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himself and this fortunate antagonist. By one expedient alone, was he permitted to hope, that this important object could be attained; by entering into the system of general alliance, and subsidiary defence. It was agreed, accordingly, that Major Malcolm should repair to the camp of Sindiah, to settle the terms of a treaty of this description. The business was accomplished, and the treaty signed at Boorhanpore on the 27th of February, 1804. There were two remarkable circumstances. One was, the price which the Governor-General consented to pay for the supposed advantage of placing a body of British troops at the disposal of Sindiah, and pledging the English government for his defence. The amount of the force defined by the treaty was 6000 infantry, and the usual proportion of artillery. These troops were to be maintained entirely at the expense of the English government, with the proceeds of the newly-acquired dominions; and that they might not establish an influence in Sindiah's government, they were not even to be stationed within his territory, but at some convenient place near his frontier within the Company's dominions. The other remarkable circumstance was, not the condition by which the English government made itself responsible for the defence of the dominions of Sindiah, but that, by which it engaged to make itself the instrument of his despotism; to become the executioner of every possible atrocity towards his own subjects, of which he might think proper to be guilty. It bound itself, by an express stipulation, not to interfere between him and his subjects, how dreadful soever his conduct in regard to his subjects might be. But the moment his subjects should take measures to resist him, whatsoever the enormities against which they might seek protection, the English government engaged, without scruple and without condition, to act immediately for their *suppression and chastisement*. Where was now the doctrine of the Governor-General for the deposition of princes whose government was bad? Where was the regard to that disgrace which, as he told the princes whom he deposed, redounded to the British name, whenever they supported a government that was bad?¹

¹ This virtuous indignation is not called for by the stipulations of the treaty. The British government engaged not to give support to Sindiah's relations.



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In forming his connexions with other states, either for war or peace, the Maharaja bound himself to the slight condition of only consulting with the Company's government, but by no means of being governed by its decisions; and in any war to be carried on by their mutual exertions it was agreed, without any mention made of the proportion of troops, that in the partition of conquests the shares should be equal. The stipulation with regard to Frenchmen and other Europeans, or Americans, was made still more agreeable to the taste of the times; for it was promised by Sindiah that he would allow no such person to remain in his dominions without the consent of the Company's government.¹

The Governor-General seemed now to have accomplished the whole of his objects; and lofty was the conception which he formed of the benefits attained. The famous official document, which has been already quoted, "Notes relative to the peace concluded between the British government and the confederate Mahratta chieftains," concludes with "a general recapitulation of the benefits which the British government in India has derived from the success of the war, and from the combined arrangements of the pacification, including the treaties of peace, of partition, and of defensive alliance and subsidy." It exhibits them under no less than *nineteen* several heads: 1. The reduction of the power and resources of Sindiah and the Raja of Berar; 2. The destruction of the French power; 3. The security against its revival; 4. The annexation to the British dominions of the territory occupied by Perron; 5. The annexation of other territories in the Doab, and the command of the Jumma; 6. The deliverance of the Emperor Shah Aulum from the control of the French; 7. The security and influence derived from the

dependants, military chiefs, and servants, with respect to whom the Maharaja was absolute, and to assist in reducing and punishing them on his requisition if they rebelled or acted in opposition to his authority (Article 8). A previous article, however, provides that the subsidiary force is not to be employed on trifling occasions (Article 6). A clause which implies the exercise of the judgment of the British government as to the occasions on which its troops were to be employed; a discretionary power also involved in the presence of the Resident. It is not true, therefore, that the treaty binds the British to act immediately against the Raja's subjects without scruple, or without condition.—W.

¹ Treaty of alliance and mutual defence. Ibid. p. 164.



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system of alliance with the petty states along the Jumna against the Mahrattas; 8. The security and influence derived from the possession of Gualior, and the subsidiary force established in Gohud; 9. The means of defence derived from these same fountains against any other enemy on the north-western frontier; 10. The advantages both in security and wealth derived from Cuttack; 11. The advantages derived from the possession of Baroach, which left Sindiah no direct communication with the sea, or with the transmarine enemies of the British government; 12. The security derived from Baroach against the intrigues of the French with any native state; 13. The additional security bestowed upon the British interests in Guzerat, by the possession of Baroach, and the abolition of Sindiah's claims on the Gaekwar; 14. The revenue and commerce derived from Baroach; 15. The benefits bestowed upon the Peshwa and Nizam; 16. The increased renown of the British nation, both for power and virtue; 17. The "defensive and *subsidiary*¹ alliance" with Dowlut Rao Sindiah; 18. The power of controlling the causes of dissension and contest among the Mahratta states; the power of keeping them weak; the power of preventing their combination with one another, or with the enemies of the British state; 19. The security afforded to the Company and its allies from the turbulence of the Mahratta character and state.²

This is exhibited as an instructive specimen of a good mode of making up an account.

After this enumeration, the document breaks out into the following triumphant declaration:—"The general arrangements of the pacification, combined with the treaties of partition, with the defensive and subsidiary alliance now concluded with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, with the condition of our external relations and with the internal prosperity of the British empire; have finally placed the British power in India in that commanding position with regard to other states, which affords *the only possible security for the permanent tranquillity and prosperity of these valuable and important possessions.*"

It is material here to mark, what is thus solemnly

¹ Subsidiary it could not well be, when he paid no subsidy.

² Papers, ut supra, p. 197, 198. Despatches, 4, 132.



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declared, by one of the most eminent of all our Indian rulers, that without that artificial system, which he created, of subsidiary troops, and dependence, under the name of alliance, there is no such thing as security for "the British empire in the East."¹

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The document goes on to boast, that the troops, thus bestowed upon the Peshwa, the Nizam, Sindiah, the Gaekwar, and Rana of Gohud, would exceed 24,000 men; that all these would be maintained at the expense of those allies, which was incorrect, as Sindiah paid nothing for the 6000 allotted to him; that this amount of troops would always be maintained in a state of perfect equipment, and might be directed against any of the principal states of India, without affecting the tranquillity of the Company's possessions, or adding materially to its expenses.

It then declares:—"The position, extent, and equipment of this military force, combined with the privilege which the British government possesses of arbitrating differences and dissensions between the several states with which it is connected by the obligations of alliance, enable the British power to control the causes of that internal war which, during so long a term of years, has desolated many of the most fertile provinces of India; has occasioned a constant and hazardous fluctuation of power among the native states; has encouraged a predatory spirit among the inhabitants; and formed an inexhaustible source for the supply of military adventurers, prepared to join the standard of any turbulent chieftain for the purpose of ambition, plunder, or rebellion. No danger can result from the operation of our defensive alliances, of involving the British government in war; excepting in cases of manifest justice and irresistible necessity. The power of arbitration, reserved in all cases by the British government, not only secures the Company from the contingency of war, in the prosecution of the unjust views of any of our allies, but affords a considerable advantage in authorizing and empowering the British government to check, by amicable negotiation, the primary and remote sources of hostilities in every part of India."²

When extracted from these sounding words, the mean-

¹ Contrast with it the opinions of his successor. Vide infra.

² Papers, ut supra, p. 198.



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ing is, that the British government in India had obtained two advantages: 1. An enlargement of revenue: 2. Increased security against the recurrence of war, or the evils of an unsuccessful one.

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1. Additional revenue is only useful, when it is not balanced by an equal increase of expense. The Governor-General talks loudly of the additional revenue; but not a word of the additional expense. If we had no more evidence but this, it would be a legitimate inference, that the expense was omitted, because it would not have been favourable to his argument to speak of it. We have abundant general evidence that the expense of governing enlarged territory, in almost all places, though more especially in India, equals, or more frequently surpasses, all the revenue which it is possible to draw from it. We shall presently see in what degree the facts of the present case conform to the general rule. If it turns out that the expense of governing the new territory is equal to its revenue, it follows that the enormous expense of the war, generated by the treaty of Bassein, and by the passion of the Governor-General for subsidiary alliances, remained altogether without compensation on the score of money.

2. Let us inquire, if there is more solidity in the alleged advantage, in which, single and solitary, the whole compensation for the war remains to be sought, viz., security against the evils of war.

Now, at first view, it would appear that an obligation to defend a great number of Indian states, an obligation of taking part in all their miserable and never-ending quarrels, was of all receipts the most effectual, for being involved almost incessantly in the evils of war.

This increased exposure to the evils of war was far outweighed, according to the Governor-General, by the power of preventing war through the influence of the subsidiary troops.

Unfortunately the question which hence arises admits not of that degree of limitation and precision which enables it to receive a conclusive answer. The probabilities, though sufficiently great, must be weighed, and without any fixed and definite standard.

One thing, in the mean time, is abundantly certain, that if the East India Company was able to keep any Indian



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state from going to war, this must have been, because it was the master of that state, because that state was dependent upon the East India Company, and bound in all its concerns to obey the Company's will. But if this were the case, and if the native governments were thus deprived of all independent power, infinitely better would it have been to have removed them entirely. Two prodigious advantages would thus have been gained; the great expense of keeping them would have been saved; and the people in the countries under them would have been delivered from the unspeakable miseries of their administration; miseries always increased to excess by the union of a native with the British, government. But, to place this question on the broadest basis: the policy of taking the whole of the Mahratta country immediately under the British government, would either have been good, or it would have been bad. If it would have been good, why was it not followed: when the power was not wanting, and when the right of conquest would have applied with just as much propriety to the part that was not done, as the part that was? If it would not have been good policy to take the whole of the Mahratta country under the British government; in other words, to have had the responsibility of defending it with the whole of its resources; it was surely much worse policy to take the responsibility of defending it, with only a part of those resources.

Another question, however, may be, not whether something better than the defensive alliances might not have been done, but whether something might not have been done that was worse; whether, if the government of the Mahratta princes was not entirely dissolved, it was not better to bind them by defensive alliances, than to leave them unbound; whether according to the Governor-General, the British state was not more exempt from the danger of war, with the alliances, than without them.

To answer this question, it must be maturely considered, under what danger of war the British government would have been placed, without the alliances. It is not the way to arrive at a just conclusion, to set out without allowing that this danger was just anything which any body pleases. It may be pretty confidently affirmed, that

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with good government within their own territories, under the known greatness of their power, the English were almost wholly exempt from the danger of war; because, in this case, war could reach them through but one medium, that of invasion; and from invasion, surely, they had little to dread.

Allowing then, that the subsidiary alliances were a scheme calculated to prevent the danger of war; as far as regards the British government, there was little or nothing of that sort to prevent; the subsidiary alliances were a great and complicated apparatus, for which, when got up, there was nothing to do; a huge cause prepared when there was no effect to be produced.¹

This is decisive in regard to the practical question. In speculation, another question may still be raised; namely, whether, if the British state had been exposed to the danger of wars, the scheme of the subsidiary alliances was a good instrument for preventing them. In India, as in all countries in corresponding circumstances, one thing saves from aggression, and one thing alone, namely, power; the prospect which the aggressor has before him, of suffering by his aggression, rather than of gaining by it. The question, then, is shortly this; did the subsidiary alliances make the English stronger, in relation to the princes of India, than they would have been without those alliances?

The subsidiary alliances yielded two things; they yielded a portion of territory; and they yielded a certain position of a certain portion of British troops. In regard to the territory, it may, at any rate, be assumed, as doubtful, whether, in the circumstances of the British state, at the time of the treaty of Bassein, it could be rendered intrinsically stronger by any accession of territory; since, by Act of Parliament, the question stands decided the opposite

¹ The Governor-General, indeed, takes it as one of his benefits, that the native states would be restrained from war among themselves. But he does not inform us to whom the benefit would accrue. If the English were secure from aggression, the wars of the native princes were of no importance to them. If humanity is pretended, and the deliverance of the people from the horrors of war, it is to be replied with dreadful certainty, that under the atrocities of a native government supported by British power, the horrors of peace were no improvement upon the horrors of war. The sufferings of the people under the Nabobs of the Carnatic and Oude were described by the English government itself, perhaps with some exaggeration, as unmatched in any portion of India.



way: much more, then, is it doubtful, whether it could be rendered stronger by an accession of territory, which imported the obligation and expense not merely of defending itself, but of defending the whole kingdom to which it was annexed. It will not, then, be assumed, that the mere territory gotten by the English was the circumstance looked to for preventing the evils of war. If it was that, the territory might have been taken without the alliances.

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The only remaining circumstance is, the position of the troops. For, as to the other conditions, about not holding intercourse with other states except in conjunction with the English, these were merely verbal; and would be regarded by the Indian governments, just as long, as they would have been regarded without the alliance; namely, as long as the English could punish them, whenever they should do what the English would dislike.

Now, surely, it is not a proposition which it will be easy to maintain, that a country is stronger with regard to its neighbours, if it has its army dispersed in several countries; a considerable body of it in one country, and a considerable body in another, than if it has the whole concentrated within itself; and skilfully placed in the situation best calculated to overawe any neighbour from whom danger may be apprehended. There are many combinations of circumstances in which this would be a source of weakness much more than strength.

If it is said, that the position of the English subsidiary troops, with a native prince, imported the annihilation, or a great reduction, of his own force; this, in the circumstances of India, cannot be regarded as a matter of almost any importance. In a country swarming with military adventurers, and which fights with undisciplined troops, an army can always be got together with great rapidity, as soon as a leader can hold out a reasonable prospect that something will be gained by joining his standards. The whole history of India is a proof, that a man who is without an army to-day, may, if he has the due advantages, to-morrow (if we may use an eastern hyperbole) be surrounded by a great one. Of this we have had a great and very recent example, in the army with which Holkar, a

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mere adventurer, was enabled to meet, and to conquer Sindiah, the most powerful native prince in India.

It was, in a short time, as we shall see, found by the British government itself, that it could regard the presence of subsidiary troops as a very weak bridle in the mouth of a native prince, when he began to forget his own weakness. The weakness, in fact, was the bridle. If he remained weak, that was enough, without the subsidiary troops. If he grew strong, the subsidiary troops, it was seen, would not long restrain him.

I cannot aim at the production of all those circumstances, on both sides of this question, which would be necessary to be produced, and to be weighed, to demonstrate accurately the probabilities of good or of evil, attached to such a scheme of policy, as that of the subsidiary alliances of Governor-General Wellesley. I have endeavoured to conduct the reader into the paths of inquiry; and leave the question undecided.

In summing up the account of the treaty of Bassein, we can only, therefore, approach to a determinate conclusion. On the one side, there is the certain and the enormous evil, of the expenditure of the Mahratta war. Whether the subsidiary alliances, which were looked to for compensation, were calculated to yield any compensation, and did not rather add to the evils, is seen to be at the least exceedingly doubtful. The policy of the treaty of Bassein cannot, therefore, be misunderstood.¹

¹ That many of the consequences of the Mahratta war, enumerated by Lord Wellesley were real and permanent political advantages to the British dominion in India cannot be questioned. The power of the principal Mahratta chiefs was reduced, and their military reputation destroyed; in the like proportion the power of the British government was augmented, and its renown enhanced; and an immense stride was effected towards that exalted position in which it now stands as the paramount sovereign of Hindustan. That Great Britain reaps substantial benefits from its ascendancy will be scarcely disputed. That India derives benefit from it is also undeniable, although it may not be of that value which the English, who are the greatest gainers, are fond of representing it. That the Governor-General was mistaken in his anticipations of at once preserving perpetual tranquillity, subsequent events sufficiently proved; and it would be an impeachment of his humanity and justice to suppose that he could have foreseen the disastrous results which his treaties of defensive alliance inflicted on those princes who were tempted or compelled to become his allies. He did not make a sufficient allowance for the reluctance with which it is natural for man in every station of life to part with independence, and especially for princes to relinquish the authority they have received from their predecessors. The nature of the subsidiary connexion imposed upon the subsidized prince a state of subjection to which he could scarcely be expected cheerfully to submit; and the vain attempts made by him to shake off his fetters, either riveted them more firmly, or terminated in his annihilation.



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tion. It is true that the conditions of a subsidiary alliance leave to a native prince the power of ruling his own subjects with benignity, wisdom, and justice. There is no reason why he should be a sensualist or an oppressor because he has not an army at his command. Such, however, is human nature in the East — possibly also in other quarters of the world — that when responsibility is withdrawn, and impunity secured, the motives to useful activity are weakened or destroyed, and the objects of interest are exclusively concentrated in individual indulgence. There is no doubt that Lord Wellesley's views in the formation of subsidiary alliances, as far as they regarded the princes of India, with whom they were formed, have in every instance been disappointed; and as far as the people are concerned, often imperfectly realized; but it is not the less true that the grand aim of his policy has been attained, and that by the command or influence which British India now exercises over all the other states internal war has been put an end to throughout the whole of that continent. There may be an occasional disturbance, but it can neither be extensive nor long continued; it cannot deserve the imputation of a state of warfare. That under any circumstances, intestine hostilities are to be prevented, if possible, our author would have been the first to admit; as he is no admirer of military renown: but when it is remembered in what manner, and by what persons, with what an utter disregard of those restraints by which the horrors of war amongst civilized nations are in some degree checked, hostilities in India were carried on, there will remain no doubt that India has gained, upon the whole, important advantages from the scheme of universal pacification which it was Lord Wellesley's policy to establish, and which has now been effected. That it was not sooner accomplished, was in part owing to the different views of his successors and in part to a circumstance politicians do not always sufficiently regard — matters were not sufficiently ripe for so great a change.

It is worthy of remark that at a subsequent period the author changed his opinions materially in regard to the necessity of the war with the Mahrattas, as well as that with Tippoo. The purport of his reasoning in the text is, that both might have been avoided, that there was no real danger to be apprehended from Tippoo, and that our interference in the domestic concerns of the Mahrattas, out of which the war arose, was entirely unnecessary and unadvisable. In his examination before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1832, he says, "all our wars cannot perhaps be with propriety considered wars of necessity, but most of those by which the territories we possess have been obtained, and out of which our subsidiary alliances have grown, have been wars, I think, of necessity, and not of choice. For example, the wars with Tippoo and the Mahrattas." Evidence Political, i. p. 10. This is very irreconcilable with the notions of the text, and although more consonant to the fact; it requires perhaps some modification. The immediate necessity of the second war with Tippoo is very questionable; and it may be doubted if the Mahratta war might not have been delayed. In both cases, however, it must be admitted that collision sooner or later was unavoidable; and it was not inconsistent with a prudent policy to have brought on its occurrence as soon as we were prepared for the encounter.—W.

CHAPTER XIII.

Necessity inferred of curbing Holkar. — Intercourse between Holkar and Sindiah renewed. — Governor-General resolves to take the Holkar Dominions, but to give them away to the Peshwa, Sindiah, and the Nizam. — Holkar retreats before the Commander-in-Chief, towards the South. — The Commander-in-Chief withdraws the Army into Cantonments, leaving Colonel Monson with a Detachment



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in advance.—Holkar turns upon Monson.—Monson makes a disastrous Retreat to Agra.—The British Army from Guzerat subdues Holkar's Dominions in Malwa.—Holkar by a Stratagem attacks Delhi.—Brave Defence of Delhi.—The Holkar Dominions in the Deccan subdued.—Defeat of Holkar's Infantry at Deeg.—Rout of his Cavalry at Furruckabad.—The Raja of Bhurtpore, one of the allied Chieftains, joins with Holkar.—Unsuccessful Attack upon the Fortress of Bhurtpore.—Accommodation with the Raja of Bhurtpore.—Disputes with Sindiah.—Prospect of a War with Sindiah.—Holkar joins the Camp of Sindiah.—The British Resident ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to quit the Camp of Sindiah.—Sindiah endeavours to prevent the Departure of the Resident.—Marquis Wellesley succeeded by Marquis Cornwallis.—Cornwallis' View of the State of Government.—Of Wellesley's System of subsidiary and defensive Alliance.—Cornwallis resolves to avoid a War with Sindiah, by yielding every Point in Dispute.—To make Peace with Holkar by restoring all the Territories he had lost.—To dissolve the Connexion of the British Government with the minor Princes on the Mahratta Frontier.—Negotiations between Sindiah and the Commander-in-Chief.—Death of Lord Cornwallis.—Sir G. Barlow adheres to the Plans of Lord Cornwallis.—Holkar advances into the Country of the Seiks.—Pursued by Lord Lake.—A fresh Treaty concluded by Sindiah.—Treaty with Holkar.—Financial Results.

WHEN the English were freed from the burden and the dangers of the war with Sindiah and the Raja of Berar, they began to think of placing a curb on the power of Jeswunt Rao Holkar. Though Holkar had engaged, and upon very advantageous terms, to join with the other chieftains, he had abstained from co-operation in the war against the English; and though he had committed some ravages on a part of the Nizam's territory, toward the beginning of the war; the Governor-General had not held it expedient to treat this offence as a reason for hostilities: Holkar, on the other hand, had been uniformly assured that the English were desirous of preserving with him the relations of peace.



CORRESPONDENCE WITH HOLKAR.

In the month of December, 1803, Holkar, having BOOK VI.
marched towards the territory of the Raja of Jyenagur, CHAP. XIII.
took up a position which threatened the security of this
ally of the British state. At the same time, he addressed
letters to the British Commander-in-Chief, containing as-
surances of his disposition to cultivate the friendship of
the British government. But a letter of his to the Raja
of Macherry, suggesting to him inducements to withdraw
from the British alliance, was communicated by that Raja
to the Commander-in-Chief; further correspondence of a
hostile nature was discovered; and intelligence was re-
ceived of his having murdered three British subjects in
his service, on a false charge that one of them had corre-
sponded with the Commander-in-Chief. It appeared im-
prudent to remove the army of the Commander-in-Chief
from the field, till security was obtained against the pro-
jects of Holkar.

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The determination which hitherto had guided the con-
duct of the Governor-General, that he would abstain from
the dispute in the Holkar family respecting the successor
of Tuckojee, still operated in his mind. And he autho-
rized the Commander-in-Chief to conclude an arrange-
ment with Jeswunt Rao, engaging, on the part of the
British government, to leave him in the unmolested ex-
ercise of his authority, provided he would engage to abstain
from all aggression upon the British or their allies.

The Commander-in-Chief addressed a letter to Holkar,
dated the 29th of January, 1804, in conformity with the
instructions which he had received; inviting him to send
vakeels to the British camp for the purpose of effecting
the amicable agreement which both parties professed to
have in view; but requiring him, as a proof of his friendly
intentions, to withdraw his army from its menacing posi-
tion, and abstain from exactions upon the British allies.
At the same time the British army advanced to Hindoun,
a position which at once commanded the principal roads
into the Company's territory, and afforded an easy move-
ment in any direction which the forces of Holkar might
be found to pursue. On the 27th of February, an answer
from that chieftain arrived. It repeated the assurance of
his desire to cultivate the friendship of the British govern-
ment, and expressed his intention to withdraw from his



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present position, and send a vakeel to the British camp. In the mean time, however, letters were intercepted, addressed by Holkar to subjects and allies of the British government, exciting them to revolt, and stating his design of sending troops to ravage the British territories. The Commander-in-Chief made an amicable reply to his letter ; but warned him, at the same time, against the practices in which he had begun to indulge. And on the 16th of March two vakeels from Holkar arrived in the British camp.

They were commissioned to demand ; 1. leave to collect the chout according to the custom of his ancestors ; 2. certain possessions formerly enjoyed by his family, namely, Etawah, twelve pergunnahs in the Doab, one in Bundelcund, and the country of Hurriana ; 3. the guarantee of the country which he then possessed ; 4. a treaty similar in terms to that which had been concluded with Sindiah. These demands were treated as altogether extravagant ; and the vakeels, after receiving a remonstrance on the continuance of their master in his present threatening position, departed from the camp, bearing to him another letter from the Commander-in-Chief. In this, Holkar was invited to send again a confidential agent, with powers to conclude an arrangement on terms in which the British government would be able to concur. In the mean time, he had addressed a letter to General Wellesley ; containing a demand of certain territories, which he said belonged to his family in the Deccan ; and intimating that, notwithstanding the greatness of the British power, a war with him would not be without its evils ; for "although unable to oppose their artillery in the field, countries of many coss should be overrun, and plundered, and burnt ; that they should not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and that calamities would fall on lacs of human beings in continued war by the attacks of his army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea." An answer, however, to the letter of the Commander-in-Chief was received in the British camp on the 4th of April ; still evading either acceptance or rejection of the simple proposition of the British Commander, and urging his pretensions to something like the terms he himself had proposed. That letter drew another from the Commander-in-Chief, ap-



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plauding the forbearance of the British government, and assuring Holkar that he would best consult his own interest by complying with its demands.¹

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Holkar, though fully aware of the hatred towards him in the bosom of Sindiah, was not deterred from the endeavour of opening a negotiation, or at any rate of giving himself the benefit of an apparent intrigue, with that chieftain. A vakeel of his arrived in the camp of Sindiah, on the 5th of February, 1804. The account, which Sindiah and his ministers thought proper to render of this event to the British Resident in his camp, was liable to suspicion, on the one hand from the extreme duplicity of Mahratta councils, on the other from the extraordinary desire which appeared on the part of Sindiah to produce a war between that rival and the British government. They said, that the vakeel had endeavoured to prevail upon Sindiah to accommodate his dispute with Holkar, and form a union for the reduction of the British power, the continual augmentation of which could be attended with nothing less than final destruction of the Mahratta state; but that the answer of Sindiah was a positive refusal, on the professed grounds, of the treachery with which Holkar had violated his pledge to the late confederacy, the impossibility of confiding in any engagement into which he might enter, and the resolution of Sindiah to adhere to his connexion with the British state. Notwithstanding this supposed reply, a vakeel from Sindiah proceeded to the camp of Holkar, on the alleged motive that, unable as he was to resist the arms of that chieftain, it was desirable both to effect an accommodation with him, and to sound his inclinations. According to the representation made to the British Resident, the vakeel was authorized to propose a continuance of the relations of amity and peace, but to threaten hostilities if depredations were committed on any part of the territory either of Sindiah or his dependants.²

¹ Letter from the Governor-General in council to the Secret Committee; dated 15th June, 1804. Papers, ut supra, printed in 1806. Notes 23, p. 263. Notes, ut supra, No. 25, p. 205.—M. Wellesley Despatches, iv. 48.—W.

