

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Librar



GIPE-PUNE-000327

THE HISTORY  
OF BRITISH INDIA,

BY

MILL & WILSON.

---

IN NINE VOLUMES.

VOL. IX.



From the  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
& CONSTABLE AND Co.,  
Post Box 31,  
BOMBAY

9. 11. 25

Dear Sir

I have much pleasure in forwarding a copy of  
The Reawakening of the Orient  
price 10/6 for review and trust that it will  
receive an early notice. I shall be glad if you will  
forward me two copies of the issue in which the review  
appears.

Yours faithfully

Manager in India

To

The Editor

Servant of India  
Poona

THE HISTORY  
OF  
BRITISH INDIA.

BY JAMES MILL, ESQ.

FOURTH EDITION WITH NOTES AND CONTINUATION,  
BY HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS,  
BOSTON AND CALCUTTA, AND OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY; OF THE  
IMPERIAL ACADEMIES OF ST. PETERSBURGH AND VIENNA; OF THE IMPERIAL  
SOCIETY OF NATURALISTS OF MOSCOW, AND OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES OF  
BERLIN AND MUNICH: CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY  
OF FRANCO; PH. DR. IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BRISLAU; MED. DR.  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF HAMBURG, ETC. ETC.: AND HODER  
PROFESSOR OF HANSCRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOLUME IX.

LONDON:  
JAMES MADDEN, 8, LEADENHALL STREET,  
AND  
GEORGE WILLIS, PLAZZA, COVENT GARDEN.

M.DCCC.XLVIII.

V2, L.27  
A848.9  
327

# CONTENTS.

## BOOK III.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF  
HASTINGS, 1823, TO THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD W.  
BENTINCK, 1835.

### CHAPTER I.

	Page.
Appointment of Mr. Canning as Governor-General. —	
Accession to the Ministry. — Lord Amherst appointed. —	
Mr. Adam Governor-General prior to his Arrival. — His	
Measures, regarding the Press; regarding Hyderabad. —	
Lord Amherst's Arrival. — Impending War with Ava. —	
Countries on the Eastern Frontier, — Asam, — Kachar, —	
Manipur, — Arakan, — Tenasserim, — Ava. — Burma conquest	
of Arakan. — Oppression of the People, — their Flight to the	
British Province of Chittagong, — allowed to settle. — Inroads	
into the Burma Districts, — ascribed to the British encourage-	
ment. — Burma Forces cross the Frontier, — compelled	
to retire, — Insurgent Chiefs delivered up. — Emigrations	
repeated, and Fugitives demanded. — Missions to Ava. — In-	
surrection of Khyen-bran. — Mission of Captain Canning.	
— His Recall. — Rebel Leaders defeated, — take Refuge in	
Chittagong, — demanded by the Burmas, — seized by the	
Magistrate, but not given up. — Death of Khyen-bran, and	
tranquillity of the Borders. — Suspicious of Ava not allayed.	
Correspondence with the Viceroy of Pegu. — Chittagong and	
Districts in Bengal claimed by the Burmas, — reply of Lord	
Hastings. — Asam. — Internal Dissensions. — Burma Inter-	
ference. — Appropriation of the Province. — Barbarous Tribes.	
— Kachar. — Manipur, — Family Quarrels of its Rulers. —	
Burmas called in by Marjit, — placed on the Throne, — ex-	
pelled, dispossesses the Raja of Kachar, who applies to Ava.	
— Government of Bengal undertakes his restoration. —	

	Page.
Burmas enter Kachar, — are attacked. — Outrages on the Chittagong Frontier. — Claim to Shahpuri. — Position of the Island, — included in the British Districts, — Guard posted on it forcibly dislodged by the Burmas. — The Island re-occupied. — Remonstrance addressed to the King disregarded. — The Court of Ava determined on War. — Burma Forces in Kachar routed at Bikrampur and Jatrapur. — British Detachment repulsed at Dudhpatli, — retire to Sylhet. — Burma Mode of fighting, — Trenches, — Stockades. — Assemblage of Troops in Arakan. — Proclamation of War. — Plan of Hostilities. — Expedition against Rangoon from Bengal, — from Madras. — Situation and Defences of Rangoon, — the Town taken. — Policy of the Burmas. — Population of Rangoon desert the Place. — Supplies not procurable. Difficulties of the Troops. — Impossibility of Advance into the Interior. — Position of the British Troops at Rangoon. — Shwe-da-gon Pagoda, — Description of, — abandoned by the Priests, occupied by the British. — Double Lines connecting the Pagoda and the Town. — Military Excursions. — Setting in of the Rains . . . . .	153

## CHAPTER II.

Operations against the Burmas, — in Assam, — in Kachar, at Chittagong. — Detachment posted at Ramoo. — Burmas cross the Frontier in a large Force. — Inferiority of the British, — attacked by the Enemy. — Misconduct of the Irregulars, — retreat and flight of the Sipahis, — Great Alarm at Chittagong and Calcutta. — Inactivity of the Burmas, — Subsidence of the Panic. — Negrals and Cheduba reduced. — The British Lines at Rangoon harassed by the Burmas, — Detachment sent against them, — unfavourable State of the Country. — Burma Force encountered. — Stockades stormed, — Attack on Stockade at Kemendine. — Repulsed, — Burma Messengers, — object to gain Time. — Troops sent against Kemendine, — Entrenchment on the way carried by storm, — great slaughter. — Kemendine evacuated by the Enemy, — occupied permanently by the British. — Sickness of the Troops, — Unhealthiness of the

	Page.
Season,—Deficiency and Unwholesomeness of Food,—Mortality.—Re-appearance of the Burmas,—Defeat of part of their Force,—Affair at Dalla.—Stockades at the Confluence of the Rangoon and Lyne Rivers,—attacked by the Flotilla with Troops on board, and stormed.—Land Column attack Stockades at Kamrut,—seven Stockades,—two principal stormed, the rest abandoned.—Burma Commander among the killed.—Country inundated,—Expeditions by Water,—against Syriam,—Dalla,—and by Sea against Tavoy,—Mergui,—Ye,—and Martaban.—Attempt to recover the Shwe-da-gon by the “Invulnerables.”—War-boats captured.—Stockades on the river bank destroyed.—Madras Troops sent against Kyklu,—repulsed with loss.—A second Detachment sent against the Place,—found abandoned.—Entrenchments at Thantabain on the Lyne River, taken and destroyed.—Force enfeebled by sickness.—Approach of Maha Bandoola with Sixty Thousand Men.—British Force surrounded.—Burmas suffered to advance: their Left attacked and defeated.—Grand Army dispersed,—Bally at Kokien,—Attempts to burn Rangoon,—baffled.—Entrenchments at Kokien attacked and stormed.—Successes of the Flotilla.—Bandoola retreats to Donabew,—altered objects of the Campaign on the part of the Burmas . . .	53-56

## CHAPTER III.

Asam.—Advance of the British Troops.—Retreat of the Burmas to the Fort of Rangpur.—Dissensions of the Garrison,—capitulate.—Burmas evacuate Asam,—renew the Invasion in concert with the Sing-fos,—their Stockades taken, and they finally retire.—Kachar.—Army assembled for the Invasion of Ava from Kachar.—Nature of the Country,—impossibility of advance,—Project abandoned,—the Burmas driven from Manipur by Gambhir Sing.—Arakan.—Large Army and Flotilla assembled for the Invasion of Ava by way of Arakan,—difficulty of procuring Carriage,—Discontent of Bengal Troops,—Insubordination of the Regiments at Barrackpore,—ordered on Service,—Grievances unredressed.—47th in a state of Mutiny,—Measures



	Page.
for its Suppression.—Troops collected at Barrackpore.— Mutineers fired upon,—some killed, others taken and sen- tenced to Death, or to Imprisonment,—some executed,— the rest pardoned.—Difficult Progress of the Army in Arakan. —Road along the Coast crossed by wide Estuaries.—Passage of the Naf,—of the Myoo.—Army collected on the Koladyne.—Repulse of the Flotilla at Kiung-pala.—Ad- vance of the Army towards Arakan,—opposed by the Enemy.—First attempt to cross the Hills unsuccessful,— the Burma position turned,—Arakan occupied,—Burma Force evacuates the Province.—Sandoway and Ramri re- duced.—Attempts to discover Passes over the Mountains to Ava unsuccessful.—Unhealthiness of Arakan,—extreme Sickness and Mortality of the Troops,—the Town abandoned	88-115

## CHAPTER IV.

Rangoon.—Friendly Disposition of the People of Pegu,—  
invited to elect a Prince.—Communication with Chiefs,—  
Military Co-operation offered,—not received.—Determina-  
tion of Sir A. Campbell to advance,—in two Columns,—one  
by Land,—one by Water.—Detachment sent against Bassein.  
—Burmas retreat to Donabew, and Detachment returns to  
Rangoon.—March of the Land Column to Tharawadi,—  
found deserted,—thence to Yusdit,—whence it returns to  
Donabew.—Proceedings of Water Column,—Arrival below  
Donabew.—Attack of Stockades,—Insufficiency of Force,  
Junction of Land Column,—Batteries opened,—Sally of  
Burmas with Elephants,—Repulsed.—Death of Bandoola.  
—Donabew evacuated,—Arrival at Prome,—Force can-  
toned for the Rains,—Negotiations for Peace.—Aggression  
of Siamese on the Tenasserim Coast,—Repulsed.—Mission  
to the Burma Camp at Miaday.—Armistice agreed to.—  
Conference with the Kyi Wungyi.—Terms of Peace,—ob-  
jected to by the Burmas,—Renewal of Hostilities.—Repulse  
of British at Watigaon.—Advance of Burma Army,—at-  
tacked,—Defeat of their Left,—of their Right and Centre,  
—Retreat to Melloon.—Advance to Patanagoh.—Treaty  
with Ministers not ratified.—Entrenchments at Melloon

CONTENTS.

ix

	Page.
carried,—Advance to Pagahm.—Final Defeat of the Burma Army.—Affairs in Pegu.—Advance of Main Army to Yandabo.—Negotiations for Peace,—Treaty concluded,—Conditions,—Return of the Troops.—Reflections on the War,—its Inevitableness,—the Mode of its Prosecution,—Value of Acquisitions . . . . .	115 - 162

CHAPTER V.

State of Feeling in Hindustan in 1825.—Extensive Dissatisfaction.—Protected Sikh States.—Raja set up at Kunjawa,—Fort stormed.—Religious Impostor put down.—Outrages in Hariana.—Attack on Kalpee.—Mischievous Reports current in Malwa.—Predatory Incursions of Sheikh Dalla.—Rising of the Bhils in Baglana,—of the Coolies in Guzerat.—British Officers killed at Kittur,—Fort surrendered.—Capture of Omraiz.—Troublesome conduct of the Raja of Kolapur,—Force sent against him,—Treaty concluded,—violated and renewed,—Military Control maintained until his Death.—Disturbances in Cutch.—Incursions from Sindh.—Feelings of the People towards the British Government in the British Provinces.—Sentiments of the Native Princes.—Relaxation of Control.—Transactions with Alwar.—Claimants for the Raj.—Attempted Assassination of Ahmed Bakh Khan,—Investigation demanded,—refused by the Raja.—Transactions with Bhurt-pore.—Recognised Right of Succession of the Infant Raja.—Death of the Father, Baldeo Sing.—Guardian of the Minor murdered.—Durjan Sal seizes the chief Power,—his Right disallowed by the Resident of Delhi,—professes to act as Regent,—Professions not credited.—Sir D. Ochterlony assembles a Force against Bhurt-pore,—Measures disapproved of by the Government,—Employment of Troops countermanded,—Resignation and Death of Sir D. Ochterlony,—his Popularity,—Prudence of the Decision of the Government,—Final Determination.—Large Force assembled under the Commander-in-Chief.—Siege of Bhurt-pore, Walls breached,—Mines sprung,—carried by Storm,—Durjan Sal taken.—Regency appointed.—Advance against

	Page.
Alwar, — Raja submits. — Visit of the Governor-General to the Upper Provinces. — Intercourse with the King of <u>Qude</u> . — Loans by the Court of Lucknow. — Death of the King. — Missions from Holkar, — and from Sindbia. — Death of Daulat Rao. — Regency of Baizi Bai. — Adoption of a Successor. — Visit to Delhi. — Residence at Simla. — Friendly Communications with <u>Runjit Sing</u> . — <u>Insurrection of Afghans</u> , — incited by Syhed Ahmed, — his Death. — War between Persia and Russia, — Successes of the Russians. — Territory ceded and Indemnification paid by Persia. — Abrogation of British Subsidy. — Death of Abbas Mirza. — Return of the Governor-General to Calcutta. — Discussion of Judicial Arrangements. — Progress at the different Presidencies. — Death of Sir T. Munro. — State of Finances. — Domestic Affairs. — Succession of Bishops. — Advance of Education. — Expedition in search of Traces of La Perouse. — Close of Lord Amherst's Government and Departure for England . . .	162 <sup>2</sup> 3

#### CHAPTER VI.

Lord W. Bentinck appointed. — Prior to his Arrival, Mr. W. B. Bayley, Governor-General. — First Measures of Lord W. Bentinck. — Economical Reform. — Reduction of Military Allowances, or Half-Batta Retrenchment. — Great unpopularity of the Reduction. — Memorials against it referred to the Court of Directors. — Orders to maintain it. — Appointment of Committees of Finance. — Reductions effected. — Improvement of Sources of Revenue. — Attempt to limit the Production of Malwa Opium. — Treaties with Native Princes. — Evils and Insufficiency of the Plan. — Abandoned. — Opium Passes granted. — Successful. — Investigation of Rent-free Tenures. — Origin of Exemptions. — Recognised by the British Government. — Regulations for investigating Invalid Titles. — Appointment of Special Commissioners. — Petition against the Enactment. — Change of System in uniting Judicial and Revenue Functions. — Appointment of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit. — Advantages of Simplification. — Defects of the Plan, — its Failure. — Alterations in Civil Justice. — Extended Employment of Native Judges. — Second	
---	--

Page.

Court of Appeal appointed, and Deputation of Revenue Board at Allahabad.—Abolition of Suttee,—previous Measures of the Government to restrain the Practice,—their Insufficiency.—Civil and Military Officers consulted by Governor-General,—Difference of Opinion,—Arguments against Abolition,—those in favour of it,—Resolution of the Governor-General to prohibit Suttees,—Regulation to that effect,—no resistance offered,—prohibited at Madras and Bombay,—Petition of Hindus of Bengal against the Regulation,—Counter Petition,—Appeal to the King in Council,—read before the Privy Council,—Appeal dismissed,—prohibited by some of the Native States.—Enactments securing Hereditary Rights of Converts from Hinduism.—Judicial and Revenue Enactments at Madras and Bombay.—Discontinuance of Separate Legislation.—Dispute with Supreme Court of Bombay,—recent Establishment of the Court,—Loftiness of its Pretensions,—Extension of Claims of Jurisdiction.—Case of Moro Raghunath of Poona.—Writ of Habeas Corpus issued for his Production,—Execution resisted,—Jurisdiction of Court denied.—Death of two of the Judges.—Letter of the Government,—treated as derogatory and illegal,—referred by Petition of Sir J. Grant to the Privy Council,—Process re-issued,—opposed by the Government,—Court closed,—re-opened,—Grounds of Proceedings.—Powers of the Court of King's Bench universal over the Subjects of the Crown,—same delegated to the Court of Bombay.—Privy Council decide against the Pretensions of the Court.—Investigations in Bengal in Communication with the Judges as to a Legislative Council,—recommended.—Final Arrangement,—Legislative Member of Council.—Visit of Governor-General to the Hills.—Plan of Revenue.—Settlement of the North-Western Provinces finally determined, and actively carried on.—Practices of the Murderers, called Thugs,—Measures for their Extirpation,—their Success.—Progress of Education.—Exclusive Cultivation of English proposed,—objections to.—Steam Communication with Europe.—Commerce.—Finance.—Revenue . . . . . 238-315.

## CHAPTER VII.

	Page
Internal Occurrences, — occasional Disturbances, — Tumult raised by Mohammedan Fanatics near Calcutta, — suppressed. — Troubles on the Eastern Frontier. — Asam, — Incursions of Singphos. — Kaaya Hills, — Murder of Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, — desultory Hostilities, — Submission of the Chiefs, — Surrender of Raja Tirath Sing, imprisoned for Life, — succeeded by Raja Sing, — Agreement with him. — Kachar. — Assassination of the Raja, — annexed to the British Provinces. — Jyntia, — British Subjects sacrificed, — Land sequestered, — Raja pensioned. — Tenasserim, — Insurrection at Tavoy and Mergui, — defeated. — Malacca, — Demands on the Panghulu of Naning, — resisted, — deposed from his Office, — Detachment sent against him, — defeated, — Reinforcements sent from Madras, — opposed by the Malays, — advance to Tabo. — The Panghulu flies, — surrenders himself, — Naning annexed to Malacca, — Disturbances on the Western Frontier. — Sambhalpur, — Kole Insurrection in Chota-Nagpur. — Bamanghati. — Burrabhüm. — South-Western Frontier Provinces placed under a Commissioner. — Troubles in the Northern Circars and at Kemedi quieted. — State of Mysore, — Misgovernment of the Raja, — Popular Insurrections. — Raja deposed. — Mysore governed by a Commissioner. — Visit of Governor-General to the Madras Presidency. — Affairs of Coorg. — Cruelty of the Raja, — Enmity to the British, — Treacherous Designs, — declared an Enemy. — Invasion of Coorg in Four Divisions, Advance of the First and Second to Madhukaira, — the Third repulsed, — the Fourth obliged to retire, — the Raja surrenders, — sent a Prisoner to Bangalore, — the Province annexed to the British Government. — The Governor-General in the Nilgerhi Hills. — First Council of India. — Change of System proclaimed. — Return of Governor-General to Bengal	315-361.

 CHAPTER VIII.

Relations with Native States, — Abandonment of Protective Policy, — System of Non-interference, — partial and mis-

chievous Operation, — Interference authorised with Extra-Indian States, — Inconsistency, — and consequences. — King of Delhi sends an Agent to England. — The Governor-General declines an Interview. — Assassination of Mr. Fraser. — Punishment of the Murderers. — Affairs of Oude. — Guarantee of the Person and Property of the Minister, — continued in Office by the new King for a short time, — Dismissal and Demands against him, — allowed to retire to Cawnpore, — his Death. — Conduct of the King. — Appointment of Hakim Mehdi. — Salutary Reforms, — not considered sufficient. — King threatened with Deposal, — Resident not to interfere, — Solicitations of the Minister. — Progress of Reform. — Intrigues against Hakim Mehdi, — his Dismissal. — Conditional Instructions to assume the Government, — their enforcement suspended. — Death of the Nizam. — His Successor requires the Removal of the British Officers. — Decline of the Country. — Affairs of Palmer and Co. — Differences between the Directors and the Board of Control. — Writ of Mandamus. — Bhopal. — Disputes between the Begum and the young Nawab, — the latter set aside in favour of his Brother. — The Begum unwilling to relinquish her power. — Nawab appeals to the Governor-General, — has recourse to Arms, — final Success. — States of Ghaffur Khan and Amir Khan. — Visit of Amir Khan to the Camp of the Governor-General at Ajmer. — New Policy towards the States on the Indus. — Origin in England. — Commercial Treaties. — Interview with Runjit Sing. — Unsuccessful Attempt of Shah Shuja to recover Kabul. — Relations with the Mahrattas. — Nagpur prosperous under British Management, — transferred to the Raja. — Apa Saheb in Jodhpur. — Relaxation of Control over the Gaekwar. — Misgovernment of Syaji, — Quarrels with the Resident, — Districts sequestered, — restored to him. — State of Indore. — Defects in the Character of Holkar, — his Death. — Adoption of Martand Rao. — Government seized by Hari Holkar, — acknowledged as Raja. — Disputes at Gwalior. — Insurrection of the Soldiery in favour of the Raja. — Baiji Bai obliged to retire from Gwalior. — Settled in the Dekhin. — Result of British Policy. — Relations with the Rajput States. — Kota. — Disputes

	Page.
between the Rao and the Raj Rana.—Final Partition.—Bundi Family Dissensions. — Murder of the Minister.— Party from Jodhpur attacked.—Interference of the Political Agent.— Decline of Udaypur upon withdrawal of Interference.—Outrages of the Minas of Chappan checked. — Renewed Insurrection of the Grasias,—Exertions of the Superintendent,—Order re-established. — Death of the Rana Bhim Sing,—succeeded by his Son. — Jodhpur. — Disputes between Man Sing and his Chiefs.—Management of Mherwara. — Chiefs invite Dhokal Sing,—his Progress.—Raja alarmed.—British Government interferences, — cautious Character of Interference,—Mediation accepted. — Secret Hostility of Man Sing, he favours and shelters Marauders.—Force collected against Jodhpur. — Man Sing alarmed,—submits to all demands,—Jaypur, —long and uneasy Intercourse.—Influence of Jota Ram and Rupá Bhandarin. — Dislike by the Regent Rani of the Manager Bhyri Sal,—his Removal.—Doubts of the Existence of the young Raja.—Return of Jota Ram.—Sentiments of the Chiefs in favour of the Regent-Mother.—Public Appearance of the Raja. — Unpopular Measures of Jota Ram. — Discontent of the Chiefs. — Inveterate Animosity of Jota Ram to Bhyri Sal,—Efforts against him,—frustrated by British Guarantee. — Death of the Dowager Rani. — Force sent into Shekhawat. — Forts destroyed. — Raja protests against the Expedition, — his sudden Illness and Death. — Universal Suspicion.—Resignation of Jota Ram,—and Removal of Rupá.—Political Agent sent to Jaypur.—Bhyri Sal, Manager. — Attack on the Agent, and Murder of Mr. Blake, — traced to Jota Ram, — who is imprisoned for life. Murderers punished. — Council of Regency under general Control of the Resident. — Evils of Non-interference in regard to secondary Rajput States, — necessarily resumed. — Sirodhi Frontier.—Adjustment of disputes between Bhikaner, Jesselmer and Bahawalpur . . . . .	361

## CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings in England.—Termination of the Company's Charter.—Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament.

—Parliament dissolved.—Committee of House of Commons re-appointed,—interrupted and renewed,—appointed for the fourth time,—divided into Sub-Committees.—Reports submitted.—Questions at issue.—Monopoly of China Trade,—Objections to its continuance,—replied to.—Correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Ministers.—Paper of Hints.—Government of India to be left to the Company.—Objections of the Court.—Necessity of Commerce for the Government of India.—Payment of Territorial Charges in England dependant on Proceeds of Trade.—Deficiency of Revenue made good in part by Commercial Profits.—Reply of Mr. Grant.—Property of the Company to be transferred to Territory, and Dividends to be charged to it.—Objections of the Court.—Demand Securities.—Insinuated Liabilities of Assets.—Qualified Assent of the Court.—Stipulation for a Guarantee Fund, and for liberty to appeal to Parliament, objected to.—Question referred to Proprietors.—Proceedings of General Courts.—Resolutions proposed.—Amendment,—carried by Ballot,—communicated to Ministers,—consent to modify the Terms,—still objected to by the Court.—Ministers persist, and the Court submit.—Dissent of the Chairs.—Arrangements agreed to by the Proprietors,—submitted to Parliament.—Pecuniary Claims on Natives of India.—Claims of Bankers on the King of Oude.—Interference declined by the Court,—required by the Board.—Mandamus applied for,—not persisted in.—Claims on the Zemindar of Nozid,—disallowed by the Court,—adopted in Parliament.—Act passed in favour.—Claims of Mr. Hutchinson,—submitted to Parliament,—rejected.—Renewal of Charter brought before Parliament.—Observations of Mr. Grant.—Measures proposed.—Remarks of Mr. Wynn and Mr. Buckingham.—Resolutions passed and communicated to the House of Lords.—Opposition of Lord Ellenborough and Duke of Wellington.—Clauses of Bill discussed in both Houses,—communicated to the Court of Directors,—Objections of Court to a Change in the Constitution of the Indian Government,—to a fourth Presidency,—to Abolition of Subordinate Councils,—to additional Member of Council,—to Increase of Ecclesiastical Establishment,—and to



	Page.
Alteration in Appointment of Civilians.—Petitions against the Bill,—not received in either House of Parliament.—Bill passed the House of Commons.—Recommendation of the Court of Proprietors to acquiesce.—Dissent of Chairs.—Motives for its Adoption.—General Court determine by Ballot to accept the Bill.—Bill passed into a Law.—Termination of Company's Commercial Existence.—Concluding Remarks . . . . .	474-

HISTORY  
OF  
BRITISH INDIA.

---

BOOK III.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS  
OF HASTINGS, 1823, TO THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD  
W. BENTINCK, 1835.

---

CHAPTER I.

*Appointment of Mr. Canning as Governor-General.*  
— *Accession to the Ministry.* — *Lord Amherst appointed.* — *Mr. Adam Governor-General prior to his Arrival.* — *His Measures, regarding the Press; regarding Hyderabad.* — *Lord Amherst's Arrival.* — *Impending War with Ava.* — *Countries on the Eastern Frontier, — Asam, — Kachar, — Manipur, — Arakan, — Tenasserim, — Ava.* — *Burma conquest of Arakan.* — *Oppression of the People, — their Flight to the British Provinces of Chittagong, — allowed to settle.* — *Inroads into the Burma Districts, — ascribed to British encouragement.* — *Burma Forces cross the Frontier, — compelled to retire.* — *Insurgent Chiefs delivered up.* — *Emigrations repeated, and Fugitives demanded.* — *Missions to Ava.* — *Insurrection of Khyen-bran.* — *Mission of Captain Canning.* —

## HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

*His Recall.*—*Rebel Leaders defeated,*—*take Refuge in Chittagong,*—*demande*d by the Burmas, —*seized by the Magistrate, but not given up.*—*Death of Khyen-bran, and tranquillity of the Borders.*—*Suspensions of Ava not allayed.*—*Correspondence with the Viceroy of Pegu.*—*Chittagong and Districts in Bengal claimed by the Burmas,*—*reply of Lord Hastings.*—*Asam.*—*Internal Dissensions.*—*Burma Interference.*—*Appropriation of the Province.*—*Barbarous Tribes.*—*Kachar.*—*Manipur,*—*Family Quarrels of its Rulers.*—*Burmas called in by Marjit,*—*placed on the Throne,*—*expelled,*—*dispossesses the Raja of Kachar, who applies to Ava.*—*Government of Bengal undertakes his Restoration.*—*Burmas enter Kachar,*—*are attacked.*—*Outrages on the Chittagong Frontier.*—*Claim to Shahpuri.*—*Position of the Island,*—*included in the British Districts,*—*Guard posted on it forcibly dislodged by the Burmas.*—*The Island re-occupied.*—*Remonstrance addressed to the King disregarded.*—*The Court of Ava determined on War.*—*Burma forces in Kachar routed at Bikrampur and Jatrapur.*—*British Detachment repulsed at Dudhpatli,*—*retire to Sylhet.*—*Burma Mode of fighting,*—*Trenches,*—*Stockades.*—*Assemblage of Troops in Arakan.*—*Proclamation of War.*—*Plan of Hostilities.*—*Expedition against Rangoon from Bengal,*—*from Madras.*—*Situation and Defences of Rangoon,*—*the Town taken.*—*Policy of the Burmas.*—*Population of Rangoon desert the Place.*—*Supplies not procurable.*—*Difficulties of the Troops.*—*Impossibility of*

*Advance into the Interior. — Position of the British Troops at Rangoon. — Shwe-da-gon Pagoda, — Description of, — abandoned by the Priests, — occupied by the British. — Double Lines connecting the Pagoda and the Town. — Military Excursions. — Setting in of the Rains.*

As soon as the intention of the Marquis of BOOK III.  
Hastings to retire from the Government of CHAP. I.  
India was made known to the Court of Directors, 1823.  
they proceeded to nominate a successor in the person of George Canning. This distinguished statesman and orator had held the office of President of the Board of Control from June 1816 to December 1820, and by his general concurrence with the commercial and political measures of the Court, had secured their good will and that of the proprietary body.<sup>1</sup> The embarrassing position in which he stood towards his colleagues in the administration, and his consequent separation from them, disposed them to contemplate with satisfaction his removal to a distant region; and his nomination was readily confirmed. It may be doubted, if Mr. Canning accepted the appointment without reluctance. The field most congenial to his talents was the House of Commons, where his display of wit and eloquence ensured him the admiration of even his bitterest opponents. In India, as he well knew from his experience at the Board, oratory was of no value: he would there

<sup>1</sup> See Correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Right Honourable George Canning, President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors.—Asiatic Journal, April and May, 1821.

BOOK III. have to act, not to talk—to reason, not to debate—  
CHAP. I. and, instead of pouring out a torrent of words fitter  
 1823. to bewilder than to convince, admitting no pause for  
 thought, he would have to vindicate his proceedings by principles carefully weighed and cautiously advocated, and subject to the calm and deliberate scrutiny of superior authority. That some such hesitation influenced his purposes, may be inferred from the scant alacrity of his preparations for his departure. The delay was productive of a change of destiny; and before he had embarked for India, the death of Lord Castlereagh and the exigencies of the government placed him in the position of which he had long been ambitious, and for which he was eminently qualified, that of the leading representative of the ministry in the House of Commons.

The elevation of Mr. Canning to a principal place in the Home Administration, again left the office of Governor-General vacant. The vacancy was filled up by the nomination of Lord Amherst, a nobleman who had taken no share in the party animosities of the period; but who, a few years before, had discharged with credit the embarrassing office of Envoy to China, and had resisted with dignity and firmness the attempts of the Court of Peking to extort from him those confessions of humiliation, which it was its policy to demand from all states so abject or unwise as to solicit the admittance of their representatives to the Imperial presence. Untaught by the repeated failures of both the Dutch and English governments to negotiate with the cabinet of Peking upon a footing of

equality, the despatch of an Embassy by the Crown had been urged by the Company's servants in China upon the home authorities, consequently upon disputes with the vice-regal government of Canton, and the recommendation had been inconsiderately adopted. The disagreements had in the mean time been adjusted on the spot; and the only results of the mission were the subjection of the ambassador to gross personal indignity, and the precipitate dismissal of the Embassy without any communication with the emperor. (The conduct of Lord Amherst under these trying circumstances had afforded entire satisfaction to his own government and to the Court of Directors; and his elevation to the high office of Governor General of India was a compensation for the ordeal he had gone through at Peking.)

In the interval that elapsed between the departure of the Marquis of Hastings in January, 1823, and the arrival of Lord Amherst in the August following, the Government devolved upon the senior member of Council, Mr. John Adam. During the brief period of his administration, tranquillity prevailed throughout Hindustan; and the prosperous condition of the finances enabled him to address his principal attention to the relief of the public burthens, and the adoption of measures of internal improvement. (The interest of the public debt was finally reduced from six to five per cent., and a proportionate annual diminution of expense consequently effected.)<sup>1</sup> The accession to the revenue

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Proceedings of the late Embassy to China, by Henry Ellis.—Notes of Proceedings and Occurrences during the British Embassy to Peking, in 1816, by Sir G. Thomas Staunton.

<sup>2</sup> The annual amount of interest in Bengal in 1821-2, was Rupees

BOOK III  
CHAP. I.

1823.

thus realised was considered by the local government to be applicable to objects of public advantage; and, consistently with this impression, it was determined to give effect to the provision of the last Charter, sanctioning the yearly outlay of one lakh of rupees on account of native education, and to adopt measures for the systematic promotion of so important an object. (Other projects of a like beneficent tendency were in contemplation, when they were suspended by prohibitory instructions from home, and finally frustrated by the financial difficulties consequent upon an expensive war.)

The proceedings of Mr. Adam's administration, with respect to the Calcutta press and to the house of Palmer and Co., at Hyderabad, have been already adverted to. Upon these two subjects, he had, while Member of Council, uniformly dissented from the opinions of the Governor-General; and it was to be anticipated, from his known character for firmness and consistency, that, whenever the decision rested with himself, he would not be deterred by any fear of unpopularity, from acting up to the

1,60,00,000; in 1822-3, it was reduced to Rupees 1,30,00,000, being a diminution of thirty Lakhs, or £300,000.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1842, vol. i. part 2. p. 246.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Court to the Bengal Government, 24th Feb. 1824.—Report Commons Committee, Public App. p. 107. "The act of the 53rd George III., the Court observe, "provides that the appropriation of any surplus, with exception of the provision for literary purposes, shall be restricted to the liquidation of the public debt." And they question the estimate of the Bengal Government as to the amount of the surplus; as it was not apprised of the extent of the home demands on territorial account; the Court having already ordered a remittance from India of two millions sterling to provide for the charge, and announcing a further outlay during the current year of nearly a like extent. These remittances must have been provided from some other source, as the surplus was soon absorbed by the expenses of the war with Ava.

principles he had maintained. The occasion soon occurred. (The editor of the *Calcutta Journal* having infringed the regulations to which the press had been subjected by the Government, rendered himself liable to the infliction of the penalty with which he had been previously menaced; and he was, consequently, deprived of his license to reside in Bengal, and compelled to return to England. This proceeding exposed Mr. Adam to much obloquy, both in India and in England; but the sentence was confirmed by repeated decisions of the Court of Proprietors, and by the judgment of the Privy Council, upon a petition for the annulment of the Press regulations, which was refused; and it was no more than the natural and necessary result of the conviction which Mr. Adam had all along avowed, of the incompatibility of an unrestricted freedom of the press with the social condition of British India.)

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1823.

(The connection of the mercantile house of Palmer and Company with the minister of the Nizam had

<sup>1</sup> See Reports of Debates at the India House, 9th and 23rd July, 1824; 22nd December, 1824; 18th January, 1826. After the latter, in which the question of compensation for losses incurred was discussed, a ballot was taken on the 11th April, 1826, when 167 voted for, and 436 against it.—*Asiatic Journal*, *passim*.—For the decision of the Privy Council, *ibid*, November, 1825.

<sup>2</sup> The nature of Mr. Buckingham's offence might have seemed to call for a punishment less severe, as it was merely a paragraph throwing ridicule upon the appointment of a minister of the Scotch church to the office of Clerk to the Committee of Stationery; but the act was a breach of the regulation prohibiting editors of papers from commenting on the measures of the Government; and it was committed in defiance of a previous intimation, that on the first occasion on which such a disregard for the regulations of the Government, as had been formerly evinced, should be repeated, the penalty of a revocation of the license would be inflicted. The particular occasion was of little moment: it was the reiteration of the offence which incurred the sentence.



BOOK III. always been strenuously objected to by Mr. Adam,  
 CHAP. I. and he had warmly supported the similar views  
 1822. entertained by the resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe.  
 He was fully prepared, therefore, to carry into  
 effect the orders of the Court, received shortly  
 before the departure of his predecessor, and to put  
 an end to transactions which he considered as un-  
 just to the Nizam and discreditable to the British  
 character. The advance to the Nizam of a suffi-  
 cient sum to discharge his debt to Palmer and  
 Company, in redemption of the tribute, on account  
 of the Northern Circars, was in consequence con-  
 cluded; and the house was interdicted from any  
 further pecuniary dealings with the Court.<sup>1</sup> The  
 determination was fatal to the interests of the  
 establishment; and, as many individuals were in-  
 volved in its failure, the measure contributed to  
 swell the tide of unpopularity against the Govern-  
 or-General: such, however, was the solid worth of his  
 character, and such the universal impression of his  
 being alone actuated by a conscientious considera-  
 tion for the public good, that his retirement from  
 public duty on account of failing health, and his  
 subsequent decease, called forth a general expres-  
 sion of regret from his contemporaries, and a de-  
 served tribute of acknowledgment from those whom  
 he had long faithfully and ably served.<sup>1</sup> )

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Adam died on the 4th June, 1825, on board the *Albion*, bound to England, where she arrived on the 11th September. On the 14th, the following resolution was passed by the Court of Directors:—“Resolved unanimously, That this Court, having received the melancholy intelligence of the death of Mr John Adam, in his passage from India to this country, desire to record in the strongest terms their deep sense of his exemplary integrity, distinguished ability, and indefatigable zeal in the service of the East India Company, during a period of nearly thirty years; in the course of which, after filling the

The new Governor-General assumed the supreme authority in August, 1823, and had scarcely had time to cast a hasty glance at the novel circumstances around him, when indications of a storm, which had been silently gathering for a long time past upon the eastern portion of the British dominions, became too imminent to be longer disregarded, and required to be encountered with all the energies of the state.) Hostilities were unavoidable, and the war had to be carried on under circumstances peculiarly unpromising. (As in the case of the conflict with Nepal, the enemy was a semi-barbarous power, inflated with an overweening confidence in his own strength, and ignorant of the superior resources of the British Indian empire; but in Nepal, although the surface was rugged, the mountains were not unfriendly to health and life; and their contiguity to the plains brought within easy reach all the means and appliances that were essential to military movements. (In Ava, the marsh and the forest, teeming with deleterious vapours, were to be traversed; and the supplies, of which the country was destitute, could be furnished only from a distant region, and for the most part, by a slow, precarious, and costly transport by sea.) (In Ava also, as in Nepal, but in a still greater degree, the difficulties of a campaign were inordinately enhanced, by the total absence of local knowledge, and ignorance of the inhospitable and impervious tracts

highest offices under the Bengal Government, he was more than six years a member of the Supreme Council, and held, during some months of that time, the station of Governor-General. And that the Court most sincerely participate in the sorrow which must be felt by his relations and friends on this lamented event."

BOOK III  
 CHAP. I.  
 1823.

BOOK III. through which it was attempted to march with all  
CHAP. I. the array and impediments of civilised war.)

1823.

The countries lying on the east and south-east of the British frontier of Bengal, from Asam to Arakan, a distance from north to south of about four hundred miles, were almost unknown at this period to European geography, having been hitherto closed against the inquiries of the Company's officers by their inherent physical difficulties, the barbarous habits of the people, the jealousy of their chiefs, and the unwillingness of the Indian government to sanction any enterprise of their servants, which might inspire doubts of their designs in the minds of the rulers of the adjacent regions.) On the most northern portion of the boundary, the valley of Asam, watered by the converging branches of the Brahmaputra, was immediately contiguous to the province of Rungpore, whence it stretched for three hundred and fifty miles in a north-easterly direction to snow-clad mountains separating it from China. Along its southern limits, a country of hill and forest, tenanted by a number of wild tribes, with whom no intercourse had ever been opened, spread towards the east, and in its central portion, under the designation of Kachar, was conterminous on the west with the British district of Sylhet, and was bounded on the east by the mountain-girdled valley of Manipur. Similar tracts, inhabited by rude uncivilised races, extended to the south, skirting the provinces of Tipera and Chittagong, until the latter was divided by an inlet of the sea, from the principality of Arakan, recently become a part of the Burma dominions. Beyond Arakan, extend-

ing southwards to Tenasserim, and northwards to Asam, the whole of the territory west of the Chinese frontier acknowledged the sovereignty of the King of Ava, who was thus, in Arakan, the immediate neighbour of the British Indian empire, and was separated from it throughout the rest of its eastern limits by petty states, and uncivilised races, too feeble to defend themselves against his power, and rapidly falling a prey to his ambition. It had long been foreseen, that the progressive approximation of the Burma dominion was calculated to lead to a collision; and circumstances early occurred, which could not fail to create mutual dissatisfaction and distrust. The tone of the Government of Ava was always of a tendency to provoke resentment rather than invite forbearance; and although it was no part of the policy of the Government of Bengal to excite the suspicion, or incur the enmity of the Court of Ava, yet some of the transactions in which it was engaged were not unlikely to arouse such feelings in a haughty and ambitious state, and one incapable of appreciating the motives by which the relations of civilised powers with their neighbours are regulated. The position of Chittagong had, in an especial manner, furnished cause for reciprocal offence and irritation.

In the year 1784, the Burmas invaded the principality of Arakan, long an independent kingdom, and when first visited by Europeans, abounding in population and affluence. The people of Arakan, although identical in origin with the Burmas, speaking the same language, and following similar institutions, had until the period specified

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1823.

BOOK III. formed a distinct political society, the rulers of  
 CHAP. 2. which, tracing their descent from remote periods,  
 1823. had at various times extended their sway over  
 countries lying to their north-west, including  
 Chittagong, Tipera, Dacca, and other parts of  
 Bengal. Engaged repeatedly in hostilities with the  
 Burmas, the affinity of race had only exacerbated  
 mutual antipathy, and an implacable animosity  
 separated the two nations more effectually than the  
 mountain barriers which interposed between them.  
 Civil dissension at length undermined the inde-  
 pendence of Arakan. At the invitation of a disloyal  
 chieftain, the forces of Minderagi Prabu, the king of  
 Ava, crossed the Yumadong mountains, defeated the  
 troops opposed to them, took prisoner the king of  
 Arakan, Samada, with his family, and condemned them  
 to perpetual captivity.<sup>1</sup> The king shortly afterwards  
 died; his relations were suffered to sink into ob-  
 scurity, and Arakan became an integral part of the  
 kingdom of Ava, under the authority of a viceroy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sketch of Arakan, by Charles Paton, Esq.—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi.—On the History of Arakan, by Captain Phayre, Senior Assistant Commissioner.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. vols. x. 675, and xiii. 23. According to Captain Phayre, the people of Arakan call themselves Myammas, which, in Burma pronunciation, is the same as Brammas, or Burmas. Their language and written characters are the same, with some varieties of articulation. The country they term Rakhain, and refer it to the Sanscrit word Rakshas, a malignant spirit. Besides the Myamma, the population consists of various hill and forest tribes, apparently of kindred origin; also of a considerable proportion of Mohammedans and Bengalis, and of a mixed race from Myamma fathers and Bengali mothers to whom the term "Mugs" is properly restricted, although it is indiscriminately applied by the English to Bengal to the people of Arakan. The Mugs follow the faith of their fathers, a corrupt Buddhism, but their language is Bengali. Symes says, Mogo is a term of religious import, applied to the priesthood and the King, whence the inhabitants are improperly termed Mugs.—*Embassy to Ava*, 104. Lieutenant Phayre is a better authority, but he leaves the etymology of the term "Mug" unexplained.

<sup>2</sup> Symes, *Embassy to Ava*, 110.

