; they have been recognised with expressions of admiration and applause by the British Parliament; and they have been honoured with signal marks of the approbation of his Sovereign.

"With the name of Sir D. Ochterlony are associated many of the proudest recollections of the Bengal Army; and to the renown of splendid achievements, he added, by the attainment of the highest honours of the Military Order of the Bath, the singular felicity of opening to his gallant companions, an access to those tokens of royal favour which are the dearest objects of a soldier's ambition. The diplomatic qualifications of Sir D. Ochterlony were not less conspicuous than his military talents. To an admirably vigorous intellect and consummate address, he united the essential requisites of an intimate knowledge of the native character, language, and manners. The confidence which the Government reposed in an individual gifted with such rare endowments, was evinced by the high and responsible situations which he successively filled, and the duties of which he discharged with eminent ability and advantage to the Public Interests. As an especial testimony of the high respect in which the character and services of Major-General Sir D. Ochterlony are held, and as a public demonstration of sorrow for his demise, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that minute guns to the number of sixty-eight, corresponding with his age, be fired this evening at sunset, from the ramparts of Fort-William."



BOOK III. bined all parties in sufficient strength to baffle an attack
CHAP. V. upon the fortress with means inferior to those by which
1826. it was eventually reduced. The season was also far advanced ; and had the siege been long protracted, it might have become impossible to keep the army in the field. To have failed in the attempt, and been again repulsed from the walls of Bhurtpore, would have been attended in all probability with the most alarming results, and involved the British Government in war with every state from the Punjab to Ava.¹ It was therefore the imperative duty of the Government to weigh deliberately the course to be pursued, and refrain from any hostile demonstrations against Bhurtpore, until every possible precaution had been taken to ensure success.

As long as the military preparations were in activity, the language of Durjan Sal was expressive of submission to the will of the British Government, and of his purpose to rest contented with the office of Regent. When they were suspended, he altered his tone, and assumed the title of Raja ; asserting that his claims to the principality rested not only on the preference of the people, but the avowed intention of Ranadhir Sing, the eldest son and successor of Runjit Sing, to adopt him — an arrangement which gave him priority as the heir of the senior brother. While professing to leave the decision to the Supreme Government, he was busily engaged in preparing to oppose an unfavourable award, and collecting troops and improving the fortifications of Bhurtpore. The neighbouring Rajput and Mahratta states secretly encouraged his projects of resistance ; and they evidently looked to the approaching contest as full of promise for their hopes of shaking off the Company's supremacy. Fortunately there was no leader of renown — no chief of ability qualified to take advantage of these aspirations, and guide and concentrate the energies of his countrymen. Durjan Sal was unequal to the crisis ; he was timid and undecided, indolent and dissolute : he had no reputation as a soldier ; and his adherents had little confidence in his conduct or

¹ In a debate at the India House on the 19th of December, 1826, on the vote of thanks to the army of Bhurtpore, it was observed by Sir J. Malcolm, that if the siege had failed, it would in all human probability have added to the embarrassments of the Burmese War, that of hostilities with almost every State of India. — *Asiatic Monthly Journal*, Jan., 1827.



courage. His younger brother, Madho Sing, who was more popular with the soldiers, had separated from him, and established himself in the fort of Deeg, whence he opened negotiations with the British functionaries, with the view of supplanting Durjan Sal in the Regency. The ferment, however, continued to increase; the usurping chief added daily to his strength, and it became obviously necessary to take vigorous measures for the vindication of the British supremacy.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.
1826.

The chief political authority at Delhi, vacant by the death of Sir David Ochterlony, had been conferred on Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been called from Hyderabad for that purpose. His presence at Calcutta suggested a reconsideration of the policy to be pursued with regard to the succession of Bhurtpore; and the opinions which he expressed were decidedly favourable to an effective support of the minor Raja, as, although the principle of non-interference had been long and uniformly enjoined by the authorities in England, those in India were continually compelled to deviate from it; for, as the paramount power, it was at once their duty and their wisest policy to put down anarchy and misrule; and, as the best preventive of those evils, to maintain legitimate succession: he therefore recommended that the minor Raja should be acknowledged, and Durjan Sal removed upon a suitable provision. These arrangements might be attempted in the first instance by negotiation; but, in the event of their failure, they should be speedily followed by the employment of an adequate force to compel compliance. These recommendations were adopted by the Governor-General in Council. It was resolved to maintain the succession of the rightful heir by exhortation and remonstrance and should those fail, by arms.¹ Sir C. Metcalfe repaired to Delhi, to carry the resolutions of the Government into effect; and as it was soon apparent that negotiation was unavailing, the army, which had been assembled at Agra and Mathura for eventual operations against Bhurtpore, was put in motion under the direction of Lord

¹ The discussions in the Supreme Government on the resolution finally adopted regarding the succession to Bhurtpore, are described in the Appendix to the Political Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, VI. No. 20, Letter from B. J. Jones, Esq., taken from the Secret and Political Consultations.



BOOK III. Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, whose
CHAP. V. head-quarters were at Mathura, on the 5th of December 1825.

1826.

The forces which had been collected in the vicinity of the Bhurtpore frontier, consisted of two Regiments of European Cavalry, six of Native Cavalry and Skinner's Irregular Horse, and of three Regiments of European and sixteen of Native Infantry, with strong detachments of Horse and Foot Artillery and Pioneers, and a Battering Train of above a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance. The force, consisting of about twenty-one thousand men of all arms, marched in two divisions; one from Agra, commanded by Major-General Jasper Nicolls, C.B.; the other from Mathura, under the command of Major-General Thomas Reynell, C.B.¹ The force of the garrison was estimated at twenty thousand men; chiefly Rajputs and Jauts, with some Afghans: but the greatest security of the fortress was in the height, the thickness, and toughness of its walls, constructed of clay hardened in the sun, upon which the play of the most formidable batteries produced comparatively little effect. In the former siege, a broad and deep ditch materially added to the strength of the fortress; but the besieged were deprived of this source of defence by the prompt and judicious operations of the British Commander-in-Chief.

The two divisions of the army moved on the 7th and 8th of December, and soon crossed the frontier. Before day-break on the 10th, the Mathura division marched, in a northerly direction, at some distance from the fort, and screened from it by an interjacent forest, towards the north-west, which was understood to be the direction of an extensive piece of water, the Moti Jhil, subservient in peaceable times to the irrigation of the lands; but capable of filling the ditches of the fortress in the time of siege by

¹ The Agra Division comprised the first Brigade of Cavalry, consisting of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, and the 6th, 8th, and 9th Regiments of Native Cavalry, and three Brigades of Infantry; the third Brigade, composed of His Majesty's 59th Foot and the 11th and 31st N. I.; the second, of the 33rd, 25th, and 37th N. I.; and the sixth consisting of the 15th, 21st, and 35th Regiments N. I., with three troops of Horse Artillery and the Experimental Brigade. The Mathura Division was formed of the 2nd Brigade of Cavalry, composed of His Majesty's 11th Light Dragoons and the 3rd, 4th, and 10th Regiments of Native Cavalry, and of three Brigades of Infantry, the 1st, 4th, and 5th, composed severally of His Majesty's 14th Foot and 23rd and 63rd N. I. of the 32nd, 41st and 55th N. I., and of the 6th, 18th and 60th Regiments N. I., with Horse and Foot Artillery.



sluices cut through the embankment within which the waters were confined. To prevent the enemy from opening channels through the bank, or to fill up any gaps that might have been made, a column was sent in advance,¹ which successfully accomplished the duty entrusted to it. A small party of the enemy was driven off; sluices, that had been recently opened, were effectually closed; and arrangements were made for retaining possession of the post, which were undisturbed throughout the siege. Except in a few places of little depth or extent, the ditch continued dry.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

1826.