² Letter from Major Malcolm; Papers, ut supra, No. 23, p. 298; Governor-General's Despatch, *ibid.* p. 270.—M.

This intercourse is thus explained by Grant. Holkar had always intended to engage in hostilities with the British, but had kept aloof in uncertainty of

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Sindiah's vakeel arrived in Holkar's camp on the 3rd of March. Previous to this time, Holkar had moved, with the main body of his troops, into Ajmere, a country belonging to Sindiah. His pretence was devotion; but he levied contributions on the people, and made an attempt, though unsuccessful, to obtain possession of the fort. Notwithstanding a declaration to the British Commander-in-Chief, that he intended to proceed homewards from Ajmere, a portion of his army still remained on the frontier of the Raja of Jypore, and no longer abstained from depredations on his country. The ministers of Sindiah made report to the British Resident, respecting the vakeel who had been sent to the camp of Holkar, that he had been received with distinguished ceremony and respect; that he was invited to a private conference; that Holkar, on this occasion, openly confessed his design of making a predatory war upon the British possessions; that, when the vakeel expostulated with him on his proceedings in Ajmere, he apologized, by stating his intention to leave his family with the Raja of Jodepore when he commenced his operations against the English; the refusal of that Raja to join with him, till he put him in possession of the province and fort of Ajmere: and thence his hope, that Sindiah would excuse an irregularity, which not inclination; but necessity, in the prosecution of a war involving the independence of them both, had induced him to commit. Of this report, so much alone was fit for belief, as had confirmation from other sources of evidence.

The only matters of fact, which seem to have been distinctly ascertained, were, first, certain trifling depredations at Jypore, less material than those at Aurungabad which had been formerly excused, on the score of a ne-

the result of the war, anticipating that Sindiah would immediately turn his arms against him if he triumphed over the British, or that if he was defeated, he, Holkar, might come to Sindiah's aid with additional credit and influence. As soon as hostilities had terminated, he sent a vakeel to Sindiah, recommending him to break the treaty and renew the war, but that chieftain was, or pretended to be so exasperated against Holkar, that he immediately communicated the fact to the British authority. Some of his ministers, especially his father-in-law, Sherzee Rao Ghatray had more confidence in Holkar, and advised Sindiah, notwithstanding the communication to the British Resident to despatch a Vakeel to Holkar's camp, for the purpose, as they gave out, of ascertaining his designs, but in reality to leave open the door of reconciliation, in case the project of Holkar, in whose wisdom and fortune all the Mah-rattas began to have great confidence, should prove worthy of regard. *Mahr. Hist.*, lii, 270.—W.



cessity created by troops whom he was unable to maintain; secondly, a disposition to haggle for better terms, in forming a treaty, than the British government were willing to grant; and thirdly, the existence and character of him and his army, to whom predatory warfare was a matter, it was supposed, both of choice and necessity, as the plunder of the Company's territory was the only source of subsistence. On these facts and suppositions, with a strong disposition to believe reports, and to magnify grounds of suspicion, the Governor-General, on the 16th of April, issued orders to the Commander-in-Chief, and Major-General Wellesley, to commence hostile operations against Holkar, both in the north and in the south.¹

In his despatch to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated 15th of June, 1804, the Governor-General says: "Jeswunt Rao Holkar being justly considered as an adventurer, and as the *usurper* of the rights of his brother Cashee Rao Holkar—consistently with

¹ Governor-General's Letter, No. 23, ut supra, p. 271: Notes, No. 25, ut supra, p. 208.—M.

Holkar's demands and menaces were something more than grounds for suspicion, but a new light has been thrown upon this subject by recent and authentic information. Regulating its proceedings by the rules of European policy, the Indian government imagined that a state of warfare was necessarily to be preceded by a specific declaration. Mahratta policy required no such formality, and must have thought the Governor-General's tardiness the result of either infirmity of purpose or conscious weakness. It is clear that Holkar considered himself to be at war with the English. In the biographical memoirs of Holkar's confederate, Ameer Khan, written from his own dictation, and of which a translation by Mr. Prinsep has been published in Calcutta, he intimates no sort of suspicion that peace subsisted between Holkar and the English from the commencement of hostilities against Sindiah, with whom he was in alliance, and therefore a party in the contest. Ameer Khan relates that as soon as Sindiah and the Raja of Berar heard that the Peshwa had come to terms with the English, they sent a confidential messenger to Holkar to say, that as Bajee Rao had called in the English, and brought their army into the field, and Hindoostan could no longer be deemed the safe possession of their nation, all private quarrels should be buried in oblivion, and every true Mahratta uniting in heart and hand, and in word and deed, ought to endeavour to drive the English out of the country: that they who were the chiefs of the nation should agree, therefore, mutually to assist one another at present, and to settle their private disputes and animosities as might be agreed upon afterwards. Holkar consulted Ameer Khan on the subject, by whose advice certain conditions were proposed to the allied chiefs, to which they acceded, and in consequence Ameer Khan, with a select body of Holkar's troops, was on his march to join the confederates when the news of the battle of Assye arrested his progress, and he returned to Holkar. This demonstration, of which there can be no doubt, as it is related by Ameer Khan himself, does not seem to have been known to the English authorities. Again, after the battle of Laswaree, whilst yet Holkar was looked upon as neutral, he wrote to Ameer Khan with many adjurations that he had made up his mind to enter the field against General Lake, and he therefore commanded the Ameer to join him as soon as possible. Memoirs of Mohammed Ameer Khan, translated from the Persian by H. T. Prinsep, Esq., Calcutta, 1832.



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the principles of justice, no arrangement could be proposed between the British government and Jeswunt Rao Holkar, involving the formal sanction of the British government to that chieftain's *usurpation*, and to the exclusion of Cashee Rao Holkar from *his hereditary dominions*.¹ Yet these very dominions, thus declared to belong to Cashee Rao, the Governor-General had already resolved, without a shadow of complaint against Cashee Rao, to take, and give away to other persons. In his instructions to the British Resident in the Camp of Sindiah, dated the 16th of April, 1804, he says; "His Excellency thinks it may be useful to you to be apprized, that it is not his intention, in the event of the reduction of Holkar's power, to take any share of the possessions of the Holkar family for the Company. Chandore, and its dependencies and vicinity, will probably be given to the Peshwa; and the other possessions of Holkar, situated to the south of the Godavery, to the Subahdar of the Decan: all the remainder of the possessions of Holkar will accrue to Sindiah, provided he shall exert himself in the reduction of Jeswunt Rao Holkar." In lieu of "his hereditary dominions," which it was not pretended that he had done anything to forfeit to the British government, "it will be necessary," says the Governor-General in a subsequent paragraph, "to make *some* provision for Cashee Rao, and for such of the legitimate branches of the family as may not be concerned in the violation of the public peace, or in the crimes of Jeswunt Rao Holkar."²

The motive which led the Governor-General to decline a portion of the territory of Holkar for the Company, immediately after having taken for it so great a portion from Sindiah; and to add so largely to the dominions of Sindiah, immediately after having so greatly reduced them, is somewhat mysterious, if viewed through the single medium of national good; but is sufficiently intelligible, if we either suppose, that he already condemned the policy of his former measures, and thought an opposite conduct very likely to pass without observation; or, that, still approving the former policy, he yet regarded escape from the imputation of making war from the love

¹ No. 23, p. 264.² Letters, *ut supra*, Ibid. p. 303, 304.—M. Despatches, 4, 99, 369.—W.



of conquest, as a greater good, in the present instance, than the territory declined.¹

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Sindiah, we are told, was highly delighted, as well he might be, with the announcement of the intention of the Governor-General, both to commence hostilities, upon Holkar, and to make such a division of the territory of the family. He promised to promote the war with his utmost exertions.

When Major-General Wellesley received instructions to begin hostilities, the Deccan was labouring under a scarcity approaching to famine. The principal possessions held for the benefit of Holkar in that quarter of India were—the fort and territory of Chandore, about 130 miles north of Poonah; the fort and territory of Dhoorb, about twenty miles west by north from Chandore, on the same range of hills; Galna, a hill-fort thirty-five miles north-north east of Chandore, and eighty-five miles from Aurungabad; some territory in Candeish; and a few districts intermixed with those of the Nizam. With the capture of the fortresses of Chandore and Galna, these territories would be wholly subdued. But to conduct the operations of an army, in a country totally destitute of forage and provisions, appeared to General Wellesley so hazardous, that he represented it as almost impossible for him to advance against Chandore till the commencement of the rains. In the mean time, he augmented the force in Guzerat by three battalions of native infantry, and instructed Colonel Murray, the commanding officer, to march towards the territories of Holkar in Malwa, and, either by meeting and engaging his army, or acting against his country, to accelerate, as much as possible, his destruction.²

During the negotiation with Holkar, the Commander-in-Chief had advanced slowly toward the territory of the Raja of Jypore. A detachment of considerable strength, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ball, had occupied a position near Canore, about ninety miles south-

¹ It was strictly a defensive war, not one engaged in for purposes of conquest, and the determination to divide the territory amongst the dependent chiefs was a demonstration of disinterestedness which could not fail to have a favourable effect on native opinion. In giving up the territory also, little else was done than restoring to each his own.—W.

² The documents relative to the correspondence and negotiations with Holkar, previous to the commencement of hostilities, were printed by an order of the House of Commons, under date, 11th of February, 1805.



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BOOK VI. west of Delhi, to guard in that direction the Company's
CHAP. XIII. frontier. To protect and encourage the Raja of Jypore,

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whose territory Holkar, now returned from Ajmere, began to ravage, occupying a position which even threatened his capital, General Lake sent forward a detachment of three battalions of native infantry, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Monson, on the 18th of April. This detachment arrived in the vicinity of Jypore on the 21st. On the morning of the 23rd, Holkar decamped from his position, and began his march to the southward with great precipitation. Some parties of Hindustanee horse, under European officers, which the General had detached for the purpose of observing the motions of Holkar, and harassing his march, followed him in his retreat. A halt of two days, on the part of Holkar, induced the British commander, suspecting a feint, to advance with the army; while Monson, with his detachment, was directed to precede the main body, as rapidly as possible. On the approach of the British forces, Holkar resumed his retreat, which he continued with great precipitation, till he arrived in the vicinity of Kotah. Here he had so far preceded the British troops, that he could halt without fear of an immediate attack. The Hindustanee horse, who had hung upon his rear, described his army as being in the greatest distress, the country remaining nearly desolate from its former ravages. A letter without date was received by the Commander-in-Chief, from Holkar, on the 8th of May, offering to send, according to his desire, a person duly authorized "to settle every thing amicably." The Commander-in-Chief replied, "When I wrote you, formerly, that vakeels might be sent to confirm a friendship, conditions were specified, which you have not any way fulfilled; but have acted directly contrary to them. This has forced the British government to concert, with its allies, the necessary measures for subverting a power, equally inimical to all. This has been resolved upon. You will perceive that I cannot now enter into any bonds of amity with you, without consulting the allies of the British government." The fort of Rampoora, which the British army were now approaching, was the grand protection of the northern possessions of Holkar. For the attack of this place, a detachment was



HOLKAR RETREATS TOWARDS THE SOUTH.

formed, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Don. BOOK VI.
Having encamped before the place, this officer adopted the CHAP. XIII.
plan of entering the fort by blowing open the gates. He
advanced to the assault, a little before day-break, on the
morning of the 16th of May; and as a well-concerted
plan was well executed, all resistance was speedily over-
come, and the place was taken with inconsiderable loss.

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The distance which Holkar had gained by his rapid flight, the improbability of forcing him to action, or of his returning to the upper provinces, presented to the mind of the Commander-in-Chief the inexpediency of retaining the advanced position, which he now occupied, with the main body of his army. Only the British troops in Guzerat, in concert with those of Sindiah, appeared capable, during the present season, of acting with advantage upon the territories of Holkar. He accordingly withdrew the army into cantonments within the British dominions, leaving Colonel Monson with injunctions to make such a disposition of his force as would preclude, in that direction, any sort of danger from Holkar's return.¹

On the 21st of May, a body of predatory horse, estimated at five thousand, made an incursion into the province of Bundelcund, where seven companies of sepoys, a troop of native cavalry, and the park of artillery, detached, under the command of Captain Smith, from the main body of the troops in that province, were employed in the reduction of a fort, about five miles distant from Kooch. On the morning of the 22nd, this body of horse succeeded in cutting off a part of the British detachment which was posted in the pettah of the fort, and compelled the whole to retreat, with the loss of two howitzers, two twelve-pounders, one six-pounder, and all the tumbrils belonging to the park. The same party made an attempt afterwards upon the town of Calpee, and aimed at crossing the Jumna, but were repulsed with loss; and having afterwards sustained a defeat near Kooch, evacuated the province. The refractory Bundela chiefs still afford considerable employment to the British army.²

¹ See the Despatch of the Governor-General, *ut supra*, in Papers, No. 23; and Notes, *ut supra*, No. 25.

² Calcutta Gazettes, Papers, *ut supra*, No. 25, p. 229.—M.

The party surprised at Mulaya, near Koonch, consisted of two companies of



BOOK VI. After the departure of General Lake, Monson, now
CHAP. XIII. Brigadier-General, continued to make some movements in

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advance, and on the first of July, in the height of the rains, was encamped at Soonara; within twenty coss of the camp of Holkar, containing the whole of his cavalry, brigades, and guns. On the evening of that day, a party marched from the British detachment, towards the fort of Hinglais-Ghur, and halted within a mile of the fort, at half-past ten on the following morning. The troops, having rested three hours, arrived at the destined points of attack, at half an hour after two. As soon as they were discovered, a heavy cannonade began from the fort; but it was completely silenced, by the great expertness of the British artillery, in the space of an hour; when the men escalated the walls, and took possession, without difficulty. It was a fortress of great natural strength, and the gallantry and skill with which it was attacked, form one of the brilliant incidents of the war. The Commander-in-Chief set a high value on this acquisition; which, he thought, would secure the supplies of Monson, if he advanced to the support of the army from Guzerat, and afford protection to the people of the surrounding districts, who appeared to be well inclined to the British cause.¹

On the 7th of July, Monson received intelligence, that Holkar, who, since his retreat before the Commander-in-Chief, had occupied a position in Malwa, having the Chumbul river between himself and the British detachment, had crossed that river with the whole of his army and guns. The force under Monson consisted of five battalions of sepoy, with artillery in proportion; and two bodies of irregular horse, about three thousand strong, the one British, under Lieutenant Lucan, the other a detach-

Sepoys, and one of European artillery, with four European officers. It was entirely cut to pieces by the enemy. According to Ameer Khan's account of this and the ensuing operations which were executed by his troops, Kalpee was plundered, after the defeat of a small detachment, and capture of the officer commanding it, who, however, was liberated without ransom. On his retreat from the Junna, in consequence of not finding a ford, the Ameer fell in with another party under Captain Jones, was successfully resisted, and obliged to retreat, and his whole party was successfully broken, and dispersed in an affair with Colonel Shepherd, near Koonch, on the 24th June, 1804. *Memoirs of Ameer Khan*, 207. *Thorn, War in India*, 344. *Wellesley Despatches*, 4, 72.—W.

¹ Despatches from the Commander-in-Chief, and General Monson; *Papers ut supra*, No. 25, p. 233.



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ment sent by Sindiah, commanded by a leader named Bappoojee Sindiah. Monson was now advanced about fifty miles beyond the Mokundra pass, where he had expected to procure supplies, and to communicate with Colonel Murray, who was advancing from Guzerat towards Ougein. He made his first movement towards the spot where Holkar crossed the river, in the hope of being able to attack him with advantage, before his troops recovered from the confusion which the passage of the river would be sure to produce. Afterwards, however, reflecting that he had only two days' grain in his camp, that part of his corps was detached to bring up grain, that one battalion of it was on the march to join him from Hinglais-Ghur, and that the enemy's cavalry was very numerous; expecting, also, to be joined by an escort, with treasure for the use of his detachment; and having received accounts from Colonel Murray of his intention to fall back on the Myhie river, he determined to retire to the Mokundra pass.¹ The whole of the baggage and stores was sent off to Soonarah, at four in the morning of the 8th. Monson remained on the ground of encampment till half-past nine, with his detachment formed in order of battle. No enemy having appeared, he now commenced his march; leaving the irregular cavalry, with orders to follow in half an hour, and afford the earliest information of the enemy's motions. The detachment had marched six coss, when intelligence was received that the irregular cavalry, thus remaining behind, had been attacked and defeated by Holkar's horse; and that Lieutenant Lucan, and several other officers, were prisoners.² The detachment continued its march, and, next day about noon, reached, unmolested, the Mokundra pass. On the morning of the 10th, a large body of the enemy's cavalry appeared, and continually increased in numbers till noon the following day; when Holkar summoned the detachment to surrender their arms. A refusal being returned, he divided his force into three bodies, and made a vigorous attack on the front and

¹ Monson's determination to retreat is affirmed by Ameer Khan to have been adopted by the treacherous advice of Bappoojee Sindiah, who was in secret understanding with Jeswant Rao. *Memoirs*, 215.—W.

² Lucan was deserted by most of the horse he commanded, was wounded and taken prisoner, and died at Kotah. Bappoojee, with his cavalry, fled upon Holkar's first appearance, and afterwards joined him. *Memoirs*, 215, Note.—W.

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flanks of the British corps. The position and steadiness of the troops enabled them to sustain reiterated onsets, persevered in till night, when Holkar drew off to a distance of two coss; and being joined by his infantry and guns, was expected to renew his attacks on the following morning. Monson, not regarding his position as tenable, and fearing lest the enemy should get in his rear, adopted the resolution of retiring to Kotah. Arrived at this place, on the morning of the 12th, after two marches, rendered excessive harassing by the rain, which fell in torrents, and the enemy who pursued them, the Raja refused to admit them, and professed his inability to furnish any supplies. As the troops were suffering by want of provisions, the decision of Monson was, to advance to the ghaut or ford of the Gaumus Nuddi, only seven miles off.¹ But the rain had fallen with great violence, since the 10th, and the soil was soft. The troops were unable, therefore, to reach the rivulet, till the morning of the 13th, when it was found impassable. They halted on the 14th, to procure a supply of grain from a neighbouring village; and attempted, on the 15th, to continue the march; but it was found impossible to proceed with the guns. In hopes of an abatement of the rain, they made another halt. It rained during the whole of the night of the 15th; and, next morning, the guns had sunk so deep in the mud, as not to be extricable. The camp was without provisions; and all the neighbouring villages were exhausted. The detachment was under an absolute necessity to proceed: Monson was therefore obliged to spike and leave the guns, sending injunctions to the Raja of Boondée to extricate, and remove them to a place of security. The country was so completely overflowed, that the troops could hardly march. The Chumbelee rivulet, which they reached on the 17th, was not fordable; on the 18th, the European artillerymen were crossed over on elephants, and sent on

¹ The Rana of Kotah, Zafim Sing, always denied his having refused the detachment food, and said he had offered it an asylum without the walls. He could scarcely, with a due regard to his own safety, have received them into his fortress, and as it was, he was compelled to pay Holkar a fine of ten lacs of rupees for his equivocal conduct. *Mahr. Hist.*, iii., 260. *Malcolm's Central India*, i., 499. *Memoir of Ameer Khan*, 217. Lord Lake also writes, Zaulim Sing, of Kotah, has acted uncommonly well, and proved himself a staunch friend to our government: he will, in all probability, suffer most severely from it, particularly if Colonel Monson should quit his country. *Despatches*, iv. 179.



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to Rampoorā; on the 19th, the rivulet continued to swell; BOOK VI.
corn, with great difficulty and some danger, was procured CHAP. XIII.
for two days; on the evening of the 21st, the camp of a
body of the enemy's horse was successfully beaten up; on
the 23rd and 24th, a few rafts having been procured, three
battalions of the detachment were moved across; the re-
mainder, about seven hundred men, were attacked by a
party of the enemy's horse, but able to repel them. On
the morning of the 25th, after the whole of the detach-
ment had been got over, not without loss, they moved in
different corps, assailed as they passed, by the hill-people
and banditti, towards Rampoorā, at which some of them
arrived on the 27th, others not till the 29th.

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At Rampoorā, Monson was joined by two battalions of
sepoys, a body of irregular horse, four six-pounders, two
howitzers, and a supply of grain, sent to his relief from
Agra, by the Commander-in-Chief, as soon as he received
intelligence of the disasters of the detachment. As the
country, however, was destitute of provisions, as Holkar
was advancing in considerable force, as Monson expected
to be joined at Khoosul-Ghur by six battalions and twenty-
one guns, under Sudasheo Bhao Bukshee, in the service of
Sindiah, and then to obtain provisions which would enable
him to keep the field, he resolved to continue his march
to that place, leaving a sufficient garrison for the protec-
tion of Rampoorā.

He reached the river Bannas about daybreak on the
22nd of August. It was not fordable. Three boats were
found, with which one of the battalions was transported,
for the purpose of conducting the treasure to Khoosul-
Ghur. The next morning the cavalry of the enemy pitched
their camp about four miles distant from the British
detachment. On the morning of the 24th, the river having
fallen, Monson began to transport his baggage. The
greater part of the baggage, and four battalions, had
crossed, and General Monson, with the remaining batta-
lion and the piquets of the rest was preparing to follow, as
soon as the remainder of the baggage and the people of
the camp had effected their passage, when the enemy, a
great number of whose cavalry had already passed to the
right and the left of the British position, brought up their
infantry and guns, and opened a heavy cannonade on the

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small body of the English that still remained on that side of the river. Monson led them directly to the charge, and they succeeded in taking some guns; but were soon overpowered by excess of numbers, and with great difficulty effected their retreat, covered by the fire of one of the battalions on the opposite side, which advanced to the bank of the river to protect them. The enemy prosecuted their advantage, and Monson was obliged to abandon his baggage, and fly to Khoosul-Ghur, which he reached on the night of the 25th of August. On the morning of the 26th, the enemy's cavalry encamped round him in separate bodies. At the same time a correspondence was detected between some of the native officers and the enemy; and though decisive measures to check the mischief were immediately adopted, two companies of infantry, and a large proportion of the irregular cavalry, made their escape.¹ On the same day Monson quitted the fort, having spiked the last remaining howitzer; and, with the men in an oblong square, began to proceed. During the night and the following day, the enemy's cavalry, supported by guns, attempted several times, but without success, to penetrate the detachment; who, on the night of the 27th, took possession of the ruined fort of Hindown, and next day, at noon, continued their retreat towards Agra. They had no sooner cleared the ravines near Hindown, than a desperate charge, in three separate bodies, was made upon them by the enemy's horse. The sepoy had sufficient discipline to reserve their fire till the enemy had almost come up to the bayonet. It was then given with effect; and the enemy immediately turned, and fled in all directions. Having reached the Biana pass, about sunset on the 28th, when the troops were almost exhausted with hunger and fatigue, Monson halted, with a view to pass the night at the entrance. But the enemy's guns approached, and began a galling fire. He was therefore obliged to prosecute his retreat. The night was dark, the camp-followers and baggage mixed with the line, the troops were thrown into confusion, order could no more be restored, and the different corps concluded their re-

¹ Sindiah's troops stationed at Khoosul-Ghur, and intended to co-operate with the British, endeavoured to plunder the town, and being opposed by the British detachment, were in open hostility.—W.



retreat in great disorder, the last of them reaching Agra on the 31st of August. The enemy followed in straggling parties, for purposes of plunder, as far as Futtypoor, but made no united attack after that on the night of the 25th.¹

During the retreat of his detachment, Colonel Murray, with the division of the British army from Guzerat, advanced into the heart of the Holkar dominions; and on the 24th of August took possession of the capital, Indore. The commander of the troops which had been left for its protection retired without opposition.²

¹ Printed papers, ut supra, No. 25, pp. 229—339. Despatches, iv. 199.

² Printed papers, ut supra, p. 240.—M.