The oppressive system of the Burma government, and the heavy exactions which they levied, soon reduced the people to extreme misery and drove them into repeated insurrections: the severity with which these were repressed, and despair of effective resistance, were followed by the flight of vast numbers of the natives to the borders of Chittagong, where they were permitted to settle upon extensive tracts of waste land hitherto untenanted. Many became industrious and peaceable cultivators; but others, lurking in the border forests, emboldened by the certainty of a safe refuge, and instigated by proximity to their native country, to which the people of Arakan have a strong attachment, availed themselves of the opportunity to harass the intrusive government, and by constant predatory incursions disturb its repose and impair its resources. (As these marauders issued from the direction of the British districts, and fell back upon them on any reverse of fortune; and as they experienced the treatment which humanity dictated, and were encouraged to become peaceable subjects of the Company, the court of Ava, not very unreasonably, suspected that they were abetted in their incursions by the British authorities, who were thus carrying on a covert war against the Burmas, which it became necessary to oppose by open force.)

In the year 1793, three insurgent chiefs of some note, who had been defeated in one of their enterprises, fled as usual to the Company's territory of Chittagong.<sup>1</sup> Without any communication of his

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Symes speaks of these men as robbers—leaders of banditti—being either uninformed of their political character, or not choosing to acknowledge it. p. 117.

BOOK III. purposes to the British functionaries, the Burma monarch commanded that the fugitives should be pursued whithersoever they had fled, and brought back dead or alive. A force of five thousand men was sent across the Naf on this duty, and an army, twenty thousand strong, was to be assembled at Arakan for their support if necessary. The general of the Burma force, after crossing the river, addressed the judge and magistrate of Chittagong, explaining the occasion of his inroad, but disclaiming hostile intentions, if the fugitives were secured and delivered into his hands. At the same time, he declared that he should not quit the Company's territories until they were given up; and, in confirmation of his menace, he fortified his camp with a stockade. To submit patiently to so unjustifiable a violation of the British boundary, surpassed even the pacific forbearance of Sir John Shore; and a detachment was sent from Calcutta and Chittagong under General Erskine, to compel the Burmas to withdraw into their own confines, it being intimated to them that, after their retreat, the delinquents whom they were in quest of, and who had been secured by the magistrates, should be given up, if the British government was satisfied of the justice of the charges against them. After receiving this assurance, the Burma commander retired, having carefully restrained his men during their encampment in the Company's territory from any act of violence or spoliation. The three insurgent chiefs, after undergoing the form of a judicial investigation, were pronounced guilty, and delivered to their enemies. Two of them were shut up in closed

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1823.

cells and starved to death; the third contrived to escape, and found a more permanent asylum than on his first flight, in Chittagong. (The cession of the fugitives was ascribed by the Burmas to no principle of international equity, but to dread of their resentment, and contributed to confirm them in a belief, which they had begun to entertain, of their own superiority to the foreign conquerors of Hindustan; an impression which was strengthened by the efforts made to conciliate the court of Ava, and the despatch of a friendly mission under the conduct of Captain Symes.<sup>1</sup>)

(A very few years witnessed the recurrence of similar transactions) and in the years 1797 and 1798, a body of people, amounting, it is said, to between thirty and forty thousand, emigrated from Arakan into the Chittagong district.<sup>2</sup> The viceroy sent after them a military force across the frontier, and wrote a threatening letter to the magistrate announcing the occurrence of war between the two states, unless the emigrants were forced to return to Arakan. The magistrate insisted on the im-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Buchanan, who accompanied Captain Symes in the Embassy sent by Sir J. Shore, in 1796, observes: "The opinion that prevailed, both at Chittagong and Ava, was, that the refugees were given up from fear; and this opinion has, no doubt, continued to operate on the ill-informed Court of Ava, and has occasioned a frequent repetition of violence and insolence ending in war. These evils might possibly have been avoided by a vigorous repulse of the invasion in 1794; and a positive refusal to hearken to any proposal for giving up the insurgents, after the Court of Ava had adopted hostile measures in place of negotiation."—Account of the Frontier between Bengal and Ava. Edinburgh Journal of Science. October, 1825.

<sup>2</sup> An officer, Captain Cox, was employed to superintend their location. According to his report, he had a register of 13,000 settlers; and he had reason to believe, that between 40,000 and 50,000 would come forward as soon as he could assign them lands sufficient for their maintenance. Above 10,000 were located in the situation subsequently known as Cox's Bazar.—Malcolm, Pol. India, i. 556.



BOOK III. mediate retreat of the Burmas; but they stockaded  
CHAP. I. themselves, and repulsed an attack upon their in-  
 1823. trenchments. They shortly afterwards withdrew;  
 and as the court was then occupied with schemes of  
 conquest in Asam, it was judged expedient to have  
 recourse to moderate counsels, and an envoy was  
 despatched to Calcutta, to negociate for the restora-  
 tion of the fugitives. In the meantime, the  
 government of Bengal had resolved to admit the  
 emigrants to the advantages of permanent colonisa-  
 tion, and assigned them unoccupied lands in the  
 southern portion of the district, engaging that they  
 should not be suffered to molest the Burma settlers  
 in Arakan, and that no more should be permitted  
 to cross over into the Company's possessions. Lord  
 Wellesley flattered himself that these promises, and  
 the assurances given to the envoy, would satisfy the  
 court of Ava of the friendly disposition of the  
 British government; but so far was this expectation  
 from being realised, that in 1800, the demand for  
 the restoration of the emigrants was renewed, ac-  
 companied by the threat of invasion, if not complied  
 with. It did not suit the convenience of the  
 Bengal government to take serious notice of the  
 menace; and it was treated as the unauthorised  
 impertinence of the viceroy of Arakan. A force  
 was, however, posted on the frontier, and Colonel  
 Symes was again sent as an envoy to Ava, to ap-  
 pease the indignation of the monarch. No particu-  
 lars of this second mission have ever been given to  
 the public; but it is known to have failed in effect-  
 ing any of its objects. The Envoy was detained  
 three months at Mengwon, the temporary residence

of the court. During this period, he was admitted to a single and disdainful audience of the king, and at the end was allowed to leave the place without any notice. No public answer was vouchsafed to a letter addressed by the Governor-General to the king; and a reply which was privately furnished, and was of questionable authenticity, took no notice of the subject of the letter which it professed to answer. (The only effect of this mission was to lower the Indian government in the estimation of the Burma Court.)

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1823.

The suspicions of the Court of Ava were again aroused, and invigorated by the events which took place in the same quarter in 1811; when a formidable rising of the people occurred under the guidance of (Khyen-bran), the son of the district officer, by whom the Burmas had been invited into Arakan, and who had been rewarded for his treason with the contempt and neglect which it deserved. The resentment which he consequently cherished against the Burmas, (was bequeathed to his son, who had

<sup>1</sup> The official despatch, announcing the result of the mission, states, that Colonel Symes received assurances of the friendly disposition of the Burma Court, on which he had succeeded in impressing the fullest confidence, in the good faith and amicable views of the British Government.—*Pol. History of India*, i. 567. It is rather incompatible with this impression, that, in 1809, it was ascertained that the Burmas had for years meditated seriously the conquest of Chittagong and Dacca. The disgraceful treatment of the Embassy, we now learn, however, from another source.—*Historical Review of the Political Relations between the British Government in India and the Empire of Ava*. By G. J. Bayfield, Acting Assistant to the British Resident in Ava. Revised by the Resident Lieut.-Col. Burney. Calcutta, 1835.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Chief, usually denominated by English inaccuracy, King-bering. The name is, properly, Khyen-byan; the latter pronounced by the Burmas "bran," meaning, according to Lieutenant Phayre, Khyen-return: the boy having been born after his father's return from a visit to the mountain tribe, called Khyens.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1823.

been one of the emigrants to Chittagong) After a tranquil residence of some years, Khyen-bran collected a numerous band of his countrymen, and at their head burst into Arakan, the whole of which, with the exception of the capital, he speedily reduced to his authority. Arakan itself capitulated; but the terms were violated, and great disorders were committed by the victors. It was the firm conviction of the Viceroy of Arakan, that this formidable aggression originated with, and was supported by, the government of Bengal; and such was the view, undoubtedly, entertained by the king and his ministers.<sup>1</sup> In the hope of effacing so mistaken an impression, Captain Canning,<sup>2</sup> who had twice before been employed on a similar duty,<sup>3</sup> was sent to Ava to disavow all connection with the insurgents, and to assure the court of the desire of the government of Bengal to maintain undisturbed the existing amicable intercourse. He found the court, as he expected, so strongly impressed with the belief that the British government was implicated in the late revolt, that, in anticipation of hostilities, an embargo had been laid upon the British vessels at Rangoon.) This was taken off by the Viceroy of

<sup>1</sup> Papers, Burmese War. Printed for Parliament.—Despatch of Governor-General, 23rd Jan. 1812, par. 9.

<sup>2</sup> His first mission was in 1803, when he was deputed as British Agent at Rangoon; but the inimical conduct of the Viceroy curtailed his residence there to less than a twelvemonth. He was sent a second time in 1809, to explain the nature of the blockade imposed upon the trade with the Isles of France. He was treated with rather more civility than on his first visit, and was allowed to proceed to Amara-pura, where he had an audience of the King. No reply was given by His Majesty to the letter from the Governor-General, with which the Envoy was charged; but one from the ministers hinted at the pretensions of Ava to Chittagong and Dacca. Nothing more satisfactory could be obtained.

Pegu, in compliance with the assurances and remonstrances of the Envoy: but the temper of the Court was less placable; and before Captain Canning had quitted Rangoon for the capital, he was apprised that the Viceroy of Arakan had entered into the Company's confines with a hostile force, and was instructed to return immediately to Bengal. On the other hand, peremptory orders were received from the Court to send Captain Canning to the capital, by force, if requisite, it being the obvious intention of the Burma cabinet to detain him as a hostage for the delivery of Khyen-bran. The commands of his own government, and the firmness of the Envoy, disappointed the project of the Court; and the presence of two of the Company's armed vessels at Rangoon deterred the Viceroy from recourse to violence. Captain Canning returned to Calcutta, and no further missions were ventured to Ava, until the events of the war had secured greater respect for the person of a British Envoy.

The triumph of Khyen-bran was of brief duration. As soon as the rainy season had ended, a large Burma force marched into Arakan, recaptured the town, and defeated and dispersed the insurgents. They fled to their former haunts, and were followed by a division of the victorious army to the British frontier. The delivery of the rebel leaders was demanded by the Viceroy of Arakan, with a threat, that, in the event of non-compliance, he would invade the Company's territories with a force of sixty thousand men, and would annex Chittagong and Dacca to the dominions of his sovereign. In

BOOK III. consequence of these proceedings, the troops on the  
 CHAP. I. frontier were reinforced, and intimation was convey-  
 1823. ed to the Viceroy, (that any violation of the boundary  
 would be at once resented.) This show of firmness  
 had the effect of checking the military demonstra-  
 tions of Ava, and the delivery of the rebel leaders  
 was made the subject of negotiation. Envoy's were  
 sent to Bengal on the part, nominally, of the vice-  
 roys of Arakan and Pegu to urge compliance. The  
 tone of the communications was ill calculated to  
 attain their object.<sup>1</sup> ]

As soon as they had recovered from the effects of  
 their discomfiture, Khyen-bran and his followers re-  
 newed their incursions with varying but generally  
 unfavourable results; and as their ravages served only  
 to keep alive the irritation of the Ava government  
 and perpetuate the distracted state of the districts  
 on either bank of the Naf, it became necessary to  
 take some active measures for their suppression. A  
 proclamation was accordingly issued, prohibiting  
 any of the subjects of the Company from aiding  
 and abetting the insurgents in any manner what-  
 ever, directly or indirectly; and rewards were  
 offered for the apprehension of their chiefs—de-  
 tachments of troops were also sent to disperse any  
 armed assemblages of the people, and to secure the  
 leaders. Several were arrested, and some check  
 was given to the aggressions on the Burma pro-  
 vince: but the attachment of his countrymen effect-

<sup>1</sup> In a letter from the Viceroy of Pegu, the Governor General was informed, that, by surrendering the Mug fugitives and sending them to Ava, he might obtain the royal pardon for the numerous falsehoods he had written. His Majesty would take patience, and many human beings would enjoy peace and tranquillity.—Bayfield's Historical Review, p. 36.

ually screened Khyen-bran from seizure; and as long as he was at large, it was not in the power of either the British or the Burma government to prevent him from collecting adherents, and harassing at their head the oppressors of his country.

This condition of the frontier continued with little amelioration during the three succeeding years. The same aggressions were repeated, and provoked the like demonstrations and menaces on the part of the Burmas, which were met by the same disclaimers, and preparations for resistance, on that of the British. All attempts to put a stop to the source of these distractions were unavailing. Many of the principal followers of Khyen-bran were apprehended; and, although humanity prevented their being given up to the Burmas, they were removed from the scene of action, and kept in strict confinement. His parties were repeatedly scattered by British or Burma detachments; his haunts were broken up, and his principal fortress, a strong stockade at Tyne, in the heart of the thickets, was taken and destroyed. (He still continued in arms; and it was not until the beginning of 1815, that his death put an end to the border troubles of Chittagong and Arakan, and removed all occasion for discord between the neighbouring states.) (It did not, however, extinguish the feelings which the suspected connivance of the British government in the outrages of the insurgents had inspired, and the resentment which was thus excited, and the jealousy which was ever afterwards entertained, were among the principal causes of the ensuing war.)

Although some disturbances, springing from the

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1823.

BOOK III.  
 CHAP. I.

1823.

irruption of parties of the expatriated Arakaners into the Burma dependencies, survived Khyen-bran, yet they were not of sufficient importance to interrupt the good understanding which it was endeavoured to preserve, with the Burma authorities of Arakan. It was evident, however, that their government was not to be satisfied, except by the surrender of the captured chiefs; the demand for which was from time to time reiterated, notwithstanding the firm, but temperate, refusal of the Governor-General to comply with the application. In 1817, a letter from the Raja of Ramri, or, as he styled himself, the Governor of the Four Provinces, Arakan, Chyn-da, Cheduba, and Ramri, having called upon the magistrate of Chittagong to restore the fugitives from Arakan, to their dependence upon Ava, the opportunity was taken of explaining to his superior, the Viceroy of Pegu, the principles by which the conduct of the governments of India was actuated. In the reply of the Marquis of Hastings, it was stated, that the British government could not, with a due regard to the dictates of justice, deliver up those who had sought its protection, some of whom had resided within its boundary for thirty years: no restraint was imposed upon their voluntary return, but no authority could be employed to enforce it: the necessity of such a measure was now less manifest than ever, as the troubles which had existed, had, through the vigilance and perseverance of the British officers, been suppressed, and the tranquil habits of the settlers had rendered their recurrence extremely improbable. No notice was taken of this letter, but that it had failed to appease the haughty

spirit of the Court, was soon evidenced by the receipt of a second despatch from the same functionary, in which he insisted upon the restitution of Ramoo, Chittagong, Murshedabad, and Dacca.) This claim was seriously put forth. (It has been mentioned, that some of the kings of Arakan had, at remote periods, exercised temporary dominion over portions of Bengal; and the monarch of Ava, having succeeded to their sovereignty, considered himself entitled to the whole of the territories which had acknowledged their sway.) To give the weight of intimidation to these pretensions, the recent conquests of Ava, in Asam, Manipur, and Kachar, were pompously exaggerated. The letter was sent back to the Viceroy of Pegu, (with an expression of the belief of the Governor-General, that it was an unauthorised act of the Raja of Ramri, and of his conviction, that if it could be supposed to emanate from the King of Ava, it would justify the Bengal government in regarding it as a declaration of war.) The Marquis of Hastings was, however, too much occupied in Central India, at this time, to bestow any serious attention upon the arrogant pretensions of a barbarous court; and the brilliant successes of the Pindari campaign, which were known, although imperfectly, at Amarapura, contributed to deter the Burma ministers from repeating their demands. The accession of a new sovereign in the place of Minderaji Prahū in 1819, and the active interposition of his successor in the affairs of the countries to the northward, and especially in Manipur and Asam, deterred the Burmas apparently from reiterating their claims, although they rather

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1822.



BOOK III. favoured than discountenanced their project of  
CHAP. I. eventual collision with the government of Bengal)

1823.

The rich valley of Asam had long been the scene of internal dissension, the inevitable consequence of the partition of authority among a number of petty chiefs, each of whom claimed, as his hereditary right, a voice in the nomination of the Raja, and a share in the administration. Originally a Hindu principality, Asam had been subjugated in the 13th century by princes of the Shan race, and they had required the services of their chief adherents, by dividing with them the functions of the government. Three principal ministers, termed Gohains, formed a council, without whose concurrence the Raja could issue no commands, nor was he legally enthroned until they had assented to his elevation. The Raja had the power of dismissing either of these individuals, but only in favour of some person of the same family. Officers of inferior rank, but equally claiming by title of inheritance, termed Phokans and Barwas, exercised various degrees of authority. The most important of them, styled the Bor Phokan, was the governor of an extensive portion of Central Asam. The encroachments of these dignitaries on the ill-defined authority of the Raja, and his endeavours to free himself from their control, generated a perpetual succession of domestic intrigues, which were not unfrequently fatal to all who were concerned in them.

In 1809, a conspiracy was set on foot by the Raja, Chandra Kanta, to get rid of the Boora Gohain, an able but imperious minister, who had for some time engrossed all the authority of the state,

removing all who stood in his way or thwarted his views, by putting them to death either publicly or by assassination. The Gohain detected the plot, and the Bor Phokan, being one of the chief conspirators, was obliged to fly. He repaired to Calcutta, and solicited the government to rescue his master from his humiliating and dangerous position. As all interference was declined, he next had recourse to the Burmas, and met with better success, as they sent him back to Asam with a force of six thousand men. The Boora Gohain had died before their arrival, and Chandra Kanta, no longer in need of foreign support against his too-powerful minister, dismissed his allies, with valuable presents; among which was a princess of the royal family for his majesty of Ava. The zeal of the Bor Phokan met with an ungrateful return: the Raja was induced, by the intrigues of another member of the supreme council, the Bor Gohain, and the chief secretary or Bor Barwa, to put him to death. His relations fled to Ava. In the meantime, the son of the late Boora Gohain, inheriting his father's ambition and enmity to the Raja, drew from obscurity a prince of the ruling dynasty, Purandhar Sing, and had influence enough to raise him to the throne. Chandra Kanta was deposed and taken prisoner; but Purandhar Sing was contented with ordering his right ear to be slit, any mutilation being regarded as a flaw in the title of the sovereign of Asam, who had long arrogated the designation of Swarga Raja, or King of Heaven; and was, consequently, supposed to be exempt from any terrestrial imperfections. Chandra Kanta made his escape, and fled to the confines of Bhutan.

BOOK III.  
 CHAP. I.  
 1823.

BOOK III. Upon receiving intelligence of the murder of the  
 CHAP. I. Bor Phokan, a Burma army was again despatched to

1822. Asam. They were encountered by Purandhar Sing, but defeated him; and, ascribing the death of the Phokan less to Chandra Kanta than to his advisers, they put to death the Bor Barwa, whom they had captured, and reinstated the Raja. They then departed, leaving a detachment under a general of celebrity, Mengyee Maha Thilwa, for the defence of Asam. Purandhar Sing, and the Boora Gohain, fled into Bhutan, where they busied themselves in collecting men and arms, and harassing by frequent incursions the Burma invaders.

The union between Chandra Kanta and his allies was of short continuance: alarmed for his life, he withdrew to the western extremity of the valley contiguous to the Company's territories, and assembled around him a considerable body of retainers. In 1821, he had obtained some advantages over the Burmas, and recovered part of his dominions, when a general, afterwards also well-known to the English, Mengyee Maha Bandoola, arrived with reinforcements. Chandra Kanta, unable to make head against him, was forced to fly, and the Burmas took possession of Asam, declaredly as a future dependency of Ava. Their proximity in this quarter was by no means desirable, although they refrained from any act of avowed hostility. The defenceless state of the frontier exposed the inhabitants of Rungpore to the unauthorised depredations of straggling parties, who plundered and burnt the villages, and carried off the villagers as slaves. Strong remonstrances were addressed to the Burma authorities, by whom

the intention of permitting such outrages was dis-claimed; but little pains were taken to prevent their repetition—the perpetrators were unpunished, and no compensation was made to the sufferers. (On their part, the Burma officers warned the British functionaries against giving shelter or assistance to any of the fugitives from Asam, and declared their determination to pursue them, if necessary, into the Company's districts. Measures were taken to counteract the threatened pursuit; and a sufficient force was placed at the disposal of the Commissioner on the north-east frontier, Mr. Scott, to protect the boundary from invasion.)

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1823.

The mountainous regions, extending southwards from Asam to the British district of Sylhet, were occupied in a successive series from the west by the Garos, a barbarous race, subject to no paramount authority; by the Kasiyas, also a wild and uncivilised race, but acknowledging the authority of their chiefs; and by a petty principality, that of Jyntia, governed by a Raja. From the latter, an extensive though thinly peopled country, of the same character as the preceding, consisting of hill and forest intersected by numerous small rivers, feeders of the Brahmaputra, and occupied by races more mixed and rather more civilised than their neighbours, constituted the principality of Kachar, spreading round Sylhet, on its northern and eastern confines. Beyond Kachar, and further to the north and north-east, lay wild tracts of uncultivated wilderness, tenanted by a number of barbarous

<sup>1</sup> Buchanan's (Hamilton) Account of Asam.—Annals of Oriental Literature.—Robinson's Asam.—Documents, Burmese War, 5.

BOOK III. tribes known collectively as Nagas; while on the  
CHAP. L east, the petty chiefship of Manipur separated  
 1822. Kachar from the Burma dominions. In the begin-  
 ning of the eighteenth century, Manipur was a  
 state holding a prominent place among these semi-  
 civilised communities, and was able to send into  
 the field an army of twenty thousand men.<sup>3</sup> Under  
 a prince, who rather unaccountably bore the  
 Mohammedan designation of Gharib-nawaz, Manipur  
 engaged in a successful war with Ava, overran the  
 Burma territory and planted its victorious standards  
 on the walls of the capital. The murder of  
 the Raja by his son, and the family dissensions  
 which followed, exhausted the energies of Manipur;  
 and the country was shortly afterwards invaded by  
 the Burmas, under one of their most celebrated  
 sovereigns, Alompra, by whom that career of con-  
 quest was commenced, which ended in the annex-  
 ation of Pegu, Arakan, the Shan districts, Manipur  
 and Asam, to the dominions of Ava. In their dis-  
 tress, the Manipur chiefs had recourse for protection  
 to the government of Bengal; and their application  
 was favourably listened to. (In 1762, a treaty of  
 alliance offensive and defensive was concluded  
 between the Raja of Manipur and Mr. Verelst,  
 then Governor of Bengal, in virtue of which  
 a small detachment marched from Chittagong,  
 with the declared design not only of enabling the  
 Raja to expel the Burmas from his principality,  
 but of subduing the whole of the Burma country.  
 Six companies of Sipahis were then thought  
 sufficient for so ambitious an enterprise. The  
 advance of the division was retarded by heavy

rains; and, when it reached Kaspur, the capital of Kachar, was enfeebled by sickness induced by the unhealthiness of the climate. It was recalled. An attempt was made in the following year to renew the negociation; but the government of Bengal, now better informed regarding the difficulties of the undertaking, and the little benefit to be derived even from success, declined the alliance. No further intercourse took place. The last Raja, Jay Sing, who retained any power in Manipur, after many disastrous conflicts with his enemies, was suffered to rule in peace over a country almost depopulated and laid waste. Upon his death, in 1799, Manipur was torn to pieces by the contentions of his numerous sons, of whom the greater part perished in their struggle for the ascendancy, leaving three only alive, Chorjit, Marjit, and Gambhir Sing. The first of these made himself Raja in 1806, but was expelled in 1812 by the second, with the assistance of a Burma force. Chorjit fled into Kachar, where he was hospitably received by the Raja, Govind Chandra, and, in requital of his hospitality, succeeded, with the aid of Gambhir Sing, in wresting from his host the greater portion of Kachar. Marjit, after ruling over Manipur for six years, incurred the displeasure of the king of Ava, and was obliged to retire into Kachar, where he found an asylum with his brothers. Consistently with the treacherous character of his race, he soon conspired against Chorjit, and, being joined by Gambhir Sing, the two younger brothers dispossessed the elder of his ill-gotten territory, and compelled him once

BOOK III

CHAP. I.

1823.

BOOK III. more to become a fugitive. He retired to Sylhet,  
CHAP. I. whither the legitimate ruler of Kachar, Govind  
 1823. Chandra, had previously sought protection and  
 assistance, [engaging, if replaced in his principality,  
 to hold it of the British government, under the  
 tenure of allegiance.] The offer was refused; and  
 Govind Chandra, through the Raja of Asam, applied  
 to Ava for that succour which the government of  
 India refused to afford him. After some time, the  
 Court of Ava acceded to his propositions; and an  
 army was ordered to move from Manipur into  
 Kachar, to expel or make captives the Manipuri  
 brothers, and replace Govind Chandra in possession  
 of Kachar, on condition of fealty to the Burma  
 monarch. The Government of India now conceived  
 alarm, and deemed it expedient to prevent the near  
 proximity of the Burmas to the Sylhet frontier,  
 by taking Kachar under its own protection. Over-  
 tures were addressed in the first instance to the  
 Manipuri chiefs, the two elder of whom were ready  
 to accede to any stipulations; but Gambhir Sing,  
 under a mistaken estimate of his ability to resist  
 the Burmas, hesitated to accept the proffered assist-  
 ance upon the terms proposed. It was consequently  
 resolved to recur to the legitimate Raja; and  
 Govind Chandra, notwithstanding his pending  
 negotiations with the Burmas and his having an  
 agent in their camp, readily broke off the treaty,  
 and concluded an engagement with the government  
 of Bengal. The Manipuri chiefs were conciliated  
 by pensions; and Marjit and Gambhir Sing, the  
 latter of whom had discovered his error, were placed  
 in command of detachments of irregular troops,

formed principally of their followers and fugitives from Manipur. (When the Burma force entered the province, under the impression that they were the allies of its ruler, they were informed that Kachar was already restored to its rightful possessor, and that he was under the protection of the British power.) The Burma leaders felt that they had been anticipated; but they expressed no disappointment, as they had only come, they declared, for the same purpose, of restoring Govind Chandra to his authority; but they demanded that the Manipuri brothers should be given up to them; and they called upon the Raja of Jyntia, to acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Ava. (As this chief was regarded as a feudatory of Bengal, the call was repudiated; and the Burma officers were informed, that if they attempted to advance into Kachar they would be forcibly opposed.) The threat was disregarded, and towards the close of 1823, a Burma force having taken up a position threatening the Sylhet frontier, it was attacked, and actual hostilities were begun, as we shall have further occasion to describe.<sup>1</sup> In the mean time, it will be convenient to revert to the more recent occurrences on the confines of Chittagong.

The vigilance of the local authorities, and the want of any popular leader, had deterred the emigrants from Arakan, who were settled in the Company's territories, from offering any molestation to

<sup>1</sup> Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India, by Capt. R. Boileau Pemberton.—History of Manipur and Kachar.—Documents, Burmese War, App.—Memoir of the Countries on and near the Eastern Frontier of Sylhet, by Lieut. Fisher.



BOOK III. their neighbours. Their forbearance had not in-  
 CHAP. I. spired a similar spirit; and a series of petty and  
 1823. irritating outrages were committed by the Burmas  
 upon the subjects of the British Government, which  
 could have been perpetrated only with the cogni-  
 sance of the officers of Ava, and the sole apparent  
 object of which was to provoke reciprocity of vio-  
 lence. Repeated attacks were made upon the elephant  
 hunters in the public service; and the people were  
 killed, or carried off and sold as slaves, although  
 following their avocation within the British bound-  
 aries. (A claim was set up to the possession of a small  
 island at the mouth of the Naf, which had for many  
 years been in the undisputed occupation of the  
 British) tolls were levied upon boats belonging  
 to Chittagong, and, on one occasion, the demand  
 being resisted, the Burmas fired upon the party,  
 and killed the steersman. This act of violence was  
 followed by the assemblage of armed men on the  
 eastern side of the Naf; and universal consternation  
 pervaded the villages in this, the most remote and  
 unprotected portion of the Chittagong district.

The Naf, which constituted the boundary be-  
 tween Chittagong and Arakan, presents, like other  
 rivers on this coast, the character of an inlet of the  
 sea, rather than of a river, rising but a short dis-  
 tance inland, and being an inconsiderable stream,  
 until it approaches the coast, when it expands into  
 an estuary, a mile broad, at the place where it is  
 usually crossed. (Lying off this expanse, close to  
 the Chittagong side, and separated from it only by  
 a narrow channel which was fordable at low water,  
 was situated the island of Shahpuri, a spot of

limited extent and little value, but which, by its local position and the prescription of many years, was undoubtedly an integral part of the British province of Chittagong. (Upon this islet, and at Tek Naf, on the adjacent main land, a guard of irregulars was posted, to protect the boats of the Company's subjects from a repetition of the aggression which had been perpetrated. This guard gave great offence to the Burma functionaries; and the headman of Mangdoo, on the Arakan side of the Naf, insisted on its immediate removal, as, if its presence should be made known to the king, it would inevitably occasion a war. Reference was made to his superior, the Viceroy of Arakan, who reiterated the claim to the island as part of the Burma territory, and declared, that if not at once admitted, he should establish it by force. It was proposed to him to investigate the question of right, by commissioners on either side: but before a reply to this proposition was returned, the Raja had carried his threat into execution, carefully promulgating that he acted under orders from the Court. A body of a thousand Burmas landed on Shahpuri, on the night of the 24th September, 1823, easily overpowered the small guard stationed there, killed and wounded several of the party, and drove the rest off the island.) (As soon as the transaction was known at Calcutta, a detachment of regular troops was sent to re-occupy the island, and dislodge the Burmas; who, however, had previously retired. A letter was, at the same time, addressed to the king, informing him of what had occurred, ascribing it to the unsanctioned presumption of the local officers,

BOOK II  
CHAP. I.

1823.

and expressing an earnest desire to preserve inviolate the amicable relations which had hitherto subsisted; but announcing, that a perseverance in the system of petty insults and encroachments, which had been so long practised, would exceed the limits of forbearance and moderation heretofore observed, and would provoke retaliation. This expostulation was regarded as an additional proof of the backwardness of the British government to engage in hostilities; which was attributed to its dread of the superior power and valour of the Burmas.

(The government of Ava was, in fact, resolutely bent upon war. The protection and encouragement given to the emigrants from Arakan, the refusal to deliver them to its vengeance, the asylum afforded to the refugees from Assam and Manipur, and the frustration of its projects on the side of Kachar, had disappointed the revenge and mortified the pride of the Court, and inspired its councils with inveterate animosity towards the Government of Bengal. It entertained no doubt of triumph: the repeated efforts of the British, in spite of every discouragement, to maintain a friendly intercourse; and the successive missions which were despatched, notwithstanding the studied indignity with which the Envoys were treated, confirmed the King and his Ministers in the belief, that the Government of Bengal was conscious of its inability to withstand the superior force and energies of Ava. The success which had long attended the arms of the latter — the annihilation of Pegu, which at one time threatened the extinction of its rival; the easy conquest of Arakan, and the subjugation of Manipur

and Asam, had inflated the arrogance of the whole nation, and had persuaded them that they were irresistible. The Ministers of the State were entirely ignorant of the power and incredulous of the resources of British India; and, although they could not be unaware of the extent of the British possessions, yet, looking upon the natives of India with extreme contempt, they inferred that their subjugation by the English merely proved that the latter were superior to a dastardly and effeminate race, not that they were equal to cope with Burma strength and courage. In fine, they felt assured, that it was reserved for them to rescue Asia from the disgrace of a stranger-yoke, and to drive back the foreigners to the remote island, from which it was understood that they had come<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The pretensions of Ava to the territories claimed in Bengal were of old date, and were repeatedly urged on Captain Cox, when at Amarapura, in 1797. At the same time, the Burma ministers expressed their opinion of the facility of recovering them, asserting that 3000 men would be sufficient for the purpose.—Cox's *Burman Empire*, pp. 300, 302, 304. Of the sentiments latterly entertained, authentic information was obtained not only from the official declarations of the public officers, but from the evidence of various Europeans, merchants and missionaries, settled at Amarapura, and, before the war, admitted to the intimacy of the leading persons of the Court. Thus, it is stated by Mr. Laird:

"From the King to the beggar, the Burmans were hot for a war with the English." And he mentions having been present at a levee after Maha Bandoola's return from Asam, when he reported his having refrained from following the fugitive Aaamese into the British territory, only because they were on terms of amity with his Government, and paid a revenue by their trade with Bangoon; but that if his sovereign wished for Bengal, he would engage to conquer it for him with no other troops than the strangers dependent upon Ava. Dr. Judson, an American missionary, who had resided ten years in the country, and was well acquainted with the language, states, that on his first visit to the capital, he heard the desire to go to war with the English, universally expressed by the principal persons of the administration, and especially by the members of the royal family. Their language is thus repeated by him: "The English are the inhabitants of a small and remote island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance, to dethrone kings, and take possession of countries they have no right to? They contrive to conquer and govern

BOOK III.  
CHAP. I.

1824.

The occupation of Shahpuri by a military force, had the effect of arresting for a time the hostile demonstrations of the Burmas on the Chittagong frontier; but an actual contest had commenced, as above noticed, on the borders of Sylhet. Undeterred by the remonstrances of the British authorities, a body of four thousand Burmas and Asamese entered the northern frontier of Kachar from Asam, by the Bharteka Pass, and entrenched themselves at Bikrampur, about forty-five miles east of Sylhet, while a more considerable force advanced from Manipur on the east, and defeated Gambhir Sing, who had attempted to stop their march. In order to prevent the junction of these two divisions, a detachment of the 14th and 46th Regiments of Native Infantry, with four companies of the Rungpore Local Corps and a few guns, which had been previously posted so as to cover the Sylhet frontier, was concentrated under Major Newton, at Jatrapur, a village about five miles beyond the boundary, and marched against the Burma force at Bikrampur.

At daybreak, on the 17th January, 1824, the troops came in sight of the stockade, which was yet unfinished, and were led immediately to the attack. After some resistance, the entrenchment was carried, and the Burmas were put to the rout; but as the strength of the detachment did not permit

the black foreigners, the people of castes, who have puny frames, and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmas, skilled in the use of the sword and spear. If they once fight with us, and we have an opportunity of manifesting our bravery, it will be an example to the black nations, which are now slaves to the English, and will encourage them to throw off the yoke." A prediction was also current, that the heir apparent, a boy of about eleven years of age, when arrived at manhood, should rule over the country of the strangers.—Documents, Burmese War, 223, 229.

of an active pursuit, they speedily rallied and effected their junction with the force from Manipur. Major Newton, having fallen back within the British boundary, the Burmas advanced to Jatrapur, and constructed stockades on either bank of the Surma river, connecting them by a bridge. Their united force amounted to about six thousand, of whom two thousand were Burmas, the rest Kacharis and Asamese. Being undisturbed in their position, they pushed their stockades along the north bank of the Surma to within a thousand yards of a British post, at Bhadrapur, where Captain Johnstone was stationed with a wing of the 14th, one company of the 23d, and a small party of the Rungpore Militia. This audacity was not suffered to pass with impunity; and on the 13th of February, Captain Johnstone attacked and carried the stockades at the point of the bayonet. The Asamese division retreated to their original position, at the foot of the Bharteka Pass; the Manipur, to a strong entrenchment at Dudhpatli. The former were followed by Lieut.-Colonel Bowen, in command of the Sylhet frontier, and were driven in disorder into Asam; the latter were then attacked, but with a different result. The Burma stockade was situated on the north bank of the Surma, the rear resting on hills covered with thickets, and a deep ditch was dug on either flank, the exterior bank of which was defended by strong bamboo spikes. The Burmas permitted the troops to advance unmolested to the edge of the ditch, but while they were there detained by the bamboo fence, poured upon them a well maintained fire of match-

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1824.

BOOK III. locks and musquets, by which one officer, Lieut.

CHAP. I.

1824.

Armstrong, 10th Native Infantry, was killed, four others were wounded, and a hundred and fifty Sipahis were killed and wounded. The attack was relinquished, and the force was withdrawn to Jatrapur, where Lieut.-Colonel Innes arrived on the 27th of February, with an additional regiment, the 28th, and assumed the command. The Burmas, satisfied with the laurels they had won, abandoned the stockade at Dudhpatli, and returned to Manipur. Kachar was, therefore, freed from their presence; but the events of this partial struggle had been more creditable to their prowess, than that of their opponents. The British force was, in fact, too weak to contend with the superior numbers and the confidence of the invaders.

When the Prince of Tharawadi, the brother of the King of Ava, was assured that the Burma soldiers would be unable to face the British in the field, he replied, "We are skilled in making trenches and stockades, which the English do not understand"; and he was satisfied that the national mode of fighting would be more than a match for European discipline. He was not altogether mistaken: and the singular quickness and dexterity with which the Burmas constructed entrenchments and stockades, although unavailing against the steady intrepidity of British troops and the resources of military science, materially retarded the operations of the war, and occasioned serious embarrassment and loss. To such an extent did this practice prevail, that a hoe or spade was as essential a part of the equipment of a Burma soldier, as his musquet and sabre, and each

man, as the line advanced, dug a hole in the ground deep enough to give him shelter, and from which he fired in fancied security. This manœuvre stood him in little stead against the resolute forward movement of the British troops; and he was speedily unearthed before he was allowed an opportunity of doing mischief. It was different with the stockades. These were generally square or oblong enclosures, varying in area according to the force which held them, and were sometimes of very spacious extent. The defences also varied according to the means at hand, and the time allowed for their construction; and sometimes consisted of solid beams of teak timber previously prepared, or sometimes of green bamboos and young trees cut down from the forest, which was every where at hand. They were planted close together in the ground, and bound together at the top by transverse beams, leaving embrasures and loop-holes through which the defenders might fire on the assailants without being exposed. The height varied from ten or twelve to seventeen or twenty feet; and platforms were fixed in the interior, or the earth was thrown up into an embankment, from which the garrison might overtop the paling, and on which gingals or guns of small calibre, carrying a ball of six or twelve ounces, might be planted. Occasionally, an outer and an inner ditch added to the defences, and outworks of minor stockades, or abattis of the trunks of trees and bamboo spikes, enhanced the difficulty of access to the main body of the structure. The nature of the materials, especially when consisting of green timber or trees recently lopped, enabled

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1824.



BOOK III. them to resist the effects of a cannonade better  
CHAP. I. than more solid substances, although the balls did  
1824. pass between them, and sometimes tear them  
 asunder. Shells and rockets were the most effective  
 means of annoyance: but they were not used at  
 first to an adequate extent, and reliance was prin-  
 cipally placed on the physical strength and resolute  
 daring of the soldier, who, with or without the aid  
 of ladders, was expected to force an entrance. The  
 European seldom disappointed this expectation: the  
 Sipahi, unsupported, never realised it; and the  
 former was, on more than one occasion, repulsed  
 with very serious loss of life. Once within the  
 palisade, the stockade was carried, for the Burma  
 garrison then thought only of flight; in effecting  
 which, through the one or two gateways left in the  
 enclosure, they generally suffered severely. Their  
 courage also sometimes failed them before waiting  
 for an assault, especially as the war was pro-  
 longed, and the repeated destruction of their en-  
 trenchments diminished their confidence in their  
 efficacy. Stockades which could not have been  
 forced without difficulty were found abandoned,  
 and their inadequacy to arrest the march of a  
 European army, was recognised by those to whom  
 they had originally afforded assurance of security.

While actual hostilities were thus commenced in  
 the north, indications of their near occurrence were  
 manifested in the south. The Raja of Arakan was  
 ordered to expel the English at any cost from  
 Shahpuri; and the most renowned of the Burma  
 generals, Maha Bandoola, was sent to take the com-  
 mand of the forces assembled in the province. A

body of troops was assembled at Mangdoo, from whence commissioners, who had been deputed from Ava, proceeded to take formal possession of the disputed island, which had been abandoned for a time by the British, on account of the unhealthiness of the post. The Burma Commissioners also contrived, under pretext of negotiation, to seize the person of the commander of a pilot schooner which had been stationed off Shahpuri, who somewhat incautiously trusted himself among the Burmas. No personal injury was inflicted; and, after a detention of some weeks, he was set at liberty, with such of his crew as had attended him on shore; his apprehension being intended to compel the removal of his vessel. The spirit of these measures, and the certain knowledge that hostile armies were preparing to assail various parts of the frontier, left the Governor-General no alternative: war was inevitable; and, agreeably to the usage of civilised nations, the grounds on which it was declared by the British government were made known in a proclamation addressed to the different states and powers of India.<sup>1</sup> Its promulgation was followed

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix No. 1. For the following narrative of the occurrences of the war, the principal authorities are the official despatches, and other public papers, collected and published under the authority of the Government of Bengal by the author—Documents illustrative of the Burmese War. Calcutta, 1827. For the operations in Ava, we have also the relations of different officers who were present, and employed in stations which gave them the means of obtaining accurate information; namely—Two years in Ava, by Lieutenant Trant, of the Quarter-Master General's Department.—Narrative of the Burmese War, by Major Snodgrass, Military Secretary to the Commander of the Expedition; and Memoir of the Three Campaigns in Ava, by Lieutenant Havelock, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General. For the operations in other quarters, we have incidental notices in Crawford's Mission to Ava, and in Lieutenant Pemberton's Memoir of the Frontier, and various papers in the Monthly Asiatic Journal.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1824.

by a letter from the Viceroy of Pegu, replying to the declaration addressed to the Court of Ava, in the previous November, repeating the claim to Chittagong and Dacca, asserting an indefeasible right to Shahpuri, and enjoining the Governor-General to state his case by petition to Maha Bandoola, who was invested with full powers to decide the dispute. ~

As soon as it was determined to have recourse to hostile measures, the attention of the government of India was directed to the consideration of the most efficacious mode of carrying on the war. The extended line of frontier to the east had afforded to the armies of Ava practicable routes for crossing the confines; and the same openings, it was to be inferred, were available for penetrating into the Burma dominions. Nothing of them was known, however, beyond their general direction through difficult and unhealthy tracts, thinly peopled and partially cultivated, and destitute of all the supplies and facilities which were indispensable for the march and subsistence of disciplined armies. A horde of barbarians, unincumbered with baggage, lightly equipped, carrying with them the coarse and scanty provisions which sufficed for their sustenance, familiar with the country, and inured to the climate, might make their way over a long succession of forests and hills and swamps; but a force moving with all the appurtenances of modern warfare, could only hope to effect a passage along the rivers, and through the thickets of Asam, over the miry and forest-covered hills of Kachar, and across the wide estuaries of Arakan, by an im-

mense expenditure of time and treasure, and by an equal prodigality of both animal and human life. BOOK III.  
CHAP. I. 1824. ✓A more ready access to the Burma dominions was presented by the Irawadi river flowing past the capital, and falling into the sea a few miles only below the chief maritime city of the empire, Rangoon. ✓B The occupation of this emporium would, it was urged, be of itself a main blow against the resources of the enemy, whilst it offered to an invading army abundance of cattle for carriage and food, and ample means of equipping a flotilla sufficient to convey the troops up the river, even to the capital. An expedition arriving at Rangoon shortly before the setting in of the south-west monsoon would, it was affirmed, enjoy favourable opportunities for such a navigation, as there would be a sufficient depth of water for boats of heavy burthen; and strong breezes from the south-west, which would carry the boats upwards against the stream. Such was the practice pursued by boats employed in the internal traffic of Ava; and, under such circumstances, a British force might be conveyed to Amara-pura, a distance of five hundred miles, in the course of a month or five weeks.<sup>1</sup> These considerations,

<sup>1</sup> These views were in part founded upon statements in Symes's Embassy, as:—"In the months of June, July, and August, the navigation of the Irawadi would be impracticable, were it not counteracted by the strength of the south-west monsoon: assisted by this wind, and cautiously keeping within the eddies of the banks, the Burmans use their sails, and frequently make a more expeditious passage at this than at any other season." p. 55. The Government of Bengal was chiefly influenced by the opinions of Captain Canning, which his repeated missions to Rangoon entitled to consideration. He strongly asserted the practicability of the river navigation, as well as the certainty of procuring supplies. That his information proved fallacious, was in a great measure owing to the precautionary measures of the Burmas; for the counteraction of which no preparation had been made.

