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from a position 400 yards in advance of their general intrenchments; and a parallel was established on the spot within 780 yards of the fort. In the evening, the following letter from the Sultan was received in camp:

"In the letter of Lord Mornington, it is written, that the clearing up of matters at issue is proper, and that therefore you, having been empowered for the purpose, will appoint such persons as you judge proper for conducting a conference, and renewing the business of a treaty. You are the well-wisher of both Sircars. In this matter what is your pleasure? Inform me, that a conference may take place."

On the 22nd, General Harris replied by a letter, stating, that security, not conquest, was the object of the English government, to whose pacific propositions he complained that Tippoo had hitherto refused to listen; and transmitted the draught of a preliminary treaty, drawn up according to the second and severest set of terms contained in the Governor-General's instructions.

In the situation to which affairs were now reduced, the annexation of the following severities was deemed advisable. That four of the Sultan's sons, and four of his generals, to be named by the British commander, should be given up as hostages. That acceptance of these conditions should be transmitted under his hand and seal within twenty-four hours; and the hostages, and one crore of rupees, be delivered in forty-eight. And that if these pledges were not given, the British commander would hold himself at liberty to extend his demands for security, even to the possession of the fort of Seringapatam, till the conclusion of a definitive treaty.

It was the instruction of the Governor-General, that the set of terms now put in the shape of a treaty should be sent just before the opening of the batteries upon the fort of Seringapatam. But the advanced period of the season, and the failure of provisions, when nothing but possession of the fort could, in the opinion of General Harris, justify him in the delaying the siege for an instant, made him deem it hazardous to be the leader in an overture toward peace. The sentiments to which the Governor-General was brought by the progress of events are thus described in his own words. "Towards the end of April, fresh circum-



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stances arose, which disposed me to think, that if the course of the war should favour the attempt, it would be prudent and justifiable entirely to overthrow to power of Tippoo. Accordingly, on the 23rd of April, I signified to Lieutenant-General Harris my wish, that the power and resources of Tippoo Sultan should be reduced to the lowest state, and even utterly destroyed, if the events of the war should furnish the opportunity." ¹

On the night of the 24th, the approaches to the fort were advanced 250 yards. On the 25th, a battery of four guns was erected to destroy the defences of some works which bore on the assailants; and it opened with considerable effect on the morning of the 26th. The enemy's guns were now almost wholly silenced. On the evening of the same day, the enemy's intrenchments, in advance, were attacked; and carried, after an obstinate contest, which lasted a great part of the night. This acquisition was important, because it furnished the ground on which the breaching batteries were to be erected. The British troops occupied the works on the 27th; and in the following night made their lodgment secure.

On the morning of the 28th, another letter arrived from the Sultan, intimating the magnitude of the questions to be determined, and signifying his intention to send two persons, for the immediate commencement of a conference, without which an adjustment of so much importance could not be satisfactorily performed. To this the General replied, that no modification would be made of the terms already transmitted; that ambassadors were, therefore, unnecessary, and would not be received, unless they were accompanied by the hostages and specie, already demanded; and that only till three o'clock the next day would time be allowed for an answer.

A breaching battery of six guns was erected on the night of the 28th; and on the morning of the 30th it began to fire. On the first day it demolished part of the outward wall at the west angle of the fort, and made an impression on the masonry of the bastion within it. On the second its fire was attended with increased effect. An additional battery, constructed on the night of April the 30th, opened in the morning of the 2nd of May. On

¹ Letter to Directors, 3rd August, 1799, *ut supra*.



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the 3rd, the breach appeared to be practicable, and preparations were eagerly made for the assault. On the morning of the 4th, the troops destined for the service were placed in the trenches before day-light, that no extraordinary movement might serve to put the enemy on their guard. The heat of the day, when the people of the East, having taken their mid-day repast, give themselves up to a season of repose, and when it was expected that the troops in the fort would be least prepared to resist, was chosen for the hour of attack. Four regiments and ten flank companies of Europeans, three corps of grenadier sepoys, and 200 of the Nizam's troops, formed the party for the assault. Colonels Sherbrooke, Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardener, and Mignan, commanded the flank corps; and the conduct of the enterprise was intrusted to Major-General Baird, who had solicited the dangerous service. At one o'clock the troops began to move from the trenches. The width, and rocky channel of the river, though at that time it contained but little water, its exposure to the fire of the fort, the imperfection of the breach, the strength of the place, the numbers, courage, and skill of its defenders, constituted such an accumulation of difficulties, that nothing less than unbounded confidence in the force and courage of his men could have inspired a prudent General with hopes of success. The troops descended into the bed of the river, and moved, regardless of a tremendous fire, towards the opposite bank.

From the time when General Harris sat down before the fort, the Sultan had remained on the ramparts, varying his position according to the incidents of the siege. The general charge of the angle attacked, was given to Seyed Sahab, and Seyed Goffhâr, the last, an able officer, who began his career in the English service, and was in the number of the prisoners at the disaster of Colonel Brathwaite.

The angle of the fort which the English attacked was of such a nature, that a entrenchment to cut it off might have been easily effected; and this was counselled by the most judicious of the Mysorean officers. But the mind of the Sultan, which was always defective in judgment, appears to have been prematurely weakened by the disadvantages of his situation. By the indulgence of arbitrary



power, and the arts of his flatterers, his mind was brought into that situation in which it could endure to hear nothing but what gratified the will of the moment. He had accordingly estranged from his presence every person of a manly character; and surrounded himself with young men and parasites, who made it their business not only to gratify his most childish inclinations, but to occupy him with a perpetual succession of wretched pursuits. He seems, therefore, when adversity came upon him, to have been rendered too effeminate to look it steadily in the face; and exploring firmly the nature of the danger, to employ in the best manner the means which were in his power for averting it. The flatterers were able to persuade him, partly that the fort was too strong to be taken, partly that God would protect him; and they maintained successfully that indecision which was now congenial to the relaxed habit of his mind. "He is surrounded," said Seyed Goffhâr, who was wounded early in the siege, "by boys and flatterers, who will not let him see with his own eyes. I do not wish to survive the result. I am going about in search of death, and cannot find it."

On the morning of the 4th, Seyed Goffhâr, whom from the number of men in the trenches inferred the intention to assault, sent information to the Sultan. The Sultan returned for answer, that it was good to be on the alert, but assured him, as persuaded by the flatterers, that the assault would not take place till night. And in the meantime he was absorbed in religious and astrological operations; the one, to purchase the favour of heaven; the other, to ascertain its decrees. Seyed Goffhâr," says Colonel Wilks, "having satisfied himself, by further observation, that one hour would not elapse before the assault would commence, hurried in a state of rage and despair towards the Sultan: 'I will go,' said he, 'and drag him to the breach, and make him see by what a set of wretches he is surrounded; I will compel him to exert himself at this last moment.' He was going, and met a party of pioneers, whom he had long looked for in vain, to cut off the approach by the southern rampart 'I must first,' said he, 'show those people the work they have to do;'



BOOK VI. and in the act of giving his instructions, was killed by a
CHAP. VIII. cannon-shot." ¹

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The Sultan was about to begin his mid-day repast under a small tent, at his usual station, on the northern face, when the news was brought him of the death of Seyed Goffhâr, and excited strong agitation. Before the repast was finished, he heard that the assault was begun. He instantly ordered the troops that were about him, to stand to their arms, commanded the carbines to be loaded, which the servants in attendance carried for his own use, and hurried along the northern rampart to the beach.

"In less than seven minutes from the period of issuing from the trenches, the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach." It was regulated, that as soon as the assailants surmounted the rampart, one half of them should wheel to the right, the other to the left, and that they should meet over the eastern gateway. The right, which was led by General Baird, met with little resistance, both as the enemy, lest retreat should be cut off, abandoned the cavaliers, and as the inner rampart of the south-western face was exposed to a perfect enfilade. The assailants on the left were opposed in a different manner. Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, by whom it was commanded, received a wound in the ascent; and the Sultan passed the nearest traverse, as the column quitted the breach. A succession of well-constructed traverses were most vigorously defended; and a flanking fire of musquetry, from the inner rampart, did great execution upon the assailants. All the commissioned officers, attached to the leading companies, were soon either killed or disabled; and the loss would, at any rate, have been great, had not a very critical assistance been received. When the assailants first surmounted the breach, they were not a little surprised by the sight of a deep, and, to appearance, impassable ditch between the exterior and interior lines of defence. A detachment of the 12th regiment, having discovered a narrow strip of the terre-plein, left for the passage of the workmen, got up the inner

¹ Hist. Sketches, iii. 436, 437. For the interior history of the Mysoreans, at this time, Col. Wilks, who afterwards governed the country, enjoyed singular advantages; and we may confide in his discrimination of the sources and qualities of his information.



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rampart of the enfiladed face, without much opposition; and, wheeling to the left, drove before them the musqueteers who were galling the assailants of the left attack, and they at last reached the flank of the traverse, which was defended by the Sultan. The two columns of the English, on the outer and inner rampart, then moved in a position to expose the successive traverses to a front and flank fire at the same time; and forced the enemy from one to another, till they perceived the British of the right attack, over the eastern gate, and ready to fall upon them in the rear; when they broke and hastened to escape. The Sultan continued on foot during the greater part of this time, performing the part rather of a common soldier, than a general, firing several times upon the assailants with his own hands. But a little before the time at which his troops resigned the contest, he complained of pain and weakness in one of his legs, in which he had received a severe wound when young, and ordered a horse. When abandoned by his men, instead of seeking to make his escape, which the proximity of the water-gate would have rendered easy, he made his way toward the gate into the interior fort. As he was crossing to the gate by the communication from the outer rampart, he received a musquet-ball in the right side, nearly as high as the breast, but still pressed on, till he arrived at the gate. Fugitives, from within, as well as from without, were crowding in opposite directions to this gate; and the detachment of the 12th had descended into the body of the place, for the purpose of arresting the influx of the fugitives from the outer works. The two columns of the assailants, one without the gate, and one within, were now pouring into it a destructive fire from both sides, when the Sultan arrived. Endeavouring to pass, he received another wound from the fire of the inner detachment; his horse also, being wounded, sunk under him, and his turban fell to the ground, while his friends dropped rapidly around him. His attendants placed him in his palankeen, but the place was already so crowded, and choked up with the dead and the dying, that he could not be removed. According to the statement of a servant who survived, some English soldiers, a few minutes afterwards, entered the gateway; and one of them offering to



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pull off the sword-belt of the Sultan, which was very rich, Tippoo, who still held his sabre in his hand, made a cut at him with all his remaining strength. The man, wounded in the knee, put his firelock to his shoulder, and the Sultan, receiving the ball in his temple, expired.

The two bodies of assailants, from the right and the left had met over the Eastern gateway; and the palace was the only place within the fort not now in their possession. In this the faithful adherents of Tippoo, whose fate was yet unknown, were expected to make a desperate stand in defence of their sovereign and his family. The troops, exhausted by the heat and the toils of the day, stood in need of refreshment. In the mean-time Major Allan was sent with a guard to inform the persons within the palace, that if they surrendered immediately their lives should be secured; that any resistance, on the other hand, would be fatal to them all. When that officer arrived at the palace, before which a part of the British troops were already drawn up, he observed several persons in the balcony, apparently in the greatest consternation. Upon communicating his message, the Kelledar, another officer of distinction, and a confidential servant, came over the terrace of the front building, and descended by an unfinished part of the wall. They exhibited great embarrassment, and a disposition to delay; upon which the British officer reminded them of their danger, and pledging himself for the protection of the inmates of the palace, desired admittance, that he might give the same assurance to the Sultan himself. They manifested strong aversion to this proposition; but the Major insisted upon returning with them; and desiring two other officers to join him, they ascended by the broken wall, and lowered themselves down on a terrace, on which there was a number of armed men. The Major, carrying a white flag in his hand, which he had formed on the spur of the occasion by fastening a cloth to a serjeant's pike, assured them it was a pledge of security, provided no resistance was attempted: and as an additional proof of his sincerity took off his sword, which he insisted upon placing in the hands of the Kelledar. All affirmed that the family of the Sultan was in the palace, but not the Sultan himself. Their agitation and indecision were conspicuous. The Major was obliged to remind them,



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that the fury of the troops, by whom they were now surrounded, was with difficulty restrained; and that the consequences of delay would be fatal. The rapid movements of several persons within the palace, where many hundreds of Tippoo's troops still remained, made him begin to think the situation critical even of himself and his companions, by whom he was advised to take back his sword. As any suspicion, however, of treachery, reaching in their present state the minds of the British soldiers, would inflame them to the most desperate acts, probably the massacre of every human being within the palace walls, he had the gallantry, as well as the presence of mind to abstain from such an exhibition of distrust. In the mean time, he was entreated by the people on the terrace to hold the flag in a conspicuous manner, as well to give confidence to the people within the palace, as to prevent the British troops from forcing the gates. Growing impatient of delay, the Major sent another message to the Princes. They now sent him word, that he would be received as soon as a carpet for the purpose could be procured; and in a few minutes the Kelledar returned to conduct him.

He found two of the Princes seated on the carpet, surrounded by attendants. "The recollection," says Major Allen, "of Moiz ad Dien, whom on a former occasion I had seen delivered up with his brother, hostages to Lord Cornwallis; the sad reverse of their fortune; their fear, which, notwithstanding their struggles to conceal it, was but too evident, excited the strongest emotions of compassion in my mind." He endeavoured by every mark of tenderness, and by the strongest assurances of protection and respect, to tranquillize their minds. His first object was, to discover where the Sultan was concealed. He next requested their consent to the opening of the gates. At this proposition they were alarmed. Without the authority of their father, whom they desired to consult, they were afraid to take upon themselves a decision of such unspeakable importance. The Major assured them, that he would post a guard of their own sepoys within the palace, and a guard of Europeans without; that no person should enter but by his authority; that he would return and remain with them, until General Baird should arrive;

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and that their own lives, as well as that of every person in the palace, depended upon their compliance. Their confidence was gained. Upon opening the gate, Major Allan found General Baird and several officers with a large body of troops assembled. It was not safe to admit the troops, who were burning for vengeance. And Major Allan returned to conduct the Princes, whose reluctance to quit the palace was not easy to be overcome, to the presence of the General. General Baird was one of those British officers who had personally experienced the cruelty of their father, and suffered all the horrors of a three years' imprisonment in the place which he had now victoriously entered. His mind too had been inflamed by a report at that instant received, that Tippoo had murdered all the Europeans made prisoners during the siege. "He was nevertheless," says Major Allan, "sensibly affected by the sight of the Princes; and his gallantry on the assault was not more conspicuous than the moderation and humanity which he on this occasion displayed. He received the Princes with every mark of regard: repeatedly assured them that no violence or insult should be offered to them, and he gave them in charge to two officers to conduct them to head quarters in camp." They were escorted by the light company of a European regiment; and the troops were ordered to pay them the compliment of presenting arms as they passed.

The mind dwells with peculiar delight upon these instances in which the sweet sympathies which one human being has with another, and which are of infinite importance in private life, prevail over the destructive passions, alternately the cause and consequence of war. The pleasure, at the same time, which we feel in conceiving the emotions produced in such a scene, lead the bulk of mankind to overvalue greatly the virtues which they imply. When you have glutted upon your victim the passions of ambition and revenge; when you have reduced him from greatness and power, to the weakness and dependence which mark the insect on which you tread, a few tears, and the restraint of the foot from the final stamp, are not a very arduous virtue. The grand misfortune is to be made an insect. When that is done, it is a slight, if any addition to the misfortune to be crushed



at once. The virtue to which exalted praise would be due, and to which human nature is gradually ascending, would be, to restrain in time the selfish desires which hurry us on to the havoc we are vain of contemplating with a sort of pity after we have made it. Let not the mercy, however, be slighted, which is shown even to the victim we have made. It is so much gained for human nature. It is a gain which, however late, the progress and diffusion of philosophy at last have produced; they will in time produce other and greater results.

When the persons of the Princes were secured, Tippoo was to be searched for in every corner of the palace. A party of English troops were admitted, and those of Tippoo disarmed. After proceeding through several of the apartments, the Kelledar was entreated, if he valued his own life, or that of his master, to discover where he was concealed. That officer, laying his hand upon the hilt of Major Allan's sword, protested, in the most solemn manner, that the Sultan was not in the palace; that he had been wounded during the storm; and was lying in a gateway on the northern side of the fort. He offered to conduct the inquirers; and submit to any punishment if he was found to have deceived. General Baird and the officers who accompanied him, proceeded to the spot; covered with a promiscuous and shocking heap of bodies wounded and dead. At first, the bodies were dragged out of the gateway to be examined, it being already too dark to distinguish them where they lay. As this mode of examination, however, threatened to be very tedious, a light was procured, and Major Allan and the Kelledar went forward to the place. After some search, the Sultan's palankeen was discovered, and under it a person wounded, but not dead. He was afterwards ascertained to be the Raja Khan, one of Tippoo's most confidential servants, who had attended his master during the whole of the fatal day. This person being made acquainted with the object of the search, pointed out the spot where the Sultan had fallen. The body being brought out and sufficiently recognised, was conveyed in a palankeen to the palace. It was warm when first discovered; the eyes were open, the features not distorted, and Major Allan and Colonel Wellesley were for a few moments doubtful, whether it was

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not alive. It had four wounds, three in the trunk, and one in the temple, the ball of which, having entered a little above the right ear, had lodged in the cheek. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, the usual girdle of the east, crimson-coloured, tied round his waist; and a handsome pouch, with a belt of silk, red and green, hung across his shoulder. He had an amulet on his arm; but his ornaments, if he wore any, were gone.¹

The speedy fall of the place was an event of great importance to the British army; for though the General had received a casual supply of provisions from an officer whose foresight exceeded that of the men who provided for the army, this afforded a supply for not more than a small number of days. The want of draught cattle rendered the magazines in the Coorg country totally useless; and though the General counted upon being in absolute want by the 6th of May, General Floyd did not return before the 13th with the convoys from the south. Of the operations which during the above transactions had taken place under the officers with whom General Floyd now returned to Seringapatam, the following are the principal. The corps which was placed under the command of Colonel Reade began by reducing the country north of Rayacottah. The plan of his operations embraced a great extent; but after a little progress he was apprized of the necessity of abandoning everything to hasten with the grain which he had collected to Seringapatam. The troops under Colonel Brown began the campaign with the siege of Caroor, which surrendered to them without any serious resistance on the 5th of April. On the 8th they proceeded against Errode, and meant to prosecute the reduction of the remaining fortresses in Coimbatore, when they were summoned to join Colonel Reade, for the purpose of advancing to Seringapatam.

Colonel Reade arrived at Cauveryporam, on the 22nd of April, which surrendered to him without resistance. Having there collected the Brinjarries, and other supplies, he left them under the protection of the fort, and with

¹ See Major Allan's own account of the scenes at the palace, and the gateway; annexed (Appendix 42) to Beatson's View of the War with Tippon Sultan.



his detachment proceeded to clear the pass. This was an operation of considerable difficulty, which required all his exertions till the evening of the 27th; and the 6th of May arrived before the whole of the Brinjarries had ascended. General Floyd had by this time arrived at a place a few miles distant from the pass; and on the same day he was reinforced by junction of the southern corps of the army under Colonel Brown. On the 7th of May, the whole body, with their convoy, moved from Hannoor towards Seringapatam. As Tippoo's cavalry, under his best General, had closely followed General Floyd from Seringapatam, he expected to meet with considerable interruption to retard him on his return; and from this danger he was saved, only by the great event which had already arrived.

Such of the sons and officers of Tippoo as were not taken in the fort, surrendered within a few days after the fate of the capital and its sovereign was known; and an adventurer of the name of Dhoondia was the only exception to the quiet submission of the whole country. This man, of Mahratta parentage, was born in the kingdom of Mysore, and served in the armies both of Hyder and Tippoo. He deserted during the war with Lord Cornwallis; and headed a predatory band in the region of the Toombudra. Tippoo induced him by fair professions to trust himself in his hand, and then immured him in a prison, where he had lain for several years, when he contrived to make his escape during the capture of Seringapatam; and soon collected around him a band of desperate adventurers; which rendered it necessary for General Harris to move the army to the northward to dislodge him. This, however, was not the last effort of Dhoondia, whose history it is proper to finish at once. He was followed by his band of adventurers to the south; and made such rapid strides towards the establishment even of a sort of empire, that after a little time the government thought it proper to employ against him the army left under Colonel Wellesley for the government of Mysore. Dhoondia displayed no ordinary talents in his defence; and by his activity and judgment, protracted for several months the efforts employed for his destruction. He could not, however, permanently resist the great superiority of force which was brought against him; and fell



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The Sultan, when he lost his empire and his life, was about fifty years of age. He was rather above the middle size, and about five feet eight inches high ; had a short neck and square shoulders, and now bordered on corpulency ; but his limbs were slender, and his feet and hands remarkably small. His complexion was brown, his eyes large and full, his eyebrows small and arched, his nose aquiline ; and in the expression of his countenance there was a dignity, which even the English, in spite of their antipathy and prejudices, felt and confessed.

Though French power was the grand resource upon which Tippoo relied, both for the gratification of his resentments, and for his protection against that reduction to the condition of a pensioned Nabob, the fate to which he believed that he was destined by the English, he made some efforts, but marked with his usual want of good sense, for obtaining support from other quarters. Beside his embassy to the Grand Signor at Constantinople, which excited, without much deserving, the attention of the English, he opened a communication in 1796 with Zeman Shah, the King of the Afghans, and sent an embassy which pointed out to that brother of the faith a glorious career against the nonbelievers or misbelievers of India. The Shah might conquer Delhi, drive out the Mahrattas, and establish his dominion over all that region of India, in one year ; in the next, assail the Mahrattas and the Deccan from the north, while the Sultan co-operated with him from the south ; and after this it would cost them little trouble to extend their empire over every part of India. This invasion of the Afghans, the English government for several years contemplated as an object of apprehension ; and it was the ostensible cause, why the Commander-in-Chief was left in Bengal, and the conduct of the army committed to General Harris, in the last war against Tippoo.

The Sultan was too well apprized of the weakness of Nizam Ali, to expect from his alliance any material advantage ; and, besides, he expected to induce the Mahrattas to yield him any useful assistance, chiefly by offering to

¹ Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, i. 75.



