



throne of the Mogul, and endeavouring to effect the conquest of all Hindostan, had entirely relinquished the basis on which they had uniformly professed to act. The contest with Holkar, breaking out with so formidable an aspect after all the others had closed, gave rise to painful feelings as to the endless duration of Indian hostility. The Directors, strongly influenced by public opinion, and struck by the enormous expenditure in which the campaign had already involved them, determined to change entirely the system on which their affairs were conducted. Accordingly, in place of the Marquis Wellesley, who, with or without reason, had acquired the reputation of a war-governor, they substituted the Marquis Cornwallis. This nobleman had not, indeed, while in power, pursued a course materially different; yet his character was generally esteemed moderate and conciliatory, and he was understood to disapprove of the extent to which conquest had now been carried. His instructions were to proceed on principles every way opposite to those of his predecessor,—to conclude peace almost at any price,—to form a defensive line beyond which English interference was not to extend; and to allow the native powers to treat and to fight with each other as if situated at the extremity of the globe.

The courts of directors and proprietors voted thanks to the Marquis Wellesley for his zeal, vigour, activity, and ability, to which they attributed in a great measure the brilliant successes which had crowned the British arms. They qualified the vote, however, by stating, that it was “without entering at present into the origin and policy of that war.” This reservation was deeply felt by the marquis, who intimated that, while the votes of thanks to the commanders had been communicated in general orders to the army, and in an extraordinary gazette, he considered it his duty to forego the gratification of publishing his own. These expressions would, he thought, convey a universal impression of doubt and uncertainty respecting all the recent arrangements and the permanency of all treaties with the native powers.

CHAP. XIV

A. D. 1804.

Marquis
Cornwallis
appointed
governor.

Qualified
acknowledg-
ment of
Wellesley's
services.



CHAP. XIV. He pressed the question home upon the courts, by observing, "the general fame of your equity and magnanimity precludes any supposition, that in condemning the justice of our cause, you would retain the fruits of our success."

A. D. 1804.

Questionable
safety of
abandoning
his policy.

Character of
the native
chiefs.

Danger
involved in a
change of
policy.

Admitting that the policy of Marquis Wellesley was not quite so pacific as his friends contended, it was very doubtful how far it could now with safety, or even with justice, be thus abruptly relinquished. A great power can seldom be justified in withdrawing from all concern in the contests of its neighbours, from endeavouring to protect the weak against the strong, and thereby preventing any one of them from acquiring a decided preponderance. It was perhaps chimerical to suppose that the principal native chiefs would cultivate habits of sincere peace, or entertain a solid attachment for the British government. They were for the most part usurpers, who had started up amid the ruins of one great empire; each seeking to aggrandize himself at the expense of the rest, and viewing undivided dominion as a prize at which he might aim. They had all, however, through the interposition of the Company, seen their aspiring views checked or baffled, their armies vanquished, and some of the brightest jewels plucked from their diadems. There could be little doubt, therefore, that when left to themselves there would be a struggle for the mastery; and that either by him who should succeed in this object, or by a league of all united, an effort would be made to overthrow the ascendancy of England, and to regain the possessions which she had wrested from them. According to the advocates of the Wellesley policy, the system pursued by that nobleman was so far advanced towards maturity that only one effort, of easy and assured success, was necessary to place all India in a state of tranquillity, and to keep down those discordant elements which would otherwise lay waste the country itself. By stopping short at this point, great part of the empire was involved in calamity and disorder, and the foundation laid for another expensive and even perilous struggle.



Lord Wellesley, owing to the state of his health, had announced the necessity of returning to Europe as soon as the contest with Scindia and the Rajah of Berar should have been brought to a termination. On learning, however, the rupture with Holkar, he intimated his willingness to remain, and bring it also to a close: but the views of the government at home were different. On the 30th July 1805, Marquis Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta; where, learning that the war was still going on, he determined to proceed immediately into the upper provinces, and make personal inquiry into the state of affairs. In his zeal for the public service, however, and to fulfil the anxious wish of his countrymen, he had undertaken this duty at a period when his age and infirmities rendered him very unequal to its performance. Under the fatigue of the voyage his illness daily increased, till on reaching the village of Gazypoor on the Ganges, he was obliged to land, and after lingering some time died on the 5th of October. Having been unable to reach his destination, while his mind as well as body were impaired by indisposition, he had been little able to receive or consider any fresh information. His place was supplied by Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the supreme council, who had reached that station through various gradations of service, which he had filled with distinction; but his previous habits had not accustomed him to take comprehensive and statesmanlike views of public interests. Regarding with the deepest respect the views of his predecessor, and considering them as supported by the government at home, he refused to listen to any arguments, or admit any of the modifications suggested by Lord Lake.

CHAP. XIV
A. D. 1804Arrival of the
Marquis
Cornwallis.

His death.

Sir George
Barlow.Judicious
proceedings
of Lord Lake.

That commander, although he disapproved of the new system, finding it was firmly established by the supreme power, judiciously sought to carry it into effect on the most advantageous footing. He managed, with great address, to draw the first overtures from Scindia; and as it had been determined to yield all the points in dispute, no difficulty was found in the conclusion of a treaty



CHAP. XIV. on the 23d November 1805. The Mahratta leader obtained the highly-important fortress of Gwalior, which he made his residence and capital; the Chumbul was fixed as the boundary between his possessions and those of the British, who agreed to dissolve their alliance with the Rajpoot princes and others whom he claimed as tributaries. This last measure was in accordance with the new political system; yet in the case of the Rajahs of Boondee and Jyepore, who on the ground of this connexion had performed important services, it was considered scarcely compatible with national faith.

Advantages
acquired by
Holkar.

Holkar, after being deserted by his ally, retreated with the wrecks of his army into the western provinces to seek refuge among the Seiks. They refused to receive him; and, being closely pursued by Lord Lake, he must have been reduced to extremities had he not been saved by the new policy which the military commanders were compelled to observe. No sooner did he ask for peace, than it was granted on terms so advantageous, as allowed him to regain almost all that he had lost during the war.

Consideration
of defensive
alliances.

Amid this general dissolution of defensive alliances, those formed on the great scale with the nizam and the peishwa necessarily came under consideration. The connexion with the latter, founded on the treaty of Bassein, and out of which the late war had arisen, was described by the Company as one which they were desirous to relinquish. Yet even Sir George Barlow, when he came to consider the proposed measures, could not but view them as fraught with extreme peril. To dissolve the alliance with these potentates, and to withdraw the troops by which they were at present overawed, would have been to relieve the greater part of the powers of India from British control, while they were still animated by the most hostile feelings towards her; it would, in fact, have been to lay the foundation of a future confederacy for her downfall. The peishwa, likewise, notwithstanding his general aversion to the English, had motives, connected with the internal state of his dominions, which

Extreme
peril involved
in their
dissolution.



made him desirous, for the present at least, to claim on that ground the fulfilment of the treaty of Bassein.

CHAP. XIV.

A. D. 1807.

Sir George Barlow was succeeded in 1807 by Lord Minto, a prudent and intelligent nobleman, who endeavoured in his general system to maintain the pacific policy recommended by the Company, without shrinking from vigorous and even hostile demonstrations, when the conduct of the native powers appeared to render these necessary. The great states during his administration retained their position nearly unaltered; but animosities continued to ferment, which were destined to burst into a violent tempest, and to involve India afresh in a sanguinary war.

Lord Minto
appointed
governor.



CHAPTER XV.

Pindaree War—Conquest of the Mahrattas, &c.

Progress of the Pindarees—Their Character—Ameer Khan—Arrangements with the Peishwa—Trimbuckjee—He murders the Guzerat Minister—Is delivered up to the English—Escapes—Concessions required from the Peishwa—Marquis of Hastings arrives in India—Rupture with Nepaul—Death of General Gillespie—Successes of Ochterlony—Negotiations—Renewal of the War—Final Treaty—Alliance formed with Berar—Irruptions of the Pindarees—Opening of the Campaign against them—Treaties with Scindia and Ameer Khan—The Cholera attacks the Grand Army—Rise and Diffusion of that Malady in India—Alarming Accounts from Poonah—Operations against the Pindarees—The Adherents of Holkar join them—Battle of Mehidpoor—Treaty—Final Catastrophe of the Pindaree Chiefs—Movements of the Peishwa—He attacks the English—His Repulse and continued Flight—Repeated Defeats—Surrender—Intrigues at Nagpore—The Rajah attacks the English—Issue of the Contest—His Escape—Contest with Bhurtpoor—Disturbances in Bengal and the Circars—Campaign against Coorg—Troubles at Gwalior—Jondpore—Jeypore—Lord Bentinck succeeded by Lord Auckland—Contest with Goomsoor—Succession of Oude—Charges against the Rajah—His Deposition—Discussions on the Subject—Local Disturbances in India.

CHAP. XV. In the aspect which India at this period exhibited, the most remarkable feature consisted in the marauding habits of the people by whom so large a portion of it was occupied. A new power which rose without any basis to rest upon, without country or territory to claim for its own, and without any regular place in the political system, was chiefly supported by the roving tribes named Pindarees, who carried to an extreme all the predatory usages characteristic of Mahrattas. The latter, indeed, regarded plunder as an essential part of their policy; still they had a country and a home to which they were fondly attached; and they had regular occu-

A. D. 1807.

The Pinda-
rees.



pations which they followed in the intervals, unconnected with their more violent pursuits. Their chiefs aimed not merely to enrich themselves by booty, but also to attain political power. The Pindarees, on the contrary, were nothing more than robbers, elevated by their number into armies; and their boast was, not that they were able to encounter disciplined troops, but that they could elude them. If overtaken or surprised, the point of honour was, who should flee the most swiftly. No barrier arrested them; they penetrated the closest chain of military posts, finding a way even between the divisions of an army drawn up to oppose them; they desolated the countries in the rear; after which, making an immense circuit, they returned home by a different route. Their aim was, not to possess a district, but to sweep away all that was in it. Obligated to pass with a celerity almost preternatural, and to employ expeditious modes of extracting treasure, they inflicted the most merciless tortures to compel the owners to yield up their concealed hoards. Red-hot irons were applied to the soles of the feet; oil was thrown on the clothes, and inflamed; the head was tied into a bag filled with hot ashes and dust. The proudest exploit of a Pindaree was to steal a horse; and this operation was conducted with a dexterity which might put to shame the most skilful of their fraternity in Europe. They could carry one off from amid a crowded camp: stretched on their bellies they crept to the spot, and lay concealed till a favourable moment, when they cut the cords, mounted, and galloped off among the bushes with a rapidity that defied pursuit. When an enemy was distant, they divided into small parties, moving in a circular direction, so as to sweep the whole country. Their numbers were continually augmented by disbanded soldiers, and by persons of idle and desperate character. The leaders annually raised their standard on the northern bank of the Nerbudda at the termination of the rains, that they might be ready, as soon as the rivers should become fordable, to commence a general movement.

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1807.

Comparison
of the Mah.
rattas and
Pindarees.Barbarous
cruelties of
the Pinda-
rees.Dexterous
thefts.Predatory
system.



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1809.

Mohammedan predatory bands.

Ameer Khan.