BOOK III. by a letter from the Viceroy of Pegu, replying to  
 CHAP. I. the declaration addressed to the Court of Ava,  
 1824. in the previous November, repeating the claim to  
 Chittagong and Dacca, asserting an indefeasible  
 right to Shahpuri, and enjoining the Governor-  
 General to state his case by petition to Maha Ban-  
 doola, who was invested with full powers to decide  
 the dispute. ~

As soon as it was determined to have recourse to hostile measures, the attention of the government of India was directed to the consideration of the most efficacious mode of carrying on the war. The extended line of frontier to the east had afforded to the armies of Ava practicable routes for crossing the confines; and the same openings, it was to be inferred, were available for penetrating into the Burma dominions. Nothing of them was known, however, beyond their general direction through difficult and unhealthy tracts, thinly peopled and partially cultivated, and destitute of all the supplies and facilities which were indispensable for the march and subsistence of disciplined armies. A horde of barbarians, unincumbered with baggage, lightly equipped, carrying with them the coarse and scanty provisions which sufficed for their sustenance, familiar with the country, and inured to the climate, might make their way over a long succession of forests and hills and swamps; but a force moving with all the appurtenances of modern warfare, could only hope to effect a passage along the rivers, and through the thickets of Asam, over the miry and forest-covered hills of Kachar, and across the wide estuaries of Arakan, by an im-

mense expenditure of time and treasure, and by an equal prodigality of both animal and human life. BOOK III  
CHAP. I. 1824. VA more ready access to the Burma dominions was presented by the Irawadi river flowing past the capital, and falling into the sea a few miles only below the chief maritime city of the empire, Rangoon. V The occupation of this emporium would, it was urged, be of itself a main blow against the resources of the enemy, whilst it offered to an invading army abundance of cattle for carriage and food, and ample means of equipping a flotilla sufficient to convey the troops up the river, even to the capital. An expedition arriving at Rangoon shortly before the setting in of the south-west monsoon would, it was affirmed, enjoy favourable opportunities for such a navigation, as there would be a sufficient depth of water for boats of heavy burthen; and strong breezes from the south-west, which would carry the boats upwards against the stream. Such was the practice pursued by boats employed in the internal traffic of Ava; and, under such circumstances, a British force might be conveyed to Amara-pura, a distance of five hundred miles, in the course of a month or five weeks.<sup>1</sup> These considerations,

<sup>1</sup> These views were in part founded upon statements in Syme's Embassy, as:—"In the months of June, July, and August, the navigation of the Irawadi would be impracticable, were it not counteracted by the strength of the south-west monsoon: assisted by this wind, and cautiously keeping within the eddies of the banks, the Burmans use their sails, and frequently make a more expeditious passage at this than at any other season." p. 55. The Government of Bengal was chiefly influenced by the opinions of Captain Canning, which his repeated missions to Rangoon entitled to consideration. He strongly asserted the practicability of the river navigation, as well as the certainty of procuring supplies. That his information proved fallacious, was in a great measure owing to the precautionary measures of the Burmas; for the counteraction of which no preparation had been made.

BOOK III. CHAP. I. 1824. founded upon information of an authentic character, induced the government of Bengal to limit their military movements on the frontier, to the expulsion of the Burmas from the territories they had overrun in Asam and Kachar, to remain on the defensive in the direction of Chittagong, and employ the conjoint resources of the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, in an invasion of Ava, by the line of the Irawadi.<sup>1</sup>

The repugnance of the native troops of Bengal to embark on board ship, rendered it impossible to employ their services to any adequate extent: and the main force despatched from that Presidency consisted of Europeans, being formed of His Majesty's 13th and 38th Regiments and two Companies of Artillery, with one Regiment of Native Infantry, the 40th, forming the marine battalion. The same objection did not prevail at Madras; and the native regiments there vied with each other, in an honourable competition, to be selected for foreign service.

<sup>1</sup> The plan was adopted by Lord Amherst and his council, in the absence of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Paget, who was in the Upper Provinces; but it had his concurrence. On the 24th Nov. 1823, the Adjutant-General thus writes to the Government: "The Commander-in-Chief can hardly persuade himself, that if we place our frontier in even a tolerable state of defence, any very serious attempt will be made by the Burmas to pass it; but should he be mistaken in this opinion, he is inclined to hope that our military operations on the eastern frontier will be confined to their expulsion from our territories, and to the re-establishment of those states along our line of frontier which have been overrun and conquered by the Burmese. Any military attempt beyond this, upon the internal dominions of the King of Ava, he is inclined to deprecate; as instead of armies, fortresses, and cities, he is led to believe we should find nothing but jungle, pestilence and famine. It appears to the Commander-in-Chief, that the only effectual mode of punishing the insolence of this power, is, by maritime means; and the question then arises, how troops are to be created for the purpose of attacking the vulnerable parts of his coast."—Documents, Burmese War, 21.

Their emulation was seconded and encouraged by the activity of the local government, under the direction of Sir Thomas Munro; and a formidable force, both European and Native, was assembled at Madras, in the course of February, consisting of two King's Regiments, the 41st and 89th, the Madras European Regiment, and seven Native Regiments, with detachments of Pioneers and Artillery. The Bengal and Madras divisions, comprising collectively above eleven thousand men, of whom one-half were Europeans, were placed under the chief command of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell: the Madras force was commanded by Colonel Macbean, and the Bengal by Colonel M'Creagh: all three officers had served with distinction in the Spanish campaign, under the Duke of Wellington. The transports were convoyed by His Majesty's sloops of war, the *Larne* and *Sophia*, with several of the Company's cruisers: a flotilla of twenty gun-brigs, and as many war-boats, each carrying a piece of heavy ordnance, accompanied the expedition; and the *Diana*, a small steam-vessel, first presented to the barbarous races on the east of the Bay of Bengal, the mysterious working of a navigable power making head against winds and waves, without sails or oars, and impelled by an unseen and incomprehensible agency, which the superstition of the natives ascribed to something more than human art. Captain Canning was appointed to accompany the force as Political Agent and Joint Commissioner with the Commander-in-chief.

The Bengal expedition, and the first division of

BOOK III.  
 CHAP. I.  
 1824.



BOOK III. the Madras force, met at the end of April, at the  
CHAP. I. appointed place of rendezvous, the spacious and  
 1824. picturesque harbour of Port Cornwallia, situated in  
 the largest of the Andaman islands, a little to the  
 south of the mouth of the Irawadi. The fleet was  
 here joined by the Liffey frigate, with Commodore  
 Grant on board, who, as chief naval officer in the  
 Indian seas, took the command. On the 5th of  
 May, the fleet resumed its progress, and arrived on  
 the 9th off the mouth of the Rangoon river. On  
 the following day, the ships crossed the bar, and  
 working up the stream with the flood-tide, anchored  
 opposite to Rangoon on the morning of the 11th.  
 No opposition was experienced on the passage. No  
 preparations for defence had been made. No at-  
 tack in this quarter had been anticipated; and the  
 appearance of the hostile squadron filled the  
 Burmas with equal astonishment and alarm.

The Irawadi, after a course of about nine hundred  
 miles from its source on the southern face of the  
 mountains forming the south-eastern boundary of  
 Asam, divides, like the Ganges, as it approaches the  
 sea, into a number of anastomosing branches, forming  
 an intricate net-work of channels of varying breadth  
 and depth, and constituting a delta, of which the  
 Bassein river, or branch, may be regarded as  
 the western limit, and the Rangoon river, com-  
 municating with the river of Pegu, as the eastern  
 boundary. The town of Rangoon stands near the  
 apex of a fork, between two branches of the Ira-  
 wadi, one running for a short distance to the west,  
 before it turns off to the north, the other to the  
 east. The former is considered to be more especially

the river of Rangoon, which is here about eight hundred yards wide. The other, which is smaller, is the river of Syriam, a city of Pegu, formerly a place of commercial activity, and the site of a Portuguese factory: Rangoon had risen to prosperity upon its decline. Opposite to Rangoon, on the right bank of the river, was situated Dalla, a town of some extent. Rangoon itself stood upon the left, or northern bank. Its defences were contemptible. A quadrangular stockade of teak timbers, about twelve feet high, enclosed the whole of the town, protected on one face by the river, and on the other three sides by a shallow creek leading from the river, and expanding at the north-western angle, into a morass, which was crossed by a bridge. Each face of the stockade was provided with gates; and, exteriorly to the river-gate, was a landing place or wharf, on which the principal battery of twelve guns of different calibres was mounted. As soon as the Liffey, leading the fleet, had cast anchor off the wharf, the Burmas opened a fire, which a few shots from the frigate effectually silenced, dismounting the whole of the guns, and putting the gunners to flight. The troops were immediately disembarked: their landing was unopposed, and they took possession of Rangoon without seeing an enemy. A message had been received from the Rewoon or Governor, demanding to know what the English wanted, and threatening to put to death such Europeans as were in his hands, unless the firing ceased. It was brought by an American missionary; but before the messenger could return, the Rewoon with his subordinates had disappeared, carrying along with

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1824.

BOOK III. him his European and American captives, individuals who had settled at Rangoon for religious or commercial objects.<sup>1</sup> They were kept in confinement, and repeatedly menaced with instant death; but, in the alarm and hurry which prevailed, were finally left behind, and were found and set at liberty by their countrymen. They constituted the sole population of Rangoon, as the general panic and the rigorous measures of the authorities had completely cleared the town of its native inhabitants.

CHAP. I.

1824.

As soon as intelligence was received at Rangoon of the appearance of the British vessels off the mouth of the river, the Burma functionaries, aware of their inability to attempt resistance, adopted at once the policy most fitting in their condition, and admirably calculated to baffle, if not ultimately to foil, the objects of the invasion. The whole population of Rangoon were commanded to abandon their homes, and seek refuge in the adjacent forests. The command was strictly enforced; but it was obeyed without reluctance. The people had little to lose in abandoning their bamboo huts; and they entertained an excessive dread of the ferocity of Europeans. They felt also implicit confidence in the irresistible power of their Government, and looked forward to the speedy expulsion of the intruders, and their triumphant return to their habitations. That they were influenced by such feelings, and that their expatriation was not

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Havelock specifies them as eight British traders and pilots, two missionaries, and an Armenian and a Greek.

wholly compulsory, was evident from the prolongation of their absence, and the tardiness and hesitation with which they re-peopled the place when it was in the occupation of the British, and when there was no native authority on the spot to punish them for submission to an enemy. The British were thus the masters of a deserted town; and all the advantages expected from a productive country, and numerous population, abundance of supplies, and means of ascending the river, were wholly deficient. The hopelessness of an advance into the interior was at once apparent; and it was obvious, that, in the approaching rainy season, when the country would become impassable, the operations of the campaign must be limited to the immediate vicinity of Rangoon. It was discovered, in short, that a serious error had been committed; and that, however judicious might be the plan of attacking the empire of Ava by sea, the time had been ill-chosen, and the scheme of operations injudiciously devised. The exposure of so large a body of troops to the tropical rains in incommodious and imperfectly covered boats, through a navigation of five hundred miles, with both banks of the river in the possession of the enemy, could only have ended in the disorganisation and destruction of the force, even if such a mode of attempting an offensive movement had been possible. Its practicability under any circumstances might well be doubted; but as events had turned out, there was no room for uncertainty. As neither boats nor boatmen were to be procured, an advance by water was impracticable, and in the like want of land carriage, as well

BOOK III. as in the inundated state of the country, the army  
 CHAP. I. was incapable of undertaking any protracted march  
 1824. by land. It was evident, therefore, that all that  
 could be done, was to place the troops under cover  
 until the ensuing cold season, and to collect with  
 the least possible delay the provisions and supplies,  
 of which Rangoon was totally destitute, and which  
 were only to be obtained from the distant settle-  
 ments of Calcutta and Madras.

The stockade surrounding Rangoon, however inadequate as a defence against European artillery, was a sufficient protection against any attacks of the Burmas; and the head-quarters and general staff, with the stores and ammunition, were therefore located in the most commodious and secure of the dwellings, which were mostly constructed of mats and timber. At a distance of about two miles to the north of Rangoon, rose the imposing temple of Shwe-da-gon, the Golden Pagoda, a Buddhist shrine of great size, and highly reputed sanctity, constructed on the same plan as the Buddhist temples in other parts of India, but of more than ordinary dimensions and splendour. That part of it, which was in a more especial degree the sacred portion of the edifice, being supposed to enshrine various precious reliques of the Buddhist saints,<sup>1</sup> was a gradually diminishing cone rising from an octagonal base to the height of above 300 feet,

<sup>1</sup> Underneath this mass are said to be deposited relics of the four last Buddhas, the staff of Krakuchhanda, the water-pot of Gunaguna, the bathing-robe of Kasypa, and eight hairs from the head of Gautama, or Sakyasinha.—Translation of the Inscription on the Great Bell at Shwe-da-gon, by the Rev. Mr. Hoogh.—*Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 270.

and terminating in a spire surmounted by a Tee or umbrella of open iron-work, from which sprang a slender shaft, with a gilded pennant. The building was solid and of brick-work, but coated throughout with gilding, and decorated with ornamented mouldings and miniature multiples of itself. It stood upon the summit of an artificial mound, about thirty feet high,<sup>1</sup> divided into two quadrangular terraces, supported by walls, and ascended on either front by stone steps. The upper terrace was nine hundred feet long by six hundred and eighty-five broad; and both the terraces and the sides of the steps were covered with a multitude of small structures, chapels and shrines and cells of the priests, and sheds for pilgrims, and grotesque figures, and ornamental columns, and large brass bells: all, except the latter, made of wood, elaborately carved, and richly painted or gilt. The priests had departed with their flocks, and the site of Shwe-da-gon formed an important military outwork, in which His Majesty's 69th Regiment and the Madras Artillery were posted. Two roads leading from the northern gateways connected Rangoon with the Pagoda: the sides of the roads were lined by a number of small temples and houses, the residences of Pungis or Buddhist priests, affording convenient cantonments for the

<sup>1</sup> This is the height given by Colonel Symes. There are some singular discrepancies in this elevation; Captain Snodgrass stating it to be 75 feet above the road; and Lieutenant Trant, 200 above the river; and the lowest number of the steps, according to Mr. Hough, is 80, which cannot give much less than 70 feet: these may, perhaps, be reconcilable. Lieutenant Havelock differs from the rest also as to the height of the central building, which he reduces to 130 feet; but this must be a typographical error, as every other authority makes it above 300.

BOOK III. troops, as they were deserted by their owners.

CHAP. I.

1824.

Accordingly, along the most northerly of the two which ran over the summit of a line of low elevations, quarters were found for the Bengal division, their left resting upon the great Pagoda, their right upon Rangoon. Upon the more southern road, which was a uniform level, were ranged the cantonments of the Madras brigade, facing towards the river; and, consequently, having their right supported by the Pagoda, their left by the town. In front of both lines, extended interminable thickets, interrupted occasionally by swamps, which in the rains were swollen into deep and unfordable ponds and lakes. A dense forest coming close to the foot of the elevation on which it stood, intervened between the Great Pagoda and the river. Low elevations, covered with thickets and intermixed with morasses, extended round it in other directions. The whole face of the country was most unpropitious to the evolutions of disciplined troops. While these dispositions were in progress, detachments were sent out to explore the neighbourhood, discover and beat up the enemy's posts, and endeavour to bring back the fugitive population. Parties were also sent in the men-of-war's boats up the river, to reconnoitre any defences the Burmas might have constructed, and destroy any armed boats or fire-rafts they might meet with. In one of these latter excursions, the boats of the Liffey, with the Grenadier Company of the 38th, came upon an unfinished stockade at the village of Kemendine, about sixty miles from Rangoon, which they attacked and stormed, notwithstanding it was

defended by a greatly superior number of the enemy who behaved with spirit; and success was not attained without loss. A stronger detachment commanded by General Macbean marched on the same day into the interior, and fell in with the Governor of Rangoon. The Burmas fled into the thickets; and no traces of population could be detected. Although no enemy appeared in force, yet indications were manifest of his accumulating numbers and increasing audacity; and it was evident, that the approaching season would not be passed in inactivity, although it would not admit of offensive movements of importance. The rains set in with great violence in the middle of May; and the vicinity of Rangoon was quickly overspread by extensive inundations.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. I.  
1824.

---

## CHAPTER II.

*Operations against the Burmas,—in Asam,—in Kachar,—at Chittagong.—Detachment posted at Ramoo.—Burmas cross the frontier in great Force.—Inferiority of the British,—attacked by the Enemy.—Misconduct of the Irregulars,—Retreat and Flight of the Sipahis.—Great Alarm at Chittagong and Calcutta.—Inactivity of the Burmas.—Subsidence of the Panic.—Negrais and Cheduba reduced.—The British Lines at Rangoon harassed by the Burmas,—Detachment sent against them,—unfavourable State of*



*the Country.—Burma Force encountered.—Stockades stormed.—Attack on stockade at Kemendine.—Repulsed.—Burma Messengers,—object to gain Time.—Troops sent against Kemendine,—Entrenchment on the way carried by Storm,—great Slaughter.—Kemendine evacuated by the Enemy,—occupied permanently by the British.—Sickness of the Troops,—Unhealthiness of the Season,—Deficiency and Unwholesomeness of Food,—Mortality.—Re-appearance of the Burmas,—Defeat of part of their Force,—Affair at Dalla.—Stockades at the Confluence of the Rangoon and Lyne Rivers,—attacked by the Flotilla with Troops on board, and stormed.—Land Column attack Stockades at Kamrut,—seven Stockades,—two principal stormed, the rest abandoned.—Burma Commander among the killed.—Country inundated,—Expeditions by Water,—against Syriam,—Dalla,—and by Sea against Tavoy,—Mergui,—Ye,—and Martuban.—Attempt to recover the Shwe-da-gon by the “Invulnerables,”—War-boats captured.—Stockades on the River bank destroyed.—Madras Troops sent against Kyklu,—repulsed with loss.—A second Detachment sent against the Place,—found abandoned.—Entrenchments at Thantabain on the Lyne River, taken and destroyed.—Force enfeebled by sickness.—Approach of Maha Bandoola with Sixty Thousand Men.—British Force surrounded.—Burmas suffered to advance: their Left attacked and defeated,—repulsed at Kemendine,—their Right attacked and routed.—Grand Army dispersed,—Rally at Kokien.—Attempts to burn Rangoon,—baffled.—Entrenchments at Kokien*

*attacked and stormed. — Successes of the Flotilla. Bandoola retreats to Donabew, — altered objects of the Campaign on the part of the Burmas.*

WHILE the principal manifestation of the British power was directed against Rangoon, the expulsion of the Burmas from the frontier countries which they had invaded, was attempted with but partial success. A force collected in Asam, under Brigadier General M<sup>c</sup> Morine,<sup>1</sup> moved from Goalpara, on the 13th of March; and advanced to Gohati, where the Burmas had thrown up stockades, but abandoned them on the approach of the force. The people of the country, who had been treated by the Burmas with the most unsparing cruelty, cordially welcomed the arrival of their deliverers; but their unwarlike character and miserable condition, rendered their co-operation of little value; and the great difficulty of procuring supplies, as well as the labour of traversing a country devoid of roads, overrun with jungle, and broken up by swamps and water-courses, compelled the Brigadier to suspend his advance, sending forward a detachment of five companies of the 46th Native Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Richards, to meet the Commissioner, who had arrived at Noagong, from Sylhet, across the Jyntia hills. Reinforced by Mr. Scott's escort, Colonel Richards moved on to Kaliabar.

<sup>1</sup> It consisted of seven companies of the 46th N. I., and six of the Rungpore Local Corps, the Dinapore Local battalion, a wing of the Champaran Local Corps, three brigades of six-pounders, and a small body of Irregular Horse, besides a gun-boat flotilla on the Brahmaputra.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. II.

1824.

and compelled the Burmas to continue their retreat in an easterly direction to Maura Mukh. There the Governor of Asam with a force of not more than a thousand men had stockaded himself; but Colonel Richards, who, in consequence of the death of Brigadier M<sup>c</sup> Morine, had succeeded to the chief command, was unable for want of supplies to follow up his advantage. He returned, therefore, to Gohati; and as the rainy season set in, no further movement of any importance, on either side, was practicable. The expulsion of the Burmas from Upper Asam was consequently deferred.

The Burmas, as we have seen, had withdrawn from Kachar in the beginning of the year; but it was only to return in greater force. In the beginning of June, they repeated their incursions from Manipur, eight thousand strong, and they gave out that they formed only the van of a more formidable armament. They advanced to the heights of Talain, Dudhpatli, and Jatrapur, and stockaded themselves in their former positions. The weak division of native troops, which had been left at Sylhet, under Lieut.-Colonel Innes, advanced on the 27th June against the Burma stockade, at Talain, on the bank of the Barak river. An attempt was made to dislodge the enemy; but their superior numbers and the strength of the position rendered it unsuccessful. The division retreated to Bhadrapur; and as the increasing inclemency of the weather suspended all operations, the Burmas retained their occupation of Kachar.

The troops assembled for the protection of the south-eastern frontier were concentrated at Chitta-

gong under Colonel Shapland,<sup>1</sup> and a detachment BOOK III  
CHAP. II. was thrown forward to Ramoo, under the command 1824. of Captain Noton, consisting of five Companies of the 45th Native Infantry, with two guns, and details from the Mug levy and Chittagong provincial battalion. Neither the numerical strength of the detachment, nor the quality of the troops, fitted it for so exposed a position, of the extreme peril of which, the authorities in Bengal seem to have been ill-informed. In like manner, as the Government of Bengal had directed its principal blow against what it deemed the most vulnerable point of the Burma dominions, the Court of Ava had, with great judgment, directed its main effort against the most feebly defended and easily accessible part of the British frontier.] A force of more than ten thousand men was ordered to move through Arakan upon Chittagong, and the command was given to Maha Bandoola. The assemblage of this large body under a general who was known to have been a strenuous advocate of the war, and bore a high reputation for courage and enterprise, was well known both in Chittagong and Calcutta: but the strength of the force and the character of the leader were strangely undervalued; and it was believed, that the weak division at Chittagong was sufficient not only for the defence of the province, but even for the subjugation of Arakan. This misappreciation of the danger which impended over the frontier, could only be

<sup>1</sup> The Chittagong division was formed of the left wing of the 27th, N.I., five Companies of the 40th, and the 1st battalion of the 45th, a Provincial battalion, and a Mug levy, a corps of natives of Arakan recently enrolled.

BOOK III explained by a mistaken estimate of the inefficiency  
 CHAP. II. of the Burma equipment, and the pre-occupation of  
 1824. the Government by the expedition to Rangoon.]

Whatever was the cause, the inadequacy of the defensive arrangements in this quarter was signally punished; and the consequences might have been still more disastrous, if the Burma general had continued his movements with the spirit with which they were commenced.

The army of Arakan made its appearance on the Chittagong frontier in the beginning of May, nearly simultaneously with the arrival of the British expedition at Rangoon. The Burmas crossed the Naf, and advanced to Retnapalang, within fourteen miles of Ramoo, where the force, actually mustering eight thousand men, was concentrated under the four Rajas of Arakan, Ramri, Sandoway, and Cheduba, acting under the orders of Maha Bandoola, who remained with a reserve at Arakan. On the 13th of May, they advanced to a small river flowing past Ramoo, but were prevented from crossing it by the fire of the two six-pounders of Captain Noton's detachment. On the 15th of May, they effected the passage. To oppose them, Captain Noton had not above three hundred and fifty regular Infantry, even after being joined on the 11th by Captain Trueman with three weak Companies of the 40th: he had also with him two hundred and fifty provincials, and four hundred of the Mug levy; but their evident unsteadiness, as the hour of encounter approached, shewed that no reliance could be placed upon any except the regular troops. His force was drawn up by Captain Noton behind a bank sur-

rounding the encampment: his right was flanked BOOK III.  
by the river. About sixty paces in front was a CHAP. II.  
tank, at which a strong picquet was stationed. At 1824.  
another tank to the rear, upon his left, were posted  
the Provincials, and the Mug levy: the regular  
Sipahis with the six-pounders formed his front.  
The Burmas took possession of a tank to the left  
of the encampment, surrounded as usual by a high  
bank which screened them in some degree from  
the fire of the detachment; and from which they  
pushed forward in their usual manner, shelter-  
ing themselves by burrowing in the ground, until  
on the morning of the 17th, they were within  
twelve paces of the picquets, with whom they  
exchanged a smart fire. The Provincials sta-  
tioned at the tank on the left could no longer  
be kept to their post: they fled, and were followed  
by the levy. The tank was immediately occupied  
by the Burmas, who had spread into the rear;  
and the position was untenable. A retreat was  
ordered, and for a short time conducted with some  
degree of regularity, until the party arrived at the  
bank of a small rivulet, when the men, harassed by  
the superior numbers and increasing boldness of the  
enemy, threw away their arms, and plunged in a dis-  
orderly crowd into the water. In the retreat, Captains  
Noton, Trueman, and Pringle, Lieutenant Grigg,  
Ensign Bennett, and Assistant-Surgeon Maysmore,  
were killed. Lieutenants Scott, Campbell, and  
Codrington escaped, the two former being wound-  
ed. Many of the Sipahis made their way in  
scattered parties to Chittagong, and the whole  
number missing were about two hundred and fifty,

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

1824.

some of whom were sent prisoners to Ava, where they confirmed the Court in their opinion of the irresistible prowess of their soldiers, and in the confidence of their ultimate triumph. Nor were these notions wholly unshared by the inhabitants of the British provinces; and Chittagong and Dacca were filled with consternation. The panic spread even to Calcutta; and however absurd the supposition, it was thought to be not impossible that a Burma force might penetrate through the Sunderbans to the metropolis of British India. Weak as was the detachment at Chittagong, a rapid movement of the Burmas might have compelled its retreat; and Chittagong, and perhaps Dacca, might have been taken and destroyed; but the opportunity was lost in idle exultation. Before operations were resumed, the setting-in of the rains rendered the roads impassable; and the reinforcements, which might have prevented the disaster at Ramoo, reached Chittagong early in June, and placed it out of danger.<sup>1</sup> The occupation of Rangoon had now also become a source of anxiety to the Court of Ava; and, although they affected to look upon it as a trap into which the invading armament had fallen, they found it necessary to recall their general and the choicest of their troops from Arakan to punish the intruders. The Arakan force consequently retired from Chittagong; and the alarm which the late defeat had inspired yielded to a sense of security. The disaster at Ramoo reflected

<sup>1</sup> His Majesty's 44th, from Calcutta, and 15th, N.I., from Dacca; two Regiments of N.I. also arrived from Madras, besides cruisers and gun-boats.

no dishonour on the British officers and regular troops. The misconduct and flight of the irregulars rendered the conflict hopeless against numbers, whose superiority required the same steady valour which the regular troops displayed in every individual of the entire division, to have been successfully withstood.

While the expedition was pursuing its course to the Irawadi, detachments had been sent to reduce Negrais and Cheduba, under the respective commands of Major Wahab and Brigadier M<sup>c</sup>Creagh. They rejoined the army at Rangoon early in June, having effected their objects. At the former, a stockade was stormed, and carried without loss, and some guns were captured: but no advantage appeared likely to result from the permanent possession of the island, which was found to be of inconsiderable extent and covered with impenetrable thicket. It was abandoned. Cheduba proved to be of more importance, and some resistance was experienced from a strong stockade which defended the chief town: it was, however, carried by storm. Of the Burma garrison, a great number, including their commander, were killed, and the rest crossed over to the main land. The Raja was subsequently taken, and sent a prisoner to Fort William. Colonel M<sup>c</sup>Creagh then proceeded to Rangoon with His Majesty's 13th, which had formed part of the detachment, leaving the 20th Native Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Hampton, and His Majesty's sloop Slaney, to retain the occupation of the island, the inhabitants of which readily submitted to British rule.



BOOK III. The divisions that rejoined the main body found, that, notwithstanding the unpropitious state of the weather, neither the British commander nor the Burma leaders intended to suffer it to be a season of inactivity. The latter had been joined by considerable reinforcements, and had commenced constructing stockades in every direction, so as to cut off the communication with the interior; while by night and day they kept up a harassing succession of attacks upon the picquets, sending parties through the jungle, who approached unperceived close to the sentinels, and killed any stragglers whom they found off their guard. Fire rafts were also frequently sent down the stream, against whose mischievous effects it required the unceasing vigilance and activity of the seamen to defend the numerous vessels off Rangoon. In order to check these annoyances, and feel the strength of the Burmas, a reconnoissance was made by General Campbell on the 26th May, with four Companies of Europeans, two of the 13th, and two of the 38th, amounting to four hundred men, and two hundred and fifty Sipahis, and a gun and howitzer, from the Bengal Artillery. The path led at times through a close forest, and was obstructed, not only by natural impediments, but by trees, felled and strewn across it; and where it opened, it came upon fields of rice and plains knee-deep in water. Rain fell heavily, and the fatigue of dragging the guns became so great, that the cattle and men were completely exhausted when they had marched but about five miles from Rangoon. They were consequently sent back under the escort of the native soldiers,

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

1824.

and General Campbell resumed his route with his BOOK III.  
handful of Europeans alone. At the distance of CHAP. II.  
about eight miles, a body of the enemy, estimated 1824.  
at seven thousand strong was discovered, having  
their front defended by two entrenchments, breast  
high, with an interior ditch. Disposing one com-  
pany so as to keep the main force in check, the  
other assailed the stockades; and the men forced  
their way in by tearing down the stakes, or clam-  
bering over them, with the assistance of each other.  
The Burmas stood their ground for some short  
time, and a conflict hand to hand ensued, in which  
the superior hardihood and vigour of the European  
prevailed over barbarian courage; and the bayonet  
in the hands of the latter, proved a weapon,  
against which the heavy sword and short spear of  
the former were unavailing. A frightful carnage  
took place; the survivors fled into the forest, and the  
stockades were set on fire. The troops were then  
drawn up against the main body, but no disposition  
was shewn by them to revenge the capture of the  
stockades, and the division slowly and unmolested  
returned to its cantonments. The British loss was  
comparatively inconsiderable.<sup>1</sup> On the following  
morning, Brigadier Macbean, with two regiments,  
marched towards the post occupied by the Bur-  
mas; but no traces of them were observable.  
Another stockade was discovered, and stormed on

<sup>1</sup> One officer, Lieutenant Howard of the 13th, was killed, and two Lieutenants, Michel and O'Halloran, of the 38th, were severely wounded: the former died a few days afterwards. Nine rank and file were killed, and twenty-five wounded. Of the Burmas, above three hundred dead bodies were found in the stockades and adjacent fields.—Despatch, Sir A. Campbell, 1st June. Documents, 56 A.

BOOK III. the morning of the 30th, not far from the Great  
CHAP. II. Pagoda.

1824.

The capture of their stockades on the 28th and 30th June, had no effect in discouraging the Burmas from their plan of surrounding the British troops in Rangoon, and either destroying them, or compelling them to surrender. Preparations on a large scale were begun, and works of great extent and strength were constructed at Kemendine, against which it was determined to make a joint attack from the shore and from the river. Three columns marched against the position on the northern and eastern faces, while two of the Company's cruizers, and other armed vessels, having three hundred of His Majesty's 41st on board, ascended the Irawadi. General Campbell was on board one of the cruizers. One column of Madras troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, soon came into action, but was unable to penetrate through the enemy's outer entrenchments. The second column, the Madras European Regiment, under Colonel Hodgson, although received by a heavy fire, might have succeeded in the attempt, but an unseasonable discharge of grape from some of the armed vessels crossing its line of advance, inflicted more damage than had been suffered from the enemy, and deterred the troops from prosecuting this assault. The third column failed to force its way through the thickets to any point where it could take part in the engagement. The troops were ordered to retreat, and the vessels fell down the river, yielding to the Burmas the honour of the day, and inspiring them to persevere in the contest.

✓ Previously to this failure, two several missions BOOK III.  
 had arrived, which professed to have come from the CHAP. II.  
 newly appointed Rewoon, or Governor of Rangoon, 1824.  
 and from the Viceroy of Pegu, to demand the cause  
 of the attack upon Rangoon, and to propose a con-  
 ference at Donabew with the British commissioners. ✓  
 This was declined. The messengers of the Viceroy  
 were apprised that the transmission of despatches  
 to Ava would alone meet the wishes of the British  
 officers; and they promised to return with the  
 Viceroy's concurrence: but as they never again  
 made their appearance, it was probable, that their  
 purpose had been to observe the condition of the  
 British force, and to obtain a suspension of hostili-  
 ties. In this latter respect they were disappointed,  
 as arrangements were immediately adopted for re-  
 peating the attack on Kemendine. Accordingly,  
 on the 10th of July, a strong force was sent against  
 that post and the stockades which had been erected  
 between it and the Great Pagoda. It consisted of  
 three thousand men, with four 18-pounders and  
 four howitzers, under the Commander-in-Chief; and  
 two divisions of armed vessels were employed to  
 assail the river face. On the march, a strong  
 stockade was found about two miles from the town,  
 of which the front faced a plain covered with water,  
 and the other three sides were imbedded in the  
 surrounding forest. A strong Burma division occu-  
 pied the post. After battering the open face for  
 an hour, a gap was effected, by which an opening  
 was made for the storming column of the Madras  
 European Regiment, and His Majesty's 41st. At  
 the same time, a second column of four Companies

BOOK III. of the 13th and 38th Regiments, clambered over  
CHAP. II. the palisades in the rear of the entrenchment. The  
 1824. Burmas were thus hemmed in between the two  
 parties, and fell in great numbers before the resist-  
 less bayonet. At this period of the war, the Bur-  
 mas, expecting no quarter, fought with desperation  
 when unable to escape, and requited the forbearance  
 of the soldiers by treacherous attempts against  
 their lives, which proved most fatal to themselves.  
 The slaughter was in all cases disproportionate to  
 the numbers engaged, and to the loss of the as-  
 sailants.

The force then moved on to the attack of the  
Kemendine stockade; but by the time it had cleared  
 a way through the thickets, and taken up its  
 position opposite to the works, with the left resting  
 on the river, and the right extending inland, night  
 had set in, and the troops had to bivouac in the  
 forest. Batteries were also erected without loss of  
 time, and notwithstanding heavy falls of rain, were  
 ready to open at day-break. A practicable breach  
 was soon made; but the total silence that prevailed  
 in the entrenchment, rendered it probable, that the  
 Burmas had not awaited the assault. This was  
 the case: they had abandoned their defence during  
 the night, carrying with them their dead and  
 wounded. As the post of Kemendine formed a  
 convenient station for commanding the passage of  
 the river above Rangoon, and could be supported  
 from Shwe-da-gon hill, it was determined to occupy  
 it permanently; and a hundred Europeans, with a  
 Regiment of Madras Native Infantry were left as  
 its garrison. The Burmas drew back from their

proximity to the British lines, and concentrated their forces at Donabew, above fifty miles from Rangoon.

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

1824.

A short interval of inaction followed the capture of the stockades at Kemendine, and nothing was felt of the enemy until the close of the month. The interruption of active operations on the part of the invaders was unavoidable; partly from the state of the country, but in a still greater degree from the first appearance of that sickness which continued to prevail during the remainder of the rainy season, and was attended with the most extensive mortality. It began with an epidemic fever, which attacked individuals of all ranks, including the Commander-in-Chief, and which, although rarely fatal, left the system so much enfeebled as to be peculiarly liable to maladies incidental to exposure to the heavy rains and scorching sun of a tropical climate. To aggravate these causes, the quantity and quality of the supplies provided for the troops proved defective. Relying upon the reported facility of obtaining cattle and vegetable food at Rangoon, it had not been thought necessary to embark any extraordinary stores on board the transports from Calcutta; and the Madras troops landed with a still more limited stock. As soon as the deficiency was ascertained, arrangements were made to remedy it: but the arrival of provisions from Bengal demanded time, and in the interval the troops were dependent for sustenance upon salt meat, much of which was in a state of putrescence, and biscuit originally of an inferior description, and further deteriorated by the

BOOK III  
 CHAP. II.

1824.

influence of the climate in engendering rapid decomposition. The want of sufficient and wholesome food aggravated the evil effects of the superabundant moisture of the atmosphere, and the evolution of deleterious vapours from the decaying vegetable matter of the surrounding thickets; and the hospitals speedily became crowded with sick, beyond the means at command of remedial treatment. Fever and dysentery were the prevailing maladies, and were ascribable to local causes; but scurvy and hospital gangrene by which they were followed, were mainly attributable to the want of proper and salutary nourishment. Such were the consequences of these combined causes, that towards the end of the monsoon, scarcely three thousand men were fit for active duty. Their spirit remained, however, unimpaired, and with the intermission of the wet weather, and the arrival of more adequate supplies, the troops, although their numbers were greatly thinned by disease and death, were restored in some degree to health and efficiency.<sup>1</sup>

Disease was not, however, the only enemy which the British had to encounter; and after a few

<sup>1</sup> "During June, July, August, September, and October, the average monthly admissions into the hospital from the Artillery, were sixty-five Europeans and sixty-two Natives, being nearly one-third of the former, and one-fourth of the latter; and large as was this number, I am assured it was considerably less in proportion than that which was exhibited by any (at least) European regiment, in either division of the army. Of the Europeans, those who died were a fraction less than one in twelve; of the Natives, something less than one in twenty. On the setting in of the cold season, the general sickness began to decline, and from January to July, 1825, was comparatively moderate."—Dr. Waddell on the Diseases among the British troops at Bangalore. — *Trans. Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta*, 3, 249.

weeks of repose, their exertions in the field were again attended with a renewal of their triumphs, as well as by an aggravation of their sufferings. Towards the end of June, the Burmas were observed crossing in considerable numbers from Dalla, on the right bank of the river, to the left above Kemendine; and on the first of July, the forests in front of the Bengal lines were occupied by the enemy, while three columns, each estimated at a thousand strong moved to the right, as if intending to interpose between the lines and the town. They were encountered by a company of the 7th, and two of the 22d Madras Infantry, with a couple of guns, under the personal direction of General Campbell, and were soon driven from their forward position and dispersed. No further attack was made; but the Burmas were evidently pursuing their former plan of hemming in the British, and compelling them to retire, either by force of arms, or by the impossibility of availing themselves of the resources of the country. The check received on the 1st, had no effect upon their movements; and on the following morning, a body marched upon Dalla. They were repulsed, but with the loss of the officer commanding, Captain Isaacs of the Madras Army. As the town which had been deserted by the inhabitants, served only to give cover to the enemy's approaches, it was destroyed.

The appointment of a new commander, the Thamba Wungyi, in place of the Thekia Wungyi, who had failed to fulfil the injunction of the Court to annihilate the invaders, gave an additional impulse to the operations of the Burmas, and rendered them

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

1884.



BOOK III. so daring and troublesome, that Sir A. Campbell de-  
 termined to drive the enemy to a greater distance.

CHAP. II.

1824.

They had taken up a very strong position, about seven miles above Rangoon, at a place where another branch of the Irawadi, the Lyne, joins the Rangoon river; and had there constructed three large stockades, which completely commanded the stream. The first of these, stood on the right bank of the Rangoon branch, about eight hundred yards below the junction of the rivers; the second, on the left bank, at a similar distance; and the third, on the point of land at the confluence, which, from its having a small pagoda on it, was denominated Pagoda point. At Kamarut, a mile and a half above this, on the left bank of the Lyne, but at some distance from the bank, was a fourth stockade of still greater extent, connected with the others by subsidiary entrenchments. The works were defended by a force of at least ten thousand men. On the morning of the 8th July, a flotilla consisting of two of the Company's cruizers, and several smaller vessels, under the command of Lieutenant Frazer, of His Majesty's ship *Larne*, having on board General Campbell, with two hundred and sixty men of the 41st Regiment, a company of the Madras European Regiment, and detachments of the 3rd, 10th, and 17th Madras Infantry, ascended the river. The fire from the vessels soon overpowered that of the stockades; and having effected a breach in the entrenchments on the right hand, the troops disembarked, and carried the work by storm. The second stockade, was in like manner taken by escalade; and the third was abandoned.