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join with them, in seizing the dominions of the Nizam. He maintained, from the time of the accession of Bajee Rao, a secret agent at Poona, whose endeavours were used to effect an intimate union. But Bajee Rao was held in thralldom by Sindiah; and any combination of Bajee Rao and Tippoo, which could have a tendency to emancipate the Peshwa from his subjection, was opposed by the interests of Scindiah; and though Scindiah would have been well contented to join with the Sultan in any scheme of hostilities against the English, if it were not attended with danger, he was too much alarmed for his dominions in the north, which the English could easily invade, to be willing for the present to expose himself to the chance of so great an evil. From this state of affairs, Tippoo seems to have despaired of getting the Mahrattas to act with any efficiency on his side; and for that reason not to have made any very strenuous exertions to induce them.

In these circumstances, beholding, as he must have done, the great inferiority of his power, his utter inability to maintain a contest against the English, and the probability that resistance would bring on his fall, it may well be regarded as surprising, that he did not endeavour, by prompt attention to their complaints, and early negotiation, to escape from the storm which he was unable to face. One of the most remarkable characteristics, however, of the Sultan's mind, was the want of judgment. For an Eastern prince, he was full of knowledge. His mind was active, acute, and ingenious. But, in the value which he set upon objects, whether as means, or as ends, he was almost perpetually deceived. Besides, a conviction appears to have been rooted in his mind, that the English had now formed a resolution to deprive him of his kingdom, and that it was useless to negotiate, because no submission to which he could reconcile his mind, would restrain them in the gratification of their ambitious designs. Nor was he deprived of grounds of hope, which over a mind like his were calculated to exert a fatal influence. He never could forget the manner in which his father had triumphed over a host of enemies by shutting himself up in his capital, and defending himself, till the season of the rains; nor had all his experience of the facility with which Europeans overcame the strong-



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CHAP. VIII. any decisive instruction. The principal part of his pre-
parations for war had consisted in adding to the works
of Seringapatam, and storing it with provisions for a
siege. With the attempt to disable the Bombay army
the idea of even obstructing the march of the invaders,
if not altogether abandoned, was very feebly pursued.
And, till the English were upon the ramparts, he could
not persuade himself that the fort of Seringapatam would
be taken. His grand military mistake is acknowledged
to have been the neglect of his cavalry; a proper use of
which would have rendered the conquering of him a far
more arduous task.

The original defects of his mind, arising from the vices
of his education, appear to have increased as he advanced
in years, and with peculiar rapidity since the loss of his
dominions in 1792. The obedience which the will of
princes, especially Eastern princes, is habituated to re-
ceive, not only renders them wretched when it is opposed,
but gluts and palls them with the gratification. Each
recurring instance becomes by familiarity insipid, or
rather disgusting, and leaves the mind restless and impa-
tient for a new gratification. This serves to account for
the fickle and capricious disposition which so commonly
marks the character of princes; and in general prevails
in them to a greater or less degree, in proportion to the
natural vivacity and susceptibility of their minds. This
disease infected the whole conduct of Tippoo Sultan, pub-
lic and private, and latterly in a manner so extraordinary,
that, when joined to a similar growth of his impatience
at every disagreement between that which he willed and
that which fell out, it produced in his subjects a persua-
sion that his mind was partially deranged. Like many
other persons of active, but not powerful minds, he ran
violently upon the observance of minuteness in minute
details, but with little capacity of taking a marshalling
view of a great whole. He saw but few therefore of the
relations and dependencies of things; and was, of course,
unable to anticipate justly their distant consequences.
The temptation to please, rather than to serve, excluded
Tippoo, as it excludes other princes, from the benefit of
councils wiser than his own. Accustomed to hear from



POINTS IN THE CHARACTER OF TIPPPOO.

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those who approached him, that every sentiment which he uttered exceeded in wisdom that of every other man, any difference with his opinions struck him at last in the character of a mere demonstration of folly. As a general, he possessed, as had been abundantly proved by the English in former wars, no other talents than the vulgar ones of great activity, courage, and that turn for stratagem, which the cunning of a rude age has a tendency to produce. As a domestic ruler, he sustains an advantageous comparison with the greatest princes of the East. He bestowed a keen attention upon the conduct of his government, from which he allowed himself to be diverted neither by pleasure nor by sloth. He made a methodical distribution of his time for business, in which he was laborious and exact; but in which his passion for detail made him frequently waste that attention upon minor, which ought to have been reserved to the greatest affairs. He had the discernment to perceive, what is so generally hid from the eyes of rulers in a more enlightened state of society, that it is the prosperity of those who labour with their hands, which constitutes the principle and cause of the prosperity of states; he therefore made it his business to protect them against the intermediate orders of the community, by whom it is so difficult to prevent them from being oppressed. His country was, accordingly, at least during the first and better part of his reign, the best cultivated, and its population the most flourishing in India;¹ while, under the English, and their depen-

¹ The same was asserted, with more truth no doubt, of the state of Mysore under Hyder; but it is difficult to believe that a country should be flourishing which was the frequent scene of hostile movements, and the sovereign of which demanded large contributions from his subjects, in order to keep up a disproportionate military force. Climate and soil, and an agricultural people, do much to hide, if they do not remedy, the exactions of a bad government; and a passing observer, who sees everywhere on his march abundant tillage, may easily misconceive of the condition of the inhabitants. The accounts of the prosperity of Mysore, under Hyder and Tippoo, must be received with hesitation; where tested by English experience they proved inaccurate. Munro was one of the officers appointed to manage some of the districts ceded by Tippoo in the first war, and his description of the state of things, as he found them, proves irrefutably that the management of the two Mohammedan princes of Mysore was not a whit preferable to that which succeeded them. "The collector cannot expect the country to flourish, when he has himself given the signal to plunder it. The numerous band of revenue servants require no encouragement to exercise the trade which they have always followed, but they now act without restraint, and are joined by the head farmers in stripping the unfortunate husbandmen of a great part of the produce of their labours. This is the system under the Nabobs, under Tippoo, under the Company, and, I believe, under every government in India. The collectors and their deputies,



dants, the population of the Carnatic and Oude, hastening to the state of deserts, was the most wretched upon the face of the earth; and even Bengal itself, under the operation of laws ill adapted to the circumstances of the case, was suffering almost all the evils which the worst of governments could inflict. That Tippoo was severe, harsh, and perhaps cruel, in superintending the conduct of those who served him, may be so far easily believed, as his inordinate pride would make every offence which appeared to be committed against himself assume gigantic dimensions: and his habit of willing, and seeing his will realized, made him expect every event, willed by himself, as by a law of nature, which nothing but the misconduct of others could have disturbed. That the accounts, however, which we have received from our countrymen, who dreaded and feared him, are marked with exaggeration, is proved by this circumstance, that his servants adhered to him with a fidelity which those of few princes in any age or country have displayed.¹ Of his cruelty we have heard the more, because our own countrymen were among the victims of it. But it is to be observed, that, unless in certain instances, the proof of which cannot be regarded as better than doubtful, their sufferings, however intense, were only the sufferings of a very rigorous imprisonment, of which, considering the manner in which it is lavished by their own laws, Englishmen ought not to be very forward to complain. At that very time, in the dungeons of Madras and Calcutta, it is probable that unhappy sufferers were enduring calamities for debts of 100*l.*; not less atrocious than those which Tippoo, a prince born and educated in

not being paid, help themselves, and by this means, the country is often as much harassed in peace as in war. The private dividend among Tippoo's managers is from twenty to forty per cent. Life i. 156. Again: "The Baramahl has now been completely surveyed, and the rents of it are fixed; they are on an average nearly what they were under Tippoo. The inhabitants paid the same then as now, but the deficiency of his receipts arose from the peculations of a host of revenue officers. The rents here, as I believe in every other part of India, are too high; this circumstance, joined to the general poverty of the people, is a great obstacle to every kind of improvement." Ibid. 204. There are other passages to the same purport, and they are fatal to a belief that the subjects of Tippoo were in any degree better circumstanced than those of the Company. The probability is, that their situation was worse.—W.

¹ Without detracting from the character for fidelity borne by Tippoo's officers, it is to be remembered that the Sultan did not trust to it as a fixed and permanent principle which precluded the necessity of ensuring it by other means. "The families of all his principal officers had always been kept as hostages in Seringapatam." Munro i. 219.—W.



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a barbarous country, and ruling over a barbarous people, BOOK VI.
inflicted upon imprisoned enemies ; enemies belonging to CHAP. VIII.
a nation, who, by the evils they had brought upon him, 1799.
exasperated him almost to frenzy, and whom he regarded
as the enemies both of God and man.¹ Besides, there is
among the papers relating to the intercourse of Tippoo
with the French, a remarkable proof of his humanity,
which, when these papers are ransacked for matters to
criminate him, ought not to be suppressed. In the
draught which he transmitted to the Isle of France, of
the conditions on which he wished that a connection
between him and the French should be formed, the fol-
lowing are the very words of a distinct article : "I demand
that male and female prisoners, as well English as Portu-
guese, who shall be taken by the republican troops, or by
mine, shall be treated with humanity ; and with regard
to their persons, that they shall (their property becoming
the right of the allies,) be transported at our joint expense,
out of India, to some place far distant from the territo-
ries of the allies."

Another feature in the character of Tippoo was his
religion, with a sense of which his mind was most deeply
impressed. He spent a considerable part of every day in
prayer. He gave to his kingdom, or state, a particular
religious title, *Khodadad*, or God-given ; and he lived
under a peculiarly strong and operative conviction of the
superintendence of a Divine Providence. His confidence
in the protection of God was, indeed, one of his snares ;
for he relied upon it to the neglect of other means of
safety. To one of his French advisers, who had urged
him with peculiar fervour to use greater zeal in obtaining
the support of the Mahrattas, he replied, "I rely solely
on Providence, expecting that I shall be alone and unsup-
ported ; but God, and my courage, will accomplish every

¹ After the capture of Seringapatam, some native spies, employed by the
English, asserted that the Sultan had ordered the death of thirteen English
prisoners, taken during the siege ; and a scrap of paper was found, said to be
in his hand-writing, which bore the character of an order for the death of 100
Coorg prisoners.—All the evidence which accompanies these allegations would
not be worthy of regard, but that the moral and intellectual state of the age
and country of Tippoo renders such an act by no means improbable, under
strong temptation, by any prince of the East. This, however, does not con-
clude Tippoo to be worse ; it only supposes him not to be better than his neigh-
bours.



BOOK VI. thing."¹ It is true, that his zeal for God, like the zeal
CHAP. VIII. of so many other people, was supported by the notion,
1799. and by the desire, of being the favourite of God ; of being
honoured with the chief place in his affections, and obtaining the best share in the distribution of his favours. His religion resembled the religion of most of the persons anxious to distinguish themselves for pious zeal, in this respect also ; that it contained in it a large infusion of the persecuting spirit. He imagined that he exceedingly pleased the Almighty, by cultivating within himself a hatred of all those whose notions of a God did not correspond with his own ; and that he should take one of the most effectual modes of recommending himself to that powerful and good Being, if, in order to multiply the number of true believers, he applied evil to the bodies of those who were not of that blessed description.

It would not be reckoned pardonable by Englishmen, if an historian were to omit ambition, and the hatred of the English, among the ingredients in the character of Tippoo. But ambition is too vulgar a quality in the minds of princes to deserve particular commemoration ; and as for his hatred of the English, it only resembled the hatred which the English bore to him, or to the French : and which proud individuals, and proud nations, are so prone to feel, towards all those who excite their fears, or circumscribe their hopes. Besides, among the princes of India, who, except their drivellers, were less ambitious than he ? Was it Sindiah, or was it Holkar ? Even in hatred of the English, is it understood, that these Mah-rattas were exceeded by the sovereign of Mysore ?²

¹ See the letter from Tippoo Sultaun to M. Du Buc, dated Seringapatam, 2nd Jan. 1799 ; papers printed by order of the House of Commons in 1800.

² This extenuation of the defects of Tippoo's character is no doubt prompted by our author's usual generous disposition to protect those whom all other persons assail. Notwithstanding this spirit, however, he is compelled to admit that Tippoo rashly provoked a storm he was unable to face, instigated by an ungovernable hatred of the English, both on account of their power and their religion. It is difficult to understand how this fatal want of judgment is reconcilable with an active, acute, and ingenious mind, or one even for that of an Eastern prince full of knowledge. That the Sultan had an active mind may be allowed, but it was the activity of restlessness, accompanied by cunning rather than acuteness,—by caprice rather than ingenuity. Of his knowledge there is no proof, and he was evidently ignorant of the relative position of the French and English when he trusted to the support of the former in a contest with the latter. In his military capacity it is admitted that he displayed courage without conduct. The merits of his civil government are, as above noticed, exaggerated at least, if not altogether misstated. The imprisonment



FRENCH PAPERS FOUND AT SERINGAPATAM.

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When the papers of Tippoo, found in the palace of Seringapatam, were examined, the correspondence was discovered which had passed between him and the French. With this Lord Wellesley shows that he was singularly delighted; as if, without such means of persuasion, he had dreaded, that the grounds of the war, successfully terminated, would not have appeared satisfactory to all those whose approbation he was interested in obtaining. It is, therefore, necessary that the amount of its contents should be declared. Some time before the beginning of April, 1797, the captain of a privateer from the Mauritius, Citizen Ripaud by name, whose ship, damaged in some engagement, had nearly foundered at sea, arrived in the country of Tippoo, and was conveyed to the capital; where several of his countrymen had long been high in the service of the Prince. This man, so illiterate that he could not spell his own language, and ready, as appears by his letters of the 23rd of May, 1797, for the perpetration of any crime, even against his own countrymen, was eager by imposture to recommend himself to the favour of the Sultan. He represented that the French government were not only burning with a desire to invade the possessions of the English in India, but were almost ready for the execution of that great design, having made vast preparations, forwarded a large body of troops to the Isle of France, and chiefly waiting till they could learn how much assistance they might expect from their ancient friend, the Sultan of Mysore. Tippoo, as eager fully as Englishmen, to believe what he eagerly desired, thought he could not be too expeditious in sending men to ascertain the circumstances; and in endeavouring to derive advantage from them should they appear to corre-

of debtors in Calcutta and Madras, as a consequence of legal enactments, however objectionable in their origin, is a very different thing from the sufferings and massacre of prisoners taken in the chances of war, and is no excuse for the vindictive cruelty exercised by Tippoo upon all, whether Europeans or natives, who were the objects of his vengeance. As to his religion, he not only partook largely of that intolerance which is a prominent feature of the Mohammedan faith, but it was degraded by the grossest superstition, faith in dreams, magic, and astrology; articles of belief, not uncommon it is true amongst the great men of the East, but in a special degree professed by Tippoo, and indicating none of that fulness of knowledge and acuteness of understanding for which in outset of this sketch of his character, credit has been given him. The general tendency of the description is, therefore, to convey an unfaithful portrait-ure of a prince, who, although he may claim compassion for his fate, can never by any sophistry be held up as an object of sympathy or respect.—W.

BOOK VI. spond with report. So completely was Tippoo deceived
 CHAP. VIII. by the representation of Ripaud, that he thought it

1799.

was only necessary to name the extent of the assistance which he wished to receive. He demanded an army of from 30,000 to 40,000 men, of whom he required that from 5,000 to 10,000 should be veteran troops; and, in addition to an army of this magnitude, he thought it proper to exact the assistance of a fleet. In contributing to the common enterprise, he proposed to take the whole expense of the army upon himself; and, as soon as it arrived, to join it with all his forces; when the expulsion of the English, he trusted, would not be a tardy result. As he believed, according to the statement of his informer, that nothing was wanting for the immediate departure of such a body of troops, but his assent to the conditions with which it was expected he should comply, he took the requisite measures for its being immediately bestowed. Four vakeels proceeded to the coast in April, 1797; but before they were ready to depart the monsoon set in. During the delay which it occasioned, the vakeels are said to have fallen into disputes and dissensions. This, with other causes, induced the Sultan to annul their appointment; and the actual mission, which at last consisted of only two persons, did not depart till the October following. Extreme was the disappointment with these vakeels, whom in the whole of this intercourse, the Governor-General, to exalt the notion of its importance, dubs with title of ambassadors, though the agent whom the meanest individual employs to transact for him a business of a few rupees, is his vakeel, experienced upon their arrival in the Isle of France. They expected to have nothing further to do than to set their seal, in the name of their master, to the conditions which he had given them in writing. This was called, in the pompous language of Citizen Ripaud, to contract an alliance offensive and defensive with the French Republic, one and indivisible, terms which the Sultan could not understand, as his language wanted words to correspond. And when this simple operation was performed, they expected to return with a grand army to Mysore. They found that not only was there at the Isle of France no force whatsoever, which could be spared for the use of their master,



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but that no intimation had, by the government of France, been conveyed to the constituted authorities of the island of any intention to send an army to India; and that those authorities were not vested with a power to form engagements with Tippoo of any description. Nothing did the rulers of the island find themselves competent to perform, except to forward the letters of the Sultan to the government of France, and offer aid to them in raising a few volunteers. Assistance so contemptible in comparison of what they and their master expected, the vakeels at first refused to accept. And no small impotunity appears to have been necessary to conquer their determination.

In the report of their proceedings, which they were required to give to their master upon their return, they say, "The four chiefs of Mauritius told us personally, that the European Ripaud had brought us here on a false representation to the Sultaun; and that at present they had no forces." A member of the legislative body of the island, who, because he had served in a military capacity in India, and was known to the Sultan, sent him a letter along with the returning vakeels, declared; "Our grief was profound to learn that you had been deceived by Ripaud as to our forces on this island. The only reinforcement which had been sent to us from France, since the commencement of the war, is one battalion, which we have sent to Batavia, to assist the Dutch in the preservation of that place. This we did, in return for the assistance which we had drawn from thence in money, provisions, and naval stores; for you must know, great Prince, that our own resources are insufficient for our support; and we have sworn to bury ourselves under the ruins of our island, rather than see our enemies its possessors."¹ The hopes which the French rulers held out that more efficient assistance might possibly be obtained by appli-

¹ See the papers relating to the war with Tippoo, printed by order of the House of Commons, in 1800. In the report which the vakeels, upon their return, made to the Sultan of their proceedings, they expressly state, that the Governor of the Isle of France waited upon them, and said "that Ripaud had made an erroneous representation to your Highness, which occasioned us to be deputed." And before their departure, they were informed by the Governor, that he would send with them a gentleman, (one of those by whom they were actually accompanied) "who should reside at the presence in quality of vakeel, that the other Frenchmen might not, by telling falsities, like Ripaud, deceive your Highness."



cation to the French government at Paris, obviously deserve attention merely as expedients to evade the chagrin of the vakeels. The number of Frenchmen in the service of the Sultan amounted not to more than 120 men.¹

The confidence which Tippoo reposed in the strength of Seringapatam, especially when protected by God, and his own courage, had prevented him from making any provision against an event which he reckoned so very improbable as its fall. Not only his family, therefore, but the whole of his treasure, was deposited in the fort: and as the palace was obtained by a species of capitulation, without the irruption of the soldiers, there was no suspicion that any portion of the money or jewels which he had in store, was not publicly obtained, and fully brought to account. It hence appeared, to the clearest satisfaction, how exaggerated and extravagant had been the conception of his enormous riches, and hence of his dangerous resources for war. The whole amount of the remaining specie, which Tippoo had treasured up, was about sixteen lacs of pagodas (640,000*l.*); and his jewels, of which in common with the Princes of the East he was fond, and with which they never part, except in their greatest extremity, were valued at about nine lacs (360,000*l.*) more. So far was such a sum from rendering its owner formidable to a power like that of the British in India, that the Governor-General in Council did not reckon it too much to be immediately distributed to the army, as a donative, in reward of the virtues which it had displayed during the campaign.

The English were now in possession of the kingdom of Mysore; and the only question which it remained for the Governor-General to decide, was the momentous one, how a kingdom was to be disposed of. He was not insensible to the difficulties which attended upon his decision; and the

¹ Beatson, i. 139.

The attention is here diverted from the more important contents of the papers to the circumstances which led to Tippoo's connexion with the Isle of France; but from the documents themselves it appeared that the Sultan had addressed the Directory in July, 1798, proposing an offensive and defensive alliance with France for the purpose of expelling the English from India, announcing at the same time his determination not to wait for the forces of his allies, but to commence the attack on the first favourable occasion. Despatches, 591. The whole of the correspondence, forming a large volume, was translated and printed in Calcutta. *Ibid.* 597.—W.



DIVISION OF HIS TERRITORY.

delicacy which was required, in balancing between the love of territory, on the one hand, and the suspicion and odium on the other, to which the destruction of another prince, and the annexation of any considerable part of his kingdom to an empire already of vast dimensions, would be exposed both in Europe and in India. This part of his task he performed with the greatest address. The Nizam, though, from the inferior part which he had taken in the war, he was not entitled to an equal share with the English in the benefits which resulted from it, was gratified by receiving an equal portion of territory. The necessity, however, was inculcated, of moderation in the desires of both; and the principle which was laid down was, that they should content themselves with such a portion of territory, as would indemnify them for the charges of the war, and yield security. The word security, brought in upon this occasion, was calculated to answer any purpose, to which they who made use of it had, or could have, any desire to employ it. Demands for security had no limit, but the pleasure and power of those by whom they were set up. When the subsequent inquirer asks, Security against whom? It is not easy to find an answer. Security against Tippoo? He was no more. Security against Nizam Ali, and the English, against one another? That was impossible; for they were both to be aggrandized, and in an equal degree. Was it security against the Mahrattas? No, for they also were to be offered a part of the divided territory, which was the way to make them more, not less dangerous neighbours than they were before. On the principle, then, of indemnification and security, it was decreed, that the English, on their part, should take to themselves the whole of the territory possessed by the Sultan on the Malabar coast, the district of Coimbetore and Daramporam, the whole of the country which intervened between the Company's territory on the western, and that on the eastern coast, yielding now an uninterrupted dominion from sea to sea; along with these possessions, the forts and posts forming the heads of the principal passes above the Ghauts on the table-land; the district of Wynaad; and, lastly, the for-

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¹ Col. Beatson says, (p. 254), that in 1788 he "ascertained the position and nature of not less than sixty passes through the mountains, several of which



treass, city, and island of Seringapatam, as a place which effectually secured the communication between the British territory on both coasts, and strengthened the lines of defence in every direction. A territory, affording an equal revenue with that which by the English was taken for themselves, was given to Nizam Ali, in the districts of Gooty, Gurrumcondah, and the tract of country which lies along the line of the great forts of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundydroog, and Colar, but without the forts, which it was supposed would render his frontier too strong. With regard to the third party in the alliance against Tippoo, they had entirely abstained from all participation in the war; and it would not, in the opinion of the Governor-General, have been good policy, to place on the same level, in the distribution of the spoil, those who did all, and those who did nothing, in the acquiring of it. This would be to encourage allies to be useless, when their services were required. So much territory as was taken by the English, and given to Nizam Ali, would, also, yield to the Mahrattas more than enough of strength. Still it was desirable to conciliate the good will of that people to the present proceedings; and to give them an interest in the arrangements which were made. A portion of territory, from one half to two thirds of the value of that which was taken by the English and given to Nizam Ali, would, it was concluded, answer these ends. This portion was to include Harpoonelly, Soonda above the Ghauts, Anna-goody, and some other districts; with part of the territory, not, however, including the fortresses, of Chittledroog and Bednore.