The fortress, or rather fortified town, of Bhurtpore is situated in a tract of country generally level, but diversified on the west by a range of barren rocks, and in other directions, by occasional eminences of inconsiderable elevation. The exterior defences, above five miles in circumference, consisted of lofty and thick walls of dried clay, rising from the edge of a broad and deep ditch, flanked by thirty-five tower-bastions, of a form and structure scarcely obnoxious to breaching or enfilade, and strengthened by the outworks of nine gateways. Behind the walls, and towering high above them at their northern extremity, rose the bastions of the citadel, attaining an elevation of above a hundred feet, and commanding the town, the outer ramparts, and the adjacent plain. The citadel was defended by a ditch fifty yards broad and fifty-nine feet in depth, and filled with water. Immediately contiguous to the outer ditch, an open esplanade of irregular breadth, but in some places about seven hundred yards across, answered the uses of a glacis. It was encompassed through four-fifths of its circuit by a shallow forest of trees and brushwood—a preserve for wild beasts and various kinds of game.

As the great extent of the fortifications of Bhurtpore precluded the possibility of a complete investment, and as it appeared likely that the most convenient point of attack would be found to be on the north-east face of the fort, the first division took up its ground with its right resting on the reservoir, extending along the northern side

¹ Consisting of detachments of His Majesty's 14th, the 3rd N. I., two squadrons of Dragoons, the 4th Light Cavalry, right wing of Skinner's Horse and a troop of Artillery, and two Companies of Sappers and Miners.



BOOK III. of the fortress, on the outer edge of the wood. The second
CHAP. V. division, as it came up, formed on the left of the first,
and fronted the eastern face. A detachment was posted
1826. to the south, at the village of Mallye, which commanded a
view of the works; and infantry and cavalry posts were
gradually established on the southern and western faces,
within easy communication and support; and the escape
of the garrison and the admission of reinforcements, were
thus equally prevented. Attempts were occasionally
made to break through; but they were generally repulsed.
The battering train arrived in camp on the 13th of
December.

The repeated and careful reconnoissances of the engineers having satisfied the Commander-in-Chief, that the most eligible points of attack were, a ravelin on the north-eastern face on the east of one of the principal gateways, the Jangina gate, and a bastion on the east front connected with the ramparts by a narrow projection from which it received its designation of the long-necked bastion, it was determined that regular approaches should be made, in order to erect batteries against the parts selected. With this view, on the morning of the 23rd, two positions were taken up in advance of the main body, and on the edge of the jungle nearest to the fort; one by detachments from the first division, at a garden named after Baldeo Sing; the other, by detachments from the second division, at the village of Kadam Kandy, about three quarters of a mile on the left of the garden. Ground was broken at these situations, under a heavy fire from the fort, and desultory attacks of the enemy's horse and foot. Guns were brought to bear upon the latter; and they were dispersed without much difficulty or injury to the working parties. Batteries were constructed at both positions, and opened on the 24th at day-break. Their fire was briskly replied to by the fort, but by the evening several of the enemy's guns were withdrawn from the outer works, being overmatched by the fire from the batteries. During the following days, the advance of the trenches was diligently pursued, and other and more advanced batteries were constructed; while those first formed were brought nearer to the ditch. The whole mounted thirty-six mortars and forty-eight pieces of heavy ordnance, and for several days kept up a



heavy fire of shot and shells, which produced evident dilapidation of the bastions, and caused great destruction and terror in the town. Parties of matchlock men attempted to interrupt the progress of the works, but they were easily driven into the fort, and no vigorous sortie was undertaken. The fire from the ramparts became however better directed, and a shot reached the residence of the Commander-in Chief, aimed, it was conjectured, by an artilleryman who had deserted to the enemy. The trenches were, nevertheless, brought close to the counter-scarp of the ditch; and on the 31st the arrangements for mining were commenced.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1826.

Although the fire of the breaching batteries produced sensible damage on the ramparts, yet the nature of the materials of which they were composed, as well as their conical outline, prevented their being rent asunder into open chasms or levelled into piles of ruins over which it were easy to clamber; and they merely crumbled into rugged masses, which followed the direction of the acclivity, and rendered it scarcely less steep and inaccessible than it was originally. The result had not been unforeseen; and the attention of the Commander-in-Chief had, from an early period, been directed to the construction of mines, as the most prompt and certain means of ruining defences of the nature of those of Bhurtpore.¹ Although, therefore, the co-operation of powerful batteries was essential in contributing to the demolition of the works, yet

¹ A question has been raised with regard to the claim of two distinguished officers of the Bengal Army to the merit of having recommended to the Commander-in-Chief the employment of mines in the siege of Bhurtpore. The measure was suggested to Lord Combermere by Major (now Major-General) Galloway, in a memoir addressed to his Lordship when encamped before Bhurtpore, in which he advocated, as far as he was aware for the first time, the plan of breaching by mines, and not by artillery, founding his opinion not only on general principles, but his personal experience, General Galloway having served with distinction at the first siege of Bhurtpore, where he commanded the pioneers, and being known also as the author of a valuable work on the Mud Forts of India. It appears, however, that prior to the receipt of General Galloway's memoir, prior even to the commencement of the siege recourse to mining had been strongly recommended by Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Forbes of the Engineers, who was on duty at the siege, and who had been trained in England in the theory and practice of mining. The particular plans which he suggested were approved of by the Chief Engineer, and the Commander-in-Chief, and were generally followed in the operations that ensued. There is no doubt, however, that both the communications were independently made, as probably were others of a similar purport; and both these officers therefore were entitled to the credit of having originated recommendations, to the adoption of which the successful operations against Bhurtpore were mainly to be ascribed.



BOOK III. their more especial object had been to cover the approaches

CHAP. V.

1826.

and keep down the fire of the enemy. As soon as these purposes were accomplished, and the approaches had been successfully advanced to the edge of the ditch, active operations were undertaken for carrying mines across it into the opposite scarp underneath the rampart at the north-east angle and the long-necked bastion. Upon effecting lodgments on the edge of the ditch, it was found to be a broken ravine, in some places above thirty feet deep, but not difficult to cross. By the 2nd of January, the breaching batteries mounted twenty-five guns and sixty mortars, and a small battery had been established on the west face, chiefly to divide the attention of the enemy.

By the 8th of January, mines had been carried across and under the ditch; and, on the north-east, had penetrated beneath the ramparts. On that day, a mine under the cavalier and curtain of the north-eastern angle was sprung, and although not productive of the expected effect to its whole extent, occasioned considerable dilapidation. Three other mines were successfully sprung on the 8th in the counterscarp of the ditch, in the same direction. At the same time it was determined to drive a large mine deep into the rampart at the north-east angle, and construct others subsidiary to its anticipated operations. On the left, similar works were carried on with emulative courage and activity; and, on the 11th and 12th, the ditch was crossed, and mines were commenced beneath the ramparts. During these proceedings, attempts were made by the enemy to countermine; but in general, without success: parties also descended into the ditch, and endeavoured to interrupt the works, but they were driven out by the supporting parties, among which the Gorkhas of the Sirmor Battalion, a detachment of whom had joined the army, and were employed as skirmishers and marksmen, were conspicuously distinguished. The batteries continued to play on the ruined parapets; and, although the enemy partially repaired the breaches, they presented every appearance of being practicable, and the whole army impatiently awaited the order to storm. It was not much longer delayed.