It is observed of Colonel Monson by Lord Lake (Despatches iv. 245), that it is extraordinary, "that a man, brave as a lion, should have no judgment or reflection." There is perhaps, nothing very extraordinary in the combination of courage with lack of judgment, and it must be suspected there was want of judgment in this disastrous retreat. At the same time, it is clear that all the fault was not Monson's, that very much of it was Murray's, and that both had been placed in an awkward position, by those who planned their operations. Each was advanced to a great distance from effective support, with a force insufficient to encounter the enemy by whom they were separated, and whose strength was greatly and fatally miscalculated by the Commander-in-Chief (Letter to Lord Wellesley, July 1st, 1805. Despatches, v., 283). Lord Lake was informed, and he believed the information, that Holkar's resources were reduced to the lowest ebb, and that his army was almost annihilated. He estimated the force to be left with Colonel Monson by a proportionate scale and the estimate proved erroneous. According to Lord Lake, however, Monson advanced considerably beyond the point at which he had been directed to remain, the passes of Boondee and Lakery, in the mountains south of Rampoor, by which the entrance from Malwa into Bundelcund was secured. It was the Commander-in-Chief's intention that the detachment should have remained in this position until the termination of the rainy season, when either alone, or reinforced, as might have been necessary, it could have advanced into Malwa.

Colonel Monson, however, tempted by the prospect of some unimportant advantage, moved on first to Kotah, and then to the Mokundra pass, which he described, in reply to Lord Lake's disapprobation of his movement, as equally adapted to secure the object proposed, and thus, according to Lord Lake's statement, persuaded him against his own opinions to acquiesce in the advance so far. When here, however, Monson thought it would be an advantage to occupy Hinglaiz-Ghur, fifty miles beyond the pass, and accordingly extended his forward movement. After taking the fortress, he learned that Holkar was about to cross the Chumbul, and wrote to Lord Lake to say that he intended to attack the Mahrattas whilst engaged in the passage. In this he might have succeeded, but he changed his mind and fell back. In the Commander-in-Chief's opinion this was another mistake. As an equally favourable opportunity for an attack could not occur, the omission should have been repaired by an attack under the most favourable circumstances that could be obtained. The numbers of Monson's force were certainly inferior to those of the enemy, but he had on his side discipline, approved valour, and the choice of position. A bold effort was also necessary to extricate him from his situation, and to avoid the disgrace and misfortunes inseparable from a rapid retreat. The retreat was, however, continued to Mokundra with the declared intention of making a stand there, but here again Monson failed in resolution, and after a short halt, resumed his march. The losses suffered from this until his arrival at Rampoor, were owing rather to the climate than to the enemy. Colonel Monson reached Rampoor on the 27th July, and did not move again till the

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Upon the escape of Monson to Agra, Holkar advanced with the whole of his army to Muttra, situated on the right bank of the Jumna, about thirty miles from Agra; and took possession of the place. The Commander-in-Chief marched from Cawnpore on the 3rd, arrived at Agra on the 22nd of September, and proceeded immediately to Secundra, where he assembled the whole of the army under his personal command. On the 1st of October, he

22nd August. This delay Lord Lake observes, in his despatches to Lord Wellesley, was fatal. It was in some measure his own work. He says, "when I was informed that the detachment joined by the reinforcement was at Rampoor, I transmitted instructions to Colonel Monson to make a stand at that place if such measure appeared to him practicable." This is rather a questionable account of the transaction. The reinforcement did not join till the 14th of August. Lord Lake could not have heard of the junction in much less than a week afterwards, and his instructions to remain, if practicable, must have met Monson on the march towards Agra. Long before this, however, Lord Lake had sent to Monson orders to suspend his retreat. On the 28th of June, Monson writes to Colonel Don in the rear; "The Commander-in-Chief positively forbids me falling back, even further than Kotah, therefore, we must (the whole) remain at Rampoor until I hear further from him." *Memoir of Colonel Don. East India Military Calendar, ii, 548.* Lord Lake, therefore, seems to have been the cause of Colonel Monson's protracted stay at Rampoor, although it does not excuse his want of decision in hesitating at once to quit a place where it was impossible to make a stand, or his want of judgment in eventually leaving it if it was defensible. Every day's delay tended to render the country still more impassable at such a season; and, undoubtedly, as Monson did finally think it necessary to leave Rampoor, he should have quitted it with the least possible delay. Besides the other obvious advantages of such expedition, he would have shortened the distance between him and his reinforcements, they would have encountered him earlier, and in better organization, and the whole would probably have effected their return to the Company's territories in good order, and with little comparative dishonour or loss. A full investigation of the circumstances of the retreat was promised to the Court of Directors (*Despatches, iv., 343*), but it does not appear that any other explanation was attempted than that furnished after the close of the campaign by Lord Lake, and referred to above (*Despatches, v., 283*). It is clear from this account, that Monson was in insufficient strength, but it is also evident that he advanced with great imprudence, and with very imperfect information, and that when he judged it prudent to retreat, (and with his force, without any Europeans, and without regular cavalry, it would have been very hazardous to have done anything else), he displayed great want of singleness and steadiness of purpose, by which he lost invaluable time, and exposed his troops to destruction. The consequences were most disastrous. The actual loss, severe as it was, was the least of its evils. It impressed all India with the belief that Holkar was able to resist, and likely to overcome the power of the English; it gave fresh life to hostile hopes, and activity to dangerous intrigues; it encouraged Sindiah and the Bhonsla to pursue measures which, but for the prudent forbearance of the Governor-General, would again have brought their armies into the field, and it tempted the Raja of Bhurtpore to enter into a confederacy with Holkar, and was thus productive of all the disgrace and loss consequent upon the siege of that fortress. Had not Monson's detachment been exposed to destruction, Holkar must have been exterminated in the early part of the ensuing campaign, or in the end of 1804, and an immense saving of treasure and life would have been effected, whilst all the political advantages expected from the war, and which in impatience of its protracted continuance were thrown away by Lord Wellesley's successors, would, in all probability, have been secured.—W.



marched towards Muttra, from which, as he advanced, Holkar retired, and planned an important stratagem. Leaving his cavalry to engage the attention of the British Commander, which they effectually did, he secretly despatched his infantry and guns, for the execution of his destined exploit. On the night of the 6th, he encamped with his cavalry about four miles in front of the British position. Before daylight next morning General Lake moved out to surprise him. The General formed his army into three divisions; leaving the park, and an adequate force, for the protection of the camp; but Holkar was apprized of his approach, and retired too promptly to permit an attack. Early on the morning of the 8th, the infantry of that chieftain appeared before Delhi, and immediately opened a heavy cannonade. The garrison was small, consisting entirely of sepoys, and a small corps of irregular infantry; the place was extremely extensive; and the fortifications were in a ruinous state. Everything promised a successful enterprise.

From the first notice of the enemy's approach in that direction, the most judicious precautions had been taken, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonels Ochterlony and Burn, the first acting as resident in the city, the second commandant of the troops, to place the city in the best state of defence which circumstances would permit. During the 8th, the distance from which the enemy fired prevented much execution. On the 9th, however, having erected a battery, within breaching distance, they demolished a part of the wall, and would have quickly effected a breach; when a sally was planned to check their progress. Two hundred sepoys, and 150 of the irregular corps, under the command of Lieutenant Rose, performed the exploit with great gallantry; took possession of the enemy's battery; spiked their guns; and threw them into so much confusion, that they fired upon their own people, who, flying from the assailing party, were mistaken for British troops. The principal operations from this time were carried on under cover of extensive gardens and adjoining ruins on the southern face of the fort; and they soon made a breach in the curtain between two of the gates. Measures which were completed by the evening of the 12th, to preclude communication between the breach



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BOOK VI. and the town, prevented their profiting by that advantage.
CHAP. XIII. But, on the 13th, appearances indicated the intention of a

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very serious attack. At daybreak, on the 14th, the guns of the enemy opened in every direction. A large body of infantry advanced under cover of this cannonade, preceded by ladders, to the Lahore gate. They were received, however, with so much steadiness and gallantry, that they were driven back, leaving their ladders, with considerable confusion, and considerable loss. Inactive to a great degree, during the rest of the day, they made a show towards evening of drawing some guns to another of the gates; but took advantage of the night; and in the morning their rear guard of cavalry at a distance was all that could be seen. As the number of the men, by whom Delhi was defended, was too small to admit of regular reliefs, or to make it safe for them to undress, provisions and sweetmeats were served out to them daily at the expense of government, "which," according to the information of Colonel Ochterlony, "had the best effect upon their spirits." That officer concludes his report with the following merited eulogium: "The fatigue suffered by both officers and men could be exceeded by nothing but the cheerfulness and patience with which it was endured; and it cannot but reflect the greatest honour on the discipline, courage, and fortitude of British troops, in the eyes of all Hindustan, to observe, that, with a small force, they sustained a siege of nine days, repelled an assault, and defended a city ten miles in circumference, and which had ever, heretofore, been given up at the first appearance of an enemy at its gates."¹

¹ Printed papers, ut supra, p. 233, 243—248.—M.

The defence of Delhi only wants an Orme to form a worthy pendant to that of Arcot by Clive. A city of great extent, containing a mixed population, upon whose fidelity no reliance could be placed, and enclosed by walls which, never intended for military protection, were in a dilapidated condition, was besieged by a force of about 20,000 men, with above 100 pieces of cannon, and defended by scarcely more than 800 men, with eleven guns. The troops employed in the defence consisted of the 2nd battalion of the 14th, and four companies of the 17th native infantry, two weak battalions which had come over from Sindiah in the preceding war, and three battalions of Nejeeds or irregular infantry. These last had mutinied on the approach of the enemy, but the mutiny was immediately suppressed by vigorous measures, the ringleaders were secured, a native court-martial was held upon them, nine were severely flogged, and two blown away from the muzzles of the guns. Little confidence could therefore be placed in this corps; but they behaved well. A body of irregular horse deserted to the enemy. One battalion of native infantry, the 2nd of the 4th, was stationed in Solim Gurh, the fort and palace, as a guard to the family of the Mogul, some of the members of which had been detected in a



ARRANGEMENT WITH THE MOGUL.

About this period it was, that the Governor-General BOOK VI.
made his final arrangement respecting the maintenance CHAP. XIII.
and condition of Shah Aulum and his family. Over the
city of Delhi, and a small portion of surrounding territory,
a sort of nominal sovereignty was reserved to the Em-
peror. The whole was, indeed, to remain under charge of
the British Resident; but the revenues would be collected,
and justice administered, in the name of the Mogul. Be-
side the produce of this territory, of which the Emperor
would appoint a dewan, and other officers, to inspect the
collection, and ensure the application to his use, a sum of
90,000 rupees would be issued from the treasury of the
Resident at Delhi, for the expenses of himself and his
family. But "in extending," says the Governor-General,
"to the royal family the benefits of the British protection,
no obligation was imposed upon us, to consider the rights
and claims of his Majesty Shah Aulum as Emperor of
Hindustan; and the Governor-General has deemed it
equally unnecessary and inexpedient, to combine with the
intended provision for his Majesty and his household, the
consideration of any question connected with the future
exercise of the Imperial prerogative and authority."¹

Towards the end of June, the state of the country
at that time rendering military operations impracticable
in the Deccan, Major-General Wellesley was called to

correspondence with Holkar. So little did Lord Lake anticipate the possibi-
lity of Delhi being defended by such disproportionate forces, that he had in-
structed the Resident to withdraw all the regular troops into the fort for the
protection of the person of Shah Alem and that of the royal family, leaving for
the defence of the city such irregulars as might have been entertained. The
Resident, Lieut.-Col. Ochterlony, who had made such preparation as the time
permitted for the defence of the city, acting under these instructions, directed
the Commandant, Colonel Burn, to retire with his detachment into the city,
and take up the ground lately occupied by the 2nd battalion, 4th regiment, for
the night, (of the 7th November,) placing sentries at the gates; evidently in-
tending to withdraw the whole into the fort. Considering, however, that if
the city were left undefended, it would become the scene of indiscriminate
tumult and plunder, and that its abandonment without a struggle would be a
discredit to the British arms and a moral triumph for the enemy; trusting,
also, to be able finally, if compelled, to effect his retreat into the citadel,
Colonel Burn determined, with the means at his disposal, to defend, as long
as he could, the city from the enemy. This bold as well as prudent resolve
was entirely concurred in by his officers, and the Resident ably and zealously
co-operated in its execution. The result reflected the highest honour upon
the defenders, and restored the reputation of the British arms. Oral infor-
mation; *Thorn's War in India*; *Memoir of Major General William Burn*;
East India Military Calendar, ii. 497.—W.

¹ Printed papers, ut supra, No. 23, p. 149.—M. Despatches, iv. 237,
542, 553.—W.



BOOK VI. Calcutta, to assist in the deliberation on certain military and
CHAP. XIII. economical plans ; and surrendered the general powers,
1804. military and civil, with which he was invested. Before his

departure, a portion of the troops in the field were made to return to Fort St. George and Bombay ; leaving disposable, in the Deccan, two regiments of European infantry, four regiments of native cavalry, and thirteen battalions of sepoy. The principal part of this force, four regiments of native cavalry, two regiments of European infantry, six battalions of sepoy, with a battering train, and the common proportion of artillery and pioneers, were directed to assemble for active operations at Aurungabad, under the general command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace. Of the remaining seven battalions of sepoy, six were ordered to remain as a reserve ; four at Poonah, and two at Hyderabad : and one was required as a garrison at Ahmednugger.¹

Having completed his arrangements for action, Colonel Wallace marched from Foorkabad on the 29th of September ; and reached Chandore on the 8th of October. On the same day he detached a battalion with two 12-pounders, against a small fort, called Laussoolgaum, garrisoned by Holkar, and distant about twelve miles. The battalion met with a desperate resistance, and lost its commander. A reinforcement was sent during the night, and the place was stormed the following morning. Wallace took possession, without resistance, of the pettah of Chandore on the evening of the 8th ; and on the 10th he had carried his approaches within three or four hundred yards of the gate of the fort, when the Kelledar, or governor, sent overtures of capitulation. The terms, permitting the garrison to depart with their private effects, were agreed upon, on the night of the 11th, and at ten on the morning of the 12th, the British troops were placed in possession of the fort. It was a place of great strength, being inaccessible at every part but the gate-way ; and of considerable importance, as commanding one of the best passes in the range of hills where it stands. The fort of Dhoorb surrendered to a detachment on the 14th ; the forts of Anchella, Jeewunta, and some minor posts, on the same range of hills, were evacuated ; and Colonel

¹ Printed papers, ut supra, No. 25, p. 209.



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Wallace, leaving a garrison in Chandore, began his march to Galna on the 17th. He arrived on the 21st; took possession of the pettah on the following morning; on the 25th two practicable breaches were made in the walls; and the storming parties were on the point of advancing when the garrison offered to surrender. The reduction of Galna yielded possession of all the territories of Holkar in the Deccan. Of those in Malwa the conquest was already completed, by Colonel Murray's detachment.¹

The Commander-in-Chief, as soon as he had completed his supplies at Muttra, marched towards Delhi, where he arrived on the 17th of October, two days after the enemy's retreat. Lieutenant-Colonel Burn, who had been recalled from Sehaunpore to the defence of Delhi, crossed the Jumna, on his return to his former station, with one battalion of sepoys and some nujeebs, on the 26th of October. On the 29th, Holkar crossed with his cavalry, between Paniput and Delhi, and advanced upon this detachment, which he overtook at Saumlee, on the following day. Colonel Burn encamped with his small party in a square, which towards evening was completely surrounded. At four the next morning he began to move. The enemy having posted themselves on the road to Sehaunpore, expecting the detachment to proceed in that direction, enabled Colonel Burn to reach, without molestation, a small Gurrie, bordering on the city. Finding the minds of the men admirably disposed, he resolved to defend himself in the Gurrie till reinforcements should arrive, or even to fight his way back to Delhi. All attempts having failed for the collection of grain, and the troops having suffered great privations, he had come to the resolution, on the 1st of November, of fighting his way to Bhaugput, on the following night; but at this time he received intelligence of the march of the Commander-in-Chief, and was induced to wait for his approach.

On the 31st of October, that General, taking the reserve, his three regiments of dragoons, three regiments of native cavalry, and the mounted artillery, crossed the Jumna, to pursue the cavalry of Holkar. At the same time Major-General Frazer, with the main body of the infantry, two regiments of native cavalry, and the park of

¹ Printed papers, ut supra, p. 250, 251, 266, 267.



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BOOK VI. artillery, was directed to move upon the infantry and
CHAP. XIII. artillery of Holkar, which had reached the neighbourhood

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of Deeg, on the right bank of the Jumna. The object of this double movement was, to force both the cavalry and the infantry of Holkar to risk an action with the British troops, or to make him fly from Hindustan, under circumstances of so much ignominy and distress, as would have a disastrous effect upon the reputation of his cause.

General Lake arrived at Bhaugput on the 1st of November. On the second he performed a march of more than twenty-eight miles, and reached Kondellah. On the 3rd he arrived at Saumlee, from which the enemy had decamped early in the morning.

Major-General Frazer marched from Delhi on the 5th of November, and arrived at Goburdun on the 12th, a place within three coss of the fort of Deeg. His force consisted of two regiments of native cavalry, his Majesty's 76th regiment, the Company's European regiments, six battalions of sepoy, and the park of artillery, in all about six thousand men. The force of the enemy was understood to amount to twenty-four battalions of infantry, a large body of horse, and 160 pieces of ordnance; strongly encamped, with their right upon Deeg, and a large jeel of water covering the whole of their front.

As the hour was late, and the General had little information of the enemy's position, he delayed the attack till morning. Having made his arrangements for the security of the camp, he marched with the army in two brigades at three o'clock in the morning; making a circuit round the water to the left, to enable him to come upon the right flank of the enemy. A little after day-break, the army was formed, in two lines; and attacked, and carried a large village on the enemy's flank. It then descended the hill, and charged the enemy's advanced party, under a heavy discharge of round, grape, and chain, from their guns, which they abandoned as the British army came up. General Frazer, whose gallantry animated every man in the field, was wounded, and obliged to be carried from the battle, when the command devolved upon General Monson. The enemy retired to fresh batteries as the British advanced. The whole of the batteries were carried for upwards of two miles, till the enemy were driven close to



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the walls of the fort. One body of them, drawn up to the eastward of the lower end of the lake, still retained a position, whence they had annoyed the British with a very destructive fire. Seeing the British troops, under cover of a fire from several pieces of cannon, moving round to their left, they made a precipitate retreat into the lake, where many of them were lost.

The British took eighty-seven pieces of ordnance in this battle, and lost in killed and wounded about 350 men. The enemy's loss, which was great, could only be conjectured. The remains of the army took shelter in the fortress of Deeg.¹

After the flight of Holkar with his cavalry from Saumlee, on the morning of the 3rd, the Commander-in-Chief went after him with such expedition, as might allow him no time to ravage the country without risking an engagement with the British cavalry. On the 9th of November, that General arrived at Happer, which the enemy had left the preceding night, moving in the direction of Coorjah, with design, as was supposed, to re-cross the Jumna, in the neighbourhood of Muttra. General Lake arrived at Khass Gunge, on the 14th of November, when Holkar appeared to have taken the direct road to Futtý Ghur. On the 16th, Lake arrived at Alygunge distant about thirty-six miles from Futtý Ghur. He halted only to refresh his men and horses, and, marching with the cavalry early in the night, came up with the enemy before day-break. They were encamped close under the walls of Furruckabad, and taken by surprise. The execution done upon them was therefore prodigious, and their resistance inconsiderable. Several discharges of grape being given to them from the horse artillery, the cavalry advanced, and put them to the sword. Many of the horses were still at their piquets, when the British cavalry penetrated into their camp.² From the 31st of

¹ Despatches, iv. 233.—W.

Lord Lake expresses his opinion, on several occasions, that this was one of the severest actions during the war; it appears to have been the hardest fought battle on this side India." "I have every reason to believe that the action of the 13th instant was a very near business." Despatches iv. 241, 251. It was a contest less with men than with guns; the batteries of the enemy were crowded with guns and strongly posted. *Thorn's War in India*, plan, p. 408.—W.

² The surprise was complete; Holkar would not credit the possibility of the British making so rapid a movement, and went to sleep as if no danger was



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October, when they departed from Delhi, the British troops had daily marched a distance of twenty-three or twenty-four miles; during the day and night preceding the attack, they marched fifty-eight miles; and from the distance to which they pursued the enemy, must have passed over a space of more than seventy miles before they took up their ground.

After allowing the troops to halt for two days, the British General again marched in pursuit of Holkar, who fled to the Jumna in great distress, and re-crossed it near Mohabun on the 23rd, hastening to join the remainder of his army at Deeg. The Commander-in-Chief arrived at Muttra on the 28th; and joined the army at Deeg on the 1st of December. On his march he received the melancholy intelligence that the wound of General Frazer had proved mortal. The loss of that officer was felt as a national, and almost an individual, calamity, by every Briton in India.

Of the enemy's force, a considerable portion having thrown themselves into the town and fort of Deeg, and the remainder occupying a position under its walls, arrangements were taken for the reduction of the place. The battering train and necessary stores arrived from Agra, on the 10th; and ground was broken on the 13th. The possession of an eminence which commanded the town, and in some degree, the fortress itself, appeared of importance for the further operations of the siege. It was defended by a small fortification; the enemy had strongly intrenched themselves in its front; had erected batteries in the most commanding situations; and were favoured by the nature of the ground. The breach in the wall was practicable on the 23rd; and arrangements were made to storm it, together with the intrenchments and batteries,

near. Afterwards, in the course of the night, intelligence came by the dawn that the general was only four coss off, but the servants would not waken the Maharaja, taking on themselves to decide that the report was not true. At about midnight, (more correctly, at dawn,) General Lake came down upon upon Holkar's position; by some accident a tumbrel blew up just before the onset, and the report awakened the Maharaja to a sense of his danger, so that he was on horseback when the enemy came, with a few more prepared for action. But before the rest were mounted, the General was upon them, and the army was defeated with great slaughter. Memoir of Ameer Khan. Major Thorn estimates that Holkar, in the onslaught, and by dispersion, must have lost half his force; estimated, but no doubt with exaggeration, at 60,000 men. War in India, 393.—W.



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during the night. The force destined for the attack was divided into three columns, and moved off in such a manner as to reach the different points of attack a little before twelve at night. The right column, under Captain Kelly, was ordered to force the enemy's batteries and trenches, on the high ground to the left of the town. The left column, under Major Radcliffe, was destined to carry the batteries and trenches on the enemy's right. The centre column formed the storming party, and was led by Lieut.-Colonel Macrae. The whole service was performed with equal gallantry and success. "By means of the darkness of the night," says the Commander-in-Chief, "the enemy was taken by surprise, and prevented from availing themselves of the advantage they possessed, or of making a very formidable resistance." The loss of the British was not trifling, and that of the enemy very great. Overawed by this example of the audacity and success of the British troops, the enemy evacuated the town of Deeg on the following day; the fort, on the succeeding night; and fled in the direction of Bhurtpore, leaving nearly the whole of their cannon behind.¹

The fort of Deeg belonged to Runjeet Sing, the Raja of Bhurtpore. When the British, in the battle fought on the 13th, pursued the troops of Holkar under the walls of the fort, a destructive fire of cannon and musquetry was opened upon them by the garrison. The Raja of Bhurtpore was one of the first of the chiefs in that part of India, who, at the time when General Lake advanced against Sindiah beyond the Jumna, made overtures for a combination with the British state. As he was one of the most considerable of the minor sovereigns in that part of India, and possessed great influence among the Rajas of the Jaats, his accession to the British cause was treated as a fortunate event, and he was indulged with very advantageous terms. A treaty was concluded by him, by which the British government bound itself to protect his dominions; bound itself not to interfere in the smallest degree with the administration of his country; freed him

¹ Printed papers, ut supra, p. 224, 252—273; also General Lake's Letter to the Governor-General, dated Muntra, 1st July, 1805; Papers, ut supra, No. 13, p. 35.—M.

Despatches, iv. 241.—W.

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entirely from the heavy tribute which he annually paid to the Mahratta powers; and of the surrounding districts, conquered from Sindiah, annexed so much to the territories of the Raja, as equalled in extent and value one-third of his former dominions.