While these operations were proceeding against BOOK III.  
the works on the river, a column composed of de- CHAP. II.  
tachments from the different European Regiments, 1824.  
the 13th, 38th, and 89th, the Madras European Regiment, and the 7th Native Infantry, with artillery, under the command of Brigadier General Macbean, marched from the Shwe-da-gon upon Kamarut. The thickness of the forest compelled the return of the field-ordnance, with the exception of some small howitzers; and the march was further impeded by heavy rain. The column, however, advanced to the edge of a plain, where they could distinguish a series of seven different stockades giving mutual support to each other, and occupied by a numerous body of troops, who manifested entire confidence in the impregnability of their defences. After reconnoitring the works, General Macbean ordered the nearest of the stockades to be attacked; and it was immediately escaladed and taken by the 13th and 38th. As soon as it was cleared, the troops were again formed, and led against a second stockade, which they carried in an equally intrepid manner. In this attack, Major Sale, of His Majesty's 13th, was engaged in single conflict with a Burma of rank, who fell beneath his sword. The slaughter was fearful; and those who fled from it were too much alarmed to think of rallying. The panic was communicated to their companions; and the remaining stockades were carried with little resistance. An attempt of the fugitives to assemble on the skirts of the forest was frustrated by a few discharges of musquetry; and the whole of the entrenchments at

BOOK III. Kamarut were in the possession of the British.

CHAP. II.

1824.

Eight hundred of the enemy were found dead in the stockades, and numbers of the wounded perished in the thickets into which they had been conveyed; among the latter, was Thamba Wungyi, the Burma commander. The capture of so many stockades, and the deliberate valour with which they were stormed and carried, almost exclusively by the bayonet, first struck terror into the Burmas; and they learned no longer to think themselves secure within the entrenchments. A strong impression was also made upon the Court: and they now began, though reluctantly, to admit some doubt of their triumph, unless the genius of Maha Bandoola should redeem the reputation of their arms.

The inundation of the country, and the sickly state of the troops, precluded the possibility of offensive operations on an extensive scale. Sir A. Campbell confined his movements, therefore, to the reduction of the districts which were accessible by water. Syriam, the ancient capital of Pegu, near the junction of the Pegu river with that of Rangoon, was attacked and taken on the 4th of August, by a party of His Majesty's 41st, the Madras European Regiment, and 12th Madras N. L., and a division of seamen from the flotilla. The Burmas had fortified themselves in the old Portuguese factory, but had not courage to face an escalade. After a brisk fire, they fled as the troops advanced to the assault. A detachment was also sent to the opposite district of Dalla, where a stockade was in like manner deserted. Although harassing to the troops, these excursions had the effect of relieving

the inhabitants from the military conscription to which they were subject: and some of them now ventured to return to Rangoon. The people of Pegu also began to cherish hopes of being enabled to shake off the yoke which they had borne for the last sixty years, and again becoming an independent kingdom under some descendant of their former kings. All encouragement to this effect was, however, abstained from: as it was thought that it might entail upon the Company the obligation of upholding a government incompetent to defend itself, and involve the British in an embarrassing connection, unlikely to be attended with advantage. It was, therefore, resolved not to countenance any insurrectional movements among the Talains, or people of Pegu: and this cautious policy made them backward in identifying their interests with those of the invaders.

The naval resources which were available induced Sir A. Campbell to extend his operations against the maritime possessions of Ava; and at the end of August, a division, consisting of His Majesty's 89th and the 7th Madras Infantry under Lieut.-Colonel Miles, with several gun-brigs and cruizers, were sent against the coast of Tenasserim, a narrow but productive strip of land, extending four hundred miles along the bay of Bengal towards the south, in which direction it was bounded by the Malay states dependent on Siam, while, on the east, a range of mountains separated it from that kingdom. The chief towns, Tavoy and Mergui, speedily fell into the hands of the British. At the former, a party friendly to them, headed by the second in authority,

BOOK III seized upon the Governor, and delivered up the  
CHAP. II. town. At Mergui, some resistance was experi-  
 1824. enced: but after the fire from the defences was  
 silenced by the cruisers, the troops landed and  
 stormed the principal stockade. The people, a  
 mixed race of Burmas and Peguers, at first fled;  
 but shortly afterwards returned, and submitted  
 readily to their new masters. At the same time,  
 the reduction of the whole of the Tenasserim pro-  
 vinces was completed, by the capture of Martaban,  
 a considerable town on the Sanluen river; and the  
 subjugation of the district of Ye, by a detachment  
 of His Majesty's 41st, and the 3rd N. I.,  
 under Lieut-Colonel Goodwin. Some resistance  
 was encountered at Martaban, where the Burmas  
 were in considerable strength, and of which the  
 defences were formidable: the stockades were, how-  
 ever, carried by the combined exertions of the  
 naval and land forces, without any heavy loss. Ye  
 tendered a voluntary surrender; the Burma troops  
 abandoning the neighbourhood, and withdrawing to  
 the vicinity of Rangoon. Thither, also, the Euro-  
 peans returned, while the Native troops were left to  
 garrison the conquered provinces. In the northern  
 districts, as in the southern, the people, principally  
 Talains or natives of Pegu, after a short interval of  
 alarm and flight, returned to their habitations; and  
 the resources of Tenasserim became fully dis-  
 posable. They were found to be of importance;  
 furnishing supplies of vegetables and of cattle to  
 Rangoon, and affording a comparatively healthy  
 station, to which the convalescents of the army  
 might be sent with advantage.

On their part, the Burmas were not idle; and, although equally prevented from moving in large bodies by the state of the country, they hovered round the British outposts on either bank of the river, and kept up a series of petty but harassing manœuvres. A body of picked men, supposed to be protected by charms and amulets against wounds, attempted a night-assault upon the post at the Great Pagoda, but were easily repulsed, and taught, by the loss of twenty of their number, the fallacy of their fancied invulnerability. On the Dalla side of the river, a small post, which had been established to hold the Burmas in check, and was supported by several gun-brigs anchored in an adjacent inlet of the main river, was attacked on the night of the 5th September, while a number of war-boats attempted to cut off the gun-brigs. Both attacks were repulsed; and the boats of the Larne, which had been manned and rowed up the creek, at the first alarm, put the Burma flotilla to flight, and captured five of their number. On the Rangoon river, above Pagoda Point, the Burmas had erected stockades, and were busy in preparing fire-rafts, when they were disturbed by a detachment of European and Native troops, under Brigadier-General Fraser, who had succeeded General Macbean, in the command of the Madras division, and by a naval force, under Captain Chads of His Majesty's ship *Arachne*, which had joined the squadron. The combined force ascended the river about twenty miles, and discovered and destroyed several stockades, the Burmas in which, after exchanging their fire with

BOOK III. the flotilla, fled as soon as the troops were landed  
 CHAP. II. for the assault, evincing the impression which had  
 1824. been made upon their fears by the destruction  
 which had hitherto befallen their entrenchments. A  
 circumstance occurred, however, at this time,  
 which might have been expected to have re-ani-  
 mated their confidence in their system of making  
 WAR.

In the beginning of October, information having been received that the Burmas had strengthened themselves at Kyklu, about fourteen miles from Rangoon, Sir A. Campbell determined to dislodge them; and, in order to gratify the Madras troops, who felt aggrieved that they had not hitherto been allowed to lead the way to victory, but had been employed only to second and support the Europeans, the enterprise was entrusted to them alone; a brigade of the 3rd and 34th Native Infantry, about eight hundred strong, with two howitzers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, being sent against the enemy. He marched early on the 4th of October, and, after some delay and fatigue occasioned by the state of the country, arrived towards evening at an entrenchment occupied by the Burmas. An attempt to carry it by escalade was defeated, with the loss of Lieutenant Campbell of the Pioneers, who was mortally wounded. The howitzers were then brought up, and after a few discharges, the work was taken in flank, and the Burmas retreated into the thickets adjacent. From information obtained from the prisoners, it appeared that the Burmas were in greater force at Kyklu than had been anticipated, and Lieutenant-

Colonel Smith applied for a reinforcement of a detachment of European troops. The Commander-in-Chief refused to allow any European soldiers to be sent,<sup>1</sup> but despatched three hundred of the Madras Infantry, with two more field-pieces, and with these Colonel Smith marched upon Kyklu on the morning of the 7th. On his approach to the position, a succession of breast-works arrested his advance. They were stormed, but with unavoidable delay; and it was five in the afternoon before the force arrived at the principal stockade, resting on an eminence on its right, the summit of which was covered by a fortified Pagoda. A column of attack under Major Wahab was directed to advance against the stockade in front, while another under Captain Williamson diverged to the right, to assault it in flank. A third column formed a reserve, while a party of the 28th N. I. was directed to carry the Pagoda. The Burmas permitted the column of attack to approach within sixty yards without firing a shot, when they poured upon them a fire of grape and musquetry, so steadily maintained, that the Sipahis quailed beneath it. Major Wahab and the leading officers and men were killed or wounded, and the remainder, losing their self-command, lay down to screen themselves from the fire. The party sent against the Pagoda had been unable to make any

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

1824.

<sup>1</sup> See Lieutenant Havelock's account of this transaction: he justly observes: "the catastrophe at Kaikloo is to be attributed to a false partition of force." Native soldiers are most effective when associated with Europeans: the absence of the latter on this occasion evidently originated in feelings incompatible with the real interests and reputation of the army.—Memoir on the Campaigns of Ava, p. 124.



BOOK III. impression upon the post, and had fallen back,  
 CHAP. II. pursued by the Burmas. The column that was to  
 1824. have taken the works in flank had not made its  
 appearance. Hopeless of retrieving the day, Colonel  
 Smith ordered a retreat, which began with some  
 degree of order, but soon degenerated into a flight;  
 and the men rushed in a confused mass down the hill,  
 closely followed by the Burmas. The pursuit was  
 checked by the approach of Captain Williamson's  
 division, which, unable to penetrate through the  
 thicket, had retraced its steps, and debouched in  
 time to oppose a steady front to the enemy. The  
 column of reserve also succeeded in rallying the  
 fugitives; and the whole retreated in good order to  
 Todaghee, where they arrived at eleven at night.  
 Two officers<sup>1</sup> and twenty men were killed, and  
 six officers and sixty men were wounded in this  
 affair. A report was forwarded to Ava, that a  
 great victory had been won; and the fact was con-  
 firmed by the transmission of the arms and accoutre-  
 ments of the fallen soldiers. Great exultation was  
 manifested, and commendation and rewards con-  
 ferred upon the Tsada Woon, who commanded the  
 Burma force.

Whatever may have been the inducement to  
 incur the hazard of discomfiture at Kyklu, its  
 actual occurrence was too obviously mischievous,  
 and was too intolerable to the spirit of the army  
 to be passed over without retribution. Immediate

<sup>1</sup> Captain Allen and Lieutenant Bond of the 34th Madras N.L. Lieutenant Trant, who was with the column, and has given a very distinct account of the action, makes the killed amount to forty.—*Two Years in Ava*, p. 97.

measures were adopted to remedy the evil consequences of the disaster, and a force of four hundred and twenty Europeans, and three hundred and fifty Native Infantry, with three field-pieces, was detached against Kyklu, on the afternoon of the 17th, under Brigadier McCreagh. On approaching the position, the division found the mangled bodies of those who fell on the 7th suspended to the trees by the road-side, after having suffered every mutilation that barbarian cruelty could devise. The sight served to rouse the indignation of the troops, and they pressed on eagerly to revenge their companions in arms. Their vengeance was disappointed: the enemy had not waited for the certain retaliation, but had fallen back to Koghahi, where he was reported to have received reinforcements, and thrown up entrenchments. Brigadier McCreagh continued his march to the spot indicated, but found no other vestige of the Burmas than an unfinished and abandoned stockade. Having destroyed the works at the different stations, the division returned to Rangoon without the loss of a man.

Nor was the expedition to Kyklu the only action at this period, notwithstanding the physical obstacles to military operation and the crippled condition of the force, which evinced the spirit of both the naval and military services. The brother of the King of Ava, the Prince of Tharawadi, who had been placed at the head of the Burma army, had continued in position with his main body at Donabew, but had detached a part of his force under the Kye Wungyi, a principal member of

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

1854.

BOOK III. the ministry<sup>1</sup>, to Thantabain on the Lyne river.

CHAP. II.

1824.

Here he was attacked, on the 8th of October, by Major Evans, with three hundred of His Majesty's 38th, one hundred of the Madras Light Infantry, with a detachment of Artillery and a division of gun-boats, the flotilla being commanded by Captain Chads. The party proceeded by water. On the 7th they arrived opposite to Thantabain, which was defended by three breast-works of timber, and fourteen war-boats, each carrying a gun. After exchanging a brisk fire, the troops and sailors landed, and stormed the works. On the following morning, they attacked and captured the principal stockade, which was of great strength, being two hundred yards long by one hundred and eighty broad, and constructed of solid timbers fifteen feet high, having an interior platform eight feet from the ground, on which a number of small iron and wooden guns were arranged, while a battery of seven pieces of ordnance of larger calibre were placed in battery along the lower part of the work, through openings pierced for the muzzles of the

<sup>1</sup> Although the Burma form of Government is that of an absolute despotism, the King is aided in his administration by two councils, a public and a privy one. The first consists of four members, entitled Wungyees, properly written Wun-kri. "Wun" meaning literally a burthen; but in this case denoting an office of importance. The members of this council are considered competent to the discharge of all responsible duties, whether civil or military: so are their deputies, or Wun-doka, of whom also there are four. The council is completed by eight or ten Saradhaugya, or Secretaries. The Privy Council consists also of four members, styled Atwen-wuns, or inside officers, being the private advisers of the King. They have their Secretaries, or Thandaathana. The Governor of a province is styled Myo-wun, and his deputy Be-wun, while the head of a township is the Myo-thuyi. All these, and all other public officers, are expected to discharge military, as well as judicial, and fiscal duties; and the whole male adult population of the country is liable to conscription.—Crawford's Embassy to Ava, p. 395.

guns. The Burmas, after one or two ineffective discharges, fled from the approach of the storming party, and the entrenchment was captured without loss. In it was found a temporary building for the accommodation of the Kye Wungyi, perforated in many places by the balls from the flotilla: a circumstance which, no doubt, contributed to the rapid evacuation of the stockade. The works were destroyed, and the force returned to Rangoon.

The rains which had intermitted in October, returned with great violence in the beginning of November; and as the transports with fresh stores had not yet reached Rangoon, the continuance of the same causes, an unhealthy climate and unwholesome food, admitted of no material alleviation of the sickness. Scarcely thirteen hundred Europeans, many of whom were enfeebled by recent disease, were fit for duty; and the native regiments were similarly reduced, both in numbers and vigour. The sufferings of the troops were, however, forgotten, in the prospect of new triumphs; and the approach of danger stimulated them to exertions of which they could scarcely have been deemed capable. A final effort to drive the invaders into the sea, or bring them in chains to be subjected to ignominy and torture at Ava, was now to be made; and Maha Bandoola, having added to the troops recalled from Arakan all the reinforcements which the utmost exertions of the Government could levy; was marching at the head of a reputed host of sixty thousand men, to annihilate the British army at Rangoon. He arrived in the vicinity of the British lines in the beginning of

BOOK III. December, and was allowed to take up the position  
CHAP. II. he selected without interruption, it being the policy  
1824. of the Commander-in-Chief to encourage his presumption, and thus bring the enemy completely within reach before striking a decisive blow. The array of the Burma army, which was supported on the right by a numerous flotilla of war-boats and fire-rafts on the river, extended from the Irawadi, opposite to Dalla, in a semi-circular direction, past Kemendine and the Great Pagoda, facing the Bengal lines, and rested its left on the bank of the Puzendoon creek, half a mile from Rangoon on the east. The front was covered in most places by thick jungle, but, where open, was protected by breast-works and stockades, which were constructed with singular rapidity and skill. Of the Burma force, half were armed with musquets, the rest with swords and spears. They had a number of ginjals, or small cannon, carrying balls of from six to twelve ounces, and some pieces of heavier, though not very serviceable, artillery. A body of five hundred Cassy horse, mounted on the small but sturdy ponies of the country, formed their cavalry.

✓ The key of the British position was the Great Pagoda, which was armed with twenty pieces of artillery; and occupied by three hundred men of His Majesty's 38th. The 28th Madras Infantry was stationed at its base. Along the heights to the town, were posted His Majesty's 13th, with some guns on their right. The remainder of the force was arranged communicating with Rangoon, which was further defended by the shipping. A post in front of the lines, originally a Buddhist convent,

was occupied by two hundred of the Madras Euro-  
 pean Infantry and some Sipahis, with guns; and  
 the stockade of Kemendine, which covered the left  
 rear of the position, was held by the 26th Madras  
 Native Infantry and a few of the Madras European  
 Regiment, under Major Yates. His Majesty's sloop  
 Sophia under Captain Ryves, and the Satellite gun-  
 brig, anchored off Kemendine, materially added to  
 its defensive strength.

BOOK III.  
 CHAP. II.  
 1824.

Between the 1st and 5th of December, the  
 Burmas displayed incessant activity, in advancing  
 their works close to the British lines, and in re-  
 peated attacks upon the stockade of Kemendine.  
 shewing that they accurately estimated its im-  
 portance. Their efforts were repulsed with dis-  
 tinguished gallantry. They kept up a constant fire  
 also upon the vessels in the river from the opposite  
 bank, but did little execution. Nor were their  
 fire-rafts, although launched with persevering  
 diligence, productive of much detriment. No  
 serious attempt was made to check their progress;  
 although, on the 1st, a division under Major Sale  
 attacked the left of the enemy, drove them into  
 the forest, and destroyed their entrenchments<sup>1</sup>, and  
 on the following morning, two sorties were made  
 from the Pagoda, which in like manner compelled  
 the Burmas to conceal themselves in the adjoining  
 jungle. As soon as the troops retired, they returned  
 to their position, and resumed their works; and,  
 by the fifth of the month, they had begun to be  
 troublesome along the front, Sir A. Campbell con-

<sup>1</sup> In this action, Capt. O'Shea was killed, and five officers of the  
 13th were wounded.

BOOK III. ceived that the period had arrived for a general  
CHAP. II. / attack upon them. A party of gun-boats was ac-  
1824. cordingly sent up the Puzendoon creek, to take  
the Burmas in flank, while two columns, one eleven  
hundred strong under Major Sale, and the other of  
six hundred under Major Walker, moved upon  
their left. Both columns forced their way through  
the Burma entrenchments, and broke and scattered  
their defenders, until the whole of the left of the  
enemy was driven from the field, with the loss of  
their guns, and military and working stores. Their  
loss was also severe, while that of the British was  
inconsiderable; except in the death of Major  
Walker, who was shot at the head of his column.

Although dislodged from his position on the  
left, Maha Bandoola did not think it necessary to  
quit the field, but concentrating his troops on the  
centre and the right, commanded them to push  
forward their trenches in the direction of the Great  
Pagoda, until they were within a hundred yards of  
the mound. To chase them finally from this vicinity,  
Sir A. Campbell ordered an attack to be made  
upon them, on the 7th December, in four columns,  
commanded severally by Lieut.-Colonels Mallet,  
Brodie, and Parlby, and Captain Wilson; Major  
Sale with his division acting upon the enemy's  
left and rear. The advance of the columns was  
preceded by a heavy cannonade. They were re-  
ceived with a brisk fire from the enemy; but as  
soon as they neared the trenches, the Burmas fled:  
and the grand army, which was to have freed Ava  
from the presence of the invaders, was completely  
routed and disorganised. The division which had

been previously engaged in fruitless attacks upon BOOK III.  
Kemendine, made a final attempt on the morning CHAP. II.  
after the action at the Pagoda, but was again re- 1824.  
pulsed, and desisted from the enterprise. A body  
which continued to occupy the stockades at Dalla,  
was driven from them on the 10th, by a party of  
His Majesty's 89th, and some Native troops; and  
the neighbourhood of Rangoon was considered to  
be no longer infested by a hostile force. With  
that perseverance, however, which so remarkably  
characterised the Burma commanders, and the  
elasticity with which they recovered from defeat,  
it soon appeared that they were still in the  
neighbourhood; and it was ascertained that they  
had thrown up strong defences at Kokien, about  
four miles north of the Great Pagoda, where twenty  
thousand men had rallied, under the command of  
Maha Thilwa. It was necessary to dislodge them,  
and compel their removal to a greater distance, not  
only in completion of the military movements which  
had been hitherto so successful, but in order to  
protect Rangoon from the more insidious projects  
of the Burmas, to effect its destruction. On the  
night of the 14th, an extensive conflagration,  
attributed to incendiaries, broke out at once in  
different places, by which the mat huts were  
speedily consumed; and a great part of the town  
was laid in ashes. The flames were fortunately  
suppressed by the exertions of the garrison and  
the sailors of the squadron, without having done  
any injury to the public stores; and without any  
attempts of the enemy to take advantage of the  
temporary confusion and embarrassment which



BOOK III. succeeded. Accordingly, on the 15th December,  
 CHAP. II. two columns; the right, formed of detachments of  
 1824. His Majesty's 13th, and the 18th and 34th N. I.,  
 with one field-piece, and sixty men of the Governor-General's Body-Guard, the whole six hundred strong, under Brigadier Cotton, who had recently taken the command of the Bengal division; and the left, eight hundred strong, composed of detachments of the 38th, 41st, and 89th, King's Regiments, and the Madras European Regiment, and of the 9th, 12th, 28th, and 30th, N. I., with five guns, and the rest of the Body-Guard, commanded by General Campbell himself, marched upon the works at Kokien. The latter was intended to assail them in front; while the former was to make a detour and attack them in the rear. The works were strong and extensive, consisting of two large stockades on either flank, connected by six circular entrenchments, the whole being three miles in circumference. The left column, on reaching the point of attack, was divided into two portions, which were respectively directed against the two principal stockades. The right column, on arriving in the rear of the left stockade, was for some time exposed to a heavy fire, by which the 13th which led the division, and which had signalised itself in every action in which the regiment had been engaged, suffered severely. Three officers were killed<sup>1</sup>, and Major Sale and several others were wounded; but nothing could arrest the progress of the troops, and

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenants Darby, Petre, and Jones, two Serjeants, and seven rank and file, were killed; eight officers, including Majors Sale and Dennie, two Serjeants, and forty privates, were wounded.

the entrenchment was carried at the point of the bayonet. At the same time, the 38th had escalated the front face of the stockade, and the Burmas, hemmed in by the assailants, fell in great numbers. The other principal stockade was captured with equal celerity by the 89th, and in twenty minutes the whole of the works were in possession of the British'. The Burmas sustained a severe loss on this occasion, as the fugitives were intercepted by the Governor-General's Body-Guard, a detachment of which had recently joined from Bengal, and proved of great service in the ensuing operations. Equal success attended the British arms on the river; and the boats of the men-of-war, and gun-boats towed by the Diana steamer, captured and destroyed a number of war-boats and fire-rafts. The dispersion of the grand army was thus completed; and the Burma General, retiring to Donabew, employed himself with the most laudable resolution and activity in rallying and re-organising his army, and placing it under the shelter of entrenchments of more than ordinary strength and extent. The character of the war was in fact changed. The Burmas no longer ventured upon offensive operations, but confined their objects to the defence of the line of the river, and the exclusion of the British from any communication with the upper provinces. The ill-success with which this policy was attended, we shall hereafter describe; and in the mean time, advert to the events which had occurred in other quarters.

<sup>1</sup> Besides the loss suffered by the 13th, the casualties of the day, were, six killed, and eighty-five wounded; of the latter, Lieutenant O'Hanton, Bengal Artillery, died of his wounds.

## CHAPTER III.

*Asam.*—*Advance of the British Troops, — Retreat of the Burmas to the Fort of Rangpur. — Dissensions of the Garrison, — capitulate. — Burmas evacuate Asam, — renew the Invasion in concert with the Sing-fos, — their Stockades taken, and they finally retire. — Kachar. — Army assembled for the Invasion of Ava from Kachar. — Nature of the Country, — impossibility of advance, — Project abandoned, — the Burmas driven from Manipur by Gambhir Sing. — Arakan. — Large Army and Flotilla assembled for the Invasion of Ava by way of Arakan, — difficulty of procuring Carriage, — Discontent of Bengal Troops, — Insubordination of the Regiments at Barrackpore, — ordered on Service, — Grievances un-redressed. — 47th in a state of Mutiny, — Measures for its Suppression. — Troops collected at Barrackpore. — Mutineers fired upon, — some killed, others taken and sentenced to Death, or to Imprisonment, — some executed, — the rest pardoned. — Difficult Progress of the Army in Arakan. — Road along the Coast crossed by wide Estuaries. — Passage of the Naf, — of the Myoo. — Army collected on the Koladyne. — Repulse of the Flotilla at Kiung-pala. — Advance of the Army towards Arakan, — opposed by the Enemy. — First*

*attempt to cross the Hills unsuccessful,—the Burma Position turned,—Arakan occupied,—Burma Force evacuates the Province.—Sandoway and Ramri reduced.—Attempts to discover Passes over the Mountains to Ava unsuccessful.—Unhealthiness of Arakan,—extreme Sickness and Mortality of the Troops,—the Town abandoned.*

As soon as the British troops in Asam found it necessary to fall back to Gohati, the Burmas returned, to the stations whence they had been expelled, and renewed their work of spoliation in the adjacent districts. It was, therefore, determined to effect their final expulsion; and Lieut. Colonel Richards, having been placed in command of a Native force, about three thousand strong, was instructed to perform the duty.<sup>1</sup> Although the state of the country delayed the movement of his entire division; yet, towards the end of October, two detachments were sent in advance by water, to check the predatory incursions of the enemy. Major Waters, with part of the Dinapore battalion, proceeded to Raha Chowki and Noagong; and Major Cooper, with a wing of the Champaran Light Infantry, to Kaliabar. The first division, on arriving at Raha Chowki, found the Burmas unprepared for an attack, and dispersed among the villages. In their flight many were killed and taken. They were followed to Noagong, where the Boora Raja, the Burma Gover-

BOOK III.

CHAP. III.

1824.

<sup>1</sup> This division was formed of the 46th and 47th Regiments of Native Infantry, the Rungpore and Dinapore Local Battalions, Champaran Light Infantry, details of artillery and a body of Irregular Horse, with a flotilla of gun-boats.

BOOK III. nor of Asam was entrenched with thirteen hundred  
 CHAP. III. men. He did not await the arrival of the detach-  
 1824. ments, but retreated with so much precipitation  
 as to render it impossible to overtake him. The  
 division under Major Cooper, having on its route  
 dispersed a body of the enemy, found Kaliabar  
 abandoned. These advanced positions being se-  
 cured, Colonel Richards moved the remainder of his  
 force; but, as his march lay along the river, the  
 stores and baggage were transported in boats that  
 had to be tracked against the current, and his pro-  
 gress was, therefore, somewhat tedious. It was  
 1825. not until the 6th January, that the whole were  
 concentrated at Maura Mukh, on the Brahmaputra,  
 one hundred and twenty miles from Gohati,  
 clearing the country, as they advanced, of several  
 detached parties of the Burmas on their flanks, and  
 compelling them to retire further to the east; at  
 first to Jorhath, and then to Rangpur, the capital  
 of Upper Asam, situated on the Dikho river, a  
 feeder of the Brahmaputra. Colonel Richards  
 arrived at Rangpur on the 29th, and having  
 carried by escalade a strong stockade erected across  
 the road, invested the south face of the fort, a  
 square building of masonry, on the walls of which  
 two hundred pieces of ordnance of various calibre  
 were mounted, and the approach to which was  
 defended by deep swamps and a ditch. Arrange-  
 ments were made to batter the walls, and effect a  
 breach, when proposals for surrender were received.  
 The garrison consisted of Burmas and Asamese;  
 the latter being the followers of the chiefs who  
 had been opposed to the Raja, Chandra Kanta, and

had called in the aid of the Burmas. \* The presence of danger had disposed many of them to desert their allies; and violent dissensions had for some time prevailed among them, in the course of which, the head of the party, the Boora Raja, had recently been murdered at Jorhath. Two of the surviving chiefs now in Rangpur, the Sham Phokan and Bagli Phokan, were desirous of making terms with the English; and they succeeded in persuading the opposing party to permit the despatch of an embassy to Lient.-Colonel Richards, to learn the conditions which they might expect. As the season was advanced, and difficulties and delays in bringing up supplies might be anticipated, it was thought prudent to permit such of the garrison as continued hostile, to withdraw into the Burma territory, on condition of their abstaining from any act of aggression on their retreat. Those, who were willing to submit, were allowed to remain in Asam. The terms were accepted. Sham Phokan with seven hundred followers surrendered. There were about nine thousand of both sexes and all ages, including two thousand fighting men, who marched towards the frontier; but many fell off by the way, and established themselves in Asam. The occupation of Rangpur and the retreat of the Burmas successfully terminated the operations of the campaign, and rendered Asam a British province. There still continued, however, a demand for the exertions of the British officers to restrain the lawless habits of the Sing-fos, and other barbarous border tribes; who, taking advantage of the disorders consequent on the Burma invasion, overran

BOOK III.

CHAP. III.

1825.

BOOK III. and laid waste the adjacent districts, and carried  
CHAP. III. off great numbers of the inhabitants as slaves.

1825.

The determination which was shewn to prevent and punish the outrages of these tribes, induced them to make common cause with the Burmas; and in May, a joint force of Burmas and Sing-fos entrenched themselves at Dafa Gam and Bisa Gam, villages on the Nao-dihing river. These were successively attacked on the 9th and 11th June, by a detachment of the 57th Native Infantry, under Lieutenants Neufville and Ker. Little resistance was made at the former. At the latter, the Burmas drew up in front of their stockades, as if with an intention of giving battle; but a corresponding move being made by the Sipabis, their courage failed, and they retired into their entrenchments. Being closely followed, they attempted no stand, but evacuated the whole of the stockades, five in number, as the troops advanced to the charge, without firing a shot. On the following morning, the enemy was pursued to the passes in the mountains, by a party under Ensign Boyle, less with the expectation of overtaking them, than that of rescuing the captives they were carrying into slavery. The hope was not disappointed; and, although the enemy were seen from the top of the first pass, making their way across the second, at a distance which precluded the chance of coming up with them, they had quickened their advance only by abandoning much of their spoil and leaving their prisoners behind. Many hundreds of Asamese were redeemed from certain bondage, and restored to their native villages. Arrangements were sub-

sequently made with the barbarian tribes of Upper Asam, by which they were converted into dependents and allies, and detached from all connection with Ava. BOOK III.  
CHAP. III.  
1826.

The operations in Asam had been regulated by the principles originally laid down, and had been confined to the expulsion of the Burmas from the province. Adherence to a similar prudent policy in Kachar would have obviated much embarrassment and disappointment, and avoided an enormous and fruitless expense. When, however, the difficulties in which the expedition to Rangoon was involved were made known to the Government, and it appeared doubtful whether the British force under General Campbell would be able to penetrate into the interior of the country, the views originally entertained were departed from, and plans were suggested, which received the earnest support of the Commander-in-Chief, for an invasion of Ava, by two considerable armaments, one of which was to penetrate from Kachar, through Manipur, into the valley of the Ningti river, falling into the Irawadi; the other from Chittagong through Arakan, and across the mountains into Ava, where it was to effect a junction with the army of Rangoon. The Burmas had shewn that such routes existed; and it was rather hastily concluded that they would be equally practicable to disciplined troops encumbered with heavy baggage, stores and artillery. The consequences were such as might have been anticipated from so inaccurate an estimate of the difficulties to be overcome.

The force that was assembled on the Sylhet



BOOK III. frontier for the Kachar campaign, in the cold  
 CHAP. III. weather of 1824-5, consisted of above seven thou-  
 1826. sand men, under the command of Lieutenant-  
 Colonel Shuldham.<sup>1</sup> No opposition was to be  
 apprehended from the enemy, for the Burmas had  
 abandoned all their posts in Kachar; and the exer-  
 tions of the Court of Ava on the side of Rangoon  
 prevented the possibility of their reinforcing to any  
 extent their parties in Manipur. The army had,  
 however, much more formidable foes to contend  
 with in the character of the country that was to be  
 traversed, and very soon experienced the utter im-  
 possibility of triumphing over the physical obstacles  
 opposed to its progress.

The first move of the Kachar force brought  
 Colonel Shuldham, with the artillery and the 3rd  
 Brigade to Dudhpatli, by a road which had been  
 made with infinite labour by the Pioneers, from  
 Bhadrapur to Banskandy. From the latter to  
 Manipur, a distance of nearly ninety miles, the  
 whole tract presented an uninterrupted succession of  
 ascents and descents, abrupt hills stretching across  
 the road from north to south, and separated at their  
 bases by narrow streams, with precipitous banks,  
 running in a deep miry bottom, and liable, like all  
 mountain rivulets, to a sudden and rapid rise  
 after every shower. For the first thirty miles, the  
 hills were clothed from their bases to their summits

<sup>1</sup> It was formed of six Regiments of N.I.: the 7th, 44th, and 45th, brigaded as the 3rd Brigade; and the 14th, 39th, and 52nd, as the 4th Brigade; two Companies of Artillery, four of Pioneers, the Sylhet Local Corps, a Corps of Cavalry, Blair's Irregular Horse, and a body of Kacharis and Manipuris, about five hundred strong, under Raja Gambhir Sing.

with thick forest; the spaces between the trees of which were filled up with an intricate net-work of intertwining reeds and brushwood, effectually screening the alluvial soil underneath from the rays of the sun, and converting it into a deep and plashy mire after every slight fall of rain. To aggravate these difficulties, the season proved unusually wet; and frequent and heavy rains commencing early in February, and continuing through the month with little intermission, soon evinced that all expectation of reaching Manipur across the hills and thickets of Kachar, must terminate in disappointment. The Pioneers, by extraordinary exertions, cleared about forty miles of footway, to the banks of the Jiri rivulet, but their labours were of little avail, as the road was impassable for artillery and loaded cattle. In the attempts that were made to move onward, and in the conveyance of supplies to the working parties in advance, hundreds of bullocks, and a great number of camels and elephants, died of fatigue, or were either inextricably plunged in the mud, or had their limbs dislocated in the efforts made for their extrication. After struggling against these natural obstacles in vain, through February and March, the impracticability of the project was recognised, and the prosecution of the design was abandoned. The object was nevertheless accomplished; but by much simpler and less costly means. The expelled Raja of Manipur, Gambhir Sing, accompanied by a British officer, Captain Pemberton, at the head of five hundred Manipuris and Kacharis, provided with arms and ammunition by the British Government, set

BOOK III.

CHAP. III.

1825.

BOOK III. out from Sylhet in the middle of May, and, after  
 CHAP. III. undergoing severe fatigue and privation, arrived  
 1825. on the confines of Manipur, on the 10th of June.  
 The main body of the Burmas had quitted the valley; and the detachments left in occupation, did not venture to oppose the Raja. Gambhir Sing, having cleared his country of the enemy, returned to Sylhet, to prepare for further aggressive enterprises when the season should permit.

The armament directed against Arakan was on a scale still more extensive than that against Kachar, and it was confidently expected, that after wresting the province from the Burmas, it would be able to act effectively in concert with Sir Archibald Campbell, by joining him on his way towards the capital. A force of about eleven thousand men<sup>1</sup> was assembled at Chittagong towards the end of September, of which the command was taken by Brigadier-General Morrison, of His Majesty's service: a flotilla of sloops and gun-brigs was attached to it, under the orders of Commodore Hayes<sup>2</sup>, for the conveyance of the troops and supplies along the shore, and to co-operate with the force in reducing those portions of the coast, which are formed into small islands by the numerous channels, through which the river of Arakan flows

<sup>1</sup> It was formed of His Majesty's 44th and 54th Regiments, the 26th, 42nd, 49th and 62nd, Bengal N.I., and 2nd L.I. Battalion; the 10th and 16th Regiments, Madras N.I., the Mug lery, a body of Local Horse, with details of Artillery and Pioneers.

<sup>2</sup> The flotilla comprised the *Vestal* Bombay cruizer, the Company's surveying ships, *Newarch* and *Investigator*, five gun-brigs, with the ketch bomb-vessel, and *Pluto*, steam gun-vessel, four gun-pinnaces, and eighty gun-boats, each carrying a 12-pounder carriage, besides transports, and Mug and country boats. In addition to their crews, the vessels had on board a flotilla-marine, six hundred strong.

into the Bay of Bengal. Impediments of a similar character with those which had presented themselves in Asam and Kachar, arising from the nature of the country, and the insufficiency of its resources, retarded the opening of the campaign; and the year had closed before the troops were in a condition to move. ¶ The want of cattle for the conveyance of stores and baggage was one of the most serious obstacles of the march of the army, and the difficulty of procuring an adequate supply even in Bengal, was mainly productive of a feeling of discontent among the native troops, which, in one unfortunate instance, led to an unusual and fatal display of insubordination.

In the ordinary movements of the Bengal army, the Sipahis are expected to provide the means of conveyance for their own baggage. This is not in general very cumbrous, but it includes articles for individual use, such as culinary utensils, which the Hindu soldier cannot, consistently with distinctions of caste, share with his comrade, and which form an inconvenient addition to the burthen to be laid upon the bullock that he has hired<sup>1</sup>, especially in the lower provinces of Bengal, where the cattle are small and feeble, and wholly incapable of carrying heavy loads, or undergoing long-continued fatigue. Such as they were, however, they were not to be had; the demands of the

<sup>1</sup> The principal articles were thus specified before the Committee of Inquiry: a plate, a water-pot, a boiler and frying-pan, and a cup; these were all of brass, and weighed about 22lbs. To these were to be added, a light carpet, and a quilt. The Sipahi carried his linen, and various small articles, in his knapsack, and sixty rounds of ammunition.

BOOK III. Commissariat for the supplies to Chittagong and  
CHAP. III. Rangoon, had nearly swept Bengal of its entire

1826.

stock, and no means existed of procuring cattle for the wants of the native soldiers. Even for the few that were procurable, drivers were not to be engaged, as they shrunk from the perils and privations of a long and laborious march, and either kept aloof altogether, or, if engaged, almost immediately deserted. The objections of the Bengal Sipahis to go on board ship, precluded recourse to the most ready and available mode of conveyance to the coast; and as the Arakan force was composed in great part of native regiments from Bengal, it was consequently necessary that they should be marched by land to Chittagong as soon as the route was practicable. Three of the regiments which had been cantoned at Barrackpore, the 26th, 47th, and 62nd, were accordingly ordered to move in the course of October; but they received the orders with murmurs, and exhibited a strong reluctance to obey, complaining, not without justice, that they could not hire cattle for the carriage of such of their baggage as could not be dispensed with; and that they were required to pay an extravagant price for those few which might be purchased.

There no doubt prevailed among the Sipahis a deep-seated dislike to the service on which they were about to be despatched. They had conceived an absurd dread of the Burmas, as magicians, who had the faculty of rendering themselves invulnerable; and the destruction of the detachment at Ramoo, of which they had heard vague and

exaggerated reports, aggravated their superstitious fears. They entertained a better-grounded apprehension of the unhealthiness of the climate; and they were fully persuaded that it was intended to entice or force them to embark on board ship, as they believed it to be impossible to reach Arakan except by sea. Various minor causes of dissatisfaction also prevailed, especially the inferiority of the pay of the Sipahis to that which was given to camp-followers, and to men of low caste, employed with the army, or in the flotilla, whose services it was difficult to procure, at this time, upon any terms; but a preference of whom, in a pecuniary respect, was felt by the native soldiery to be unjust to their superior claims. These different motives of repugnance were brought to a crisis, by the real difficulty of procuring conveyance; and it would have been equitable, as well as politic, to have adopted liberal measures for the removal of this latter grievance, before the discontent had grown to an unmanageable height. Unfortunately, the chief military authorities, educated in the rigid discipline of the British army, exhibited no disposition to soothe the excited feelings of the native troops.<sup>1</sup> Imperfectly acquainted with the character

BOOK III.

CHAP. III.

1825.

<sup>1</sup> The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Paget, has recorded his impression of the state of discipline in the Native Indian army, in the Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons; and, no doubt, acted under this influence on various occasions during his command. He observes:—"It is impossible for me to conceal from the Committee, that there is a great spirit of insubordination in the army, at least that I had the opportunity of more particularly seeing, which is the Bengal army. A sort of spirit of independence prevails amongst the officers, which is totally inconsistent with our ideas of military discipline. I had abundant opportunities of seeing it myself, and had the proofs before me of that spirit; and I have reason to think, from what

BOOK III. of the Sipahi, or disdaining to humour his peculi-  
 CHAP. III. arities, instant and unhesitating obedience was  
 1826. insisted on. The probable consequences of a per-  
 severing disregard of the reasonable complaints of  
 the troops were either overlooked or defied.

Upon a representation to head-quarters, towards the end of October, of the great difficulty experienced by the 47th Regiment, which was the first that was to march, in procuring conveyance, the corps was officially apprised that the Government could not provide them with cattle, and that they must purchase them for themselves. The communication was formally repeated on the 28th, by General Dalzell, commanding the station at Barrackpore, to the native officers of the regiment on parade, and from that moment the dissatisfaction was not to be appeased. It was in vain that an advance of money was offered to the men, or that their officers collected a partial supply of cattle at their own expense. They held private meetings in the lines, and bound themselves by oath not to march, unless their pay was augmented, and carriage supplied. It happened also, unfortunately, that the recent remodelling of the army had, in most instances, separated the European officers from the corps in which they had previously held command, and had placed over the men persons in whom they were not yet accustomed to confide, thus annihilating that salutary influence

I have subsequently heard, that it is by no means subsiding.\*—Comm. House of Commons, Military Evidence. The latter part of this testimony applies to the officers, the first part to the army in general; but, notwithstanding the high character of the witness, its justice in regard to either may be disputed.

which a continuance of kindly intercourse most usually secures to the European officer over the native soldiery.<sup>1</sup> Scarcely any of the officers of the 47th Regiment had been attached to it for more than a few months; and they were consequently imperfectly acquainted with the proceedings of their men, and incompetent to contend with the spirit which had been engendered, whilst it was yet capable of being allayed. It had now burst forth with irrepressible violence, and extenuated, if it did not wholly justify, the extreme measures pursued for its extinction. On the first of November, the 47th Regiment was ordered to parade in marching order. Not more than one-third of the corps obeyed. The rest of the men assembled tumultuously in the adjacent lines, and threatened to fire upon their comrades if they stirred. To their officers, and to General Dalzell, who attempted to recall them to a sense of their duty, they opposed vociferation and vehemence and menacing gestures, which compelled them to withdraw, and leave the mutineers to their uncontrolled will. They com-

BOOK III.