Of the portion which still remained of the territory gained from Tippoo, yielding thirteen lacs of pagodas, a revenue greater than that of the ancient Rajaship of Mysore, it was accounted politic to form a separate state. For sovereign, the choice lay between the family of Tippoo, and that of the ancient Hindu Rajas, who had been kept in confinement, but not extinguished, by Hyder Ali and his son. In the sons of Tippoo, the due degree of passive submission was reckoned much less probable than in those

are practicable for armies, and two-thirds, at least, of that number sufficiently open to the incursions of cavalry."



of a family, who, having lost all expectation of reigning would take even liberty as a boon, much more sovereignty, though in its most shadowy form. The direct male descendant of the Mysore Rajas was a child of a few years old; and to him it was decreed that the title of sovereign should belong. The conditions upon which he was to receive his dignity were as follows: That the whole of the military force maintained for the defence of the country should be English; That for the expense of it he should annually pay seven lacs of pagodas; That in case of war, or of preparation for war, the English might exact any larger sum, which they deemed proportional to the resources of the Raja; And last of all, should they be dissatisfied with his government in any respect, they might interpose to any extent in the internal administration of the country, or even take the unlimited management of it to themselves. In this manner, it is evident, that the entire sovereignty of the country was assumed by the British, of whom the Raja and his ministers could only be regarded as Vicegerents at will. It was, therefore, with some reason the Governor-General said, "I entertain a sanguine expectation, that the Raja and his ministers, being fully apprized of the extensive powers reserved to the Company will cheerfully adopt such regulations as shall render the actual exercise of these powers unnecessary;" for knowing themselves to hold a situation totally dependent upon the will of another, whatever emanated from that will, they were bound, without a choice, to obey. How long, with whatever dispositions to obedience, their performance of the services exacted of them will give satisfaction, depends upon circumstances of a sort which cannot be foreseen.

The Governor-General was perfectly aware of the share of the sovereignty which he had taken, and the share which he had left. "Under these arrangements," he said, "I trust that I shall be enabled to command the whole resources of the Raja's territory;" adding, what were very desirable results, that under these arrangements he also trusted to be enabled "to improve its cultivation, to extend its commerce, and to secure the welfare of its inhabitants." For appropriating such "extensive powers," (so they are called by himself,) the reasons which he as-

1799.

signed pronounced a violent condemnation of the policy so long pursued; and of which such applauded rulers as Hastings and Cornwallis had made their boast; the policy of only sharing the powers of government, with the native princes of Oude, the Carnatic, and Tanjore. "Recollecting the inconveniences and embarrassments which have arisen to all parties concerned, under the *double* government, and *conflicting* authorities unfortunately established in Oude, the Carnatic, and Tanjore, I resolved to reserve to the Company the most extensive and indisputable powers." This is to boast explicitly, that no double government, no conflicting authorities, were left in Mysore; that, by consequence, the powers of government were, without participation, engrossed by the English. What then, it may be asked, was the use of setting up the shadow of a Raja? The sources of evil were manifest. A considerable expense was rendered necessary for the splendour of his state; and it was utterly impossible to govern the country so well through the agency of him and his ministers, as it might have been governed by the direct application of European intelligence and virtue. But this Raja was a species of screen, put up to hide, at once from Indian and from European eyes, the extent of aggrandizement which the British territory had received; and it so far answered the purpose, that, though an obvious, it undoubtedly claims the praise of an adroit, and well-timed political expedient. It enabled the Governor-General to dismiss Nizam Ali with a much smaller share of the prey, than would have satisfied him, had the English taken without disguise the whole of what in this manner they actually appropriated.¹ It precluded the Mahrattas from those attempts to excite a jealousy of the English, to which it was known they were abundantly disposed. And it imposed completely, as well upon those members of the British legislature, who would have been pleased with an opportunity to criticize; as upon the men whose criticisms are more extensively disseminated through the press; all of whom, or almost all, were too defective, it seems, in the

¹ The Governor-General expressly declares, that beside the jealousy of the Mahrattas, the partition of Mysore between the English and the Nizam would have raised the power of that prince to a dangerous height: and would have given him many strong fortresses which could not have been placed in his hands without imminent danger to the British frontier.



GENEROSITY TOWARDS TIPPPOO'S FAMILY.

requisite lights, to see through the game that was played : BOOK VI.
for though none of the great acts of Marquis Wellesley's CHAP. VIII.
administration is more questionable than the attack upon
Tippoo Sultan, that is a part which, till now, has been
exempt from censure. 1799.

The territory, thus in name transferred to a Hindu Raja, whose residence was to be the ancient city of Mysore, while the benefits of its sovereignty were all transferred to the English, was bounded on the north by a strong line of hill-fortresses and posts, Chittledroog, Sera, Nundydroog, and Colar, forming a powerful barrier towards the southern frontiers of Nizam Ali and the Mahrattas, from Panganoor on the line of the eastern, to Bednore on the line of the western Ghauts, the whole occupied and defended, for the benefit of the English, by English troops ; and on the three other sides, east, west, and south, it was entirely surrounded by the territories of the Company, above and below the Ghauts.

To the family of Tippoo, if we make allowance for the loss of a throne, as well as to the principal men of his kingdom, the conduct of the Governor-General was considerate and generous. The fortress of Velore, in the Carnatic, was appropriated for the residence of the royal family, and fitted up commodiously for their reception, with an allowance for their support, more liberal than that which they had received from Tippoo himself. The principal men were all provided for by jaghires or pensions, conformable to their rank and influence, with a generosity which not only contented, but greatly astonished themselves. They were the more easily pleased, that Tippoo, centering all authority in his own person, rendered it impossible for his servants to acquire any influence beyond the immediate exercise of his official powers ; and as the frugality of their administration was severe, their emoluments were uncommonly small. The same circumstances facilitated the settlement of the country ; for, as no individual possessed any authority sufficient to make resistance, when Tippoo was gone, and as the character of the English was sufficiently known to inspire confidence, the chiefs made their submission without hesitation or delay. When one of Tippoo's confidential servants was sent to treat with the officer at the head of the cavalry, the



BOOK VI. celebrated Kummir ad din Khan, he refused to stipulate for terms, and said he cast himself entirely upon the generosity of the English.

1799.

In the treaty which was signed by Nizam Ali and the English, entitled the Partition Treaty of Mysore, for establishing the arrangements which have just been described, it was fixed, that, unless the Peshwa acceded to the said treaty within the space of one month, gave satisfaction relative to some disputes with Nizam Ali, and complied with certain conditions, not specified, in favour of the English, the territory, which it was meant to bestow upon him, should be shared between the remaining allies, in the proportion of two thirds to Nizam Ali, and one to the English.¹

When the terrors which Tippoo suspended over the Mahrattas, and the dependence which they felt upon the English against the effects of his ambition and power, were destroyed, it was not expected that their hostile dispositions, which had already so ill disguised themselves, could long be restrained.² The power of Nizam Ali was now the only barrier between the English possessions in the Deccan, and the irruptions of that formidable nation: and how small the resistance which he was capable of yielding, the English had abundantly perceived. In one way, it appeared sufficiently easy to augment his capacity for war. He was acutely sensible of the dangers to which he was exposed at the hands of the Mahrattas, and of his incompetency to his own defence. He was therefore

¹ See the papers relating to the war with Tippoo, printed by order of the House of Commons in 1800. See also the Treaty with the Nizam, and that with the Raja of Mysore. For the whole of the concluding struggle with Tippoo we have very complete information, not only in the official papers, which have been pretty fully given in print, but in the valuable works, so frequently quoted, of Beatson and Wilks. For the character of Tippoo, and some parts of his politics, hints are afforded by the volume of his letters, for which we are indebted to Col. Kirkpatrick.—M.

The Lives of Munro, Harris, Baird, and the Despatches of Lord Wellesley, supply fully whatever the prior authorities left wanting.—W.

² Indications of a hostile spirit in the Peshwa and Sindiah had been discovered even before the capture of Seringapatam. On the 23rd April, the Governor-General writes to General Harris, "Dowlut Rao Sindiah has been discovered to entertain hostile designs against the Company and the Nizam, and I have reason to suspect that a secret correspondence subsists between him and Tippoo. The Peshwa appears to have entered into Sindiah's views against the Company and the Nizam, and on the 26th "the danger of an early attack upon the dominions of the Nizam, by Dowlut Rao Sindiah, either singly or in concert with the Peshwa, appears to have increased." Despatches, i. 558, 581.



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abundantly desirous of receiving such additions to the number of the British troops already in his pay, as would suffice to allay his apprehensions. But the payment of these troops suggested itself to the foresight of the English rulers, as creating difficulties and dangers which it was not easy to overlook. So fickle and capricious were the councils of the Subahdar, that he might suddenly adopt the resolution of dismissing the English troops from his service; while the impoverishment of his country by mal-administration, and the exhaustion of his resources by useless expences, portended a moment not far distant, when he would be deprived of power to pay as many troops as would satisfy the ideas of security which the English rulers entertained. One expedient presented itself to the imagination of the Governor General, as adapted to all the exigencies of the case; and he resolved not to omit so favourable an opportunity of realizing the supposed advantage. If Nizam Ali, instead of paying a monthly or annual subsidy for the maintenance of the troops whose service he was willing to receive, would alienate to the English in perpetuity a territory with revenue sufficient for the expense, a military force might then be established in his dominions, on the least precarious of all securities. The evils were, in the first place, a violation of the act of parliament, which forbade extension of territory; but that had always been violated with so little ceremony, and lately in so extraordinary a manner, that this constituted an objection of trivial importance: in the second place, the real difficulties of administering the ceded territory, so frugally and beneficently, as to render its produce equal to its expense; difficulties, it is probable, which were but little understood: and lastly, the grand general evil, that, in proportion as territory augments, and with it the amount and complexity of the business which its administration involves, it becomes more and more impossible for the superintending power to take securities, that the business of government shall not be negligently and corruptly performed; since, beside the inability of attention to extend itself minutely beyond a limited range of affairs, distance from the eye of government gradually weakens its powers, and at last annihilates a great portion of them. Over-balancing advantages



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BOOK VI. appeared to flow, from the funds which would thus be
CHAP. VIII. secured for the maintenance of a considerable army, from
1799. the security which this army would afford against the
Mahrattas, and from the sovereignty which it would
transfer to the English over Nizam Ali and his dominions;
though his dominions were governed so ill, that little
advantage could be hoped from them.¹ The documents
relative to the negotiations have not been made public;
and we know not in what manner that Prince at first
received the proposition, nor what modes of inducement
were employed to obtain his consent. However, on the
12th of October, 1800, a treaty was signed; by which im-
portant contract, the English added two battalions of
sepoys, and a regiment of native cavalry, to the force
which they engaged to uphold in the service of the Su-
bahdar, and also bound themselves to defend his dominions
against every aggression; while, on his part, Nizam Ali
ceded to the English, in perpetual sovereignty, all the
acquisitions which he had made from the territory of
Tippoo, either by the late treaty, or by that of Seringapa-
tam, in 1792; and agreed neither to make war, nor so
much as negotiate, by his own authority; but, referring
all disputes between himself and other states to the
English, to be governed by their decision, allowing the
subsidiary troops in his service to be employed by the
English in all their wars, joined by 6000 of his own horse,
and 9000 of his infantry, only reserving two of the English
battalions which should always be attached to his person.
For the purpose of obtaining the Tumboodrah as a clear
and distinct boundary, Kupoor, Gujunder Gur, and some
other districts, lately acquired from Tippoo, were ex-
changed for Adoni and a few places on the southern side
of the river. With regard to the family and subjects of

¹ The proposition for the territorial grant originated with Azim-ul-Omra, the minister of the Nizam; and it was believed by the Governor-General that the court of Hyderabad was sincerely disposed, and even secretly anxious for a commutation of the subsidy. In the first plan of the treaty, however, an alternative was retained of paying the subsidy in money, whenever convenient; a stipulation to which the English Government objected; and in the counter-plan it was distinctly asserted that no other effectual or satisfactory security than an absolute assignment of territory could be given by the Nizam for the regular payment of the subsidy. The extreme anxiety of the Nizam to have assurance of protection against the Mahrattas, removed all impediments to an amicable adjustment of the conditions, the principle of which he had already recognised. Despatches, ii. 275, and App. 713.—W.



THE TERMS AND NATURE OF THE TREATY.

the Subahdar, it was stipulated that he was to remain absolute, and the English were on no pretext to dispute his authority. A revenue of about 1,758,000 pagodas arose from the territory ceded by this treaty to the English.¹

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1800.

Of this engagement, as it affected the interests of the English, the nature may be described in a single sentence. The English acquired a small territory, with the obligation of defending a large one. If it be said, that it was as easy to defend the Nizam's territory, in addition to their own, as it was to defend their own without that of the Nizam, and that the revenue of the new territory was all therefore clear gain, the declaration is unfounded. If the act of parliament, which was set up for a show, but in practice trampled upon habitually, and by those who made it, as shamelessly, as by those for whose coercion it was made, is worthy on such an occasion to be quoted, it may be recollected, that, according to the doctrine which, in that enactment, guided the legislature, all extension of territory was bad, because it cost more to defend it, than it could be made to produce; much more of course, when a small territory was acquired with the burden of defending another, several times as large.

A clause was inserted, to say, that if the Peshwa or Dowlut Rao Sindiah, should desire to have a part in this treaty, they should be admitted to all its advantages; in other words, they should have a subsidiary force on the same terms as Nizam Ali. But so far were the Mahrattas from desiring an alliance of this description, that the Peshwa, under the dictation of Sindiah, refused to accept the territory which was reserved to him out of the spoils of Tippoo; it was therefore divided by the English between themselves and the Subahdar.

CHAPTER IX.

Situation of Oude, as left by Lord Teignmouth, highly satisfactory to the Home Authorities—Great Changes mediated by Lord Mornington—Extirpation of British

¹ A sketch of the Political History of India, from the Introduction of Mr. Pitt's Bill, A.D. 1784, to the present Date, by Sir John Malcolm, pp. 282—287 Collection of Treaties.



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1800.

Subjects, not in the Service of the Company—Apprehended Invasion of the Afghans—Endeavour to obtain the Alliance of Sindiah—The Idea abandoned—An Embassy to the King of Persia—Insurrection by Vizir Ali—Reform of his Military Establishment pressed on the Nabob of Oude—His Reluctance—He proposes to abdicate in favour of his Son—The Governor-General presses him to abdicate in favour of the Company—He refuses—Indignation of the Governor-General—He resorts to Coercion on the Reform, which meant the Annihilation, of the Nabob's Military Establishment—The Business of the Annihilation judiciously performed—The Vizir alleges the Want of Resources for the Maintenance of so great a British Army—From this, the Governor-General infers the Necessity of taking from him the Government of his Country—If the Nabob would not give up the whole of his Country willingly, such a Portion of it as would cover the Expense of the British Army to be taken by Force—This was more than One-half—The Vizir to be allowed no Independent Power even in the Rest—The Vizir desires to go on a Pilgrimage—The Hon. H. Wellesley sent to get from him an Appearance of Consent—The Cession of the Portion necessary for the Expense of the Army effected—A Commission for settling the Country with Mr. H. Wellesley at the Head—Governor-General makes a Progress through the Country—Transactions between him and the Nabob of Oude—Proposition of the Bhow Begum—Objections of the Court of Directors to the Appointment of Mr. H. Wellesley—Overruled by the Board of Control—Government of Furruckabad assumed by the Company—Settlement of the Ceded Districts—Full Approbation of the Home Authorities.

THE arrangements formed by the late Governor-General, Sir John Shore, with respect to the kingdom of Oude, satisfied the capacious desires of the London authorities. Under date the 15th of May, 1799, a despatch, intended to convey their sentiments to the instruments of government in India, has the following passages:

“By the definitive treaty concluded at Lucknow, the Company's influence over the Vizir's country appears to be sufficiently preserved; without the insertion of any



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article, which, in its operation, might lead to an interference in the collections, on the part of the Company, that might be deemed offensive. And we have the further satisfaction to find, that (exclusive of the immediate payment of twelve lacs of rupees by the Nabob Vizir),—his annual subsidy is increased upwards of twenty lacs of rupees; besides the acquisition of a fortress in the Oude dominions, of the greatest consequence in the scale of general defence: with other stipulations, which have a tendency to remedy former defects in our political connexion with that country, and to give the Company such an ascendancy as cannot fail to be productive of material benefit to both parties: and which, we trust, will lead to the establishment of a good system of government in Oude, which hitherto all our endeavours, for a series of years, have been unable to accomplish.

“The late Governor-General had given us reason to expect, that, for the first year, or perhaps longer, after Saadut Ali’s accession, his revenues would probably fall considerably short of their estimated amount; and that he would find considerable difficulty in fulfilling his pecuniary engagements with the Company:—and very satisfactorily assigned the ground of that opinion. We are, therefore, not surprised to find by the last accounts, that an arrear had accumulated in the payment of the Company’s tribute, to the amount of upwards of eighteen lacs of rupees. Lord Mornington having represented, however, that he believes the Nabob is sincerely disposed to make every possible effort for the liquidation of this arrear, as well as for introducing such a system of order and economy into the management of his finances as will enable him to be more punctual in his future payments, we entertain a well-grounded expectation that every cause of complaint upon this head will speedily terminate.”

The affairs of Oude being thus settled in a manner which bids fair to be permanent; and it appearing by your political despatch of the 17th April, 1798, that the most perfect tranquillity continues to prevail in the Vizir’s dominions; and as the resolutions of the late Governor-General, of the 9th and 30th October, 1797, for the augmentation of the army, were declared to be connected with the proposed arrangements for that country, we direct



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that you take into your immediate consideration the propriety of disbanding those new levies, or the necessity of continuing them.”¹

While the home authorities were thus congratulating themselves upon the state in which the affairs of Oude were left by the late Governor-General, and pleasing themselves with the belief of its permanence, the new Governor-General was meditating the most important changes. In the political letter from Bengal, as early as the 3rd of October, 1798, the authorities at home were informed; “The Right Honourable the Governor-General has now under consideration the present state of affairs with Oude, and particularly the best means of securing the regular payment of the subsidy, and of reforming the Nabob’s army.”² And on the 23rd of December of the same year, the Governor-General wrote, in a private letter to the Resident; “The necessity of providing for the defence of the Carnatic, and for the early revival of our alliances in the Peninsula, as well as for the seasonable reduction of the growing influence of France in India, has not admitted either of my visiting Oude, or of my turning my undivided attention to the *reform* of the Vizir’s affairs. There are, however, two or three leading considerations in the state of Oude to which I wish to direct your particular notice; intending, at an early period, to enter fully into the arrangement in which they must terminate.—Whenever the death of Almas shall happen, an opportunity will offer of securing the benefits of Lord Teignmouth’s treaty, by provisions, which seem necessary for the purpose of realizing the subsidy, under all contingencies. The Company ought to succeed to the power of Almas. And the management, if not the sovereignty, of that part of the Doab, which he now rents, ought to be placed in our hands, a proportionate reduction being made from the subsidy; the strength of our north-western frontier would also be increased. On the other hand, in the event of Alma’s death, we shall have to apprehend either the dangerous power of a successor equal to him in talents and activity, or the weakness of one inferior in both, or the division of the country among a variety of renters; in the

¹ Papers printed by order of the House of Commons in 1806, i. 30.

² Papers, *ut supra*, v. 3.



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first case we should risk internal commotion; in the two latter, the frontier of Oude would be considerably weakened against the attacks either of the Abdallee or of any other invader. The only remedy for these evils will be the possession of the Doab fixed in the hand of our government. The state of the Vizir's troops is another most pressing evil. To you I need not enlarge on their inefficiency and insubordination. My intention is to persuade his Excellency, at a proper season, to disband the whole of his own army, with the exception of such part of it as may be necessary for the purposes of state, or of collection of revenue. In the place of the armed rabble which now alarms the Vizir, and invites his enemies, I propose to substitute an increased number of the Company's regiments of infantry and cavalry, to be relieved from time to time, and to be paid by his Excellency. I have already increased our establishment to the extent of seventeen regiments of infantry, with the view of transferring three regiments to the service of his Excellency.—With respect to the Vizir's civil establishments, and to his abusive systems for the extortion of revenue, and for the violation of every principle of justice, little can be done before I can be enabled to visit Lucknow.”¹

The hostility of the Governor-General to his fellow-subjects pursuing, independently of the Company, their occupations in any part of India, is expressed, without a word to indicate reasons, in the same letter, thus; “The number of Europeans, particularly of British subjects established in Oude, is a mischief which requires no comment. My resolution is fixed, to dislodge every European, excepting the Company's servants. My wish is, to occasion as little private distress as possible, but the public service must take its course; and it is not to be expected that some cases of hardship will not be found in the extent of so great a measure.” These last words indicate extensive numbers. Why did not the Governor-General, before he dared to strike at the fortunes of great numbers of his countrymen, declare and prove the evils which they produced? For what reason is it, let them declare who know what is understood, under such a government as ours, by the responsibility of the ruling few, that he

¹ Papers, ut supra, iii. 2. 3.—M. Despatches, i. 385.—W.

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has never yet been effectually called upon to account for such a conduct? The good which they were calculated to produce is obvious to all. The question still remains unanswered; What were the evils?¹

The threat of Zemaun Shah, King of the Abdallees, or Afghans, became a convenient source of pretexts for urging upon the Vizir the projected innovations. This prince had succeeded his father Timur Shah, the son of the celebrated Ahmed Shah, the founder of the dynasty, in the year 1792. His dominions extended from the mouths of the Indus to the parallel of Kashmere; and from the boundaries of the Seikhs, at some distance eastward of the great river Attock, to the vicinity of the Persian Tershish; including the territories of Kabul, Kandahar, Peishere, Ghizni, Gaur, Sigistan, Korassan, and Kashmere. In the year 1796, this prince advanced to Lahore; and though his force was not understood to exceed 33,000 men, almost wholly cavalry, he struck terror into the Mahrattas; and excited alarm in the English government itself. The object of the Shah, as announced by rumour,² was, to re-establish the House of Timur, to which he was nearly related, and restore the true

¹ With a few exceptions, the Europeans who found their way to the native courts, whilst the system of exclusion from residence in the Company's territories without permission prevailed, were mere adventurers, without capital or character, education or principle, who were recommended to the princes of India by a supposed fitness for military command, or an imagined influence with the authorities in England, which might be a check upon those in India. The evils resulting from the access of such persons in any numbers were sufficiently obvious, and had been abundantly experienced at Madras, Hyderabad, and all possible means for their prevention.—W.