Notwithstanding these great advantages, and the Governor-General's system of defensive alliance, no sooner had Holkar assumed an attitude of defiance to the British Power, than Runjeet Sing manifested an inclination to join him. On the 1st of August, 1804, a secret agent of the Raja, with letters to Holkar, was apprehended at Muttra, and discovery made of a treacherous correspondence. The Raja, very soon after concluding his treaty with the British government, had exhorted Holkar to despise the British power, and offered to join him, on condition of receiving certain accessions of territory. During the same month in which this discovery was made, several complaints were addressed to him by the Commander-in-Chief, on account of the little assistance received from him in providing for the war. In the intercepted correspondence, offence appeared to have been taken by the Raja at the violent manner in which the British resident at Muttra had decided some disputes respecting the traffic in salt; and some alarm was conveyed to his mind by a report that the English government was to introduce the English courts of justice into his dominions.¹

Upon reference of all these circumstances to the Governor-General, though he regarded them as ample proof of traitorous designs, he was yet disposed, on the present occasion, when his defensive system was upon its trial, to exercise an uncommon degree of lenity and forbearance. He imputed the offences of the Raja and his son, to the corrupt intrigues of mischievous advisers; and said, that "the just principles of policy, as well as the characteristic lenity and mercy of the British government, required that a due indulgence should be manifested towards the imbecility, ignorance, and indo-

¹ Another cause seems to have been a religious feeling. The letters of the agent repeatedly allude to the Raja's horror at the cow-killing propensities of the infidel English. Despatches, Lieut.-General Lake to the Marquess Wellesley, iv. 183, 187.—W.



hence of the native chiefs, who have been drawn into these acts of treachery and hostility, by the depravity and artifices of their servants and adherents." ¹ And he instructed the Commander-in-Chief to warn the Raja of his danger; to assure him that no design of interfering with his government was entertained by the British rulers; and to require him to break off immediately all communication with the enemies of the British state. Towards the end of October, the Commander-in-Chief complained to the Governor-General, that the Raja had evaded his application for the troops, with which, according to the treaty, he was bound to assist the British government; while he had afforded to Holkar positive and material assistance.² In reply, the Governor-General left the question of peace or war to be decided by the opinion of expediency which the Commander-in-Chief, with his more intimate knowledge of the circumstances, might be induced to form; still, however, remarking, that "if considerations of security should not require the punishment of Bhurtpore, those of policy suggested the expediency of forbearance, notwithstanding the provocation which would render such punishment an act of retributive justice." The behaviour, however, of the garrison of Deeg, at the time of the battle fought under its walls, produced orders from the seat of government for the entire reduction of the Raja, and the annexation of all his forts and territories to the British dominions. As Bappoojee Sindiah, the officer who, at the beginning of the war with Holkar, commanded that detachment from the army of Sindiah which co-operated with General Monson at the commencement of his retreat, and was one of the chieftains included in the list of those who, under the operation of the late treaty, were to receive jaghires

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¹ Letter from the Governor-General to the Commander-in-Chief. Papers, No. 15, ut supra, p. 23. Compare the sentiments here expressed with those employed against the Nabobs of Arcot.—M.

Despatches, iv. 193, 353. The grounds of this opinion were furnished by Lord Lake, who from personal knowledge of the Raja and his son, considered them to be indolent and unenterprising characters, and unlikely to have embarked in any hazardous enterprise, except upon the instigation of some of the persons about them, who, from the desperate state of their fortunes, were ready to advocate the most violent measures. Despatches iv. 184.—W.

² The troops also which had been professedly assembled for the purpose of co-operating with the British army, were actually engaged on the side of the enemy at the battle of Deeg. Despatches iv. 357.—W.



BOOK VI. and pensions from the British government, had afterwards
CHAP. XIII. openly joined Holkar with the troops under his command ;

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and Suddasheo Bhao, another of Sindiah's officers, who had been sent to co-operate with Monson, had also joined the enemy, the Governor-General at the same time directed the Commander-in-Chief to proceed against them as rebels ; try them by a court-martial ; and carry the sentence into immediate execution.¹

The loss of Deeg was a tremendous blow to Holkar and the Raja. The surrounding country immediately submitted to the authority of the British government ; and General Lake, having taken the requisite steps for securing the fort, and administering the country, moved from Deeg on the 29th of December. The army of Guzerat, under the command of Colonel Murray, had been ordered to advance from the southward, in the direction of Kotah, to intercept, if made by that route, the flight of Holkar into Malwa. This officer had reached the neighbourhood of Kotah by the end of December ; and General Lake believed, if he could have made the Mahratta chieftain retreat in that direction, that he might have been effectually destroyed. But Holkar, though pursued from place to place, could not be driven from the Bhurtpore territories, so long as his infantry could find protection in the city of Bhurtpore, his cavalry, by its rapid movements, could elude all attacks, and supplies were derived from the resources of the Raja. The reduction of Bhurtpore presented itself, therefore, to the Commander-in-Chief as, of necessity, the first of his future operations.

After being joined at Muttra by the King's 75th regiment, which he had summoned from Cawnpore, he arrived before the capital of the Raja, on the 3rd of January, 1805. The town of Bhurtpore, eight miles in extent, was everywhere surrounded by a mud wall of great thickness and height, and a very wide and deep ditch filled with

¹ Papers, ut supra, No. 15, p. 7—37.—M.

Lord Wellesley's instructions to Lord Lake, were, to issue a proclamation ordering Bapoojee Sindiah and his followers to proceed to his camp by a certain day, under penalty of being considered and treated as rebels and traitors. If they did not join the camp, and afterwards became prisoners to the British army, then they were to be tried by a court-martial, and the General was authorized to carry into immediate execution the punishment which might be awarded them for their treachery and rebellion. Despatches, iv. 263.—W.



EMPTS TO STORM BHURTPORE DEFEATED.

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water. The fort was situated at the eastern extremity of the town; and the walls were flanked with bastions, at short distances, mounted with a numerous artillery. The whole force of Runjeet Sing, and as many of the surrounding inhabitants as were deemed conducive to its defence, were thrown into the place; while the broken battalions of Holkar had intrenched themselves under its walls. The British army, after driving the battalions from this position, with great slaughter, and the loss of all the artillery which they had been enabled to carry from Deeg, took up a position south-west of the town. The batteries were opened on the 7th of January. On the 9th, a breach was reported practicable; and the General resolved to assault in the evening, as the enemy had hitherto stockaded, at night, the damage sustained by the wall in the course of the day. When the storming party arrived at the ditch, they found the water exceedingly deep. Over this difficulty they prevailed; and gained the foot of the breach. Here they made several gallant and persevering exertions; but all ineffectual: they were repulsed with a heavy loss, including Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, the officer who bravely commanded in the assault.

The operations of the besiegers were immediately renewed, and a second breach was prepared on the 21st. It was deemed advisable to give the assault by daylight. The storming party moved out of the trenches, where they had been lodged for the purpose, a little before three o'clock in the afternoon. They were unable to pass the ditch; and, being exposed for a considerable time to a fire which did great execution, were obliged to retire.

The want of military stores and provisions delayed the commencement of renewed operations, till the beginning of February, when the batteries were opened upon the wall, at some distance from the part which was formerly breached. On the 20th of the same month, the breach being as complete as it was supposed to be capable of being made, one column, composed of 200 Europeans, and a battalion of sepoy, was ordered to attack the enemy's trenches and guns outside the town; a second column, composed of 300 Europeans, and two battalions of sepoy, to attack one of the gates; while a third, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Don, and formed of the greatest part of the



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European force belonging to the Bengal army, and three battalions of sepoys, was to ascend the breach. The signal to be observed by the storming party was, the commencement of the attack by the first column on the enemy's trenches, a little before four o'clock in the afternoon. This column was successful, and got immediate possession of the enemy's guns. The second column was delayed by a party of the enemy's horse; and was exposed, by a mistake, it is said, of their guide, to a destructive fire from the town, which destroyed their ladders, and rendered ineffectual the attempt on the gate. The storming party was also delayed, according to the statement of the Commander-in-Chief, by circumstances, which he does not mention; and found the ditch so deep, that it was impossible to arrive at the breach. The troops, having attempted to ascend by the bastion, were repulsed with great slaughter, though the colours of one of the native regiments were planted within a short distance of the top.

As the Commander-in-Chief ascribed the failure to accidental obstructions and delays; as the storming party had nearly gained the summit of the bastion; and as he was informed, he says, that a few hours more battering would make the ascent there perfectly easy, he determined to make another attempt on the following day. The whole European part of the Bengal army, and the greater part of two King's regiments, with upwards of four battalions of native infantry, moved on to the attack, under Brigadier-General Monson, about three o'clock in the afternoon "Discharges of grape, logs of wood, and pots filled with combustible materials, immediately," says the report of the Commander-in-Chief, "knocked down those who were ascending; and the whole party, after being engaged in an obstinate contest for two hours, and suffering very severe loss, were obliged to relinquish the attempt, and retire to our trenches." The steepness of the ascent, and the inability of the assailants to mount, except by small parties at a time, were, it was said, the enemy's advantages.¹

The guns of the British army had, in consequence of incessant firing, become, for the most part, unserviceable; the whole of the artillery stores were expended; provi-

¹ No. 15, *ut supra*, p. 37, 38. No. 25, *ut supra*, p. 272—285.—M.
Despatches iv. 264, 292.—W.



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sions were exhausted; and the sick and wounded were numerous. It was therefore necessary to intermit the siege of Bhurtpore. One of the most remarkable, perhaps, of all the events in the history of the British nation in India, is the difficulty, found by this victorious army, of subduing the capital of a petty Raja of Hindustan. The circumstances have not been sufficiently disclosed; for, on the subject of these unsuccessful attacks, the reports of the Commander-in-Chief are laconic. As general causes, he chiefly alleges the extent of the place, the number of its defenders, the strength of its works, and, lastly, the incapacity of his engineers; as if a Commander-in-Chief were fit for his office who is not himself an engineer.¹

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¹ Although it may be reasonably expected, that a Commander-in-Chief should be able to appreciate the abilities of his engineers, and the probable adequacy of the means at their command to overcome the resistance opposed to him, it can scarcely be held to be incumbent on him to be an engineer himself. Lord Lake was certainly no engineer; neither his education, nor his experience, nor his temperament, qualified him for directing the operations of a siege. It is said that he proposed to attack Bhurtpore, as he had done Ali-gur, by blowing open the gates,—in which there is great likelihood that he would have succeeded;—he was advised to the contrary, and it was determined to attempt to breach with a very ineffective battering train, with a great deficiency of officers instructed or experienced in the art of engineering, and with a great abundance of ignorance as to the strength and circumstances of the fortress. The fullest account of the siege is given by Major Thorn; many interesting particulars are also supplied by a treatise on the Attack of Mud Forts, by Colonel Galloway, and by a series of anonymous articles, entitled *Military Autobiography*, which are understood to be the composition of a distinguished Bengal officer, in the *East Indian United Service Journal*, published in Calcutta, in 1833, and 1834. From these sources, and from the oral information of officers present at the siege, some addition may be made to the meagre account which the text has derived from the official despatches.

Operations commenced with the construction of a breaching battery, not of the most formidable description; it consisted of six eighteen-pounders, and on the right of it was a small mortar-battery of four pieces; the distance was above 700 yards. The wall of the fort extended right and left as far as the eye could reach, and was thickly studded with projecting bastions, well furnished with artillery. The spot chosen for forming a breach lay close to the right flank of one of these bastions, which enabled the defenders to enfilade the approach, a circumstance that occasioned much of the loss suffered in the attempt to storm. In the first assault some delay and confusion took place from the accidental divergence, in the dark, of the column of attack; and in Major Thorn's opinion this delay was a chief cause of the failure. This, however, may be doubted, as it may be otherwise sufficiently accounted for. When the column arrived near the wall, its progress was arrested by a deep ditch, the existence of which had not been suspected.

The distance at which the battery had been raised, and the absence of approaches, prevented the assailants from discovering what was going on along the foot of the walls, and permitted the garrison to employ working parties to widen and deepen what was a dry and neglected ditch, and to fill it for the requisite distance opposite to the breach with water, from a water-course which communicated with an extensive swamp at some short distance from the fort. Such was the impediment which arrested the column, as they were wholly unprepared for it; a few men continued to cross the ditch above the breach, and make their way to the latter by a narrow path at the foot of the wall, just broad enough to admit one man at a time. In this way, a few men of the flank



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companies of His Majesty's 22nd mounted the breach, but support could not be given with sufficient celerity to enable them to maintain it, and they were compelled to retire. The fort kept up a hot fire during the whole of the assault. Many men were killed on the retreat also, as the country was in possession of Holkar's cavalry, who perpetually hovered on the flanks of the columns, cutting off all stragglers.

Whatever chance of success the first attack of this description might have offered, from the courage of the troops and the intimidation of the enemy, was immeasurably diminished for a second effort, as the troops had lost, and the enemy gained, confidence. A somewhat stronger battery was formed, and a breach on the other side of the same bastion was effected. In order to gain some information as to the ditch, a stratagem of palpable absurdity was devised: three native troopers in the character of deserters rode from the camp towards the walls, they were fired at with blank cartridges, and the people on the walls, being thus far deceived, allowed them to approach the edge of the ditch, pointing out to them the direction of the gates. The situation of the troopers did not allow of very deliberate observation, as they rode off again as speedily as they could, being now fired at by the garrison. They returned in safety, and reported that the ditch was inconsiderable; their report was trusted to, but when the troops made their way, under a heavy and destructive fire, to the edge of the ditch, they found a sheet of water of considerable width, much broader than the ladders they had brought to cross it with, and much beyond the depth of the tallest grenadier. Some time was vainly spent in attempting to get across under a well-sustained and well-directed fire from the walls, and after much loss the column was recalled. Nothing more strongly shows the utter ignorance of the besiegers of the localities of the neighbourhood, than the injury they sustained from an impediment entirely within their own power. Had they known whence the ditch was fed, it would have been easy for them to have cut off the supply of water, and in all probability the first assault would have given them Bhurtpore.

These two failures having enforced the necessity of more regular proceedings, approaches were begun in a different position, and carried to the edge of the ditch. Supplies of stores and artillery were brought from Agra and other depôts; and more powerful batteries, though still much too weak for the purpose, opened against a part of the wall where the curtain was of less width than usual, and was effectually covered by a bastion at either extremity. On the morning of the day appointed for the storm, the garrison, whose courage had been elevated to the highest pitch by the slow progress of the siege, and the impunity with which they had murdered the wounded, and mutilated the slain, left behind after each assault, made a desperate sally upon the head of the trenches, gained possession of them for a time, and were repulsed only after they had killed the officer of His Majesty's 75th, commanding the advance, and many of the men. They gained and retained possession also of a trench in advance of the lines, from which it was proposed to dislodge them, and follow them closely into the breach. The Europeans, however, of His Majesty's 75th and 76th, who were at the head of the column, refused to advance, and the few men of the flank companies of the 22nd who had obeyed the command, were necessarily recalled. The entreaties and exhortations of their officers failing to produce any effect, two regiments of Native Infantry, the 12th and 15th, were summoned to the front, and gallantly advanced to the storm. These circumstances explain the delay alluded to by Lord Lake. The men were tired and disheartened by the conflict in which they had been engaged during the forenoon, and had adopted a notion that in the advanced trench which had been occupied by the enemy a mine was laid, by which they would be blown up. In this state of exhaustion and panic it would have been judicious to have deferred the assault, as persisting in it paralyzed so large a portion of the assailing force. When the column reached the ditch, it was, as before, impassable; but some of the men inclining to the right contrived to turn it and to clamber up the rugged slope of the flanking bastion, and the colours of the 12th regiment of Native Infantry waved from the summit of the



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to join the Commander-in-Chief at Bhurtpore; where it arrived, on the 12th of February, and under Major-General Jones, who had succeeded Colonel Murray, bore a full share in the succeeding operations.

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During the detention of the army before the capital of Runjeet Sing, the cavalry under General Smith had been employed in expelling Ameer Khan, an adventurer of Afghan descent, who had found the means of collecting a predatory army, and made an incursion into the Company's territory.¹ Before the preparations were completed

slope. There was, however, still a perpendicular parapet of some height to be surmounted; and as this was resolutely defended by the garrison, all efforts to scale it were productive only of the destruction of the assailants. Two or three of the men did get in at the front embrasure of the wall, but they were instantly cut to pieces by the enemy. So apparent an approximation to success induced the Commander-in-Chief to direct a repetition of the attack upon the bastion which had been ascended, on the following day; and on this occasion the Europeans, who had been panic-struck on the day preceding, volunteered to lead the attack, and gallantly redeemed their character. Their valour only aggravated their loss. There was no breach, and the attempt to carry the fort by scrambling in disorder up a scabrous bastion, in which no firm footing could be found, and where the party was exposed to a murderous fire, and to an equally destructive shower of deadly missiles from a numerous garrison, strong in position, and exulting in spirit, was an inconsiderate and unjustifiable casting away of men's lives.

The writer in the East Indian United Service Journal, adverting to the blame imputed to the Engineers for the failure of the attack upon Bhurtpore, remarks, "who the Commanding Engineer was, I have met with no body who could exactly tell. I believe the office passed through the hands of several individuals during the siege, but no one of them was of sufficient character, either in respect of influence or experience, to take upon himself the responsibility attached to so important a situation." He adds, however, "even if an officer of the requisite ability and experience had been present, it is doubtful whether he would have been attended to, for so confident was the General in the resistless bravery of his troops, and so impatient withal, that he could hardly brook the delay that was necessary to enable his guns to make a breach in the ramparts. He had undertaken to besiege a large, populous, and strong place, with means that were totally inadequate for such an enterprise; and in a military point of view he was highly culpable." The writer proceeds to blame the government for not providing the means whilst it enjoined the enterprise; but admitting the neglect, this does not exonerate a General, left as Lord Lake was with large discretionary authority, from the culpability of attempting objects which his utter want of means rendered impossibilities.—W.

¹ Ameer Khan joined Holkar after the first storm of Bhurtpore, and co-operated with his cavalry in harassing the British camp and columns. He also took an active part in the different attempts made to cut off the English convoys coming to the siege. As these attempts were unsuccessful, the Raja of Bhurtpore ascribed their failure to want of proper concert between Ameer Khan and Holkar, and he therefore sent for them and said, "as both Sirdars could not act well together in the same field, it would be better that one should remain at Bhurtpore while the other headed an incursion into the enemy's territory, and carried the war thither." "Holkar recollecting," adds his friend and confederate, with some malice, "his misfortunes at Furruckabad and Deeg, chose to remain," and Ameer Khan, therefore, went upon this expedition. His direction was Rohilkund, of which country he was a native. He was followed on the day after his departure by General Smith, with three regiments of dragoons, three regiments of native cavalry, and a division of



BOOK VI. for resuming the siege of Bhurtpore, this force returned,
CHAP. XIII. and might, it appeared to the Commander-in-Chief, be now

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advantageously employed in dislodging Holkar from the neighbourhood of Bhurtpore; and, if possible, expelling him from that quarter of India. At two o'clock in the morning of the 29th of March, he left his camp, with the whole of the cavalry and the reserve, intending to surprise the enemy about daybreak. Colonel Don, with the reserve, moved directly upon their left, while the General himself made a circuit to their right, in the line in which it was expected they would fly from the attack on their left. They were so much, however, upon their guard, as to be secured by a timely flight from any considerable injury. In two days, it was heard, that they were again encamped within twenty miles of Bhurtpore. On the 1st of April, the Commander-in-Chief proceeded with the same force at midnight, for another chance of reaching them before they could take to flight. Though now passing the night in so much vigilance that they kept their horses saddled, they had not begun to march before the British force were within two hundred yards from them, and having horses superior both in speed and strength, were able to perform upon them considerable execution, before they had time to disperse. So little did the enemy think of defending themselves, that of the British, in either of those onsets, not a man was lost.

In addition to other causes, which tended to reduce the power of Holkar, the most respectable of the chiefs who belonged to his army, now came with their followers to

horse artillery. At Moradabad, which was an English station, Ameer Khan's party did some mischief, but they were detained before the house of the Judge, which had been prepared for resistance, and in which the English residents, with some of the militia, had taken refuge. They defended themselves there for two days, until the approach of General Smith effected their deliverance. The Mahratta force then moved towards the hills, destroying and plundering some insignificant villages: fearing that his retreat might be cut off, Ameer Khan then retraced his steps, but was intercepted, and brought to action near Atzuigerh, on the 2nd of March. Some vigorous charges were made by the enemy, but they were resolutely encountered, and driven with some loss from the field. After the plunder of some other towns in Rohilkund, and some fruitless operations against detachments and convoys of the English, Ameer Khan re-crossed the Ganges on the 13th of March, attended, according to his own account, by no more than 100 men. He contrived to collect some of his scattered forces, with whom he rejoined Holkar on the 20th of March. General Smith returned to camp on the 23rd, having effectually frustrated Ameer Khan's predatory designs. War in India, 430. Life of Ameer Khan, 250.—W.



the English camp. The Raja of Bhurtpore, also, discovering the fallacy of the hopes which he had built upon Holkar, and dreading the effects of a renewed attack, began, soon after the suspension of operations, to testify his desire for reconciliation. Though an example to counteract the impressions made upon the minds of the people of Hindustan, by the successful resistance of the Raja of Bhurtpore, might have appeared, at this time, exceedingly useful; yet some strong circumstances recommended a course rather of forbearance than of revenge. The season was very far advanced, and Bhurtpore might still make a tedious defence: the severity of the hot winds would destroy the health of the Europeans in the trenches, and affect even that of the natives; great inconvenience was sustained from the continuance of Holkar in that quarter of India, from which it would be difficult to expel him, with Bhurtpore for a place of refuge and support: And, above all, it was necessary to have the army in a state of readiness to act against Sindiah, who appeared on the point of renewing the war. The proposals of the Raja, therefore, met the British rulers in a very compliant temper; and the terms of a new treaty were settled on the 10th of April, when the preparations for the renewal of the siege were completed, and the army had actually taken up its position at the place. As compensation for the expense which the Raja, by his disobedience, had inflicted on the British government, he agreed to pay, by instalments, a sum of twenty lacs of Furruckabad rupees; and the additional territory, with which he had been aggrandized by the Company, was resumed. In other respects, he was allowed to remain in the same situation in which he had been placed by the preceding treaty. The fort of Deeg was not, indeed, to be restored till after experience, for some time had, of his fidelity and friendship; but if that were obtained, a part of the compensation-money would not be required.¹

The conclusion of a treaty with Sindiah, even his entering into the system of subsidiary defence, created no sense of tranquillity, no expectation of peace between him and the British government. Before the signature of the

¹ No. 15, ut supra, p. 40—45, 53.—M. See Treaty. Wellesley Despatches, iv. App., p. 636.—W.



BOOK VI. treaty of subsidiary alliance, a dispute had arisen about
CHAP. XIII. the fort of Gualior, and the territory of Gohud. The British

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government included these possessions in the construction of that article of the treaty which bound Sindiah to all the engagements formed by the British government during the war, with any of the chiefs who had previously paid to him tribute or obedience. Sindiah contended that they could not be included in that article by any just and reasonable construction; and also represented them as so important to himself, that he could by no means retain his state and condition without them.

The behaviour of Ambajee English, or Inglish, had produced even hostile operations between the time of signing the treaty of peace, and signing the treaty of defensive alliance. After having separated his interests from those of Sindiah, under whom he rented and governed the possessions in question, and after having formed engagements with the British government, on the terms which it held out, during the war, to every chief whom it found possessed of power; that versatile leader, as soon as he understood that peace was likely to be concluded with Sindiah, renounced his engagements with the English, and endeavoured to prevent them from obtaining possession of the fort and districts which he had agreed to give up. The Commander-in-Chief sent troops, and seized them.

The disputes on the subject of Gualior and Gohud began on the 17th of February, 1804; and were pressed, with infinite eagerness, by the ministers of Sindiah. They did not prevent the signature of the defensive treaty, because the Mahratta ministers declared, that, how much soever convinced of his right, and how deeply soever his interests would be affected by the alienation of that right, their master would not allow it to disturb the relations of peace so happily established; but would throw himself on the honour and generosity of the British chiefs. They argued and contended, that the article of the treaty which bound him to the engagements, formed with his dependants and tributaries by the British government, could only refer to such chiefs as the Rajas of Jodepoor and Jyepoor, or, at any rate, to Zemindars and Jaghiredars; that Gohud was the immediate property of the



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Maharaja; that it was absurd to talk of a Rana of Gohud; as no such person was known; as all the pretensions of that family were extinct, and the province had been in the immediate and absolute possession of Sindiah and his predecessor for thirty years; that no right could be justly founded on the revival of an antiquated claim, in favour of some forgotten individual of an ancient family; and that it was not for the interest of the British government, any more than of Sindiah, to call in question the foundations of actual possession, since a great part of all that belonged to both was held by neither a more ancient, nor a more valid title, than that which Sindiah possessed to the territory of Gohud. As for the fort of Gualior, it was not so much, they affirmed, as a part of Gohud; it was a fortress of the Mogul, granted to Sindiah, of which the Rana of Gohud, even when such a personage existed, could be regarded as no more than the Governor, nominated by Sindiah, and employed during his pleasure. The English affirmed, that as the operation of the treaty extended, by the very terms, to all the territories of Sindiah, excepting those "situated to the southward of the territories of the Rajas of Jyepoor, Jodepoor, and the Rana of Gohud," it was evident, that it was meant to apply to those of the Rana of Gohud; that if the possession in question had not passed to the English, by treaty with the parties to whom they were now consigned, they would have passed to them by conquest; as the army, after the battle of Laswaree, was actually moving towards Gohud and Gualior, when Ambajee Ingliah, against whom the heir of the family of the Rana of Gohud had been acting, in aid of the British government, with a considerable body of troops, concluded a treaty, by which they were surrendered.

It would appear, that General Wellesley believed there was weight in the arguments of Sindiah. In the answer which he returned to Major Malcolm, when that officer made communication to him of the conclusion of the treaty of defensive alliance, which he negotiated with Sindiah: "It appears," he remarked, "that Sindiah's ministers have given that prince reason to expect that he would retain Gualior; and, I think it possible, that, considering all the circumstances of the case, his Excellency



BOOK VI. the Governor-General may be induced to attend to Sindiah's wishes upon this occasion. At all events, your despatches contain fresh matter, upon which it would be desirable to receive his Excellency's orders, before you proceed to make any communication to Sindiah's Durbar, on the subject of Gualior."