The Patan and other Mohammedan troops, who, in the wreck of all the thrones occupied by their countrymen, had no longer a sovereign in whose service to fight, afforded another source whence predatory squadrons were formed and recruited. Most of them rallied round Ameer Khan, a bold and enterprising chief, who in the late war had fought under the banner of Holkar. He still retained his allegiance to that house, and attempted to direct its councils; but his main object was, with his chosen band of about 12,000 horse and 200 pieces of artillery, to overawe and extort contributions from the Rajpoot and other petty states in this part of India. Though equally destitute of fixed possessions, and as much devoted to plunder as the Pindarees, he acted more systematically, and aimed at the attainment of political influence; yet, in Sir John Malcolm's opinion, the Mohammedans, from their tendency to sink into indolence and luxury, are less to be dreaded than the Hindoos, who, though they yield for the moment, pursue their object, on the whole, with unwearied perseverance.

Expedition against Berar.

Tactics of Lord Minto.

Though Ameer Khan formed a power distinct from the Pindarees, he easily attracted large bodies of them to any enterprise that promised to gratify their appetite for plunder. Such was the expedition which, in 1809, he undertook against Berar, then governed by an effeminate unwarlike sovereign; and he would have succeeded in subverting that monarchy, had not Lord Minto wisely departed from his strictly defensive system. A strong detachment under Colonel Close was despatched into the territory of Nagpore, which, it was notified to Ameer, was under British protection. That adventurer made a blustering and indignant reply, but was soon, by a variety of circumstances, compelled to retreat into Malwa; and the governor-general, on farther consideration, gave up the design which he had once entertained, of finally crushing him.

Tardy arrangements with the peishwa.

The arrangements with the peishwa, meantime, proceeded also in a very unsatisfactory manner. That prince began, indeed, by courting the English, and even solicit-



ing the continuance of their subsidiary force in his territory ; but his object was to regain the control which he had almost entirely lost over his own dominions. Besides the provinces possessed by Scindia and other independent princes, numerous districts, especially in the south, had been parcelled out into *jaghires*, which, like the European fiefs in the Middle Ages, were held on the mere tenure of homage and military service. To make the resemblance more complete, the jaghiredars, during the recent period of public confusion, had secured for themselves a condition of almost complete independence. The Company felt considerable difficulty when importuned for aid against these chiefs, with many of whom, during the late exigencies, they had formed an alliance ; notwithstanding, they agreed to enforce over them the authority of the peishwa, not as an absolute sovereign, but as their liege lord. As these proud dependants, however, were little inclined to own even this imperfect obligation, they imposed on their head the frequent necessity of calling upon his allies to support his claims, and of declaring their possessions forfeited. Thus, in a few years, principally through the aid or fear of our countrymen, he had reduced most of these retainers, and enriched his treasury by extensive confiscation. Having completely recovered his power and provided the necessary funds, he resolved at once to shake off also the British yoke, and to re-establish his influence over the great feudatories of the Mahratta state. For this purpose he availed himself of the services of Trimbuckjee Dainglia, a bold, able, but very dissolute minister, raised from the lowest ranks, and entirely devoted to his master's purposes. The British resident from the first viewed with umbrage the elevation of this personage, and was soon brought into direct collision with him. The peishwa, among his other plans of aggrandizement, had revived certain ancient claims on the *quickwar* or sovereign of Guzerat, with whom also the Company had formed a subsidiary alliance. As the negotiations on this subject became extremely intricate, it was agreed that Gungadur Sastree,

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1800.

Jaghires.

Difficulty of dealing with them.

Bold position recovered by Scindia.

Trimbuckjee Dainglia.



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1809.

Gangadhur
sastree.His assassi-
nation.Decisive
measures of
the British
minister.

the prime minister of that state, should repair to the court of Poonah, and endeavour to place them on an intelligible basis; having, however, previously obtained a safe conduct from the English. From being supposed favourable to our interests, as well as from some personal causes, he incurred the enmity of Trimbuckjee and the peishwa; and to gratify their revenge, they prevailed upon him to accompany them to Punderpoor, where a religious festival of peculiar solemnity was to be celebrated. After their arrival Gungadhur, though indisposed, was induced to repair to the temple with a few unarmed attendants. On the way certain persons were heard asking in a whispering tone which was the sastree; to this it was answered that it was he who wore the necklace; but the question, it was imagined, was prompted by mere curiosity. The minister, having performed his devotions, was returning with a diminished escort, when several men, with long twisted cloths used for the purpose, called aloud to clear the way: and the sastree being thus left alone, they rushed upon him with drawn swords, and quickly pierced him with numerous wounds. Every thing conspired to render it manifest that Trimbuckjee was the author of this daring crime; for the assassins, who had left him in the temple, were seen running back with naked weapons. On the most trivial pretexts, however, he declined to submit to any formal investigation. In short, the inquiries of Mr Elphinstone, the resident, left no room to doubt that he was the direct instigator of the murder, and had obtained the full consent of Bajee Rao to its perpetration.

The British minister, on this emergency, determined to adopt the most decisive measures, and, with the view of giving effect to the negotiation, ordered the auxiliary force to approach nearer to Poonah. The peishwa, evidently apprehensive of being personally charged with the deed, evaded, on various grounds, all communication on the subject. At length, two persons in his confidence waited on the resident, apparently with a view to sound his intentions. Mr Elphinstone allowed them to under-



stand that there was no design of fixing the crime upon the peishwa; indeed, when he made any allusion to the rumour of Bajee's guilt, it was with the air of entire disbelief, and only to show the necessity of his disproving it by bringing the real offender to justice. It was demanded that Trimbuckjee, who was openly charged with the murder, should, with his two principal accomplices, be placed in close confinement to await a full investigation. The prince studiously employed every expedient to save his favourite; sometimes endeavouring to justify him, and at other times declaring it beyond his power to effect his arrest. The suspicion thus afforded of a determination to screen the offender, induced the resident, with the concurrence of the governor-general, to demand that he should be delivered into British custody. This proposal was of course still more revolting to the peishwa, who began to augment his troops; and it was understood that he was on the point of making common cause with his minister,—to flee with him from the capital, and endeavour to raise the Mahrattas against the Company. Mr Elphinstone then considered it indispensable to order the subsidiary force to march upon Poonah; but Bajee Rao, when he saw the sword about to be drawn, lost courage, and Trimbuckjee was delivered into the hands of the English. This they esteemed an important triumph, having long foreseen that they must ultimately come to a rupture with this person, who had shown a disposition the most evidently hostile; yet to have driven him from power, merely because he supported his master's interests and opposed a foreign influence, would have been extremely odious in the eyes of the nation. But the crime with which he stood charged, being aggravated in the view of the natives by every possible circumstance, as having been committed on a Bramin of high sanctity, and within the precincts of one of their holiest shrines, threw a great degree of popularity on the vigorous steps taken by the resident for its punishment.

Our countrymen conducted their prisoner to the strong fortress of Tannah in the island of Salsette, and watched

CHAP. XV

A. D. 1809.

Efforts of
Bajee Rao to
screen his
minister.

Trimbuckjee
delivered up
to the Eng-
lish.

Popular
hatred of his
crime.



CHAP. XV. him so narrowly that they did not admit a single native into the guard. But this excessive precaution was perhaps the very circumstance which defeated their object.

A. D. 1816

Jealous
guard of their
prisoner.

The vicinity was filled with the minister's adherents; and a groom in the service of one of the British officers, in passing near the terrace where the accused was allowed to walk, chanted gaily what was supposed to be a Hindoo song, but which really communicated a plan contrived for his escape. Through a small gap in the wall of the edifice, he reached a stable; and not being missed for a few minutes, succeeded in crossing the narrow channel which separates Salsette from the continent. He immediately hastened to the southern districts, where he began to levy troops, and raise the whole country against the English.

His escape.

Double
dealing of
Bajee Rao.

The peishwa disavowed all knowledge of the course taken by Trimbuckjee after his escape, as well as of the place of his retreat; and as no proof could be obtained of the falsehood of this declaration, the good understanding between the two states was not at first interrupted. Bajee's conduct, however, became more and more unsatisfactory. Troops were indeed sent, ostensibly to put down the insurrection; but they reported that they could not find an enemy; and, in fact, they held a friendly communication with the very individual whose plans they professed to oppose. The British resident farther learned that the prince was in active correspondence with the insurgents; that he had held an interview with Trimbuckjee at a village seventeen miles from Poonah; and had even forwarded to him liberal supplies of money; being at the same time employed in military preparations, with the intention, as was suspected, of co-operating with him. Secret negotiations were also carried on with Scindia, Holkar, and other Mahratta chiefs, for the purpose of uniting the whole confederation for the overthrow of British power. All remonstrances relative to these proceedings having been met by a positive denial, as well as by a refusal to adopt any of the measures demanded as proofs of an amicable disposition, it was

His correspondence
with the in-
surgents.

Native
confederation
against the
British.



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1817.

Decisive
measures of
the English
minister.Bajee Rao's
uncondi-
tional sur-
render.Severe
conditions
imposed.Marquis
of Hastings
appointed
governor.

thought inconsistent with sound policy to allow this combination to reach maturity. Mr Elphinstone ordered the subsidiary force to advance upon Poonah, and gave notice to the peishwa, that hostilities would commence within twenty-four hours, unless three of his strongest fortresses, Singurh, Rayree, and Poorundur, should be provisionally placed in the hands of the English, and assurance given that within a month Trimbuckjee would be again delivered up. Bajee Rao delayed some time to give any answer; but at length, with that infirmity of purpose which usually appeared in the hour of danger, he agreed unconditionally to all these terms. The fortresses were surrendered, and a price set on the head of the minister. Still the resident gave warning, that these concessions could not be considered as final; and that the peishwa, having forfeited the confidence of the Company, could not expect the treaty of Bassein to be renewed, unless under modifications, the extent of which must depend upon the next despatch from the governor-general. Accordingly it was soon after announced, that amicable relations could only be restored on the following terms:—That the subsidiary force should be augmented by 5000 horse and 3000 infantry, for the maintenance of which, territories yielding a revenue of 34 lacks of rupees must be ceded; that in this cession the strong city of Ahmednugger should be included; that his highness should renounce the character of head of the Mahratta confederacy, and cease to hold direct communication with any of the native powers. These severe conditions the peishwa sought by every effort to mitigate or elude; but as the resident remained inflexible, a treaty to this effect was signed on the 13th June 1817.

In carrying on the narrative of the transactions at Poonah, we have been led beyond the commencement of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, who arrived in the end of the year 1813. The Company, in appointing to this high station so eminent a military character, seemed to intimate a conviction that the pacific or merely defensive policy on which they had for some time acted,



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1813.

Change of
policy.Fierce tribes
of the Him-
malehs.

The Gorkha.

New king-
dom estab-
lished in
Northern
India.Plans of con-
quest.

could not be much longer maintained. Lord Hastings in fact soon indicated a disposition to resume the more active scheme of government so ably pursued by the Marquis Wellesley. He appeared resolved to suppress the growing power of the predatory associations; to renew the alliances with the Rajpoot and other minor chiefs; and generally to establish the control of the English over the Indian states. But his attention was for a time drawn off by movements in a new and somewhat unexpected quarter.

The extensive region which slopes downward from the summit of the Himmaleh to the plain of Hindostan has always been occupied by fierce and warlike tribes. Being, as described in a former chapter, broken into a number of narrow valleys separated by steep and lofty ridges, it had been parcelled out among various independent chiefs, never before united in such a way as to prove dangerous to the central kingdoms. Lately, however, the Gorkhas, a rude but brave race of men, led by a warlike commander, had conquered the valleys of Nepaul, the finest which intersect that magnificent range of mountains. Thither they transferred the seat of their government, and having by a skilful policy conciliated the neighbouring princes, had made this acquisition a step to farther conquest. They accordingly proceeded to subdue different tracts, till their territory extended above 800 miles in length, and comprehended nearly the whole Alpine region of Northern India. They then cast a longing eye towards the wide plain that spreads beneath, covered with all the riches of tropical cultivation, and capable of affording an ample revenue. Being generally superior to the native troops, both in courage and discipline, they might perhaps in favourable circumstances have founded an empire equal to that of Aurengzebe. They had, however, to encounter, not the fallen fragments of Mogul greatness, nor the loose squadrons of Mahratta horse, but the disciplined strength of that new power which had become paramount in Hindostan. The British, by the numerous victories gained in the late war,



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1814.