CHAP. III.

1825.

<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of 1824, orders were sent to the several presidencies to make some alterations in the constitution of their respective armies: the principal of which was, the conversion of the two battalions, of which each regiment in Bengal had hitherto consisted, into as many regiments, giving a Colonel-commandant to each. The promotion consequent on this multiplication of Colonels, led necessarily to a fresh disposition of the whole army list; and in most cases officers were transferred from the battalions in which they had long served, to regiments in which they were strangers. Besides the loss of personal influence thus occasioned, a great moral injury was inflicted on the composition of the army. All the proud recollections of past triumphs were obliterated; the new regiment had no share in the honours of the old Pultun, or battalion, and felt no interest in maintaining its reputation. The evil was, no doubt, temporary; but it was at this moment in active operation.—The General Orders, breaking up the old organisation, are dated the 6th of May, 1824.



**BOOK III.** mitted no outrage, but continued during the  
**CHAP. III.** following day and night, in the same state of  
**1858.** excitement and stubborn determination not to quit  
the cantonments. During the day and ensuing  
night, arrangements were made for the forcible  
suppression of the mutiny. Two of His Majesty's  
Regiments, the Royals and 47th, with a detach-  
ment of Horse Artillery, and a troop of the  
Governor General's Body-Guard, were assembled at  
Barrackpore; and early on the 2nd of November  
were drawn up perpendicularly to the Sipahi lines,  
the Artillery being posted something in the rear.  
The 47th N. Regiment was formed in front of the  
lines; and on their left, but in rear of them, the 26th  
and 62nd, the other corps which were also under  
orders to march, were stationed. Above a hundred  
of the latter, and about twenty of the former, fell in  
with the 47th. The rest stood firm, although parti-  
cipating in the feelings which agitated the devoted  
regiment. The native officers of the 47th separated  
themselves from the men. The Commander-in-Chief,  
with his staff, was on the ground. During the night,  
a petition had been addressed to him by the muti-  
neers, in which they declared, that they had been  
told they were to be embarked on board ship for  
Rangoon, and that, as they could not obey the order  
without loss of caste, they would not comply with it.  
They prayed, therefore, to be dismissed, and allowed  
every man to return to his home. They were in-  
formed, that no intention of sending them on board  
ship had been entertained; but that regard could  
not be paid to soldiers in a state of rebellion, and  
that they must lay down their arms without stipu-

lating for conditions. Whether this reply was made intelligible to them, or in what manner it may have been received, there are no means of ascertaining. At daybreak, the regiment was paraded. Officers, to whom it was thought they might be disposed to listen, were sent to the Sipahis, with orders either to agree to march immediately or to ground their arms; but their commands and remonstrances were repelled with an insane vehemence, which, there was reason to fear; might have ended in the perpetration of some atrocious crime. They were left, therefore, to themselves; and they stood with ordered arms in a state of stupid desperation, resolved not to yield, but making no preparation to resist.<sup>1</sup> When it appeared that their stubbornness was not to be overcome by expostulation, a discharge from the artillery guns was opened upon them. They instantly broke, and fled. As they crossed the parade, they were fired upon by the Infantry, and charged by the Body-Guard, and many paid with their lives the penalty of their disobedience. A number made for the river, which skirts the plain of Barrackpore to the north, and several perished in attempting to cross it.<sup>2</sup> A number were made prisoners on the

BOOK III.  
 CHAP. III.  
 1825.

<sup>1</sup> It appeared, upon the evidence, before the Court of Inquiry, appointed to investigate the causes of the mutiny, that of the many muskets which were left on the field, scarcely one was loaded, although the men had each forty rounds of ammunition; yet it was deliberately asserted in the House of Commons by the President of the Board of Control, if his speech is accurately reported, that when the Royals were advancing the mutineers fired upon them. The same authority has been made to say, that there was no ground of complaint as to any want of proper accommodation.—Debates on Mr. Hume's Motion for Papers, 22nd of March, 1827.

<sup>2</sup> In the reports at first prevailing, it was said, that one hundred and eighty or two hundred were killed. In an account by Major Pogson,

BOOK III. spot, and others were apprehended by the country-  
 CHAP. III. people and police. These were tried by native  
 1825. courts martial, and by their sentence some of the  
 ringleaders were hanged, and others condemned to  
 hard labour in irons.<sup>1</sup> The number of the 47th  
 Regiment was effaced from the list of the army,  
 and the native officers were dismissed from the  
 service; as it was argued, that the mutiny could  
 not have been planned and executed without their  
 knowledge, if not with their participation. That these  
 judgments were in some respects more severe than  
 the occasion demanded was evidently felt, both by  
 the Government of Bengal and the authorities  
 in England. In the following April, the former  
 remitted the punishment of the individuals detained  
 in custody, in consideration of the good conduct  
 of the 26th Regiment in Arakan, and thus anticipated  
 orders of a like tenor, which were received from  
 the Court of Directors at the end of the year.  
 Whether any measures of a more deliberate and  
 lenient description were advisable, on the morning  
 of the 2nd of November, may perhaps admit of  
 question, although it seems possible, that, if a short  
 delay had been granted to the mutineers, they  
 might have become conscious of the folly and  
 danger of persisting in their disobedience. How-  
 ever this might have been, little doubt can be  
 entertained, that an early and conciliatory acknow-  
 ledgment of the wants of the troops in the article

Brigade-Major at Barrackpore at the time of the mutiny, he observes, that the report was greatly exaggerated, and that only eleven bodies were found in the lines and on parade, although more were, very probably, killed in the pursuit, or drowned in attempting to cross the river.—British Friend of India Magazine, October, 1842.

<sup>1</sup> General Orders, November 4th.

of conveyance for their baggage, and a liberal consideration of the difficulties under which they undeniably laboured, might have mitigated the irritation which had been excited, and extinguished the flame of discontent before it had been rendered ungovernable by the accessories on which it had fed.<sup>1</sup> J

BOOK III.

CHAP. III.

1825.

The strength of the Burmas in Arakan had been greatly reduced by the departure of their best troops to reinforce the army of the Irawadi; and those who remained were withdrawn from the frontier stations, and concentrated in the capital, under the command of the Atwen-wun Maunza, an officer of distinguished intelligence and courage. The force at his disposal was, however, utterly unequal to contend with that by which he was about to be assailed; and the province must have speedily submitted, if its conquest had not been retarded by physical obstacles. Of no great breadth in its widest parts, Arakan becomes narrower, as it runs southward, until the mountains forming its eastern boundary terminate in a point, at the headland of Cape Negrais. The capital and the chief towns are situated in the southern and narrowest portion, and to them the march of the army was directed; but the whole country was covered by impervious and pestilential forests, through which roads were to be opened, and it was intersected by numerous rivers, which, rising in the Yuma mountains, ran westwards to the sea, and as they approached the latter widened into vast estuaries, which could be

<sup>1</sup> This was the opinion of several officers of rank and experience, given in evidence before the Court of Inquiry.

BOOK III. traversed only after much labour and delay. The  
 CHAP. III. line of coast was, however, selected for the march  
 1825. of the troops, as presenting fewer impediments  
 than the thickets of the interior, and in the expect-  
 ation, that the flotilla would provide transport for  
 the stores, and facilitate the passage of the troops  
 across the mouths of the rivers. General Morrison  
 accordingly moved from Chittagong early in  
 January, and, on the 1st of February, arrived on  
 the northern bank of the estuary of the Naf.  
 A detachment was sent across to occupy the port  
 of Mangdu, from which the Burmas had retired;  
 and no opposition was offered to the passage of the  
 army. It was not effected before the 12th; and  
 even then, most of the baggage was left behind,  
 and great part of the cattle destined for its con-  
 veyance had not arrived. A division was halted  
 at Mangdu, to bring on the cattle and stores; and  
 the main body moved on to Tek Myoo, another  
 great arm of the sea, about five marches south  
 from that of the Naf, and of still more ample  
 extent, being above three miles broad, and running  
 above fifty-four miles inland. A part of the force  
 which had been sent by sea, encountered a squall,  
 by which the flotilla was dispersed, and several of  
 the boats were driven on shore with the loss of  
 baggage and ammunition, but fortunately without  
 loss of life. This occurrence added to the delay,  
 which the passage of Tek Myoo occasioned; and a  
 whole month elapsed before the army was encamped  
 on the east of the estuary at Chankrain, situated on  
 a branch of the Koladyne river, a chief river of  
 Arakan, leading to the capital, being navigable with-

in a few miles of the city for boats of burthen. A sufficient force for movements in advance was assembled at Chankrain, on the 20th of March<sup>1</sup>; and the right wing of the army was pushed forward to cover the working parties, employed in rendering the different canals and water-courses passable, while the left threatened some stockades at Kiung-pala, higher up the stream, which had been the scene of a temporary check before the arrival of the army. Commodore Hayes with a division of the flotilla, having on board a company of His Majesty's 54th, and detachments of the 10th and 16th Madras Infantry, had entered the Arakan river towards the end of February, for the purpose of exploring its course and ascertaining how far it was navigable. Having received information which induced him to believe, that a stockade at Kiung-pala might be captured by the force under his command, he brought his vessels abreast of the works, and opened a cannonade upon them. They proved to be stronger than he expected; and he was obliged to retreat after sustaining some loss<sup>2</sup>. Before the advance of the army towards the capital, the stockade was abandoned.

The route to Arakan, following the direction of the river, was intersected by numerous channels

<sup>1</sup> His Majesty's 54th, 10th Madras N. I., and left wing of 16th, sent by sea. The field battery, His Majesty's 44th, 1st L. I. Battalion, four companies of the 42nd Bengal N. I., five of the 62nd, Bengal N. I., right wing of the 16th Madras N. I., and two troops of Local Horse.

<sup>2</sup> Six persons were killed, and thirty-two wounded. Among the former, were Mr. Rogers, second officer of the gun-brig Research, and Major Schalch of the Engineers, an officer of distinguished merit, who was on board the Research.

BOOK III. leading into it, and occasionally by low ranges of  
CHAP. III. hills between the gorges of which it flowed. The  
 1826. channels, all within the influence of the tide, were generally fordable at the ebb; and, although they retarded, they did not essentially obstruct the march. No attempt was made by the enemy to defend the passage of any of them. But on the 26th, they made a stand on the Padho hills, where they had constructed entrenchments: they were soon driven from their defences. On the following morning, they were found stockaded at Mahati, a post of considerable strength; but after exchanging a cannonade, in which their guns did little execution, they abandoned their works, and fell back upon Arakan, where their final effort for the maintenance of their power in the province was to be made.

The approach to Arakan on the southern and eastern sides, lay across a narrow valley, bounded by a range of hills about four hundred feet high, the summit of which was crowned by a series of stockades, and garrisoned by the whole Burma force, estimated at nine thousand men. A belt of jungle ran along the skirt of the hills; but beyond it, the acclivity was steep and open, and commanded by the enemy's fire. At the northern extremity, a pass led over the hills; but this was defended by a battery of several pieces of artillery, and a strong body of troops. The British force was formed for the attack on the morning of the 29th March, in the valley at the foot of the hills.

• The first operations were directed to force the pass. The assault was led by the Light Infantry

Company of His Majesty's 54th, four Companies of the 2nd Light Infantry Battalion, the Light Companies of the 10th and 16th Madras Infantry, with the Rifle Company of the Mug levy, and was supported by six Companies of the 16th Madras Light Infantry. The troops moved to the attack with perfect steadiness; but they were unable to make way against the steepness of the ascent, the fire to which they were exposed, and the shower of heavy stones rolled down upon them from above. After a fruitless struggle, in which every officer was disabled, and many of the men had fallen, it was judged expedient to desist; and the assailants were recalled<sup>1</sup>. The failure of the attempt rendered a change of plan advisable; and while the attention of the enemy was kept on the alert in front, it was determined to turn the position by a movement on their right. The guns were accordingly brought into position on the 30th; and on that and the following day a brisk fire was maintained upon the Burma defences. On the evening of the 31st, Brigadier Richards with a detachment<sup>2</sup>, ascended the range by a circuitous route, and had established himself on the summit, before his movement was detected by the enemy. On the following morning, the division attacked the Burmas in flank, while the main body again assailed them in front. They offered but a feeble resistance; and abandoned Arakan to the British arms, retreating across the

<sup>1</sup> Captain Trant, of the 16th Madras N. I., was killed.

<sup>2</sup> Six Companies of His Majesty's 44th, three of the 26th, and three of the 40th, thirty seamen, and as many dismounted troopers of Gardner's Horse.



BOOK III. low lands between the city and the mountains, and  
 CHAP. III. crossing the latter by the passes of Talak and  
 1828. Aeng. 7

The town of Arakan, situated on the banks of a branch of the Koladyne river, on an irregular square plain, enclosed by hills, presented few traces of its former greatness. A stone fort defended its north-west angle, and works of considerable strength in the shape of walls, and embankments of masonry, crowned the hills, and filled up whatever gaps were left by their inferiority of height—forming a line of circumvallation of nine miles in extent. The different elevations adjacent to the town were surmounted by Buddhist temples; but the town itself presented no buildings of any consideration, being a mere collection of mud and mat or bamboo hovels. The greater portion of the population had abandoned the place; but they speedily returned, and submitted readily to a change of masters. As soon as the necessary arrangements could be effected, the main body of the army was quartered in the vicinity of the town, and detachments were sent out to complete the reduction of the other divisions of the province. A force<sup>1</sup>, under Brigadier General Macbean, marched in April against Sandoway and the island of Ramri. A descent had been made upon the latter, early in February, by Lieut.-Colonel Hampton, commanding at Cheduba, with a few men of His Majesty's 54th, and European Artillery, five hundred of the 10th N. I., and seamen and marines from the Hastings frigate.

<sup>1</sup> Four Companies of His Majesty's 44th, eight of the 40th Bengal N. I., 16th Madras N. I., and eight guns.

But the ignorance or treachery of the guides misled the division away from the point it was intended to assail; and, after exposing them at disadvantage to the fire of the enemy in a tract over-spread with thicket, compelled their re-embarkation. The success of the Burmas on this occasion failed to inspire them with confidence: and upon the arrival of General Macbean, it was found that they had abandoned their works, and passed over to the main-land. A detachment of Artillery, and eight Companies of the 10th, were left to garrison Ramri; and the rest proceeded to Sandoway, a town situated at the head of a tide inlet, about twelve miles from the sea. This was also deserted by the enemy. It was not thought necessary to leave any part of the force for its defence at the time; but Sandoway, as well as the islands of Ramri and Cheduba, proved to be so much less unhealthy as stations for the troops than the interior of Arakan, that they were all afterwards permanently occupied.

The final subjugation of Arakan accomplished one object of the equipment of General Morrison's force, and rescued a valuable territory from Burma oppression. The next principal object, co-operation with the force of General Campbell on the line of the Irawadi, was frustrated in the first instance by an imperfect knowledge of the country, and finally defeated by the insalubrity of the climate. The Burmas, in retreating from Arakan, had separated into small parties, whose track could not be pursued through the intricate jungle and labyrinth of water-courses, by which the land

BOOK III. between Arakan and the mountains was overspread.

CHAP. III.

1825.

That passes through the mountains existed was self-evident; but of their number, their direction, and their practicability, the accounts were vague and unprecise; and little reliance was placed even upon such as were entitled to some credit. Thus the Aeng pass<sup>1</sup>, which eventually proved to be practicable for cattle and artillery was wholly disregarded, while with singular infelicity, the only effort that was made followed a direction beset with almost insurmountable difficulties. A detachment placed under the orders of Major Bucke was sent by water across a tract of low jungly land, intersected by numerous rivulets, extending about eighty miles to Talak, at the foot of the mountains. From Talak, the division made four marches up the ascent, in which they encountered extreme fatigue, from the rugged and precipitous nature of the road and the deficiency of water. When within one stage of Thantabain on the Burma frontier, it was ascertained that the enemy was posted there in force; and the exhausted state of the detachment, with the impracticability of the route, compelled Major Bucke to retrace his steps, and return to Arakan, where disease had now begun its ravages, and very soon

<sup>1</sup> It is mentioned by Capt. Pemberton, that an accurate account of the pass was furnished to Government by Mr. Robertson, the Political Agent at Chittagong, in July, 1824, and that the same officer also mentioned its existence to General Morrison. No attempt was made to ascertain the real nature of this line of communication; and it was not until the end of the war, that its practicability was experimentally proved, by the march of a detachment with elephants across it, from Bembegwen on the Irawadi, to Aeng in Arakan, in eleven days.—Pemberton's Report on the Eastern Frontier, p. 101. Lieut. Grant, who accompanied the party, has described it in detail.—Two Years in Ava, p. 416.

incapacitated the army from any further activity. BOOK III.  
CHAP. III.  
 The setting in of the monsoon early in May, in a country inundated by numerous muddy streams, and thickly overspread with close and pestiferous jungle, could not fail to produce its usual deleterious effects on the health of soldiers necessarily exposed to the malignant influence of the atmosphere. The situation of the town of Arakan was found to be peculiarly insalubrious, being traversed by branches of the Koladyne river, surrounded by thickets and shut in by hills. There was no want of supplies as at Rangoon; but the sickness and mortality, attributable evidently to climate, needed no aggravating causes. No rank was exempt; and a very large proportion of the officers experienced the fatal effects of the climate. Their only chance of escape was timely removal to a more healthy locality; but this did not always avail. Brigadier General Morrison himself, after struggling through the campaign, was obliged to quit the country, and died on his way to Europe. By the end of the rainy season, a fourth of the men had died, and more than half the survivors were in hospital'. The

1825.

<sup>1</sup> In the course of August, the deaths were eight officers, seventy Europeans, four hundred and twenty Sipahis, and two hundred camp followers, above seven hundred men. Between May and September, two hundred and fifty-nine Europeans out of one thousand five hundred died; and of the rest, nearly four hundred were in hospital. Of eight thousand native troops, eight hundred and ninety-two had died, and three thousand six hundred and forty-eight of the survivors were in hospital. The peculiarities of the locality, combined with the effects of the climate, sufficiently accounted for the mortality. "The town of Arakan lies on the banks of a muddy river, and is buried among hills, and invested on every side with jungle and morass. The tide overflows the flat borders of the river to a considerable extent. Its reflux converts them into a noisome swamp; and in this swamp, strange to say, the town of Arakan is built, the water flowing under the houses which are raised on posts"—Grierson, Endemic Fever and Medical

BOOK III place was, however, reluctantly relinquished; and it  
 CHAP. III. was not until the end of the year, that the measure  
 1825. of abandoning Arakan received the sanction of the  
 new Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere. It  
 could then no longer be doubted that all precau-  
 tions, all remedial skill, were unavailing to combat  
 with the inclement climate and deadly atmosphere  
 of Arakan. And the scanty remnants of this once  
 powerful armament, instead of carrying victory to  
 the banks of the Irawadi, were scattered among the  
 stations on the coast which had proved compara-  
 tively healthy, or were recalled to the Presidencies  
 for whence they had been despatched. An im-  
 mense expenditure of treasure and loss of life had  
 been incurred to little purpose; and the humilia-  
 tion of the presumptuous Court of Ava, was still  
 left to be achieved by the army of Rangoon.

Topography of Arakan. Trans. Med. and Phys. Soc. of Calcutta, ii. 201. "The causes of the sickness were too obvious to be overlooked. The locality was sufficient to satisfy every medical observer, that troops could not inhabit it with impunity; and a reference to the meteorological register will shew a severity of season, to which the men were quite unaccustomed, and which no covering could resist. In July, August, and September, the fall of rain was one hundred and twenty-three inches, of which one hundred and three fell in the first two months. The climate was as deadly to animals, as to man. Elephants, horses, and bullocks died in vast numbers; and of the camels, not one returned to Hindustan."—Bernard, Medical Topography of Assam.—Ibid. vol. iii. p. 25. "In a country like Arakan, and in cantonments such as have been described, it seems not difficult to trace the causes of disease; and after what has been advanced, regarding the influence of a raw, variable and impure atmosphere, little remains to be said, either of the causes of the sickness, or the mortality which followed it."—Stevenson on the Sickness prevailing in Arakan.—Ibid. iii. 36. "The deadly unhealthiness of Arakan was well known to the people of the country, and to the Burmas, who, before, during and since the war, have uniformly asserted that the city of Arakan is the most unhealthy spot in their country during the rains. This extreme insalubrity is confined to the capital, as neither of the other stations, Sandoway, Kyuk-Phoo, Cheduba, or Akyah, have proved much more inimical to the health of the native troops, than the other military stations on the eastern frontier of Bengal."—Pemberton, 153.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Rangoon.*—*Friendly Disposition of the People of Pegu,*—*invited to elect a Prince.*—*Communication with Chiefs,*—*Military Co-operation offered,*—*not received.*—*Determination of Sir A. Campbell to advance,*—*in two Columns,*—*one by Land,*—*one by Water.*—*Detachment sent against Bassein.*—*Burmas retreat to Donabew, and Detachment returns to Rangoon.*—*March of the Land Column to Tharawadi,*—*found deserted,*—*thence to Yuadit,*—*whence it returns to Donabew.*—*Proceedings of Water Column,*—*Arrival below Donabew.*—*Attack of Stockades,*—*Insufficiency of Force,*—*Junction of Land Column,*—*Batteries opened,*—*Sally of Burmas with Elephants,*—*Repulsed.*—*Death of Bandoola.*—*Donabew evacuated,*—*Arrival at Promé,*—*Force cantoned for the Rains,*—*Negotiations for Peace.*—*Aggression of Siamese on the Tenasserim Coast,*—*Repulsed.*—*Mission to the Burma Camp at Miaday.*—*Armistice agreed to.*—*Conference with the Kyi Wungyi.*—*Terms of Peace,*—*objected to by the Burmas,*—*Renewal of Hostilities.*—*Repulse of British at Watigaon.*—*Advance of Burma Army,*—*attacked,*—*Defeat of their Left,*—*of their Right and Centre,*—*Retreat to Melloon.*—*Advance to Patanagoh.*—*Treaty with Ministers not ratified.*—*Entrenchments at Melloon carried.*—*Advance to Pagahm.*—*Final Defeat of*

*the Burma Army.—Affairs in Pegu.—Advance of Main Army to Yandabo,—Negociations for Peace,—Treaty concluded,—Conditions,—Return of the Troops.—Reflections on the War,—its Inevitableness,—the Mode of its Prosecution,—Value of Acquisitions.*

BOOK III. THE situation of the British forces at Rangoon  
 CHAP. IV. had undergone a rapid improvement after the dis-  
 1825. . . . . dispersion of the Burma army and the capture of the  
 stockades at Kokien. With the altered condition of  
 the atmosphere, the progress of disease was arrested,  
 and the efficiency of the force was re-established.  
 Re-inforcements were also received, and the political  
 state of the country became more propitious. The  
 inhabitants, who were mostly of the Talien or Pegu  
 race, began now to look with confidence to the  
 ability of the British to effect their emancipation  
 from their Burma masters, and hastened to place  
 themselves under the new administration. A pro-  
 clamation addressed to them by Sir Archibald  
 Campbell confirmed them in their favourable  
 sentiments, and invited them to choose a chief of  
 their own nation, whom the English General en-  
 gaged to acknowledge.<sup>1</sup> The extinction of the  
 ancient ruling dynasty deterred the Peguers from  
 complying with the invitation, although three  
 Talien chiefs, in the service of Siam, who were at  
 the head of a considerable body of troops in the  
 neighbourhood of Martaban, opened a friendly  
 communication with the British Commander in the  
 beginning of the year, requesting that an amicable

<sup>1</sup> Appendix II.

intercourse with Siam should be maintained, and offering, if required, to advance and join the English with five thousand men<sup>1</sup>. It did not appear, however, that they acted under any orders from the Court of Bangkok, or that they were authorised to furnish military aid; and the offer was therefore declined, although general assurances were expressed of a friendly disposition.] Neither was it thought advisable to prosecute the project of encouraging the people to recover their independence, as, however attended it might be with present benefit, it might lead to eventual inconvenience<sup>2</sup>. No steps were taken, therefore, to give effect to Sir A. Campbell's proclamation; but the favourable effects which it had produced, and the manifest good-will of the Talien Chiefs and people, obviated all anxiety respecting the internal tranquillity of the province after the last remains of the Burma armament should have been expelled. This was speedily accomplished. One division, which had re-occupied the Pagoda at Syriam, was driven out by Lieut.-Colonel Ebrington, without difficulty. A stronger force, stockaded at Thantabain on the Lyne river, was also dislodged by Colonel Godwin early in February; and the route to the north was open for the advance of the army.

The serious difficulties by which the British army at Rangoon was encompassed, through the absence of means of conveyance, and the deficiency of supplies, early suggested doubts of the possibility of penetrating into the interior of the kingdom of

<sup>1</sup> Documents, Burmese War, p. 119, 120.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Lord Amherst to Sir Thomas Munro, Life, 2, 124.



BOOK III. Ava by the line of the Irawadi, and induced Sir  
CHAP. IV.

1826.

A. Campbell deliberately to contemplate the adoption of a different plan of operations; either to direct his route to the south, and march on the capital by way of Martaban, through Old Pegu, or to re-embark his troops, after leaving a strong garrison in Rangoon, for the coast of Arakan, and thence endeavouring to cross the mountains into Ava. Fortunately for the British arms, the hesitation of the Bengal Government to approve of either project<sup>1</sup>, and the improved knowledge of the country acquired during the latter months of the year, prevented the Commander of the army from having recourse to either of these alternatives, and satisfied him of the greater practicability as well as the superior advantage of adhering to the original design, and advancing towards the capital partly by land, partly by water, as soon as the state of the country should admit of such a combined movement.

After surmounting the embarrassment and delays inseparable from a deficient supply of conveyance,

<sup>1</sup> The Governor of Madras, Sir Thomas Munro, with his characteristic discernment, strongly objected to both plans, and urged the advance by the Irawadi. "I have already," he remarks, "given my opinion on the main point, namely, that the plan of advancing by the Irawadi was preferable to that of marching south, or re-embarking, and landing at Arakan. I can see no object in his going to Martaban, because it would not facilitate his advance to the capital, as, according to his own account, even if the Siamese and Pegners were to take a part in the war, he would still require draught and carriage equipments from Bengal. With regard to the plan of re-embarking the Rangoon force, and landing it at Arakan, nothing could justify such a measure but the certainty of being furnished there with an equipment of draught and carriage-cattle. If they could not obtain it, they would be still more helpless than where they are now, and we should have lost reputation, and given confidence to the enemy."—Letter to Lord Amherst, 23rd Aug., 1824.—*Life*, 2, 131.

Sir A. Campbell completed his arrangements. Leaving a garrison in Rangoon consisting chiefly of native troops, with such Europeans as were yet unfit for field duty, he formed the remainder of his force into three divisions: one of the strength of two thousand four hundred under his own command<sup>1</sup>; one of half that strength under Brigadier-General Cotton<sup>2</sup>; and one something less than six hundred strong under Major Sale<sup>3</sup>. The latter was directed to move against Bassein; and, after clearing the province, to cross the country, and join the main body at Henzada on the Irawadi. The division under General Cotton was to proceed by water, with a flotilla of sixty-two gun-boats, and all the boats of the men-of-war, under the command of Captain Alexander of the Royal Navy, and on its way was to carry the enemy's entrenchments at Panlang and Donabew. The column under Sir Arch. Campbell was to proceed by land to Prome on the Irawadi, where it was to be joined by the other divisions.

The detachment under Major Sale proceeded by sea to Cape Negrais, where the Burmas had erected batteries; but they were quickly driven from them by the fire of the ships; and the troops landed and destroyed the works. The squadron then ascended the Bassein river to the town of that

<sup>1</sup> The land column was formed of His Majesty's 38th, 41st, and 47th, three Native Battalions, the Body-Guard, a troop of Bengal Horse Artillery, and part of the Rocket Troop, with which the army had been latterly reinforced.

<sup>2</sup> His Majesty's 89th, 1st Madras European Regiment, two hundred and fifty of the 18th N. I., Foot Artillery, and part of the Rocket Troop.

<sup>3</sup> His Majesty's 19th and 12th Madras Native Infantry, with details of Artillery.

BOOK III  
 CHAP. IV.

1826.

name; but they found that the Burmas had abandoned it, having first set it on fire. From Bassein the enemy had retreated to Lamina, sixty miles distant, and were followed thither by the division in boats, as the depth of water was insufficient for the ships. The Burmas had again retreated, and fallen back upon their main position at Donabew, above forty miles distant inland. An attempt was made to pursue them; but the want of carriage rendered it impossible for the division to advance. Major Sale accordingly returned to Bassein, and thence sailed back to Rangoon, whence he joined the reserve column on its march to Prome. This expedition against Bassein was attended with no political or military benefit, and was planned evidently upon imperfect information regarding the nature of the country to be traversed, and a miscalculation of the benefits to be expected from such a diversion.

The column commanded by Sir Archibald Campbell marched on the 13th of February, following the course of the Lyne river at some short distance from its left bank. On the 17th it arrived at Mophi, where, from information received from the Karens, or hill-people, who displayed a favourable feeling towards the British, it was ascertained that Maha Thilwa, with a considerable force was posted. Upon arriving on the ground, the enemy had disappeared, except a small party, which had taken shelter in the remains of an old Pegu fort; but which, as the division approached, fled, after firing a few shots, into the adjacent jungle. The column halted at Mophi until the morning of the 19th, when it moved onwards to Lyne, the

capital of the province, where it arrived on the 23rd. The town was situated on the river side.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. IV.

1825.

The force was here in communication with the boats, bearing its stores; and halted to lighten their burthen, the river becoming too shallow for deeply laden vessels. Some supplies were also obtained from the Karen villages, which were found thinly scattered along the route. On the 1st of March, the column forded the Lyne river, and on the following day, after a march of fourteen miles in a north-westerly direction, reached Tharawa, on the main stream of the Irawadi. Much to the mortification of the force, the whole population of Tharawa was descried on the opposite bank of the river; and, soon after, was lost in the shades of an extensive forest. No means of crossing the river, here eight hundred yards broad, were found. At Tharawa, the column halted, in expectation of hearing news of General Cotton's brigade, until the 7th, when, from a cannonade heard in the direction of Donabew and information subsequently received, it was rather hastily concluded that the position had been taken. These accounts were confirmed on the following day; and the column moved on two marches in advance to Yuadit, when a despatch from General Cotton announced the failure of his attack, and the necessity of the employment of a more powerful force against it than that which was under his command.

The column that was destined to advance by water, moved on the 16th of February, and on the 19th, the van arrived at Panlang on the Rangoon river, where both banks were defended by stockades,

BOOK III. while a third in front guarded a point where the  
CHAP. IV. channel divided. The shells and rockets from  
 1625. the flotilla cleared the entrenchments; and the  
 troops, when landed, found them deserted. A  
 division of the 18th Madras N. I. was left in one of  
 the stockades, to keep open the communication with  
 Rangoon. The others were destroyed, and the flotilla  
 advanced to Yangan-chena, where the Rangoon  
 branch separates from the Irawadi. The force  
 entered the latter river on the 27th, and on the 28th  
 the advance came in sight of Donabew, where  
 Maha Bandoola had entrenched himself. Some delay  
 occurred in passing the more heavily laden boats  
 across the shallows into the Irawadi; but the whole  
 were in the main stream by the 4th of March, and  
 on the morning of the 6th took up a position on the  
 right bank of the river, two miles below Donabew.  
 The Burma General had been summoned to sur-  
 render, and had returned a courteous but resolute  
 refusal.

The works at Donabew were of considerable  
 strength and extent, lying along the right bank of  
 the river, and commanding its whole breadth. The  
 chief work, a parallelogram of one thousand by  
 seven hundred yards, stood on a bank withdrawn  
 from the bed of the river in the dry season, and  
 rising above it. Two others, one of which was a  
 square of two hundred yards, with a pagoda in the  
 centre, and the other, an irregular work, four hun-  
 dred yards from it, stood lower down on the river;  
 forming outworks to the principal stockade, and  
 commanded and supported by its batteries. All  
 three were constructed of squared beams of timber,

provided with platforms, and pierced for cannon; and each had an exterior fosse, the outer edge of which was guarded with sharp-pointed bamboos, and a thick abatis of felled trees and brush-wood. One hundred and forty guns of various calibre, besides a still greater number of ginjals, were mounted on the parapets, and the garrison consisted of twelve thousand men, commanded by the most celebrated general in the service of Ava. The assailants bore no proportion to the defenders; for General Cotton had left his native regiment at Panlang, and part of his Europeans, to guard the boats with stores. His whole available force did not, therefore, exceed six hundred bayonets, a force manifestly inadequate to the storming of Donabew, even with the assistance of the guns of the flotilla. The orders of the Commander-in-Chief, however, leaving, in General Cotton's opinion, no alternative, he made arrangements for the attack. At sunrise, on the 7th, two columns composing together five hundred men, advanced against the smaller stockade, supported by the fire of two field-pieces, and of a rocket battery. They were encountered by a fire kept up with more steadiness than the Burmas had lately displayed; but the troops disregarded it, and rushed impetuously on the work into which they forced their way. The garrison, after suffering severely, fled over their defences, but many were intercepted by such of the troops, as, unable to penetrate into the interior, spread round the parapet, and cut off the fugitives. The stockade was soon in the possession of the assailants. The second of the entrenchments was next at-

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

1825.

BOOK III. tempted. A battery was erected in advance of the  
CHAP. IV. captured stockade, and when it was thought that  
1825. a sufficient impression had been produced, a column  
of two hundred men was sent forward to storm the  
work. The Burmas remained quiet until the as-  
sailants had advanced to within a few yards, when  
a heavy fire was poured upon them, by which the  
leading men were struck down, and the column  
turned from the point of attack. The men en-  
deavoured to shelter themselves in a ditch, which  
was, however, exposed to the fire of the enemy.  
Captain Rose, who had led the party, was shot  
while endeavouring to rally his men, and Captain  
Cannon of the 89th was mortally wounded. The  
loss of men was also severe, and it became necessary  
to recall them. It was now evident, that Donabew  
was too strong to be reduced by General Cotton's  
division, and he desisted from a further unprofitable  
expenditure of life. The guns and stores were  
re-embarked, and the flotilla dropped down to the  
position at Yung-yung, which it had occupied on  
the 6th, and there awaited the instructions of the  
Commander-in-Chief.

However anxious to accelerate his onward  
march, Sir A. Campbell could not avoid feeling  
the necessity of a retrograde movement against  
Donabew, not merely to redeem the reputation of  
the British arms, but to free his rear from a force  
which cut off his communication with Rangoon,  
and by commanding the river-navigation ren-  
dered it impossible for supplies to reach him by  
water. As soon as positive information of the  
check which had been sustained was received, he

retraced his steps, and, leaving Yuadit on the 11th, returned to Tharawa on the 13th. Here it was necessary to cross the Irawadi; for which purpose no other means existed than a few canoes capable of conveying but a small number of men at a time, and utterly unfit for the carriage of guns and stores. By great exertion, however, and the construction of rafts for the reception of the heavier articles, the passage was effected in the course of five days, and the army was assembled on the right bank of the Irawadi, by the 18th of March. The head-quarters were at Henzada, a town of some extent: the vicinity of which was ornamented by a number of handsome Buddhist temples and monasteries, sheltered by groves of mangoes and tamarinds, Neither priests nor people were, however, visible: the whole population of the town and neighbourhood having abandoned their habitations. No hostile force had opposed the occupation of the town; but information was received, that the Kyi Wungyi was posted at a distance of fifteen or twenty miles from Henzada; and it was thought possible to surprise him. Lieut.-Colonel Godwin, with His Majesty's 41st, the Body-Guard, and a brigade of guns, made a night march with this object. They came upon a party of Burmas at daybreak, who immediately dispersed and fled, but the main body had previously effected their retreat, leaving the country open for the advance of the army. This was made with as much expedition as was practicable, in the absence of all regular roads, and the delay caused by having to cut a pathway through the intricate jungle of brushwood

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

1825.



BOOK III. and tall reeds, by which the surface was overspread.

CHAP. IV.

1825.

On the 25th, the force came before Donabew, and preparations were immediately commenced for the attack of the main entrenchments, against which it was necessary to proceed in form. The Burma General was equally active; and, on the same night, before the troops had well taken up their position, directed a well-judged sortie against the right of the line. It was repulsed without much loss on either side, but was a favourable indication of the spirit with which the enemy were animated, and of the military talents of the commander.

The army having been encamped above the works, while the water column was some way below them, a short delay occurred in establishing a communication; but, on the 27th, the flotilla weighed with a fair breeze, and sailed past the stockades under the fire of all the guns the Burmas could bring to bear upon it. At the same time, a sally took place on the west side, headed by a line of seventeen elephants, each carrying five or six men, armed with musquets and ginjala, and supported by a body of Casay horse, and a dense mass of foot. The army was drawn up to receive them. They advanced steadily to within a short distance, when, being staggered by a well-maintained fire of musquetry and artillery, their discomfiture was completed by a charge of the Body-Guard. The Elephants losing their drivers, and becoming unmanageable, broke away and fled into the thicket; the Horse followed their example, and the Foot retreated precipitately into the stockade. Upon the junction of the flotilla, with the battering-train and

stores on board, the heavy guns and mortars were BOOK III. immediately landed, and placed in battery; during CHAP. IV. which operation, shells and rockets were diligently 1826. thrown into the entrenchments. Some attempts to interrupt the progress of the battery were made by the enemy, but without effect, and the guns opened on the morning of the 3rd of April. They were unanswered by the stockade, and shortly after they commenced firing, the Burmas were discovered in full retreat, through the adjoining brushwood. It was soon ascertained, that the death of their general had paralysed the energies of the garrison. Maha Bandoola had been killed on the previous night by the bursting of a shell, and with him expired the courage of his followers. Despairing of success, they refused to prolong the resistance, and evacuated the entrenchments, carrying with them the ashes of their chief, whose body had been burned. The death of Bandoola spared him the mortification of beholding the disastrous termination of that war which he had been mainly instrumental in exciting, and which he alone had the ability and courage to maintain, if not with hope, at least with reputation<sup>1</sup>.

The capture of Donabew removed the only remaining obstruction to the prosecution of the main object of the campaign, and as soon as the post was taken possession of, Sir A. Campbell resumed his march. He was at Tharawa with his advance on his way to Prome on the 7th of April, and on the 8th was there joined by reinforcements from Ran-

<sup>1</sup> The loss of the British in the affairs at Donabew was, thirty killed, and one hundred and thirty-four wounded.

BOOK III  
CHAP. IV.  
1823. goon, under Brigadier M'Creagh, consisting of His Majesty's Royal Regiment, and the 28th Madras N. I., with elephants, and carriage-cattle sent round from Bengal. The main body, after crossing the river in the boats of the flotilla, was concentrated at Tharawa on the 10th, and immediately moved forward. The Burmas had been rallied by the Prince of Tharawadi, whose head quarters were at Yagain, but he retreated as the British army advanced; and the force arrived at Prome on the 25th, without encountering an enemy. The town had been but recently evacuated by the Burmas, after setting fire to the stockades. Part of the town was found on fire; but the exertions of the troops prevented the conflagration from spreading. At first, no signs of population appeared; but, in the course of a few hours, a number of the inhabitants showed themselves, and having been assured of protection for their families and property, re-established themselves in their residences: guards were placed over the religious edifices for their preservation, and every precaution was taken for the maintenance of tranquillity and order. After a brief interval, Prome again became the seat of industry and traffic. A regiment of Native Infantry was quartered in the town: the rest were stationed outside; and, as the rainy season was approaching, cantonments were constructed for the shelter of the troops during the monsoon. The weather had been hot during the whole of the campaign, the thermometer rising to 110° in the shade; but the nights were cool, and the climate proved not unhealthy. The character of the country had greatly

improved. The banks of the Irawadi were now of some elevation above the level of the sea, while a range of low heights skirted the town on the south; and on the right bank, well-wooded spurs from the boundary mountains of Arakan came down to the water's edge. To the west of the town lay the river, here two miles broad. On the north and east, stretched a cultivated plain several miles in extent, studded with villages. The consequences of the favourable change of topographical position were highly propitious to the health and spirits of the troops; and although the state of the weather prevented their being actively employed during the months of June, July, and August, and although they did not wholly escape from the visitations of sickness incident to the season, and to irregular and indifferent supplies, yet the efficiency of the main body was unimpaired, disease was comparatively limited, and casualties were rare. The period was not without its excitement, and parties were occasionally detached to explore the country, conciliate the people, and ascertain the purposes of the enemy. Attempts at negotiation were also set on foot with both Ava and Siam.

On the march to Prome, when within thirty miles of the city, a letter was brought into camp by a British soldier of the 38th, who had been taken prisoner by the Burmas and been liberated for this mission, addressed to Sir A. Campbell, by two of the Atwē-wuns, or Royal Councillors. It stated, that the two Governments had always been on terms of friendship until the breaking out of the present war, which had arisen out of the con-

BOOK III  
 CHAP. IV.

1825.

duct of a certain paltry chief, and that it was very desirable that a communication should be opened, by which the blessings of peace might be restored. A reply was sent, to intimate that the Commander of the British army purposed to advance to Prome; but that, on his arrival there, he would willingly hold a conference with the Burma officers for the re-establishment of peace between the two nations; to which an answer was received, expressing the satisfaction of the Atwen-wuns, but intimating their hope, that the British army would halt on the spot where the letter was received, and not proceed to Prome—a request, which inspired Sir Archibald Campbell with a distrust of the sincerity of the parties—a distrust confirmed by the cessation of further communication. In truth, the Court, notwithstanding the shock inflicted by the fate of Bandoola, was not yet weaned from its belief in its ability to expel the invaders; and a strong faction, at the head of which were the Queen and her brother, influenced the King to persist in his hostility. The Prince of Tharawadi, the King's brother, under whose sanction the two Atwen-wuns had addressed the British General, appears, however, to have been sincerely desirous of entering into the proposed negotiation: and, although his army had been reinforced by a body of six thousand men, he quitted his camp, and repaired to Ava to urge pacific counsels, which, as subsequent events proved, he advocated in vain.