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The Governor-General continued steadfastly to consider the arrangement which he had made respecting Gualior and Gohud, as necessary to complete his intended plan of defence, by a chain of allied princes and strong positions between the British and Mahratta frontiers. Sindiah, after a fruitless contest, was obliged to submit; and on the 21st of May, 1804, he received in public Durbar, the list of treaties to which he was required to conform.

The apparent termination of this dispute by no means introduced the sentiments of friendship between the two governments. In a letter dated the 18th of October, 1804, which was addressed, in the name of Sindiah, to the Governor-General, various complaints were urged, "tending," says the British ruler, "to implicate the justice and good faith of the British government, in its conduct towards that chieftain."¹

¹ As subsequently intimated (p. 437), this letter, although dated in October, did not reach the Governor-General until the middle of February. The delay is not sufficiently accounted for by its circuitous conveyance, as noticed in Lord Wellesley's reply to Sindiah. The letter could not have been dispatched at the date when it was written, and other probable causes may be assigned for its subsequent retardation. The whole of the discussions with Sindiah were an exemplification of the cat in the adage, "letting 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would.'" Sindiah's sympathies were with Holkar, but he wanted the resolution to declare them; and with the varying fortunes of that chief, his determination to join him or to keep aloof alternated. A strong party in his court, at the head of which was his father-in-law, Serjee Rao Ghatkay, listening only to their hatred of the English, believed, and endeavoured to make Sindiah believe, that Holkar must triumph if supported by Sindiah; that he might, even without such assistance, eventually succeed. Opposed to this party was another of the Maharaja's advisers, with the chief minister Bapoojee Wittul at their head, and their representations contributed to shake Sindiah's resolution. The persuasions and arguments of either, however, gained or lost efficacy with the course of events; and that under the fluctuation of feeling thus produced, the letter was composed, kept back, and dispatched, is probable from a consideration of what had occurred. At the end of August, Monson's detachment was driven out of Malwa and destroyed. In the course of September Holkar was in occupation of Muttra and threatened Agra, and nothing was anticipated amongst the Mahrattas but the total overthrow of the English. In this state of excitement the letter, which is little better than a defiance, was composed, and it may have been sent off to the Vakeel at Benares. In the course of October, however, Lord Lake with his army was in the field: the attempt upon Delhi was defeated, and affairs began to look doubtful. The Vakeel was then probably enjoined to delay the delivery of the letter by undertaking a long journey from Benares to Calcutta, performed no doubt deliberately, so that he might be easily overtaken, and his



First of all, the British government had used him ill in regard to money; for, whereas the losses to which he had

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ultimate instructions be regulated by intermediate events. Then came news of the pursuit and surprise of Furruckabad, and of the battle and siege of Deeg; and a further delay took place which would have probably ended in a total suppression of the despatch, if the repulse at Bhurtpore in the beginning of January had not turned the scale in favour of co-operation with Holkar, and the journey of the messenger was completed. This is in all likelihood the true explanation of the interval of four months that elapsed between the date and the delivery of Sindiah's letter.

As to the complaints preferred in that letter, those which had any decency in them had been repeatedly discussed with the Resident in Sindiah's court, or in his camp, and had been, as it was supposed, finally disposed of. On the 18th of May the Resident "took occasion to require a formal renunciation of Dowlut Rao Sindiah's claim to the fort and territory of Gwalior and Gohud; and the minister in reply authorized the Resident to assure the Governor-General that the claim had been completely relinquished by his master." The treaty was accordingly ratified to this effect by Sindiah himself, on the 24th of May. His again urging the claim after such full and formal renunciation of it, could only have proceeded from a belief that the British government might now be intimidated into an acquiescence in an act of injustice.

From this time forward the main point pressed upon the consideration of the Governor-General by Sindiah's ministers, was the grant of pecuniary assistance, without which, it was affirmed, Sindiah could take no part in the war against Holkar, as he could not move his army from Burhanpore. That he was laboring under financial difficulties was no doubt true, but it was not true to the extent asserted, for when it suited him to march, he moved towards the scene of hostilities without having received the demanded aid. Pecuniary assistance, however, was promised him, if he would satisfy the British government that he was not engaged in any hostile designs against them. The proofs insisted on were the dismissal from his court of Holkar's Vakeel, who at first openly, and afterwards secretly, resided with Sindiah, and was frequently admitted to private conferences with him and his ministers. The next condition was, the removal from his counsels of Serjee Rao Ghatkay, a man, as the Mahrattas universally acknowledged, of infamous character, and notoriously inimical to the English, and in communication with Holkar. He had been obliged to withdraw from the court by the odium he had incurred with his countrymen, and had resided at Poonah; but in August, when the British arms had suffered a reverse, made his appearance at Burhanpore, and speedily gained an ascendancy over the mind of his son-in-law. Bapoojee Wittul dying at the end of 1804, Serjee Rao became chief minister. The third and last condition insisted on by the Resident was Sindiah's march to his capital, Ougein, where he would be advantageously situated for the protection of Malwa, and less readily in communication with the enemies of the British state. These conditions were repeatedly assented to, receded from, evaded, refused, promised, with the most barefaced and disgraceful want of consistency, and with the evident purpose of adhering to no pledge, observing no faith, which it might be thought safe to violate. The British government would have been fully justified in punishing such insolence and perfidy, by the renewal of hostilities, the end of which must have been Sindiah's speedy destruction. Knowledge of his inability to resist usually came opportunely to Dowlut Rao's recollection, when matters seemed verging to extremity, and no submission was too base, no stratagem too villanous, of which the effect was to dissuade or prevent the British Resident from quitting the Mahratta camp, a measure which Sindiah dreaded as equivalent to a declaration of war.

Sindiah at last consented to leave Burhanpore on pretence of moving to his capital: here instead of taking the road to Ougein, he marched to the east, in the direction of Bundelkhand, where Ameer khan, with a body of horse, was carrying on military operations on Holkar's part. On the way, he committed an unprovoked aggression on the Nawab of Bhopal, an independent prince, an attack upon whom, without any communication with the English government, was a breach of the treaty of defensive alliance. Thence he proceeded to

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recently been exposed had deprived him of the pecuniary means necessary to bring his forces into the field, the

Saugur; and, asserting that he was entitled to the payment of a balance due on account of an assignment to him by the Peshwa, levied contributions on the country, and besieged the town. Saugur belonged to the Peshwa, the ally of the British government; hostile proceedings against the former were virtually so against the latter, and were every way incompatible with the relations in which all three powers stood towards each other. At Saugur, Sindiah was in communication with Ameer Khan at Bhilsa, and with Ambajee and other sirdars in Malwa, who were in arms against the English; and his language, and that of his ministers, became less equivocal. The communications made by the Resident of Lord Lake's successes, were unnoticed; whilst those of Holkar's, real or fabricated, were received with marks of public exultation. Nine battalions of infantry, with sixty-five guns, and a large body of Pindaries, joined the camp; and every thing bore so decidedly the appearance of hostility, that the Acting Resident, Mr. Jenkins—the Resident, Mr. Webbe, having died—determined to quit the camp, and applied for passports. He was desired to wait some days, when Ambajee Ingilla would arrive, and it would be settled whether Sindiah would march to Ugein, or the Resident should receive his dismissal; a declaration equivalent to an announcement of contemplated war, and calculated, therefore, to confirm the representative of the English government in his intention. When this was found to be the case, Sindiah was alarmed, and fresh pretences, and renewed promises of a more friendly complexion, prevailed upon the Resident to delay his threatened departure. The pretences proved, as usual frivolous or false; the promises were broken, the instant they had served the purpose of the moment; and additional proofs of Sindiah's intrigues with Holkar having been received, the Acting Resident would no longer be delayed, and left the camp, with his suite and baggage, on the 23rd of January, 1805.

At the end of his first march, messengers from Sindiah overtook him, and entreated him to return for an interview with the Maharaja, who was prepared to comply entirely with the wishes of the British Government. Mr. Jenkins accordingly returned, leaving his tents in a grove near the camp of Sindiah's regular brigades. He was detained at the Durbar until evening, when news arrived that his escort had been attacked by an overwhelming force of Pindaries, the officer commanding it, the surgeon attached to the Residency, and several of the Sepoys had been wounded, and the whole of the baggage carried off. A similar atrocity had been attempted on a previous occasion. On the night of the 29th December, the public baggage tent had been attacked, and the guard overpowered, but the plunder was only partial, and the violence of a more unauthorized character. In either case, all sanction was disavowed by Sindiah, and he professed extreme horror and indignation at the conduct of the plunderers, but no attempt was made to detect or punish them, nor was the property restored. The text ascribes the outrage to Serjee Rao alone, in hopes to embroil Sindiah beyond remedy with the British Government, but it is not likely that it was perpetrated without Sindiah's cognizance, and it had probably no deeper design than the prevention of the Resident's departure. The Governor-General, although he immediately demanded Sindiah's disavowal of any concern in his transaction, and reparation for the wrong inflicted, (Despatches iv. 296,) under a guarded menace of the revival of hostilities, was not willing to ascribe it to any other cause than the uncontrollable licentiousness of the Pindaries, and did not judge it prudent to take any further notice of the occurrence. The same precarious and unsafe sort of intercourse was in consequence maintained for a further period, until a change of councils in the administration of the British Government rewarded the perfidy of Dowlat Rao Sindiah with the possession of Gohud and Gwalior.

The despatch from which the preceding details are principally extracted contains also a report of the negotiations with the Berar Raja, which are not adverted to in the text, although they equally threatened to add to the enemies of the British Government. In the Month of August, news of Holkar's successes reached Berar with circumstances of great exaggeration, disseminating, as they had done elsewhere, erroneous impressions of the injury he had in-



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English had disregarded his earnest applications for the sums necessary to enable him to co-operate in the subjugation of Holkar; the consequence of which was, that when he sent two chiefs, Bappojee Sindiah, and Suddasheo Bhao, to join the army under General Lake, as that General would afford them no money, they were soon obliged to separate from him, in order to find a subsistence, and even to effect a temporary and feigned conjunction with the enemy, to avoid destruction, either by his arms, or by the want of subsistence.

Secondly, the British government had used him ill, in respect to Gualior and Gohud; which had long formed part of his immediate dominions, and were not included in the list, delivered to General Wellesley, of the places which he ceded by the treaty of peace.

Thirdly, his tributary, the Raja of Jodepore, was included in the list of princes protected by engagements with the English; while that Raja himself disclaimed all such engagements; had received into his protection the family of Holkar; and had written frequently to Sindiah,

sifted upon his opponents. Intrigue was immediately at work to prevail upon the Raja to take the opportunity of recovering some of the losses of the late war: the Resident was made acquainted with the existence of a correspondence in which plans were proposed to the Raja for seizing the province of Sumbhulpore, and for cooperating with the Raja of Khurda and other petty chiefs in Cuttack, who actually rose in insurrection. The replies of the Raja expressed his approbation of these projects, contained instructions for carrying them into effect, and enjoined secrecy and caution. It was also ascertained that he was in communication with Sindiah and with Holkar. In October, a vakeel from Ameer Khan arrived at Nagpore, and one who had been sent to Sindiah returned. The return of the latter was immediately followed by orders for the assemblage of the Raja's troops and his army under Saccaram Bakshee marched towards the frontier, whilst in other parts of his dominions levies of men and other military preparations were made with great activity. The representations of the resident against these measures were met by assurances of continued amity, and the military movements were accounted for as necessary to resist a threatened incursion of Ameer Khan, who had engaged to assist the Nawab of Bhopal in opposing the claims of the Raja of Berar upon Hoshungabad. Some acts of plunder, committed on the territories of Nagpore, by Ameer Khan's Pindarries, gave some colour to the assertions of the Raja; and the precautions taken in Sumbhulpore and Cuttack, with intelligence of the action of Furruckabad and Deeg, seem to have determined the court of Nagpore at least to wait for the further development of events, before they manifested their hostile sentiments. Some further anxiety and suspicion were created by the conduct of the Raja's brother, Venkajee Bhonsla, who collected a body of troops, and plundered some villages in the territory of the Nizam, but his conduct was earnestly disavowed by the Raja and his Jagir put under sequestration, reparation was made for the injury committed, and no further fear was entertained of the Raja's entering into any confederacy adverse to the British state. Letter of the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 24th March, 1805. Dispatches iv, 322.—W.

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Fourthly, the lands which were to be restored, as the private property of Sindiah, had not yet been given up; and the pensions, and other sums, which were agreed for, had not been regularly paid.

Fifthly, the British government had not afforded to his dominions that protection which, by treaty, they owed; for even when Colonel Murray was at Oujein, Holkar had besieged the fort of Mundesoor, and laid waste the surrounding country; while Meer Khan, the Afghan, who was a partisan of Holkar, had captured Bhilsa, and plundered the adjoining districts.¹

At the time of the date of this letter, Sindiah had moved from Boorhanpore, and reached the Nerbudda, which his army was already beginning to cross. In compliance with the urgent remonstrances of the British government, he professed the intention of repairing to the capital of his dominions, and undertaking the regulation of his affairs. In reality, he took the direction of Bhopaul; and, with or without his consent, two signal enormities took place. Some of his troops plundered Saugur, a city and district pertaining to the Peshwa; and a party of his irregular troops attacked and plundered the camp of the British Resident. At the time when this outrage was committed, the British force in Bundelcund had been summoned, by the Commander-in-Chief, to reinforce the main army at Bhurtpore, which had suffered a material reduction in the late unsuccessful attempts. The army from Bundelcund was on its march, and had arrived at Gualior, when, late in the evening, hircarrahs came in with intelligence of the violation of the British Residency,

¹ The replies of the Governor-General to these allegations were sufficiently convincing, but it is worth while to notice the first, more particularly, as an example of impudence not exceeded by any thing in the annals even of Mahratta diplomacy. It was matter of universal notoriety that these two chiefs had behaved with the most unequivocal treachery, and Sindiah must have known both the fact and the cause. "No Mahratta doubts," says Captain Grant, "that Bapoojee Sindiah and Sondasheo Bhao deserted to Holkar with Dowlat Rao's consent." Mahr. Hist., 3. The fifth allegation is scarcely inferior in shamelessness to the first, for Colonel Murray's inability to protect the country of Sindiah against Holkar, was mainly owing, not only to the utter want of that co-operation which the treaty entitled him to expect from Sindiah's troops, but to the opposition, little short of hostility, which he experienced from Sindiah's officers. Letter from Marquess Wellesley to Dowlat Rao Sindiah, 4th. of April. Despatches iv., 294.—W.



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in Sindiah's camp. The greatest alarm was excited. The route through Bundelcund into Allahabad, from Allahabad to Benares, and from Benares to Calcutta, was denuded of all its troops; and there was nothing to oppose the progress of Sindiah, through the heart of the British dominions, to Calcutta itself. It immediately suggested itself to the minds of the British officers, that Sindiah had resolved to avail himself of the fortunate moment, when the British troops were all withdrawn to the disastrous siege of Bhurtpore, to perform this brilliant exploit; and that the violation of the Residency was the first act of the war. Under this impression, it was resolved to march back the army of Bundelcund to Jansee, which lay on the road by which it was necessary for Sindiah to pass. Sindiah proceeded rather in a contrary direction, towards Malwa. The probability is, that Serjee Rao Gautka, his minister, and father-in-law, committed the outrage upon the British Residency, in hopes to embroil him beyond remedy with the British government, and thus to ensure the war to which he found it so difficult to draw the feeble and irresolute mind of his prince; while the promptitude with which the British force was again opposed to his march into the British dominions maintained, in his mind, the ascendancy of those fears which the minister found it so hard to subdue. A spirited prince might have made a very different use of his opportunity.

The letter which contained the complaints of Sindiah was conveyed in so tedious a mode, that four months elapsed before it was delivered at Calcutta; nor was the answer penned till the 14th of April, 1805. The Governor-General had satisfactory arguments with which to repel the several allegations of Sindiah: though he allowed that the Raja of Jodepore had refused to abide by the stipulation contracted with the British government; which, therefore, would not interfere between him and Sindiah. He then proceeded to give a list of offences, thirteen in number, with which Sindiah was chargeable toward the British state.

First, after remaining at Boorhanpore, till towards the end of the year 1804, Sindiah, instead of proceeding to his capital, in conformity with the pressing instances of the Resident, and his own repeated promises, for the



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purpose of co-operating with the British government, directed his march towards the territory of Bhopaul, where he was not only remote from the scene of utility, but positively injurious, by alarming and robbing one of the British allies.

Secondly, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the Resident, a vakeel of Holkar was allowed to remain in Sindiah's camp; and Sindiah's minister maintained with him a constant clandestine intercourse.

Thirdly, Sindiah's officers, at Oujein, instead of yielding any assistance to the operations of Colonel Murray, had obstructed them.

Fourthly, two of Sindiah's commanders had deserted from the British army, and had served with the enemy during almost the whole of the war.

Fifthly, Sindiah, notwithstanding his complaint of the want of resources, had augmented his army as the powers of the enemy declined, thereby exciting a suspicion of treacherous designs.

Sixthly, the heinous outrage had been committed of attacking and plundering the camp of the British Resident, without the adoption of a single step towards compensation, or atonement, or even the discovery and punishment of the offenders.

The remaining articles in the list were either of minor importance, or so nearly, in their import, coincident with some of the articles mentioned above, that it appears unnecessary to repeat them.

The Governor-General declared; "By all these acts, your Highness has manifestly violated, not only the obligations of the treaty of defensive alliance, but also of the treaty of peace." According to this declaration, it was the forbearance alone of the British government, which prevented the immediate renewal of war.

The next step which was taken by Sindiah, produced expectation that hostilities were near. On the 22nd of March, 1805, he announced, officially, to the British Resident, his resolution of marching to Bhurtpore, with the intention of interposing his mediation, for the restoration of peace, between the British government and its enemies. "To proceed," says the Governor-General, "at the head of an army to the seat of hostilities, for the purpose of



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interposing his unsolicited mediation, was an act not only inconsistent with the nature of his engagements, but insulting to the honour, and highly dangerous to the interests, of the British government." In the instructions, however, which the Governor-General issued upon this emergency, he was extremely anxious to avoid the extremity of war, unless in the case of actual aggression. But he deemed it necessary to make immediate arrangements for seizing the possessions of Sindiah, if that chieftain should proceed to extremities. Colonel Close was vested with the same powers which had formerly been confided to General Wellesley; and orders were issued to the officers commanding the subsidiary force at Poonah, and at Hyderabad, to occupy, with their troops, the positions most favorable for invading the southern dominions of Sindiah. The force in Guzerat, which had been weakened by the detachment sent to co-operate in the war against Holkar, was reinforced, with a view as well to defence, as to seize whatever belonged to Sindiah in Guzerat, and its vicinity. Upon some further disclosure of the hostile, or, at least, the unfriendly councils of Sindiah, the Commander-in-Chief was instructed to oppose the march to Bhurtpore, as what, "under all the circumstances of the case, constituted not only a declaration of war, but a violent act of hostility."¹

¹ The preposterous folly of Sindiah in thus uniting with Holkar when all prospect of success had vanished, is explained by the life of Ameer Khan: this determination must have been formed some time before he announced his intention of marching to Bhurtpore; and when he announced his intention he fully expected that the Raja was still at war with the English. The treaty with the Raja was not concluded until the 17th of April: and although negotiations had commenced on the 10th of March, this was a secret to both Holkar and Ameer Khan, and the Raja was at the same time carrying on negotiations with Sindiah, for at his request Ameer Khan was sent with Holkar's concurrence to Subbulghur, to expedite arrangements for bringing up Dowlut Rao Sindiah. This was as late as the 7th of April, by which date Sindiah had arrived at Subbulghur, on his way to Bhurtpore. After Ameer Khan's departure, and "when Serjee Rao Ghautka had arrived near to Bhurtpore, the Raja, finding it impossible to keep his secret longer, made it known to Jeevunt Rao Holkar, telling him that he had made his terms some time before with the English." Sindiah, therefore, had been led into the snare by the Raja of Bhurtpore, who had been treacherous to his late allies, and deserted the Mahrattas, when they could no longer wholly disavow their proceedings. It was fortunate that the Jaut found it his interest not to deceive the English, for had he upon the near approach of Sindiah broken off the negotiation and resumed hostilities, Lord Lake, with his army dispirited and weakened by the siege, would have been awkwardly situated, between the forces of Bhurtpore and those of Holkar and Ameer Khan on the one hand, and those of Dowlut Rao Sindiah and Ambajee Inglia on the other. That it was Dowlut Rao's intention to fall upon the rear of the English army, had he found, as he



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The Governor-General, in the event of a war, now resolved to reduce the power of Sindiah to what he calls "the lowest scale." He observes, that the principle of compensation, which had regulated the terms of the former treaty, "had proved inadequate to the purposes of British security, and that the restraints imposed by the provisions of the treaty of peace upon Dowlut Rao Sindiah's means of mischief were insufficient—that another principle of pacification must therefore be assumed; that Sindiah must not be permitted to retain the rights and privileges of an independent state; nor any privileges to an extent that might at a future time enable him to injure the British or their allies; and that the British government must secure the arrangement by establishing a direct control over the acts of his government—experience having sufficiently manifested, that it was in vain to place any reliance on the faith, justice, sincerity, gratitude, or honour of that chieftain"—he might have added, or any chieftain of his nation or country.

No declaration can be more positive and strong of the total inefficacy of the system of defensive alliance. As there is here a declaration of what was *not* sufficient for British security, namely, the system of defensive alliance, so there is a declaration of what alone *is* sufficient, namely, the total prostration and absolute dependence of every surrounding power. This, however, we have more than once had occasion to observe, is conquest—conquest in one of the worst of its shapes: worst, both with respect to the people of India, as adding enormously to the villanies of their own species of government, instead of imparting to them the blessings of a better one; and the people of England, as loading them with all the cost of governing and defending the country, without giving them all the revenues.¹

expected, hostilities still in progress at Bhurtpore, cannot be reasonably doubted, notwithstanding his amicable professions. Ameer Khan declares, in speaking of the subsequent separation of the Mahratta chiefs, that "Sindiah broke off from the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance against the English," which is a confession that such an alliance had been formed. *Life*, 273.

¹ No argument against Lord Wellesley's system of defensive alliance can be drawn from the transactions with Sindiah, for no such alliance with him, on the principle of military control, had been formed. The treaty with him contemplated him as an entirely independent prince, and left him full power over both his civil and military administration; his incapability of exercising this power, except to his own hurt and the injury of his neighbours, was an argument in favour of that sort of control which Lord Wellesley sought to establish,



Sindhia continued his march to the northward, and on the 29th of March had advanced with all his cavalry and Pindarees to Subbulghur, on the river Chumbul, leaving his battalions and guns in the rear. His force at this time was understood by the British government to consist of eight or nine thousand cavalry, 20,000 Pindarees, and nominally eighteen battalions of infantry with 140 guns, all in a very defective state of discipline and equipment. On the 31st of March he had advanced about eighteen miles in a north-easterly direction from Subbulghur. Here he was joined by Ambajee; and the British Resident in his camp, understanding that it was his intention to cross the Chumbul with his cavalry and Pindarees, leaving the bazars and heavy baggage of the army under the protection of Ambajee, requested an audience. His object was to represent to Sindhia the impropriety of crossing the Chumbul, and the propriety of waiting for Colonel Close, who was expected soon to arrive on an important mission from the capital of the Raja of Berar. The propositions of the British agent were received with the most amicable professions on the part of Sindhia and his ministers; who represented, that the embarrassment of his finances was so great as to prevent him from returning to effect the settlement of his country; that his march towards Bhurtpore was intended solely to accelerate the arrival of peace; but that, if the British government would make any arrangement for the relief of his urgent necessities, he would regulate his proceedings agreeably

and which had been successfully established in the case of the Peshwa. There is no doubt that the Peshwa was in secret communication with Sindhia and Holkar, throughout the whole of these transactions: and had it not been for the check imposed upon him by the subsidiary force, he would probably have been as troublesome as his neighbours. As far, therefore, as the great object of Lord Wellesley's system, the preservation of peace in India, was concerned, these occurrences proved that it was not to be affected by any interchange of obligations on the reciprocal footing of equal independence. This had never been doubted, and the efficacy of the system of defensive alliance was not impeached by the events that had occurred, nor was it denied by Lord Wellesley's declaration. On the contrary, it was affirmed by it. Lord Wellesley declared that in regard to Sindhia it must be inferred, that he must not be longer allowed that share of independence which he had abused; that all military means of mischief must be taken away from him. This may be called by what name the author pleases, but this was all along the essential part of the system of defensive alliance, and it cannot be said to have proved ineffective in regard to Sindhia, as it had not been tried. All that had been substantiated by our connexion, had been that no alliance of any kind soever could be maintained with a prince upon whom no obligations were binding, with whom no treaties were sacred.—W.

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to its desires. A copy of a letter to the Governor-General was also read, in which reparation was promised for the outrage on the Resident's camp.

This conference, when reported to the Governor-General, appeared to him to indicate a more submissive turn in the councils of Sindiah; the Resident was accordingly instructed, to inform the chieftain, that the atonement offered for the outrage was accepted; that the distresses of his government would be relieved by pecuniary aid, if he would act in co-operation with the British government; and that he could do this, only by returning to the southward, and employing himself in the seizure of the remaining possessions of Holkar in Malwa.