Apprehensions of British power.

Evasive policy.

Interference of the governor-general.

Ameer Sing's proceedings.

British forces take the field.

had extended their boundaries along nearly the whole line of this mountain-domain. The Gorkhas, on seeing their career thus checked, hesitated for some time whether they should commit themselves against so formidable an adversary. Meanwhile they appropriated certain small portions of territory, to which, by the vague tenures prevalent in that country, they could found some ancient claim. Repeated complaints being made, they at length agreed that deputies from either side should meet in order to examine and decide the pretensions to the land in dispute. The commissioners assembled; but those of Nepaul, it is alleged, showed a singular insensibility to the clearest proof of the total absence of right on their part to the favoured spots of which they had taken possession; and even where they were obliged to yield, the supreme authority evaded or retracted its sanction. At length the governor-general, considering the claim to a particular district most clearly established, sent a detachment, which provisionally occupied it, till these endless discussions should terminate. The Nepaulese did not at first oppose this movement; but as soon as the troops had retired during the unhealthy season, leaving only a small party to guard the frontier, they advanced in force and drove them out, killing and wounding several of their number. After this there was no longer room to hesitate as to the immediate necessity of warlike operations.

Ameer Sing, the able and enterprising commander of the Nepaulese, on grounds which it seems impossible fully to understand or justify, had taken post on the western extremity of their conquests. Lord Hastings, who, in 1814, sent into the field a force of 30,000 men, availing himself of the position assumed by the enemy, formed the plan of enclosing his army, and cutting it off from the central territories. Generals Ochterlony and Gillespie, at the head of their respective divisions, marched, the one to attack Ameer in front, the other to occupy the passes by which he might effect his retreat. The latter speedily penetrated into the Deyra Dhoon, one of the finest valleys which diversify the Himmaleh, and



CHAP. XV. the main channel of communication between the eastern and western districts. Somewhat unexpectedly he found this passage commanded by the fortress of Kalunga, or Nalapance, rendered formidable, not by artificial bulwarks, but by its situation on the top of a hill, where it could only be approached through a thick and entangled jungle. That gallant officer, however, perceiving that it formed the key of the territory, hesitated not to commence an attack. He divided his army into four detachments, which, advancing from different points, were to meet at the summit, and engage in a common assault.

Such a plan is at first view imposing; yet it appears founded on false principles, and in practice is likely to prove extremely perilous. The chances are many that the different corps will not all reach their destination at the same moment; and if one arrive before the others, it will have to encounter the united resistance of the enemy's force. Such was the case now; one division making their way through every difficulty, arrived in front of Kalunga before they could be supported by the rest of the army. The general then came up, and seeing his troops thus exposed to the whole fire of the besieged, led them at once to the assault, hoping, with this corps alone, to carry the place. They accordingly dislodged the outposts, and arrived under the very walls; but were twice driven back by showers of grape-shot, arrows, and destructive missiles peculiar to Indian warfare. Gillespie, nevertheless, determining to carry the fort or die, placed himself at the head of the storming-party, and cheered them on, waving his hat, and pointing with his sword to the gate. At this moment a ball pierced his heart,—he fell; and all hopes of success were at once abandoned. The arrival of another division served merely to cover the retreat of the former. Colonel Mawhey, however, who succeeded to the command, felt deeply the importance that this first and great military operation should not be finally abortive; but he was obliged to delay his meditated attack till a battering-train was procured from Delhi. Three days

A. D. 1814.

Fortress of
Kalunga.Perilous plan
of attack.Death of
General
Gillespie.



CHAP. XV

A. D. 1815

Evacuation
of the for-
tress.British
repulses.Alarm at
Calcutta.Judicious
proceedings
of the gover-
nor general.Operations of
General
Ochterlony

afterwards a breach was effected, and an assault commenced, under the command of Major Ingleby; but the resolute defence, and formidable fire of the garrison, again baffled every effort. The batteries, notwithstanding, continued to play till the walls, which were by no means lofty, were reduced almost to a heap of ruins; and the natives then evacuated the place which they had so gallantly defended. General Martindale, who now took the command, advanced to attack the enemy stationed at the strong fort of Jytuk; but here again the British troops, through their too impetuous valour, were thrown into confusion, and obliged to fall back with considerable loss. At the same time, the army which was attempting to penetrate direct into Nepaul through the district of Saron had two of its detachments surrounded and cut off; on which account operations on that side were completely paralyzed.

These events produced an alarming sensation at Calcutta, while they were received with the highest exultation in all the native courts, which were watching for an opportunity to effect the downfall of British power in India. Movements were made by Scindia and other princes, which seemed to call for an increase of the corps of observation stationed in their territories. Yet the Marquis of Hastings, judiciously considering that to obtain some decisive success over the Nepaulese and compel them to sue for peace was the only mode by which the evil could be remedied, augmented and concentrated his force already stationed on the theatre of war. General Ochterlony, hitherto checked by the losses of the division that was to act in combination with him, began vigorous operations on the offensive. He had already compelled Ameer Sing to retire from the heights of Ramghur to those of Malown, which were also exceedingly strong. He had likewise reduced Ramghur, Bellaspore, and the other fastnesses that commanded this mountain-region. At the same time the province of Kernasoon being left unprotected, a detachment was sent under Colonel Nicolls, who besieged, and, on the 25th April 1815, took Almora,



CHAP. XV. its capital. Ameer, now closely confined to his fortified
A. D. 1816. post at Malown, was obliged to capitulate, though on
honourable terms, being allowed to join the main army
with the troops under his charge.

Submission of Nepal. The government of Nepal were so deeply discouraged
by these reverses, that notwithstanding the opposition of
several chiefs, and particularly of Ameer Sing, who pro-
posed even to seek support from the Emperor of China,
they determined to open a negotiation. The terms de-
manded by Lord Hastings were high,—including the ces-
sion of all the provinces conquered in the west, and also
of the Terree or Tarryani, the border of jungle which
extends along the base of the mountains. This last

Obstacles to the proposed treaty. article formed the chief obstacle to the treaty, not so
much on account of the actual value of the territory, as
because most of the principal chiefs at court had in it as-
signments of land from which they derived their income.
The marquis, considering the point to be of little conse-
quence, had made up his mind, and given directions that
it should not stand in the way of an adjustment. The

Negotiations broken off. Nepaulese ambassadors had, in fact, agreed to the terms
and signed them, but when transmitted for ratification, the
court was induced, on the grounds just stated, to refuse its
consent. In such circumstances, there appeared no longer
room for the intended concession; and no alternative was
left but the renewal of war. This was attended with con-
siderable inconvenience, since, in confident expectation of
peace, the preparations had not only been relaxed, but
even part of the military stores sold off; however, extra-
ordinary exertions were made, and the army, in January
1816, was again ready to take the field.

War renewed. The enemy had intrenched themselves in the strong
pass of Chereeca-ghatee, which formed the entrance into
their mountain-territory; but General Ochterlony, by
a skilful though laborious march, turned this position,
and penetrated to Muckwanpoor, in the vicinity of which
they had erected several forts and stockades. Two suc-
cessive defeats convinced them of the folly of their at-
tempt to contend with British troops; they made over-



tures for a fresh negotiation, in which all the points in dispute were yielded; and in March a definitive treaty was concluded. The governor-general was then with a good grace able to grant, as a matter of favour, most of the districts for the possession of which they had been so extremely solicitous.

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1816.

Negotiations resumed

The contest with Nepaul having been brought to a successful termination, the Marquis of Hastings turned his views to that new system of policy, which he was desirous to establish with regard to the central powers of India. It consisted partly in the renewal and extension of subsidiary alliances with the native princes, partly in the extirpation of the predatory states which had arisen in the heart of the empire. In the former view, overtures from Bhopal, when threatened by Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, were at first well received; but, amid the distractions occasioned by the Nepaul contest, it became necessary that they should be courteously evaded. A negotiation was opened with the Rajpoot prince of Jypore, who had made heavy complaints of having in 1806 been deserted by the English, and exposed to the depredations of the Holkar family and other plundering tribes. The treaty for some time proceeded with promptitude; but, the very knowledge that he was about to be supported by the British having overawed his enemies and averted the present danger, the deep-rooted jealousy always cherished by the native sovereigns respecting the admission of foreign troops soon revived. A powerful party exclaimed against the ministers by whom the treaty was conducted, as betrayers of their country; and they thought it expedient, by advancing conditions that were inadmissible, to prevent its final conclusion.

New system of policy.

Difficulty of negotiating with native powers.

This disappointment was compensated by a more fortunate occurrence in another quarter. Raghojee Bhonslay, rajah of Berar, died, leaving a son, Fursajee, so infirm both in mind and body as to be incapable of maintaining even the semblance of royalty. In these circumstances, Appa Sahib, his cousin and also presumptive heir, assumed the authority of regent, to which he seemed

Death of Raghojee Bhonslay.



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1816.

Disputed
succession.British
alliance soli-
cited.Its illusory
character.Facilities for
new opera-
tions.Proceedings
of native
chiefs.

to possess a legitimate claim. Another chief, however, Dhurmajee Bhonsla, having formed a powerful party, rendered it doubtful whether Appa would be able to maintain himself without foreign aid. The latter, therefore, made overtures to the British for a subsidiary alliance, coupled with the condition of supporting him in the administration. This, in the present temper of the councils of Calcutta, was most readily granted. The stipulated force was to consist of six battalions of infantry and one regiment of cavalry, partly attached to the regent's person; for the maintenance of which the annual amount of $7\frac{1}{2}$ lacks of rupees was to be received in money-payments, instead of the invidious mode of territorial cession. This treaty, according to Mr Prinsep, was viewed at the presidency with the highest exultation, as an arrangement by which the state of Berar was finally detached from the Mahratta league, and fixed in our interests; and not as what it really was, a mere expedient for the attainment of personal objects, and to be thrown aside as soon as these were accomplished.

The occupation of Berar afforded great facilities for operations against the predatory powers, whose main rallying-point was in Malwa, the hilly province to the northward of the Nerbudda. The governor-general, however, had not yet obtained permission to root them out of that strong country, and was obliged to content himself with drawing a cordon along the southern bank of the river, by which he hoped to prevent them from again penetrating into the Deccan. Unfortunately for themselves, Cheetoo and other chiefs had at this time acquired a considerable increase of strength. They had been left several years nearly unmolested; and had even received secret assurances of support from the principal Mahratta chieftains, who were meditating a fresh attempt, with the aid of the Pindarees, to subvert the ascendancy of Britain. They were, however, considerably alarmed by the appearance of the force stationed on the Nerbudda; but seeing it remain inactive, while they themselves had mustered 23,000 cavalry, they conceived



it possible to penetrate at some point the extended line along which the English were posted. Accordingly, with 10,000 horsemen, they crossed on the extreme right with such rapidity, that our infantry were unable either to arrest or overtake them. They then separated into two *lubburs* or plundering bands, one of which proceeded due south into the country of the nizam, and reached the banks of the Godavery. The other marched eastward, and entered the Company's territory of Ganjam, where in the course of twelve days during the preceding year they had killed and wounded nearly 700 persons, and carried off or destroyed property to the value of £100,000. A third party crossed at Burhanpoor, and overran the dominions of the peishwa to some distance beyond Poonah.