Although the states of Ava and Siam were not declaredly at war and had no armies in the field, yet a feeling of enmity had for a long time past

divided the two courts, and had displayed itself in an unavowed course of mutual aggressions and reprisals on the frontiers, having for their object the burning of villages and the seizure of the inhabitants as slaves. In this reciprocity of petty outrage, the Siamese had especially harassed the southern provinces of the Tenasserim coast; and, in the beginning of 1825, either in real or pretended ignorance that the districts of Tavoy and Mergui had changed masters, the Raja of Chomphan, a dependency of Siam, appeared on the coast with a flotilla of war-boats, and, landing his men, laid waste the country and carried off the people. These excesses were speedily checked by the activity of the British authorities; and the Siamese flotilla was attacked, and dispersed. Negotiations were presently afterwards opened with the Court of Bankok, which had the effect of putting an end to the incursions of the Siamese, and of recovering a considerable number of the people who had at various times been carried into captivity. Deputies were also despatched to Martaban to Colonel Smith, the officer in command, on the part of the Ron-a-ron, a chief of Talien origin, who had advanced towards the frontier at the head of a considerable force, and who expressed his earnest desire to co-operate with the British in liberating his native kingdom from the domination of the Burmas. Due encouragement was given to this demonstration, and means for facilitating the passage of the Sanluen river by the Siamese force were in course of preparation, when letters from the Prime Minister of Siam announced the recall of the Ron-a-ron and that of his troops to

BOOK III  
CHAP. IV.  
1825.

BOOK III. the capital. The death of the King, which took  
 CHAP. IV. place in April, 1825, and the requisite presence of  
 1828. the chiefs at his funeral, and the installation of his  
 successor, were the reasons assigned by the Prime  
 Minister, in a letter to Colonel Smith; but a promise  
 was added, that after the Monsoon the Siamese army  
 should again take the field. This promise was not  
 performed. The new King probably adopted a dif-  
 ferent policy from that of his predecessor, and con-  
 templated the triumph of the British, and the pro-  
 jected independence of Pegu, with equal aversion.  
 Nothing further was heard of the Siamese auxili-  
 aries; but a friendly understanding subsisted, and  
 many Talien and Burma captives and fugitives were  
 allowed to return to their native country, to enjoy  
 the security afforded by the protection of the  
 British Government.

Upon receiving the intelligence of the fall of  
 Donabew and the death of Bandoola, the first  
 feeling of the Court of Ava was that of despair.  
 It was, however, but of short duration; and the  
 King was persuaded that the contest was not yet  
 hopeless, and that the English might still be  
 humbled. Great exertions were made to recruit  
 the army. In place of the usual conscription,  
 large bounties were given to the Burmas to induce  
 them to enlist, and the tributary tribes of Shana,  
 north of Ava, were summoned to support the  
 general cause. They obeyed the summons, and  
 joined the Burma army in large numbers, con-  
 fiding in the fortunes of the kingdom, and unac-  
 quainted with the enemy they were eager to  
 encounter. The principal force was assembled

at Miaday, about sixty miles from Prome, under the command of Mimiabo, a half-brother of the King; while other divisions were stationed at Pagahm, Melloon, and Patanagoh, amounting in all to about forty thousand men; of which one half was posted at Miaday. Another body, stated to be twelve thousand strong, was stationed at Tongho, the capital of the province of Tharawadi, to the north-east of Prome. To encounter these forces, Sir A. Campbell had under his command about five thousand men, of whom two thousand three hundred were Europeans. Detachments left at Rangoon, to the extent of about one thousand five hundred more, were under orders to join him. The state of his force, and the advanced position he had attained, rendered it highly improbable that the renewal of hostilities by the Court of Ava would be attended by a more favourable result than the past.

While both parties were thus prepared to resume active operations, they were not averse to the discontinuance of the contest; and, in compliance with the tenor of the injunctions which he repeatedly received from Bengal, to avail himself of every favourable opportunity of bringing the war to a close, Sir Archibald Campbell addressed a letter to the ministers of the King of Ava, from his headquarters at Prome, stating his being authorised to negotiate and conclude a peace, and inviting them to avert the misfortunes which impended over their country from the prosecution of the war, by a timely assent to equitable terms of pacification. The overture was promptly met; and a de-

<sup>1</sup> According to General Campbell's own account, his letter was



BOOK III  
 CHAP. IV.  
 1825.

putation arrived from the Burma camp, to propose that a mission should be sent to the Prince Mimiabo, who held the chief command and was fully empowered by the King to treat, in order to specify the terms on which a pacific negotiation should be based, and to make arrangements for a suspension of hostilities during the interval requisite for communicating with the Court. In conformity to the invitation, two officers, Lieut.-Col. Tidy, the Deputy Adjutant-General, and Lieut. Smith of His Majesty's ship Alligator, accompanied the Burma deputies to Miaday, where they found the Kyi Wungyi, at the head of the force. The Prince was at Melloon; and as it was necessary to refer to him for final orders, the British officers were delayed ten days in the Burma entrenchments, during which they were treated with perfect confidence and cordiality, and received from all persons of note with whom they were permitted to carry on unmolested intercourse, assurances that the sense of the nation was strongly opposed to the prolongation of the war. Favourable replies having arrived from Mimiabo, it was agreed that an armistice should be at once concluded from the 17th of September to the 17th of October, during which neither force should cross a line extending from Komma, on the west bank of the Irawadi, through Naibenzik to Tongho. The Kyi Wungyi engaged to meet the British General at Naibenzik, on the 2nd October, to determine

immediately acknowledged. He observes, "The time had scarcely elapsed for the reception of an answer, when such did actually arrive."—Document, 144, A.

the definitive conditions of peace. The meeting took place accordingly. Sir A. Campbell was accompanied by Sir James Brisbane, who had lately taken the command of the British Navy in the Indian seas, and had joined the army towards the end of September, and was attended by his personal staff, and a thousand picked men, both Europeans and Natives. A like number of Burmas formed the escort of the Kyi Wungyi, agreeably to his own request, as it was contrary to etiquette for the Burma minister to come with a smaller train. The parties met at Naibenzik, on a plain which had been cleared for the occasion, and in the centre of which, a building on the model of the Lotoo, or Hall of Audience, at Ava, had been constructed for the accommodation of the negociators. The Kyi Wungyi, was assisted by the Lamain Wun, and attended by other officers of rank. In the discussions that followed, perfect good-will and mutual courtesy prevailed. The chief of the Burma mission, the Kyi Wungyi, was an elderly man of pleasing deportment, mild disposition, and cheerful temper; and he and his colleagues readily responded to the cordiality of the British officers, and, as far as it was possible for habits so opposed, willingly conformed to the manners of the conquerors. It very soon appeared, however, that they were entirely unprepared for the demands made upon their Government by the British Commanders. The Court of Ava was expected to desist from all interference with Asam and Kachar, and to recognise the independence of Manipur, Arakan, with its dependencies, was to be given up to the British, and an

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

1825.

BOOK III. indemnity of two crores of rupees was to be paid for  
CHAP. IV. the expenses of the war; until the discharge of  
1825. which sum, Rangoon, Martaban, and the Tenasserim  
provinces, were to be held in pledge. A resident  
was to be received at Ava, and a commercial treaty  
to be concluded, by which the trade with Rangoon  
should be relieved from the exactions by which it  
had hitherto been repressed. These proposals were  
received by the Burma negociators with manifest  
surprise, and were strenuously resisted. The war,  
they maintained, had been occasioned by the pro-  
tection given by the British to fugitives from the  
dominions of their sovereign; and had already  
inflicted upon the country an amount of expense  
and injury which might well appease the resent-  
ment of a great nation. The Chinese had formerly  
invaded and conquered part of Ava, but when  
peace was re-established, had given back the sub-  
jugated territory, and had exacted no pecuniary  
compensation: this example was worthy of  
imitation by the British. At any rate, they were  
unauthorised to accede to such conditions, and  
must refer them to the royal pleasure, for the  
ascertainment of which, a further delay was un-  
avoidable; and they proposed, therefore, to extend  
the armistice to the beginning of November. This  
was readily granted, as military movements could  
not be conveniently commenced at an earlier period,  
and the interval enabled the British Commander-  
in-Chief to perfect his plans for the opening of the  
campaign. Little doubt was entertained, that  
recourse must be again had to arms; and the ex-  
pectation became a certainty by the receipt of a

letter from the Burma chief, at the end of October, in which it was announced, that if peace was sincerely wished for by the English, they must empty their hands of, what they held, and then solicit terms; but that if they made any demands for money for their expenses, or for any territory, friendship was at an end. Such was the custom of the Burmas. This announcement precluded all further negotiations; and preparations were forthwith set on foot for the vigorous prosecution of the war. They were anticipated by the advance of the enemy.

As soon as the nature of the British requisitions was known at Court, the indignation of the Monarch was sensibly excited, and the representations of the party that deprecated any concession, re-obtained their former influence. It was still maintained to be possible to exterminate the British; and the army was ordered to move without delay upon Prome, the command being given to a veteran chief, who had formerly enjoyed a high military reputation for his services in Arakan, and who, at a very advanced age obeyed the call of his prince, and relinquished the retirement into which he had withdrawn, to lead the forces of his country, as he fully confided, once more to victory. Under his command, the Burma army drew towards the British lines at Prome, with a view to circumscribe their limits, and harass, and intercept their communications. A considerable body was accordingly thrown forward to Watigaon, twenty miles from Prome, where they entrenched themselves in a position which gave them the command over the

BOOK III

CHAP. IV.

1825.

BOOK III country, on the right flank of the British army,  
CHAP. IV. and from which it was, therefore, necessary to  
1825. dislodge them.

On the evening of the 15th November, Brigadier M<sup>c</sup>Dowall was dispatched against Watigaon, with four Regiments of the Madras N. I., disposed in three columns: the first, under Colonel M<sup>c</sup>Dowall himself, consisting of the 28th and 43rd Regiments, was intended to attack the position on the left; the second, formed of the 22nd Regiment, led by Major R. Lacy Evans, was to assail it in front, supported by the 18th, which was moved forward for that purpose. The 38th Regiment formed the third column, and moved to the eastward. The ground did not admit of the employment of artillery. The columns marched separately across a plain much broken by swamp and thicket, which prevented their mutual communication; and on their way, they were opposed by parties of the enemy, who shewed themselves in great strength; and who, although repulsed, retarded the progress of the columns. It thus became impossible to operate in concert; and when the principal body under Colonel M<sup>c</sup>Dowall approached the works, there was no appearance of the other divisions. As the brigade was unprovided with battering guns, the entrenchments could not be breached; and in the attempt to push forward and force an entrance, a heavy fire was poured upon the troops, by which their commander being killed and many of their officers disabled; Lieut.-Colonel Brooke, who succeeded to the command, was compelled to order a retreat. The Burmas pursued the retiring

detachment to within nine miles of Prome, and had thrown it into great disorder, when the movements of the other divisions also in retreat, effected a diversion in its favour.

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

1825.

The column under Major Evans fell in with the enemy's picquets early in the morning, and drove them in upon a strong stockade, from which so heavy a fire was encountered that the advance was almost annihilated. The firing from the main column was heard; but, as there appeared to be no prospect of its co-operation, the regiment retired, pursued for about three miles by the Burmas, and obliged to abandon the wounded; but otherwise retreating in good order. The 38th Regiment, under Colonel Smith, was unable to reach Watigaon before noon, by which time the other columns were in full retreat. A body of the Burmas were encountered and dispersed; but as no traces of the main division could be discovered, and the firing had ceased, it was concluded that the attack had failed, and the column returned, after a fatiguing march, to Prome, having met with no other opposition. [The loss of the detachment was severe.] A principal cause of the failure appears to have been misinformation as to the strength of the Burma force, which had been reported not to exceed two or three thousand<sup>1</sup>. It was estimated, by the officers engaged, at five

<sup>1</sup> Besides the death of the Commanding Officer, ten officers were wounded, of whom, Lieut. Ranken, 43rd Madras N. I., died. Of the Native troops, fifty-three were killed, one hundred and ten were wounded, and forty-two were missing. A total loss of above two hundred.

<sup>2</sup> Despatch of Sir A. Campbell. Document 150.—According to Lieut. Trant, it consisted of eight thousand Shans, two thousand Burmas, and six hundred horse, under the command of Maha Nemyo.

BOOK III.  
 CHAP. IV.

1825.

times that number. The separation of the attacking columns was also ill-judged; as the nature of the ground to be traversed, rendered it impossible for the different detached divisions to arrive simultaneously at their destination.

The success of the Burmas on this occasion confirmed them in their expectation of compelling the British army to retire from Prome, and encouraged them to advance within a few miles of the town. Their left under Maha Nemyo, which had lately triumphed at Watigaon, took post at Tsembike, on the Nawain river, a stream running past Prome, and falling into the Irawadi. The centre, commanded by the Kyi Wungyi, moved down to the heights of Napadi, within a distant view of the cantonments, and thence spread round to Watigaon. The Burma right, under the Tsada Wun, followed the right bank of the Irawadi to Padong, and thence detached a body to Shwe-dong in the rear. The former was occupied by a detachment of the Royals, who had thrown up an entrenchment, and repulsed every attempt of the Burmas to expel them. Colonel Godwin was despatched to drive the enemy from Shwe-dong; but he was anticipated by the 87th, which, on its way to join the main body, had been fired upon from that post, and had in consequence landed and dispersed their assailants, leaving the communication again open. The Tsada Wun fell back, so as to communicate with the Kyi Wungyi, occupying the rocks on the right bank of the river. The several divisions of the Burma army were all strongly entrenched. On their side, the British were diligently engaged in strengthen-

ing themselves with field-works and entrenchments, as if in apprehension of an attack, and in the hope of inviting it. This defensive attitude, however, failed in its object. The Burma generals adhered to the national tactics of a gradual and guarded approach; and it was evident, that the British front could be cleared of the enemy, only by assuming the initiative, and making an attack upon the Burma lines.

In pursuance of this determination, Sir Archibald Campbell, leaving four regiments of Native Infantry for the defence of Prome, marched, on the 1st of December, with the remainder of his force. Directing the flotilla, with a regiment of Native Infantry, to make a demonstration against the enemy's right, so as to engross their attention; he directed his principal attack against their left. The army was formed into two divisions; one, under the Commander-in-Chief, consisted of the 13th, 38th, 47th, and 87th Regiments of His Majesty's troops, and the 38th Madras N. I.: the other, under General Cotton, was composed of His Majesty's 41st and 89th Regiments, and the 18th and 28th Regiments of N. I. The second division, following the left bank of the Nawain river, came first upon the enemy's works about noon. They were immediately stormed and carried by Lieut.-Colonel Godwin, with the advance. The Burmas left three hundred dead in the entrenchments: their veteran general, Maha Nemyo, was among the slain. The division commanded by Sir A. Campbell was delayed by the difficulty of the route; but it arrived on the opposite bank of the Nawain as the fugitives were



**BOOK III.** escaping from the stockades which the second division had carried, and completed their defeat. The  
**CHAP. IV.**  
 1826. first division then countermarched to Ziuk, at the ford over the Nawain, where it halted for the night: the second division bivouacked at Tsembike: both ready to follow up the advantage which had been gained by an attack on the right of the enemy's centre at Napadi.

On the morning of the 2nd the force advanced, and when arrived at the foot of the hill, divided into two columns: one of which, under Brigadier Cotton, took a circuitous direction to the right, so as to fall upon the enemy's flank; while the other, following the bank of the river, ascended the hills by narrow pathways obstructed by underwood. The flotilla at the same time pulled up the river, and throwing shells and rockets into the stockades on either bank, kept down the fire from the guns which defended the Burma position. As soon as this was effected, the troops moved to storm the entrenchments, the 13th and 38th Regiments under Colonel Sale proceeded along the river, supported on their right by six Companies of the 87th. They were encountered by a heavy fire, but pursued their way steadily without firing a shot, until they had gained the summit, when they drove the Burmas from the entrenchments, and followed them from hill to hill, until the whole position, two miles in extent, was in their possession. General Cotton was unable to penetrate through the thicket; but this was immaterial, as the works were gained, and the enemy had disappeared everywhere, except on the right bank of the river, where the Tsada

Wun still remained in force. On the 5th of De-<sup>BOOK III</sup>  
 cember, Brigadier-General Cotton, with a part of <sup>CHAP. IV.</sup>  
 his division, crossed the Irawadi, and drove the <sup>1825.</sup>  
 Burmas from the works on the river, and from a  
 strong stockade in the interior<sup>1</sup>. The whole of the  
 Burma force was thus, once more, broken up, and  
 was further weakened by the almost entire de-  
 sertion of the Shans, who returned to their own  
 country. Thus reduced, the Burma commanders  
 were unable to man the defences which they had  
 constructed along the river, and abandoned their  
 stockades at Miaday and Palha, which could not  
 have been forced without loss. The reliques of  
 the Burma army having fallen back to Melloon,  
 they were followed thither by the British army,  
 the march of which was delayed by the badness of  
 the road, and by a temporary attack of cholera,  
 which was fortunately of short continuance, and of  
 which the ravages were most extensive among the  
 retreating masses of the enemy, as was evidenced  
 by the dead and dying, by which their route was  
 marked. The force reached Miaday on the 19th,  
 and after a short halt for supplies, resumed its ad-  
 vance, accompanied by the flotilla. The latter was  
 met on the 26th by a flag of truce, bearing a mes-  
 sage from the Burma Commander, stating that full  
 powers had been received from the Court to con-  
 clude a treaty, and suggesting that deputies should  
 be sent to discuss the conditions. The same officers

<sup>1</sup> In these operations, the loss was twenty-five killed, and one hundred and twenty-one wounded. Three officers, Lieuts. Sutherland and Gossip, of His Majesty's 41st, and Lieut. Proctor, of His Majesty's 88th, were killed. Ensign Campbell, of the 1st, and Lieut. Bayles, of the 87th, were mortally wounded.

BOOK III. who were formerly employed on a similar mission,  
 CHAP. IV. Lieut.-Colonel Tidy and Lieut. Smith, R. N., were  
 1825. again sent on this duty. The army continued its  
 march, and arrived at Patanagoh, opposite to Mel-  
 loon, on the 29th, where it encamped. The flotilla  
 also ascended the river, and was suffered to pass  
 Melloon without molestation. The bank of the  
 river occupied by the British being loftier than  
 that on the opposite site, the whole of the interior  
 of the Burma entrenchment could be distinguished  
 from the camp. It was a quadrangular stockade,  
 extending along the bank of the river, having in  
 the centre, a conical hill, surrounded by a Pagoda,  
 and fortified by a brick *revêtement*, which formed  
 the key of the position. On the day before the  
 arrival of the army at Patanagoh, a message was  
 received from the Burma chief, proposing a meet-  
 ing with the British Commissioners on the 24th  
 of January, and repeating a proposal made to the  
 deputies, that a suspension of arms should in the  
 mean time take place. As the object of the pro-  
 position was obviously to gain time, it was at  
 once declined, and the Wungyis were informed  
 that no delay would be granted. As soon as the  
 army was encamped, however, it was conceded to  
 another messenger from the Chiefs to abstain from  
 hostile operations on the ensuing morning, and to  
 hold a conference with the Burma Chiefs on board  
 a boat, which they undertook to fit up for the  
 meeting, and anchor in the middle of the river.  
 Accordingly, on the 30th, Sir Archibald Campbell,  
 accompanied by Mr. Robertson, who had been  
 appointed from Bengal as Civil Commissioner

conjointly with the Commander-in-Chief, and by Sir James Brisbane, repaired on board, and were met by four of the principal members of the Burma Government, Kolein Mengyi, who had been sent down from Ava, with powers to treat, the Kyi Wungyi, the Atwen-wun Mung Kyne, and Maha Thilwa. The stipulations were the same as those formerly proposed, and were encountered with the same objections. Those relating to territorial concession were not persisted in; but the unwillingness to pay a money indemnification was so insuperable, and the plea of inability so tenaciously urged, that the British Commissioners were induced to lower their demand to one crore of rupees. With this alteration, the Burma Commissioners professed themselves contented, and a definitive treaty was executed by them on the 3rd of January. An armistice was agreed upon until the 18th, by which period it was expected that the treaty would be returned from Ava with the royal ratification, the prisoners at Ava would be sent down, and the payment of the first instalment would be commenced. These expectations were disappointed.

On the 17th of January, the day before the armistice expired, a deputation was sent by the Burma Commander to apologise for the non-arrival of the ratified treaty, and request a few days' prolongation of the time, offering to pay an instalment of five lakhs of rupees immediately, and to give hostages for the liberation of the prisoners. Compliance with the request was declined; and, on the 18th, a deputation proceeded to Melloon from the British camp, to apprise the Wungyis, that,

BOOK III. unless the ratified treaty should arrive, or, unless  
CHAP. IV. they engaged to evacuate Melloon by sunrise on the  
1826. 20th, the post would be attacked. For the former  
alternative they were unable to pledge themselves;  
and they refused to accede to the latter. Recourse  
to arms became consequently unavoidable.

The Burmas had not been idle during the interval which had elapsed since the first appearance of the British forces at Patanagoh; but had added extensively, although covertly, to the strength of their defences, and they had been joined by considerable reinforcements, making their numbers from sixteen thousand to twenty thousand. Their confidence, however, was too violently shaken, to enable them to avail themselves courageously of their resources; and the post of Melloon was abandoned after a feeble defence. The British batteries were opened upon the works before noon, on the 19th of January, with great effect; and under cover of their fire, a brigade of the 13th and 38th Regiments, conjointly less than five hundred strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Sale, crossed the river below the entrenchments, to assault the south-east angle, while the main force under General Cotton crossed higher up, in order to attack the northern front. The boats of the first division were carried rapidly down the current past the works of Melloon, from which a heavy fire was opened upon them; by which Colonel Sale and several of the men were wounded. The troops effected a landing, and after a short interval, escalated the entrenchments. The Burmas made no further resistance, but retreated with such celerity, that they eluded the pursuit of

General Cotton's division, which had landed, and attempted to intercept their retreat. A great number of guns of various descriptions were found in Melloon, with abundant stores of ammunition and grain. The capture was attended with but trifling loss. The works were set on fire, and the army resumed its advance, anticipating, from the apparent resolution of the Court of Ava, the necessity of occupying the capital. One more effort was made by the war party to avert such a catastrophe.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. IV.  
1828.

✓ Anxious as were the sovereign and his ministers to put an end to a contest which had inflicted so much injury and disgrace, and menaced consequences still more fatal; the conditions of peace, particularly the payment of an indemnification which was regarded with peculiar aversion, not only from the avaricious disposition of the king but as a confession of inferiority, and an unequivocal sign of degradation, were felt to be so intolerable, that any chance of escaping from them, however desperate, was eagerly grasped at; and the empty boast of a military chief that he would be answerable for the discomfiture of the invaders was listened to with credulity. Zay-yah-thuyan, the name of this individual, who was dignified with the title of Nuring Phuring, prince of Sun-set, was entrusted with the command of the greatest force that could be collected, amounting to about sixteen thousand men; and with these he engaged to cover the capital against the nearer approach of the British army. At the same time, it was thought prudent to keep open the negotiation, and deputies were despatched to the British camp to ascertain the ultimatum of the

BOOK III. Commissioners. Either from a distrust of its own  
 CHAP. IV. officers, or in the belief that the choice would be  
 1826. acceptable to the British, the deputies of the Court  
 on this occasion were Mr. Price, an American  
 Missionary, settled at Ava, and Mr. Sandford, the  
 Surgeon of the Royals, who had been taken prisoner :  
 four other prisoners were set at liberty, and sent  
 down with the deputies. The latter reached the head-  
 quarters of the force, on the 31st of January, and  
 after a conference with the Commissioners, returned  
 to Ava: the stipulations previously proposed were  
 insisted upon without modification.

In the mean time, the march of the army con-  
 tinued, and on the 8th of February, approached  
 within five miles of the ancient city of Pagahm, the  
 capital of the Burma empire at the season of its  
 greatest power and prosperity. The city was en-  
 closed by a ruinous brick wall, which had been  
 partially repaired, but behind which the Burmas  
 evinced no disposition to take shelter. Their new  
 General had adopted a novel system of tactics; and  
 discarding the national practice of combating behind  
 entrenchments, arrayed his army in the open field  
 among the remains of numerous pagodas, and  
 amidst a thicket of prickly jungle, traversed by a  
 narrow pathway, on either side of which he had  
 arranged the chief body of his troops. The force  
 with Sir A. Campbell, did not exceed thirteen  
 hundred men, of whom nine hundred were Euro-  
 peans; two regiments of the latter, the 47th  
 and 87th detached to Tondwyne, to collect cattle  
 and grain, as well as disperse a body of Burmas  
 reported to be stationed there to harass the

British flanks, not having rejoined. With the limited force under his command, General Campbell moved to attack the superior numbers of the enemy on the morning of the 9th, advancing in two divisions. The first, commanded by himself, was formed of His Majesty's 13th and 89th Regiments, four guns of the Horse Artillery, and a detachment of the Body Guard. The 38th and 41st Regiments formed the second division, commanded by Brigadier Cotton; and the left was covered by the 43rd Madras N. I., following the line of the river. The European divisions were directed severally against the left and right wings, while the advance led by Sir A. Campbell, and consisting of two companies of the 13th, with the Horse Artillery and the Body Guard, occupied the centre. The several attacks were crowned with success; although for a short time the safety of the advance was compromised. Pushing forward with their usual impetuosity, and driving the enemy before them, they had left behind them the supporting columns, which were more slowly disengaging themselves from the narrow route by which they had to pass. Observing this, the Burma General ordered large detachments including a body of six hundred Casay horse, to close in from his centre and left, and cut off the most forward of his assailants from their main body. The necessity of a retreat was obvious; but it was made with a coolness and deliberation which deterred the Burmas from following up their advantage, the troopers of the Body-Guard forming in the rear, while the guns of the Horse Artillery were loaded, and opening to the left and

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

1826.



BOOK III right to allow of their being fired. In this manner,  
 CHAP. IV. alternately forming and retreating, this small body  
 1826. checked the audacity of their pursuers; and the  
 progress of the flank divisions speedily put an end  
 to the danger. The Burmas were driven from the  
 field; a stockade which covered their right flank  
 was carried at the point of the bayonet; and the  
 last army which the Court of Ava could hope to  
 raise was destroyed. Its presumptuous com-  
 mander returned to Ava, to carry the tidings of  
 his defeat, and solicit the command of another  
 army with which to retrieve his credit. He was  
 ordered from the presence with contumely, and on  
 the night of his arrival put to death. That the  
 contest had become hopeless, and that the British  
 arms had nothing more to apprehend from the  
 exhausted energies of Ava became manifest to the  
 people; and their conviction was evidenced by their  
 return to their homes, which they had been forced  
 by the Burma authorities to abandon. They  
 flocked into Pagahm from every quarter; and  
 numerous boats crowded with men, women, and  
 children passed hourly down the river to the  
 villages on the banks. The army halted a few  
 days at Pagahm to recover from the fatigue which  
 it had undergone, from the nature of the road and  
 the increasing heat of the weather.

While these transactions were taking place on  
 the upper course of the Irawadi, the province of  
 Pegu had been the scene of some military move-  
 ments of a chequered character, but ending in  
 success. Upon the advance to Prome, it was not  
 thought necessary at once to dislodge the Burmas

from the line of the Sitang river on the right flank of the army; but the duty was assigned to a division under Colonel Pepper, consisting of the flank companies of the Madras European Regiment, and three regiments of N. I., which marched from Pegu, in order to occupy Tongho, about eighty miles east of Prome. As the detachment advanced the Burmas abandoned their posts, and the detachment entered Shoogyun on the Sitang river, without opposition, on the 4th of January. It was here ascertained, that the former Governor of Martaban with a considerable body was stockaded at Sitang, in the rear of the advance, and intercepted the communication with the lower provinces. The 3rd Regiment of Madras N. I. under Lieut.-Colonel Conry, was sent back to dislodge the Burmas from the position; but this attack was repulsed with heavy loss, including the commander<sup>1</sup>. The disaster was immediately repaired by the activity of Colonel Pepper who falling down the river with his whole disposable force, attacked and carried the stockade by storm, on the afternoon of the 11th January. The works were strong and well situated, and were defended with spirit. The loss was proportionately severe<sup>2</sup>; that of the enemy was much greater. Colonel Pepper was reinforced after the capture of Sitang, in such a manner as to ensure the command of the country against any efforts yet in the power of the enemy to make.

<sup>1</sup> Besides Col. Conry, Lieut. Adams of the 3rd Regiment was killed; two officers, Lieuts. Harvey and Potter, were wounded; ten natives were killed, and nineteen wounded.

<sup>2</sup> Two officers, Capts. Cursham and Stedman, were killed. Major Home, Lieut. Fullerton, and Lieut. Power, were severely wounded. The loss in rank and file, was fourteen killed, and fifty-three wounded.

BOOK III. After halting five days at Pagahm, Sir Archibald  
 CHAP. IV. Campbell, on the 16th February, continued his  
 1826. march towards the capital, and had reached Yandabo, within sixty miles of Ava, when he was again met by the only negociators in whom the King had confidence, the American missionaries, Messrs. Price and Judson, accompanied by two Burma Ministers of rank, and by a number of prisoners who were liberated as a proof of the sincerity of the Court. A more convincing testimony was afforded by the first instalment of the contribution (twenty-five lakhs of rupees), which was brought by the Atwenwuns; and by the authority vested in the American deputies to accede to whatever terms the British Commissioners should impose. No other conditions were stipulated for than those already insisted upon; and a treaty was finally concluded upon the basis already described. The King of Ava renounced all claim to, and right of interference with the country of Asam, and the principalities of Jyntia and Kachar, and recognised the independence of Manipur. He consented to cede in perpetuity the four divisions of Arakan, or Arakan Proper, Ramri, Cheduba, and Sandoway, and the three districts of Tenaserim, Ye, Tavoy, and Mergui, or the whole of the coast, belonging to Ava, south of the Sanlue river; to receive a resident at his capital, and sanction the conclusion of a commercial treaty; and, finally, he agreed to pay a crore of rupees, or about a million sterling, in four instalments, the first immediately, the second within one hundred days from the date of the treaty, and the other two in the course of the two following

years. On their part, the British engaged to retire at once to Rangoon, and to quit the Burma territory, upon the payment of the second instalment. The treaty was concluded on the 24th of February. Its conditions were ultimately fulfilled, although the discharge of the promised indemnity was tardily and reluctantly completed.

As soon as the ratification of the treaty was received, the army broke up from Yandabo. A brigade, formed of His Majesty's 87th, and the Native Corps at head-quarters, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Hunter Blair, followed the route to Rangoon by land, while, as has been noticed, the 18th Madras Infantry, with the elephants, under the command of Captain David Ross, marched first to Pakang-yeh on the Irawadi, eight marches from Yandabo; and thence, after crossing the river to Sembewghwen, quitted the low country in three days; and, in eight more, crossed the mountains by a practicable route to Aeng in Arakan<sup>1</sup>. The remaining troops with the Commander-in-Chief and Civil Commissioner, embarked in boats provided by the Burma Government, and proceeded down the river to Rangoon, whence such of the troops, as were not required for the protection of the cautionary towns and conquered provinces, were despatched to their several presidencies. Sir Archibald Campbell, after visiting Calcutta, returned to Rangoon,

<sup>1</sup> Captain Trant observes: "We met with but little arduous difficulty, yet performed a march of one hundred and twenty-four miles, which had been supposed impracticable, in eleven days, and clearly pointed out, that, had this road been examined, it would have been found that there was nothing to have prevented a portion of General Morrison's army from wintering in Ava, instead of perishing in the marshes of Arakan."—Two Years in Ava, p. 447.

BOOK III. of which he held possession agreeably to the terms  
 CHAP. IV. of the treaty, until the payment of the second instalment at the end of the year. He then removed  
 1826. the troops to Moalmain, an inconsiderable village opposite to Martaban on the British side of the Sanluen river, but which offered a convenient military frontier station. At the same time, a sea-port was formed at the mouth of the river, about twenty-seven miles below Moalmain, to which the name of Amherst was assigned. The Tenasserim provinces were placed under the authority of a Commissioner appointed from Bengal. The subject of a commercial treaty, which had been generally indicated in that of Yandabo, was more especially determined at the end of the year, when Mr. Crawford, who had been previously appointed Civil Commissioner at Rangoon, was directed to proceed as envoy to Ava, to conclude the arrangement, as well as to clear up doubts which had arisen with respect to the eastern frontier. The former object of the mission was accomplished; but the question of the boundary<sup>1</sup>, especially on the side of Manipur<sup>2</sup>, was left undetermined, when

<sup>1</sup> Of this treaty, Mr. Bayfield observes, "the Court never considered it as a treaty, but as a royal license; and that it left to the King the right of prohibiting the free exportation of the precious metals, as well as levying royal and all customary duties on the British vessels and trade."—Hist. Sketches. The conditions were little regarded by the Governors of Rangoon, and their own interests continued to be, as heretofore, the measure of their exactions.

<sup>2</sup> The Raja of Manipur, Gambhir Sing, claimed the Kubo Valley, a fertile strip of land between the foot of the hills on the eastern confines of Manipur and the Ningti river, the right to which was denied by the Burmas. The question was diligently examined, and afforded an opportunity, of which advantage was taken, to depute at different times British officers to visit the localities between Manipur and Ava, by which valuable knowledge was obtained of the interjacent

Mr. Crawford left Ava, in the beginning of December, and returned to Bengal early in the following year. The stipulation of the treaty of Yandabo providing for the permanent residence of a representative of the British Government, at the capital of Ava, was little less unpalatable to the Sovereign than the demand upon his treasury; and it was not until the beginning of 1829, that the presence of a resident was felt to be essential for the adjustment of various subjects of discussion, and Major Burney was in consequence appointed. However acceptable to the Ministers, and to the King personally, and although discharging the duties of his appointment in a spirit of conciliation and impartiality, the Resident failed to reconcile the Court to an arrangement which they looked upon as a public and perpetual record of their humiliation.

✓ The enormous expence, and the vast loss of life which the war with Ava had occasioned, and the uncertainty of reaping any adequate advantage from the acquisitions with which it had closed, excited in the authorities at home a strong feeling in opposition to the inevitability of the war, and in condemnation of the system on which it had been conducted. The occupation of Shahpuri, a mere sand-bank, it was argued, was wholly unworthy of

✓ countries. In 1833, the Resident was authorised to apprise the King, that the supreme Government adhered to the opinion that the Ningti formed the proper boundary between Ava and Manipur; but that, in consideration for His Majesty's feelings and wishes, and in the spirit of amity and good-will subsisting between the two countries, it consented to the restoration of the Kube Valley to Ava, and to the establishment of the boundary line at the foot of the Yumadong Hills.—Femberton, p. 119.

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

1826.

BOOK III. serious dispute; and its relinquishment involved no  
 CHAP. IV. loss, either of revenue or reputation. The inter-

1826.

position exercised in the affairs of the petty states  
 \ of Kachar and Manipur was treated as unseason-  
 able and impolitic; and the facilities which the fugi-  
 tives from Asam and Arakan were permitted to  
 find in the Company's territories for maintaining a  
 civil war in the countries from which they had  
 been expelled, with the refusal of the British  
 Government to apprehend and give up those  
 disturbers of the public peace, afforded, it was  
 | affirmed, reasonable grounds of offence to the Court  
 of Ava, and evinced a spirit which could not fail  
 to irritate an ambitious and semi-barbarous power.  
 | A more conciliatory policy would, in all probability,  
 | have prevented the collision; and, if it had not  
 | succeeded, the only alternative necessary was, the  
 maintenance of a sufficiently strong defensive at-  
 titude on the frontier, to have protected it from  
 violation. † War with Ava was particularly to have  
 | been avoided, not from any fear of its military  
 | power, or doubt of the result, but from the diffi-  
 | culty of reaching the enemy through the natural  
 defences by which he was guarded, the absence of  
 all resources in his country, the scantiness and  
 misery of the population, and the insalubrity of the  
 climate. No conquests that might be made could  
 compensate for the evils that were unavoidable, as  
 the greater part of the dominions of Ava were not  
 only incapable of contributing to the public re-  
 venue, but of defraying the cost of the establish-  
 ments requisite for their government. They could  
 be alone retained by a further waste of money and

of men, and must be sources of weakness, not of strength, to the Indian empire.

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

1826.

✓ The observations that have been suggested by the occurrence of hostilities with Nepal, apply with equal force to the war with Ava. A continued course of forbearance and conciliation, involving loss of credit to the State, and positive injury to its subjects, might possibly have delayed, but could not have prevented a rupture. Incapable of appreciating a generous and civilised policy, ignorant of the resources of the Government whose resentment they defied, reckless of international rights, inflated with an overweening confidence in their own prowess, and emboldened by a career of victory, the King and the Ministers of Ava were, as we have already explained, eager for a contest, the results of which they did not for a moment question would be the confirmation of their supremacy over the countries from which they had expelled the legitimate princes, and the re-annexation to the dominion of the Burmas, of those portions of Bengal which had become their right as constituting provinces of the conquered kingdom of Arakan. These notions were fostered by forbearance. The obvious and avowed anxiety of the Government of Bengal to preserve amicable relations uninterrupted was misinterpreted; and its reluctance was ascribed, not to moderation, but to fear. To have persisted in the same policy must have led to the same result, as it would have tended only to confirm the Burmas in their schemes\* of aggrandisement. Nothing but experience of the immense superiority of such an antagonist as they encountered, could have con-



BOOK III. vined them of the reality of that superiority. It  
 CHAP. IV. may be doubted, if they are, even now, fully  
 1826. sensible of its truth: and it is certain that they  
 have abated but little of their arrogance in their  
 dealings with the British settlements.

The expedition to Rangoon was unpropitiously  
 timed; but it was clearly directed against a quarter  
 which, as far as was then known, was the most  
 vulnerable of the territories of Ava. The plan of  
 conveying a large army with all its stores, ammuni-  
 tion, baggage, and followers, five hundred miles, in  
 open boats, against the current of a large and rapid  
 river, was evidently ill-considered; and the conse-  
 quent despatch of the armament, so as to avail itself  
 of the Monsoon, was unfortunate; but the most dis-  
 astrous results of the expedition were the effect of  
 circumstances which could scarcely have been an-  
 ticipated, the disappearance, voluntary or enforced,  
 of the whole of the population. Hence the want  
 of necessary supplies, and the fatal mortality that  
 prevailed during the first months of the campaign.  
 With the cessation of the rainy season, the advance  
 of the army by land met with no serious impedi-  
 ments, and, although retarded by the insufficiency  
 of the local resources, was victoriously prosecuted  
 to within a few miles of the capital: establishing  
 the superior advantages of the route by which the  
 invaders had marched, over those which were at-  
 tempted through Kachar and Arakan. The former  
 of these originated in a strange want of information  
 respecting the country to be traversed, and the  
 utter impossibility of moving through it in masses  
 embarrassed with the cumbrous equipments of

European warfare. In that case also, as well as with respect to Arakan, a most exaggerated opinion seems to have been entertained of the strength of the Burmas; and large and heavily-armed bodies were consequently sent to perform what two or three regiments, lightly equipped, would have easily accomplished. Hence arose a main portion of the expenditure, as the supplies of the large army of Arakan had to be sent by sea, and to be conveyed across the mouths of wide creeks, after being brought at a great charge, and to but little purpose, from a considerable distance<sup>1</sup>; and hence originated that disastrous decimation of the troops, which was inflicted by the pestilential vapours of the climate. These were the radical errors of the military arrangements, and might have been prevented, had the plan, first laid down, of confining the operations on the frontier to simple demonstrations while the main effort on the side of Rangoon was urged with vigour, been adhered to. The Burmas were expelled from Asam by the Company's native troops alone. They were driven out of Kachar and Manipur by a handful of Manipuris under their Raja, and a British officer; and a force efficient, but not unwieldy, would, in all likelihood, have been equally successful in Arakan. The expedition to Rangoon, in fact, paralysed the efforts of the Court of Ava in other quarters; and the whole of their attention after their first ill-sustained success at Ramoo, was concentrated upon the imminent danger which threatened them at home.

<sup>1</sup> Several thousand head of cattle, sent at a great expense from the Upper Provinces of Hindustan to Chittagong, never crossed the Myoo.

BOOK III. The territorial acquisitions which it was deemed  
 CHAP. IV. advisable to exact from Ava were, at the time of  
 1826. their cession, of little value to either state. Long  
 the prey of intestine discord and of foreign oppression,  
 the population had been almost exterminated; and tracts,  
 which were once the seats of busy industry, were overrun  
 with impenetrable wilderness. They have not even yet  
 recovered from the wide and wasting decay into which they  
 had been plunged by internal anarchy and Burma misrule;  
 but they have benefited by the continuance of tranquillity  
 and good government, and abundance is spreading over  
 their fields and their villages; and an augmenting population  
 is industriously driving back the encroachments of the  
 thicket. In Asam and in Kachar, agricultural cultivation  
 has spread extensively; and new articles of culture, especially  
 that of the Tea Plant, are likely to become important  
 accessions to the resources of the former. The Tenasserim  
 provinces present a valuable line of sea-coast, contributing  
 to the British command of the Bay of Bengal, and offering  
 a channel to commercial enterprise, as the means of  
 communication with Siam and the Shan tribes, as far as  
 the western confines of China: they are also rich in vegetable  
 and mineral products'. Of

<sup>1</sup> Particularly Teak Timber and Tin. Moalmain, which, as noticed in the text, was an inconsiderable cluster of miserable huts in 1826, is now a large town containing, with the adjacent district, a population of 50,000, and carrying on an active trade. The average value of the Exports for the three years ending in 1839, was about £70,000, and of the Imports £140,000. The population of the Tenasserim provinces, although much increased, is still not much above 100,000, or little more than three to the square mile.—Reports on the Tenasserim Provinces by Dr. Helfer, Calcutta. Printed also in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1836—1840. Also Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. 2.

these conquests, however, Arakan has made the most decided advance. Favourably circumstanced, both as to climate and soil for the growth of rice, it has become the granary of the countries on either shore of the bay; and hundreds of vessels now annually sail from its harbours, which at the time of the conquest rarely sent even a fishing boat to sea<sup>1</sup>. In an economical point of view, therefore, these territories have already exceeded expectation, and are in a state of progress to still greater improvement; while they have a real political value in constituting a difficult and well defined frontier, presenting a ready access to Ava and Siam, and promising at some future period convenient intercourse by land with the opulent empire of China. The civilisation of the barbarous tribes which occupy the intervening space, may also be contemplated as a certain although distant result; and although some temporary embarrassment and distress may have been occasioned by the war with Ava, the interests of British India and of Oriental civilisation will be gainers by the contest.