On the 2nd of April, Sindiah marched about eight miles in a retrograde direction towards Subbulghur; leaving the whole of his baggage and bazars under the charge of Ambajee. On the 3rd, the Resident was visited by Sindiah's vakeel, whose commission was, to importune him on the subject of pecuniary relief. A discussion ensued on the two points, of receiving money, and deferring the declared intention of crossing the Chumbul and proceeding to Kerowly, till the arrival of Colonel Close. The result was, an agreement on the part of Sindiah, to return and wait at Subbulghur, and on that of the British Resident, to afford a certain portion of pecuniary aid.

On the 7th of April, Ameer Khan departed from Bhurtpore, with the avowed intention of joining the army of Sindiah. On the same day, the minister of Sindiah marched towards Bhurtpore with a large body of Sindiah's Pindarees, and a considerable part of his cavalry. Information was sent to the Resident, that the proposed mediation was the object of the march.

On the 11th, General Lake received a letter from the said minister, who had arrived at Weir, a town situated about fifteen miles S.W. of Bhurtpore, stating that as the British Resident in the camp of Sindiah had expressed a desire for the mediation of his master, he had commanded him to proceed for that purpose to Bhurtpore. The British General replied, that, peace having been concluded with the Raja of Bhurtpore, the advance of the minister of Sindiah was unnecessary, and might subvert the relations



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of amity between the British government and his master, to whom it was highly expedient that he should return. Notwithstanding this, he advanced on the 12th, with a small party of horse, within a few miles of Bhurtpore, whence he transmitted a message to the Raja, soliciting a personal conference, which the Raja declined. The minister then returned to Weir. Holkar, who had been obliged, on the submission of the Raja, to leave Bhurtpore, joined him, at this place, with three or four thousand exhausted cavalry, nearly the whole of his remaining force; and both proceeded towards the camp of Sindiah at Subbulghur.

The advance of the minister, immediately after the master had agreed to halt, the Governor-General regarded as an evasion and a fraud. The conduct of Sindiah, and some intercepted letters, taken from an agent of Sindiah, despatched to Holkar, toward the close of the month of March, convinced the Governor-General of a coincidence in the views of these two chiefs. And, whether they united their forces for the sake of obtaining better terms of peace, or for the purpose of increasing their abilities for war; as it would be of great importance for them, in either case, to prevent an accommodation between the British government and Runjeet Sing, it was not doubted that the design of Sindiah to proceed to Bhurtpore had that prevention for its end.¹ On the 11th, the 14th, and the 15th of April, Bappojee Sindiah, Ameer Khan, and Holkar, respectively, joined the camp of Sindiah, who offered to the British Resident a frivolous pretext for affording a cordial reception to each. He affirmed that Holkar, who had determined, he said, to renew his invasion of the British territories, had, in compliance with his persuasions, abandoned that design, and consented to accept his mediation for the attainment of peace.

On the 21st of April, the Commander-in-Chief, with the whole of his army, moved from Bhurtpore, toward the position of the united chiefs; and signified his desire to the British Resident, that he would take the earliest opportunity of quitting Sindiah's camp. The necessity of this measure appeared to him the stronger from a recent

¹ As mentioned in the note he had advanced in no expectation of preventing a peace, but in full belief that the war continued.—W.

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event. Holkar had seized the person of Ambajee, for the purpose of extorting from him a sum of money; an audacity to which he would not have proceeded, in the very camp of Sindiah, without the consent of that chieftain, and a perfect concurrence in their views.¹

On the 27th, in consequence of instructions from the Commander-in-Chief, the British Resident solicited an interview with Sindiah; and he thought proper to give notice that the object of it was, to require the return of Sindiah from the position which he then occupied, and his separation from Holkar. The evening of the same day was appointed; but, when it arrived, the attendance of the Resident was not demanded. All that day, and the succeeding night, great alarm and confusion prevailed in Sindiah's camp; for it was reported that the British army was near. On the morning of the 28th, Sindiah and Holkar, with their respective forces, began to retreat with great precipitation; and pursued a difficult march, for several days, during which heat and want of water destroyed a great number of men, to Shahpore, a town in the direct route to Kotah, and distant from that place about fifty miles.

The resolution, which this retreat suggested to the Governor-General, was "To adopt the necessary measures for cantoning the army at its several fixed stations. In his judgment," he says, "this measure, properly arranged, might be expected to afford sufficient protection to the British possessions even in the event of a war; and the best security for the preservation of peace would be," (not the system of defensive alliance, but) "such a distribution of the British armies as should enable them to act against the enemy with vigour and celerity, if Sindiah should commence hostilities, or Holkar again attempt to

⁽¹⁾ A curious and characteristic account of Ambajee's seizure is given by Ameer Khan. It was effected by him under the orders of Holkar, and with the express permission of Sindiah. Dowlat Rao observed, "Ambajee Inglia, who professes to be my servant and has lacs of rupees in ready money by him, will give no aid. If you can contrive a way of extorting money from him you have the permission, but the half must be given to me." Ambajee was confined and tortured; he attempted to destroy himself, but did not succeed. He was at last obliged to purchase his liberation by the payment of thirty-eight, or according to some accounts, fifty-five lacs of rupees. Ambajee Inglia was in consequence instrumental in sowing a dissension between Sindiah and Holkar, and inducing the former to make his peace with the English, by abandoning his ally. *Life of Ameer Khan*, 271, 273.—W.



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disturb the tranquillity of the British territories. At the same time this arrangement would afford the means of effecting a material reduction of the heavy charges incident to a state of war." Yet he had argued, in defence of the former war, that to keep the British army in a state of vigilance would be nearly as expensive as a state of war.

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On the 10th of May, Sindiah and Holkar re-commenced their retreat to Kotah ; while the demand was still evaded of the English Resident for leave to depart from Sindiah's camp. The opinion entertained by the Governor-General of the state of Sindiah's councils, at the time when he arranged the cantonment of the British troops, is thus expressed, in his own words:—"The weakness and the indolence of Sindiah's personal character, combined with his habits of levity and debauchery, have gradually subjected him to the uncontrolled influence of his minister, Serjee Rao Ghautka, a person of the most profligate principles, and whose cruelty, violence, and abandoned conduct, have rendered him odious to whatever remains of respectability among the chiefs attached to Sindiah. Ghautka's personal views, and irregular and disorderly disposition, are adverse to the establishment of Sindiah's government upon any settled basis of peace and order. Ghautka is therefore an enemy to the treaty of alliance subsisting between Dowlut Rao Sindiah and the Honourable Company. Under the guidance of such perverse councils the interests of Dowlut Rao Sindiah have actually been sacrificed by Ghautka to those of Jeswunt Rao Holkar ; and it appears by the report of the acting Resident, contained in his despatch of the 9th of May, that in the absence of Serjee Rao Ghautka, the functions of the administration are actually discharged by Jeswunt Rao Holkar."

With respect to Holkar, the Governor-General was of opinion, that his turbulent disposition and predatory habits would never allow him to submit to restraint, "excepting only in the last extremity of ruined fortune." And that, as no terms of accommodation, such as he would accept, could be offered to him, without the appearance of concession, no arrangement with him ought to be thought of, except on terms previously solicited by himself, and



such as would deprive him of the means of disturbing the possessions of the British government and its allies.

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He predicted, and there was abundant reason for the anticipation, that the confederacy between Holkar and Sindiah would be of short duration. In that case, provided Sindiah abstained from actual aggression upon the British state or its allies, the existing treaty of peace might still, he thought, be preserved.¹

About the beginning of June, the confederate chieftains proceeded in a westerly direction towards Ajmere. For the countenance or aid they had received, or might be expected to receive, in that quarter, from the petty princes who had entered into the Governor-General's system of alliance, that Governor provided the following legitimate apology:—"The conduct of the petty chiefs of Hindostan, and of the Rajpoot states must necessarily be regulated by the progress of events. None of these chiefs possesses singly the power of resisting the forces of the confederates, and any effectual combination among those chiefs is rendered impracticable by the nature of their tenures, by their respective views and prejudices, and by the insuperable operation of immemorial usages and customs. They are therefore compelled to submit to exactions enforced by the vicinity of a superior force, and their preservation and their interests are concerned in supporting the cause of that power, which, engaged in a contest with another state, appears to be successful, and in abstaining from any opposition to either of the belligerent powers which possesses the means of punishing their resistance.² In contracting alliances with the petty states of Hindustan, the British government has never entertained the vain expectation of deriving from them the benefits of an active opposition to the power of the Mahratta chieftains, or even of an absolute neutrality, excepting under circumstances which should enable us to protect them against the power of the enemy. At the same time the actual or expected superiority and success

¹ Printed papers, at *supra*, No. 23; Extract of a Letter from the Governor-General, 7th June, 1805, relative to Gualior and Gohud, with enclosures, p. 167—203; and a copy of a letter from ditto, 31st May, with enclosures, p. 5—148.—M. Despatches, iv. 535.—W.

² Compare with these grounds of action, those laid down by Mr. Hastings, in regard to the Rohillas.



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of the confederates can alone induce those states to unite their exertions with those of the enemy in active operations against the British power." It is not easy to see, what utility could exist in alliances, of which these were to be the only results.¹

In the early part of June, intelligence was transmitted to the Governor-General by the Resident in Sindiah's camp, whom Sindiah, in spite of reiterated applications, had still detained, of the probability of an important change in the councils of that chieftain, by the dismissal of Serjee Rao Ghautka, the minister, and the appointment of Ambajee in his stead. Though it appeared that the ascendancy of Holkar in the councils of Sindiah was the cause of the expected change,² the Governor-General was disposed to believe that it increased all the probabilities of a speedy dissolution of the confederacy; as Ambajee, it was likely, would favour the projects of Holkar no longer than necessity required.

On the 17th of June, the acting Resident delivered to Sindiah a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, declaring, that if he were not permitted to quit the camp in ten days, the relations subsisting between the two states would be regarded as no longer binding on the British government. In some supposed inconsistency in the letters of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, Sindiah found a pretext for delay, requiring time to apply for elucidation to the Commander-in-Chief.

All pretext on this ground being removed, the Governor-General concluded, that, if Sindiah any longer persisted in his refusal to dismiss the Resident, it was a sufficient

¹ This supposes that no advantage is to be derived from a liberal policy. The British power stood in no need of the aid of the petty Rajpoot and Mahratta princes of Hindustan; but the latter stood in urgent need of the protection of a powerful and benevolent state against the lawless and merciless exactions and cruelties of such freebooters as Jeswant Rao Holkar and Ameer Khan, and even Sindiah himself. To yield them protection was an act of humanity and of policy, for it secured the tranquillity of India, and all the benefits which could not fail to result from a friendly and safe international exchange of the products of prosperity. Although not necessary, also, it cannot be denied that the command and direction of the resources of a number of small states, exercised by a great one, contribute to the resources and strength of the latter. Once confident of the ability and the will of the British power to yield them protection, the petty states of Hindustan have been ready enough to enlist under its banners and reinforce its armies.—W.

² This was a mistake; it was the resentment of Ambajee against Holkar that gave him weight with Sindiah, he, himself, having cause to regret his union with that chief, and to dread its consequences.—W.



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proof of the necessity of war; and if war had become necessary, that it should not be delayed. Instructions were, therefore, addressed to the Commander-in-Chief, by which he was directed to be prepared for active operations against the confederate forces of Sindiah and Holkar, as soon as the season should admit.

On the 27th of June, the last of the days allowed to precede the departure of the Resident agreeably to the demand of the Commander-in-Chief, he was visited by one of the principal servants of Sindiah. The object of the conference was, to prevail upon the Resident to wave his demand of dismissal. On this occasion, the strongest professions of amicable intentions with respect to the British government were made on the part of Sindiah; and his extreme reluctance to part with the Resident was ascribed to the appearance which would thence arise of enmity between the states; while he would by no means allow, that detention could be considered as a sufficient motive for war.¹

Thus stood the relations between the British state and the Mahratta chiefs, when the Marquis Cornwallis arrived in India. In the month of December, 1803, the Marquis Wellesley had notified to the Court of Directors his intention of resigning the government of India, and of returning to Europe, as soon as the negotiations with Dowlut Rao Sindiah, and the Raja of Berar, should be conducted to a conclusion. The hostilities, in which the Company became involved with Holkar, induced him to defer the execution of his intentions; and, even in the month of March, 1805, though he expressed his increasing solicitude, in the declining state of his health, to be relieved from the cares and toils of government, and to return to a more genial climate, he declared his resolution not to abandon his post, till the tranquillity and order of the British empire in India should rest on a secure and permanent basis.² Before this time, however, measures had been contemplated in England for a change in the administration of India. The Directors, and the Ministry them-

¹ Despatch of the Governor-General, dated 30th July, 1805, with its enclosures, No. 23, *ut supra*, p. 227—248.—M. Despatches, iv. 602. Also, vol. v. p. 165, 244.—W.

² No. 23, *ut supra*, p. 253.



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selves, began to be alarmed at the accumulation of the Indian debt, and the pecuniary difficulties which pressed upon the Company. Lord Wellesley was regarded as a very expensive and ambitious ruler; the greater part of his administration had been a scene of war and conquest; war and conquest in India had been successfully held forth to the British nation, as at once hostile to the British interests, and cruel to the people of India; with a ruler, possessing the dispositions of Lord Wellesley, it was supposed, that the chances of war would always outnumber the chances of peace; the popular voice, which often governs the cabinets of princes, ascribed a character of moderation and sageness to the Marquis Cornwallis; and to those who longed for peace and an overflowing exchequer in India, it appeared that the return of this nobleman would afford a remedy for every disorder. Though bending under years and infirmities, his own judgment, and that of the parties on whom the choice depended, succeeded in sending him, in the prospect to a probable, in the event to an actual, grave.

He arrived at Calcutta on the 30th of July, 1805, and on the same day took the oaths in Council, and assumed the government. On the first of August, he announced this event to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, in an overland despatch; in which he added, "Finding, to my great concern, that we are still at war with Holkar, and that we can hardly be said to be at peace with Sindiah, I have determined to proceed immediately to the upper provinces, that I may be at hand to avail myself of the interval which the present rainy season must occasion in our military operations, to endeavour, if it can be done without a sacrifice to our honour, to terminate, by negotiation, a contest, in which the most brilliant success can afford us no solid benefit, and which, if it should continue, must involve us in pecuniary difficulties which we shall hardly be able to surmount."

The extent of the condemnation, thus speedily pronounced on the policy of his predecessor, was somewhat equivocal. The meaning might be, either that so much success had already been gained in the contest, that no further success would be of any advantage; or, that it was



BOOK VI. a contest, in which from the beginning "the most brilliant
CHAP. XIII. success could afford no solid benefit."¹

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Lord Cornwallis lost no time in commencing his journey to the upper provinces. In a letter of his, dated on the river, August 9th, 1805, he informed the Court of Directors, that "one of the first objects to which his attention had been directed, was, an inquiry into the state of their finances. The result," he says, "of this inquiry affords the most discouraging prospects; and has convinced me, that unless some very speedy measures are taken to reduce our expenses, it will be impossible to meet with effect the contingency of a renewed war with Sindiah and those powers who may be disposed to confederate with him." The only source of relief to which it appeared that he could have immediate recourse, was the reduction of as many as possible of the irregular troops.

Among the measures of Lord Wellesley, already described, for reducing the power of the Mahratta princes at the commencement of the war, was that of encouraging, by offers of engagement in the British service, the officers employed by those princes, to desert with their troops. The number of those who came over to the British service became at last very considerable; and the expense exceedingly severe. Measures had been taken to lessen the burden before the close of the late administration; and the expense had been reduced from the sum of 5,83,669 rupees per month, to that of 3,90,455. The expense appeared, and with justice, in so very serious a light to Lord Cornwallis, that the troops in question he declared, "would certainly be less formidable if opposed to the British government in the field, than while they remained so distressing a drain upon its resources." A formidable impediment, however, opposed the dismissal even of those to whom the faith of the government was in no degree pledged; because their pay was several months in arrear, as well as that of the rest of the army, and there was no money in the treasury for its discharge. In this exigency the Governor-General resolved to retain the treasures which the Directors had sent for China; and apprized

¹ It can scarcely be thought that the latter explanation was intended. To the actual state of the contest it was not inapplicable. Nothing was to be gained from Holkar; and there was no object desired in further reducing the power of Sindiah.—W.



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them of this intention by his letter, dated on the 9th of August. In another letter, dated on the 28th of the same month, he says, "I have already represented to your Honourable Committee, the extreme pecuniary embarrassments in which I have found this government involved; every part of the army, and every branch of the public departments attached to it, even in their present stationary positions, are suffering severe distress, from an accumulation of arrears; and if, unfortunately, it should become indispensably necessary to put the troops again in motion, I hardly know how the difficulties of providing funds for such an event are to be surmounted."¹

The next part of the late system of government, in which the Governor-General thought it necessary to interfere, was the scheme of alliances. On that subject, his sentiments differed widely from those of the ruler who had gone before him.

In a letter dated the 20th of July, 1805, Colonel Close, Resident at Poonah, had stated to the Governor-General, that he had obtained an interview with one of the principal officers of the Peshwa's government, "with whom," says he, "I conversed largely on the present distracted conduct of the Poonah government; pointing out to him, that, owing to the want of capacity and good intention on the part of the Dewan, the Peshwa, instead of enjoying that ease of mind and honourable comfort, which his alliance with the British government was calculated to bestow upon him, was kept in a constant state of anxiety, either by remonstrances necessarily made to his Dewan by the British Resident, or by the disobedience and wicked conduct of the persons placed by the Dewan in the civil and military charge of his Highness's territories, which, instead of yielding a revenue for his Highness's treasury, went only to maintain a set of abandoned men, whose first object is obtaining authority to assemble bands of freebooters, and who then, acting for themselves, hold his Highness's government at defiance."

A despatch from the Marquis Cornwallis to Colonel Close, signed by the secretary to Government, and dated

¹ Copies of all letters from the late Marquis Cornwallis, &c., ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 19th February, 1808, p. 3, 4, and 6. For the reduction of their regular troops by Lord Wellesley, see the letter of the Commander-in-Chief, No. 23, ut supra, p. 243.



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BOOK VI. on the river near Plassey, the 18th of August, 1805, says,
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"The information which the Governor-General has obtained since his Lordship's arrival at Fort William, respecting the state of affairs at the court of Poonah, and especially the communications contained in your despatches above acknowledged, have enabled his Lordship to form a correct judgment of the condition of his Highness the Peshwa's government. His Lordship observes, with deep concern, the utter inefficiency of the Peshwa's authority to maintain the allegiance and subordination of his officers and subjects; to secure the resources of his country; or to command the services of his troops. His Highness is compelled to solicit the interference of the British government, to repress civil commotion among the public officers of his government, and to provide the means of paying the troops which, by treaty, he is pledged to furnish for the service of the war. His Highness himself, solicitous only of personal ease and security, seems disposed to leave to the British government the internal regulation of his dominions, and the suppression of that anarchy and confusion which is the necessary result of a weak and inefficient government.—We are thus reduced to the alternative, either of mixing in all the disorder and contentions, incident to the loose and inefficient condition of the Peshwa's administration; or of suffering the government and dominion of his Highness to be completely overthrown by the unrestrained effects of general anarchy and rebellion.—Under such circumstances, the alliance with the Peshwa, far from being productive of any advantage to the Company, must involve us in inextricable difficulty, and become an intolerable burden upon us."

The Governor-General alludes to certain circumstances; but the question is, whether these very circumstances are not the natural result of such an alliance, not with the Peshwa exclusively, but any one of the native states; and whether there is any rational medium between abstinence from all connexion with these states, and the avowed conquest of them; the complete substitution, at once, of the British government to their own wretched system of misrule.

The Governor-General recurs to his former opinions respecting the impolicy of all connexion with the Mahratta



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states; opinions of which the reason was not confined to the Mahratta states; and he says, "It must be in your recollection, that, during Marquis Cornwallis's former administration, his Lordship, foreseeing the evils of mixing in the labyrinth of the Mahratta politics, and Mahratta contentions, sedulously avoided that sort of connexion with the Peshwa's government, which was calculated to involve the Company in the difficulties and embarrassments of our actual situation. The evils, however, which his Lordship then anticipated from such an alliance, appear to his Lordship to have been exceeded by those which have actually occurred under the operation of the treaty of Bassein.

The views of Lord Cornwallis were less clear and decided with regard to the Nizam, although his observations, addressed to the Resident at Hyderabad, under date the 21st of August, 1805, announced the existence of the same evils, resulting from the alliance with the Nizam, as resulted from that with the Peshwa; that is, a total dissolution of the energies of government, in the hands of the native prince, and the necessity, on the part of the British, of exercising all the functions of government under infinite disadvantages. "The Governor-General," says that address, "observes, with great regret, the degree of interference exercised by the British government, through the channels of its representative, in the internal administration of the government of Hyderabad. It appears to his Lordship to have entirely changed the nature of the relations originally established between the British government and the state of Hyderabad. His Lordship is aware, that this undesirable degree of interference and ascendancy in the councils of the state of Hyderabad, is to be ascribed to the gradual decay of the energies of government; to the defect of efficient instruments of authority; to the circumstances which attended the nomination of the present ministers; and to the personal character of his Highness Secundar Jah.—But the evils which appear to his Lordship to be the necessary result of such a system of interference and paramount ascendancy in the government of Hyderabad, greatly exceed those which the maintenance of that system is calculated to prevent.—The former are of a nature more extensive and more durable;



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HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK VI. and affect the general interests and character of the British
CHAP. XIII. government, throughout the whole peninsula of India.

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The evils of an opposite system are comparatively local and temporary ; although rendered more dangerous at the present moment, by the probable effects of a belief which, however unjust, appears to be too generally entertained, of a systematic design on the part of the British government, to establish its control and authority over every state in India.—It is the primary object of his Lordship's policy to remove this unfavourable and dangerous impression, by abstaining in the utmost degree practicable, consistently with the general security of the Company's dominions, from all interference in the internal concerns of other states. His Lordship considers even the preservation of our actual alliances to be an object of inferior importance to that of regaining the confidence, and removing the jealousies and suspicions of surrounding states."

In terms exactly correspondent, the Governor-General wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. In a letter enclosing the above despatches, dated on the river near Raj Mahl, on the 28th of August, he says ; "One of the most important, and, in my opinion, not the least unfortunate consequences of the subsisting state of our alliance has been the gradual increasing ascendancy of the British influence and authority, exercised through the medium of our Residents, at the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad. The weak and wretched state of the Peshwa's internal government cannot be more forcibly described than in the enclosed despatch, recently received from Colonel Close. And I have reason to believe, that the authority of the Soubah of the Deccan over his dominions is approaching fast to the same state of inefficiency and weakness. The evils likely to ensue from the above statement are sufficiently obvious ; but the remedy to be applied to them is unhappily not so apparent.—In the hope, that by degrees, we may be able to withdraw ourselves from the disgraceful participation in which we should be involved, by mixing ourselves in all the intrigues, oppression, and chicanery of the active management of distracted and dislocated provinces, I have ordered those letters to be addressed to the



Residents at the courts of Hyderabad and Poonah, of which copies are herewith enclosed." ¹

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The conduct which Lord Cornwallis determined to pursue, in regard to the relations between the British state and the belligerent or contumacious chiefs, Holkar and Sindiah, was lastly disclosed. His sentiments on that subject, were addressed in a despatch to General, then Lord Lake, on the 18th of September.

In this he declared, that "the first, and most important object of his attention was, a satisfactory adjustment of all differences between the British government and Dowlut Rao Sindiah." To the accomplishment of this primary object of his desire, he conceived that two things only operated in the character of material obstructions; the detention by Sindiah of the British Resident; and the retention, by the British government, of the fortress of Gualior, and the province of Gohud.

The British Governor had made up his mind with regard to both causes of dissension. With regard to the first, he says, "I deem it proper to apprise your Lordship, that as a mere point of honour, I am obliged to compromise, or even to abandon, the demand which has been so repeatedly, and so urgently made, for the release of the British Residency, if it should ultimately prove to be the only obstacle to a satisfactory adjustment of affairs with Dowlut Rao Sindiah." With regard to the second, he says, "It is, in my decided opinion, desirable to abandon our possession of Gualior, and our connexion with Gohud, independently of any reference to a settlement of differences with Dowlut Rao Sindiah: I have, therefore, no hesitation in resolving to transfer to Dowlut Rao Sindiah the possession of that fortress and territory."

This accordingly formed the basis of the scheme of pacification planned by the Governor-General. On his part, Sindiah was to be required to resign his claim to the jaghires and pensions, stipulation for which had been made in the preceding treaty; to make a provision for the Rana of Gohud, to the extent of two and a half, or three lacs of rupees per annum; and to make compensation for the loss sustained by the plunder of the residency. On the other

¹ Papers, *ut supra*, ordered to be printed, 19th of February, 1808, p. 5.



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hand, the Jyenegur tribute, amounting to the annual sum of three lacs of rupees, might be restored to Sindiah ; and leave might be given him, to station a force in Dholepoor Baree, and Raja Kerree, the districts reserved to him in the Doab, as the private estates of his family.