On the 16th of January, the mine under the long-necked bastion was sprung with complete success. The facility



of approach was tested by the ascent of an officer, and a small party of the 59th. Immediately after the explosion they reached the top of the bastion, and returned without suffering any molestation from the enemy. The 18th was appointed for the assault: the signal for which was the explosion of the great mine under the north-east cavalier. Two subsidiary mines having been fired, the principal one containing ten thousand pounds of powder, was ignited. In a short time, the earth shook; a dull muttering sound was heard, the sky was clouded with huge volumes of smoke and dust, and enormous masses of the hardened ramparts were sent flying into the air. A number of the enemy who had assembled to defend the breach were destroyed, and several of the foremost of the storming party, who, in their anxiety to advance, upon the instant of the springing of the mine, had crowded too nearly to the opening, were struck down and killed or disabled.¹ The accident caused a momentary hesitation; but the word was given to advance, and the column scaled the ramparts.

The column destined for the main attack on the right was under the command of Major-General Reynell, and consisted of His Majesty's 14th, five Companies of the 41st N. I., and the 6th, 23rd, and 30th regiments, N. I. The main column of the left attack commanded by Major-General Nicolls was formed of His Majesty's 59th, and the 15th, 21st, and 31st Native Regiments. These were to assault the principal breaches on the north and east. On the right of the first column, a division composed of two Companies of the European Regiment, the 58th N. I., and a hundred Gorkhas, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Delamaine, was directed to storm the Jangina Gate. An intermediate column, formed of two other Companies of the European Regiment, the Grenadier Company of the

¹ Twelve men of the 14th were killed or wounded. Brigadiers M'Combe and Paton, Captain Irvine of the Engineers, and Lieut. Daly of His Majesty's 14th, received severe contusions; the latter had his leg amputated. It has been usually said, that the injury was occasioned by the explosion of the mine in an unexpected direction; but this does not appear to have been the case, and is denied by the Engineers. Lieutenant Forbes had sketched the precise outline the breach would take, and Captain Irvine had pointed out the danger, and proceeded to the trenches to recommend the men being drawn back, but they were so crowded, that it was impossible; and their exposure beyond the trenches to the fire of the garrison would have been attended with still severer loss of life.



BOOK III. 35th N. I., and the Light Company of the 37th N. I., with
CHAP. V. a hundred Gorkhas, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel T.

1826.

Wilson, was to attempt the escalade of the north flank angle of the long-necked bastion; and a reserve column attached to the left main division, consisting of the remaining Companies of the 36th and 37th Regiments N. I., under Brigadier-General Adams, was appointed to menace the Agra Gate. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery were posted along the south and west faces of the fortress, to intercept such of the enemy as might endeavour to escape in that direction.

As soon as the right column heard the order to advance, they rushed up the breach, and speedily gained its summit. They were resolutely charged by the defenders; but the bayonet did its work and quickly cleared the bastion. The column then divided, part following the ramparts to the right, part to the left, driving the garrison before them from every post where they attempted to make a stand with immense slaughter. The right division was joined at the Jangina Gate, by Colonel Delamaine's detachment, which had successfully stormed; but the whole party presently suffered some loss from the explosion of a mine under the gateway. Captain Armstrong of the 14th also was shot. They nevertheless pushed forward along the ramparts, or descended into the town, and destroyed a number of the defenders, until they reached a bastion near the Kumbhir Gate on the western wall. Here they were met by the 59th, part of the left column. The left division of the right attacking column cleared the ramparts between the two breaches, and destroyed a number of the enemy in the town, and at a bridge over the ditch of the citadel. The breach on the left was ascended without much opposition; but when the column reached the summit, a fierce conflict ensued. General Edwards, commanding a subdivision of the column, and Captain Pitman of the 59th, and many of the men, fell under a heavy fire of matchlocks from an adjacent cavalier, which flanked their advance, until the enemy were driven from it by the left division of the right column. They also suffered from guns pointed down the neck of the rampart: but upon these they resolutely rushed and carried them; and then turning to the left, swept the



CAPTURE OF DURJAN SAL.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

1826.

ramparts round the south until they joined the party of the right column at the Kumbhir Gate, encountering and overcoming a resolute resistance at different points of their route. On their way, they detached parties into the town, and opened the Agra Gate for the advance of General Adam's reserve: and were accompanied by the supporting division of Colonel Wilson, which, having clambered up the ruined ramparts at the re-entering angle, formed by the projecting gorge of the long-necked bastion, under a flanking fire from the bastion on the right, descended into the body of the place, and moving along the town parallel with the ramparts, encountered and destroyed several strong parties of the garrison. After passing the Mathura Gate, the division carried several bastions still occupied by the enemy, and assisted in the complete clearance of the ramparts. The guns of the citadel had inflicted some injury on the assailants during the storm, but ceased firing when the outer works and the town were occupied; and in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. The enemy generally fought with resolution, and their artillerymen mostly fell by their guns. About eight thousand were slain. The total amount of killed and wounded was estimated at fourteen thousand men. The loss of the victors in the assault did not exceed six hundred.¹ As soon as the conflict commenced, strong bodies of Horse and Foot attempted to fly from the devoted fortress through the gates on the western face; but they were intercepted by the cavalry, and many of them were killed or taken prisoners. Amongst the latter were Durjan Sal himself with his wife and two sons. Soon after the assault had taken place, he quitted Bhurtpore by the Kumbhir Gate, with about forty horsemen; and after dispersing a small picquet of cavalry opposed to him, effected his retreat into the adjoining wood, where he remained for several hours. Issuing from the thicket, between three and four o'clock, he had succeeded in passing to the rear of the 8th Native Cavalry, when his party was observed and immediately pursued by the third troop under Lieut. Barbor. The fugitives were soon overtaken and secured without

¹ Europeans and Natives killed, one hundred and three, wounded four hundred and sixty-six, missing eleven. The officers killed were, Brigadier-General Edwards, Captain Armstrong of His Majesty's 14th, Captain Pitman of His Majesty's 59th, and Captain Brown of the 31st Regiment N. I.



BOOK III. offering resistance. Durjan Sal was sent as a prisoner of state to Allahabad. On the day after the storm, Lord

CHAP. V.

1826.

Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe entered the citadel, and on the 20th placed the young Raja on the throne of his ancestors. The care of his person was confided to the principal widow of the late Raja, as nominal regent. The management of affairs was entrusted to Jawahir Sal, and Chintaman Foujdar, who had enjoyed the confidence of his father,¹ subject to the control of a British resident, to be permanently appointed to Bhurtpore; and who, until the chief should attain to maturity, was to exercise a general superintendence over the person of the minor Raja, and the administration of the principality.

The services of the army before Bhurtpore were duly acknowledged, both by the East India Company and by the Parliament; and in the latter, the opportunity was taken of paying a like tribute to the services of the army and navy in the Burma war. The merit of the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief had been previously rewarded by the Crown, and the dignities of Viscount and Earl conferred upon Lord Amherst, and that of Viscount upon Lord Combermere. The thanks of the Court of Proprietors² had also been awarded to Lord Amherst for his exertions in conducting to a successful issue the war with Ava, and to the naval and military forces engaged in it, and to the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and the army of Bhurtpore.³

After dismantling the fortifications of Bhurtpore, and completing the measures necessary for its protection, the army marched against Alwar. Madho Sing, the brother of Durjan Sal, immediately tendered his submission, and

¹ These two chiefs were, however, held in detestation by the people, who accused them most undeservedly of having treacherously facilitated the capture of Bhurtpore. So strong was this feeling, even in the British Camp, that upon their visiting the Commander-in-Chief, a native mob assembled round their litter, abused them and maltreated their attendants, and would probably have murdered them, but for the timely interposition of a British escort.