² The announcement was much more than rumour. Letters from Zemaun Shah himself to the British Government, at successive periods, to Sir John Shore and to Mr. Lumsden. Wellesley Despatches, i. 670; Lord Mornington, also, writes to Mr. Dundas, "I have lately received a letter from Zemaun Shah, containing a declaration of his intention to invade Hindustan, and a peremptory demand of the assistance of the Nabob Vizir and of mine, for the purpose of delivering Shah Alem from the hands of the Mahrattas, of restoring him to the throne of Delhi, and of expelling the Mahrattas from their acquisitions on the south-western frontier of India. That the Shah entertains such a design is unquestionable, and whatever may be the result, it is prudent to be on our guard." Despatches i. 89. There is no doubt that Shah Zemaun seriously purposed the invasion of Hindustan, and that he repeatedly made a demonstration of carrying his purpose into effect. See Elphinstone's *Cabul*, Appendix, 565. Had he been a prince of vigour and talent, or had his authority been firmly established in his own dominions, the project might have been realized with little difficulty. The march of an effective Afghan force to Delhi would have produced a crisis in Hindustan, of which, although the result might have accelerated the extension of our power, yet the interval would have been a state of great anxiety, exertion, and expense. It was sound policy of the government, therefore, not only to prepare against, but, if possible, to prevent such an occurrence.—W.



RUMOUR OF AN AFGHAN INVASION.

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faith in the empire of the Great Mogul. The Seikhs, it appeared, gave no obstruction to his march : the Mahrattas, from their internal distractions, were ill prepared to resist him : and, though they assembled a considerable army, which might have enabled them to dispute the possession of Delhi, or molest him in his retreat, it was still possible for him, in the opinion of the person then at the head of the English government, to advance to Delhi, even with so inconsiderable an army as that which he led to Lahore ; in which case, he would have formidably threatened the British interests. The Rohillas, it was imagined, would join him ; induced, not only by the affinities of descent and religion, and the cruelties which they had sustained at the hands of the English and Vizir ; but, the Governor-General added, by the love of war and plunder ; yet the truth is, that they devoted themselves to agriculture, whenever oppression would permit them, with an ardour and success of which India had no example ; and their love of war and plunder meant only a greater degree of courage and vigour than distinguished the other races of the country.¹ The approach of the Shah, it was therefore apprehended, would spread the greatest disorders in the dominions of the Vizir. "The troops under Almas," who governed as renter, and defended that half of the dominions of the Vizir which was most exposed to the incursions both of the Mahrattas and Afghans, "were," says the Governor-General, "respectable. The other troops of the Vizir, with little exception, would rather have proved an incumbrance, than an assistance to the British forces ; and nothing but the most urgent remonstrances would have ensured the exertions or supplies of the Vizir. His dominions would have been overrun with marauders ; a total temporary stoppage of the collections would have ensued ; and these disorders, if not speedily quelled, would have ended in general insurrection." On the measures to be adopted, Sir John Shore found it difficult to decide. The Mahrattas, excited by their fears, made proposals to

¹ The mistake is here repeated of confounding the two races who inhabited the province of Rohilund, the Hindu indigenous population and the Afghan settlers, to whom the term Rohilla should properly be confined. The former were, no doubt, an industrious and agricultural people ; the latter were more especially soldiers — soldiers of fortune, who, upon the occurrence of war and the prospect of plunder, would as certainly have recruited the armies of Zemaun Shah—W.



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the English for a union of forces against the Afghan. But the reduction of the power of the Mahrattas, Sir John would have welcomed as one of the most desirable events. On the other hand, Zemaun Shah, if crowned with success, would be still a greater object of dread. Again; if the Mahrattas, by their own exertions, prevailed over the Shah, they would gain a formidable increase of power. Or, if the French leader, who, in the name of Sindiah, now governed so great a portion of the provinces, at which the Afghans were supposed to aim, should, in the midst of commotion, raise himself to the sovereignty of the territories in dispute, this, to the mind of the Governor-General, appeared the most alarming consequence of all. Before the English government thought itself called upon for any great exertions, a rebellious brother of the Shah excited disturbance in his dominions; and recalled him early in 1797, from Lahore. The troops at the cantonments of Cawnpore and Futty Ghur had, in the meantime, been ordered into camp; and two additional regiments of infantry had been raised. The Governor-General, indeed, imagined, that the march of the Shah to Lahore, with so limited a force, was rather an experiment than the commencement of an expedition; but the question was worthy of his attention whether it would have been easy for the King of the Afghans to come with a greater force. It was, too, after all, the opinion of the English ruler, that, though motives were not wanting to prompt the Shah to the invasion of Hindustan, it was, nevertheless, an event very little probable; and such as there would be little prudence in taking any costly precautions to defeat.¹

In 1798, a belief, but solely derived from rumour,² of vast preparations making by the Afghan, for the invasion of India, was excited anew. The apprehensions, however, of the British government were allayed, by intelligence received toward the end of September, that the disturbances within the dominions of the Shah had compelled him to leave his capital and march to Kandahar. But this was speedily followed by reports, that the 10th of

¹ Minute of the Governor-General, 4th of July, 1797. See also Malcolm's Sketch, p. 210.

² This is a mistake, as shown in a preceding note: the information was positive. See also Minutes of the Governor-General, of August, 1798. Despatches, i. 185.



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October was fixed for commencing his march from Kabul towards Hindustan; and though the authenticity of these reports was held very doubtful, the English government deemed it "their duty," according to their own expressions, "to take every precaution against the possibility of an event, which, combined with the designs of Tippoo and the French, might become of the most serious importance." Endeavours were used to prevail upon Doulut Rao Sindiah to return from the south, and put his dominions in the best posture of defence; and great hopes were expressed, that he would follow this advice. "The Governor-General also directed the Resident at the court of Sindiah," I use again the language of the Governor-General in council, "to enter into defensive engagements with that chieftain, upon his return to Hindustan, under such limitations and conditions, as might secure the effectual co-operation of the Mahratta army, with the least possible diversion of the British force from the exclusive protection of the frontier of Oude. His Lordship further directed the Resident with Sindiah to endeavour to provide the earliest resistance to the progress of the Shah, at the greatest practicable distance from the frontier of Oude, by encouraging the chiefs of the Rajpoots and Seikhs to oppose the first approach of the invading army." In the month of October, the Commander-in-Chief was directed to prepare for such a disposition of the troops in the upper provinces, and such military operations in general, as would most effectually secure that part of the British frontier against an attack from the Afghans. The proposition of the Commander-in-Chief was approved, for adding to the army two regiments of native infantry, for the movement of five companies of native invalids to Chunar, and of five other companies to Allahabad; and for assembling a force to cover the city of Benares. The Resident at Lucknow was desired "to urge to the Vizir," these are the words of the official despatch, "the necessity of collecting as large a body of artillery, infantry, and cavalry, as possible, to be placed, if necessary, under the directions of an European officer, and to be employed in the manner suggested by the Commander-in-Chief;" also, to take immediate measures for sending such a supply of

¹ Papers, ut supra, li. 36.

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grain to Allahabad as the commanding officer in the field might prescribe, and for obtaining the orders and assistance of the Vizir in despatching, whenever it should be requisite, all the boats not required for the service of the army.

Notwithstanding the hopes, however, which had been fondly entertained of a defensive alliance with Sindiah, the authorities in India write to the authorities in England in the following terms: "From the letter to the Resident with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, dated the 26th of October, you will observe, that Sindiah's continuance at Poonah, the dissensions and disaffection which prevail among his commanders, and the unsettled and precarious state of his authority in Hindustan, have prevented our taking any further steps for carrying the intended arrangements into effect." It was in the beginning of October that the authorities in India delivered it to the authorities in England, as their opinion, that the greatest advantages would arise from a connexion with Sindiah. Before the end of the same month, they find the circumstances of Sindiah to be such, that no further steps for carrying the intended arrangements into effect are accounted advisable.¹ Again; the inability of Sindiah, from the disaffection of his commanders, and the tottering state of his authority, were now made the foundation on which measures of policy were built. After an interval of not many months, the necessity was urged of draining the whole resources of the British state, to make war upon him. The fact appears to be that Sindiah knew the improbability of being invaded by the Shah; and though such invasion would bring on him greater evils than it would bring on the government of any other state, he chose to remain at Poonah, for the promotion of those objects of which he was there in eager pursuit.

"Under these circumstances," say the authorities in India, "we have judged it expedient to determine, that in the event of Zemaun Shah's approach to the frontier of our ally the Vizir, our military operations shall be confined to a system of defence; and we have resolved that our arms shall, in no case, pass the limits of his Excellency's dominions, unless such a forward movement shall

¹ Papers, ut supra, p. 36, 37.



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be deemed by the commanding officer necessary for the protection of the frontier, either of Oude, or of our own dominions." ¹

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After producing all this preparation and expense, the Shah, who, it seems, had again advanced as far as Lahore, began his retreat on the 4th of January: and Shah Aulum was informed by a letter from the Afghan Vizir, that no intention remained of prosecuting the expedition into Hindustan that year, but the helpless Mogul might look forward to a more prosperous issue, at some future period. The cause of the retreat was reported, and believed, to be, the alarming progress making by the brother of the Shah at the head of a military force in the neighbourhood of Herat.²

In the month of September, Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, had made the following communication to the Governor-General. A personage, of the name of Mehidi Ali Khan, had intimated, that, as he was about to make a journey into Persia, it might be in his power, and if properly authorized, he had confident hopes that it would be in his power, to excite the Persian rulers, by threatening or attacking the western part of Afghanistan, to divert the Shah from his projected invasion of Hindustan. The fact was, that Baba Khan,³ then King of Persia, had espoused the cause of Mahmood, the brother of Zemaun, as the elder son, and hence the rightful heir of the late monarch: and had already threatened, if not attacked, the province of Khorassan. Mehidi Ali Khan was intrusted with a mission, the objects of which, as they fell in with the existing politics of the Persian government, were successfully attained. This, however, was not enough to satisfy a

¹ Papers, ut supra, ii. 37.

² Papers, ut supra, p. 38.—M. Shah Mohammed, the brother of Zemaun Shah, by a different mother, who was governor of Herat at the time of his father's death, was left in possession of his government upon his acknowledged Zemaun Shah as his sovereign. He subsequently engaged in repeated insurrections against the king in 1794, 1797, and 1799, and these attempts, although unsuccessful, had the effect of suspending Shah Zemaun's designs upon India, and recalling him from the advance he had made towards their fulfilment. The last rebellion of Mohammed, in 1800, placed him, for a season, on the throne of Kabul. Elphinstone's Appendix. 575. Conolly's Travels, ii. 262.—W.

³ Baba Khan was the name of the prince, who upon his accession to the throne of Persia, in 1797, took the title of Futteh Ali Shah, by which designation he is better known. Mohammed was not the rightful heir to the throne of Kabul.



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mind, which longed to do every thing in magnificent style; and the Governor-General prepared a splendid embassy to the court of Baba Khan. Captain Malcolm, who had lately been assistant to the resident at Hyderabad, was chosen, for his knowledge of the language, and other accomplishments, to conduct the negociation. "The embassy," to use the words of the negotiator, "was in a style of splendour corresponding to the character of the monarch, and the manners of the nation, to whom it was sent; and to the wealth and power of that state from whom it proceeded" a language this, which may be commonly interpreted, lavishly, or, which is the same thing, criminally, expensive. The negotiator continues: "It was completely successful in all its objects. The King of Persia was not only induced by the British envoy to renew his attack upon Khorassan, which had the effect of withdrawing Zemaun Shah from his designs upon India; but entered into treaties of political and commercial alliance with the British government."¹ The embassy proceeded from Bombay on the 29th of December, 1799; and the terms of the treaties were fixed before the end of the succeeding year. It was stipulated, That the King of Persia should lay waste, with a great army, the country of the Afghans, if ever they should proceed to the invasion of India, and conclude no peace without engagements binding them to abstain from all aggressions upon the English: That should any army, belonging to the French, attempt to form a settlement on any of the islands or shores of Persia, a force should be employed by the two contracting states to co-operate for their extirpation; and that if even any individuals of the French nation should request permission to reside in Persia, it should not be granted. In the firmaun, annexed to this treaty, and addressed to the governors and officers in the Persian provinces, it was said: "Should ever any person of the French nation attempt to pass your ports or boundaries; or desire to establish themselves, either on the shores or frontiers, you are to take means to expel and extirpate them, and never to allow them to obtain a footing in any place; and you are at full liberty, and authorized, to disgrace and slay them." Though the atrocious part of this order was, no

¹ Malcolm's Sketch, p. 317.



TREATY WITH PERSIA.

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doubt, the pure offspring of Persian ferocity; yet a Briton may justly feel shame, that the ruling men of his nation, a few years ago, (such was the moral corruption of the time!) could contemplate with pleasure so barbarous and inhuman a mandate, or endure to have thought themselves, except in a case of the very last necessity, its procuring cause. On their part, the English were bound, whenever the King of the Afghans, or any person of the French nation, should make war upon the King of Persia, "to send as many cannon and warlike stores as possible, with necessary apparatus, attendants, and inspectors, and deliver them at one of the ports of Persia."¹ The evil of this condition was, that binding, not merely for a single emergency, it tended to involve the English in all the quarrels between the King of Persia and a neighbouring people, with whom it was very unlikely that he would almost ever be at peace: and thus extended more widely than ever those fighting connexions, which the legislature had not only prohibited, but stigmatized, as contrary at once to the interests and the honour of the nation. The commercial treaty was of slight importance, and aimed at little more than some security from the ill-usage to which in barbarous countries merchants are exposed, and some improvements in the mode of recovering the debts, and securing the property of the English traders. On the attainment of these points, the envoy himself, as natural, sets the highest value. "These treaties," he tells us, "while they completely excluded the French from Persia, gave the English every benefit which they could derive from this connexion." He adds, "Nor can there be a doubt, that if this alliance had been cultivated with the same active spirit of foresight and penetration with which it was commenced, it would have secured the influence of the British government in that quarter from many of those attacks to which it has subsequently been exposed."² It would have been good, if the envoy had shown, in what advantage the British government could find a compensation, for the expense of upholding such a connexion at the court of Persia.

¹ See Collection of Treaties, &c. between the East India Company and the Asiatic Powers; also the Appendix to Malcolm's Sketch.

² Malcolm's Sketch, p. 318.



The result, in regard to the Afghans, is necessary to be known. The year 1800 was spent, partly in war, partly in negotiation, between the King of Persia and Zemaun Shah. In the year 1801, Mahmood, the rebellious prince, collected such a force, as enabled him not only to defeat his brother, but to render him a captive.¹

To grant a residence to Vizir Ali, the deposed Nabob or Nawaub of Oude, at a place so near his former dominions as Benares, was not regarded as a measure of prudence, and he had been made acquainted with the resolution of removing him to Calcutta. He viewed the change with the utmost aversion; but all his remonstrances against it had proved in vain; and the time was now approaching, the preparations were even made, for carrying it into execution.

On the morning of the 14th of January, 1799, he paid a visit, by appointment, accompanied by his usual suite of attendants, to Mr. Cherry, the British Resident, at his house, distant about three miles from Benares. After the usual compliments, he began to speak of the hardship of his coercive removal; and proceeded first to warmth, at last to intemperance of language. Mr. Cherry, whose attentions were understood to have gained his personal favour, is said to have gently attempted to repress his indiscretion, and to remind him that he, at least, was not the proper object of his resentment; when the impetuous youth, with sudden or premeditated frenzy, started from his seat, and made a blow at him with his sword. This, by the law of Eastern manners, was a signal to his attendants, with or without concert; and in an instant their swords were unsheathed. Mr. Cherry endeavoured to escape through a window, but one of the attendants, reaching him with his poignard, struck him lifeless on the floor. Two other gentlemen in the room being murdered, the assassins hurried to the houses of other Englishmen; but, sacrificing only two other lives in their progress, they were so vigorously resisted by a gentleman, who possessed himself of a narrow staircase, and defended himself against their ascent, that time was given for the arrival of a party of horse, upon which they immediately betook themselves to flight. So little pre-

¹ Papers, ut supra, p. 22, 23.



paration had Vizir Ali made for this explosion, that he was obliged to leave behind him whatever property he possessed; the furniture of his zenana, his elephants, and even a part of his horses. He retired to the woody country of Bhotwal, where he was joined by several disaffected Zemindars.

The news of this outrage excited considerable emotion at Lucknow, where it was regarded as the eruption of a conspiracy for the overthrow of the government; a conspiracy in which it was unknown to what extent the subjects of Saadut Ali might themselves be concerned. That ruler, in whose character timidity predominated, and who knew that he was hated, suspected every body, even his troops, and prayed that the English battalion might be sent from Cawnpore for the protection of his person. When called upon to join with his forces the British army, for the chastisement of the offender, he found an excuse, which his avarice, his timidity, his desire of ease, and hatred of exertion, all combined in leading him eagerly to adopt. He stated his suspicions of his troops, and represented them as too void, both of discipline and of fidelity, for any advantage to be expected from their aid. He afterwards paid dear for his ingenuousness, when this representation was brought forward as a reason for thrusting upon him measures which his soul abhorred.

Notwithstanding the representations of the former Governor-General, Sir John Shore, that the people of Oude universally regarded Vizir Ali as destitute of all title to the crown, the grand alleged fact, upon which he grounded the important decision of deposing a sovereign, and naming his successor; the Marquis Wellesley, in a letter to the Resident, dated the 22nd of January, 1801, expressly says, "Active and *general* support has been afforded, by the subjects of his Excellency, to the impostor who lately assumed the name of Vizir Ali." It also appears that of the troops of the Vizir, which were required to assist in reducing the disturber, a part in reality joined his standard.

He found himself in a short time at the head of an

¹ Papers, ut supra, iii. 146.—M. This does not prove that Vizir Ali was popular when Sir J. Shore wrote: the contrary was no doubt the case. It only proves what was uniformly admitted, the unpopularity of Sadut Ali, in consequence of his parsimony and financial exactions.—W.



BOOK VI. army of several thousand men ; descended with them into
CHAP. IX. the plains of Gorukpoor, the eastern district of Oude ;

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A British force was assembled to oppose him. Some partial rencounters, in which they suffered pretty severely, and the narrow limits for subsistence or plunder to which they were reduced, soon disheartened his followers ; when they abandoned him in great numbers ; and he himself took refuge with a Rajpoot Rajah. He remained with him till the month of December following ; when the Rajpoot made his terms with the British government, and treacherously delivered up Vizir Ali, who was carried to Fort William, and there confined.

In the month of January, 1799, the Governor-General addressed letters to the Vizir, and to the Resident at Lucknow, of which the object was to urge, what he was pleased to denominate a *reform* of the military establishment of the Vizir. The London authorities themselves, in the letter which they afterwards wrote on the 15th of May, 1799, expressing their great satisfaction with the arrangements in Oude which had been formed by Sir John Shore, and with the disposition shown by the Vizir, both to make the large pecuniary payments which were required at his hands, and to introduce the reforms into his financial system which would alone enable to meet those demands, alluded to his military expenditure in the following terms : " The large, useless, and expensive military establishment, within the Oude dominions, appears to us to be one of the principal objects of *economical reform*, and we have much satisfaction in finding that the subject has already come under your consideration."¹ In his letter to the Resident, the Governor-General says, " My object is, that the Vizir should disband, as speedily as possible, the whole of his military force." The next part of the plan was to replace that force by an army exclusively British. This was what the Governor-General, with other Englishmen, called a *reform* of the military establishments of the Vizir : the total annihilation of his military power, and the resignation of himself and his country to the army of another state. The Vizir was indeed to retain as many, as might be necessary, of that kind of troops which

¹ Papers, *ut supra*, I. 3.



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were employed in collecting the taxes ; and as many as might be necessary for the purposes of state : an establishment of the sort which his own aumils, or tax-gatherers, enjoyed.

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The Resident was instructed to avail himself of the alarm into which the timidity of the Vizir had been thrown by the rumours of the expedition of the King of the Afghans, to urge upon him the necessity of a ready concurrence with the Governor-General's views. "You will," says the letter, "remind his Excellency, that his military establishment was represented, by himself, to be not only inadequate to contribute any assistance towards the defence of his dominions ; but that, at the moment when the services of the British army were most urgently demanded on his frontier, he required the presence of a part of that force in his capital, for the express purpose of protecting his person and authority against the excesses of his own disaffected and disorderly troops. The inference to be drawn from these events is obviously, that the defence of his Excellency's dominions against foreign attack, as well as their internal tranquillity can only be secured, by a reduction of his own useless, if not dangerous troops, and by a proportionate augmentation of the British force in his pay. I am convinced this measure might be effected with a degree of advantage to his Excellency's finances, little inferior to that which it promises to his military establishments ; and that his Excellency might obtain from the Company a force of real efficiency at an expense far below that which he now incurs in maintaining his own army in its present defective condition."

"The *Vizir*," says the Governor-General, "might obtain a force : " when the force was to be the Company's, and the Vizir to have no force. In the very same letter, "It is not my intention," says the Governor-General, "that the British force to be furnished to his Excellency should become a part of his own army. The British force to be substituted in place of that part of his Excellency's army which shall be reduced, will be in every respect the same as the remainder of the Company's troops, and will be relieved from time to time according to the orders of the Governor-General in council."

The negotiations respecting this affair appeared to the



BOOK VI. Governor-General so important, that he was unwilling to
CHAP. IX. intrust them to the qualifications of the Resident, Mr.

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Lumsden. Colonel Scott had attracted his confidence and esteem ; and he resolved that to him the trust should be consigned. "As I am aware," said he, in the same letter, to the Resident, "that you will require the assistance of some able military officer in the execution of the arrangement proposed, I have requested Sir A. Clark to dispense with the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, the Adjutant-General, who will be directed to proceed to Lucknow immediately, and to remain there for as long a period as may be necessary to the accomplishment of the objects which I have in view."¹ In consequence of this intimation, Mr. Lumsden resigned ; and Colonel Scott was appointed to the office of Resident.