<sup>1</sup> In 1839-40, nearly twelve hundred square-rigged vessels sailed from Akyab, besides country coasting vessels. The value of the rice exported, exceeded twelve lacs of rupees (£120,000); the rice was sent to the opposite coast of the Peninsula, to the Isle of France, to the Peninsula of Malacca, Siam, and China. The land in cultivation had been more than doubled; but it still did not exceed more than one twenty-fifth of the whole capable of being cultivated. The population had increased from about 100,000 in 1828 to 250,000 in 1839. The net revenue, at the latter date, was about £60,000, and was fully equal to the charges.

## CHAPTER V.

*State of Feeling in Hindustan in 1824. — Extensive Dissatisfaction. — Protected Sikh States. — Raja set up at Kunjawa, — Fort stormed. — Religious Impostor put down. — Outrages in Hariana. — Attack on Kalpee. — Mischievous Reports current in Malwa. — Predatory Incursions of Sheikh Dalla. — Rising of the Bhils in Baglana, — of the Coolies in Guzerat. — British Officers killed at Kittur, — Fort surrendered. — Capture of Omraiz. — Troublesome conduct of the Raja of Kolapur, — Force sent against him, — Treaty concluded, — violated and renewed, — Military Control maintained until his Death. — Disturbances in Cutch. — Incursions from Sindh. — Feelings of the People towards the British Government in the British Provinces. — Sentiments of the Native Princes. — Relaxation of Control. — Transactions with Alwar. — Claimants for the Raj. — Attempted Assassination of Ahmed Baksh Khan, — Investigation demanded, — refused by the Raja. — Transactions with Bhurtpore. — Recognised Right of Succession of the Infant Raja. — Death of the Father, Baldeo Sing. — Guardian of the Minor murdered. — Durjan Sal seizes the chief Power, — his Right disallowed by the Resident of Delhi, — professes to act as Regent, — Professions not credited. — Sir D. Ochterlony assembles a Force against Bhurtpore, — Measures disapproved of by the Government, —*

*Employment of Troops countermanded, — Resignation and Death of Sir D. Ochterlony, — his Popularity, — Prudence of the Decision of the Government, — Final Determination. — Large Force assembled under the Commander-in-Chief. — Siege of Bhurtpore. — Walls breached, — Mines sprung, — carried by Storm, — Durjan Sal taken, — Regency appointed. — Advance against Alwar, — Raja submits. — Visit of the Governor-General to the Upper Provinces. — Intercourse with the King of Oude. — Loans by the Court of Lucknow. — Death of the King. — Missions from Holkar, — and from Sindhia. — Death of Daulat Rao. — Regency of Baiza Bai. — Adoption of a Successor. — Visit to Delhi. — Residence at Simla. — Friendly Communications with Runjit Sing. — Insurrection of Afghans, — incited by Syed Ahmed, — his Death. — War between Persia and Russia, — Successes of the Russians. — Territory ceded and Indemnification paid by Persia. — Abrogation of British Subsidy. — Death of Abbas Mirza. — Return of the Governor-General to Calcutta. — Discussion of Judicial Arrangements. — Progress at the different Presidencies. — Death of Sir T. Munro. — State of Finances. — Domestic Affairs. — Succession of Bishops. — Advances of Education. — Expedition in search of Traces of La Perouse. — Close of Earl Amherst's Government and Departure for England.*

THE condition of the territory subject to British BOOK III.  
dominion on the continent of India, about the CHAP. V.  
period of the commencement of hostilities with 1824.

BOOK III. the Burmas, although in the main satisfactory, was  
CHAP. V. not exempt from sources of uneasiness. (The im-

1824.

pression produced by the splendid triumphs of the Pindari war had already lost much of its freshness, and the inhabitants of the West and the South, no longer exposed to the ravages of predatory bands, no longer permitted to recruit their ranks, and share in the spoil, began to grow impatient of an authority which, while it protected them from the lawlessness of their neighbours, also restricted them from the perpetration of violence. In several of the newly acquired districts, the financial exactions of the Government were undesignedly oppressive. The lands had been assessed when the prices of grain had been raised to an unnatural height, by the presence of large bodies of military, as well as by the extensive discontinuance of cultivation, and no allowance had been made for the inability of the people to pay the same amount of revenue, when, in consequence of the disappearance of the military bazars, and the great extension of agriculture that followed the re-establishment of peace and security, the produce of the soil had increased in a much more rapid ratio than the population, and the demand had proportionately declined. Some time elapsed before these altered circumstances were fully appreciated; and in the mean while the people and their rulers were mutually dissatisfied. The state of things was not much better in the old provinces. The tranquillisation of Hindustan had thrown back upon the Company's territories a multitude of military adventurers, who were natives of British India, and

BOOK III. the Burmas, although in the main satisfactory, was  
 CHAP. V. not exempt from sources of uneasiness. (The im-  
 1824. pression produced by the splendid triumphs of  
 the Pindari war had already lost much of its  
 freshness, and the inhabitants of the West and the  
 South, no longer exposed to the ravages of predatory  
 bands, no longer permitted to recruit their ranks,  
 and share in the spoil, began to grow impatient of  
 an authority which, while it protected them from  
 the lawlessness of their neighbours, also restricted  
 them from the perpetration of violence.) In several  
 of the newly acquired districts, the financial ex-  
 actions of the Government were undesignedly  
 oppressive. The lands had been assessed when the  
 prices of grain had been raised to an unnatural  
 height, by the presence of large bodies of military,  
 as well as by the extensive discontinuance of culti-  
 vation, and no allowance had been made for the  
 inability of the people to pay the same amount of  
 revenue, when, in consequence of the disappearance  
 of the military bazars, and the great extension of  
 agriculture that followed the re-establishment of  
 peace and security, the produce of the soil had in-  
 creased in a much more rapid ratio than the  
 population, and the demand had proportionately  
 declined. Some time elapsed before these altered  
 circumstances were fully appreciated; and in the  
 mean while the people and their rulers were mutu-  
 ally dissatisfied. The state of things was not much  
 better in the old provinces. The tranquillisation  
 of Hindustan had thrown back upon the Com-  
 pany's territories a multitude of military ad-  
 venturers, who were natives of British India, and



whose turbulence no longer found a safety-valve in the mercenary bands of Mahratta or Puthan. <sup>BOOK III</sup> The defects in the administration of Civil <sup>CHAP. V.</sup> Justice were still to be remedied. The police <sup>1824.</sup> was still ineffective; and the settlement of the revenue for a period sufficiently protracted to ensure to the occupant the fruits of any improvement he might attempt, was still deferred. These causes produced a general sentiment of discontent; and in the course of 1824, there was scarcely a district, in the Upper Provinces in particular, in which a spirit of disaffection was not more or less manifested. The feeling was fostered by the dissemination of vague and exaggerated rumours of the checks which had been suffered on the western frontier, and by a current belief that the resources of the state were wholly absorbed by the war; a belief confirmed by the march of the troops from the interior to the Presidencies, for service in Ava, and the consequent reduction of the military force on duty in Hindustan. The expression of the public sentiment was restricted, however, to partial and desultory manifestations, and to acts of petty and predatory violence, which the means at the command of the Government, and the activity of its officers, were fully able to suppress and punish.

In the protected Sikh provinces on the north-west, where in consequence of the drafts made upon the regular troops, the peace of the country had been entrusted almost to the unassisted guardianship of the native chiefs, a predatory leader, who

<sup>1</sup> Notes on Indian Affairs, by the Hon. F. J. Shore, i. 159.

that the autumnal harvest proved defective, and a scarcity of food contributed to impel the villagers to recur to their predatory practices. A band of plunderers from different villages in the district of Rotak, near Delhi, took the opportunity of a large Mela, or fair, at Beree, to carry off many hundred head of cattle, including a number purchased for the Government, proclaiming that its authority was at an end. A party of horse escorting public camels destined for the army, was attacked by the inhabitants of Bhawani, and other villages; and repulsed the assailants, only after suffering loss of life. (Arms and ammunition were everywhere collected. The communication with Delhi was intercepted. A movement was threatened upon Hissar. Suraj Mal, an exiled marauder, returned from his exile, and at the head of four hundred matchlocks, and a party of horse, stormed and took the fort of Behut, defended only by a few Irregular Horse. Similar proceedings took place in the district of Rewari; and the spirit of turbulence was spreading to a dangerous extent, when measures were taken for its extinction. Two additional regiments of Irregular Horse were immediately raised for service in the Delhi districts; and the Gorkha Local Battalions were augmented. The increase of military strength, and the judicious arrangements of the chief Civil authorities, succeeded in restoring order.

In the province of Bundelkhand, heretofore an equally prolific source of turbulence, order was successfully preserved, with one wild but unimportant exception, in which an attempt was made

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1824.

BOOK III. by a refractory Jagirdar of the Jhaloun Raja, to  
CHAP. V. carry off the public treasure from the fort of Kalpee,

1821.

and plunder the town.) The whole garrison consisted of but one weak company of Sipahis, commanded by Captain Ramsay, while the assailants were in considerable strength, both horse and foot. The insurgents were repulsed from the fort, although it was not possible to defend the town, which was plundered and partly set on fire: the arrival of reinforcements soon put the marauders to flight. Their leader, Nana Pundit, was shortly afterwards taken prisoner and confined for life.

In Malwa, similarly mischievous reports unsettled the minds of the people; and a rumour was extensively circulated, that the British were about to retire from Central India, in consequence of the difficulties of the Burma war. No serious consequences, however, ensued. In Sondwana, an attempt was made to organise a rising; but it was frustrated by the timely movement of a military detachment. (More troublesome transactions occurred on the Nerbudda, in the vicinity of Burhanpur, in consequence of the reappearance of Shaikh Dalla, a notorious Pindari, and long the terror of the Nizam's territory.) Through the collusion of the Mahratta manager of Burhanpur on behalf of Sindhia, and in league with the Eastern Bhils, the free-booter succeeded in reviving a system of outrage and plunder; lurking in the jungle between Asirgerh and Elichpur, and suddenly sallying forth at the head of a strong party of horse and foot, and sweeping off the cattle and property of the villagers, and robbing and murdering travellers and

merchants. Associated with him, was an impostor, BOOK III.  
CHAP. V.  
1824. pretending to be Chimnaji Appa, the brother of the Ex-Peshwa, who, at the head of a body of armed men, attempted to penetrate into Berar. Troops were despatched against Shaikh Dalla in different directions; and the party of Chimnaji was surprised and dispersed by a division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force under Major Seyer. The main body of his marauding confederates who were encamped in the vicinity hastily retired; but their retreat brought them in contact with a party of the Mandaleswar Local Corps, under Lieut. Dermitt, by which they were put to flight. The Pindari took to the thickets; but the little success which had attended his career and the activity displayed in his pursuit so disheartened his followers, that he was unable again to make head in any force.

Some disturbances were created earlier in the year, in the same quarter, by the return of the Bhils to their habits of plunder, especially in Baglana, where they were incited to insurrection by Godaji Danglia, a relative of the notorious Trimbuk, who endeavoured to give a political character to his proceedings, and pretended to act in the name and on the part of the Raja of Satara, calling upon the people to join his standard, as that of the Mahratta empire. [Some success attended his first operations; and, besides plundering the country, he gained possession of the hill fort of Muralihar] The approach of a body of regular troops disconcerted the insurgents, and they abandoned the post, and took refuge in the hills where they could not be pursued. The pre-

BOOK III  
CHAP. V.

1824.

sence of additional forces from Hyderabad and the Dekhin, prevented the repetition of these outrages; and arrangements were devised for the conciliation and civilisation of the Bhil tribes, in place of those which had been hitherto proposed, and which had met with imperfect success. The experiment of forming a Local Corps, composed of the Bhils themselves, which had been previously tried and failed, was now repeated, and after some difficulty proved eminently beneficial. From the time when it became effective, order was maintained; and the Bhils of the Sathpur and Ajunta hills were gradually weaned from their predatory propensities.<sup>1</sup>

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

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

in the immediate vicinity of Baroda. Parties of BOOK III. the Gaekwar Horse and the Subsidiary Force were CHAP. V. sent against them, and generally dispersed them 1824. without much difficulty; but they retreated into the Run, and after a short interval, returned and renewed their ravages. Early in 1825, however, their main body was surprised by a wing of the 8th N. I. and a squadron of Dragoons, near Vitalpur, not far from Dudana. In their endeavour to escape into the adjoining thickets, they were intercepted by the Dragoons, and many were killed or taken, including several of their principal leaders. The check completed their discouragement, and they ceased for a time to harass and alarm the country. It was not, however, until a later period that the last bands of them were broken up by the capture of their principal leader, and a number of his followers, in the neighbourhood of Nasik, by a detachment of troops from Ahmednagar, under the command of Captain Mackintosh.<sup>1</sup>

At a period somewhat earlier than the first of these operations, and less connected than most of these petty outbreaks with popular agitation, the Southern Mahratta country presented an instance of resistance to authority, not unfrequent under the loose system of allegiance which the native chiefs acknowledged to the head of the state, but which was incompatible with the purposes of a well-organised administration.) The Desai, or chief of Kittur, a small district near Darwar, held his chiefship under a grant from the British Govern-

<sup>1</sup> General Orders by the Governor of Bombay, 9th June, 1829.

BOOK III. ment, as a tributary fief, descending to his heirs in  
 CHAP. V. a direct line. He died in September, 1824, leaving  
 1824. no children; and the district reverted to the paramount  
 power.) The principal servants of the late Desai were  
 naturally averse to the loss of influence and  
 emolument which they were likely to suffer from  
 the change, and they instigated the mother and  
 the widow of the chief, the latter of whom was  
 a mere child, to declare that, prior to his de-  
 cease, he had enjoined the adoption of a son,  
 who had been in consequence adopted, and who  
 succeeded to his territory in right of the adop-  
 tion. The fact of the injunction was disputed, and  
 the validity of the adoption in any case denied, as  
 the sanction of the Government had not been pre-  
 viously obtained, as the performance of the ceremony  
 did not take place until after the Desai's demise, and  
 as the relationship of the boy to the family of the  
 chief was distant and doubtful. As the objects of the  
 party by whom the claimant was set up were clearly  
 the retention of power in their own hands during  
 the minority of the adopted son, and the appropri-  
 ation of the accumulated treasure of the late chief,  
 to the prejudice of the right of his widow, Mr.  
 Thackeray, the collector, refused to recognise the  
 adoption without the sanction of the Government  
 of Bombay; and, in the mean time, assumed charge  
 of the effects of the Desai, and the management of  
 Kittur.] These measures were confirmed; and he  
 was instructed to institute a careful inquiry into  
 the circumstances of the adoption, and, in the  
 mean time, to retain the control of the district.  
 A ready access had at first been allowed to the

interior of the fort; seals had been placed upon the treasure, and a slight guard was stationed at the inner gate, to prevent the property from being clandestinely carried off. The collector, with two of his assistants, and a small escort, a Company of Native Horse Artillery, and one of Native Infantry, were encamped without the walls. On the morning of the 23rd of October, when the guard in the fort was to be relieved, the outer gates were shut, and all admission refused. On proceeding to force the gates open, the garrison rushed forth in such overpowering numbers, as to overwhelm the party. Mr. Thackeray, Captain Black, and Lieutenant Dighton, commanding the escort, were killed, Captain Sewell was wounded, and Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Elliott, assistants to the collector, were taken and carried into the fort, where they were threatened with death, if any assault should be made upon the place. The excitement occasioned by this transaction rapidly spread, and the people of the country between the Malparba and Kittur, manifested a disposition to join the insurgents. [The Mahratta Chiefs preserved their loyalty, and tendered their contingents.] These were not required; but to prevent the mutinous spirit from extending, troops were despatched without delay against Kittur from the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and a respectable force was speedily assembled before its walls, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Deacon, and the directions of Mr. Chaplin, the Civil

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1824.

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



BOOK III. Commissioner. Immediate submission and the  
CHAP. V. release of the prisoners was demanded, in which  
 1825. case pardon was offered to all except the principal  
 instigators of the insurrection; and, as the rebels  
 hesitated to accede to these terms, batteries were  
 opened, and a practicable breach effected by the  
 evening of the 4th of December. A flag of truce  
 arrested the assault. The prisoners had been pre-  
 viously set at liberty. The leaders, twelve in  
 number, surrendered, stipulating only that their  
 lives should be spared: some of the most refractory  
 escaped. As soon as Kittur was captured, the  
 popular fermentation ceased, as the insurrection  
 had been the work of an interested party, and in-  
 volved no question affecting the rights or feelings  
 of the people.

An affair of a somewhat similar character, although originating in a different cause, the contumacy of a refractory Patel, occurred in the same part of the country. The head-man of Omraiz refusing to pay his revenue, and, sheltering himself in a stronghold, from whence his followers committed depredations on the surrounding villages, it became necessary to employ a military force against him. A squadron of the 7th Cavalry, and three hundred men of the 44th N. I. with one six-pounder, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Collette, marched from Sholapore against Omraiz in February, 1825, and attempted to carry the place by blowing the gate open. The attempt failed. The outer and one of the inner gateways were forced, but the gun could not be brought to bear upon a third gateway, and the endeavours of the assailants

to enter, exposed them to a heavy enfilading fire from the walls of the fort. Lieutenant Phillipson, who led the party, and several of the 44th were killed, and the rest were recalled; operations were suspended; before they could be resumed with effect, the garrison evacuated the fort, and fled to the thickets, where they dispersed. The peace of the country was consequently restored!

The tranquillity of the western Dekhin was more perseveringly interrupted by the pretensions and unreasonableness of Kshetrapati Karavir, the Raja of Kolapur, a young and inconsiderate chief, who boasted a direct descent from Sivaji, and who, under the impulse of impetuous feelings and disorderly habits, committed acts of aggression, which called for the imposition of military restraint. Claiming a right of supremacy over the district of Kagal, which was held by Hindu Rao, the brother-in-law of Sindhia, under a grant, as he maintained from the Peshwa, and independent of Kolapur, the Raja assembled a considerable body of troops, and took forcible possession of the disputed territory. The Bombay Government was disinclined to interfere, although Sindhia urgently remonstrated against the inconsistency of a system, which, while it debarred him from upholding by force of arms, the just rights of a near relation, permitted a petty prince to violate them with impunity. Emboldened by forbearance, the Raja next attacked the lands of a Zemindar, partly dependent on Satara, partly on the Bombay Presidency; and, being in the field at

<sup>1</sup> An interesting account of the attack on Omraiz is to be found in the East India United Service Journal, March, 1836.

BOOK III the head of six thousand horse and foot, and a  
CHAP. V. brigade of guns, levied contributions indiscriminately from the subjects of either state, plundered the villages, and murdered the people. Troops were then necessarily sent against him, upon whose approach he retired to Kolapur, whither he was followed by the detachment. Their proximity recalled him to a sense of his inability to resist, and he professed his submission to the will of the Company. (He was accordingly compelled to restore the districts he had seized from both Hindu Rao and Satara, to pay a compensation for the damages inflicted by his depredations, and to engage to reduce his military establishment to a scale consistent with a state of peace.) A treaty was concluded with him to this effect; but, after the first alarm had subsided, its stipulations were little regarded, and the Raja continued to keep on foot a large body of troops, whose excesses filled his neighbours with apprehension, and rendered it necessary to maintain a vigilant watch upon his proceedings. At length they once more became outrageous; and, in the beginning of 1827, a considerable body of troops<sup>1</sup> under Colonel Welsh was despatched from Belgam against Kolapur, with the sanction of the supreme Government<sup>2</sup>. The troops advanced again to Kolapur, and occupied the different forts in its vicinity. No resistance was offered; and the Raja,

<sup>1</sup> Consisting of the left wing of His Majesty's 41st, the Bombay European Regiment, 49th N. L., eight Companies of the Wallajahbad, Light Infantry, 4th and 7th Light Cavalry, and Foot and Horse Artillery. They were joined by detachments, and a battering-train, from Poona.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Welsh has given an account of the expedition, and of the country, in his *Reminiscences*, ii. 263.

having once more professed submission, a revised treaty was concluded, by which [he was prohibited from entertaining a force exceeding four hundred horse and eight hundred foot. Districts formerly granted to him were resumed. Lands seized by him were ordered to be given back, compensation for damage done to different districts was demanded, and territory was sequestered until the amount was paid.] British garrisons were stationed in the forts of Kolapur and Panalā; and [the right of nominating the chief ministers was reserved<sup>1</sup>.] No molestation of any serious description was afterwards experienced from the conduct of the Raja, although his occasional excesses rendered it expedient to keep up the military control until his death and the succession of his son, a minor, under a regency approved of by the Government of India.

To the north-west, disturbances broke out towards the end of 1824, in Cutch, which threatened to assume political importance, from the secret encouragement which the authors of them received from the Amirs of Sindh, who, like the rest of the native princes, catching eagerly at the rumours of disaster suffered by the British Government, were prepared to take advantage of the verification of those reports. Some of the Jhareja chiefs, disaffected to the Regency, and who had been banished for acts of insubordination and rapine, had sought refuge in Sindh, and finding that the British force in Cutch had been much reduced in numbers,

<sup>1</sup> Definitive treaty with the Raja of Kolapur 15th of March, 1829, ratified by the Bombay Government 18th of July.—Treaties with Native Powers, Calcutta, 1845.

BOOK III. conceived the season propitious for the recovery of  
CHAP. V. their forfeited lands, and the restoration of the  
 1828. deposed Raja, Bharmal Ji, to power. With the con-  
 nivance of the Amirs, they assembled a body of  
 about two thousand Mianis and Sindhis; and, in  
 the beginning of 1825, crossed the borders, ad-  
 dressing a laconic epistle to the Resident, calling  
 upon him to restore the Raja<sup>1</sup>. The troops in  
 the province were unable to attempt more than  
 the defence of the capital. Meeting with no oppo-  
 sition, the insurgents ravaged the country, and  
 advanced to a strong post in the Hubbai Hills,  
 within a few miles of Anjar, where a portion of  
 them occupied the fort of Balari, and cut off the  
 communication between Bhoj and the rest of the  
 province. A native force, levied by the Regency,  
 and sent to dislodge the rebels from Balari, was  
 defeated, and several Jhareja Chiefs who commanded  
 it were killed. A detachment from the British force  
 at Bhoj was more successful, drove the insurgents  
 out of the fort, rescued their prisoners, and recovered  
 much of their plunder. The absence of this party  
 encouraged the main body of the rebels to make an  
 attack upon Anjar, which was garrisoned only by  
 the troops of the Regency, reinforced by a party of  
 Arab mercenaries. They repulsed the assailants,  
 after a well-maintained struggle. The insurgents  
 retreated to the Kaimal Hills, and, being driven  
 from that position, disappeared in the Run. The  
 countenance shewn to their incursion by the Amirs

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

was not withdrawn upon their repulse, and large bodies of troops continued to be assembled on the frontier, menacing the province under British protection. It became necessary, therefore, so to strengthen the force in Cutch; that it should be capable of repelling any invasion from Sindh, and reinforcements were in consequence despatched from Kaira and Bombay<sup>1</sup>. The whole was placed under the orders of Colonel M. Napier. Their strength, and the improved state of affairs in the east, with the successful operations against Bhurt-pore, checked the mischievous projects of the Amirs of Sindh; and, with the exception of their reluctance in uniting to put an end to the depredations of the marauding tribes of the desert, the intercourse with Sindh reverted to its former tone.

BOOK III  
 CHAP. V.  
 1826.

These different disturbances, however unimportant in their results, unconnected in their origin, and unmeaning in their objects, were not wholly unworthy of regard, as indications of the feelings entertained by considerable portions of the people in different parts of India towards their rulers. The necessity of an adequate military force to keep down the tendency of refractory chiefs and turbulent tribes to recur to habits of tumult and depredation, was clearly manifested by the disorders which ensued, wherever the regular troops were weakened or withdrawn, as they had been in various

<sup>1</sup> The force, when assembled, consisted of a troop of Horse Artillery, and a Company of Foot; His Majesty's 4th Dragoons, detachments of the 1st and 2nd Regiments N. C., His Majesty's 6th Foot, the flank Companies of the 2nd European Regiment, the Grenadier Regiment of N. I., and the 3rd, 8th, 10th, 18th, and 21st Regiments, — General Orders, Bombay, 30th September, 1825.

BOOK III places by the exigencies of the war. This disposition was, however, to be expected, and must continue to be experienced, until the people of India become accustomed to acknowledge the supremacy of law over the sword, and the chiefs and people resign the use of arms to the disciplined bands of the government. ] The eager credulity with which the inhabitants of the British provinces received every rumour of discomfiture and every tale of declining resources was a more alarming feature in the complexion of the times, and shewed how little sympathy united the subject and the sovereign, and the satisfaction with which the people were disposed to contemplate the downfall of their rulers.

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

security to the control exercised by British inter-BOOK III.  
position, they were most anxious to throw it off; <sup>7</sup> CHAP. V.  
and they were encouraged to expect their being 1826.  
consigned to their own passions and incapacity, if  
not from the course of events<sup>1</sup>, yet from the waver- 12  
ing and uncertain policy which the orders from  
home impressed upon their Indian Governments,  
and which enjoined the discontinuance of inter-  
ference with the internal arrangements of the native  
powers. The consequences of this vacillation were  
almost universally mischievous; but as they did  
not reach maturity until towards the close of the  
succeeding administration, they need not be dwelt  
upon at present. It will be here sufficient to  
particularise the transactions which took place with  
the states of Alwar and Bhurtpore.

✓ Upon the death of Bakhtawar Sing, the last  
Raja of Macheri, or, as more usually entitled from  
this period, the Raja of Alwar, from the name of  
his capital, the claimants for the succession were  
an illegitimate son and a nephew, both under age.  
Each had his partisans; but as they were nearly  
balanced, a compromise was effected, which suspend-  
ed an actual contest; although it was evidently an  
arrangement to which the parties, when old enough  
to decide for themselves, were little likely to conform.  
It was agreed that Beni Sing, the nephew, should  
be the nominal Raja; but that the administration  
should be exercised by Balwant Sing, the son, who  
had been entrusted to the guardianship of Ahmed

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



BOOK III, Baksh Khan, the Nawab of the neighbouring prin-  
CHAP. V. cipality of Firozpoore under the British supremacy.

1823. ✓ The Nawab was originally a soldier of fortune, in the service of the Raja of Macheri. He had been invested with his chiefship in consequence of his having joined the army of Lord Lake, but had maintained a friendly intercourse with his first patron; and on his death had been appointed the guardian of his son. When the boys became men, the results which might have been anticipated occurred. Intriguing individuals attached themselves to their respective interests; and tumults took place at their instigation, in which many lives were lost, and the principals themselves were endangered. In 1824, after a serious affray, the son consented to resign his authority, and retire upon an adequate Jagir; and the nephew became the effective Raja. Whether the act originated in personal feelings of vindictiveness, or in the machinations of the Raja's principal advisers and favourites, an attempt was made to assassinate Ahmed Baksh Khan. The assassin was seized, and accused a person named Mulha—a man of low caste but the minister and favourite of the Raja of Alwar—with some other influential individuals of the Court, of having employed him to murder the Nawab. The latter, precluded by the conditions of his connection with the British Government from redressing his own wrongs, appealed to it for protection; and the Raja of Alwar was consequently directed to apprehend the persons accused, and send them to Delhi for trial. At first, the Raja professed himself willing to obey, and affected to place the culprits

in confinement. They were soon, however, released BOOK III.  
 even from the shew of durance in which they had CHAP. V.  
 been held; and Mulha, the principal, was taken into 1826.  
 greater favour than before. The representations  
 of the Resident were disregarded; and, finally, a  
 judicial investigation by British functionaries was  
 repudiated as being incompatible with the rights of  
 the Raja, as an independent prince. [To uphold  
 this assertion of independence, an armed force was  
 assembled.] The fortress of Alwar was put in a state  
 of defence, and active negotiations were opened  
 with Jypore and Bhurtpore, in both of which, dis-  
 satisfaction with British policy was busily ferment-  
 ing. The discontents of Jypore did not come to  
 a crisis for some years. The transactions at  
 Bhurtpore very soon assumed a formidable aspect,  
 and compelled the Government of India to prove  
 to the native powers, that the war with Ava had  
 neither humbled its spirit, nor impaired its  
 strength.

The danger apprehended from the disorders in  
 the neighbouring states had rendered the Rajas  
 of Bhurtpore more unreservedly dependant upon  
 the British Government; and the triumphs of the  
 Marquis of Hastings had confirmed the disposition  
 of the Jaut principality to look up to it for pro-  
 tection. The treaty concluded with the Raja Runjit  
 Sing, was faithfully observed by his successors,  
 Ranadhir Sing and Baldeo Sing: and the latter  
 relied upon the Government of India to defend the  
 interests of his son, Bulwant Sing, in the event of his  
 death while the latter was in his minority: accord-  
 ingly, at his earnest solicitation, the Political Agent

BOOK III. at Delhi, Sir David Ochterlony, consented to invest the boy with a *Khelat*, or honorary dress, as a pledge of the recognition of his right of succession. The Raja's infirm health, and his apprehension of the ambitious designs of his nephew Durjan Sal, were the motives of his request. The investiture was performed at Bhurtpore, early in 1824, by one of the Political Agent's assistants; and a twelve-month afterwards, Baldeo Sing died while on a pilgrimage to Goverdhan, not without suspicion of poison. The young Raja, about five or six years of age, succeeded under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, Ram Ratan Sing, but the arrangement was soon disturbed; and in the month following the demise of Baldeo Sing, the son of a younger brother of the Raja, Durjan Sal, having seduced the soldiery to join his party, broke into the citadel and killed the guardian, possessed himself of the person of the young Raja, and assumed the direction of affairs. Sir David Ochterlony was not of a temper to suffer the guarantee of the British Government to be violated with impunity, and immediately addressed a proclamation to the Jauts, requiring them to withhold obedience from the usurper, and assuring them of the support of a British force, which he proceeded without delay to assemble at Mathura, on the confines of the Bhurtpore territory. These prompt measures intimidated Durjan Sal from at once setting aside, or murdering his cousin; and he professed it to be his purpose merely to retain the regency of the state until the young Raja should arrive at maturity, in compliance with the wishes of the whole of the tribe, who were dis-

satisfied with the tyrannical conduct of the late Regent. The tone of his correspondence was, however, unsatisfactory: his intentions were evasively indicated, and he declined an invitation to visit the British cantonments, and place the young Raja in the hands of the British Agent. Sir David Ochterlony determined, therefore, to waste no time in inconclusive negotiation, but to compel Durjañ Sal to relinquish his ill-gotten power, by marching against him before he should have had leisure to mature his designs, to collect adherents, and repair and strengthen the fortifications of Bhurtpore. A respectable force was speedily assembled for this purpose, and was about to move against the fortress, when the execution of the project was arrested by the caution of the Supreme Government.

Embarrassed at this period by the continued difficulties and heavy disbursements of the war with Ava, and aware of the unfriendly feeling with which its progress was watched by the native princes of India, the British Government was not unnaturally anxious to avoid a rupture, the consequences of which, in the case of any reverse, might endanger the stability of the British Indian empire.] Influenced also by the spirit of the injunctions from home, which so decidedly deprecated interference with the internal affairs of the native principalities, the Governor-General was averse to take a part in the adjustment of the succession to Bhurtpore, and [disallowed the existence of any obligation to uphold the claims of the minor Raja.] The grant of the honorary dress, it was affirmed, was made without the previous sanction

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1826.

BOOK III. of the supreme authority, and without the receipt  
CHAP. V. of the preliminary information that had been re-  
1825. quired, with regard to the equity of such an acknow-  
 ledgment. In the absence of any express stipulation  
 to guarantee the succession, the complimentary re-  
 cognition of the young Raja did not impose upon the  
 British Government the necessity of embroiling itself  
 in the quarrels of the several competitors, or taking  
 up arms to compel the ruler *de facto* to vacate the  
 throne in favour of the claimant whose title might  
 be the best, but who had been unable of himself to  
 maintain his right. It was observed, also, that  
 Durjan Sal, in his correspondence with the Political  
 Agent, had disavowed the intention of permanently  
 appropriating the paramount authority, and had  
 only claimed the exercise of the regency, to which  
 his relationship to the Raja, his age and his popu-  
 larity, appeared to give him reasonable pretensions.  
 Should such be the case, the Government would  
 not consider itself warranted in opposing the  
 arrangement by force of arms. Although some of  
 the members of the Council were of opinion that  
 the minor Raja was entitled to the protection of  
 the British Government, and the majority con-  
 sidered that interference might become indispens-  
 able for the preservation of tranquillity in Hindu-  
 stan, the sentiments of the Governor-General so far  
 prevailed, that it was resolved to countermand the  
 military preparations which had been set on foot,  
 and to retract the hostile declarations which had  
 been published. Sir David Ochterlony was accord-  
 ingly directed to remand the troops to their sta-  
 tions, to recall his proclamations, or to neutralise

their effect by issuing others in a less menacing tone, and to adopt no measure likely to commit the Government to any course of policy involving an appeal to arms. These orders were so far modified, that the Political Agent was subsequently authorised to use his discretion in keeping together a part of the force assembled at Agra and Mathura as a check upon any outrages that might be attempted on the frontier by the followers of Durjan Sal.

The immediate consequences of the disapprobation of his proceedings expressed by the Government, were the resignation by Sir David Ochterlony of his political appointments and, a few months afterwards, his death. He had attained an advanced age, being sixty-eight years old, of which fifty had been passed in India, and he had latterly laboured under the natural infirmities of declining life; but it is not unlikely that the mortification which he experienced on this occasion, and the disappointment of the proud hope he had cherished of seeing Bhurtpore fall before him, accelerated his decease. His eminent merits, the long period during which he had filled the highest military and political stations, the amiableness of his temper, and the disinterested generosity of his character, had endeared him to a numerous body of the European society and natives of Upper India; and their respect for his memory was evinced by the erection of a monumental column in honour of him, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta: nor was the Government backward in acknowledging his worth<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> As by the following General Order:—

"Fort William, Political Department, July 28, 1825. The Right

BOOK III. although their somewhat harsh and peremptory  
 CHAP. V. revocation of his measures, and the results to  
 1826. which his sense of undeserved censure indirectly  
 contributed, brought upon them temporary obloquy,  
 both in India and in England. Nevertheless, it is  
 impossible not to admit the wisdom of their hesita-  
 tion to countenance the hazard of precipitate  
 hostilities. The force assembled by Sir David  
 Ochterlony with the most commendable promptitude  
 and activity, however formidable, was confessedly  
 inadequate to overcome a prolonged and national  
 resistance. His expectations of success, although  
 confidently cherished, were based upon his being

Hon. the Governor-General has learned with great sorrow the demise of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, resident in Malwa and Rajputana. This melancholy event took place on the morning of the 15th inst. at Meerut, whither he had proceeded for the benefit of change of air. On the eminent military services of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, it would be superfluous to dilate; they have been acknowledged in terms of the highest praise by successive Governments; they justly earned a special and substantial reward from the Hon. East India Company; they have been recognised with expressions of admiration and applause by the British Parliament; and they have been honoured with signal marks of the approbation of his Sovereign.

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

able to anticipate the preparations of Durjan Sal, and to advance against Bhurtpore before the fortifications should be fully repaired, and a garrison sufficient to defend them should be collected. He also calculated upon a division of feeling among the Jauts, and the co-operation of a strong party inimical to the usurpation. These were not impossible contingencies; but they were not certainties. Armed men from all the neighbouring territories, including those of the Company, were daily gathering round the banners of Durjan Sal. The actual condition of the ramparts was not very authentically known; and whatever enmity to the usurper might be entertained by a portion of the Jaut tribe, their national spirit, their pride in their former repulse of a British army, and their confidence in the impregnability of Bhurtpore, were not unlikely to have combined all parties in sufficient strength to baffle an attack upon the fortress with means inferior to those by which it was eventually reduced. The season was also far advanced; and had the siege been long protracted, it might have become impossible to keep the army in the field. To have failed in the attempt, and been again repulsed from the walls of Bhurtpore, would have been attended in all probability with the most alarming results, and involved the British Government in war with every state from the Punjab to Ava<sup>1</sup>. It was therefore the imperative duty of the

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



BOOK III. Government to weigh deliberately the course to be  
CHAP. V. pursued, and refrain from any hostile demonstra-  
 1826. tions against Bhurtpore, (until every possible pre-  
 caution had been taken to ensure success.)

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

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

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

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1828.

BOOK III. resolved to maintain the succession of the rightful  
 CHAP. V. heir by exhortation and remonstrance; and should  
 1826. those fail, by arms<sup>1</sup>. Sir C. Metcalfe repaired to  
 Delhi, to carry the resolutions of the Government  
 into effect; and as it was soon apparent that nego-  
 ciation was unavailing, the army, which had been  
 assembled at Agra and Mathura for eventual oper-  
 ations against Bhurtpore, was put in motion under  
 the direction of Lord Combermere, the Commander-  
 in-Chief in Bengal, whose head-quarters were at  
 Mathura, on the 5th of December, 1825.

The forces which had been collected in the vic-  
 inity of the Bhurtpore frontier, consisted of two  
 Regiments of European Cavalry, six of Native  
 Cavalry and Skinner's Irregular Horse, and of three  
 Regiments of European and sixteen of Native In-  
 fantry, with strong detachments of Horse and Foot  
 Artillery and Pioneers, and a Battering Train of  
 above a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance. The  
 force, consisting of about twenty-one thousand men  
 of all arms, marched in two divisions; one from Agra,  
 commanded by Major-General Jasper Nicolls, C.B.;  
 the other from Mathura, under the command of  
 Major-General Thomas Reynell, C.B.<sup>2</sup> The force

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

<sup>2</sup> The Agra Division comprised the first Brigade of Cavalry, consisting of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, and the 6th, 8th, and 9th Regiments of Native Cavalry, and three Brigades of Infantry; the third brigade, composed of His Majesty's 59th Foot and the 11th and 31st N. L.; the second, of the 33rd, 36th, and 37th N. L.; and the 6th, consisting of the 15th, 21st, and 35th Regiments N. L., with three troops of Horse Artillery and the Experimental Brigade. The Mathura Division was formed of the 2nd Brigade of Cavalry, composed of His Majesty's 11th Light

of the garrison was estimated at twenty thousand men; chiefly Rajputs and Jauts, with some Afghans: but the greatest security of the fortress was in the height, the thickness, and toughness of its walls, constructed of clay hardened in the sun, upon which the play of the most formidable batteries produced comparatively little effect. In the former siege, a broad and deep ditch materially added to the strength of the fortress; but the besieged were deprived of this source of defence by the prompt and judicious operations of the British Commander-in-Chief.

BOOK III

CHAP. V.

1826.

The two divisions of the army moved on the 7th and 8th of December, and soon crossed the frontier. Before day-break on the 10th, the Mathura division marched, in a northerly direction, at some distance from the fort, and screened from it by an interjacent forest, towards the north-west, which was understood to be the direction of an extensive piece of water, the Moti Jhil, subservient in peaceable times to the irrigation of the lands; but capable of filling the ditches of the fortress in time of siege by sluices cut through the embankment within which the waters were confined. To prevent the enemy from opening channels through the bank, or to fill up any gaps that might have been made, a column was sent in advance,<sup>1</sup> which

Dragoons and the 3rd, 4th, and 10th Regiments of Native Cavalry, and of three Brigades of Infantry, the 1st, 4th and 5th, composed severally of His Majesty's 14th Foot and 23rd and 63rd N. I., of the 32nd, 41st and 58th N. I., and of the 6th, 18th and 60th Regiments N. I., with Horse and Foot Artillery.

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

BOOK III. successfully accomplished the duty entrusted to it.

CHAP. V.

1828.

A small party of the enemy was driven off; sluices, that had been recently opened, were effectually closed; and arrangements were made for retaining possession of the post, which were undisturbed throughout the siege. Except in a few places of little depth or extent, the ditch continued dry.

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

As the great extent of the fortifications of Bhurt-pore precluded the possibility of a complete invest-

ment, and as it appeared likely that the most convenient point of attack would be found to be on the north-east face of the fort, the first division took up its ground with its right resting on the reservoir, extending along the northern side of the fortress, on the outer edge of the wood. The second division, as it came up, formed on the left of the first, and fronted the eastern face. A detachment was posted to the south, at the village of Mallye, which commanded a view of the works; and infantry and cavalry posts were gradually established on the southern and western faces, within easy communication and support; and the escape of the garrison and the admission of reinforcements, were thus equally prevented. Attempts were occasionally made to break through; but they were generally repulsed. The battering train arrived in camp on the 13th of December.

• The repeated and careful reconnoissances of the engineers having satisfied the Commander-in-Chief, that the most eligible points of attack were, a ravelin on the north-eastern face on the east of one of the principal gateways, the Jangina gate, and a bastion on the east front connected with the ramparts by a narrow projection from which it received its designation of the long-necked bastion, it was determined that regular approaches should be made, in order to erect batteries against the parts selected. With this view, on the morning of the 23rd, two positions were taken up in advance of the main body, and on the edge of the jungle nearest to the fort; one by detachments from the first division, at a garden named after Baldeo Sing; the

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1826.