² Besides the official despatches, we have for the siege of Bhurtpore the authentic account of Captain Creigh on of the 11th Dragoons; "Narrative of the Siege and Capture of Bhurtpore;" and a variety of interesting and valuable materials in letters from different officers who served at the siege, published in the East Indian United Service Journal, 1834, 1835, and in extracts from the Journals of General Nicolls and Lieut. Forbes of the Engineers, published with other communications in a Calcutta newspaper, the Englishman, 1847, forming part of a series of Papers on the Operations of the Bengal Army in India, to which it were very desirable to have access in a more commodious form.



SUBMISSION OF THE RAJA OF ALWA.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1826.

gave up the fortress of Deeg. A liberal pension was assigned to him, on condition of his residing within the Company's territory. The fall of Bhurtpore, and the approach of the formidable force by which it had been achieved, intimidated the Raja of Alwar into prompt acquiescence with the demands of the British Government. The persons who had instigated the attempt on the life of Ahmed Bakhsh Khan were delivered up and transmitted for trial to Delhi. Bulwant Sing who had been imprisoned by the Raja was set at liberty, and one half of the lands which had been originally conferred upon the Rao Raja by the British Government in the time of Sir G. Barlow's administration, was resumed and settled upon him, with a pecuniary grant of equal value. A division of the army was stationed for some time on the frontier under General Nicolls, to ensure the observance of the engagements thus entered into, and the continuance of tranquillity.

Although no doubt of the guilt of the individuals implicated in the attempt on the life of Ahmed Bakhsh was entertained, yet as the evidence was judicially insufficient, they were acquitted. Intimation was at the same conveyed to the Raja of Alwar, that it was expected he would refrain from replacing them in offices of trust; and as he paid no attention to the intimation, he was excluded from the presence of the Governor-General upon his visit towards the end of the year to Hindustan, and the privilege of direct correspondence with the head of the Government was also withheld from him. These marks of displeasure were sensibly felt, and Malha and his associates were dismissed from his councils and banished to the district of Delhi, on which he was restored to the indulgence of direct intercourse with the Governor-General. The reconciliation was facilitated by the death of Ahmed Bakhsh Khan in 1827.

The fall of Bhurtpore was the surest guarantee that could be devised for the restoration of subordination, and the maintenance of quiet in the surrounding countries. A British army flushed with victory, and commanded by a general, whose renown had spread to the remotest parts of India, had formerly been repulsed from its walls, after repeated assaults, in which skill and valour had done their



HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK III. utmost; and the tradition of the defeat had impressed
CHAP. V. upon the natives, whether Prince or people, the conviction
1826. that Bhurtpore was the bulwark of the liberties of India,
and destined to arrest the march of European triumph.
The disappointment of these expectations, at a moment
when it had been widely rumoured that the strength
of the British Government was exhausted in a distant
and disastrous warfare, diffused a sense of awe and
apprehension amongst the native states, and tranquil-
lised, at least for a season, the ferment which had for
some time past disquieted Hindustan. It was now felt
that resistance was hopeless, and that any opposition to
the British power must end in the destruction of its
adversary.

The termination of the war with Ava, and the capture
of Bhurtpore, relieving the Government from any imme-
diate political duties, the Governor-General availed himself
of the opportunity to visit the Upper Provinces, and re-
animate by personal intercourse the amicable relations
which subsisted with the native princes. Lord Amherst
left Calcutta in the beginning of August, and arrived at
Cawnpore on the 16th of November, where all the petty
chiefs of Bundelkhand waited upon him; and he was
visited by the King of Oude. In return, the Governor-
General repaired to Lucknow; and an opportunity was
afforded him of a confidential communication with the
King with respect to the management of his country.
However well disposed towards his allies, and receiving
the Governor-General with the most cordial hospitality,
Ghazi ud din Hyder continued to deny the necessity of
any interposition in his affairs; appealing to the flourish-
ing appearance of his country in proof of the success of
his administration. In truth, with occasional exceptions,
the lands were covered with cultivation, and the people ap-
peared to be contented. The assessment was light; and
the revenues were levied without difficulty, although the
system of farming them was adhered to, and tended to
perpetuate extortion. The unfavourable accounts of the
condition of Oude had been much exaggerated,¹ and had

¹ Evidence to the contrary is not wanting. In 1824, a body of irregular
horse, marching from Shahabad to Pertabgerh in Oude, could find no spot on
which to encamp without injury to the crops; and in the following year, we
have the concurrent reports of different officers and travellers, that the vil-



principally originated in the turbulent spirit which prevailed upon the confines of the kingdom bordering on the British districts, where a race of refractory landholders, Rajputs by tribe and soldiers by profession, considered it a disgrace to comply peaceably with the demands of the state, and paid their revenue only to military collectors. The belief that the evil was, in a great measure, of a limited extent, and the strong objections of the king, had latterly induced the government to refrain from urging suggestions of Reform; and their forbearance had been requited by the opportune assistance of the hoarded treasures of Sadat Ali. At the end of 1825, a perpetual loan of a crore of rupees, a million sterling, was made to the Company by the King of Oude, of which the interest, at 5 per cent., was to be paid to members of his family, and in particular to his favourite minister Aga Mir, whom he thus hoped to secure against the animosity of the heir apparent, with whom the minister and king had both been long at variance, although they had latterly, in appearance at least, been reconciled. In the following year, a second loan, of half a million, was lent for a period of two years. The interview with the Governor-General closed the intercourse with the King of Oude. He died in October, 1827. Ghazi ud din Hyder, although indolent and addicted to habits of intemperance, was not devoid of sagacity or judgment: he perfectly well understood the nature of his connexion with the British Government; and in his correspondence with the Governor-General, had not unfrequently the advantage. He was an encourager of letters¹ and the arts; was of a kind and conciliating disposition, and cultivated a friendly familiarity with the successive residents at his court. He was too much under the influence of self-interested advisers, his ministers, and his begums; but his reign was unstained by violence or cruelty; and he afforded a not unfavourable specimen of an Asiatic prince. He was succeeded by his eldest

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

1826.

ages were populous: no complaints of over-assessment were heard; and the face of the country was a perfect garden, equal to the best cultivated districts in the Company's territories.

¹ A large work, the *Hefi Kulzum*, a dictionary of Arabic with a Persian interpretation, in six folio volumes, was compiled and printed at his expense; and copies were presented to the chief public libraries in India and Europe. European artists of different professions were liberally maintained in his service.



HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK III. son Soliman Jah, who took the title of Nasir-ud-din
CHAP. V. Hyder.

1827.

After passing some days at Lucknow, the Governor-General proceeded to Agra, where he arrived early in January, 1827 — and was there met by all the Chiefs of Malwa, and missions from the Mahratta princes, Holkar and Sindhia. The former was still a minor; and the conduct of the state was vested in the ministers, under the control of the Resident, Mr. Wellesley, who, for many years, exercised with remarkable judgment and efficiency almost unbounded authority over the territory subject to Indore, and through his assistants, over the adjacent countries, whether subject to petty independent princes, or constituting districts belonging to Holkar and Sindhia, which had been placed under the management of British officers. For some time he was steadily seconded by the principal minister, Tantia Jög, one of the actors in the turbulent scenes that had preceded hostilities in 1819, and who therefore well knew the value of the protection given to the immature years of his sovereign, by the presence of a British Resident. He died in the beginning of May, 1826; but his death made no change in the relations which connected Mulhar Rao Holkar with his allies. The mission from Sindhia was headed by Hindu Rao, the brother of his favourite wife, Baiza Bai. The Raja himself had been long suffering from illness, and his early dissolution was expected. The representations of his ministers, supported by the Resident, urging him to adopt a son and successor, as he had no son of his own, were of no avail in overcoming his reluctance to a measure which was considered essential to perpetuate the existence of the Gwalior state. He declared, that he had no relations in whom he was interested, or among whom he could select an eligible object of adoption; and he was satisfied to leave the future to the determination of the British Government, who might make whatever disposition they thought best. The real cause of his reluctance, however, was his attachment to Baiza Bai, who had long exercised an imperious influence over his mind, and to whom he wished to bequeath the substantial authority of the state although the opposition of the principal persons of his court, and probably some misgivings of the result, deter-