Colonel Scott proceeded to Lucknow in the month of June, bearing a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, executing at that time, in the absence of the Governor-General, the office of Vice-President of the Supreme Council. The Nawaub was desirous to postpone, rather than accelerate, all discussion upon a project, of which, although he was not yet acquainted with its particulars, the result, he was sufficiently aware, would be a large reduction of his power : and Colonel Scott appears to have been willing to employ some time in making himself acquainted with the situation of affairs, before he strongly pressed upon the Vizir the annihilation, called the reform, of his military establishment. To the usual causes of disorder and misrule, was at this time added another, in the suspension of the powers of the ministers, or principal organs of government, whom, having been appointed under English authority, the Vizir dared not remove, but from whom he withheld his confidence, and the management of his affairs. A circumstance, too, which peculiarly attracted the attention of the Resident, was the hatred and contempt in which the Nabob himself was held by his subjects. "The information," says he, "which your Lordship has received, of the unpopularity of his Excellency, is probably far short of the real state ; as, confined to the court, the only persons who attend the Durbar, excepting the Nawaub's own sons, and occasionally Almas

¹ See the Letter, with that to Sir A. Clarke, in papers, *ut supra*, iii. 4—5.



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Ali Khan, are a few pensioners, of whom his Excellency, from their known character, entertains no suspicion of engaging in politics; and it has not been without some difficulty that I have prevailed on native gentlemen of respectable connexions to show themselves at the Durbar. —The present state of things, so degrading to the character of the Nawaub, so prejudicial to his own real interests, and to the welfare of his country; and, I may add—so discreditable to the English name, obviously calls for a radical reform. Major Scott's ideas of "a radical reform," however, were all summed up in these words, "An open, efficient, and respectable administration." Even this, however, he despaired of being able to establish without the immediate interference of the head of the English government. "The evident design of the Nawaub," he declared, "is to temporize and delay, that he may enjoy as long as possible the fruits of the present system of secret agency and intrigue."¹

On the 8th of September, the Resident writes to the Governor-General, that, as soon after his arrival as practicable, he had presented to the Nawaub Vizir the letter from the Vice-President, on the subject of the military reform; that he had delivered to him a brief outline of the intended plan, and requested to receive his answer as soon as it had received a due degree of his consideration; that after more than twenty days had elapsed, he had requested a communication from the Vizir, who named the third day succeeding the date of the letter he was then writing, to converse with him on the subject.

According to the usual style of oriental politeness, which permits no direct contradiction or negative to be applied to any proposition from an exalted man, the Nawab began by saying, "That the measure proposed was not impracticable, but such as he hoped might be accomplished:" he then observed, that he himself had, however, a proposition to offer, which he would either communicate to the Governor-General, when he should honour Lucknow with his presence, or to the Resident, if he should be intrusted with the execution of the scheme. He was pressed to disclose the nature of his proposition; but in vain. He

¹ Letter to the Governor-General, dated 7th September, 1799; papers, at supra, p. 10.



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BOOK VI. said he would call in two days, and dictate to the Resident
CHAP. IX. a memorandum on the subject, to be transmitted to the
1799. Governor-General; but this, when it was given, indicated no more, than that "the proposition concerned himself personally, that it connected with his own ease the prosperity of his government, and in its operation could be prejudicial to no person."¹ The removal of the minister was the object at which, by the Resident, he was supposed to aim.

On the 20th of the same month, the Resident held it necessary to explain still further the discoveries which he was enabled to make of the disposition and views of the Vizir. "After attentively studying the character of his excellency, and acquainting myself, as far as circumstances will allow, with the general tenor of his proceedings, I am led to conclude that whilst he is determined to fulfil, with minute regularity, the peculiar engagements with the Company, his views are directed to the enjoyment of a full authority over his household affairs, hereditary dominions, and subjects, according to the most strict interpretation of the clause of the seventeenth article of the treaty executed at Lucknow.—I have no conception that he aspires, either now or in prospect, to political independence. What he aims at is independent management of the interior concerns of his dominions, to the exclusion of all interference and inspection on the part of the English government, and to the gradual diminution of its influence over the internal administration of his country." It was only on one account, the cruel and destructive mode in which the country was governed, that the Resident thought the interference of the English government was to be desired, "since the exercise of it," says he, "does not seem to have been intended by the late treaty, and is unequivocally disavowed by several declarations to his predecessor." He had not thought it fitting, except in the way of allusion, to agitate again the subject of the military reforms.²

Notwithstanding the right which clearly belonged to the Nawab, of exercising without control the interior government of his country, the Governor-General, by a letter dated 26th of September, says, "The present condition of

¹ Papers, at supra, p. 14.

² Ibid. p. 15, 16.



his government appears to preclude you from the information necessary to your first steps in the proposed reforms." This refers to the complaints of the Resident, that the Vizir carried on his administration by secret agents, not by the ostensible ministers; whence it happened that the Resident found no person qualified to give him the information which he required. "I shall hope," continued the Governor-General, "that my applications to the Vizir would remove every difficulty of this nature.—But, if I should be disappointed in this expectation, it will then become necessary for you, in my name, to insist, that the Vizir shall place his government in such a state, as shall afford you the requisite means of information, as well as of carrying the intended regulations into complete and speedy effect." He adds, "The great and immediate object of my solicitude is, to accomplish the reform of his Excellency's military establishment:—and accordingly, this point must be pressed upon him, with unremitted earnestness. His acquiescence in the measure must, however, be totally unqualified by any conditions not necessarily connected with it."¹

The Vizir procrastinating both the disclosure of his secret, and compliance with the proposition for the annihilation-reform of his military establishment, the Governor-General addressed him by letter on the 5th of November.² "The general considerations which render it extremely necessary and desirable that the arrangement respecting your military establishment should be carried into execution without delay, have already been fully explained to your Excellency, and you have concurred with me in my view of the subject. One argument in favour of a speedy determination on this subject possibly may not have occurred to your mind, and I therefore take this occasion explicitly to state it to your Excellency." This argument was; that the Company were bound by treaties to defend the dominions of his Excellency against all enemies; that his dominions were threatened by Zemaun Shah, and perhaps by others; that "it might not be in the power of the British government, on a sudden emergency, to reinforce the troops in his Excellency's country with sufficient expedition; my firm opinion," continues the Governor-

¹ Papers, ut supra, p. 16, 17.

² Despatches, ii. 132.



General, "therefore is, that the Company can in no other manner fulfil effectually their engagement to defend your Excellency's dominions, against all enemies, than by maintaining constantly in those dominions such a force as shall at all times be adequate to your effectual protection, independently of any reinforcements which the exigency might otherwise require."¹ This was, in other words, an explicit declaration, that the military force for the protection of Oude ought to be, at all times, even in the bosom of the most profound peace, at the utmost extent of a war-establishment; than which a more monstrous proposition never issued from human organs! As one of the most essential principles of good government consists in reducing the peace-establishment of the military force to its lowest possible terms, and one of the most remarkable principles of bad government consists in upholding it beyond the limits of the most severe necessity; so, few countries can be placed in a situation which less demanded a great peace-establishment, than the kingdom of Oude. On more than one half of all its frontiers, it was defended by the British dominions, or inaccessible mountains. On the other half, it was not supposed in any danger of being attacked, except, either by the King of the Afghans, who was separated from it by the extent of several large kingdoms; or by the Mahrattas, who were too distracted and weak to be able to defend themselves. A peace-establishment in Oude, at the perpetual extent of a war-establishment for defence against the Afghans, would be very little more than matched by a proposition for a perpetual war-establishment in England, for fear of an invasion from the Turks.

Coercion was now to be employed; and the plan of it was this: without any further regard to the consent of the sovereign, British troops, to the proposed amount, were to march into the country: the sums required for their maintenance were to be immediately demanded: and the want of ability otherwise to comply with the demand would compel him, it was supposed, to relieve himself from the expense of his own army, by putting an end to its existence.

On what ground of justice was this proceeding built?

¹ Papers, ut supra, p. 24, 25.



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The Governor-General exhibited an argument: "The seventh article of the treaty, concluded with your Excellency, by Sir John Shore, provides for the *occasional* augmentation of the Company's troops in your Excellency's dominions, in terms which evidently render the Company's government competent to decide at all times on the requisite amount of such augmentation. The same article binds your Excellency to defray the expense of any force which shall be deemed necessary by the Company for your defence." The same argumentation was, by his Lordship's military secretary, repeated, more at length, to the Resident.

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The treaty, concluded between the English government and the Nawaub, by Sir John Shore, clearly established two points, with regard to the military force to be maintained at the expense of the Sovereign of Oude; that there should be a certain regular, permanent establishment; and also a power of making occasional augmentations. Enough; said the Governor-General, and his instruments; let the occasional augmentations be made the permanent establishment. When this point was settled, all the benefit was attained of arbitrary will; for, as the amount of these augmentations was not specified, it remained with the Governor-General, upon the foundation of a treaty which exactly defined the permanent establishment, to make that permanent establishment any thing which he pleased. Such is the logic of the strong man towards the weak.

Before this letter, written on the 5th of November, could be received by the Resident, and delivered to the Vizir, namely, on the 12th of the same month, the measure of which he had before announced the contemplation, and which he had hitherto preserved a mysterious secret, was disclosed. He had already, on several occasions, given vent to expressions of impatience, in regard to the difficulties of his government, and the inability under which he found himself placed of commanding the respect or obedience of his subjects. These expressions had been so pointed as sometimes to raise in the mind of the Resident a conjecture, that he was meditating a plan of retreat from the burdens of government. But at the same time, regulations of state were projected, buildings were planned,



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household arrangements were formed, and other things went on, so much in unison with views of permanency, that the Resident would not encourage the conjecture which sometimes presented itself to his mind. Having appointed the morning of the 12th, to meet with him on business of importance, the Vizir, says the Resident, "began by observing that he had frequently declared to me the impossibility of his conducting the affairs of his country, under existing circumstances; that probably I had not comprehended the full drift of these expressions, or conceived they were uttered in a moment of ill-humour; that the real meaning of them was an earnest desire to relinquish a government which he could not manage with satisfaction to himself, or advantage to his subjects." He added, in the course of the conversation, "That his mind was not disposed to the cares and fatigues of government; that as one of his sons would be raised to the musnud, his name would remain; and that he was possessed of money sufficient for his support, and the gratification of all his his desires in a private station." In a second conversation, on the morning of the 14th, the Vizir entered into some further explanation of the motives which impelled him to the design of abdication, which "consisted," says the Resident, "in general accusations against the refractory and perverse disposition of the people at large; of complaints of the want of fidelity and zeal in the men immediately about his person; of the arrogance of some of the aumils, and of the open disobedience of others."

"Whatever pleasure," says the Resident, "this exposure of his intentions afforded to myself, and whatever eventual benefits I foresaw to the interests of the two states, from the execution of them, I thought it my duty to expostulate with his Excellency, on so extraordinary resolution, by such arguments as occurred to me on the occasion. I replied that the remedy to this aggregate of evils was easy, and within his own power; that a strong and just administration would ensure the obedience of the bulk of his subjects on the firm principle of attachment to his person and government; that a conciliatory and encouraging conduct on his part would secure fidelity and enliven zeal; that the reform of the military establishment was the specific measure that would curb the arrogance of the aumils;



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and in conclusion I pledged myself, if his Excellency would reject the advice of interested favourites, and be guided by the impartial and friendly counsel which your Lordship would convey to him through me, that the affairs of his government could be conducted with ease to himself, to the acquisition of a high reputation, and to the prosperity and happiness of his subjects." BOOK VI.
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To a question in regard to the military reform, the Vizir replied, that, under his determination of resigning the government, all discussion of that subject was useless. In this opinion the Resident acquiesced; and he deemed it for the present, inexpedient to produce the Governor-General's letter of the 5th. With respect to the treasures and jewels left by the late Nawaub, he desired instruction; as from the expressions of the Vizir, and his character for avarice, he thought it was probably his intention to carry them along with him to the place of his retreat.¹

The pleasure, which the Resident expressed, at the prospect of the Nabob's abdication, was faint, compared with the eagerness of the Governor-General in grasping at the prey. "I am directed," says the military secretary, under date of the 21st of the same month, "by the Right Honourable the Governor-General, to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of the 12th and 14th instant.

"His Lordship is preparing detailed instructions to you, for the regulation of your conduct under the delicate and important circumstances stated in those letters. In the mean time he has directed me to communicate to you his sentiments on such parts of your despatch of the 12th instant, as appear to his Lordship to require immediate notice.

"The proposition of the Vizir is pregnant with such benefit, not only to the Company, but to the inhabitants of Oude, that his Lordship thinks it cannot be too much encouraged; and that there are no circumstances which shall be allowed to impede the accomplishment of the grand object which it leads to. This object his Lordship considers to be the acquisition by the Company of the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude.

"His Lordship does not consider the formal abdication

¹ Papers, ut supra, p. 27—31.

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of the sovereignty by the Vizir to be necessary to this end. On the contrary, he apprehends, that step, by necessarily raising a question with regard to the succession, would involve us in some embarrassment. His Lordship is rather of opinion, therefore, that the mode of proceeding on the proposition of the Vizir, must be, by a secret treaty with his Excellency; which shall stipulate, on his part, that from and after a period, to be appointed by this government, the complete authority, civil and military, of the dominions of Oude shall vest in, and be exercised by and in the name of, the Company.

"In this treaty his Lordship proposes, that the sons of the Vizir shall be no further mentioned than may be necessary for the purpose of securing to them a suitable provision.

"With respect to what you have stated, relative to the wealth of the state, if the arrangement in the contemplation of the Governor-General should be agreed to by the Vizir, his Lordship will feel but little difficulty in allowing his Excellency to appropriate it to his own use, stipulating only on behalf of the Company, that all arrears of subsidy, or of whatever description, due to the Company, shall be previously discharged in full by his Excellency."¹

"In conformity with these ideas, the draught of a treaty was speedily prepared, and sent to the Resident, accompanied by notes for a memorial explanatory of the grounds of the several articles. The ardour of the Governor-General embraced the object as accomplished, or sure of its accomplishment. In pursuance of orders, the Commander of the troops in Oude delivered in what was entitled a "Memoir of the Precautionary Movements, and Distribution of the Company's Troops, for the purpose of establishing the exclusive Control and Authority of the Company over the Dominions of Oude."²

In the transmission of intelligence, receipt of instructions, and other preparatives, time was spent till the 15th of December; on which day, the plan of the Governor-General, in relation to the measure of abdication, was communicated for the first time to the Vizir, in the matured form of the draught of a treaty. After remarking upon the calmness with which the Vizir perused the

¹ Papers, ut supra, p. 31, 32.

² Ibid. p. 40—43.



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treaty, and his observations upon some inferior points, "His Excellency," the Resident, says, "who had not thoroughly comprehended the extent of the first article, asked what meaning I annexed to it. Referring him to the article itself, I replied, that it vested the whole administration of the country in the hands of the English Company. He then asked, what portion of authority was to remain with his successor; to which I replied that the plan did not provide for a successor. His Excellency continued his inquiries, by asking, whether a family which had been established for a number of years, was to abandon the sovereignty of its hereditary dominions? I replied that your Lordship's justice and liberality had made an ample provision for the comfort and independence of that family; and briefly explained the consideration which had induced your Lordship to stipulate that his Excellency should commit the sole and exclusive administration of Oude to the Company in perpetuity." From this conversation, the Resident adds, "I can hardly venture to draw any conclusion: and shall, therefore, only observe, that though his Excellency is perfectly master of concealing his passions, yet, if he had entertained an immovable repugnance to the basis of the treaty, he could scarcely have disguised it under smiles, and an unaltered countenance."¹

A paper drawn up at the request of the Vizir by the Resident, and afterwards altered by the Vizir to a correspondence with his own feelings, was transmitted to the Governor-General, as the authentic enunciation of his design of abdication.² In answer to this, a very long paper, dated the 16th December, was received from the Governor-General. The purpose of this document was to corroborate the ideas on which, in the mind of the Vizir, the plan of abdication was supposed to be founded; and to convince him of the impossibility of reconciling his design with the appointment of a successor, or any other scheme than that of transferring the undivided sovereignty of the country to the English.³

¹ Papers, ut supra, p. 53.

² It was a memorandum of the result of the conversation held with the Resident, drawn up in Persian, and approved of, with some corrections, by the Vizier. Dispatches, ii. 152.—W.

³ This is a very unfair view of the scope of the document in question, the



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On the 19th of December, the Resident again wrote: "After my departure from the Nawaub Vizir, on the 15th instant, his Excellency either really was, or pretended to be, so much affected by the conversation, that he could not conceal the perturbation of his mind, which he betrayed, by forbidding the customary visits, and by refraining to transact any of the ordinary business. Although there is no reason to suspect that he has disclosed the cause of his uneasiness; yet this conduct so indiscreet, so unmanly, necessarily occasioned much talk and speculation amongst his own dependants, and the inhabitants of the city.

"His Excellency, on the 17th, informed me of his intention to breakfast with me on the following morning; but at ten o'clock sent a message, that having been in the sun, his eyes were so much affected by a disorder he is liable to, that he could not fulfil his engagement that day, but would call upon me this morning. He accordingly came, and when entered into a private apartment, opened the conversation by observing, that in the paper transmitted to your Lordship, he had adverted to certain circumstances and causes, under the existence of which he found it impossible to conduct the affairs of his government; and that he entertained the hope that your

main tendency of which was to deter Sadut Ali from carrying his intentions into effect. It states frankly and undeniably the difficulties by which his abdication would be followed, and shows that they could only be met by the assumption of the whole power by the British Government. But it also explicitly states, that if he should abdicate, he must not expect to take with him the whole of his accumulated wealth, but that he must discharge all arrears due by the Government of Oude, and leave a sufficiency of supply for the immediate wants of his successor. It must have been quite certain that this would put an end to the project. Sadut Ali's ruling passion was avarice; he loved power only as the means of amassing wealth; for any other purpose he detested it. His habits were those of a private individual, not a prince; and the trouble and responsibility of his high station deprived it of all its attractions. There can be little doubt that he was in earnest in wishing to resign his principality if he could have enjoyed his treasures in security and retained the show of authority over a successor of his own nomination. The line of argument adopted by Lord Wellesley was most of all calculated to deter him from the execution of his design. In the despatches published there is no indication of that delight at his proposal, either on the part of the Resident or the Governor, which is described in the text. In his letter to the Court of Directors, informing them of the circumstance, he announces what no statesman will be inclined to censure, his intention to profit by the event to the utmost practicable extent, and adds, "I entertain a confident hope of being able either to establish, with the consent of the Vizier, the sole and exclusive authority of the Company within the province of Oude and its dependencies, or, at least, to place our interests there on an improved and durable foundation." Despatches, II. 166.—W.



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Lordship would have called upon him for an explanation of those circumstances and causes. BOOK VI.
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“His Excellency proceeded, that the proposition offered by your Lordship was so repugnant to his feelings; departed so widely, in a most essential point, from the principle on which he wished to relinquish the government; and would, were he to accept it, bring upon him such indelible disgrace and odium, that he could never voluntarily subscribe to it. The sovereignty, he added, of these dominions, had been in the family near a hundred years; and the transfer of it to the Company, under the stipulations proposed by your Lordship, would, in fact, be a sale of it for money and jewels; that every sentiment of respect for the name of his ancestors, and every consideration for his posterity, combined to preclude him from assenting to so great a sacrifice for the attainment of his personal ease and advantage. His Excellency concluded, that the power and strength of the Company placed every thing at your Lordship's disposal.

“Upon stating to his Excellency all the arguments suggested by your Lordship against the nomination of a successor, his Excellency replied; that under your Lordship's determination not to consent to that part of his proposition, he was ready to abandon his design of retirement, and to retain the charge of the government.”

If this resolution was adopted, the Resident called to his recollection, the reform of his military establishment, the accomplishment of which would be immediately enforced. “I must here,” says the letter of the Resident, “beg leave to call your Lordship's particular attention to his reply on this point; as tending to discover his real sentiments; and perhaps the true meaning of the words ‘certain causes,’ so repeatedly dwelt upon, and so industriously concealed. His Excellency observed, that the reform of his military establishment upon the principles proposed by your Lordship, would annihilate his authority in his own dominions.”¹

Intelligence of these declarations on the part of the Vizir appears to have disappointed and provoked the Governor-General in no ordinary degree. On the 27th of December, the Secretary writes: “My dear Scott, I am

¹ Papers, ut supra, p. 62.



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The truth is, that the vivacity of the Governor-General in the pursuit of his object was far too great. Had the sincerity of the Vizir been ever so indisputable, it was one thing to abdicate in favour of his son; a very different thing to abdicate in favour of the East India Company; and from a proposition to this effect, presented nakedly and impetuously, as that was of the Governor-General, it ought to have been expected that he would revolt. At the same time, it might have been regarded as probable, that if the externals of royalty were left to his son, he would be induced to dispense with the substantial. The Governor-General should have gone to Lucknow himself, when the imposing presence of his authority would have forcibly wrought upon a mind so timid, and accustomed to shrink before superior power, as that of the Vizir. The Governor-General, too, had lately recognised the policy of setting up the shadow of a sovereign,³ that the eagerness is the more remarkable with which in this case he strove to escape from it. When the substance had been held for a time, it would have been easy to deal with the shadow, as experience might direct.

¹ Papers, ut supra, p. 67.

² Vide supra, p. 162, (viz. the case of Mysore.)

³ Ibid. v. 4.



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Disappointed in his eager expectation, and piqued at the idea of having been duped, the Governor-General resolved to proceed in his plan for the military reform without a moment's delay. The reason for hurry was the greater, because the season approached when additional inconvenience would attend the movement of the troops. "The Resident," says the Governor-General himself, in another letter to the home authorities,¹ "was directed immediately, either from himself, or in concert with the commanding officer at Cawnpore, as the nature of the case might appear to him to require, to direct the several corps to move to such points of his Excellency's dominions, as might appear most advisable; giving due notice to his Excellency of the entrance of the augmentation of the troops into his territories, and calling upon his Excellency to adopt the requisite measures for the regular payment of the additional force.

On the 4th of January, 1800, "I informed," says the Resident, "his Excellency, that the first division of the troops, intended by your Lordship to augment the force in Oude, as stated in the paper which I had presented to him, was now in a situation immediately to enter his Excellency's dominions; and that I was anxious to advise with him on their destination. He entreated that no steps might be taken for their actual march into his dominions, until I had seen and reflected upon the sentiments which he was then employed in committing to paper, and upon some propositions he had to offer. I assured him it was totally impossible to delay the march of troops; but that, as it would require a day or two to arrange a place for their distribution, if his Excellency would, in that space, come forward, in an unreserved manner, with any specific propositions, I should be enabled to judge what weight to allow them, and how far they would authorize me to suspend the progress of the corps. His Excellency having observed that his assent had not yet been given to the augmentation of the troops, I explained to him the principle on which your Lordship's determination was founded. To which he replied, that, if the measure was to be carried into execution, whether with or without his approbation, there was no occasion

¹ Dated the 31st of August, 1800; papers, ut supra, v. 10.