The Pindarees had thus eluded the regular force appointed to check their inroad; yet though they were still liable to be attacked by several detached corps that were scouring the country in different directions, they never stationed sentries, nor took any similar precaution against an evil to which they were always exposed. While the large body who had reached the Godavery were deliberating on their future course, Major McDowal, with a party of light troops, came upon them so unexpectedly, that they had received a discharge of fire-arms before almost a man of them was mounted; and they were obliged to flee, abandoning nearly all their horses and plunder. One bold chieftain, with 260 troopers, crossed the Peninsula, swept along the western shore, and, ascending the Tuptee, reached his home with less indeed than half his original number, but all of them carrying in their saddles a rich booty. Major Lushington again, learning that the other band had passed Poonah, made a march of fifty miles, came upon them while busied in cooking, and gave them so complete a defeat that only a few escaped. In Ganjam, too, they met with several surprises, in one of which Lieutenant Borthwick beat up their camp with only fifty men. They abandoned their attempt to penetrate into the territory of Cuttack; and

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1816.

Marauding
incursion of
the Pinda-
rees.Irregular
mode of
warfare.The main
body sur-
prised by
Major Mac-
Dowal.Other bands
surprised.



CHAP. XV. learning that a plan was formed to intercept their return, they endeavoured to effect their object by a circuitous route through Bundelcund, in the course of which Colonel Adams and other officers inflicted upon them very severe losses.

Apprehensions suggested by this campaign.

Although this campaign had been in some measure successful and even triumphant, it afforded reason to apprehend that India could never be secure from the inroad of these marauders, so long as they should have a place of safe retreat. Upwards of 30,000 troops had been employed against them, a number adequate to a regular war on the greatest scale, and involving an immense expenditure; yet they had penetrated through a strong line of defence, while their subsequent failure was occasioned only by an undue security, which they would probably learn to correct. The permission granted by the government at home to prosecute the war against them was far from being unlimited; but the marquis trusted that the events which had occurred during this campaign, and the success which he hoped would still attend his measures, would procure for him the sanction of the Company.

Efficient measures of the governor-general.

About the middle of the year 1817, the governor-general put in motion the most numerous and efficient host that had ever perhaps taken the field in India. Its entire amount is estimated at about 31,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry; of which 57,000 advanced from the Deccan and Guzerat, and 34,000 from Bengal through Hindostan Proper. To the corps from the Deccan were attached 13,000 irregular cavalry, and to that from Bengal 10,000 of the same force, many of them good troops. The main body of the Bengal army, under the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings, assembled at Secundra, and proceeded to cross the Jumna near Calpy. Another corps was instructed to pass that river at Agia; while two smaller sections were to act on the flanks, and to connect this with the other armies. The Deccan force was to advance in two divisions under Generals Hislop and Sir John Malcolm; Colonel Adams led the



regiments from Berar, while Generals Doveton and Smith took post in the rear, ready either to support the main body, or to suppress any commotion that might arise at Poonah or Nagpore. General Keir meantime led the army of Guzerat into Malwa. All these divisions formed a complete circle around the Pindaree positions, closing in upon them as to a common centre. This system of tactics, which in contending with disciplined forces is accompanied with the danger that the enemy, availing himself of his central position, may successively attack and beat the different corps advancing against him, was attended with no such hazard when directed against troops who never encountered an adversary in pitched battle,—whose sole aim was escape, and to whom flight was victory. It was by such a movement only that they could be enclosed and finally crushed.

CHAP. XV.
A. D. 1817.

Judicious
system of
tactics.

There was one circumstance attending this campaign which could not be regarded without some degree of alarm, namely, that it led our army into the territories of princes who viewed with the most rancorous jealousy the height to which the British power had now attained. All of them, seeing in its success the downfall of their own ambitious hopes, and even of their independence, anxiously watched the favourable moment for striking a blow. Even the courts of Nagpore and Hyderabad, notwithstanding the treaties by which they professed to be bound, could not by any means be relied upon. Besides, the Pindaree war was to be carried on in the dominions of Scindia and Holkar, the most deadly foes to the British name. Of the former Sir John Malcolm justly observes that he never could be expected to forget the loss of empire sustained through Britain:—"All his habits, his prejudices, his wishes, are against us; we have nothing in our favour but his fears. His faith and his promises cannot be relied on for a moment." It appears indeed that Cheetoo, the principal leader of the Pindarees, had made urgent applications that he would allow to him a place where his family might be secured from danger; adding, "that thereby my heart may be set at ease,

Dangers
attending
this cam-
paign.

Natural ap-
prehensions
of Scindia.



CHAP. XV. and I may face the English with confidence. Then for
A.D. 1817. once, by the blessing of God and the fortune of the ex-
alted, the tumult shall be spread to the environs of Cal-
cutta, the whole country shall be consigned to ashes, and
to such distress shall they be reduced, that the accounts
will not fail to reach you ; but at present this must be
delayed for want of a place of refuge." To this Scindia's
ministers replied, that they could not take such a step
without an immediate rupture with the British govern-
ment ; but that Cheetoo might depend on their utmost
aid in secret. In these circumstances Lord Hastings
considered it indispensable, before leaving Scindia's do-
minions behind him, to extort his consent to such a treaty
as might withdraw from him the means of a hostile in-
terposition in the approaching conflict. Colonel Close,
the resident at Gwalior, was instructed to demand that
he should place his troops entirely at the disposal of the
governor-general ; that he should furnish a contingent
of 5000 horse, and supply funds out of which they might
be supported ; finally, that he should provisionally de-
liver up the forts of Hindia and Asseerghur, on which,
to save his honour, his flag would continue to fly. There
was even to be a private understanding, that while the
contest lasted he should not quit his capital. Scindia
manifested the most violent opposition, first to the Eng-
lish entering his dominions at all, and then to the terms
attached to that movement ; nor was it till Lord Hast-
ings from one quarter, and General Donkin from another,
were each within a day's march of his frontier that the
treaty was reluctantly signed.

Plans of
Cheetoo.

Secret
assurances
of aid.

Terms of
British treaty
with Scindia.

Terms with
Ameer Khan.

A negotiation was next opened with Ameer Khan, and, as he was a principal member of the confederation, it was made a primary article that he should disband the whole of his turbulent corps. This demand was severe, for he must thereby lose every thing on which his importance and power had been founded ; but in return he was offered the guarantee of the territories held by him under grants from Holkar, and of which his tenure was otherwise very precarious. Having submitted to the



terms, the treaty was signed by his agent at Delhi, on condition that a month should be allowed previously to ratification; but the stipulated period had elapsed, and a British army was surrounding him on every side, before he would affix his name to it. His troops being then disbanded, he seemed thenceforth to place his hopes of aggrandizement solely in the English alliance, and cordially exerted himself in promoting its objects.

CHAP. XV.
A. D. 1817.

The Pindaree chiefs could not view this immense force, especially when it began to close in around them, without the deepest alarm. While the rainy season still suspended operations, they held frequent conferences on the state of their affairs. Their only hope, they were convinced, was to quit their present haunts and seek a temporary home in some remote quarter of India. But it was difficult to find a secure place in which to deposite their property and their families; for even amid their wandering life they were still susceptible of the strongest domestic attachments. This embarrassment and the violent dissensions which had long reigned between their two principal heads, Kurreem and Cheetoo, caused them to break up without having formed any definite plan. The invading armies began to move as soon as the rains had abated, and while the swelling of the rivers might yet impede the rapid movements of their adversaries.

Embarrassments of the Pindaree chiefs.

The opening of the campaign, meantime, was retarded by two very unexpected circumstances:—The first was the appearance in the main army of that terrible epidemic, usually denominated the *cholera spasmodica*, which, after creating desolation and dismay in the greater part of India, spread through Persia into Russia, and thence all over Europe, occasioning a very considerable loss of life in the British empire, and then reaching even to the American continent. In its first progress, it struck the world as a new and unheard-of visitation; but further researches have established, that the same disease has from time to time appeared in the East. Ancient writings, in the languages of Southern India, describe it very distinctly under the names of Sitanga or Vishúchi. Ex-

Unexpected obstacles.

Cholera Spasmodica.



CHAP. XV.

A.D. 1817.

History of
the disease.Its first
appearancePeculiarities
of the cli-
mate.

tensive ravages are represented to have been committed by it in Bengal in 1762; in a division of troops which in 1781 were marching through the district of Ganjam; and in 1783, during the annual festival at Hurdwar. In 1787, a malady, the symptoms of which clearly establish its identity, prevailed at Vellore and Arcot on the coast of Coromandel. It had not however, during a long period, assumed any formidable aspect, and in the comprehensive tables published by the medical board at Madras, the column for cholera spasmodica in 1815 and the two following years exhibits nearly a continued blank.

This disorder first showed itself, in August 1817, in the zillah of Jessore, about sixty miles north-east of Calcutta, in the marshy districts which form the Delta of the Ganges. The whole of the tract extending along the lower course of that river is intersected by numberless branches of its stream, whence are derived canals and tanks that diffuse the benefit of irrigation almost to every field. These artificial channels, however, are often in bad repair and filled with stagnant water, while even the river itself at certain seasons has not current sufficient to preserve its salubrious qualities. Added to this, the extreme violence of the heat in summer, and of the rains in winter, renders the whole of this part of Bengal liable to fevers and other climatic disorders. When any of these atmospheric phenomena occur in an extraordinary degree, and especially when, by injuring the cultivated fields, they render the grain scarce and bad, epidemics of the most malignant description are frequently generated. The years 1815 and 1816 were distinguished by very striking peculiarities of season and weather. In May of the latter year, the heat became most intense, the thermometer rose to 98 degrees in the shade, and various persons, both European and native, fell down dead in the streets. A deficiency in the periodical rains was also apprehended till the beginning of September, when there poured down a complete deluge, causing a more extensive inundation than was recollected by the oldest inhabitant. This was followed by attacks of low



typhus fever, and of malignant sore throat,—a disorder formerly unknown in that region, but believed on this occasion to be contagious. CHAP. XV
A. D. 1817.

The year 1817 was from the first uncommonly moist, and the annual rains began on the 25th May, about three weeks before the usual period. They fell to a depth greater by one-third than in ordinary years; so that, before the middle of August, nearly the whole district composing the Delta of the Ganges was one sheet of water. It was during the distempered state of the air thus produced, that the malignant cholera broke forth on a scale hitherto quite unprecedented. The disease, either in its common or violent form, appeared nearly at the same time in different parts of Bengal. But it was in Jessore, situated in the tract called the Sunderbunds, covered with thick jungle and surrounded by stagnant waters, that it assumed its most alarming aspect. At Calcutta, during the month of August, many cases of common cholera had occurred; but at the beginning of September it appeared in that city under its most malignant type; though whether it was imported from Jessore, or rose spontaneously under similar circumstances, is a question not yet decided. It spared Europeans for a few days, but began to attack them on the 5th, though without committing the same dreadful ravages as in the native town; yet the register of one of the life insurance societies exhibited a proportion of deaths four times as great as in several preceding years. The malady was diffused almost simultaneously through the different cities of Bengal, rapidly ascended the Ganges, and spread even to the west of the Jumna; sparing, however, the comparatively elevated territories of Oude and Rohileund.