red him from declaring her his successor.¹ Dowlat Rao BOOK III.
Sindhia died in March, 1827. He had reigned thirty-three CHAP. V.
years, during the first ten of which he was virtual sove-
reign of the greater part of Hindustan, holding in subjec-
tion Delhi and its titular monarch, the upper part of the
Doab, and the larger portion of Bundelkhand and Malwa,
levying tribute from the princes of Rajputana, dictating
terms to his nominal superior, the Peshwa, and having at
his command a formidable force, not only of the national
arm, light cavalry, and a host of irregular foot, but of
forty disciplined battalions, and an imposing train of one
hundred and forty pieces of artillery directed by European
officers. His fatal quarrel with the British Government
annihilated his army, and transferred to his enemies all
his territories in Hindustan. The Pindari war may have
suggested to him the possibility of recovering some of his
lost domains; and the hope, concurring with his supposed
duty to the head of the Mahrattas, seduced him into a
temporary deviation from the cautious line of policy which
he had till then pursued, and exposed him to a further
diminution of his power. The penalty, however, was not
inflicted, and, satisfied with his escape, Dowlat Rao devot-
ed himself thenceforward to indolence and amusement,
and indulged no longer in dreams of political importance.
He seems also to have discarded all feelings of resentment
against those to whom he owed his humiliation, and to
have confided implicitly in the good will of the British
Government, whose representatives were admitted to his
familiarity, almost to his friendship.²

Shortly after the demise of Sindhia, a paper was pro-
duced, purporting to contain the expression of his last
wishes, agreeably to which an heir was to be adopted, but
an indefinite regency was to be entrusted to Baiza Bai,
for whom the protection of the Company was solicited.
The document proved to be supposititious, but it was ad-

¹ Sindhia, in a conference with the Resident, intimated another although not altogether dissimilar motive. If a son were adopted by him, the custom of the Mahrattas required that the adoptive mother should be the senior of the Bais—who was not Baiza but Rukma Bai; and the latter was notoriously unfit for the office of Regent, which would have devolved on her as the mother of the minor Raja. Sutherland's Sketches, 155.

² The report of the Resident, Major Stewart, represents in so interesting a manner, the circumstance of Sindhia's decease, and with so just an appreciation of his character, that it is highly worthy of perusal. It is given in the Appendix iii.



BOOK III. CHAP. V.
1827. mitted to be evidence of the Raja's intentions; and the adoption of a son, and the regency of the Baï, were authorised under a general assurance of protection. Five boys remotely related to Sindhia, were brought to Gwalior from the Dekhin, of whom, Mukht Rao, a lad of eleven years of age, the son of an obscure individual, descended from the common ancestor of the family, was selected, with the approbation of the Resident. He was forthwith affianced to the grand-daughter of Sindhia by Baizā Baï, and was placed upon the cushion of sovereignty, on the 18th of June, 1827. At Sindhia's death, the pension paid to him by the British Government, of four lakhs of rupees a year, ceased; and, as this had furnished the principal fund for the regular pay of the contingent commanded by British officers, and constituting the only force in the service of Gwalior upon which dependence could be placed, it was necessary to provide other means of meeting the expence. After some negotiation, the Regent Baï, with an ulterior view to her own interests, consented to advance to the Company, a loan or deposit of eighty lakhs of rupees, the interest of which at five per cent. was to be applied to the payment of the contingent force. The arrangement thus accomplished, involved the seeds of future dissension; but the minority of the adopted successor, obviated their immediate development.

From Agra, the Governor-General, after a visit to the young Raja of Bhurtpore, continued his journey to Delhi, where the envoys of the different Rajput states attended his durbar. With the chief of these, especially Jaypur, complicated questions of policy had for some time subsisted, arising out of the fluctuating and uncertain manner in which British interposition was exercised, the wish and at the same time the difficulty of withdrawing from it. The solution of the problem continued equally to occupy the consideration of the succeeding administration; and as the most important events which sprang from it, belong to a later date, an account of them may be reserved for a future occasion. The interviews which took place with the fallen majesty of Delhi, were, upon this occasion, regulated with the most minute precision; and the dignity of the Governor-General was scrupulously asserted. The King, by the concessions to which he yielded, indulged the hope of



procuring an addition to his pecuniary resources, on the ground of the improved revenues of the assigned territories. He was disappointed in his expectations. The assignment of any specified territory was denied; and the limitation in the original paper, which was declared to be a paper of intentions, and not any engagement, by which it was proposed, that if the revenues admitted the Royal stipend should be augmented to a lakh of rupees a month, fixed the amount of any future augmentation: but, whatever conditions might have been thought to exist at an earlier period, they were superseded by the arrangements concluded in 1809, when a fixed money grant was assigned without any reference to territorial revenue. His majesty was by no means satisfied with this decision, and appealed from it to the authorities in England, not wholly without success; as, although the existence of the engagement was disallowed, an accession to his stipend was authorised, by which it was to be raised to the sum of fifteen lakhs a year: the circumstances which induced his majesty to decline acceptance of the increase belong to a later period.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

1827.

After leaving Delhi, Lord Amherst repaired to Simla on the lower range of the Himalaya, now for the first time the temporary residence of the Governor-General of British India. During his residence, friendly missions were interchanged with Ranjit Sing, whose career of conquest was for a time checked by the insurrection of his Afghan subjects on the west of the Indus, at the call of Syed Ahmed, a fanatical Mohammedan. This man, originally a trooper in the service of Amir Khan, departed for Delhi, when the predatory force of that chief was disbanded, and there set up for a reformer of the faith of Islam, professing to restore it to its original purity, and to divest it of all idolatrous and superstitious innovations. Wholly illiterate himself, he found men of learning to advocate his doctrines; and he speedily obtained proselytes and followers. After a visit to Calcutta, and a pilgrimage to Mecca, which added to his reputed sanctity, Syed Ahmed returned by way of the former city, to the Upper Provinces, and, after some interval, appeared in the Punjab, where, in December, 1826, he proclaimed a holy war against the infidel Sikhs. That his cause should have found numerous adherents among the Afghans, who had



BOOK III. been compelled to an enforced subjection to Sikh do-
CHAP. V. minion was to have been expected; but the enterprise
1827. excited a strong interest among the Mohammedans
throughout India, and from every principal town where
they formed a portion of the population — from Delhi,
Lucknow, Surat, Hyderabad, and even from Madras and
Calcutta, contributions of money and jewels were des-
patched to him; and the younger and more adventurous
marched to enlist under his banners. His forces were
thus raised to between thirty thousand and forty thou-
sand men; but their undisciplined and ill-organised fana-
ticism was unequal to resist the more steady valour of
the Sikh battalions, and they were defeated with great loss
at Naushera, near the Indus, by the army of Ranjit, under
Budh Sing. The insurgents were for a time dispersed;
but they again collected, and, for several years, maintain-
ed a partial and desultory warfare. Quarrels among them-
selves reduced their numbers and impaired their strength;
and early in 1831, Syed Ahmed was defeated and slain, in
an action with a Sikh detachment commanded by the
prince Shir Sing. His death put an end to the con-
test.¹