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for consulting him." To this last observation the Resident found it not convenient to make any answer, and immediately diverted the discourse to another point of the subject.¹

On the 15th of January, the Nabob communicated to the Resident a paper in which he thus addressed him: "You, Sir, well know, that the proposed plan never, in any measure, met with my approbation or acceptance; and that, in the whole course of my correspondence with the Governor-General, on this subject, not one of my letters contains my acquiescence to the said plan."

He says again, "It may fairly be concluded from Lord Mornington's letters, that arrangements for the additional troops were not to take effect, until funds should be provided for their support, by the dismissal of my battalions. Nothing having as yet been agreed upon, respecting the disbanding of the latter, and the additional Company's troops being on their march, whence are the funds to be derived for their payment? Their sudden approach, too, leaves no time to form arrangements for them."

"Notwithstanding," says he, "I am well assured that, in consequence of the measure, thousands of people may be deprived of their subsistence; and that, by the disbanding of my troops, serious commotions and alarms will take place in the capital (for which reason I give previous warning of its mischievous effects), yet, dreading his Lordship's displeasure, and with the sole view of pleasing him, I am compelled to grant my assent to the introduction of the plan."

He then proceeds to enumerate certain things, which he still desired, as conditions under which the measure, if unavoidable, might take its effect. The first was, that the augmentation of the troops should not be carried beyond the extent of his means. Another was, that the additional force should be kept in one body, and permanently stationed in one place, which would render it more efficient against Zemaun Shah, and other enemies, defence against whom was its only pretext. A further condition was, that the English commander should not interfere with the collection of the revenue. After several other propositions of minor importance, he said, "From the

¹ Papers, *ut supra*, iii. 73.



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kindness of the Sircar of the Company I am led to expect, that, having, in the present instance, in order to avoid the Governor-General's displeasure, given my consent to the introduction, as far as possible, of the plan, I shall not in future be troubled with fresh propositions."

On the 18th, a paper or memorial, the draught of which had been communicated to the Resident on the 11th, was despatched by the Vizir to the Governor-General. He began by adverting to the length of time his ancestors had enjoyed the unlimited sovereignty of these provinces. He described the dangers which had threatened the government of his brother, as well from foreign foes as the disaffection of his troops. "Notwithstanding," said he, "these circumstances, it never once entered the imagination of the British rulers to introduce such innovations, and carry into effect such arrangements, as those now suggested by your Lordship." He then described how completely he was the creature and dependant of the Company, and said "it was in all ages and countries the practice of powerful and liberal sovereigns to spare neither expense nor trouble in assisting those whom they have once taken under their protection. Should the Company," said he, "no longer putting confidence in the sincerity of my friendship, deprive me of the direction of my own army, and spread their troops over my dominions, my authority in the provinces would be annihilated; nor would my orders be attended to on any occasion, whether trifling or momentous. Making myself, however, sure," he adds, "that it never can have been your Lordship's intention, or conformable to your wish, to distrust, degrade me, or lessen my authority in these dominions, I shall without ceremony disclose to your Lordship my unfeigned sentiments and wishes." And he then proceeds to remonstrate against the measure by a train of reasoning, not unskillfully conceived. "By a reference," said he, "to the second article of the treaty, it will be evident to your Lordship, that on my accession to the musnud, the force designed for the defence of these dominions was increased beyond what it had been in any former period; whilst on my part I agreed to defray the expense of the said augmentation. But in no part of the said article is



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it written or hinted, that, after the lapse of a certain number of years, a further permanent augmentation should take place. And to deviate in any degree from the said treaty appears to be unnecessary.—From an inspection of the 7th article, we learn, that, after the conclusion of the treaty in question, no further augmentation is to be made, excepting in cases of necessity; and that the increase is to be proportioned to the emergency, and endure but as long as the necessity exists. An augmentation of the troops, without existing necessity, and making me answerable for the expense attending the increase, is inconsistent with the treaty, and seems inexpedient.—Towards the latter end of the 17th article, it is stipulated, ‘that all transactions between the two states shall be carried on with the greatest cordiality and harmony, and that the Nawab shall possess full authority over his household affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, and his subjects.’ Should the management of the army be taken from under my direction, I ask where is my authority over my household affairs, hereditary dominions, over my troops, and over my subjects?—From the above considerations, and from the magnanimity of the Sircar of the English Company, I am induced to expect from your Lordship’s kindness, that, putting the fullest trust and confidence in my friendship and attachment on every occasion, you will, in conformity to the treaty, leave me in possession of the full authority over my dominions, army and subjects.—The fame of the Company will, by these means, be diffused over the face of the earth; and, my reputation increasing, I shall continue to offer up prayers for the prosperity of the Company.”¹

This remonstrance, which it is impossible to answer, the Governor-General found, in the forms of ceremony, a pretext for treating as an insult; and for not answering it. The following communication, signed by the secretary, was forwarded by express to the Resident. “Your letter of the 18th instant, with its several enclosures, has been received by the Right Honourable the Governor-General.—His Lordship, not thinking proper to receive, in its present form the written communication made to you by the Nabob Vizir on the 11th instant, as an answer

¹ Papers, ut supra, iii. 87, 88.



MESSAGE FROM THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

to his Lordship's letter of the 5th November last to his Excellency—directs, that you lose no time in returning the original of that communication to his Excellency, accompanying the delivery of it with the following observations, in the name of the Governor-General:—The mode adopted in the present instance by his Excellency of replying to a public letter from the Governor-General, attested by his Lordship's seal and signature, and written on a subject of the most momentary concern to the mutual interests of the Company and of his Excellency, besides indicating a levity totally unsuitable to the occasion, is highly deficient in the respect due from his Excellency to the first British authority in India:—His Lordship, therefore, declines making any remarks on the paper which you have transmitted, and desires that the Nabob Vizir may be called on to reply to his Lordship's letter of the 5th November, in the manner described no less by reason than by established usage; if, in formally answering his Lordship's letter, his Excellency should think proper to impeach the honour and justice of the British government, in similar terms to those employed in the paper delivered to you on the 11th instant, the Governor-General will then consider, how such unfounded calumnies, and gross misrepresentations both of facts and arguments, deserve to be noticed." This was language to a legitimate hereditary sovereign! The course of procedure is worthy of notice. A party to a treaty fulfils all its conditions with a punctuality, which, in his place, was altogether unexampled: a gross infringement of that treaty, or at least what appears to him a gross infringement, is about to be committed on the other side: he points out clearly, but in the most humble language, savouring of abjectness, much more than disrespect, the inconsistency which appears to him to exist between the treaty and the conduct: this is represented by the other party as an impeachment of their honour and justice; and if no guilt existed before to form a ground for punishing the party who declines compliance with their will, a guilt is now contracted which hardly any punishment can expiate. This, it is evident, is a course, by which no infringement of a treaty can ever be destitute of a justification. If the party injured submits without a

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But this is not the whole of the message which the Resident was commanded to deliver, in the name of the Governor-General, to the Vizir: "The Governor-General further directs, that you peremptorily insist on the Nabob Vizir furnishing a detailed answer to the paper transmitted by his Lordship, on the 16th December last, for his Excellency's information and consideration ; and that such answer be duly attested by his Excellency's signature, in the same manner as his Lordship's paper was formally attested by the signature of his Lordship : his Excellency's early compliance with this demand is equally due to the dignity of this government, and to the candour of its proceedings ; in consequence of his Excellency's own spontaneous proposal to abdicate the sovereignty of his dominions ; if his Lordship's manner of receiving and answering that extraordinary proposition of the Vizir appears in any degree objectionable to his Excellency, it behoves his Excellency clearly to state his objections, in the most formal and authentic mode ; otherwise the Governor-General must, and will conclude, that his Excellency's original proposition was purposely illusory ; and it will become his Lordship's duty to treat it accordingly, as an unworthy attempt to deceive the British Government. In all the transactions of his Lordship's government, since his arrival in India, he has pursued a plain and direct course ; and he is determined to adhere to the same invariable system of just and honourable policy, nor will he be diverted from the system, by any machination of artifice, duplicity, or treachery, which may be opposed to him ; he has already found the advantage of this course in frustrating the projects of the enemies of Great Britain in India ; and he is satisfied that it will prove equally efficacious in confirming the faith of his allies." The earnestness with which the Governor-General desired that this message should be delivered with unimpaired vigour to the Nawab, is visible in the immediately succeeding paragraph of the same letter : "A copy of the foregoing



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observations, in Persian, attested by the signature of the Governor-General himself, will be forwarded to you by the Persian translator: and his Lordship directs that you communicate the same to the Nabob Vizir, either in case you should have any reason to suppose that his Excellency is likely to entertain the smallest doubt of your being, not only authorized, but commanded by his Lordship, to convey to his Excellency the message contained in the preceding paragraphs, as nearly as possible in the terms in which they are expressed; or, in the event of your thinking that the document, attested by his Lordship's signature, will be more impressive than the verbal mode of communication."¹

On the 20th and 28th of January, the Resident complained to the Governor-General, that the Vizir, instead of giving his cordial assistance, in carrying into execution the measure of annihilating his army, was rather placing impediments in the way; by insisting that the English additional force should not be dispersed in small bodies over the country; by withholding the statement which had been required of the amount and distribution of his own battalions; and by delaying to issue the perwannahs necessary to ensure provisions to the additional troops. With regard to the last article, the Resident, however, issued his own orders; and such was the state of the government, that they were punctually obeyed.²

The Resident deferred the message to the Vizir, till the Persian translation arrived. "Having received," says he, "on the 28th, in the evening, the translation in Persian of your Lordship's message to the Nawab Vizir, I waited upon his Excellency on the 29th in the afternoon, and, in obedience to your Lordship's commands, returned to him, in the most formal manner, the original draught of his proposed letter to your Lordship, accompanied with the paper of observations. His Excellency discovered considerable agitation in the perusal of the paper; and he expressed very poignant regret, at having unintentionally, as he affirmed, drawn upon himself such solemn animadversions from your Lordship.—It would, his Excellency observed, be the extreme of ingratitude and folly, wantonly to provoke the displeasure of that power, on which

¹ Papers, ut supra, iii. 89.

² Ibid. iii. 89, 90.



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alone he relied, for the preservation of his honour, and the support of his authority. He attempted to apologise for the paper, by saying, that he meant it merely as a representation of arguments which might be produced, and not as a formal declaration of his own sentiments, and on that account had adopted the mode which your Lordship had viewed in so exceptionable a light. In respect to the neglect in replying to the paper which had been submitted by your Lordship for his information and consideration, his Excellency assured me, that it arose from his inability to pursue, and reply, in detail, to the extensive train of reasoning which your Lordship had employed; and that he hoped your Lordship would have received the verbal communication, made through me, of the impossibility of his acceding to your Lordship's recommendation, as a full, and respectful answer.—His Excellency asked, for what purpose, or to what avail, could the attempt be, to deceive your Lordship by illusory propositions?"¹

The intelligence from the Resident, that opposition rather than assistance was given by the Vizir to the execution of a measure of which he so highly disapproved, produced a long letter of violent animadversions from the Governor-General, in which he told the harassed and trembling Vizir, "the means which your Excellency has employed to delay, and ultimately to frustrate, the execution of the above-mentioned plan, are calculated to degrade your character, to destroy all confidence between your Excellency and the British government, to produce confusion and disorder in your dominions, and to injure the most important interests of the Company, to such a degree, as may be deemed nearly equivalent to positive hostility on your part."—"The conduct of your Excellency, in this instance," he afterwards adds, "is of a nature so unequivocally hostile, and may prove so injurious to every interest, both of your Excellency and of the Company, that your perseverance in so dangerous a course will leave me no other alternative, than that of considering all amicable engagements between the Company and your Excellency to be dissolved."²—This was most distinctly to

¹ Papers, ut supra, iii. 91, 92.

² Dated 9th February 1800. Despatches, ii. 208.—W.



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declare, that if he did not immediately comply, the Governor-General would make war upon him. And since this was the motive depended upon, in truth, from the beginning, would not the direct and manly course have answered the main purpose equally well, and all other purposes a great deal better? We are the masters; such is our will: nothing short of strict and prompt obedience will be endured.

So ardent were the desires of the Governor-General and so much was he accustomed to assume everything on which his conclusions depended, that he maintained, in this letter, to the face of the Vizir, that of the plan for annihilating his army, the Vizir had, "after full deliberation, expressed his entire approbation."¹

Before the end of February, the Vizir felt convinced, that compliance could not be evaded. The money demanded on account of the additional forces was paid; and orders were issued for commencing the discharge of his own battalions. The business of dismissing the troops occupied a considerable time; and was retarded by the necessity of employing a portion of them in collecting the taxes which were then due. It was a matter of considerable delicacy, to avoid commotion, and the demand for bloodshed, where so many armed men were about to be deprived of their accustomed means of subsistence. The business was conducted in a manner highly creditable to the ability as well as the feelings of the gentlemen upon whom it devolved. It was the disposition, and the principle of the Governor-General, to treat with generosity the individuals upon whom the measures of his government might heavily press. As considerable arrears were always due to native troops, and seldom fully paid, the complete discharge of arrears, on which the English government insisted, was a powerful instrument of conciliation. When dissatisfaction anywhere appeared, every effort was employed to correct misapprehension; patience was exercised; the means of coercion were rather exhibited, than used; pardon was liberally extended, even where resistance had been overcome; and before the end of the year, the measure was in a great

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¹ Papers, ut supra, iii. 96—101.

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part carried into effect without bloodshed or commotion.¹

In the month of November, 1800, when a demand for a second body of new troops was presented to the Vizir, he complained, by letter, to the Resident, in the following terms: "The state of the collections of the country is not unknown to you. You know with what difficulties and exertions they are realized, and hence I feel a great degree of solicitude and apprehension, lest, if I should fail at a season of exigency, my responsibility should be impeached: I, therefore, wrote to you, that, until I was secure of resources to answer the demands, I could not become responsible: Accordingly, Jye Sookh Roy has been directed to prepare a statement of the condition of the country, with respect to its resources. You shall be informed when it is ready; and you can then come and inspect it; and, in concert, devise resources for the additional demands, according to the assets; and I will act accordingly." In another part of the same letter, he said, "Formerly, in the plan proposed for the reform of the military, it was written, 'That the resources for the expense of the new troops would be found in the reduction of those of his Excellency:' Although the resources for the payment of the new British troops were not found in the reduction of those of the Sircar; now that you write, to have the charges of other new troops added to the debit of the state, when the reduction of the military has not yet supplied resources for the payment of the charges of the former new troops, how can I take upon myself to defray the charges of these new troops, without subjecting the Sircar to the imputation of a breach of faith."

Of these complaints, the Governor-General rapidly availed himself to found on them pretensions of a new description. "If," said he, in a letter to the Resident, dated 22nd of January, 1801, "the alarming crisis be now approaching, in which his Excellency can no longer fulfil his public engagements to the Company, this calamity must be imputed principally to his neglect of my repeated advice and earnest representations. The augmented

¹ Papers, ut supra, iii. 110—140, containing the correspondence on the disbanding of the troops.

² Ibid. iii. 141.—M. Despatches, ii. 422.—W.



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charges might have been amply provided for, if his Excellency had vigorously and cordially co-operated with me, in the salutary and economical measure of disbanding his own undisciplined troops. It is now become the duty of the British government, to interpose effectually, for the protection of his interests, as well as those of the Company, which are menaced with common and speedy destruction, by the rapid decline of the general resources of his Excellency's dominions." It may be observed, as we go on, that if the prompt disbanding of the forces of the Vizir would disengage a revenue perfectly equal, and more than equal, as had all along been confidently affirmed, to the charge created by the additional force, the delay which the reluctance of the Vizir occasioned, and which was now overcome, could only occasion a temporary embarrassment; and that menace of common and speedy destruction, of which the Governor-General so tragically spoke, had no existence. Or, that, on the other hand, if the menace of destruction was real, the pretence of finding, in the discharge of the Vizir's battalions, an ample resource for the new impositions, was void of foundation. The letter goes on, "The Vizir is already apprized, that I have long lamented the various defects of the system by which the affairs of his Excellency's government are administered. Conscious of the same defects, his Excellency has repeatedly expressed a wish to correct them by the assistance of the British government. The continuance of the present system will exhaust the country to such a degree, as to preclude the possibility of realizing the subsidy. In place of inveterate and growing abuses must be substituted a wise and benevolent plan of government, calculated to inspire the people with confidence in the security of property and of life; to encourage industry; and establish order and submission to the just authority of the state, on the solid foundations of gratitude for benefits received, and expectation of continued security." The Governor-General here establishes the *goodness* of government, "as the solid foundation of submission to its authority." He would not add, what was equally true, that there ought to be no submission without it.

The following passage of the letter deserves profound regard. "Having," continues the Governor-General, "maturely



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considered these circumstances, with the attention and deliberation which the importance of the subject requires, I am satisfied that no effectual security can be provided against the ruin of the province of Oude, until the exclusive management of the civil and military government of that country shall be transferred to the Company, under suitable provisions for the maintenance of his Excellency and of his family. No other remedy can effect any considerable improvement in the resources of the state, or can ultimately secure its external safety, and internal peace."

If this was the only plan which could avert from the state every species of calamity; absolute master, as he was, of the fate of the country, why did the Governor-General hesitate a moment to carry it into execution?

He resolved to offer this proposition to the Vizir in the form of a treaty: but added, "Should his Excellency unfortunately be persuaded, by the interested counsel of evil advisers, absolutely to reject the proposed treaty, you will then proceed to inform his Excellency, in firm, but respectful language, that the funds for the regular payment of the subsidy, to the full extent of the augmented force, must be placed, without a moment of delay, beyond the hazard of failure.—For this purpose, you will require his Excellency to make a cession to the Company, in perpetual sovereignty, of such a portion of his territories, as shall be fully adequate, in their present impoverished condition, to defray those indispensable charges." In selecting the portions to be demanded, the object was, to insulate the Vizir, as well for the purpose of precluding him from foreign connexions, as of defending him from foreign dangers. To this end, choice was made of the Doab, and Rohilcund, in the first instance, with the addition of Azim Ghur, and even Gorukpoor, if the revenue of the former country should prove inadequate.¹ A letter to the same purport, and nearly in the same words, was, at the same time, written by the Governor-General to the Vizir.² It closes with the following terms: "I request your Excellency to be satisfied, that the whole course of events in Oude, since your accession, has rendered it my indis-

¹ Papers, *nt supra*, iii. 145—148.

² *Ibid.* p. 148—151.—M. Despatches, ii. 429.—W.



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pensable duty to adhere with firmness to the tenor of this letter, as containing principles from which the British government never can depart; nor can your Excellency receive with surprise, or concern, a resolution naturally resulting from your own reiterated representations of the confusion of your affairs, and of your inability either to reduce them to order, or to conciliate the alienated affections of your discontented people." The corollary from these deductions most necessarily, and most obviously is, that any sovereign who governs ill, and loses the affections of his people, ought to abdicate, or to be compelled to abdicate, the sovereignty of his dominions. We shall see how energetic and persevering an apostle of this doctrine the Governor-General became.

The subsidy which, according to the treaty of Lord Teignmouth, was already paid by the Vizir, amounted to Rs. 76,00,000: the annual expense of the additional force with which he was to be loaded, was 54,12,929: the whole would amount to 1,30,12,929 rupees. The Nawaub was required to make a cession of territory, in perpetual sovereignty to the English, the revenue of which, even in its present unproductive state, and without any regard to the improvements of which it might be susceptible, should amount to such a sum, over and above the whole expense of collection. The revenue remaining to the Vizir after such a deduction would have been 1,00,00,000.¹ The territory, then, of which he was to be deprived, amounted to more than one half, to not much less than two thirds, of his whole dominions.

The address of the Governor-General to the Vizir was presented to that prince on the 16th of February; and the first conversation on the subject between him and the Resident was on the 26th. "His Excellency's conversation on that day," says the Resident, "though it did not amount to a positive rejection of the first proposition, discovered an unreserved repugnance to the acceptance of it." Before this letter, however, dated on the 6th of March, was closed, a letter addressed to the Governor-General was received from the Vizir.² His complaints respecting the want of funds for payment of the enlarged subsidy, he explained as far from amounting to the alarm-

¹ Papers, ut supra, iii. p. 161—208.² Despatches, ii. 474.

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ing proposition into which they were framed by the Governor-General ; but, as the fund which had been pointed to by the Governor-General as adequate, had not proved adequate ; and as he had been repeatedly commanded by the Governor-General to make known to the Resident his difficulties, and to make use of his advice, he had, for that reason, explained to him, and had done no more, the perplexities which weighed upon his mind. "In the course, however, of these conferences and communications, no impediment of affairs," says he, "ever occurred ; and no failure or deficiency whatever was experienced in the discharge of the expenses of the new troops, and in the payment of the kists of the fixed subsidy. On the contrary, those expenses and kists were punctually paid ; accordingly the kist of the fixed subsidy, and the charges of the additional troops, have been completely paid to the end of January, 1801, and Colonel Scott has expressed his acknowledgments on the occasion.—It is equally a subject of astonishment and concern to me, that whereas, under the former government, the payment of the kists, though so much smaller in amount than the present, was constantly kept in arrear during three or four months, the jumma of the country was diminishing yearly, and yet no such propositions were brought forward,—they should be agitated under the government of a friend, who hopes for every thing from your Lordship's kindness ; who is anxious to obey you, and to manifest the steadiness of his attachment ; who punctually pays the full amount of his kists, notwithstanding their increased amount ; and who has conformed to your Lordship.

"As my consent," says he, "to the first proposition is altogether impracticable (accordingly I have already written an ample reply to that proposition) ; and, as it is impossible for me, with my own hands, to exclude myself from my patrimonial dominion (for what advantage should I derive from so doing ?)—this, therefore, is a measure, which I will never adopt.