In the beginning of November, in consequence, as is supposed by some, of the arrival of a detachment from the lower province, this disease in its most virulent form broke out in the army under the immediate command of the Marquis of Hastings. Troops on a march are observed to be peculiarly liable to its attack, which is imputed to the extreme heat of the tents, doubtless com-

Excessive rains.

Occurrence of cholera in Calcutta.

Its appearance in the army.



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1817

Dreadful
prevalence in
the camp.

joined with the great exposure to the atmosphere. The cholera appeared while they were slowly marching through the low and unhealthy district of Bundelcund, which labours under a singular deficiency of good water. For about ten days it converted the camp into a large hospital. All the public establishments being engrossed by the care of the troops, the numerous camp-followers could not be accommodated except in the tents of their masters, who formed also their only attendants. The route over which the army moved was strowed with the dead and dying; the bazars were deserted; even those persons whose health was good suffered under severe depression of spirits; so that during the whole period the efficiency of this fine body of men was completely destroyed. The usual bustle and hum of a crowded camp was changed into an awful silence, broken only by the groans* of the sick and lamentations over the dead. In the European patient death usually followed from six to twelve hours after the attack, while the sepoy was carried off in about half that interval. The malady raged with its utmost fury from the 15th to the 23d November, when it ceased almost at once; so that the army having reached a more salubrious camp, at Erich on the Betwa, became rapidly convalescent, and by the commencement of December were prepared to enter on the duties of the campaign.

Mortality in
the army

The loss sustained during this most gloomy crisis was very greatly exaggerated. It has been represented even by good authorities as amounting to three, five, or even eight thousand,* out of the whole division of ten thousand men. More precise statements by Mr Prinsep and Mr Kennedy, derived from personal and official knowledge, prove this inaccuracy to have arisen from the not taking into account the vast crowd of camp-followers, who, in an Indian army, always greatly outnumber the soldiers. When the proper distinction is made, it appears that the deaths among the troops amount-

* Bisset Hawkins' History of Cholera, p. 169.



ed only to 764; while the loss among the camp-followers was about 8000, which did not however exceed a tenth of their entire number.

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1817.

Progress of
the malady.

We cannot here follow in detail the progress of this severe malady, which made its way in every direction. After having spared in its first progress the provinces of Oude and Rohilcund, it reached them in April and May 1818, and in the following months penetrated to Catmandoo, Almora, and other very elevated positions on the chain of Himmaleh.

Its general
diffusionIrrational
proceedings
of the natives

Its fatality.

The march of armies into the centre of India, and the despatches sent through every province of that country, were supposed to diffuse more and more widely its fatal influence. The natives, instead of using any rational means of cure or prevention, sought to avert it only by pompous and crowded visits to the temples, which increased the danger of communicating the disease; or by sanguinary proceedings against certain persons who were suspected of producing it by witchcraft. In the course of the year 1818 it spread through every part of India. The report of the medical board at Madras contains an interesting map, showing its track through the Deccan and the south by an irregular course, sometimes along the high roads, sometimes in cross directions; but, in the end, leaving scarcely any point of importance untouched. It reached Nagpore on the 15th May,—Bombay by way of Poonah on the 14th August,—Hydrabad on 25th July,—Madras on 8th October,—and finally the extreme stations of Travandaram and Palamcotta in January 1819. Throughout these provinces it manifested itself in various degrees of intensity. In general, however, this dreadful disease seemed to be marked, rather by its fatal effects than by the great number who were actually attacked. The entire amount of cases occurring in the army of Fort St George during 1818, the most severe year, was 1087 out of 10,652 Europeans, and 3314 out of 53,764 natives. Of the former 232, and of the latter 664 died.* In the

* Report of Madras Medical Board, p. 28.



CHAP. XV

A. D. 1817.

island of Bombay, which contains a population of about 210,000, the ascertained cases were 15,945, of which 14,651 were medically treated, and the deaths among these were only 938, or 6 $\frac{1}{16}$ per cent.,—perhaps the smallest proportion of mortality that has any where been observed.* Instances, however, are given of single corps, particularly on a march, suffering much more severely. The 2d battalion of the 20th regiment of native infantry was proceeding to Hyderabad, when of about 1150 men 200 were attacked, and 73 died. The 1st battalion of the 1st regiment, on its road from Nagpore to Hyderabad, out of 1010 men had 167 attacked, of whom 64 died. His majesty's 54th regiment, on their way from Madras to Bangalore, had 159 out of 632 attacked, and 54 died.

Unexpected
attack by
Bajee Rao.

Another unexpected crisis arrested Sir Thomas Hislop with the army of the Deccan, just as he had arrived on the frontier of Malwa. Intelligence then reached him that Bajee Rao had taken up arms and attacked the British residency in his capital; upon which Sir Thomas judged it necessary to fall back, that he might support the reserve corps, and aid in the suppression of this insurrection. General Keir, who had advanced from Guzerat, was induced by the same information to retreat. But Lord Hastings justly considered that the fortune of the campaign must ultimately depend upon the prompt success of the operations in Central India, and conceiving Smith's force, with another under Pritzer, quite sufficient at present to overawe the peishwa, ordered these commanders to return without delay to the scene of action.

Proceedings
of the Pin-
darees

The Pindarees, as soon as they saw themselves completely enclosed by the advancing corps of the British, made no attempt at resistance, and studied only how to escape. One party succeeded in penetrating into the rear of our army in Bundelcund, where they began to commit serious ravages, and were not dispersed without some difficulty. Cheetoo, with nearly 8000 men, effected a march westward into the territory of Mewar, where he

* Bombay Report, App. pp. 13, 14.



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1817.

Causes of
their escape.

was assured of support from several quarters, and had the strong mountain-fort of Kumulner as a refuge for his family. The escape of the Pindaree chiefs, when so great a force surrounded them, Colonel Blacker explains by a reference to the defective means of conveyance possessed by the British : to their having, in the dread of encountering a Mahratta army, encumbered themselves with ordnance ; and, above all, to the agility of the native horses, which can pass over the most rugged roads and uneven ground with great speed. Kurreem, with one of his associates, attempted to push his way to Gwalior, where he hoped to find support from Scindia. All the passes in this direction, however, were most strictly guarded ; and a strong corps was appointed to watch the motions of that ruler, whose secret enmity to the British was so fully understood. The first that came up with this body of Pindarees was General Marshall, who easily drove them before him. They escaped without much loss, but were obliged to change their direction and march for the territory of Jyepore, where they hoped to be joined by some of the disbanded troops of Ameer Khan. On their way thither they were surprised by General Donkin, who gave them a complete overthrow, capturing the wife of Kurreem, with all his state-elephants and kettle-drums. His army, therefore, no longer attempted to preserve any appearance of regularity, but broke into detachments, and sought for safety by fleeing in various directions. The greater number endeavoured to reach the corps of Cheetoo ; and, accordingly, the final destruction of that warrior appeared all that was now necessary to finish the Pindaree contest, when there started up another head of the hydra which the English were labouring to vanquish.

Complete
overthrow of
a large body
of them.House of
Holkar.

The councils of the house of Holkar had been involved for some time in the utmost confusion. Jeswunt Rao, who had raised that family to power, after the unfortunate issue of the war with the British, became deranged, and died in a few years. His heir, Mulhar Rao, was a mere boy, and the administration during his minority



- CHAP. XV. was agitated by the most violent dissensions. The chief parties were, on one side Toolsee Bhye, widow to the late Hoikar, who had been invested with the office of regent; and on the other the Patan chiefs, who were strongly attached to the predatory system. The lady, with the direct view of maintaining her influence, made secret overtures to the English for receiving a subsidiary force. This measure was firmly opposed by the leaders just named, whose sentiments were shared by the military in general; and the weight of their opinions was so strongly felt by the regent, that she did not venture to proceed with the negotiation. The chiefs, however, being suspicious that something of that nature was still in progress, were fired with such indignation, that they seized her person, carried her down to the river, and put her to death. War was then only delayed till the completion of the necessary preparations. Troops, especially infantry, were collected with the utmost diligence, and their movements assumed so formidable an aspect, that Sir John Malcolm judged it advisable to fall back upon the corps of General Hislop, who, as already mentioned, had begun a retrograde movement, but was again advancing towards Poonah. These commanders having effected a junction, proceeded together, and found the native army strongly posted at Mehidpoor, with a steep bank in front, at the foot of which flowed the river Soopra, passable only by a single ford. Although this position might have been turned by a circuitous march, Hislop considered such an advantage more than counterbalanced by the impression which would be produced by pushing on promptly and directly to the attack. This mode of proceeding, it has been often observed, is better suited than more scientific manœuvres to the genius of English troops. A scene then ensued, similar to that which usually took place in Mahratta battles; the British regiments rushing forward with the most daring intrepidity in the face of a numerous artillery, by which they severely suffered, and at length, when they came to a close charge, carrying all before them. They lost 174 killed.
- Toolsee Bhye's secret overtures to the British.
- Her death.
- Junction of British forces.
- Decisive attack on the native army.



and 604 wounded ; there being among the former three, and among the latter thirty-five European officers. The Mahrattas, though they left 3000 on the field, retreated with a great part of their army entire : but they abandoned all the artillery ; their courage and confidence were gone ; and though their numbers were not greatly diminished, they were no longer a regular force. The chiefs therefore at once accepted the offered terms ; namely, that young Holkar should be placed under the protection of the Company, who were to maintain an auxiliary force, and to have a contingent of 3000 men at their disposal ; and that certain districts of moderate extent should be ceded, not for the purpose of being possessed by the conquerors, but distributed as rewards to those allies who had remained faithful during the present contest.

CHAP. XV.
A.D. 1817.

British terms
accepted.

After losing the support of the Holkar family, the Pindarees found an unexpected asylum with Jeswunt Rao, one of Scindia's generals, who occupied several strong camps in the neighbourhood of Rampoorah. After several fruitless remonstrances, General Brown attacked this chieftain, reduced his intrenchments, and obliged him to flee with only a handful of followers.

Jeswunt Rao.

The hopes of the marauders were now reduced to the lowest ebb. Flight, they knew not whither, became their only resource. They had obtained Kumbhner and other fortresses in the Rajpoot territory ; but these being quickly invested, were, after a short resistance, all given up. Major Clarke having overtaken the party under Kurreem during the night, and finding them plunged as usual in profound security, delayed the attack till morning, that they might derive no advantage from the darkness. He divided his corps into two bodies, with one of which he made the charge, while the other occupied the only road by which the enemy could retreat. They sustained, accordingly, a complete overthrow, and were dispersed in every direction, leaving several of their chiefs dead on the field. After suffering some farther disasters, their whole body was reduced to a state truly

Desperate
state of a
Pindarees.

Total over-
throw of a
party under
Kurreem.



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1818.

Terms
offered and
accepted.Fate of
Cheetoo.Occurrences
at the court
of Poonah.

miserable. Cheetoo and his adherents sometimes slept with their horses saddled, and the bridles in their hands, that they might be ready for instant flight. At length an intimation was circulated, that, in case of unconditional surrender, their lives would be spared, and the means of an honourable subsistence secured for the chiefs in some remote district. One after another submitted upon these terms; and at length Kurseem, after wandering for some time on foot through the jungles, gave himself up, on the 15th February 1818, to Sir John Malcolm. Cheetoo opened a negotiation; but, on learning the small allowance which was to be granted to one whom he thought entitled to a jaghire in his native country and a place in the British service, he hastily took his departure. He afterwards encountered a variety of distresses, which ended in a manner equally dismal and appalling, being devoured by a tiger while lurking in the forests of Asseerghur. His fate excited sympathy among our officers, who admired the spirit and intrepidity with which he had on all occasions braved the deepest reverses of fortune.