During the residence of the Governor-General in the
mountains, hostilities of a different character, in which
the interests of India were concerned, although remotely,
broke out between Russia and Persia. The direct inter-
course of the Court of Persia with the English Cabinet of
St. James's, was no longer recommended by any political
advantage, and was found to be productive of much incon-
venience and embarrassment. It was therefore resolved
to revert to the former channel of communication — to
discontinue the appointment of a *Chargé d'Affaires* on the
part of the Crown — and to despatch an envoy to Tehran
in the name of the East India Company. Upon the first
proposal of this arrangement to the king, Futteh Ali Shah
treated it as an indignity offered to his person, and refused
to admit an envoy from the Indian Government. Being
assured, however, that in that case no British representa-
tive would be appointed to his Court, and unwilling to
lose the support of a British officer in the impending rup-

¹ Prinsep's *Life of Runjeet Sing*, 145. M'Gregor's *History of the Sikhs*
1. 196.



ture with Russia — importuned also by the urgent representations of his eldest son, Abbas Mirza — he yielded, after some delay, a reluctant acquiescence, and consented to send an agent to Bombay to conduct the mission to his capital. Lieut.-Colonel Macdonald, who had been appointed envoy since 1824, and had been directed to await the issue of the negotiation at Bombay, proceeded accordingly, and joined the camp of the Shah at Ahar in September, 1826. He found the Persians engaged in hostilities with Russia, and claiming that pecuniary assistance to which they considered themselves entitled by the Definitive Treaty concluded at Tehran in 1814 in the event of an unprovoked attack upon Persia by a European power.¹ Admission of the justice of the claim depended upon the determination of the question — Who in the present instance was the aggressor?

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.

Upon the termination of the preceding war with Russia, a boundary line between the two countries had been laid down in a general and vague manner; and its precise direction was left to be adjusted by commissioners appointed on either side. In the course of the adjustment, many differences and delays arose, which were reciprocally imputed to intentional obstructions, and were the topics of mutual ill-will and recrimination. The cabinet of St. Petersburg pertinaciously objected to the only arrangement by which a settlement of the dispute was feasible — the arbitration of British officers; and the frontier remained in consequence undetermined. The tribes situated in the disputed tracts, subject to no recognised control, transferred their allegiance at their pleasure to either of the parties, and were the cause of frequent annoyance to both. Their chiefs were also encouraged, when they had

¹ The 4th Article of the Treaty of Tehran, ran thus:—"It having been agreed by an Article in the preliminary Treaty concluded between the high contracting powers, that in case of any European nation invading Persia, should the Persian government require the assistance of the English Government, the Governor-General of India, on the part of Great Britain, shall comply with the wish of the Persian Government, by sending from India the force required, with officers, ammunition, and warlike stores; or, in lieu thereof, the English Government shall pay an annual subsidy, the amount of which shall be regulated in a Definitive Treaty to be concluded between the high contracting parties; it is hereby provided, that the amount of the said subsidy shall be two hundred thousand tomans annually. It is further agreed, that the said subsidy shall not be paid, in case the war with such European nation shall have been produced by an aggression on the part of Persia."—Treaties printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.



BOOK III. incurred the displeasure of the officers of one state, to
CHAP. V. seek an asylum within the limits of the other, and were
protected against the consequences of their contumacy.
1827. It were difficult to decide which was most to blame.
Apparently neither was actuated by a sincere desire to
conclude a definitive settlement. Abbas Mirza, the eldest
son and acknowledged successor of Futteh Ali Shah, who
governed the frontier provinces of Azerbaijan, relinquished
with great reluctance any portion of his country, and
trusted to the occurrence of some favourable opportunity
for recovering the territory which the preceding war had
wrested from Persia; while the Cabinet of St. Petersburg,
steadily pursuing its system of progressive encroachment,
silently countenanced the dilatory proceedings of its com-
missioners in determining the boundary question. It had
gone farther, and had occupied a strip of land on the
north-west of the Gokcha Lake belonging, by its own
admission to Persia—in retaliation, it was affirmed, of
the Persian appropriation of a tract between the Chudao
and Kapanek rivers, which, by the treaty of Gulistan, had
been expressly assigned to Russia. The latter power,
however, proposed to exchange the disputed districts;
but the transfer was objected to by Abbas Mirza, on the
ground that the command of the Gokcha Lake, would
facilitate any attack of the Russians on Erivan, a strong
fortress, held by a chief who acknowledged allegiance to
Persia, and had always been the unrelenting enemy of the
Russians. Whilst the subject was under discussion, the
Russians extended their posts to the south of the lake,
and took possession of the whole of its circuit, refusing to
withdraw their troops without the orders of the Emperor.
Abbas Mirza was, in consequence, ordered to the frontier
with a military force; and the division of his army crossed
the boundary, and forcibly dislodged the Russian posts
from the borders of the Gokcha Lake. The appearance
of a Persian army was the signal for a general rising of the
tribes of Karabagh, Shirwan, and Daghistan, who were
unwilling subjects of Russia; and they joined the prince
in great numbers. General Yermoloff, the Governor of
Georgia, unprepared for the aggression, was too weak to
repel it. The negotiations which had been pending, had
been, nevertheless, uninterrupted; and Prince Menzikoff



had been sent to Tehran, to effect an amicable accommodation with the Shah, when the rashness of Abbas Mirza put an end to the prospect of a pacific agreement. Although, therefore, the encroachments of Russia were of a nature to provoke the resentment of the Persian court, yet as long as an apparent readiness to submit its pretensions to equitable adjustment was manifested, no sufficient excuse was furnished for actual hostilities; and the charge of aggression was fairly ascribable, either to the recklessness or the policy of Abbas Mirza. The British envoy, therefore, objected to the payment of the subsidy as not due according to the terms of the treaty; and Persia was compelled to carry on the war on her own responsibility, and with her own unaided resources.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.

Some unimportant successes attended the first movements of the Prince. A Russian battalion was surprised and defeated, and the town of Shisha was surrendered. Abbas Mirza then despatched a strong division, under the command of his eldest son, Mohammed Mirza, towards the frontier of Georgia; but the Prince was met by a Russian force under General Madadoff, at the village of Shantkhai, and completely routed. To repair the consequences of this disaster, the prince moved with all his forces, estimated at thirty thousand horse and as many foot, with forty-four guns, against Ganja, which Madadoff had occupied, and where he had been joined by General Paskevitch, with his division. Although the Russians were greatly inferior in number, the fire from their artillery was so destructive, that the Persians attempted in vain to charge them; and, after sustaining severe loss, they broke and dispersed. Abbas Mirza, with not more than ten thousand men, retreated to Asplanduz, leaving the line of the Aras open to the enemy. The river was crossed, and the Russian General had advanced to within sixty miles of Tabriz, when he hesitated to follow up his advantage, and fell back to retain possession of Karabagh. At the same time, some desultory incursions, which had been attempted on the Georgian frontier by the Sirdar of Erivan, had terminated in the discomfiture of the Persians; and no doubt could be entertained of the result, when the whole available strength of Russia should be applied to the conflict.



BOOK III. After a short interval, rendered necessary by the inclemency of the season, during which the British envoy vainly endeavoured to impress upon Abbas Mirza the hopelessness of the contest, hostilities were resumed in Karabagh, by the advance of General Madadoff to the Aras; and in Georgia, by a demonstration against Erivan. Neither of these movements were successful; but they were soon repeated, under the able direction of General Paskevitsch, who had been appointed to the government of Georgia. Leaving a force to observe Erivan, he marched to besiege Abbasabad, on the Aras. Learning that Abbas Mirza and the prime minister, the Asaf ud Dowla, had arrived in the vicinity to cover the fortress, he crossed the river, and on the 16th of July, came upon the Persian army, a portion of which had been concealed in a ravine, and was intended to fall upon the Russian flank, while engaged with the main body. The ambuscade was discovered; and guns were brought to bear upon the Persians stationed at the bottom of the ravine, by the fire of which they were nearly all destroyed. The defeat of the main force was equally complete. After the action, the Russians recrossed the Aras, and summoned the garrison of Abbasabad to surrender. The fort was given up; and as it was the key to the Persian provinces south of the river, its fall menaced the speedy loss of the whole of Azerbijan. The interposition of the British envoy was now resorted to; and a letter was addressed by him to the Russian General, to learn the terms on which negotiations might be based. These were the cession of the territory north of the Aras, and the payment of seven hundred thousand Tomans for the expenses of the war, stipulations to which the Shah was not yet prepared to accede; and the negotiation was broken off. The extreme heat of the weather, and the sickness of the Russian army, prevented General Paskevitsch from following up his success. Abbas Mirza, and Hassan Khan, the Sirdar of Erivan, repaired to the fortress of the latter, in the hope of creating a diversion and relieving the line of the Aras from the pressure of the Russian army.