"With respect to what your Lordship writes, about providing a territorial resource for the payment of the British troops ; since I have not, in any way, delayed or neglected to discharge the kists for the expenses of the troops, but have paid them with punctuality, where is the occasion



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for requiring any territorial resource?—I expect to derive the most substantial profits from bringing into a flourishing condition this country, which has so long been in a state of waste and ruin. By a separation of territory, my hopes of these substantial profits would be entirely cut off, and a great loss would accrue. How then can I consent to any territorial cession?"¹

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This letter brought an answer of immense length from the Governor-General, under date the 5th of April.² Having lamented the refusal which had been given to both his propositions, and given a description of the progressive decline of the country, from the mis-government of the Vizir, the Governor-General says, "I now declare to your Excellency, in the most explicit terms, that I consider it to be my positive duty, to resort to any extremity, rather than to suffer the further progress of that ruin, to which the interests of your Excellency and the honourable Company are exposed, by the continued operation of the evils and abuses, actually existing, in the civil and military administration of the province of Oude." After noticing the source of embarrassment still existing in the portion of his troops, the dismissal of which the Vizir had till now contrived to evade, the Governor-General subjoined, "But I must recall to your Excellency's recollection, the fact, which you have so emphatically acknowledged on former occasions, that the principal source of all your difficulties is to be found in the state of the country. I have repeatedly represented to your Excellency the effects of the ruinous expedient of anticipating the collections; the destructive practice of realizing them by force of arms; the annual diminution of the jumma of the country; the precarious tenure by which the Aumils and farmers hold their possessions; the misery of the lower classes of the people, absolutely excluded from the protection of the government; and the utter insecurity of life and property, throughout the province of Oude. An immediate alteration in the system of management affords the only hope of providing either for the security of the Company's military funds, or for any other interest involved in the fate of Oude.—It would be vain and fruitless to attempt this arduous task, by partial interference, or

¹ Papers, ut supra, iii. 163, 164.

² Despatches, ii. 474.



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by imperfect modifications of a system, of which every principle is founded in error and impolicy, and every instrument tainted with injustice and corruption."—What is here remarkable is, the Governor-General's declared principle of reform; that, of a system of government, radically corrupt, extirpation is the only cure.

He proceeds to infer, that as the Vizir professed himself inadequate to the task of reform; and the undiminished prevalence of evil, since the commencement of his reign, proved the truth of his declaration; he ought to renounce the government, and give admission to others, by whom the great reform could be effectually performed.

He added, "But whatever may be your Excellency's sentiments with respect to this the first proposition; the right of the Company to demand a cession of territory, adequate to the security of the funds necessary for defraying the expense of our defensive engagements with your Excellency is indisputable." This right he proceeded to found on his fears with regard to the future; lest the progressive decline of the country, the fruit of mismanagement, should quickly render its revenue unequal to the payments required.¹

On the 28th of April, a letter to the same purport, nearly in the same words, under signature of the Governor-General, was sent to the Resident.² The determination was now adopted to seize the territory, if the consent of its reluctant sovereign was any longer withheld. "Any further reference to me from Oude is," said his Lordship, "unnecessary. I, therefore, empower you to act under the instructions contained in this letter without waiting for additional orders.—If, therefore, his Excellency should persist in rejecting both propositions, you will inform him, that any further remonstrance to me upon this subject will be unavailing; that you are directed to insist upon the immediate cession of the territory proposed to be transferred to the Company; and that in the event of his Excellency's refusal to issue the necessary orders for that purpose, you are authorized to direct the British troops to march for the purpose of establishing the authority of the British government within those districts."³

¹ Papers, *ut supra*, iii. 185—192.

² Despatches, ii. 493.

³ Papers, *ut supra*, iii. p. 198.



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The Vizir, having stipulated for certain conditions,¹ of which one was, that he should be guaranteed, by a formal obligation, in the future independent exercise of an exclusive authority in the remaining parts of his dominions," it is declared, in the instructions to the Resident, under date the 27th of May; "His Lordship cannot permit the Vizir to maintain an independent power, with a considerable military force, within the territories remaining in his Excellency's possession.—It must never be forgotten that the Governor's original object was not merely to secure the subsidiary funds, but to extinguish the Vizir's military power."² This is a part of the design, not only not disclosed by the language held to the Vizir, but hardly consistent with it. In that, he was told, that the vices of his troops were the cause on account of which the English wished them destroyed. According to this new declaration, if the troops had been better, that is, more formidable, the English would have liked them only so much the worse.³

¹ These stipulations were dated on the 3rd Mohurram, 1216, or the 1st May, and were commented on at length by the Governor-General on the 8th June. The Vizir demurred to the payment of the debts of former Governments of Oude, of the whole expense of the troops raised to oppose the menaced invasion of Zemaun Shah, and any part of the cost of the embassy to Persia, which, as addressed to an object in which Oude was interested, the Governor-General conceived was due by the Vizir. He demanded the undivided inheritance of the possessions of Asoph-ud-Dowla, which was levelled against the possessions of the Begums. He requested that all correspondence regarding the affairs of Oude should be confined to himself and the Resident, which was intended to exclude such of his ministers as were well affected to the English from his councils. That the Resident should pay no attention to persons "ever on the watch to sow dissensions, and stipulated that the engagements entered into should be firm and permanent; that the troops for which the countries were ceded should always be stationed in them, and that whenever he felt inclined to perform pilgrimage, no hindrance should be offered to his departure." The Governor-General rejected these and other proposed articles; as they betrayed an unjustifiable mistrust in the Company's authority and power, disguised an intention to secure their countenance to acts of vindictiveness or extortion, and sought to evade the discharge of just demands. The proposed stipulations were in many respects open to these imputations, and they were justly rejected by the Governor-General. Dispatches, ii. 527.—W.

² Papers, ut supra, p. 213.

³ Contrast the language, in the last-quoted sentence, with the following passage of an address delivered to the Vizir in the name of the Governor-General, by his brother Henry Wellesley, in September, 1801; where, after a description of the undisciplined and mutinous condition of the troops of the Vizir, and his own declared opinion of them, these, says the address, "were the primary causes which moved the Governor-General to consider the means of applying an effectual reform to the military establishment of Oude. The plan of this reform originated, not in the voluntary suggestion of his Lordship's mind, but in the alarming state of your Excellency's dominions and power, and in your own express desire." Papers, ut supra, iv. 7.



In a letter of the 8th of June, the Resident gives an account of a conversation the day before between him and the Vizir. "I stated to his Excellency that the general tenor and spirit of his articles of stipulations had excited the greatest concern and surprise in your Lordship's breast, and that I was commanded by your Lordship to communicate to his Excellency your Lordship's absolute rejection of the whole of them. His Excellency replied, that as his paper contained conditions on which alone his consent to the territorial cession could be granted, your Lordship's rejection of them allowed him no other alternative, than that of passive obedience to whatever measures your Lordship might resolve on."

"I next proceeded to state to his Excellency the terms upon which your Lordship is disposed to guarantee to his Excellency and to his posterity, the dominion of his Excellency's remaining territory. They were enumerated in the following order and manner: 1st, The continuance of the Company's right to station the British troops in any part of his Excellency's dominions: 2ndly, the restriction of his own military establishment to an extent absolutely necessary for the collection of the revenues, and for the purposes of state; and 3rdly, the introduction of such regulations of police, as should be calculated to secure the internal quiet of his Excellency's country, and the orderly and peaceful behaviour of his subjects of every description.

"His Excellency's reply to this," says the Resident, "was striking: that the power of stationing the Company's troops in any part of his dominions, together with the other conditions, formed a combination of circumstances, the objects of which would be open to the comprehension of a child; and that it was impossible for him to agree to a territorial cession on such terms.

"I entreated his Excellency to reject from his mind such unjustifiable suspicions, and to summon all the good sense which he possesses, and to reflect on the consequences of a refusal of the propositions which your Lordship had prepared with so much thought and deliberation. He said, he by no means meant to impute precipitancy to your Lordship's resolution. But if your Lordship's reflection suggested measures to which he



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could not accede, the utmost which could be expected from him was passive submission to those measures. And he added, that if your Lordship would give him his dismissal, and allow him to go on a pilgrimage; or whether that was permitted or not, the whole of his territorial possessions, and of his treasures, were at the disposal of your Lordship's power: he neither had the inclination nor the strength to resist it; but he could not yield a voluntary consent to propositions so injurious to his reputation."¹

The Governor-General wished to avoid the appearance of force in seizing the greater part of the Vizir's dominions; and was exceedingly anxious to extort by importunity some appearance of consent. Not only was the Resident urged to use incessant endeavours for this purpose,² but on the 30th of June, notice was sent of the resolution to which the Governor-General had proceeded, of sending his brother Henry Wellesley on a mission to the Vizir, in hopes that his near relation to the head of the government would strike with awe the mind of that Prince, and convince him more fully of the impossibility of eluding its declared determination.³

Every mode of importunity was tried and exhausted. The scheme of abdication was, with every art of persuasion, and some even of compulsion (if severity in urging pecuniary demands which would have otherwise been relaxed are truly entitled to that designation), urged upon the Vizir, as the measure which, above all, would yield the greatest portion of advantage, with regard, in the first place, to his own tranquillity and happiness; in the second place, to the people of Oude; and in the third, to the British government. If, on the other hand, this measure should unfortunately not obtain his consent, he was desired to consider the territorial cession as a measure which force, if necessary, would be employed to accomplish; and the Resident did, in the month of July, proceed so far as to give notice to some of the aumils, or great revenue managers of the territories intended to be seized, to hold themselves in readiness for transferring their payments and allegiance to the British government; a proceeding which the Vizir represented as giving him exquisite pain and overwhelming him with disgrace.

¹ Papers, ut supra. iv. 231.

² Despatches, ii. 537.—W.

³ Ibid. ii. 441, 561.—W.

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To all the pressing remonstrances with which he was plied, he opposed only professions of passive, helpless, and reluctant obedience. He also pressed and endeavoured to stipulate for leave to retire, in performance of a pilgrimage: that his eyes might not behold the performance of acts, which he could not contemplate without affliction; though he desired to retain the power of resuming the government of all that remained of his dominions, when his scheme of pilgrimage should be at an end.

On the 3rd of September, Mr. Wellesley arrived at Lucknow; on the 5th, presented to the Vizir a memorial explanatory of the principal objects of his mission, and had with him his first conversation on the 6th.¹ The two propositions were again tendered; and, with every expression of submissiveness, the Vizir undertook to give them a renewed consideration. His answer was delayed till the 15th; when his consent to the first proposition, as what would bring "an everlasting stigma on his name by depriving a whole family of such a kingdom," was again peremptorily refused. The answer which was made by the two negotiators, the Resident and Mr. Wellesley in conjunction, is perhaps the most remarkable which occurs in the annals of diplomacy; "That his Excellency reasoned upon the first proposition as if the execution of it deprived him of the possession of the musnud; whereas the true extent and meaning of it, and indeed the primary object, was to establish himself and posterity more firmly and securely on the musnud, with all the state, dignity, and affluence, appertaining to his exalted situation." A man may be so placed with regard to another, that it is not prudent for him to dispute the truth of what that other advances, should he even assert that black and white are the same colour. It was necessary to be in such a situation, before a proposition like this could be tendered to a man with any hope of escaping exposure. The Vizir was called upon to consign for ever the sovereignty of all his dominions to the Company, and to bind himself never to reside within them; yet this was not to deprive him of his throne! It was more firmly to establish him on it!²

On the subject of the territorial cession, the Nawab still deferred an explicit answer.³

¹ Despatches, ii. 567.

² Papers, ut supra, iv. 1—15.

³ Ibid. p. 17.



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On the 19th of September, instructions were written to the two negotiators, in which they were informed of the determination of the Governor-General, in case of the continued refusal on the part of the Vizir, to give his consent to one of the two propositions, to take from him not a part only, but the whole of his dominions. His Lordship, as usual, supports this resolution with a train of reasoning. The British interests were not secure, unless there was a good government in Oude: unless the Nawab Vizir gave his consent to one of the two propositions, a good government could not be established in Oude: therefore, it would be not only proper, but an imperative duty, to strip that sovereign of all his dominions. "His Lordship has therefore no hesitation," says the document, "in authorizing you, in the event above stated, to declare to his Excellency, in explicit terms, the resolution of the British government to assume the civil and military administration in the province of Oude. Should the communication of the intended declaration fail to produce any change in his Excellency's disposition, his Lordship directs that you will immediately proceed to make the necessary disposition of the army, and every other arrangement for carrying that resolution into immediate and complete effect."¹

On the same day, however, on which these instructions were written, the Vizir communicated to the two negotiators a paper, in which he gave his consent to the second proposition, provided he was allowed to depart on his pilgrimages, and his son, as his representative, was, during his absence, placed on the throne. The reason assigned was in these words; "for I should consider it a disgrace, and it would be highly unpleasant to me, to show my face to my people here." The negotiators felt embarrassment; resented the imputations which the condition and the manner of it cast upon the British government; but were unwilling, for considerations of slight importance, to lose the advantage of the Vizir's consent, even to the lowest of the two propositions, since they now despaired of it to the first. "Having," say they, "deliberately reflected on every circumstance immediately connected with the negotiation, or which might eventually influence the result of it, we decidedly and unitedly agreed in the opinion, that the im-

¹ Papers, ut supra, p. 17.



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portant objects of it could not be accomplished in a more preferable manner than by closing with his Excellency's proposition." A paper, accordingly, declaring their acceptance of the proposition, and attested by their joint signatures and seals, was delivered to the Vizir on the 24th.¹

On the 27th, his Excellency communicated a proposition, of which the purport was, to secure to him the exclusive administration of the reserved territory. On this topic he was informed that enough had already been said : that the right of the British government, in regard to Oude, extended, not only to the alienation of as much of the territory as it chose to say was necessary to defray the cost of defence ; but, even with regard to the remainder, to the placing of it in the military possession of the British troops, and the maintaining of a good government within it. What was this, but to declare, that of this part too, the government, civil and military, must rest in the English the Vizir possessing the name, but none of the powers of a king ? "It is evident," said the Vizir, in a letter on the 29th, "that I can derive no advantage from alienating part of my country, whilst I shall not remain master of the remainder."² On this proposition, however, important as he deemed it, he from that time forebore to insist.

The negotiators complained of endeavours to protract the conclusion of the treaty ; first, by demanding unnecessary explanations, though they related to matters of great importance, expressed in the treaty in terms excessively vague ; and, secondly, by delays in the delivery of the accounts, though exceedingly voluminous, and somewhat confused. Several discussions took place on the revenues of some of the districts : but on the 10th of November, the treaty was mutually exchanged, and, on the 14th, was ratified by the Governor-General at Benares. By this treaty the Nawaub ceded a country, producing 1,35,23,474 rupees of revenue, including expense of collection ; and the authority of the British government over the remainder was provided for by the following words ; "And the Honourable the East India Company hereby guarantee to his Excellency the Vizir, and to his heirs and suc-

¹ Papers, *ut supra*, iv. 21—23.

² *Ibid.* iv. 39.



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cessors, the possession of the territories which will remain to his Excellency after his territorial cession, together with the exercise of his and their authority within the said dominions. His Excellency engages that he will establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers) as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants: and his Excellency will always advise with, and act in conformity to the counsel, of the officers of the said Honourable Company."¹ No dominion can be more complete than that which provides for a perpetual conformity to one's counsel, that is, one's will.²

On the same day on which the Governor-General ratified the treaty, he created a grand commission for the provisional administration and settlement of the ceded districts. Three of the civil servants of the Company were appointed a Board of Commissioners; and his brother Henry Wellesley was nominated to be Lieutenant-Governor of the new territory, and President of the Board.³

The Governor-General performed another duty on the same day, which was that of giving the home authorities, along with the intelligence of the conclusion of the treaty, an intimation of the several advantages which he wished them to believe it carried in its bosom. These were, "the entire extinction of the military power of the Nawaub;" the maintenance of a great part of the Bengal army at the Nawaub's expense; deliverance of the subsidy from all the accidents with which it was liable to be affected "by the corruption, imbecility, and abuse, of that vicious and incorrigible system of vexation and misrule, which constituted the government of Oude;" the power acquired by the Company of becoming "the instrument of restoring to affluence and prosperity one of the most fertile regions of the globe, now reduced to the most afflicting misery and desolation, by the depraved administration of the native government:" deliverance from the stain "on the reputation and honour of the British nation in India, upholding by the terror of their name, and the immediate

¹ Papers, ut supra, iv. p. 29 and 35.

² Despatches, ii. 596.

³ Papers, ut supra, p. 27.

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force of their arms, a system so disgraceful in its principles, and ruinous in its effects."¹

On these supposed advantages a few reflections are required. The impatient desire to extinguish the military power of the Vizir exhibits the sort of relation in which the English government in India wishes to stand with its allies. It exhibits also the basis of hypocrisy, on which that government has so much endeavoured to build itself. The Nawaub was stripped of his dominions; yet things were placed in such a form, that it might still be affirmed he possessed them.

With regard to the alleged pecuniary advantages, the case was this. An obligation was contracted to defend and govern a country, for only part of its revenues. The question is, whether this can ever be advantageous. The Company's experience, at least, has been, that the countries of India can, under their administration, hardly ever yield so much as the cost of defence and government. That it is injustice and robbery to take from any people, under the pretext of defending and governing them, more than the lowest possible sum for which these services can be performed, needs no demonstration.

The necessity, perpetually exposed to view, of defending Oude, as a barrier to the Company's frontier, is a fallacy. When the Company received the taxes paid by the people of Oude, and pledged themselves for their good defence and government, the people of Oude became British subjects to all intents and purposes; and the frontier of Oude became the Company's frontier. The question then is, whether it was best to defend a distant, or a proximate frontier. For the same reason that the Company took Oude for a frontier, they ought to have taken Delhi beyond it; after Delhi, another province, and after that another without end. Had they defended the frontier of Bengal and Bahar, leaving the province of Oude as they left the country beyond it, would not the nearer frontier have been easier to defend than the one more remote? If the greater difficulty of defending the more distant frontier of Oude consumed all the money which was obtained from Oude, was there in that case any advantage? If it consumed more than all the money which was obtained from it, was there not in that case a positive loss? The means are not

¹ Papers, ut supra, v. 14, 15.



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afforded us of exhibiting the loss in figures; but the British legislature, which by a solemn enactment prohibited all extension of frontier, as contrary both to the interest and the honour of the British nation, had declared beforehand that money was only a part of the loss.

The Governor-General's pretensions, raised on the badness of the native government, seem to be overthrown by his acts. If this was incorrigible, while the country remained in the hands of the Nabob, why, having it completely in his power to deliver the people of Oude from a misery which he delights to describe as unparalleled, did the Governor-General leave a great part of the country with the people in it, to be desolated and tortured by this hateful system of misrule? If it was corrigible, as he contradicts himself immediately by saying it was, and by pledging himself in his letter to the home authorities "to afford every practicable degree of security for the lives and property of the Vizir's remaining subjects," there was no occasion for wresting from the Vizir the greater part of his dominions, under the plea, and that the single, solitary plea, that any improvement of the intolerable system of government, while the country remained in his hands, was altogether impossible.

The truth ought never to be forgotten, which the Governor-General here so eagerly brings forward; That the misery, produced by those native governments which the Company upholds, is misery produced by the Company; and sheds disgrace upon the British name.¹

From his first arrival in India, the Governor-General had cherished the idea of paying an early visit to the interior and more distant parts of the provinces more immediately subject to his authority; but the circumstances which had required his presence at Calcutta or Madras, had till now postponed the execution of his design. Part of his object was to ascertain the real effects of the Company's government upon the prosperity of the country, upon the wealth, industry, morals, and happiness of the population; and to acquire a knowledge of the

¹ This sentiment is expressed by Mr. Henry Wellesley, in his account of the progress of the negotiation: letter to the Governor-General, dated 7th January, 1802; papers, ut supra, iv. 35. It is several times expressed by Colonel Scott, especially in his conversations with the Vizir, during the course of the negotiation; see papers, vol. iii. *passim*.



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character of the people, and of their modes of thinking, all more perfectly than, without personal inspection, he regarded as possible. The design was laudable. But a short reflection might have convinced him, that, in a progress of a few months, a great part of which was spent on the river, all the observations which he, incapacitated from mixing with the natives, both by his station, and his language, was in a situation to make, were so very few and partial, that they could form a just foundation for few useful conclusions; and only exposed him, if he was inclined to over-rate them, to be more easily duped by the men through whose eyes it behoved him to see, and on whom he was still compelled to rely for all his information! To learn the effects of a government upon a people, and to ascertain their temper and modes of thinking, by personal observation, requires long, and minute, and extensive intercourse. What, in the compass of a few weeks, or months, can a man collect, respecting these important circumstances, by looking, from his barge, or his palanquin, as he proceeds along, and at one or two of the principal places conversing in state with a small number of the leading men, eager not to salute his ears or his eyes with an opinion or a fact, but such as they expect will minister to his gratification? What a man, in these circumstances, is sure to do, is, to confirm himself in all the opinions, right or wrong, with which he sets out; and the more strongly, the higher the value which he attaches to the observing process he is then performing. What was to be expected, therefore, accurately happened; the Governor-General saw none but admirable effects of the Company's admirable government; and if those of an opposite sort had been ten times as many as they were, they would all have been equally invisible to his eyes. In surveying a country, it is not easy to form sound opinions, even when the means of observation are the most perfect and full: in India, the Company's servants, setting out with strong anticipations, and having means of observation the most scanty and defective, have commonly seen such things only, as it was their desire and expectation to see.

Other advantages, which the Governor-General expected to realize by his presence in the different parts of the provinces, where, an increased attention to the discharge of



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their duties, in the various local ministers of government, civil and military, who would thus be more sensibly convinced of the vigilant inspection which was maintained over them; and, a new degree of confidence and satisfaction, with respect to their government, in the body of the people, thus made to see with their eyes the solicitude with which the conduct of those who commanded them was watched. But the circumstance which most strongly operated upon the mind of the Governor-General, at the time when he resolved to commence his journey, was, the effect which his departure, with the declared intention of visiting Oude, was expected to produce in accelerating the submission of the Vizir to the demands with which he was pressed. Preparations were made for the commencement of the voyage on the river early in July, 1801; but owing to the delay of the despatches expected from Europe, and other causes, it was the 15th of August before he was enabled to embark. It was on the 18th, in a council held on board the yacht at Barrackpore, that Mr. Speke (the Commander-in-Chief having preceded the Governor-General in this excursion) was chosen, during the absence of the Head Ruler, Vice-President of the Council, and Deputy Governor of Fort William. On the 23rd of September, the Governor-General was at Monghir. On the 14th of November, at the time of ratifying the treaty, he was on the Ganges, near Benares. And on the 19th of January, 1802, he was met at Cawnpore by the Nawaub Vizir, who had left his capital to do him honour by the ceremony of anticipation.¹

The Governor-General resolved to soothe the mind of the Nawaub, under the mortifying sacrifices to which he had lately been compelled to submit, by the studied display of personal respect; as well for the purpose of substituting pleasurable to painful feelings, as for that of moulding his inclination to the compliances which yet remained to be exacted of him. He abstained accordingly from soliciting his mind on those subjects, till he had made, as he conceived, a very favourable impression upon it.² Soon after they had arrived at Lucknow, the Governor-General requested a private conference with his Excellency, and gave him intimation of the acts which he was expected to

¹ Papers, ut supra. v. 11—17.² Despatches, ii. 672.—W.