While the performances on the main theatre of Indian warfare were thus brought to a successful close, two separate dramas of a subordinate though eventful character were acted on other stages, of which the most remarkable occurred at the court of Poonah. The peishwa, ever since the last treaty which he was compelled to sign, had eagerly sought deliverance from a yoke which now pressed heavily upon him; and the employment of the British forces in the Pindaree campaign offered a tempting opportunity to reassert his independence. A little consideration indeed would have shown him that this contest could not engage his enemy beyond a very short period; after which they would find it easy to crush such resistance as he or any other of the Mahratta states could create. But the peishwa, like many other Indian princes, though possessed of talent and address, and skilled in pursuing the ordinary objects of eastern policy, was incapable of taking a comprehensive view of his actual



situation. He was encouraged by the hatred of the English which he saw prevalent among his own chiefs, and by the general disposition of all the other leaders to unite in a confederacy against that people.

For a considerable time he threw an impenetrable veil over his hostile designs. On intimation being given of an intention to go to war with the Pindarees, he professed his cordial concurrence in the object, and his desire to co-operate by all the means in his power. So great indeed was his address, that Sir John Malcolm, an intelligent and veteran politician, after living at his court several days, was completely deceived, and communicated his opinion, that nothing hostile was to be apprehended from the peishwa. But Mr Elphinstone, the official resident, entertained from the first an opposite opinion, which was soon fully confirmed. He saw that the utmost activity was employed in collecting troops, under the pretext of aiding in the projected war, though for a purpose directly opposite. At the same time, the jaghiredars, who had been studiously depressed and humbled, were courted and conciliated; while Bapoo Gokla, an officer of distinguished ability, who had hitherto been kept in a species of disgrace, was invested with the supreme direction of affairs. A numerous camp was formed close to the British cantonments, around which the Mahratta horsemen were seen riding in menacing attitudes. The brigade commanded by Colonel Burr, the amount of which had been fixed with a very undue confidence in the friendly disposition of the prince, did not exceed three sepoy battalions, with a European regiment not yet arrived from Bombay. As the hostile intentions of the court became more and more manifest, it was judged advisable to withdraw the troops into a strong defensive position formed near the city by an angle of the river Moola; but Mr Elphinstone, anxious to avoid the imputation of being the aggressor, resolved not to quit the residency till he should be driven away by force. Threatening notes began to be exchanged; and on the 5th November 1817, so sudden an attack was made that

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1817.

Secret
designs of
the peishwa.Suspicious
excited.Measures
taken against
hostile pro-
ceedings.Attack on
the resident.



CHAP. XV. the resident and his suite had scarcely time to mount
A. D. 1817. their horses, when his mansion was plundered, and all
the property, including his books and papers, was either
carried off or destroyed.

Understand-
ing with
General
Smith.

Vigorous
measures of
the British
officers.

Retreat of
Bajee Rao.

Gallant
repulse by
Captain
Staunton.

General Smith, though placed in the rear of the grand army, had agreed, if a single day should pass without his hearing from Poonah, that he would conclude the communications were interrupted, and hasten thither with his whole brigade. A week, however, must necessarily elapse before his arrival, and to keep the sepoys in the mean time cooped up in a narrow space, harassed by the enemy's artillery and light horse, would, it was feared, damp their courage, and promote that tendency to desertion which had already been strongly manifested. Hence the officers determined to march out with their small corps and attack their foes, who, to the amount of 26,000, were already stationed in front. This movement was executed promptly, and with such vigour, that though the enemy's horsemen made some desperate charges, and reached several times the flanks of the English brigade, the latter finally remained masters of the field. They had not indeed done much damage to their adversaries; but the intrepidity of their attack, and the amount of their success against numbers so vastly superior, changed decidedly the moral position of the two armies. When General Smith, therefore, on the 13th November, after fighting his way through the peishiwa's cavalry, arrived at Poonah, and prepared to attack the Mahratta camp, that prince at once commenced a retreat. He continued it upwards of six months without intermission, ranging over the wide extent of the Deccan; at one time approaching Mysore, at another proceeding nearly to the Nerbudda, always distancing his pursuers by the skill and rapidity of his march, and even passing between corps advancing from opposite quarters. At one time he made himself sure of cutting off a division of 800 men destined to reinforce Colonel Burr; but Captain Staunton the commander, taking post in a village, repulsed with desperate valour, though with severe loss, all his



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1817.

Overtures for
peace.Plan for
extended
British sove-
reigntyTotal rout of
the Mah-
rattas

attacks, and he was at length obliged to desist. This was considered the bravest exploit performed in the whole course of the war. The peishwa finding himself now a hopeless fugitive, and learning the triumphs of his enemy in other quarters, made overtures for a treaty; hoping to be allowed to retain, though in a reduced condition, his rank as a sovereign. But the governor-general, on considering his long course of hostility, and the treacherous attack made at so critical a moment, had determined to erase his name from the list of Indian princes, and that there should be no longer a peishwa. Britain was to exercise the sovereign sway in all the territories which had belonged to him; though, in order to soothe in some degree the irritated feelings of the Mahratta people, the Rajah of Satara, the descendant of Sevajee, still deeply venerated even after his long depression, was to be restored to some share of his former dignity. To follow up this purpose, General Smith laid siege to Satara, which surrendered after a short resistance. The interval afforded a brief respite to the peishwa, and lulled his vigilance; so that when this officer had pushed on by forced marches, at the head of a division of light horse, he arrived unobserved within hearing of the Mahratta kettle-drums. Concealed for some time by the brow of a hill, he appeared on its summit to the astonishment of the Indian leaders. The fallen prince forthwith left the field with his attendants; but Gokla determined to hazard a battle rather than sacrifice nearly the whole of his baggage. He made the attack with the greatest vigour, and had succeeded in throwing part of the cavalry into some confusion, when he fell mortally wounded. His death was regretted even by the English, since his enmity to their nation, and zeal for the independence of his own, had been tempered with honour and humanity. The whole army immediately fled, and the British obtained possession of the person of the Rajah of Satara, who had before been a prisoner in the hands of his rival.

Bajee Rao still continued his retreat, of which he ad-



CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1817.

Retreat of
Bajee Rao.Defeat by
Colonel
Adams.Terms of sur-
render.

sumed the sole charge; and gave out every morning the direction in which the troops were to move, having concealed it till that moment from his most confidential officers. After much and long wandering, he moved northward to the borders of Berar and Malwa, where he partially recruited his strength by collecting the remains of the beaten armies. But he soon found himself hemmed in still more closely; and in pursuing his march, in the absence of proper information, he met Colonel Adams at the head of a considerable force, and could not avoid a battle. He was defeated, with the loss of most of his infantry and all his artillery, saving only his horse and light troops. He then made an effort to reach the capital of Scindia, hoping for aid, or at least protection, from this most powerful of the Mahratta chieftains; but all the passes were strictly guarded. His distress became greater every day; his followers deserted in vast numbers; and the English drew their nets round him so skilfully that he could not hope long to escape. He then opened a correspondence with Sir John Malcolm. After some discussion, it was agreed that he should surrender, and that, on being secured in a pension of eight lacks of rupees (about £100,000), he should renounce the dignity of peishwa, with all his claims as a sovereign; spending the rest of his days in some holy city at a distance from the seat of his former dominion. The sum was regarded by the Marquis of Hastings as too large; though, considering it as the final adjustment with a prince who ranked in authority and power above all others at that time in India, it does not appear very extravagant. The apprehension that his revenue would be employed by him as an instrument for regaining his political influence has not been realized. He immediately resigned himself to voluptuous indulgences, to which, it is said, he had been always addicted, and sought to drown in them every recollection of his former schemes and greatness.

While the territory of Poonah was agitated by these violent commotions, a scene almost exactly similar was



passing at Nagpore. Appa Saheb had invited the British troops with the sole view of maintaining his own situation as regent; and so long as he judged them necessary for that object he remained faithful. At length he got rid by assassination of the young prince, and placed himself on the *guddee*, as the seat was called to which the dignity of rajah was attached. He then considered himself independent of foreign aid, and began to regard it with the dislike so generally felt by all persons in his condition. He was thus led to enter into that confederacy against the British power which was formed among the Mahratta chiefs in consequence of the Pindaree war; and was observed also to carry on an active correspondence with the peishwa while the latter was maturing his plans of aggression. The first treaty which that prince was compelled to sign greatly abated the courage of his ally, which was revived, however, by the intelligence of his having again taken up arms and attacked the English subsidiary force. The subsequent retreat of Bajee Rao threw him into much hesitation and uncertainty, though at length it resulted in the hazardous determination to follow his example. On the 24th November 1817, Mr Jenkins, the British resident, was invited to see his highness invested with a dress of honour; having assumed the juree putka or golden streamer, an emblem of high command, both of which had been transmitted by the peishwa. Our countryman declined attendance, not without expressing indignation at the rajah's acceptance of these honours at such a moment; and indeed it seems to have been an imprudent and premature insult, by which the Company's servants were warned of approaching danger.

The subsidiary force then stationed at Nagpore was very small. It consisted only of two battalions of native infantry, with detachments of cavalry and artillery; and the whole, being much reduced by sickness, did not amount to 1400 men. The rajah's army, on the contrary comprised 10,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including 3000 or 4000 very brave Arab troops. The residency

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1817.

Proceedings
at Nagpore

Appa Saheb.

Imprudent
haste.Critical position of the
British residency.



CHAP. XV. was situated outside the town, and separated from it by
A. D. 1817. a ridge rising at each extremity into low hills, which
were hastily occupied as defensive posts. At sunset the
Attack on the piquets were fired upon by the Arab infantry, and soon
residency. after a general discharge of artillery was opened upon all
the positions, particularly those on the smaller eminence.
This was continued till two in the morning with con-
siderable effect, the first officer in command on that sta-
tion being killed, and the second wounded. The English,
during the remainder of the night, made the best pre-
parations in their power against the more serious attack
which was anticipated in the morning; and, accordingly,
at daybreak the charge was renewed with increased fury.
At ten a tumbril burst on the lower hill, which threw
the troops into some confusion; the Arabs rushed on
with loud cries, the sepoys were seized with panic and
fled, abandoning the guns and the wounded, who were
immediately put to the sword. The enemy then began
a heavy fire on the larger hill, when several officers fell,
and among them Mr Sotheby, the resident's assistant, a
young man of distinguished merit, while he was endea-
vouring to rally and restore the courage of his men. The
dismay of the troops, the cries of the women and chil-
dren, the vast numbers and increasing confidence of the
enemy, seemed to portend the most fatal result. Yet,
even then, resources were found in British firmness and
courage. Captain Fitzgerald, who had withdrawn the
cavalry within the residency-grounds, seeing the critical
state of the infantry, and the fire already extending to
his station, felt that affairs could be retrieved only by one
of those bold attacks which a native army can scarcely ever
resist. He accordingly led his few horsemen to the charge,
drove every thing before him, took two guns and turned
them against the enemy. The troops on the other hill,
animated by this example, resumed courage, and, raising
loud shouts, opened a brisk fire on the assailants. A
party dashed across to the smaller elevation, from which
the rajah's followers were driven in their turn, and about
noon were repulsed at every point. Yet the British had

Desperate
position of
the British.