With regard to Jeswunt Rao Holkar, Cornwallis declared it to be his intention to restore to that chieftain the whole of the territories and possessions which had been conquered from him by the British arms.

Two important subjects of regulation yet remained ; those minor princes in the region of the Jumna, with whom the British government had formed connexions : and the territory to the westward and southward of Delhi, of which that government had not yet disposed. The plan of the Governor-General was to give up both. He purposed to divide the territory among the princes with whom the British government had formed connexions : and to reconcile those princes to the renunciation of the engagements which the British government had contracted with them, by the allurements of the territory which they were about to receive. His plan was to assign jaghires, in proportion to their claims, to those of least consideration ; and to divide the remainder between the Rajas of Macherry and Bhurtpore. He meant that the British government should remain wholly exempt from any obligation to ensure or defend the possession of the territories which it thus conferred. He expressed a hope that those princes, by means of a union among themselves, might, in the reduced condition of Sindiah, have sufficient power for their own defence. "But even the probability," he adds, "of Sindiah's ultimate success would not, in my opinion, constitute a sufficient objection to the proposed arrangement ; being satisfied of the expediency even of admitting into the territories in question the power of Dowlut Rao Sindiah, rather than we should preserve any control over, or connexion with them." Any attempt of Sindiah, in any circumstances, against the British possessions in the Doab, he pronounced to be altogether improbable. And "Sindiah's endeavours," he said, "to wrest their territories from the hands of the Rajas of Macherry and Bhurtpore may be expected to lay the foundation of interminable contests, which will afford ample and permanent employment to Sindiah."



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In the spirit of these instructions, a letter to Sindiah had been penned on the preceding day ; intended to inform him that, as soon as he should release the British Residency, Lord Lake was authorized to open with him a negotiation, for the conclusion of an arrangement by which Gualior and Gohud might revert to his dominion.¹

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Before these letters were received by the Commander-in-Chief, the dismissal of Serjee Rao Gautka from the office of minister to Sindiah, and the appointment of Ambajee, had for some time taken place. This event the British rulers ascribed to the disappointment of Sindiah, in the hopes with which they supposed that Serjee Rao Gautka had nourished him, of finding in the union with Holkar a force with which the English might be opposed. Upon the dismissal of Serjee Rao Gautka from the service of Sindiah, he repaired to the camp of Holkar, which for some time had been separated from that of Sindiah. It was the interest, however, of Holkar, to preserve a connexion with Sindiah, which the latter was now very desirous to dissolve. Holkar offered to give no asylum to the discarded minister, who in a short time left his camp, and repaired to the Deccan. Sindiah played the double part, so agreeable to eastern politics ; and temporized with Holkar till he felt assured of a favourable adjustment of the subjects of difference between him and the British state.

Moonshee Kavel Nyne was one of the confidential servants of Sindiah, who had been opposed to Serjee Rao Gautka, and of course leaned to the British interests. During the ascendancy of Serjee Rao Gautka, Moonshee Kavel Nyne, from real or apprehended dread of violence, had fled from the dominions of Sindiah ; and had taken shelter under the British government at Delhi. Upon the first intimation, from the new Governor-General to the Commander-in-Chief, of the altered tone of politics which was about to be introduced, Moonshee Kavel Nyne was invited to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief ; where it was concerted, that one of his relations should speak to Sindiah, and explain to him the facility with which, through the medium of Moonshee Kavel Nyne, he might

¹ Papers (1806), ut supra, No. 11, p. 6—12.



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BOOK VI. open a negotiation, calculated to save him from the dangers with which he was encompassed. Sindiah was eager

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to embrace the expedient, and immediately sent proposals through the medium of Kavel Nyne. By this contrivance the British commander stood upon the vantage ground ; and stated, that he could attend to no proposition, while the British Residency was detained.¹ Upon this communication, the Residency was dismissed ; and was upon its march to the British territories, while the Commander-in-Chief had forwarded to Sindiah a plan of settlement, fashioned a little according to the views of the Governor-General, before the Governor-General's instructions of the 19th of September, and his letter to Sindiah, arrived in the British camp.

Impressed by dread of the effects, which the manifestation of so eager a desire for peace, and the appearance of indecision in the British councils, if, one proposal being sent, another should immediately follow, might produce upon Mahratta minds ; while at the same time he was strongly persuaded of the impolicy of the measures which the Governor-General had enjoined ; the Commander-in-Chief took upon himself to detain the letter addressed to Sindiah, and to represent to the Governor-General the views which operated upon his mind.

Apologizing for the interposition of any delay in carrying the commands of the Governor-General into effect, by the alteration which had taken place in the state of affairs ; and announcing the actual transmission of a plan of settlement which it was probable that Sindiah would accept, the Commander-in-Chief proceeded to represent ; first, that it would be inconsistent with the interests of the British state to let the Mahrattas regain a footing in the upper provinces of India ; secondly, that it would be inconsistent with the justice and honour of the British state to relinquish the engagements which it had formed with the minor princes on the Mahratta frontier.

¹ By this reasonable show of policy, some of the mischief which was likely to have arisen from Lord Cornwallis's impatience to conclude a peace, in which he would have waved insisting upon the Resident's release, and allowed Sindiah to station an armed force of his own in the districts of the Doab, were obviated. Such a precipitancy would have been interpreted by Sindiah as a proof of the weakness of the British government, and would have encouraged him to have been still more insolent and exacting in his demands.—W.



DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LAKE AND CORNWALLIS.

V. If the Mahrattas were thrown back from the Company's frontier, to the distance originally planned, a strong barrier would be interposed against them in every direction. To the north-west, the countries of Hurrianah, Bicaner, Jodepore, and the northern parts of Jeypore, and the Shekawutee, dry, sandy, mountainous, and inhabited by a warlike race, could not be crossed by a hostile army without the greatest difficulty and loss. The roads further south, by Mewat or Bhurtpore, somewhat less impassable, but more than 150 miles in length to the Jumna, through a country with many difficult passes, strong towns, and a warlike and predatory population, would, under a union with the chiefs in that direction, and a well-established line of defence on the part of the British government, be impracticable to a Mahratta army. Though, from the southern part of the territories of Bhurtpore to the junction of the Chumbul with the Jumna, the approach from Malwa presented little difficulty, this line was short; the number of fords so far down the Jumna was much less than higher up; and a British corps, well posted, would afford, in this direction, all the security which could be desired.

If the princes in this region were for a while protected by the British government, they would recover from that state of disunion, poverty, and weakness, into which they had been thrown, partly by the policy, partly by the vices of the Mahratta governments. If abandoned to themselves, they would soon be all subdued, either by Sindiah, or some other conquering hero; and a state of things would be introduced, in the highest degree unfavourable to the interests of the British government. "These petty states would first quarrel with each other; would then call in the different native powers in their vicinity, to their respective aid; and large armies of irregulars would be contending upon the frontier of our most fertile provinces; against whose eventual excesses there would be no well-grounded security, but a military force in a state of constant preparation." The military habits of the people would thus be nourished, instead of those habits of peaceful industry, which it was found by experience they were so ready to acquire. The Jumna, which it was the intention of the Governor-General to make the boundary

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BOOK VI. of the British dominions, was not, as had been supposed,
CHAP. XIII. a barrier of any importance; as above its junction with
1805. the Chumbul, except during a few weeks in the year, it is
fordable in a variety of places, and would afford little
security from the incursions of a predatory army, to the
provinces in the Doab, to Rohilcund, or the countries of
the Vizir.

2. The personages on the further side of the Jumna; Rajas, Zemindars, Jaghiredars, and others; to whom the British faith had been formally pledged, were numerous. From that pledge the British faith could not be released, unless the opposite party either infringed the conditions of the engagement, or freely allowed it to be dissolved. "I am fully satisfied," says the Commander-in-Chief, "that no inducement whatever would make the lesser Rajas in this quarter renounce the benefit of the protection of the British government. Even such a proposition would excite in their minds the utmost alarm. They would, I fear, consider it as a prelude to their being sacrificed to the object of obtaining a peace with the Mahrattas.

With regard to the Rana of Gohud, he expressed himself convinced of the utter incapacity of that feeble-minded person for the business of government; and, with respect to him, objected not to the arrangement which the Governor-General proposed.

Before the Governor-General received this remonstrance, he was incapable of discharging the functions of government. His health was impaired when he left England; and from the commencement of his journey from Calcutta, had rapidly declined. On the 29th of September, he had become too ill to proceed, and was removed from his boats to a house in Gazeepore, a town in the district of Benares, at which he had arrived. Accounts were despatched to the Presidency, with intelligence that he could not survive many days. The evil consequences to which the state was exposed by the absurdity of those, who, at an eventful period, sent a man to govern India, just stepping into the grave, without the smallest provision for an event so probable as his death, began now to be seen. Two members alone of the Supreme Council, Sir George Barlow, and Mr. Udney, remained at Calcutta. "Under the embarrassing circumstances," says Sir George, "attendant on



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this heavy calamity, it has been judged to be for the good of the public service, that I should proceed immediately, by relays, to Benares, to join his Lordship, for the purpose of assisting in the conduct of the negotiations for peace commenced by his Lordship, if his indisposition should continue ; or of prosecuting the negotiations to a conclusion, in the ever-to-be-deplored event of his Lordship's death. The public service necessarily requires the presence of Lord Lake with the army in the field ; and as no provision has been made by the legislature for the very distressing and embarrassing situation in which we are unhappily placed by the indisposition of Lord Cornwallis, at a crisis when the public interests demand the presence of a competent authority near the scene of the depending negotiations, I have been compelled, by my sense of public duty, to leave the charge of that branch of the administration, which must be conducted at Fort William, in the hands of one member of the government. My justification for the adoption of this measure will, I trust, be found in the unprecedented nature of the case, and in the pressing exigency which calls me from the Presidency."

It so happened, that affairs at that time were easy to be arranged ; and fell into hands of considerable skill.¹ It was very possible, they might have been of difficult arrangement ; and highly probable, when left to chance, that they would have fallen into hands incapable of the task. Of sending a dying man to govern India, without foreseeing the chance of his death, how many evils, in that case, might have been the direful consequence ?²

Lord Cornwallis lingered to the 5th of October, and then expired. During the last month he remained, for the greatest part of the morning, in a state of weakness

¹ It is rather inconsistent after describing the differences of opinion that existed, to affirm that affairs at the time of Lord Cornwallis's death were easy to be arranged. The course to be followed was, at Lord Wellesley's departure, simple enough, but it had become complicated and embarrassed by the new and conflicting views of his successor. Neither can much credit for skill be given to those into whose hands the management of affairs fell after the death of the Governor-General, as their sole object was to get quit of present difficulties at any cost, even at the sacrifice of the national power and credit. This was cutting, not disentangling the Gordian knot, and evinced little prudence or judgment in the operators.—W.

² Papers (1805), ut supra, No. 11, p. 5—13; No. 17; and No. 25, p. 3 and 4.



BOOK VI. approaching to insensibility. Till near the last, he revived a
CHAP. XIII. little towards the evening ; was dressed, heard the despatches, and gave instructions for the letters which were to be written. By the persons who attended him, it was stated, that even in this condition his mind displayed a considerable portion of its original force.¹ Without reminding ourselves of the partiality of these reporters, and going so far as to admit the possibility of the force which is spoken of, we cannot help seeing that it could exert itself on those subjects only with which the mind was already familiar. Where was the strength to perform the process of fresh inquiry ; to collect, and to fix in the mind the knowledge necessary to lay the basis of action in a state of things to a great degree new ?

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The duties and rank of Supreme Ruler devolved, of course, on Sir George Barlow, a civil servant of the Company, who had ascended with reputation through the several gradations of office, to the dignity of senior member of the Supreme Council, when Lord Cornwallis expired. The new Governor-General lost no time in making reply to the representation which the Commander-in-Chief had addressed to Lord Cornwallis, immediately before his death. He stated his resolution to adhere to the plan of his predecessor, in "abandoning all connexion with the petty states, and, generally, with the territories to the westward of the Jumna." "This resolution," he added, "is founded, not only upon my knowledge of the entire conformity of those general principles to the provisions of the legislature, and to the orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors ; but also upon my conviction of their expediency, with a view to the permanent establishment of the British interests in India."

1. With respect to the *security*, which, in the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, would be sacrificed to this policy, Sir George observed, that it was the declared resolution, even of Marquis Wellesley, "to render, generally, the Jumna the boundary of the British possessions north of Bundelcund, retaining such posts, and such an extent of country on the right bank of that river, as might appear to be necessary for the purposes of effectual defence." The security of the British empire must, he said, be derived

¹ Malcolm's Sketch, p. 413.



VIEWS OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

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from one or other of two sources ; either, first, from establishing a controlling power over all the states of India ; or, secondly, from the contentions and wars, sure to prevail among those states, if left to themselves, combined with efficient measures of defence on the part of the British government itself. With regard to the first of these sources, "such a system of control," he observed, "must, in its nature, be progressive, and must ultimately tend to a system of universal dominion. After this important observation, bearing so directly on Lord Wellesley's favourite scheme of subsidiary alliance, he added, "It must be obvious to your Lordship, that the prosecution of this system is inconsistent, not only with the provisions of the legislature, but with the general principles of policy which this government has uniformly professed to maintain."¹ The line of the Jumna, he thought, might be rendered an effectual barrier against predatory incursions, or serious attack, by forming a chain of military posts on the banks of that river, from Calpee to the northern extremity of the British frontier, and retaining, for that purpose, upon the right bank of the Jumna, through the whole of that extent, a tract of land, not exceeding, generally, eight or ten miles in breadth, subject to the operation of the British laws.

2. To show that the faith was not binding which the British had pledged for the protection of various chiefs the Governor-General employed the following argument:— That the British government was not bound to keep in its own possession the territory in which these chiefs were situated, or on which they were dependent: and if it surrendered the territory, it dissolved the engagement which it had formed to protect them. Those particular persons, to whom pecuniary or territorial assignments had been

¹ The security of the British power of India was, therefore, made by Sir G. Barlow to depend upon no more permanent or honourable a foundation than the quarrels of the neighbouring potentates. Consistently with this doctrine, it should have been the policy of the British government to foment intestine dissension, and to perpetuate not tranquillity but hostilities among the native states. That such a nefarious practice was not adopted may be believed, but it was scarcely less culpable to look on unconcerned, and suffer those horrors to prevail which it was in the power, whenever it was in the pleasure of the government of British India, to arrest. The scheme of Lord Wellesley may have been chimerical—may have involved consequences which were not foreseen, but it was benevolent and magnanimous. The cold and selfish policy of suffering the princes of India to tear each other to pieces, without interposing to prevent them, savours neither of benevolence nor magnanimity.—W.



BOOK VI. promised, might be provided for by jaghires, in the territory held on the right bank of the Jumna.¹

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Early in the month of September, Holkar, with the main body of his army, moved from Ajmere, in a north-westerly direction, toward the country of the Seiks. He entered the Shekawatee, with about twelve thousand horse, a small body of ill-equipped infantry, and about thirty guns, of various calibres, most of them unfit for service. Skirting the country of the Raja of Macherry, and the province of Rewarree, he proceeded to Dadree; where he left his infantry, guns, and about a thousand horse, under one of his chiefs. This chief, in conjunction with the Raja of Neemrana, one of the districts to the south-west of Delhi, ceded to the British government by the treaty of peace with Sindiah, proceeded to ravage the British territories. Holkar, himself, with the main body of his cavalry, proceeded towards Patiala, giving out his expectation, of being joined by the chiefs of the Seiks, and even by the King of Caubul.² The Commander-in-Chief took measures, with his usual promptitude, for not only defeating the schemes of the enemy, but rendering the desperate enterprise in which he had now engaged, the means of his speedy destruction. A force, consisting of three battalions, and eight companies of native infantry, eight six-pounders, and two corps, exceeding two thousand, of irregular horse, with four galloper guns, was appointed to take up a position at Nernoul. Another force, consist-

¹ Letter of Sir George Barlow, dated on the river near Chunar, 20th Oct., 1805; Papers, ut supra, No. 18, p. 5—7.—M.

According to Lord Lake's letter of the 7th October, many of the petty Rajas and chiefs thus situated had not become subjects of the British government only by being occupants of the territory at the time it was conquered, and, therefore, transferable with it when it was surrendered. They had to a still greater extent been put in possession of lands out of the conquered territory, in admission of disputed claims, or in reward for actual services. Of these claims and rewards granted by the British Government, they were almost certain of being deprived upon the restoration of the Mahratta authorities, and the pretended bounty or equity of the British was not only frustrated, but exposed its objects to the resentment and injustice of the public enemy. Its protection should never have been given, or it should never have been withdrawn.—W.

² Ameer Khan also asserts that the Raja of Patecala and Runjit Sing invited Holkar and Ameer Khan to enter into engagements with them, promising if they came to that quarter they should be well received, and all would make common cause against the general enemy. It is not likely they would have entered the Punjab without some encouragement; but that encouragement was apparently partial and undecided. The Khan admits that they had some difficulty in prevailing on Runjit Sing to countenance them. *Life*, p. 274.—W.



LORD LAKE PURSUES HOLKAR.

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ing of three battalions of regular, and three of irregular, native infantry, with two thousand of the best irregular horse, was sent to Rewarree, where, aided by the troops of the Raja of Macherry, it would maintain tranquillity, cut off the communication of the enemy with Ajmere and Malwa, and prevent him from retreating in the route by which he had advanced. Major-General Jones, with the army under his command, received orders to advance towards the Shekawutee, with a view to secure the defeat of the enemy's infantry, and the capture of his guns; a loss which would not only sink his reputation, but deprive him of the means of subsisting his cavalry during the period of the rains. And the Commander-in-Chief, with the cavalry of the army, and a small reserve of infantry, proceeded from Muttra, about the middle of October, to give chase to Holkar himself, in whatever direction he might proceed.¹

In the mean time, the negotiation between the British government and Sindiah was conducted, under the auspices of Lord Lake, on the part of Sindiah, by Moonshee Kavel Nyne; on the part of the British government, by Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, the political agent of the Governor-General in the British camp. On the 23rd of November, the treaty was concluded and signed. Of defensive, or any other alliance, the name was not introduced. Of the treaty of peace, concluded through General Wellesley at Surjee Anjengaum, every part was to remain in force, except so much as should be altered by the present agreement. Gualior, and the greatest part of Gohud, were ceded; not, however, as due by the preceding treaty, but from considerations of friendship. The river Chumbul, as affording a distinct line of demarcation, was declared to be the boundary between the two states. Sindiah renounced the jaghires and pensions, as well as the districts held as private property, for which provision in his favour was made in the preceding treaty. The British government agreed to allow to himself, personally, an annual pension of four lacs of rupees; and to assign jaghires to his wife and daughter, the first of two lacs, the second of one lac of rupees, per annum, in the British territories in Hindustan. It also engaged to enter into

¹ Papers, ut supra, No. 11, p. 15; and No. 25, p. 19, 20.



BOOK VI. no treaties with the Rajas of Oudipore, Jodepore, Kotah,
CHAP. XIII. and other chiefs, the tributaries of Sindiah, in Malwa,
Mewar or Merwar; and to interfere in no respect with
1805. the conquests made by Sindiah from the Holkar family,
between the rivers Taptee and Chumbul. The British
government, high and mighty, held it fitting to insert an
article in the treaty of peace, binding the Maharaja never
to admit Serjee Rao Gautka into his service or councils.
"This article," says Colonel Malcolm, "was a complete
vindication of our insulted honour." Truckling to the
master, you struck a blow at the servant, who, in no pos-
sible shape, was responsible to you; and this you were
pleased to consider as a vindication of honour!

As this treaty appeared to the Governor-General to im-
pose upon the British government the obligation of pro-
tecting the states and chieftains north of the Chumbul,
from Cotah to the Jumna, he insisted that two declaratory
articles should be annexed, by which that inconvenience
might be wholly avoided.

During the negotiations, which preceded the signature
of this treaty, Lord Lake was marching in pursuit of
Holkar. That chieftain, from the day on which the
British General took the field, continued merely to fly
before him. Totally disappointed in his hopes of assist-
ance from the Seik chiefs, and reduced at last to the ex-
tremity of distress, he sent agents, with an application for
peace, to the British camp. As the British commander
had instructions to grant terms far more favourable than
the enemy had any reason to expect, the negotiation was
speedily terminated; and on the 24th of December, 1805,
a treaty was signed at Raipoor Ghaut, on the banks of the
river Beah, the ancient Hyphasis, to which Holkar had
carried his flight.¹ By this treaty, Holkar renounced all

¹ Holkar and his associate had some time before arrived at Amritsir, and
had been endeavouring to procure aid from Runjit Sing, whilst he had been
endeavouring to employ their troops against a refractory tribe of Mohamme-
dans, a measure to which Holkar had assented, being in great want of money,
but which was opposed by Ameer Khan. All parties were mutually dissatis-
fied when Lord Lake arrived on the Beyah, and made an indirect attempt to
open negotiations, the council at Calcutta having written to the General to
offer terms, and bring the war to a close as soon as possible. Ameer Khan
represents himself as urging the continuance of hostilities and recourse to
Shah Shuja at Kabool, but Holkar was weary of the war, and the treaty was
concluded. Of the terms originally granted to Holkar by Lord Lake, Ameer
Khan says, "The Maharaja looked upon these terms as a God-send, and his



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his rights to every place on the northern side of the Chumbul; all his claims on Poonah and Bundelcund, and upon the British government, or its allies; and agreed not to entertain Europeans in his service, without the consent of the British government. On these conditions, he was allowed to return to his own dominions; but by a route prescribed, and without injuring the territory of the British government, or its allies. The British government, on the other hand, agreed, not to interfere with any of the possessions or dependencies of Holkar, south of the Chumbul; and to restore the forts and territories captured by the British forces on the southern side of the rivers Taptee and Godavery. An article was inserted, by which Holkar was bound never to admit Serjee Rao Gautka into his council or service. This article, however, as well as the corresponding article in the treaty with Sindiah, were, after a few months, annulled, in consequence of a report that Serjee Rao Gautka was about to join Holkar. In such a case, these articles might have created embarrassment; "which, agreeably," says Sir John Malcolm, "to the policy of that day, it was deemed prudent to avoid."

Sir George Barlow made an alteration in this treaty, as he did in that with Sindiah, which was sent to him for confirmation. The territories of Holkar, north of the Chumbul, would involve the British government in expense and trouble, either to guarantee or to keep them. He, therefore, annexed a clause, for leaving them to Holkar.

Acting upon his determination to break loose from the engagements, formed with the minor states and chieftains, between the Mahratta frontier and the Doab, the Governor-General disregarded the remonstrances which were made by the Commander-in-Chief, in favour, more especially, of the Raja of Boondee, and the Raja of Jyepore. Lord Lake represented, that the district of Boondee, though not material in point of extent, was highly

agent, who was well acquainted with his inclinations and wishes, brought the paper with exultation." The further concessions made by Sir G. Barlow, Ameer Khan pretends to have been given by the English to remove his objections to the conclusion of peace. That he did oppose it violently for reasons of his own is true, as we learn from Major Thorn's account of his behaviour; but the concessions were made some time after all the parties had returned from the Punjab. War in India, 496. Life of Ameer Khan, 286.—W.

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important, as commanding a principal pass into the northern provinces of the British empire ; that the Raja, steady in his friendship, and eminent for his services to the British government, had excited the utmost rage of Holkar, to whom he was tributary, by the great aid which he had rendered to Colonel Monson, during his retreat ; and that neither justice, nor honour, allowed him to be delivered over to the vengeance of his barbarous foe. The resolution of the Governor-General remained unchangeable, and by the article which he annexed to the treaty with Holkar, that chief was set free to do what he would with the Raja of Boondee.

The Raja of Jyepore had entered into the system of defensive alliance with the British state, at an early period of the war with Sindiah ; but, for a time, showed himself little disposed to be of any advantage ; and Cornwallis, by a letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the 3rd of August, had directed the alliance to be treated as dissolved. At that time, however, the united armies of Sindiah and Holkar were on the frontiers of Jyepore, and the Bombay army, which had marched to a place not far from the capital, was drawing most of its supplies from the territories of the Raja. In these circumstances, Lord Lake, before the receipt of the letter of Lord Cornwallis, had encouraged the Raja to found a claim for British protection on the services which it was now in his power to render. He had also prevailed upon Lord Cornwallis to suspend the dissolution of the alliance. When Holkar, during the month of October, passed to the north in the direction of Jyepore, Lord Lake had exhorted the Raja to discharge the duties of a faithful ally, under assurances of British protection ; the Raja, on his part, had joined the Bombay army under General Jones, and, by his aid, and the supplies derived from his country, had enabled that General to maintain a position of the greatest importance to the operations of the war ; and if, according to expectation, Holkar had retreated in that direction, no doubt was entertained that effective assistance would have been received from the troops of the Raja. In the opinion, therefore, of the Commander-in-Chief, the Raja of Jyepore, who was exposed to a speedy attack from both Sindiah and Holkar, the moment that British protection was withdrawn, could



BARLOW ABANDONS THE MINOR POWERS.