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perform. These were, the immediate discharge of the arrear of the augmented subsidy, amounting to twenty-one lacs of rupees; the immediate reduction of his Excellency's military establishment to the scale described in the treaty; an exchange of one of the new districts for the purpose of removing an interruption in the line of the Company's frontier; the regular payment of the pensions to his relatives and dependants; the reform, on a plan to be given by the English, of the government within his reserved dominions; and the concentration of the British force, which was to be employed within those dominions, at a cantonment in the vicinity of Lucknow. For obedience, on most of these points, the Vizir was prepared, either by inclination, or his knowledge of the inability of resistance. For the payment of arrears he only requested time; and could not help expressing his opinion, that neither necessity nor utility required the concentration of the British force at Lucknow. The object of principal importance was, the introduction of a better government in his reduced dominions. On this subject, the Nawaub professed that his opinions coincided with those of the British ruler; but complained that he was not possessed of sufficient authority, within his dominions, to carry any of his own designs into effect. On this subject, he manifested great reluctance to explain what he meant. When explanation was obtained from him, it appeared that he was galled by the interference of the Resident, and made this last effort to obtain such an exemption from that restraint, as would have destroyed, says the Governor-General, "that degree of interference and control which is indispensably necessary for the support of the British influence in Oude; and would have rendered nugatory that stipulation of the treaty which provides for the security of the British influence over the measures of his Excellency's administration." It also appeared, that he was desirous of a change of the Resident, who was personally disagreeable to him. But on no one of these points did the determination of the Governor-General admit of any relaxation. In these circumstances, the Nawaub, whether disgusted with his situation, or in the spirit of stratagem, renewed his request for permission to absent himself on a pilgrimage, and to leave his government in the hands of his second son.



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Though the Governor-General stated his reasons for disapproving this design, he gave him assurance that he would not oppose it; and expressed the highest indignation when the Nawaub, as in distrust, betrayed afterwards an inclination to render the payment of arrears a condition dependent upon compliance with this request.¹

As an introduction to the measures which he designed to propose for improving the government of the Nawaub's dominions, the Governor-General held up to his view, what he regarded as the causes of the existing evils. The abuses arising from the employment of a licentious soldiery in executing the business of government among the people, were once more displayed, but chiefly with intent to declare, that for this evil a remedy, in the annihilation-reform, was already applied. Of all the evils which remained; evils, which the Governor-General had represented as so enormous that nothing less than the abdication of the sovereign, or the complete transfer of all his property into the hands of the Company, could suffice for their cure, the causes, according to his enumeration, reduced themselves to two; First, "The want of a judicial administration for the protection of the lives and property of the subjects, for the detection and punishment of crimes, for the redress of grievances, and for the adjustment of disputed claims;" Secondly, "The abuses prevailing in the administration of the revenues—arising, principally, from the destructive practice of anticipating the revenues, of assigning the charge of the collections to persons who offer the highest terms, or the largest amount of nuzzerana; from the uncertain tenure by which the Aumils hold the charge of their respective districts; the violation of the engagements contracted between the Aumils, Zemindars, under-renters, and ryots, the arbitrary and oppressive exactions which pervade the whole system of the revenue, through every gradation, from the Aumil to the ryot; the defective and injudicious constitution of the whole system of revenue; and the injurious mode of making the collections." 2

By these, the very words, in conjunction with the acts, of the Governor-General, we are given to understand, that a bad judicial, and a bad taxing system (excepting the

¹ Papers, ut supra, v. 20—25.

² Ibid. v. 25, 26.



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army, the only causes of evil in Oude,) are quite sufficient to render a government the scourge and desolation of a country, and to make the submersion of such a government, both in name and in reality, but at any rate in reality, if not also in name, a duty imperiously demanded at the hand of whoever has the power to bring it about.

When, however, the Governor-General manifested a sensibility of such uncommon strength (and on such a subject the sensibility of a man is naturally in proportion to the united strength of his moral and intellectual virtues) to the unbounded evils which spring from defective systems of law and taxation, it is remarkable that he did not turn his thoughts to the effects produced by the systems of law and taxation of which he himself superintended the administration. It is declared, in the strongest and most explicit terms, by several of the Company's servants, best acquainted with Indian affairs, in their examination before the House of Commons, in 1806, that, not in respect to army, judicature, or taxation, was the situation of Oude, though viewed with such horror by the Governor-General, more unfavourable, than that of other native governments of India; with which it might truly be regarded as upon a level.¹ The government of Bengal, before it passed into the hands of the English, had been distinguished among the governments of India for its vices rather than its virtues. Yet we have seen it declared, and put upon record, by the most experienced servants of the Company, in their solemn official reports, that in their opinion the new systems of judicature and taxation, so laboriously, and so disinterestedly introduced by the English government, had not improved, but had rather deteriorated the condition of the great body of the people.² It is not, however, correct to say, that the Governor-General turned not his attention to the effects of the systems of judicature and taxation, the administration of which it was his business to superintend. He thought of them quite sufficiently; but he was altogether deceived. It was perfectly impossible for him to see with his own eyes what was sufficient to convince a mind, impressed both by anticipation and interest with other notions, that

¹ See the Minutes of Evidence on the Oude Charge, p. 32, 35, 49, 53, 74.

² See ch. vi. *passim*.



The British systems were ill adapted to the ends they had in view; and he was daily assured by those whose anticipations and interests were similar to his own, and who paid their court by speaking opinions calculated to please, that the effects produced were all excellent; he, therefore, believed that they were all excellent, and assured the home authorities, that he had been enabled to ascertain, by actual observation on his journey, that they were all excellent, and that in the highest degree. He concluded therefore, most conscientiously, that nothing happier could be done for the people of Oude, than to assimilate their situation as nearly as practicable to that of the people in the Company's provinces.

From the specimens of the loose, and defective, and antological language of the Governor-General, exhibited in his statement of the sources of evil in the government of Oude, the intelligent reader will perceive in what obscurity, on the subjects of judicature and taxation, the mind of that ruler remained; and how crude and inefficient were the ideas which, upon these subjects, floated in his brain. He had nothing further to recommend than, First, on the subject of judicature, to establish district courts, and a general court of appeal and control, on the plan of the district courts, and the courts of Sudder Dewannee, and Nizamut Adaulut, in the Company's dominions; and, secondly, on the subject of taxation, to give the district in charge to persons of undoubted character and qualifications, to pay those persons by a salary, and make their further profits depend upon the augmentation of their collections; to continue them in their office while their behaviour yielded satisfaction; to compel them, through the courts of justice, to fulfil their engagements with the middlemen, and the middlemen to fulfil their engagements with one another, and with the subjects.

Along with the establishment of courts of justice, the Governor-General stated, also, the necessity of "an efficient system of police, calculated to secure the apprehension of offenders, for the purpose of bringing them to justice." And he did not prescribe conformity with the practice of the Company in matters of detail, for which he referred the Nawab to the advice of the Resident,



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because matters of detail must be said, be regulated by local circumstances, and adapted to the constitution of the government, and the actual condition of the people.¹

How little security for an improvement of the government these changes afforded, it requires but a feeble insight into the springs of human affairs, sufficiently to discern. He would appoint new officers of justice and police; but where was any security that they would perform their duty, and not multiply, by the abuse of their powers, the evils they were intended to extinguish? It appears that the Governor-General was ignorant how completely the English systems of law and taxation were unprovided with securities for the protection of the people, notwithstanding the superior intelligence and good intention of the English government itself. For preventing the gatherers and farmers of the taxes from their usual exactions and oppressions, the Governor-General trusted entirely to the courts of justice; but unless sufficient securities were created in the constitution of the courts, and code of law, the officers of justice would only become the sharers and protectors of every profitable crime.

Though it appears that the Governor-General had very little knowledge of what properties are required in systems of judicature, and of taxation, to prevent them from ensuring the misery of the people; yet, of one security, he gives a just conception: "The rights of property, of all descriptions of landholders, should be defined, and the definition of those rights should form the basis of adjudication."² When he mentions landlords, of course it is not exclusively. He means not that the rights of that class of men should have the protection of law; and the rights of other men be left the sport and prey of arbitrary will. He means that the rights of all men should be accurately defined. And he would allow, that not only their rights but their obligations should be defined, whence alone the violations of them can be effectually suppressed. These definitions, he would, in like manner, allow, ought by all means, to be made known to every individual whom they concern, that is, the whole community; in other words, they should be formed into a book, and effectually

¹ Papers, ut supra, v. 25, 26.

² Ibid. v. p. 26.

disseminated and taught.¹ But when the Governor-General expressed his conviction of the great importance of embodying law in accurate definitions, that is, in a well-constructed code; in what degree was it unknown to him that this indispensable requisite to the good administration of justice was, over the greater part of the field of law, altogether wanting in the provinces which he governed, and even in his native country itself?²

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¹ It may be useful to some persons to see, what real good sense, without the aid of systematic inquiry, has taught on this subject in a remarkable age and country. *Συνετέ καθ' ὃν τροπον, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ Σόλων τοὺς νόμους ὡς καλῶς κελεύει τιθεναί; . . . ἴν' εἰς ἡ περὶ τῶν οὐτῶν ἑκάστον νόμος, καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἰδιώτας αὐτοὺς τῶν ταρᾶν, καὶ ποιῇ τῶν ἀπάντας εἰδοτῶν τοὺς νόμους ἐλαττοῦν ἔχειν· ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἡ τὰντα ἀναγινῶναι καὶ μαθεῖν ἅπλα καὶ σαφῆ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ πρὸ τούτων γὰρ ἐπεταξὶν ἐκθεῖναι προσθεῖν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τῶν γραμμάτων, παραδόναι· τούτων δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγινῶσκειν, ἵν' ἑκάστος ὕμῶν, ἀκούσας πολλάκις, καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν σκεψάμενος, ἂν ἡ καὶ δίκαια καὶ συμφέροντα, τὰντα νομοθετῇ.* Demosth. contra Leptinem: Reiske, i. 485. The circumstances here pointed out, on the authority of Solon, are, first, clearness, simplicity, and certainty in the laws; so great, that any private man may be as well acquainted with them, as little liable to sustain any evil by his ignorance of them, as the man who makes them the study of his life: Secondly, that the most effectual means should be taken to make every man fully acquainted with the laws, by exposing them, in terms, to public view, even before enactment, and making them be read by the public reader, in the congregations or assemblies.

Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν προστίκει τοὺς ὀρθῶς κείμενους, ὅσα ἐνδεχεται, πάντα διορίζειν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὅτι ἐλαχίστα καταλείπειν ἐπὶ τοῖς κρίνουσι· πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ἐνὰ λαβεῖν καὶ οἰοῦνται, ῥαόν, ἢ πολλοὺς ἐν φρονούντας καὶ δυναμένους νομοθετεῖν καὶ δικάζειν. Ἐπειδ' αἱ μὲν νομοθεσίαι ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου σκεψάμενων γίνονται· αἱ δὲ κρίσεις ἐξ ὑπογνίου, ὥστε χαλεπὸν ἀποδίδοναι τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ συμφέρον καλῶς τοὺς κρίνοντας. Τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ὅτι ἡ μὲν τοῦ νομοθετοῦ κρίσις, οὐ κατὰ μέρος, οὐτε περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀλλὰ περὶ μελλόντων τε καὶ καθόλου ἐστὶ· ὁ δ' ἐκκλησιαστής, καὶ δικαστής, πρὶν περὶ παρόντων καὶ ἀφορισμένων κρίνουσι· πρὸς οὓς καὶ τὸ φίλον ἤδη, καὶ τὸ μῖσειν, καὶ τὸ ἰδίον συμφέρον συννηρῆται· ὥστε μήκετι δύνασθαι θεωρεῖν ἱκανῶς τὸ ἀληθές, ἀλλ' ἐπισκοπεῖν τῇ κρίσει τοῦ ἰδίου ἤδη ἢ λύπῃ. Arist. Rhetor. lib. i. cap. 1. The proposition here is, That a system of law, to be good, must define every thing, susceptible of definition, within the field of law; and leave as little as possible to the judges. Three reasons are annexed: First, that it is easier to find one or two men, provided with the wisdom necessary for the making of laws, than to find a multitude: Secondly, that legislation is to be performed cautiously and deliberately; Judication must be performed upon the spur of the occasion, and expeditiously, which takes from judges the power of tracing accurately the limits of utility and justice: Thirdly, the decision of the legislator, and that is the most important consideration of all, is not about particulars, and cases present to the senses; but about genera, and cases yet to come; whereas the decision of the judge is about particulars, and things present to the senses; things to which his passions are apt to be linked, and by which his interests are apt to be affected: in such a manner, that his discernment of right and wrong is obscured, by the intervention of what is agreeable or painful to himself.

² This lengthened review of the negotiations with Oude avoids, with some want of candour, their most important feature, the political necessity of the measures adopted. It was too late to inquire by what means the kind of connexion which had been formed with the princes of this country had grown up. They had become dependants upon the English government, their principality was an integral part of the British empire; was it to be suffered that this part should be a source of weakness instead of strength; that its rulers should be objects of distrust and fear instead of reliance? It was undeniable that their

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very existence was the fruit of British forbearance and protection. It was at any time in the power of the English government to annihilate their Nawab Vizirs, and had their support been withdrawn those princes must have fallen victims to the superior strength and ambition of the Mahrattas. To have permitted this would, however, have brought a dangerous enemy close to the English frontiers, whilst it would have added to their means of inflicting injury. The entire command of the resources of Oude was therefore, and must ever be, a legitimate object of British policy, and an equitable return for our protection and forbearance. The resources of Oude were, however, unavailable as long as they were mismanaged; they were worse than unavailable, they were hurtful. That the Nawab Vizir could not maintain an effective body of troops was not matter of conjecture but of experience. Sadut Ali had himself declared that no trust could be placed in them if Zemaun Shah invaded Hindustan, and on the occasion of Vizir Ali's insurrection they had shown more disposition to join than to oppose him. It was evident, therefore, that the military force of Oude must be entirely under the control of the British Government. The Government well knew that troops, to be effective, must be paid: the incorrigible improvidence of Asiatic princes rendered it certain that the treasury of Lucknow would not long furnish the pay of the army with punctuality, and the only source upon which reliance could be placed, was the assignment of part of the revenues of the principality, or in other words, part of the principality itself. It is objected to this in the text, that we thereby undertook the defence of the whole with the revenues of a part; if those revenues were sufficient the objection is without force, and that they were deemed sufficient follows from the extent of the Government demand. They themselves indicated what they wanted. The same object, the safety and prosperity of the whole state, considering Oude as a part of the whole state, not as an independent and separate state, required the interposition of the supreme authority, even in the civil government of the province. It is the duty and interest of the British empire that Oude should be prosperous. Now it is very true that the shortest and simplest mode of providing for the good government, civil as well as military, of Oude, would have been the assumption of the whole authority, and the suppression of the expensive, and, sometimes, unmanageable machinery of a ruling dynasty of native princes. It may be doubted, however, if the abrupt supersession of Sadut Ali by an English functionary would have been more consonant with English notions of justice and moderation than the abstraction of a part only of his dominions, and his enforced subordination to the will of the Government. The title, the station, and many of the privileges and powers of his place were still left to the Nawab Vizir, and, at a subsequent period, he had been gratified by the title of king. This is more than a bare title, and if the authority that it implies be judiciously and ably exercised, it may be exercised for all the purposes of civil administration without any control from the British Government. That it will be so exercised for any length of time is very unlikely; and the interference of the paramount state will, therefore, be still required. That interference, however, is fully justifiable upon the principle that the degree of independence left to the king of Oude is matter of sufferance, and that it must be still more limited, or altogether extinguished, whenever the interests of the British empire in India, of which it is a constituent part, clearly demand its curtailment or suppression. That the mode in which the negotiation was carried on was, in some respects, objectionable, may be admitted. The real character of the transaction was coercion. Sadut Ali was compelled reluctantly to agree to loss of territory and diminution of power. Still this merit may be claimed for the attempts at procuring his acquiescence, that they were intended to be less grating to his feelings than a stern and arrogant demand of his submission would have been. The intention was not disappointed, and Sadut Ali no doubt found some consolation for his impaired dignity in the contemplation of the struggles he had made to avert the catastrophe. A very short time after the business had been settled he seems to have been reconciled to his fate, and to have been happy in



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General quitted Lucknow at the end of February, and proceeded to Benares, on his way to Calcutta. He had appointed the agents of the Bhow Begum to meet him there, for the adjustment of certain claims, which she preferred, both against the Vizir and the English government. But he was still obliged to defer the decision. A circumstance had occurred with regard to the Begum, which is too intimately connected with other proceedings of the English government in Oude, not to require to be shortly adduced. While the negotiations were proceeding with the Vizir, the Begum had formally tendered to the English government an offer to constitute the Company her heir. The object of the Begum in this determination was to secure herself completely, by the protection of the English government, against the exactions to which she was exposed at the hand of her grandson. Against this disposal of her property, however, the law of the country, and the law of nations, interposed; it being an established principle of Mohammedan jurisprudence, that the sovereign is legal heir to the property of all his subjects; and the Governor-General acknowledging "the justice and policy of preventing the transfer of individual property, by gift or testament, to a foreign state." He determined, however, to accept the legacy, and reasoned in favour of his determination in the following words: "The exalted rank of the Begum, and the superior relation in which she stands towards his Excellency the Vizir, are circumstances which distinguish her condition from that of a subject possessing no rights of property independent of the will of his despotic sovereign: She derives her title to her present possessions from the same source from which his

the quiet enjoyment of the amusements of royalty and the accumulation of wealth. See Lord Valentia's Travels, vol. I.

Some of the comments of the text upon Lord Wellesley's general or special reasonings are not undeserved. His Lordship, like Warren Hastings, was somewhat too fond of writing. He who writes or talks much will say or write more than is necessary—something that had better have been left unsaid or unwritten. Fewer words would have been more than enough to have convinced Sadut Ali that the Governor-General, whilst he wished to preserve the show of attention to the Nawab's feelings, was determined to effect his purpose, and would have saved his noble correspondent from much of that unfriendly criticism to which his voluminous epistles have, not without some foundation, exposed him. For further illustrations of the Oude negotiations, see the Wellesley Despatches, vol. II., also the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. viii., and the Parliamentary Debates for 1806.—W.



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Excellency derives his title to the musnud; her right, therefore to dispose of her personal property, in any manner she may deem expedient, except for purposes injurious to the interests of the state, must be admitted — and the peculiar nature of the connexion subsisting between his Excellency the Vizir and the Honourable Company, renders the Begum's proposed transfer of her wealth to the latter, at the period of her decease, wholly unobjectionable with reference to the public interests of the state of Oude." The remarkable contrast, between this doctrine relative to the property of the Begum, and the doctrine which was promulgated by Mr. Hastings, as the ground on which he bartered to the late Vizir the liberty of taking it away from her, the doctrine too on which that Governor was defended, ay, and acquitted, before the high court of parliament,¹ will not escape the attentive student of Indian history, to the latest generation. The Governor-General adds; "The character of his Excellency the Vizir, and his inordinate passion for the accumulation of wealth, justify the Begum in seeking timely protection for herself, her family, and dependants, from the effects of his Excellency's known views, and sordid disposition." Recollecting, it seems, the traffic between a predecessor of the Governor-General, and a predecessor of his own, when certain benefits to the Company were exchanged for a permission to spoil the Begum, and other members of the royal family, the Vizir had looked to this quarter, as a source of indemnity for the cessions to which he was urged, and had signified his disposition to conclude a similar bargain. The indignation of the Governor-General is expressed in the following words: "The inclination manifested by his Excellency the Vizir, in the form of a conditional assent to Lieutenant-Colonel Scott's proposal for a territorial cession, to degrade and despoil the most distinguished characters of his family and his court — a design, though under some degree of disguise, particularly directed to the Begum — and his insidious and disgraceful attempt to obtain the sanction of the British name to such unwarrantable acts of proscription, have given additional weight, in his Lordship's mind, to the arguments above detailed, and have determined his Lordship not only to acquiescence in

¹ Vide supra.



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the Begum's proposal to its utmost extent, if it should be revived on her part; but to encourage her Highness to renew her proposition at the earliest period of time, and by every justifiable means."¹ Such is the language, in which Marquis Wellesley treats a conduct, which had been pursued by one of his most distinguished predecessors; defended, as meritorious, by some of the most powerful of the public men in England; and solemnly declared to be innocent, by a judicial decision of the High Court of Parliament itself.

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In the meantime, the substitution of the forms and agents of the Company's government to those of the government of the Vizir was carrying on in the ceded provinces. The Governor-General had stated to the home authorities, in the letter in which he announced the ratification of the treaty, that the reasons which induced him to vest his brother with extraordinary powers for the superintendence of this service, were the great difficulty of the task, the peculiarly appropriate qualifications which Mr. Wellesley had displayed in the negotiation with the Vizir, and the authority which he would derive from his relationship with himself. And he expressed his "trust, that in the course of a year, or possibly within a shorter period of time, the settlement of the ceded districts might be so far advanced, as to enable him to withdraw Mr. Wellesley, and leave the administration of the country nearly in the same form as that of Benares."² When this letter reached the Court of Directors, that body of rulers, professing their inability, till they received the proper documents, to decide upon the means by which the treaty had been accomplished, declared the obligation, under which they felt themselves, to lose no time, in condemning the appointment of Mr. Wellesley, who was the private secretary of the Governor-General, and belonged not to the class of Company's servants as "a virtual supersession of the just rights" of those servants, whom the Court of Directors were bound to protect; and a violation of the act of parliament which expressly confines the filling up

¹ Instructions, under the signature of the Secretary of the Government, sent to Mr. Wellesley and Colonel Scott, at Lucknow, under date Monghir, 21st September, 1801. Papers, *ut supra*, iv. 18, 19.

² See the Letter in which he announced the ratification of the treaty, dated on the Ganges, 14th of November, 1801, papers, *ut supra*, v. 15.