Gallant
charge of the
cavalry.



lost a fourth of their number, and their ammunition was drawing to a close, so that had Appa persevered, he must have finally succeeded in cutting off the detachment,—an event which would have produced the strongest sensation over all India. But he remained inactive, while reinforcements poured in to his antagonists from every quarter. On the 12th December, for example, Doveton arrived with the strong reserve under his command, and it then became impossible for Saheb to hope for success; he had already obtained an armistice, and now inquired as to the terms on which a final accommodation might be effected. Mr Jenkins replied that nothing would be accepted short of entire submission,—the disbanding of his troops, the delivering up of all his forts and artillery, and his own presence as a hostage at the British residency. It was, however, intimated, that, on his complying fully with these requisitions, he would be restored to nearly his former condition, being required only to maintain a subsidiary force, and submit to a certain degree of control. When the troops, however, marched into Nagpore to take possession of the ordnance, they were saluted with a hot fire, and suffered some loss before they could seize the guns and compel the Arabs, who took the chief part in this resistance, to retire within the fort. As they refused to surrender, a siege was immediately commenced, and a practicable breach appeared to have been made in the gate; but when the assault was given, it was found to be so secured by interior walls, that the English were obliged to retreat with considerable damage. Preparations were then made to invest the place on a more regular plan; but the garrison, satisfied with the display of valour which they had already made, capitulated on condition of being allowed to march out with their baggage and private property.

As none of these transactions could be brought home to Appa Saheb, he was not made responsible for them; wherefore on the surrender of Nagpore he was liberated, and received notice of the terms on which he might retain his seat on the guddee. These consisted in his

CHAP. XV

A. D. 1817.

Arrival of
reinforce-
ments.Terms
dictated to
Saheb.Capitulation
of Nagpore.Liberation of
Saheb.



CHAP. XV. being placed entirely on the same footing with the nizam ;
A. D. 1817. having his military force subjected to the control of the
Company, and even his ministers appointed by them.
The rajah only so far expressed his dissatisfaction as to
offer to retire altogether on a liberal pension,—a proposi-
tion which was not considered admissible. He therefore
began forthwith to intrigue, with the view of shaking off
this hated dependence. Troops were levied, the governors
of fortresses and the mountain-chiefs were instructed to
muster their forces, and give every possible annoyance to
the enemy ; finally, a secret correspondence was discovered
with Bajee Rao, who being invited to join his army to the
standard of the peishwa, had actually taken steps for that
purpose. Mr Jenkins hereupon deemed it indispensable
to call upon Appa to resume his place within the residency ;
and this not being complied with, a party was sent who
effected his arrest, fortunately without having recourse to
violence. It is less difficult, however, to seize Indian
princes than to keep them : the rajah being mildly treated,
and access procured to him by several of his adherents,
a plan was arranged for his escape in the disguise of
a sepoy. He went off at two in the morning, and the
discovery was not made till daylight ; so that, relays of
horses having been provided, all pursuit was vain.
But as the Pindaree war was now terminated, and
Bajee Rao reduced to the last extremity, he was unable
to do more than excite desultory hostilities in the moun-
tainous districts. The English were thus able, on their
own terms, to seat on the guddee Bajee Rao, a grandson
of Raghojee Bonslay, while the administration was placed
entirely under their own control.

Intrigues of
the rajah.

His arrest
and escape.

Retirement
of the Mar-
quis of Hast-
ings.

In the beginning of 1822, the Marquis of Hastings
was induced by certain family circumstances to inti-
mate his wish to retire from the high situation which
he had filled for nine years. The Court of Directors
passed a unanimous vote of thanks for the unremitting
zeal and ability with which he had discharged its func-
tions ; and this was subsequently confirmed by the Court
of Proprietors. In the subsequent October, Lord Amherst



was nominated his successor, and arrived at Calcutta on the 1st August 1823. The principal event of his administration was the war with the Birman empire, which, after some vicissitudes, was completely successful, and the Company acquired a considerable addition of territory on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. As this contest, however, was carried on entirely beyond the limits of India Proper, it does not belong to the subject of the present work.

But in 1825 an important event occurred in the interior of India. After the death of the Rajah of Bhartpore in that year, his legitimate heir, Bulwunt Singh, being dethroned by Doorjun Sâl, his cousin, applied for aid to Sir David Ochterlony, then resident at Delhi. That officer embraced the prince's cause; but his conduct in doing so was disavowed by the governor-general, who, at this crisis, showed a disposition to proceed upon the old principle of non-interference. Farther information, however, induced him to change this intention, and Lord Combermere was ordered to march upon the city and expel the usurper. This able commander accordingly, with 25,000 men and an ample train of artillery, proceeded to attack that celebrated stronghold. The siege was begun on the 23d December; but it was soon found that cannon-shot could not penetrate mud-walls sixty feet thick, and that it would be necessary to employ mining operations. By means of these a breach was effected on the 17th January 1826; the assault was given next morning, and after a gallant defence of two hours, in which many veterans who had triumphantly fought in the former siege took an active part, the place was carried; Doorjun was made prisoner; and there remained no longer in Hindostan a fortress that had successfully defied the British arms. While this conflict lasted, a general ferment was observable among the surrounding principalities; and Bishop Heber doubts not, that had the attack failed, the whole country westward of the Jumna would have risen in arms, at least so far as to resume the predatory system of warfare. This triumph, however,

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1825.

Lord
Amherst
appointed
governor-
general.Bulwunt
Singh, Rajah
of Bhartpore.Siege and
capture of
Bhartpore.Important
influence of
success.



CHAP. XV. checked the disposition to revolt, and completely confirmed the supremacy of Britain.

A. D. 1827.

Opinion of
Lord Am-
herst's policy.

His recall.

Lord William
Bentinck
appointed
governor-
general.

Peaceful
policy pur-
sued by him.

Lord Amherst's conduct both in the Birman and Blurtpore contests, was the subject of severe criticism at home, especially by the liberal party, who had by that time acquired great influence. They particularly complained of his having continued the severe restrictions on the press introduced by Mr Adam, during his temporary possession of power in the interval after Lord Hastings' departure. Influenced by these and other motives, the Company, in 1826, determined to recall his lordship, who left India in the following year. Having ultimately afforded much greater latitude to public discussion, and being in his general conduct very amiable, he had acquired considerable popularity. He was created viscount and earl, and the Courts of Directors and Proprietors passed votes of thanks to him by large majorities, though not without some warm discussion.

In July 1827, Lord William Bentinck was sworn in as the new governor-general. His election was peculiarly acceptable to Mr Canning, then premier, but who died before his departure. His lordship was understood to go out with the intention of introducing a liberal and economical system, which was now considered desirable. He arrived on the 2d July 1828, and soon after set out on a tour to the upper provinces, in order to survey the state of affairs, and endeavour to cement the relations of amity with the neighbouring independent princes. A visit was paid to Scindia's family at Gwalior, and some time was spent at Ajmere, where the Rajpoot chiefs were invited either to visit him, or to send ambassadors. Extensive military reductions were made, particularly on the field allowance called batta, which excited a great deal of discontent among the officers, many of whom were of good family, and had gone out in the hope of living in splendour, and acquiring fortunes. No general conflict took place during Lord Bentinck's administration, but some partial disturbances agitated the ruder borders of our Indian possessions.



In 1832 and the following year, considerable amity-
ance was sustained from a tribe named Chooars, inhabit-
ing the jungly tracts on the eastern limits of Bengal. An
extensive contraband trade in salt, favoured by this situa-
tion, gave them the habit of acting in large bodies,
which they soon improved into an extensive and orga-
nized system of plunder. Individuals of high distinc-
tion were strongly suspected of exciting and supporting
them; though this could not be legally proved. The
ostensible leader was Gunga-narain, chief of a small vil-
lage in a hill-pass, whose house was only a clay edifice,
surrounded by sheds covered with grass. The depreda-
tions were at length committed on so great a scale, and
with such impunity, that it became necessary to enter into
an avowed war against them. Four regiments and a large
body of irregulars were at one time employed, yet found
much difficulty in putting down these marauders. Gunga-
narain, who never appeared at the head of more
than 400 men, was repeatedly defeated; the Chooar
fortresses were successively taken and destroyed; yet
the pillagers still lurked under the thick cover of their
entangled forests. At length their daring captain was
killed in a casual encounter with another tribe, after
which his followers mostly dispersed, and did not again
muster in any formidable numbers.

CHAP. XV

A. D. 1832.

The Chooars

Gunga-
narainAttack and
defeat of the
marauders.

About the same time, the hill-country behind the Cir-
cars became the scene of some serious disturbances; for
in those rugged tracts, bands of robbers had begun to as-
semble and plunder the lower districts. Gradually they
were organized into two great bodies called Fittoorydars,
assuming the aspect of an insurrection, which was un-
derstood to be fomented by some great zemindary families.
The first detachment sent to attack their principal strong-
hold was repulsed with the loss of about fifteen men killed
and wounded. Reinforcements having been brought up,
the insurgents evacuated the fort; and they were then
hunted from place to place, being dispersed chiefly by
surprises, to which their incautious system rendered them
always liable. At length several of their leaders being

The Fit-
toorydars.



CHAP. XV. taken and executed, the district was restored to a state of tranquillity.

A. D. 1834.

The Coorg
rajah.

insulting
letters to the
governor
general.

Peculiar
difficulties of
the country.

Tardy march
through the
country.

In 1834 a more serious contest arose in the west of India. The Coorg rajah, as we had formerly occasion to mention, was an attached ally of the British, and had given material aid in the conquest of Mysore; but the sceptre had now descended to his son, a violent and tyrannical youth, who had exercised such excessive cruelties in his own family, that his sister and her husband were obliged to flee to the English for protection. The rajah demanded, in the most peremptory manner, that they should be given up, and on this being refused, addressed letters of an insulting tenor to the Madras presidency and the governor-general. One of the Company's servants being sent to treat with him, was put under confinement, and his release refused. He was accused at the same time of having assumed an attitude of hostility against us, and of receiving and encouraging our avowed enemies; on which grounds a proclamation was issued on the 1st April 1834 from Calcutta, deposing him from the office of rajah, and announcing that a force was about to enter and take possession of his territory.

This country, as to its capacity of coping with the British power, might, from the small amount of its population, have been considered as utterly contemptible. The extreme difficulty of the ground, however, composed altogether of lofty mountains, covered with the thickest and most entangled jungle, defended by a race of determined valour, gave to it a somewhat serious character. A force of 6000 men was placed under Brigadier Lindesay, in whom was vested the supreme command of the expedition; and marching from Mysore with the main body, he entered Coorg on the 1st April. The troops were harassed by the difficulties of the road, which were much increased by large trees cut down and laid across it, so that they could scarcely accomplish above five miles in fourteen hours. The enemy, however, did not venture to encounter him, and all the stockades were found deserted.



On the 6th the army entered without resistance Mukherry, the capital, on which the British flag was displayed. The campaign thus seemed to have been easily and triumphantly terminated; and yet it acquired a somewhat disastrous character, from the operations of three other detachments which entered the territory at different points. Owing that we may not have full means of judging, we yet cannot help calling in question the policy of sending so many separate and unconnected bodies into the heart of so difficult a country. There was every ground to presume that the reduction of the capital would carry with it that of the whole district, as it actually did; and even had it been otherwise, these subordinate posts could scarcely have failed soon to follow the fate of the leading one.

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1834.

The capital entered.

Questionable conduct of the forces.