The movement in the direction of Erivan was not ill conceived, and was at first attended with advantage. The division of the Russian army left by General Paskevitsch



to observe Erivan, was attacked, in the beginning of August, at Abiran, by Abbas Mirza and the Sirdar, and after an obstinate engagement, which lasted from dawn till sunset, was entirely defeated, with the loss of nine hundred killed, and a thousand taken prisoners, and of six guns and a great quantity of arms and ammunition. The victory was due to the steadiness of the infantry and artillery of the Persian army, which had been trained in European discipline. The disaster was speedily retrieved. Paskevitch returned with all his force to Erivan, and the Prince and the Sirdar retreated; the former to Mount Ararat, and the latter to the fortress of Sirdarabad, to which the Russians immediately laid siege. After the batteries had been constructed and the walls were breached, the garrison effected their escape, and the fort was taken possession of without resistance. The more important fortress of Erivan was next besieged. The batteries were opened on the 7th of October, and on the 19th a storm was ordered; when the garrison to the number of three thousand, laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. This decided the fate of the campaign.

Taking advantage of the consternation occasioned by the capture of Erivan, Prince Aristoff, in command of a Russian division which had previously advanced to Marand, proceeded to Tabriz, the capital of Abbas Mirza. It was defended by the principal minister of Persia, Ali Yar Khan; but upon the approach of the Russians, his troops abandoned him, and the inhabitants hastened to make their submission to the Russians. The Prince, deserted by his troops, and in a state of utter destitution, retired to Ali Bengloo, whither he was accompanied by Colonel Macdonald, who had been indefatigable in his endeavours to effect a negotiation with the Russians. Although declining to admit of his intervention as the representative of Great Britain, the Russian authorities declared that they were willing to avail themselves of his individual mediation to induce the Shah and his son to submit to the terms on which they insisted; threatening, in the event of non-compliance, to march to Tehran and dissolve the government of the Kajars; a government, of which assurances from all parts of Persia of anxiety to be taken

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.
1827.



BOOK III. under the Russian dominion, indicated the extreme un-
CHAP. V. popularity. Notwithstanding the impending danger, the
1827. Shah was with difficulty prevailed upon to part with any
of his hoarded treasures in order to provide the pecuniary
indemnification. The Russians, at first, demanded fifteen
Crores of Tomans, but after a time, reduced the sum to
eight, of which six and a half were to be paid forthwith :
but the king obstinately refused to advance more than
six ;¹ and hostilities were on the point of being renewed.
Arrangements were, however, devised for supplying the
deficiency ; one of which was the payment of two hundred
thousand Tomans by the Indian Government, as an
equivalent for the final abrogation of the articles of the
Treaty of Tehran, which provided for a conditional sub-
sidy.² This impediment being surmounted, a treaty of
peace was concluded on the 23rd of February, 1828, at
Turkmanchai, by which the Khanats of Erivan and
Nakchivan, with the fortress of Abbasabad, were ceded
to Russia ; and a frontier line, generally following the
course of the Aras to the Caspian Sea, was established.
Besides this loss of territory, the result of the war was
the complete prostration of Persia before the power of
Russia, and the loss of that influence which the British
Mission had hitherto enjoyed. The subservience of Persia
to Russia is, however, but the concession of weakness to
force ; and inspires in the minds of the natives of Persia
no other sentiments than those of resentment and ani-
mosity. The decline of British influence is no subject of
regret in a political point of view ; for the alliance of so
feeble a state could never have added to the security of
India, and might have been the cause of embarrassment
to Great Britain. The chief author of this last and fatal
struggle with Persia, Abbas Mirza, died at the end of
1833. The support of Russia, and concurrence of England,
secured the acknowledgment of his son, Mohammed Mirza,

¹ These are the sums specified in the public despatches ; but the crore must have a very different value from that attached to it in India, where it denotes ten millions. A toman is equal to about twenty-four-shillings, which would make the Russian claim, therefore, equivalent to above a hundred and fifty millions sterling ; an impossible sum : and, in fact, their first demand is stated in English money by the authority referred to, at £4,150,000 ; the sum paid will have been little more than two millions.

² The articles were cancelled by agreement with Abbas Mirza, ratified by the Shah. March, 1828.—Treaties printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.



as heir apparent, and his eventual succession to the throne

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

1827.

The Governor-General quitted the hills at the end of June, and returned in October to Calcutta; where the remainder of his residence in Bengal was occupied in carrying forward the measures that had been long in progress for the amelioration of the internal administration of the British provinces. The short duration of his government, and the absorbing interest of the war with Ava, had unavoidably interfered with due attention to internal improvement; but it had not been overlooked: and the several Presidencies had been diligently engaged, in proportion to their opportunities, in providing for a variety of important objects. In Bengal, the attention of the government was mainly taken up by a laborious revision of past proceedings, or in devising plans for the future, which were brought into full effect under the succeeding administration. We have already had occasion to notice the former, in adverting to the despatch of the Bengal Government of February, 1827, in reply to the several communications received from the Court of Directors, between that date and 1814, on the subject of the Judicial Institutions of the Presidency of Bengal. In this letter, the measures suggested by the Court, in 1814, for the remedy of the defects in the judicial system, in the three branches, civil, criminal, and police, so strongly commented upon in the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1812, were taken into careful consideration, after a reference to all the principal judicial and revenue local authorities. The remedial arrangements recommended by the Court, resolved themselves into three heads:—1. The extended employment, in the distribution of civil justice, of native agency, and especially in the form of Panchayats, and of individuals possessing authority or influence, as the headmen of villages, opulent landowners, and the like. 2. The limitation of appeals, simplification of process, reduction of expense, and establishment of a new court of Sudder Diwani Adaulut: and, 3. The transfer from the judicial to the revenue authorities, of claims regarding land, disputes concerning boundaries, and the interchange of written engagements between the landowners and the ryots.



BOOK III. Under the first of these heads, it was satisfactorily
CHAP. V. shown in the reply, that the system pursued at Madras,
1827. and therefore enjoined to the authorities in Bengal, what-
ever might be its advantages in the former presidency, was utterly impracticable in the latter, for reasons which we have already had occasion to recapitulate.¹ At the same time, the soundness of the principle of extending native agency was unreservedly acknowledged; and it was announced, that arrangements for such extension were in progress. With regard to the limitation of appeals, it was not considered advisable to restrict it within narrower bounds than those already prescribed; nor was it looked upon as possible, with a due regard to the efficiency of the courts, to make any material alteration in the forms of process, or any considerable diminution of the charges which were not such as to discourage the prosecution of just claims. In the usefulness of a separate supreme court, of both civil and criminal justice, or Sudder and Nizamat Adaulats, for the western provinces, the local authorities concurred. Under the third head, the letter enumerated the different regulations passed since the year 1814, having for their object the formation and preservation of an accurate record of landed rights and interests, the new powers granted to the revenue officers for the investigation of those rights, the determination of the title to exemption from revenue in lands held free, the adjustment of special matters connected with revenue of a local origin, and the adjudication of disputes concerning branches of revenue unconnected with land.²

In the department of Criminal Justice it was stated

¹ Vol. viii. p. 515. The Government of Bengal conclude, "We are, on the foregoing grounds, decidedly adverse to the introduction, as a formal and legalised part of our judicial system for the administration of civil justice at this Presidency, of the village and district panchayat institutions established at Fort St. George. The Sudder Diwani Adaulat, the Board of Commissioners in the Western Provinces, and almost without exception all the public officers who have been consulted on the subject, have expressed a similar opinion."—Report, Select Comm. H. of Commons, 1832. Judicial. Appendix, p. 76.