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not be left exposed to their rapacity and vengeance, without a stain upon the British name. These expostulations altered not the resolution of Sir George Barlow, who considered the obligations of the British government as dissolved by the early appearances of disaffection on the part of the Raja, and not restored by his subsequent deserts. He would not even listen to the Commander-in-Chief, requesting that he would defer the renunciation of the alliance till the time when Holkar, who was pledged by the treaty to return immediately to his dominions, should have passed the territories of the Raja. On the contrary, he directed that the renunciation should be immediately declared, lest Holkar, in passing, should commit excesses, which, otherwise, it would be necessary for the British government to resent. Lord Lake was afterwards compelled to receive the bitter reproaches of the Raja, through the mouth of one of his agents, at Delhi.

Regarding the treaties with the Rajas of Macherry and Bhurtpore, as still imposing obligations upon the British government, the Governor-General directed the Commander-in-Chief to enter into a negotiation with them; and to offer them considerable accessions of territory as a return for their consent to the dissolution of the alliance. But Lake, apprehending that even the rumour of any such intention on the part of the British government would again set loose the powers of uproar and destruction in that part of India, represented his apprehensions in such alarming colours, that Sir George, though he declared his resolution unchanged, disclaimed any desire for precipitation; and the Rajas of Bhurtpore and Macherry, with the chiefs in their vicinity, were not, at that time, deprived of the protection of the British power.¹

¹ Collection of treaties in India (published 1812), p. 290—297, Malcolm's Sketch, p. 406—435. On the negotiation of the new treaties with Sindiah and Holkar, and on the discussions relative to the dissolution of the alliance with the minor states, the official documents, which have yet been printed, furnish scanty information. The supply afforded by Sir John Malcolm is peculiarly authentic, as he was the negotiator and agent, through whom almost every thing was transacted.—M.

Little difference of opinion now prevails upon the merits of this lame and impotent conclusion of hostilities with the Mahratta chiefs. Captain Grant (iii. 317) designates Sir G. Barlow's measures to have been as short-sighted and contracted as they were selfish and indiscriminating. Col. Malcolm dwells at some length upon the impolicy, and to their full extent, the impracticability of the principles by which the measures of the actual government were regulated (Political History, i. 373); Colonel Tod has forcibly illustrated

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It remains, that the financial results of the operations of government from the close of the first administration

the evils resulting from it, in the miseries which were in consequence inflicted upon Rajputana, (History of Rajasthan,) and the Marquis of Hastings, alluding to its principal feature, has characterized the condition of abstaining from the protection of the Rajput states as equally discreditable and embarrassing. (Summary of his Administration, by the Marquis of Hastings.) In blind deference to the alarm excited at home by temporary financial difficulties, in conformity to the parliamentary phraseology of self-denial, and in improvident impatience for a return to a state of selfish but insecure tranquillity, the Government of India descended from the high station it had so long occupied; resigned all the advantages to which it was both in justice and policy entitled by the blood and treasure it had been forced to expend; forfeited its character for the honourable discharge of its engagements; made in the words of the Jypore vakeel "its faith subservient to its convenience," and inspired a general distrust of its principles, and doubt of its strength. Its feeble and ungenerous policy allowed the whole of Hindustan, beyond its own boundaries, to become a scene of fearful strife, lawless plunder, and frightful desolation, for many succeeding years, until the same horrors invaded its own sacred precincts, and involved it in an expensive and perilous warfare, the result of which was its being obliged to assume what it had so long mischievously declined, the avowed supremacy over all the states and princes of Hindustan. What was done in 1817 might have been accomplished, with quite as much reason, with more ease, and still less cost, in 1805. Sindiah's power was then completely broken; Holkar was fugitive; neither deserved any forbearance; both merited signal chastisement; the one for his unwarrantable acts of predatory aggression, the other for his long course of insolence and treachery. Our author, himself, could scarcely have condemned such a consummation, as it would have substituted for that disguised system of control to which, with some reason, he objects, the more honest principle of conquest which he advocates. Instead of rewarding the perfidy of Sindiah with accessions of territory to which he had no claim, it would have been but a just retribution to have diminished that which he retained. Holkar had no territory, he had no legitimate claim to that of which his ancestors had possessed themselves by fraud or force; and the gratuitous restitution to him of the whole of it, was to reward fraud and to invite future insult and spoliation. These were measures of suicidal folly, but it was both treacherous and cruel to abandon the Rajput princes to Mahratta vengeance and rapacity, especially with a full anticipation of what would be the consequences of withdrawing from them the British protection, as they were pointed out with prophetic anticipation by Lord Lake, in his reply to the orders of Lord Cornwallis. That Cornwallis would have modified his purposes upon the receipt of Lord Lake's representations is not very likely, as he was evidently entirely influenced by the impressions he had brought with him from England, but it may be doubted if even he would have enforced the execution of his orders with the precipitancy and inflexibility of Sir G. Barlow, qualities the less to have been expected, as that officer had been one of Lord Wellesley's council; had concurred with him in all his public measures, and in anticipation of his own succession to power during Lord Cornwallis's fatal illness, had written to Lord Wellesley to express "his confident hope that an accommodation would be effected with Sindiah and with Holkar, on terms not differing essentially from those to which he was aware that Lord Wellesley was prepared to accede." Certainly Lord Wellesley was not prepared to sacrifice the allies and dependants of the British Government, the Rajas of Boondi and Jypur, to the tender mercies of such inveterate enemies to the British power and to social order as Ameer Khan and Jeswant Rao Holkar. It was evident that Sir G. Barlow's measures were regulated by only one principle, obedience to the wishes of the Court of Directors, which he enforced without regard to circumstances or seasons. Lord Lake, not without reason, indignant at the total disregard of his representations, and disdaining to be made the instrument of measures which he condemned, resigned his political and diplomatic powers on the 17th of January, 1806, announcing as the object of the rest of his service in Hindustan, placing the army in cantonments,



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of the Marquis Cornwallis, till the present remarkable era, BOOK VI.
should now be adduced. As regards the British nation, it CHAP. X

is in these results that the good or evil of its operations in India is wholly to be found. If India affords a surplus revenue which can be sent to England, thus far is India beneficial to England. If the revenue of India is not equal to the expense of governing India, then is India a burden and a drain to England. This is only an application of the principle, according to which the advantage or disadvantage of new territory, in general, is to be estimated. If the new territory increases the revenue more than the charges, it is advantageous; if it increases the charges in proportion to the revenue, it is hurtful. It is also to be observed, that the interest and redemption of the money expended in making the acquisition must be taken into account. If it has been made by a war, for example; the whole expense of the war must be taken into the account. And the new territory must increase the revenue beyond the charges in a degree adequate to the interest and redemption of the whole sum expended in the war, otherwise the acquisition is a positive loss. If the surplus of the revenue were the same after the acquisition as before, the whole expense of the war would be lost; the nation would not be the richer for the acquisition, but the poorer; it would have been its wisdom to have abstained from the war, and to rest contented with the territory which it possessed. If the revenue, after the acquisition, is lessened in proportion to the charge; if the surplus of the revenue is diminished, or the deficit enlarged; in that case, the loss is not confined to that of the whole expense of the war; it is all that, and more; it is the expense of the war, added to the sum by which the balance of the annual receipt and expenditure is deteriorated.¹

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completing the reduction of the irregular corps, and settling, agreeably to the instructions of the Government, the claims of the native chiefs. These duties occupied him through the remainder of the year, and the following year, in February, 1807, his Lordship embarked at Calcutta for England, leaving a name that retains a distinguished station in the military annals of Bengal, and is affectionately preserved in the traditions of the native army.—W.

¹ It is singular that a writer of in general such liberal sentiments should have taken so narrow a view of the advantages derived to England from her Indian possessions. India, he argues, is beneficial to England only as it affords a surplus revenue which can be sent to England, that is, in proportion



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BOOK VI.

CHAP. XIII. will require but little explanation.

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With this principle in view, the following statements

In the year 1793-4, the revenues in India amounted to 8,276,770*l.*; the whole of the charges, including supplies

to the direct tribute which it can pay. Now this is to affirm that during the greater number of the years in which we have been in possession of India it has been of no benefit at all. Who will venture to maintain a proposition so contrary to the fact? Regarding our connexion with India even only on the paltry consideration of how much money we have made by it, the assertion that we have profited solely by its surplus revenue, that is, that in five years out of six we have realized no profit at all, is palpably false. In every year of our intercourse with India, even in those in which the public revenue has fallen far short of the expenditure, there has been a large accession to English capital brought home from India. What are the profits of the Indian trade, what is the maintenance of thirty thousand Englishmen, military included; what is the amount of money annually remitted to England for the support of relations, the education of children, the pensions of officers; and finally what can we call the fortunes accumulated by individuals in trade or in the service of the Company, which they survive to spend in England, or bequeath to their descendants? What is all this but additional capital, remitted from India to England; additional, largely additional, means of recompensing British industry. It is idle, then, to talk of a surplus revenue being the sole source of the benefits derivable from India. On the contrary, it is, and it ought to be, the least even of our pecuniary advantages; for its transfer to England is an abstraction of Indian capital, for which no equivalent is given; it is an exhausting drain upon the resources of the country, the issue of which is replaced by no reflux; it is an extraction of the life-blood from the veins of national industry, which no subsequent introduction of nourishment is furnished to restore. Whatever profit to England, then, the payment to it of a surplus revenue raised in India might afford, the injury done to India would be so disproportionate, that it is to be hoped the legislators of either country will never seriously propose so objectionable a mode of enriching the parent state. In fact, it would do no such thing; the impoverishment of the new territory would very soon disappoint all prospect of gain in the old, and the coffers of England would not long be filled by the surplus revenues of India. Surplus revenue is in fact an absurdity. Properly speaking there can be no surplus revenue whilst there is a debt to be discharged. If the current charges fall below the current receipts, and the balance is not required for the liquidation of public debt, the receipts will be reduced, and the burdens of the people be relieved. "If what the public contribute in revenue should unexpectedly become more productive, it would be the duty of the government to repeal or to reduce objectionable taxes, to increase the judicial and other establishments, so as to render justice more accessible to the great body of the people, to endow public institutions, for providing better means of education, or hospitals for the care of the sick and destitute, to construct roads and bridges, reservoirs and water-courses, to support caravanseries for the accommodation of the traveller, and otherwise to promote those objects which may conduce to the comfort, convenience, and well-being of our native subjects."—Tucker, *Financial Situation of the East India Company*. The nature of our connexion with India, unfortunately to such an extent for the latter, does impose an annual tribute, but "considerations of policy, of justice, and humanity, all alike concur to condemn unmeasured exaction." The notion of extorting a large tribute, or any tribute from India, except by indirect means, calculated to do infinite mischief, and to annihilate in the end the numerous and great benefits which both England and India reap from their mutual intercourse. This is with reference to the connexion, even in its most unworthy aspect. The gain of a higher character, the moral and political power derived from India by England, is a much more real, and important, and honourable benefit, than all the pounds, shillings, and pence that have ever been, or ever will be "conveyed" from the pockets of the people of India to those of the people of Great Britain.—W.



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to the outlying settlements, and the interest of debts, amounted to 6,633,951*l*. There was consequently a surplus of revenue to the amount of 1,642,819*l*.

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But this favourable appearance was the result of merely temporary causes; for in the course of four years, though years of peace, and with an economical ruler, it gradually vanished; and in the year 1797-8, when the administration of Marquis Wellesley commenced, there was a deficit of revenue, or surplus of charge. The revenues amounted to 8,059,880*l*.; the charges and interest to 8,178,626*l*.; surpassing the revenues by 118,746*l*.

The evil was prodigiously increased by the administration of Marquis Wellesley; after all the subsidies which he obtained, and all the territory which he added to the British dominions. In the year 1805-6, in which he closed his administration, the revenues amounted to 15,403,409*l*.; charges and interest to 17,672,017*l*.; leaving a surplus of charge equal to 2,268,608*l*.¹

Such, at the three different periods under comparison, was the state of the government of India, in respect to income and expenditure. Let us consider what was the condition of the Company at the same three periods in respect to debts both at home and in India. In 1793, the debts, both at interest and floating, as they appear upon the face of the Company's accounts, were, in England, 7,991,078*l*.; in India, 7,971,665*l*.; total, 15,962,743*l*. In 1797, the debts in England were, 7,916,459*l*.; in India, 9,142,733*l*.; total, 17,059,192*l*. In 1805, they were 6,012,196*l*. in England, and 25,626,631*l*. in India; in all, 31,638,827*l*.

In estimating the financial condition of a great government, the annual receipt, as compared with the annual expenditure, and the debt, where debt is incurred, are the only circumstances, usually, which are taken into reckon-

¹ The following is a table of the particulars:—

	Revenues.	Charges.	Net Revenue.
1793-4	£8,276,770	£7,066,924	£1,209,846
1797-8	8,059,880	7,411,401	648,479
1805-6	15,403,409	15,561,328	157,319 net charge.

	Supplies to Out-Settlements.	Interest on Debts.	Surplus Revenue.	Surplus Charge.
1793-4	£40,822	£526,205	£1,542,819	£ —
1797-8	163,299	603,926		118,746
1805-6	250,599	1,860,090		2,268,608

² 2,992,440*l*. being deducted, viz., the East India Annuities transferred to the Bank. Fourth Report, 1810, p. 450.



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ing, and make up the account. The goods and effects in hand, which are necessary for the immediate movements of the machine, and in the course of immediate consumption, justly go for nothing; since if any part of them is taken away it must be immediately replaced, and cannot form a part of a fund available to any other purpose, without diminishing some other fund to an equal degree.

Departing from this appropriate rule, the East India Company has availed itself of its mercantile capacity, to bring forward regularly a statement of assets, as a compensation for its debts. This, however, is objectionable, on a second account; because, according to the mode in which this statement is framed, it may exhibit at pleasure either a great or a small amount. Some of the principal articles have hardly any marketable value; could produce little, if the Company were left to dispose of them to the best advantage; yet the rulers of the Company assign to them any value which seems best calculated to answer their designs. Houses, for example, warehouses, forts, and other buildings, with their furniture, constitute a large article; set down at several times the value, probably, at which they would sell. Debts due to the Company, and arrears of tribute, form another material ingredient; of which a great proportion is past recovery. A specimen of the mode in which the account of assets is made up, may be seen in the following fact:—that 1,733,328*l.*, as due by the public for the expedition to Egypt, was continued in the Bengal accounts as an asset, after the expense had been liquidated in England; and upwards of 2,000,000*l.* due to the Company by the Nabob of Arcot, and Raja of Tanjore, is continued in the Madras accounts as an asset, though virtually remitted and extinguished upon assuming the territory of the Carnatic.¹

The account of assets, therefore, exhibited by the East India Company, deserves very little regard, in forming an estimate of the financial situation of the government of India. Being, however, uniformly adduced, as an article of importance in the Company's accounts, its presence is thus rendered necessary here. As the Committee of the House of Commons, formed in 1810, instituted a comparison between the account of assets and debts, for the

¹ See the Third Report of the Committee, 1810, p. 358, and Appendix No. 2.



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period of 1793, and the latest period to which their inquiries could extend, there will be an advantage in taking the same periods for the subject of that view of the assets which is here required. That Committee entered into a slight examination of the statement exhibited by the East India Company of assets in India, and by making certain large, though far from sufficient deductions, reduced the amount of it nearly one half. Unhappily they did not carry even the same degree of scrutiny into the statement of assets at home, and took it pretty nearly as made up by the Company. According to their adjustments the balance is exhibited thus :

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Debts, 1792-3.	Assets, 1792-3.
Home £7,991,078 ¹	Home £9,740,832
India 7,992,548	India 3,800,838
Total debts 15,933,626	Total assets 13,541,670
13,541,670	

£2,441,956, the amount by which, at the first period, the debts exceeded the supposed assets.

Debts, 1809-10.	Assets, 1809-10.
Home 10,357,088	Home 14,504,944
India 28,897,742	India 12,222,010
£39,254,830	£26,726,954
Debts, 1809-10.	Assets, 1809-10.
39,254,830	26,726,954
30,660,119	Add sundries
£8,594,711	as per note ² 3,933,165
	£30,660,119

the amount by which, at the second period, the debts exceeded the supposed assets.³

¹ The difference between this and the debt for that year, as stated in the accounts, arises from the sum of 2,992,440*l.*, East India Annuities, transferred to the Bank, excluded by the Committee from the Company's accounts.

² Goods and Stores in India in 1810, bought in England, not included in the account of assets £2,249,060
Balance in favour of the Company in China, in 1810 1,306,696
Ditto at St. Helena 147,628
Ditto Prince of Wales Island 215,786
Ditto Cape of Good Hope 14,085

To be added to amount of assets £3,933,165

³ For the above statements, see Third Report, at *supra*, p. 353; Fourth Report, at *supra*, p. 460.



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To this sum is to be added 2,027,295*l.*, not derived from any intrinsic source either at home or abroad, but subscribed in England in 1793, and 1794, for the addition of one million which the Company was empowered to make to its capital by the new charter of 1793.

The whole of the moneys which have passed into the Company's treasury for capital stock, amounts to the sum of 7,780,000*l.* This remains to be added to the debtor side of its account. The total, then, of the sums on the debtor side of the account at the period in question, viz., the year 1809-10, was 47,034,830*l.*, surpassing the whole of its assets by the sum of 16,374,711*l.*

Upon the statements by which was exhibited the financial condition of the Company at the close of the administration of Marquis Wellesley, it may be justly remarked, that the expenditure at that time was an expenditure of war, and that the ratio between the ordinary revenues, and a war expenditure, affords not a just view of the financial effects which his administration produced.

Let us take the statements for 1808-9, the last of the years for which we have the aid of the Committee of 1810, in unravelling the confusion, and removing the obscurity of the Company's accounts. The government of India had at this time enjoyed three years of uninterrupted peace; when the financial effects of the administration which closed in 1805, may be supposed to be sufficiently ascertained. In that year the revenues amounted to 15,525,055*l.*; the charges, including supplies to out-lying settlements, and the interest of debts, amounted to 15,551,097*l.*; constituting a surplus of charge to the amount of 26,042*l.* This was a great reduction from 2,268,608*l.*, the excess of charge in 1805; it was even somewhat less than 118,746*l.*, the excess of charge in 1798; but far was this from being a state of receipt adequate to pay the interest and redeem the capital of that enormous sum expended by the wars to which the administration of Marquis Wellesley had given birth. The debts, as they appear upon the face of the accounts were, in England 10,357,088*l.* in 1810; in India 30,876,788*l.* in 1809, which was the last year of which the Committee had received the accounts. The sum of debts was therefore 41,233,876*l.*; being an addition to the



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sum of the debts existing in 1805, of little less than 10,000,000¹.

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Among the accounts from the East India Company, which are annually presented to Parliament, is an account entitled "stock by computation." This consists of the debts of the Company, including every acknowledged claim on the one side; of the whole of their disposable effects on the other. On the credit side of this account is placed all the property which has been already spoken of under the name of assets, excepting the greater part of what stands under the name of dead stock, and has little *real*, though set down by the Company at a great *imaginary* value, fixed at the pleasure of those who determine the shape of the accounts. The Committee of 1810 have given the results which this document presents.

On the 1st of March, 1793, the debts were less than the effects; in other words, there was a balance in favour of the concern, to the amount of 1,956,866 £ . On the 1st of March, 1810, the debts were greater than the effects; in other words, there was a balance against the concern, to the amount of 6,025,505 £ . This constitutes a deterioration during the intermediate period, amounting to 7,982,371 £ . To this the same Committee of 1810 add the money raised for capital stock in 1793 and 1794; and after some other adjustments exhibit the deterioration in those seventeen years at 11,062,291 £ .²

To the balance of 6,025,505 £ against the Company in 1810 are to be added the sums received for capital stock, amounting as above to 7,780,000 £ ; exhibiting on the debit side of the Company's account, a balance of 13,805,505 £ ; in other words, an amount to that extent, of legitimate claims, which there is nothing whatsoever in the shape of property to meet.

As the operations of the Company are twofold, those of government and those of commerce, it is a question whether the unfavourable result which appears on the comparison of the accounts of stock in the year 1793, and 1810, was produced by the government, or the commerce.

¹ See the Second and Fourth Reports of the Committee of 1810.

² Fourth Report *ut supra*, p. 451.



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This question the Committee in 1810 make an attempt to answer. Beside the charges which clearly belong to the government, and those which clearly belong to the commerce, there are some, of which it is doubtful whether they belong to the government or the commerce. The charges which the Committee represent as clearly belonging to the government exceed the receipts by 6,364,931*l*. Besides this amount there is a sum of 6,875,350*l*., which they represent as doubtful, whether it belongs to the government or the commerce. This constitutes an unfavourable balance, to the amount of 13,240,281*l*. Exclusive of these doubtful charges, there is a profit upon the goods purchased and sold, or the commercial transactions of the period, to the amount of 14,676,817*l*. Out of this was paid the dividends upon stock, and the interest upon Debt in England, amounting to 12,515,284; after which remained a surplus, in the aid of government, to the amount of 2,164,533*l*.; reducing the unfavourable balance of 13,240,281*l*. as above, to 110,758, the net deterioration of the period.¹

The Committee exhibited an account which was intended to show how much England gained or lost by India (not including China), during the period of seventeen years from 1793 to 1810. During that period, the value of property sent by England to India is stated at 43,808,341*l*.; the value received by England from India is stated at 42,178,640*l*. England therefore lost 1,629,701*l*.²

We have a statement by the Court of Directors which supplies the omission of China. In the year 1808, the financial distresses of the Company compelled the Directors to apply to parliament for relief. To lay a ground for the application, they submitted an exposition of the Company's finances at home and abroad. In this exposition is contained a statement of the sums disbursed in England on account of India and China, and of all the property received from them in return, beginning with the year 1797-8, and ending with the year 1806-7. During that interval England sent to India and China

¹ Fourth Report, *ut supra*, p. 262. App. No. 51.

² Third Report, *ut supra*, p. 373.



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value more than it received from them, to the amount of 5,691,619¹.

The peace which terminated the war with the Mahrattas,

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¹ The passage in the exposition itself, p. 7, requires to be seen. "The Company have long been in the habit of paying in England political charges strictly appertaining to the territory. For these charges the Company never have credit in the Indian accounts. The large supplies of stores, and part even of the goods, sent out annually by the Company to India, are intended for political purposes, and the whole amount of them should be brought in India to the credit of the Home concern from the time they are shipped; but the practice has been to credit the Company for them only as they were taken out from the Indian warehouses for use, and no losses of such articles in the way outwards or in India, have ever been brought to the credit of London at all. Moreover, it is evident from what has been already stated in this exposition, that the supplies of goods and bullion from England have at times at least exceeded the returns in the same period. The only way therefore to come to an accurate conclusion, is to state all that England has received from India and China; and sent to or paid for India and China in any given period, and thence to strike the balance. Such a statement is exhibited in the accompanying paper, No. 5, which begins with the year 1797-8, and ends with the year 1806-7. On the one side this statement shows all that has been sent to India and China in goods, stores, and bullion, and all that has been paid for bills drawn from thence, or for political charges attaching to the Indian territory; and on the other side, the statement shows all that has been sent from India and China in goods and bills, and all payments received here from government, or payments made in India for commercial charges, and also for any loss that has occurred in English exports sold there. India and China are not debited for goods lost in the way thither, and they are credited for goods sent thence which have been captured or lost on the passage home. After all these allowances and adjustments, which, according to the best knowledge of the Court, comprehend every thing the account ought to contain, the balance is in favour of England, or of the Company at home 5,691,689^l. If it be asked from what funds at home the Company have been able to bring India so largely indebted? the answer is obvious; From the increase of their capital stock and bonded debt, and from the considerable temporary credits they always have for investments outward. From this account, it is clear, that of the sum of nineteen millions of debt contracted in India since the year 1798-9 down to the year 1807-8, England, or the Company in its commercial capacity, is justly chargeable with no part, and that, on the contrary, India has in that period become largely indebted to England."—M.

This result, it is to be recollected, is not between England, and India, and China, but between the East India Company, and India, and China. Remittances on account of individuals are not comprised in it, and during the whole of this time the value of the goods sent from India in private tonnage was quite considerable enough to turn the balance largely in favour of India. Even, however, as concerns the Company, the account is so constructed as to mislead; without an examination of the details on which it is founded, it is impossible to detect where the fallacy lies, but one source is no doubt in the over-valuation of the exports, and the under-valuation of the imports, the former being invoiced with the addition of an estimate profit, the latter being charged at the cost instead of the selling price. A merchant who should invest ten thousand pounds in the purchase of goods, sell them in India for twelve thousand, convert that twelve thousand pounds into Indian goods, which he would sell in England for twenty thousand, would scarcely consider himself a loser by the transaction. It was not only from their capital or their credits that the Company defrayed political charges of two millions sterling in the time specified; the profits of their trade contributed. As far, therefore, as this account professes to show the state of the Company's dealings with India and China, it is erroneous, and for a general view of the interchange of capital between India and England, it is worthless.—W.



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BOOK VI. a few months after the period of Lord Wellesley's administration, is the last great epoch, in the series of British transactions in India. With regard to subsequent events, the official papers, and other sources of information, are not sufficiently at command. Here, therefore, it is necessary that, for the present, this History should close.

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