Colonel Foulis, marching from Cananor, on the western coast, approached, on the 2d April, the entrance of the Hugul Ghaut, the principal opening from this side. The enemy had fortified it with three successive stockades, as well as with breastworks and felled trees at every hundred yards. Their posts were driven in, and on the 3d, at six in the morning, the attack began. The first stockade was carried with trifling loss; but from that time till four in the afternoon, a series of very hard conflicts was maintained in carrying the successive barriers, which the enemy defended with vigour, carrying on at the same time a continued skirmishing from the wood. The last stockade was only captured by attacking it in reverse as well as in flank. Next day, as the colonel continued to advance, a flag of truce appeared bearing a proposal from the rajah for a suspension of arms. He replied, that if the Coorg troops did not fire, his would also abstain from doing so; but that nothing should prevent him from passing through the ghaut. He accordingly effected this march without opposition, and on the afternoon arrived at Hugul. His service was now completed, with the loss of twelve killed and thirty-six wounded; but among the former was Lieutenant Erskine, a very promising young officer.

The Hugul Ghaut.

Proposed suspension of arms.

At the same time, Colonel Waugh, from the north.



CHAP. XV

A. D. 1834.

Unsuccessful
attack on
Buck.

advanced upon a fortified position named Buck, seated on the brow of a steep ascent, and accessible only by a narrow defile through a dense jungle. The assailing party was divided into two, who were each to make a detour and take the stockade in flank; but being misled, it is said by native guides, they both met in front of that barrier. With characteristic valour they rushed forward to the attack; but the place was so strong and so vigorously defended, that all their efforts were vain, and their ranks were thinned by a most destructive fire. Upon encountering this resistance, the commander directed Lieutenant-colonel Mill to send part of his force to support the storming-party; and immediately that officer, inspired by a too ardent valour, led them on himself, and was followed by the whole detachment. An impetuous assault was then commenced against the stockade; but being in a great measure built of stone, it baffled every attempt, while a most murderous fire issued from it against our countrymen. Mill was shot dead on the spot, and several, while vainly attempting to rescue his body, fell around him. Major Bird then determined to withdraw the party, and, with little additional loss, brought it under cover. In this most unfortunate affair about forty-eight were killed, including three officers, and 118 wounded.

Retirement
of Lieuten-
ant-colonel
Jackson.

Another column, under Lieutenant-colonel Jackson, advanced from Mangalore upon a position named Bullary Pett; and this officer, learning that there was a strong stockade five miles in front of him, sent Captain Noble with a detachment to reconnoitre it. The latter made his way through a narrow and winding path, till he arrived in front of the barrier; and having completed his reconnaissance, he began his return, when a running fire was instantly commenced from among the bushes. His party continued exposed during the whole of their retreat to this assault from an invisible foe, whom they could neither elude nor repel; and the casualties amounted to thirty killed and thirty-six wounded. Colonel Jackson, after considering this loss, and the reported strength of the position, thought it impossible to attempt carrying the



stockade without further reinforcements, and fell back upon Coombla. This transaction was at first made a subject of official inquiry, but was ultimately decided to have arisen from inevitable circumstances, without any reproach on the commander.

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1834.

The war, as formerly observed, was already decided by the primary movement of the main body upon the capital, where the rajah, in no degree emulating the courage of many of his subjects, did not even attempt resistance. On the 11th April he entered Mudakerry in pomp, with about 2000 attendants, mostly unarmed, and fifty palanquins containing his female establishment. He then surrendered himself, in the hope probably of being reinstated on certain conditions. But the British had already formed their determination; his territory was annexed to their dominion; and the rajah, receiving only an allowance fitted to support a suitable household, was removed to Bangalore. Prize-money to the amount of thirteen lacks of rupees was distributed among the army.

Surrender of
the rajah

Gwalior being the most powerful of the independent states now remaining, its interior movements were regarded as of considerable importance. Dowlut Rao Scindia having died, left the regency in the hands of his widow, the Baiza Bye; and that lady, to ensure a male successor to the throne, as none had been left by her husband, adopted a youth under the name of Jhundkoo Rao, and the title of Maharaja. This young man, on coming of age, aspired to the actual possession of the supreme power, which the Bye was by no means inclined to grant; while he, without any regard to his obligations to that lady, determined to use every means of enforcing his claim. When the governor-general visited the capital, he solicited his aid to place himself upon the musnud. Lord William, however, intimated, that Gwalior being an independent state, the British government could by no means interfere; then reminding him of what he owed to his patroness, advised him to pay the utmost deference to her, and await the time when she might be willing to place the government in his hands. But he

Gwalior.

Ambitious
projects of
Jhundkoo
Rao



CHAP. XV. was by no means disposed to follow this advice, and in July 1833 made an attempt to seize the reins of power. This being frustrated, he repaired to the mansion of our resident, who, unwilling to interfere, had left it fast locked. The young prince sat the whole day in the court of this official dwelling without food, and under a burning sun; but having at last obtained an audience, and being refused all support, he made his submission to the Bye. Meantime, however, a large body of the military, impatient of a female government, discontented with Baiza, and perhaps desirous of change, applied a ladder to the mahareja's apartment, brought him out, and proclaimed him their sovereign. The lady took refuge with some troops who still adhered to her; but they were unequal to contend with the opposite party, who were more numerous, and possessed all the artillery. An agreement was made, under the mediation of the resident, that Jhundkoo Rao should be placed on the musnud, and acknowledged by Britain; while the regent should retire unmolested to Dholapoor. There she still attempted to make a stand; but being closely invested and reduced to great distress, she at length surrendered, and was allowed a revenue of ten lacks of rupees, and took up her residence near Futtighur. The Company in this case proceeded on the principle of non-interference, and of acknowledging the sovereign *de facto*, whoever he might be. Yet this conduct was criticised by some, who considered the change unfavourable to our interests, from a female ruler of pacific habits, to a military government with a violent and ambitious young man at its head. In fact, some serious disturbances followed, both in the durbar and army, in which British interests and wishes were not much regarded; however, Jhundkoo displayed a degree of vigour which enabled him at last to establish an uncontrolled authority.

An affair of a more serious aspect soon after arose with Maun Sing, rajah of Joudpore, who had been restored to power by the governor-general on the footing of a subsidiary and dependent ruler. He was considered, how-

His submission.

Settlement of the government.

Maun Sing,
Rajah of
Joudpore.

Symptoms of
enmity to
the British.Active pro-
ceedings
against him.His submis-
sion.The Shekha-
wuttees.

ever, to have by no means duly fulfilled the conditions of his tenure; and having absented himself from the congress of Rajpoot princes, who assembled at Ajmere in 1832 to meet Lord William Bentinck, he could not be viewed as showing a friendly or respectful disposition. Besides, he had allowed the tribute to fall more than two years in arrear; he had given shelter to bands of marauders, and had refused, when called upon, to assist in putting down others. When remonstrances were made against these proceedings, his answers indicated no desire to comply or act according to his professed obligations; and it was therefore determined to march against him a force which might either compel unqualified submission, or dethrone him. For this purpose 10,000 men were ordered to assemble at Nusserabad on the 20th October 1834; but he had no sooner learned that matters were coming to so serious a crisis, than he sent a deputation of thirty persons, with a numerous attendance, to Ajmere, to treat with the residents there, Major Alves and Captain Trevelyan. The envoys made lavish professions of their master's attachment to Britain, and regret at having given offence. When informed, however, that no declarations would be esteemed of any value, unless followed up by certain specific actions, namely, the immediate delivery of the refugees, and payment of a large sum of money, they made many apologies, and showed an extreme anxiety to avoid compliance. But on inquiring what alternative awaited the rajah, and being informed that he would be forthwith dethroned, they showed the utmost consternation, and solicited a delay of at least two days. At the end of that time, after some farther attempts to parry the blow, they finally yielded an unqualified submission; and the storm which threatened the peace of Western India was thus averted.

A part of the force prepared for this expedition was immediately after employed against the Shekhawuttees, a rude tribe occupying the almost desert territory westward of Rajpootana. A number of these petty chiefs has been accustomed to subsist by plundering the neigh-



- CHAP. XV. houring districts, and when these were held by native powers this was regarded as a matter of course. Having now, however, come into contact with the Company's territory, they continued towards it the same system of indiscriminate marauding; and yet when the British force under General Stevenson marched into the country, no attempt had been made for an organized resistance. The forts of the freebooters were rased to the ground, the district of Sambhur was retained as security for the expenses, and a detachment left to overawe the rude natives.
- Jeypore. The Rajpoot state of Jeypore was soon after the scene of a tragical and distressing event. The rajah, a thoughtless and voluptuous youth, had left the whole administration in the hands of Jotaram, originally a banker, an able man, but believed to bear that unprincipled character too common among Indian statesmen. The prince died suddenly, leaving an infant as the heir; and as the inspection of his body was refused to the public, a strong suspicion arose that the minister, finding his master about to shake off his influence, had secretly murdered him. Amid the ferment thus occasioned, the British residency interposed, and procured the removal of Jotaram, and the transference of the government to a regency,—measures which appeared entirely accordant with public feeling. Soon, however, a jealousy was entertained that public affairs were placed entirely under the dictation of a few foreigners, and a feeling of enmity arose, which broke forth fatally on the following occasion:—On the 4th June 1835, Major Alves, the resident, with Mr Blake, Cornet Macnaghten, and Lieutenant Ludlow, had an interview with the Myesaheb or dowager-princess. After taking leave, as the first-mentioned gentleman was mounting his elephant, a man rushed out of the crowd with a drawn sword, and inflicted three wounds, one in the forehead; but these being immediately dressed, he was placed in a palanquin, and conveyed home in safety. The assassin having been seized, Mr Blake undertook to conduct him to the place of con-
- A. D. 1834.
- Their defeat.
- Jotaram, the chief minister
- Suspicion on the death of the rajah.
- Attack on the British residency.



salement; but as he proceeded, the cry was raised, "The Feringees have shed blood in the palace!" A crowd instantly assembled, who are said to have been joined by many of the police; stones were thrown, and attempts made to stop him by maiming his elephant. He reached the city gate, which was found shut, whereupon he turned back, and sought shelter in a *mundur* or temple, which was then fastened on the inside; but the multitude burst in, and he fell pierced by numerous wounds. He is said to have been a very promising officer, and generally popular among the natives. Macnaghten, by galloping in another direction through the crowd, though assailed by stones and other missiles, reached the residency in safety. The government disowned all knowledge of this outrage, though five individuals, whose guilt was clearly proved, were condemned and executed. Suspicion, however, soon fell upon Jotaram, the late minister, and, after long preparation, he and several *grandeos* connected with him were brought to trial before a native jury. Being found guilty of instigating and abetting the crime, sentence of death was pronounced upon them; but it was commuted to exile and imprisonment.

A strong sensation was caused in March 1835 by the assassination of Mr Fraser, commissioner and agent of the governor-general at Delhi. As he was riding out late one evening, a man rode up as if to speak to him, rapidly discharged three balls through his body, and galloped off. After some time, through the evidence of an accomplice, the crime was brought home, not only to Kurreem, the actual murderer, but to a native chieftain, the Nawab of Ferozepore, by whom he had been employed. Both were condemned and underwent the extreme sentence of the law. The execution of the former was attended by a vast concourse of natives, who, though kept in awe by an armed force, displayed a decided sympathy in his favour. It is somewhat unpleasant to learn that he was then in a manner canonized by them; that his grave was visited by great numbers, who sang songs

CHAP. XV.

A. D. 1835.

Assassination of Mr. Blake.

Trial of Jotaram for the crime.

Assassination of the British agent at Delhi.

Execution of the assassins.