² The principal Regulations passed for these purposes are of a prior date, and have been noticed. Of those of a similar tendency, which fall within the period under review, may be specified Reg. XIII., 1824, assigning fixed salaries to the office of Sudder Amin; and one of 1827, extending his jurisdiction in civil suits to 1,000 rupees; and Regulations XIX., 1824, and IX., 1825, authorising collectors to adjudicate summary suits for arrears of rent, to let in farm, or take under government management, estates saleable for arrears of revenue, and to call upon all holders of lands rent-free, or under permanent assignment for the production of title, with other subordinate provisions,



that the powers of the magistrates had been much extended of late years; and that the consequence had been, the relief of the circuit judges from much of their labour.¹ Authority had been also given to the magistrates to refer to the law officers of the courts, and the principal Sudder Amins, the adjudication of charges for petty offences, subject to appeal to the magistrate. To entrust similar powers to the inferior police and judicial native officers, Darogas and Munsiffs, would be likely, it was asserted, to lead to much abuse and to disturb, rather than promote the peace and harmony of the village communities. Decided objection was also taken to the union of the office of magistrate with that of collector, as proposed by the Court, on the plea of incompatibility of functions, and the entire absorption of the time of the collector in the yet unsettled provinces by revenue details. The advantage of separating the duties of magistrate and judge, and confining the former to his peculiar functions, had been practically recognised; and the arrangement had been adopted in several districts² with beneficial results.

From the tenor of this despatch, it is evident, that although some progress had been made in the improvement of the administration of justice, yet the advance was only tardily progressive, and much remained to be accomplished to adapt the system to the necessities of the country. In like manner, the progress made in the revenue settlements of the Upper Provinces was tedious and inconclusive; and the Government was far from being prepared to fix the limits of assessment for any protracted period. Temporary adjustments were, therefore, still unavoidable; and the existing settlements in the Conquered and Ceded provinces were severally renewed, in 1824 and 1826, for a further term of five years.³

The Government of Madras, under the Presidency of Sir Thomas Munro, also entered upon an investigation of

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.
1827.

¹ In the case of burglaries, for instance, it is stated, that those punished by the Court of Circuit amounted in 1817 and in 1818 to more than a thousand; and in 1822 and 1823 they had diminished to three hundred and forty-six and three hundred and twenty-three, respectively.—Report, App. Judicial, p. 117.

² Hoogly, Jessore, Nuddea, Purnia and Tirhoot. "The practical advantages which have resulted from the experiment, have fully realised the expectations which we had formed."—Report Comm. Judicial App. p. 110.

³ Regulation IX., 1824, for the Conquered provinces and Bundelkand; and II., 1826, for the Ceded provinces.



BOOK III. the past arrangements in the several departments of the
CHAP. V. Judicial Administration, especially with a view to shew

1827.

that no evil had arisen from the reduction of the provincial or Zilla courts, superintended by the Company's servants, and that the greatest benefits had resulted from the extended activity of the District Native Judges. In order, however, to provide for the more ready access of the people to the superior Courts, and to train up a body of judicial servants for the higher departments, auxiliary courts were instituted under European assistant judges, with full civil and criminal powers, but with certain limitations as to local jurisdiction;¹ and, shortly afterwards, courts were established with the same powers and limitations under native judges,² to whom both a civil and criminal jurisdiction was intrusted over all persons within the districts placed under their authority, except Americans and Europeans. A regulation was also enacted in the same year³ for the gradual introduction of trial by jury into the criminal judicature of the territories subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George. The juries were to be summoned at the gaol-deliveries of the courts of circuit at the discretion of the judges. They were to be chosen from among respectable inhabitants of the district, whether Mohammedans or Hindus, with certain specified exemptions agreeably to lists to be prepared by the officers of the court. A jury was to be composed for each trial of not fewer than eight, nor more than twelve members, the agreement of two-thirds of the number was essential to the verdict; a pecuniary allowance of one rupee a day was granted to each juror while in attendance on the court. At Madras, however, as well as in Calcutta, where a similar measure was subsequently adopted, service on

¹ Regulation I. XI. 1827. They were appointed at first in the districts forming the jurisdiction of the Zilla Courts of Canara, Malabar, Cuddapa, Madura, Salem, and Masulipatam. While proposing the arrangement, Sir T. Munro remarks, "It is not more courts that are wanted for the protection of the ryots from exaction, and of the inhabitants in general from theft and robbery, but more systematic experience, and consequently more aptitude among our local officers, both Native and European, for the discharge of their several duties."—Minute of the President, 30th Jan., 1827.—Report, Comm. Judicial, App. 233.

² They were empowered subsequently to decide civil suits to the extent of five thousand rupees. Section V. of Regulation I. 1827, which affixed that limit for the auxiliary court being equally applicable to the native court, by Regulation VII. 1827, Sect. V. Criminal Judicature was assigned to the native judges by Regulation VIII. of the same year.

³ Regulation X. 1827.



juries was felt by the natives to be a grievance, rather than a privilege; and in neither presidency has it ever been fully carried into operation.¹

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

1827.

The progress of improvement in the civil administration of Madras, which had derived its chief impulse from the active and able superintendence of Sir Thomas Munro, was interrupted by his death. It had been his wish to have resigned his office at an earlier period, when the commencement of the war with Ava imposed upon him the duty of remaining at his post. During the war, he was indefatigable in promoting the objects of the expedition, and in furnishing men and supplies from Madras for the prosecution of hostilities. As soon as peace was restored, he renewed the expression of his earnest desire to be relieved, and anxiously solicited the appointment of a successor. A delay of a twelvemonth intervened between his resignation and the selection of the Hon. J. Lushington to take his place; and in the interval, an attack of Cholera disappointed his hopes of enjoying in his native land the retrospect of a long and honourable career of public duty. He died at Putecondah, in the Ceded districts, on the 6th of July, 1827. Of the many servants of the East India Company who have risen to merited distinction, none more richly deserved the honours with which his service had been rewarded, and the esteem which had accompanied him through life, or the universal sorrow which lamented his decease.²

Still greater activity was exhibited in the task of legislation at Bombay under the direction of the Governor, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, and, in the course of 1827, a series of regulations was promulgated, constituting a complete code of the enactments of the Government, under the several heads of Civil and Criminal Law, Police, Revenue and Miscellaneous subjects. These regulations superseded all previous enactments. They were

¹ "With regard to the introduction of native juries, the Court of Directors have approved of the hesitation of this Government to adopt the measure, and of the suspension of the Regulation passed for the purpose of introducing it."—Minute by the Governor of Madras, Sept. 1830.—Report Comm. House of Commons, General Appendix III. p. 264.—Regulations I. to XXIX. 1827.

² The General Orders of the Madras Government, the resolutions of a numerous meeting of the European and Native community, and the resolutions of the Court of Directors bear concurrent testimony to the worth of his private and public character. — Life of Sir T. Munro, ii. p. 207.