BOOK III  
CHAP. V.  
1826.

other, by detachments from the second division, at the village of Kadam Kandy, about three-quarters of a mile on the left of the garden. Ground was broken at these situations, under a heavy fire from the fort, and desultory attacks of the enemy's horse and foot. Guns were brought to bear upon the latter; and they were dispersed without much difficulty or injury to the working parties. Batteries were constructed at both positions, and opened on the 24th at day-break. Their fire was briskly replied to by the fort, but by the evening several of the enemy's guns were withdrawn from the outer works, being overmatched by the fire from the batteries. During the following days, the advance of the trenches was diligently pursued, and other and more advanced batteries were constructed; while those first formed, were brought nearer to the ditch. The whole mounted thirty-six mortars and forty-eight pieces of heavy ordnance, and for several days kept up a heavy fire of shot and shells, which produced evident dilapidation of the bastions, and caused great destruction and terror in the town. Parties of matchlock men attempted to interrupt the progress of the works, but they were easily driven into the fort, and no vigorous sortie was undertaken. The fire from the ramparts became however better directed, and a shot reached the residence of the Commander-in-Chief, aimed, it was conjectured, by an artilleryman who had deserted to the enemy. The trenches were, nevertheless, brought close to the counterscarp of the ditch; and on the 31st the arrangements for mining were commenced.

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

BOOK III  
CHAP. V.  
1828.

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



BOOK III their more especial object had been to cover the  
CHAP. V. approaches and keep down the fire of the enemy.

1826.

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

By the 8th of January, mines had been carried across and under the ditch; and, on the north-east, had penetrated beneath the ramparts. On that day, a mine under the cavalier and curtain of the north-eastern angle was sprung, and although not productive of the expected effect to its whole extent, occasioned considerable dilapidation. Three other mines were successfully sprung on the 8th in the counterscarp of the ditch, in the same direction. At the same time it was determined to drive a large mine deep into the rampart at the north-east angle, and construct others subsidiary to its anticipated operations. On the left, similar works were carried on with emulative courage and activity; and, on the 11th and 12th, the ditch was crossed, and mines were commenced beneath the ramparts. During these proceedings, attempts were made by the enemy to countermine; but in general, without

success: parties also descended into the ditch, and endeavoured to interrupt the works, but they were driven out by the supporting parties, among which the Gorkhas of the Sirmor Battalion, a detachment of whom had joined the army, and were employed as skirmishers and marksmen, were conspicuously distinguished. The batteries continued to play on the ruined parapets; and, although the enemy partially repaired the breaches, they presented every appearance of being practicable, and the whole army impatiently awaited the order to storm. It was not much longer delayed.

On the 16th of January, the mine under the long-necked bastion was sprung with complete success. The facility of approach was tested by the ascent of an officer, and a small party of the 59th. Immediately after the explosion they reached the top of the bastion, and returned without suffering any molestation from the enemy. The 18th was appointed for the assault: the signal for which was the explosion of the great mine under the north-east cavalier. Two subsidiary mines having been fired, the principal one containing ten thousand pounds of powder, was ignited. In a short time the earth shook, a dull muttering sound was heard, the sky was clouded with huge volumes of smoke and dust, and enormous masses of the hardened ramparts were sent flying into the air. A number of the enemy who had assembled to defend the breach were destroyed, and several of the foremost of the storming party, who, in their anxiety to advance upon the instant of the springing of the mine, had crowded too nearly to the opening, were struck

BOOK III. down and killed or disabled'. The accident caused  
 CHAP. V. a momentary hesitation; but the word was given to  
 1826. advance, and the column scaled the ramparts.<sup>7</sup>

The column destined for the main attack on the right was under the command of Major-General Reynell, and consisted of His Majesty's 14th, five Companies of the 41st N. I., and the 6th, 23rd, and 30th Regiments, N. I. The main column of the left attack commanded by Major-General Nicolls was formed of His Majesty's 59th, and the 15th, 21st, and 31st Native Regiments. These were to assault the principal breaches on the north and east. On the right of the first column, a division composed of two Companies of the European Regiment, the 58th N. I., and a hundred Gorkhas, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Delamaine, was directed to storm the Jangina Gate. An intermediate column, formed of two other Companies of the European Regiment, the Grenadier Company of the 35th N. I., and the Light Company of the 37th N. I., with a hundred Gorkhas, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel T. Wilson, was to attempt the escalade of the north flank angle of the long-necked bastion; and a reserve column attached to the left main division, consisting of the remaining

<sup>7</sup> Twelve men of the 14th were killed or wounded. Brigadiers M'Combe and Paton, Captain Irvine of the Engineers, and Lieut. Daly of His Majesty's 14th, received severe contusions; the latter had his leg amputated. It has been usually said, that the injury was occasioned by the explosion of the mine in an unexpected direction; but this does not appear to have been the case, and is denied by the Engineers. Lieut. Forbes had sketched the precise outline the breach would take, and Captain Irvine had pointed out the danger, and proceeded to the trenches to recommend the men being drawn back, but they were so crowded, that it was impossible; and their exposure beyond the trenches to the fire of the garrison would have been attended with still severer loss of life.

Companies of the 36th and 37th Regiments N. I., under Brigadier-General Adams, was appointed to menace the Agra Gate. \* The Cavalry and Horse Artillery were posted along the south and west faces of the fortress, to intercept such of the enemy as might endeavour to escape in that direction.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. V.

1826.

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

BOOK III. of the 59th, and many of the men, fell under  
CHAP. V. a heavy fire of matchlocks from an adjacent  
1826. cavalier, which flanked their advance, until the  
enemy were driven from it by the left division of  
the right column. They also suffered from guns  
pointed down the neck of the rampart: but upon  
these they resolutely rushed and carried them; and  
then turning to the left, swept the ramparts round  
the south until they joined the party of the right  
column at the Kumbhir Gate, encountering and  
overcoming a resolute resistance at different points  
of their route. On their way they detached parties  
into the town, and opened the Agra Gate for the  
advance of General Adams's reserve: and were  
accompanied by the supporting division of Colonel  
Wilson, which, having clambered up the ruined ram-  
parts at the re-entering angle, formed by the pro-  
jecting gorge of the long-necked bastion, under a  
flanking fire from the bastion on the right, descended  
into the body of the place, and moving along the  
town parallel with the ramparts, encountered and  
destroyed several strong parties of the garrison.  
After passing the Mathura Gate, the division  
carried several bastions still occupied by the  
enemy, and assisted in the complete clearance of  
the ramparts. The guns of the citadel had in-  
flicted some injury on the assailants during the  
storm, but ceased firing when the outer works and  
the town were occupied; and in the afternoon  
the citadel surrendered. The enemy generally  
fought with resolution, and their artillerymen  
mostly fell by their guns. About eight thou-  
sand were slain. The total amount of killed and

wounded was estimated at fourteen thousand BOOK III. men. — The loss of the victors in the assault did CHAP. V. not exceed six hundred<sup>1</sup>. As soon as the conflict commenced, strong bodies of Horse and Foot attempted to fly from the devoted fortress through the gates on the western face; but they were intercepted by the cavalry, and many of them were killed or taken prisoners. Amongst the latter were Durjan Sal himself with his wife and two sons. Soon after the assault had taken place, he quitted Bhurtpore by the Kumbhir gate, with about forty horsemen; and after dispersing a small picquet of cavalry opposed to him, effected his retreat into the adjoining wood, where he remained for several hours. Issuing from the thicket, between three and four o'clock, he had succeeded in passing to the rear of the 8th Native Cavalry, when his party was observed and immediately pursued by the third troop under Lieut. Barbor. The fugitives were soon overtaken and secured without offering resistance. Durjan Sal was sent as a prisoner of state to Allahabad. On the day after the storm, Lord Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe entered the citadel, and on the 20th placed the young Raja on the throne of his ancestors. The care of his person was confided to the principal widow of the late Raja, as nominal regent. The management of affairs was entrusted to Jawahir Sal, and Chintaman Foujdar, who had enjoyed the con-

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

BOOK III. CHAP. V. 1826. *fidence of his father,*<sup>1</sup> subject to the control of a British resident, to be permanently appointed to Bhurtpore; and who, until the chief should attain to maturity, was to exercise a general superintendence over the person of the minor Raja, and the administration of the principality.

The services of the army before Bhurtpore were duly acknowledged, both by the East India Company and by the Parliament; and in the latter, the opportunity was taken of paying a like tribute to the services of the army and navy in the Burma war. The merit of the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief had been previously rewarded by the Crown, and the dignities of Viscount and Earl conferred upon Lord Amherst, and that of Viscount upon Lord Combermere. The thanks of the Court of Proprietors had also been awarded to Lord Amherst for his exertions in conducting to a successful issue the war with Ava, and to the military and naval forces engaged in it, and to the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and the army of Bhurtpore.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

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

Although no doubt of the guilt of the individuals implicated in the attempt on the life of Ahmed Baksh was entertained, yet as the evidence was judicially insufficient, they were acquitted. Intimation was at the same time conveyed to the Raja of Alwar, that it was expected he would refrain from replacing them in offices of trust; and as he paid no attention to the intimation, he

BOOK III.  
CHAP. V.  
1828.



BOOK III. was excluded from the presence of the Governor-  
CHAP. V. General upon his visit towards the end of the year  
 1826. } to Hindustan, and the privilege of direct corre-  
 spondence with the head of the Government was  
 also withheld from him. These marks of displeasure  
 were sensibly felt, and Malha and his associates  
 were dismissed from his councils and banished to  
 the district of Delhi, on which he was restored to  
 to the indulgence of direct intercourse with the  
 Governor-General. The reconciliation was facilitat-  
 ed by the death of Ahmed Baksh Khan in  
 1827.

The fall of Bhurtpore was the surest guarantee  
 that could be devised for the restoration of subor-  
 dination, and the maintenance of quiet in the sur-  
 rounding countries. A British army, flushed with  
 victory and commanded by a general whose renown  
 had spread to the remotest parts of India, had  
 formerly been repulsed from its walls, after repeated  
 assaults, in which skill and valour had done their  
 utmost; and the tradition of the defeat had im-  
 pressed upon the natives, whether prince or people,  
 the conviction that Bhurtpore was the bulwark of  
 the liberties of India, and destined to arrest the  
 march of European triumph. The disappoint-  
 ment of these expectations, at a moment when it  
 had been widely rumoured that the strength of the  
 British Government was exhausted in a distant and  
 disastrous warfare, diffused a sense of awe and  
 apprehension amongst the native states, and tran-  
 quillised, at least for a season, the ferment which  
 had for some time past disquieted Hindustan. It  
 was now felt that resistance was hopeless, and that

any opposition to the British power must end in the destruction of its adversary.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. V.

1826.

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

<sup>1</sup> Evidence to the contrary is not wanting. In 1824, a body of irregular horse, marching from Shahabad to Pertabgerh in Oude,

BOOK III. nated in the turbulent spirit which prevailed upon  
CHAP. V. the confines of the kingdom bordering on the British  
 1826. districts, where a race of refractory landholders,  
 Rajputs by tribe and soldiers by profession, con-  
 sidered it a disgrace to comply peaceably with the  
 demands of the state, and paid their revenue only to  
 military collectors. The belief that the evil was, in a  
 great measure, of limited extent, and the strong objec-  
 tions of the king, had latterly induced the govern-  
 ment to refrain from urging suggestions of reform;  
 and their forbearance had been requited by the  
 opportune assistance of the hoarded treasures of  
 Sadat Ali. At the end of 1825, a perpetual loan  
 of a crore of rupees, a million sterling, was made  
 to the Company by the King of Oude; of which the  
 interest, at five per cent., was to be paid to members  
 of his family, and in particular to his favourite  
 minister Aga Mir, whom he thus hoped to secure  
 against the animosity of the heir apparent, with  
 whom the minister and king had both been long at  
 variance, although they had latterly, in appearance  
 at least, been reconciled. In the following year, a  
 second loan, of half a million, was lent for a period  
 of two years. The interview with the Governor-  
 General closed the intercourse with the King of  
 Oude. He died in October, 1827. Ghazi ud din  
 Hyder, although indolent and addicted to habits of  
 intemperance, was not devoid of sagacity or judg-  
 ment: he perfectly well understood the nature of  
 could find no spot on which to encamp without injury to the crops;  
 and in the following year, we have the concurrent reports of d'arent  
 officers and travellers, that the villages were populous: no com-  
 plaints of over-assessment were heard; and the face of the country  
 was a perfect garden, equal to the best cultivated districts in the  
 Company's territories.

his connexion with the British Government; and in his correspondence with the Governor-General, had not unfrequently the advantage. He was an encourager of letters<sup>1</sup> and the arts; was of a kind and conciliating disposition, and cultivated a friendly familiarity with the successive residents at his court. He was too much under the influence of self-interested advisers, his ministers, and his begums; but his reign was unstained by violence or cruelty; and he afforded a not unfavourable specimen of an Asiatic prince. He was succeeded by his eldest son Soliman Jah, who took the title of Nasir ud-din Hyder.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. V.  
1827.

After passing some days at Lucknow, the Governor-General proceeded to Agra, where he arrived early in January, 1827 — and was there met by all the Chiefs of Malwa, and missions from the Mahratta princes, Holkar and Sindhia. The former was still a minor; and the conduct of the state was vested in the ministers, under the control of the Resident, Mr. Wellesley, who, for many years, exercised with remarkable judgment and efficiency almost unbounded authority over the territory subject to Indore, and through his assistants, over the adjacent countries, whether subject to petty independent princes, or constituting districts belonging to Holkar and Sindhia, which had been placed under the management of British officers. For some time he was steadily seconded by the

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

BOOK III. principal minister, Tantia Jôg, one of the actors  
CHAP. V. in the turbulent scenes that had preceded hostili-

1827. ties in 1819, and who therefore well knew the value of the protection given to the immature years of his sovereign, by the presence of a British Resident. He died in the beginning of May, 1826; but his death made no change in the relations which connected Mulhar Rao Holkar with his allies. The mission from Sindhia was headed by Hindu Rao, the brother of his favourite wife, Baiza Bai. The Raja himself had been long suffering from illness, and his early dissolution was expected. The representations of his ministers, supported by the Resident, urging him to adopt a son and successor, as he had no son of his own, were of no avail in overcoming his reluctance to a measure which was considered essential to perpetuate the existence of the Gwalior state. He declared, that he had no relations in whom he was interested, or among whom he could select an eligible object of adoption; and he was satisfied to leave the future to the determination of the British Government, who might make whatever disposition they thought best. The real cause of his reluctance, however, was his attachment to Baiza Bai, who had long exercised an imperious influence over his mind, and to whom he wished to bequeath the substantial authority of the state, although the opposition of the principal persons of his court, and probably some misgivings of the result, deterred him from declaring her his successor<sup>1</sup>. Dowlat

<sup>1</sup> Sindhia, in a conference with the Resident, intimated another although not altogether dissimilar motive. If a son were adopted by

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

him, the custom of the Mahrattas required that the adoptive mother should be the senior of the Baia—who was not Baiza but Rukma Bai; and the latter was notoriously unfit for the office of Regent, which would have devolved on her as the mother of the minor Raja. Sutherland's Sketches, 165.

BOOK III. will of the British Government, whose representa-  
 CHAP. V. tives were admitted to his familiarity, almost to  
 1827. his friendship<sup>1</sup>.

Shortly after the demise of Sindhia, a paper was produced, purporting to contain the expression of his last wishes, agreeably to which an heir was to be adopted, but an indefinite regency was to be entrusted to Baiza Bai, for whom the protection of the Company was solicited. The document proved, to be supposititious, but it was admitted to be evidence of the Raja's intentions; and the adoption of a son, and the regency of the Bai, were authorised under a general assurance of protection. Five boys remotely related to Sindhia, were brought to Gwalior from the Dekhin, of whom, Mukht Rao, a lad of eleven years of age, the son of an obscure individual, descended from the common ancestor of the family, was selected, with the approbation of the Resident. He was forthwith affianced to the grand-daughter of Sindhia by Baiza Bai, and was placed upon the cushion of sovereignty, on the 18th of June, 1827. At Sindhia's death, the pension paid to him by the British Government, of four lakhs of rupees a year, ceased; and, as this had furnished the principal fund for the regular pay of the contingent commanded by British officers, and constituting the only force in the service of Gwalior upon which dependence could be placed, it was necessary to provide other means of meeting the expence. After some negotiation, the Regent Bai,

<sup>1</sup> The report of the Resident, Major Stewart, represents, in so interesting a manner, the circumstance of Sindhia's decease, and with so just an appreciation of his character, that it is highly worthy of perusal. It is given in the Appendix, iii.

with an ulterior view to her own interests, con-  
 sented to advance to the Company, a loan or deposit  
 of eighty lakhs of rupees, the interest of which at  
 five per cent. was to be applied to the payment of  
 the contingent force. The arrangements thus ac-  
 complished, involved the seeds of future dissension;  
 but the minority of the adopted successor, obviated  
 their immediate development.

From Agra, the Governor General, after a visit  
 to the young Raja of Bhurtpore, continued his  
 journey to Delhi, where the envoys of the different  
 Rajput states attended his durbar. With the chief  
 of these, especially Jaypur, complicated questions  
 of policy had for some time subsisted, arising out of  
 the fluctuating and uncertain manner in which  
 British interposition was exercised, the wish and at  
 the same time the difficulty of withdrawing from  
 it. The solution of the problem continued equally  
 to occupy the consideration of the succeeding admi-  
 nistration; and as the most important events which  
 sprang from it, belong to a later date, an account  
 of them may be reserved for a future occasion.  
 The interviews which took place with the fallen  
 majesty of Delhi, were, upon this occasion, regulated  
 with the most minute precision; and the dignity of  
 the Governor General was scrupulously asserted.  
 The King, by the concessions to which he yielded,  
 indulged the hope of procuring an addition to his  
 pecuniary resources, on the ground of the improved  
 revenues of the assigned territories. He was disap-  
 pointed in his expectations. The assignment of  
 any specified territory was denied; and the limita-  
 tion in the original paper, which was declared to be

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.



BOOK III. a paper of intentions and not any engagement, by  
 CHAP. V. which it was proposed, that if the revenues ad-  
 1827. mitted, the Royal stipend should be augmented  
 to a lakh of rupees a month, fixed the amount of  
 any future augmentation: but, whatever condi-  
 tions might have been thought to exist at an earlier  
 period, they were superseded by the arrangements  
 concluded in 1809, when a fixed money grant was  
 assigned without any reference to territorial reve-  
 nue. His majesty was by no means satisfied with  
 this decision, and appealed from it to the authori-  
 ties in England, not wholly without success; as,  
 although the existence of the engagement was dis-  
 allowed, an accession to his stipend was authorised,  
 by which it was to be raised to the sum of fifteen  
 lakhs a year: the circumstances which induced  
 his majesty to decline acceptance of the increase  
 belong to a later period.

After leaving Delhi, Lord Amherst repaired to Simla on the lower range of the Himalaya, now for the first time the temporary residence of the Governor-General of British India. During his residence, friendly missions were interchanged with Ranjit Sing, whose career of conquest was for a time checked by the insurrection of his Afghan subjects on the west of the Indus, at the call of Syed Ahmed, a fanatical Mohammedan. This man, originally a trooper in the service of Amir Khan, departed for Delhi, when the predatory force of that chief was disbanded, and there set up for a reformer of the faith of Islam, professing to restore it to its original purity, and to divest it of all idolatrous and superstitious innova-

tions. Wholly illiterate himself, he found men of learning to advocate his doctrines; and he speedily obtained proselytes and followers. After a visit to Calcutta, and a pilgrimage to Mecca, which added to his reputed sanctity, Syed Ahmed returned by way of the former city, to the Upper Provinces, and, after some interval, appeared in the Punjab, where, in December 1826, he proclaimed a holy war against the infidel Sikhs. That his cause should have found numerous adherents among the Afghans, who had been compelled to an enforced subjection to Sikh dominion was to have been expected; but the enterprise excited a strong interest among the Mohammedans throughout India, and from every principal town where they formed a portion of the population—from Delhi, Lucknow, Surat, Hyderabad, and even from Madras and Calcutta, contributions of money and jewels were despatched to him; and the younger and more adventurous marched to enlist under his banners. His forces were thus raised to between thirty thousand and forty thousand men; but their undisciplined and ill-organised fanaticism was unequal to resist the more steady valour of the Sikh battalions, and they were defeated with great loss at Naushera, near the Indus, by the army of Ranjit, under Budh Sing. The insurgents were for a time dispersed; but they again collected, and, for several years, maintained a partial and desultory warfare. Quarrels among themselves reduced their numbers and impaired their strength; and early in 1831, Syed Ahmed was defeated and slain, in an action with

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.

BOOK III a Sikh detachment commanded by the prince  
CHAP. V. Shir Sing. His death put an end to the contest.<sup>1</sup>

1827.

During the residence of the Governor-General in the mountains, hostilities of a different character, in which the interests of India were concerned, although remotely, broke out between Russia and Persia. The direct intercourse of the Court of Persia with the English Cabinet of St. James's, was no longer recommended by any political advantage, and was found to be productive of much inconvenience and embarrassment. It was therefore resolved to revert to the former channel of communication—to discontinue the appointment of a *Chargé d'Affaires* on the part of the Crown—and to despatch an envoy to Tehran in the name of the East India Company. Upon the first proposal of this arrangement to the king, Futteh Ali Shah treated it as an indignity offered to his person, and refused to admit an envoy from the Indian Government. Being assured, however, that in that case no British representative would be appointed to his Court, and unwilling to lose the support of a British officer in the impending rupture with Russia—importuned also by the urgent representations of his eldest son, Abbas Mirza—he yielded, after some delay, a reluctant acquiescence, and consented to send an agent to Bombay to conduct the mission to his capital. Lieut.-Colonel Macdonald, who had been appointed envoy since 1824, and had been directed to await the issue of the negociation at Bombay, proceeded accordingly,

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep's *Life of Runjeet Sing*, 145. M'Gregor's *History of the Sikhs*, i. 196.

and joined the camp of the Shah at Ahar in September, 1826. He found the Persians engaged in hostilities with Russia, and claiming that pecuniary assistance to which they considered themselves entitled by the Definitive Treaty concluded at Tehran in 1814 in the event of an unprovoked attack upon Persia by a European power<sup>1</sup>. Admission of the justice of the claim depended upon the determination of the question—Who in the present instance was the aggressor?

BOOK III.  
CHAP. V.

1827.

Upon the termination of the preceding war with Russia, a boundary line between the two countries had been laid down in a general and vague manner; and its precise direction was left to be adjusted by commissioners appointed on either side. In the course of the adjustment, many differences and delays arose, which were reciprocally imputed to intentional obstructions, and were the topics of mutual ill-will and recrimination. The cabinet of St. Petersburg pertinaciously objected to the only arrangement by which a settlement of the dispute was feasible—the arbitration of British officers; and

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

BOOK III the frontier remained in consequence undetermined.  
 CHAP. V. The tribes situated in the disputed tracts, subject to  
 1827. no recognised control, transferred their allegiance at their pleasure to either of the parties, and were the cause of frequent annoyance to both. Their chiefs were also encouraged, when they had incurred the displeasure of the officers of one state, to seek an asylum within the limits of the other, and were protected against the consequences of their contumacy. It were difficult to decide which was most to blame. Apparently neither was actuated by a sincere desire to conclude a definitive settlement. Abbas Mirza, the eldest son and acknowledged successor of Futteh Ali Shah, who governed the frontier province of Azerbijan, relinquished with great reluctance any portion of his country, and trusted to the occurrence of some favourable opportunity for recovering the territory which the preceding war had wrested from Persia; while the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, steadily pursuing its system of progressive encroachment, silently countenanced the dilatory proceedings of its commissioners in determining the boundary question. It had gone farther, and had occupied a strip of land on the north-west of the Gokcha Lake belonging, by its own admission, to Persia—in retaliation, it was affirmed, of the Persian appropriation of a tract between the Chudao and Kapanek rivers, which, by the treaty of Gulistan, had been expressly assigned to Russia. The latter power, however, proposed to exchange the disputed districts; but the transfer was objected to by Abbas Mirza, on the ground that the command of the Gokcha Lake, would facilitate any attack of the

Russians on Erivan, a strong fortress, held by a chief who acknowledged allegiance to Persia and had always been the unrelenting enemy of the Russians. Whilst the subject was under discussion the Russians extended their posts to the south of the lake, and took possession of the whole of its circuit, refusing to withdraw their troops without the orders of the Emperor. Abbas Mirza was, in consequence, ordered to the frontier with a military force; and the divisions of his army crossed the boundary, and forcibly dislodged the Russian posts from the borders of the Gokcha Lake. The appearance of a Persian army was the signal for a general rising of the tribes of Karabagh, Shirwan, and Daghistan, who were unwilling subjects of Russia; and they joined the prince in great numbers. General Yermoloff, the Governor of Georgia, unprepared for the aggression, was too weak to repel it. The negotiations which had been pending had been nevertheless uninterrupted; and prince Menzikoff had been sent to Tehran, to effect an amicable accommodation with the Shah, when the rashness of Abbas Mirza put an end to the prospect of a pacific agreement. Although, therefore, the encroachments of Russia were of a nature to provoke the resentment of the Persian court, yet as long as an apparent readiness to submit its pretensions to equitable adjustment was manifested, no sufficient excuse was furnished for actual hostilities; and the charge of aggression was fairly ascribable, either to the recklessness or the policy of Abbas Mirza. The British envoy, therefore, objected to the payment of the subsidy as not due

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.

BOOK III according to the terms of the treaty; and Persia  
CHAP. V. was compelled to carry on the war on her own  
1827. responsibility, and with her own unaided resources.

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

After a short interval, rendered necessary by the inclemency of the season, during which the British envoy vainly endeavoured to impress upon Abbas Mirza the hopelessness of the contest, hostilities were resumed in Karabagh, by the advance of General Madadoff to the Aras; and in Georgia, by a demonstration against Erivan. Neither of these movements were successful; but they were soon repeated, under the abler direction of General Paskevitsch, who had been appointed to the government of Georgia. Leaving a force to observe Erivan, he marched to besiege Abbasabad, on the Aras. Learning that Abbas Mirza and the prime minister, the Asaf ud Dowla, had arrived in the vicinity to cover the fortress, he crossed the river and, on the 16th of July, came upon the Persian army, a portion of which had been concealed in a ravine, and was intended to fall upon the Russian flank, while engaged with the main body. The ambuscade was discovered; and guns were brought to bear upon the Persians stationed at the bottom of the ravine, by the fire of which they were nearly all destroyed. The defeat of the main force was equally complete. After the action, the Russians recrossed the Aras, and summoned the garrison of Abbasabad to surrender. The fort was given up; and as it was the key to the Persian provinces south of the river, its fall menaced the speedy loss of the whole of Azerbijan. The interposition of the British envoy was now resorted to; and a letter was addressed by him to the Russian General, to learn the terms on which negotiations might be based. These were the cession of the territory north of the Aras, and the

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.



BOOK III. payment of seven hundred thousand Tomans for  
 CHAP. V. the expenses of the war, stipulations to which the  
 1827. Shah was not yet prepared to accede; and the  
 negotiation was broken off. The extreme heat of  
 the weather, and the sickliness of the Russian army,  
 prevented General Paskevitch from following up his  
 success. Abbas Mirza, and Hasan Khan, the Sirdar  
 of Erivan, repaired to the fortress of the latter, in  
 the hope of creating a diversion and relieving the  
 line of the Aras from the pressure of the Russian  
 army.

The movement in the direction of Erivan was  
 not ill conceived, and was at first attended with  
 advantage. The division of the Russian army left  
 by General Paskevitch to observe Erivan, was  
 attacked, in the beginning of August, at Abiran  
 by Abbas Mirza and the Sirdar, and after an  
 obstinate engagement, which lasted from dawn  
 till sunset, was entirely defeated, with the loss of  
 nine hundred killed, and a thousand taken pri-  
 soners, and of six guns and a great quantity of  
 arms and ammunition. The victory was due to  
 the steadiness of the infantry and artillery of the  
 Persian army, which had been trained in European  
 discipline. The disaster was speedily retrieved.  
 Paskevitch returned with all his force to Erivan,  
 and the Prince and the Sirdar retreated; the former  
 to Mount Ararat, and the latter to the fortress of  
 Sirdarabad, to which the Russians immediately  
 laid siege. After the batteries had been con-  
 structed and the walls were breached, the garrison  
 effected their escape, and the fort was taken pos-  
 session of without resistance. The more important

fortress of Erivan was next besieged. The batteries were opened on the 7th of October, and on the 19th a storm was ordered; when the garrison, to the number of three thousand, laid down their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. This decided the fate of the campaign.

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

BOOK III. treasures in order to provide the pecuniary indemnification. The Russians, at first, demanded

CHAP. V.

1827. fifteen Crores of Tomans, but after a time, reduced the sum to eight, of which six and a half were to be paid forthwith: but the king obstinately refused to advance more than six<sup>1</sup>; and hostilities were on the point of being renewed. Arrangements were, however, devised for supplying the deficiency; one of which was the payment of two hundred thousand Tomans by the Indian Government, as an equivalent for the final abrogation of the articles of the Treaty of Tehran, which provided for a conditional subsidy<sup>2</sup>. This impediment being surmounted, a treaty of peace was concluded on the 23rd of February, 1828, at Turkmanchai, by which the Khanats of Erivan and Nakhivan, with the fortress of Abbasabad, were ceded to Russia; and a frontier line, generally following the course of the Aras to the Caspian Sea, was established. Besides this loss of territory, the result of the war was the complete prostration of Persia before the power of Russia, and the loss of that influence which the British Mission had hitherto enjoyed. The subservience of Persia to Russia is, however, but the concession of weakness to force; and in-

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

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

spires, in the minds of the natives of Persia, no other sentiments than those of resentment and animosity. The decline of British influence is no subject of regret in a political point of view; for the alliance of so feeble a state could never have added to the security of India, and might have been the cause of embarrassment to Great Britain. The chief author of this last and fatal struggle with Persia, Abbas Mirza, died at the end of 1833. The support of Russia, and concurrence of England, secured the acknowledgment of his son, Mohammed Mirza, as heir apparent, and his eventual succession to the throne.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.

The Governor-General quitted the hills at the end of June, and returned in October to Calcutta; where the remainder of his residence in Bengal was occupied in carrying forward the measures that had been long in progress for the amelioration of the internal administration of the British provinces. The short duration of his government, and the absorbing interest of the war with Ava, had unavoidably interfered with due attention to internal improvement; but it had not been overlooked: and the several Presidencies had been diligently engaged, in proportion to their opportunities, in providing for a variety of important objects. In Bengal, the attention of the Government was mainly taken up with a laborious revision of past proceedings, or in devising plans for the future, which were brought into full effect under the succeeding administration. We have already had occasion to notice the former, in adverting to the despatch of the Bengal Government of February, 1827, in reply

BOOK III  
CHAP. V.

1827.

to the several communications received from the Court of Directors, between that date and 1814, on the subject of the Judicial Institutions of the Presidency of Bengal. In this letter, the measures suggested by the Court, in 1814, for the remedy of the defects in the judicial system, in the three branches, civil, criminal, and police, so strongly commented upon in the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1812, were taken into careful consideration, after a reference to all the principal judicial and revenue local authorities. The remedial arrangements recommended by the Court, resolved themselves into three heads:—1. The extended employment, in the distribution of civil justice, of native agency, and especially in the form of Panchayats, and of individuals possessing authority or influence, as the headmen of villages, opulent landowners, and the like. 2. The limitation of appeals, simplification of process, reduction of expense, and establishment of a new court of *Sudder Diwani Adaulut*: and, 3. The transfer from the judicial to the revenue authorities, of claims regarding land, disputes concerning boundaries, and the interchange of written engagements between the landowners and the ryots.

✓ Under the first of these heads, it was satisfactorily shown in the reply, that the system pursued at Madras, and therefore enjoined to the authorities in Bengal, whatever might be its advantages in the former presidency, was utterly impracticable in the latter, for reasons which we have already had occasion to recapitulate<sup>1</sup>. At the same time,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. viii. p. 515. The Government of Bengal conclude, " We

the soundness of the principle of extending native agency was unreservedly acknowledged; and it was announced, that arrangements for such extension were in progress. With regard to the limitation of appeals, it was not considered advisable to restrict it within narrower bounds than those already prescribed; nor was it looked upon as possible, with a due regard to the efficiency of the courts, to make any material alteration in the forms of process, or any considerable diminution of the charges which were not such as to discourage the prosecution of just claims. In the usefulness of a separate supreme court, of both civil and criminal justice, or Sudder and Nizamat Adaulata, for the western provinces, the local authorities concurred. Under the third head, the letter enumerated the different regulations passed since the year 1814, having for their object the formation and preservation of an accurate record of landed rights and interests, the new powers granted to the revenue officers for the investigation of those rights, the determination of the title to exemption from revenue in lands held free, the adjustment of special matters connected with revenue of a local origin, and the adjudication of disputes concerning branches of revenue unconnected with land.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> The principal Regulations passed for these purposes are of a prior

BOOK III. In the department of Criminal Justice it was  
 CHAP. V. stated, that the powers of the magistrates had been  
 1827. much extended of late years; and that the consequence had been, the relief of the circuit judges from much of their labour<sup>1</sup>. Authority had been also given to the magistrates to refer to the law officers of the courts, and the principal Sudder Amins, the adjudication of charges for petty offences, subject to appeal to the magistrate. To entrust similar powers to the inferior police and judicial native officers, Darogas and Munsiffs, would be likely, it was asserted, to lead to much abuse and to disturb, rather than promote the peace and harmony of the village communities. Decided objection was also taken to the union of the office of magistrate with that of collector, as proposed by the Court, on the plea of incompatibility of functions, and the entire absorption of the time of the collector in the yet unsettled provinces by revenue details. The advantage of separating the duties of magistrate and judge, and confining the former to his peculiar functions, had been practically recognised; and

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

<sup>1</sup> In the case of burglaries, for instance, it is stated, that those punished by the Court of Circuit amounted in 1817 and in 1819 to more than a thousand; and in 1822 and 1823 they had diminished to three hundred and forty-six and three hundred and twenty-three, respectively.—Report, App. Judicial, p. 117.

the arrangement had been adopted in several districts<sup>1</sup> with beneficial results.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.

From the tenor of this despatch, it is evident, that although some progress had been made in the improvement of the administration of justice, yet the advance was only tardily progressive, and much remained to be accomplished to adapt the system to the necessities of the country. In like manner, the progress made in the revenue settlements of the Upper Provinces was tedious and inconclusive; and the Government was far from being prepared to fix the limits of assessment for any protracted period. Temporary adjustments were, therefore, still unavoidable; and the existing settlements in the Conquered and Ceded provinces were severally renewed, in 1824 and 1826, for a further term of five years.<sup>2</sup>

The Government of Madras, under the Presidency of Sir Thomas Munro, also entered upon an investigation of the past arrangements in the several departments of the Judicial Administration, especially with a view to shew that no evil had arisen from the reduction of the provincial or Zilla courts superintended by the Company's servants, and that the greatest benefits had resulted from the extended activity of the District Native Judges. In order, however, to provide for the more ready access of the people to the superior Courts, and to train up

<sup>1</sup> Hoogly, Jessore, Nuddea, Purnia and Tirhoot. "The practical advantages which have resulted from the experiment, have fully realised the expectations which we had formed."—Report, Comm. Judicial. App. p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Regulation IX., 1824, for the Conquered provinces and Bundelkand; and II., 1826, for the Ceded provinces.



BOOK III. a body of judicial servants for the higher depart-  
 CHAP. V. ments, auxiliary courts were instituted under Euro-  
 1827. pean assistant judges, with full civil and criminal powers, but with certain limitations as to local jurisdiction<sup>1</sup>; and, shortly afterwards, courts were established with the same powers and limitations under native judges<sup>2</sup>, to whom both a civil and criminal jurisdiction was intrusted over all persons within the districts placed under their authority, except Americans and Europeans. A regulation was also enacted in the same year<sup>3</sup> for the gradual introduction of trial by jury into the criminal judicature of the territories subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George. The juries were to be summoned at the gaol-deliveries of the courts of circuit at the discretion of the judges. They were to be chosen from among respectable inhabitants of the district, whether Mohammedans or Hindus, with certain specified exemptions agreeably to lists to be prepared by the officers of the court. A jury was to be composed for each trial of not fewer than eight, not more than twelve members, the agree-

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

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

<sup>3</sup> Regulation X. 1827.

possessions in the Dekhin and Kandesh<sup>1</sup>, and subsequently to the southern Mahratta country, in which the regulations of the Government had not previously been current. Of the merits of the code, we have, after three years' experience, satisfactory testimony, shewing, that, while it was intelligible to the people, it was well adapted to their habits and condition, and admitted them to a full share of every branch of the administration of the country<sup>2</sup>.

BOOK III:  
CHAP. V.

1827.

The immense expenditure of the war with Ava had seriously deranged the financial prosperity of British India, and compelled the Government to have recourse to extensive loans in aid of the ordinary resources. A loan of about nine crores, or nine millions sterling, at five per cent. per annum, was raised in 1823-4; and another of above ten millions, at the same rate, in 1825-6: a loan of four per cent. was opened in 1825-6; but a large portion of it was absorbed by the five per cent. loan of the following year. About two crores and a half were drawn from the treasury at Lucknow, and a number of native chiefs and bankers were also induced at the same time to lend considerable sums to the state, affording a satisfactory proof of their confidence in the stability of the Government<sup>3</sup>. A large portion of these loans was applied to dis-

<sup>1</sup> Regulation XXIV. 1827.

<sup>2</sup> Minute by Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, 1st Nov. 1830. — Report Comm. House of Commons, Judicial Appendix, 447.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, the Raja of Nagpore advanced five lakhs, the Raja of Benares two, the Bankers, Lukshmichund and Maniram, nine and a half. Even the Ex-peshwa was prevailed on to refund part of the savings from his pension, and Baji Rao assisted his depositors with several lakhs of rupees.

BOOK III. charge other outstanding debts; but the general  
CHAP. V. result was a considerable augmentation of the  
 1827. public burthens; and an excess of charge exceed-  
 ing one million sterling, in addition to the terri-  
 torial expenses defrayed in England, which, in the  
 year 1827-8, exceeded two millions<sup>1</sup>. The financial  
 prospects of the country were consequently of a  
 most alarming complexion, and demanded the most  
 careful scrutiny, with a view to the better adjust-  
 ment of the expenses to the resources of British  
 India.

The expected consolidation of the ecclesiastical  
 establishment was interrupted by the premature  
 loss of two prelates in succession, who had followed  
 Dr. Middleton in the see of Calcutta. The first of  
 them, Reginald Heber, brought with him an en-  
 quiring mind, a highly cultivated intellect, and a  
 benevolent spirit, which were fitted to exercise the  
 most beneficial influence over the Christian com-  
 munity. He arrived in Calcutta in October, 1823,

<sup>1</sup> The revenues of India in the year 1827-8 amounted to  
 £22,863,000, the charges to £21,974,000, leaving a surplus receipt of  
 £889,000; but the interest of the public debt amounted to £1,918,000,  
 and consequently there was a local deficit of £1,029,000.—East India  
 Accounts, May, 1832. From the same documents and others printed  
 by the Committees of both Houses, 1830-1832, we are enabled to  
 make a comparison between the financial circumstances of 1823-4,  
 and 1827-8: there are some discrepancies between the different state-  
 ments, but the difference is not considerable.

	Revenues.	Charges.	Surplus.
1822-3	£23,118,000	£18,406,000	£4,712,000
1827-8	22,863,000	21,974,000	889,000
Debt.	Principal.	Interest.	Increase.
1822-3	£29,368,000	£1,762,000	Prin. £10,218,000
1827-8	39,606,000	1,918,000	Int. 156,000

The increased rate of charge was partly owing to the war; having risen  
 in 1825-6, to more than twenty-two millions, of which in that year the  
 increase of the military charges amounted to £1,500,000; in the pre-  
 ceding year it was much the same, or £1,240,000. There had been,  
 however, a considerable and progressive growth of the civil charges also.

ment of two-thirds of the number was essential to the verdict: a pecuniary allowance of one rupee a day was granted to each juror while in attendance on the court. At Madras, however, as well as in Calcutta, where a similar measure was subsequently adopted, service on juries was felt by the natives to be a grievance, rather than a privilege; and in neither presidency has it ever been fully carried into operation<sup>1</sup>.

The progress of improvement in the civil administration of Madras, which had derived its chief impulse from the active and able superintendence of Sir Thomas Munro, was interrupted by his death. It had been his wish to have resigned his office at an earlier period, when the commencement of the war with Ava imposed upon him the duty of remaining at his post. During the war, he was indefatigable in promoting the objects of the expedition, and in furnishing men and supplies from Madras for the prosecution of hostilities. As soon as peace was restored, he renewed the expression of his earnest desire to be relieved, and anxiously solicited the appointment of a successor. A delay of a twelvemonth intervened between his resignation and the selection of the Hon. J. Lushington to take his place; and in the interval, an attack of Cholera disappointed his hopes of enjoying in his native land the retrospect of a long and honour-

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

BOOK III. able career of public duty. He died at Puteecondah,  
 CHAP. V. in the Ceded districts, on the 6th of July, 1827.

1827. Of the many servants of the East India Company, who have risen to merited distinction, none more richly deserved the honours with which his service had been rewarded, and the esteem which had accompanied him through life, or the universal sorrow which lamented his decease<sup>1</sup>.

Still greater activity was exhibited in the task of legislation at Bombay under the direction of the Governor, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, and, in the course of 1827, a series of regulations was promulgated, constituting a complete code of the enactments of the Government, under the several heads of Civil and Criminal Law, Police, Revenue and Miscellaneous subjects. These regulations superseded all previous enactments. They were based, as far as was practicable, upon native institutions, and large powers were assigned to native functionaries<sup>2</sup>. The operation of these regulations was at once extended to the Company's

<sup>1</sup> The General Orders of the Madras Government, the resolutions of a numerous meeting of the European and Native community, and the resolutions of the Court of Directors bear concurrent testimony to the worth of his private and public character.—*Life of Sir T. Munro*, ii. p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> Native commissioners might be appointed in each Zilla for the trial of civil causes to the extent of five thousand rupees.—Regulation II. 1827, chap. IV. This limitation was abolished by Regulation I. 1830; and the jurisdiction of native commissioners was extended to the decision of original suits of whatever amount, with certain exceptions. The native collectors of districts, and the head-men of villages, were entrusted with charge of the police under the authority of the magistrate, Regulation XII. ch. I. V. and VI., and magisterial powers, including infliction of punishment under specified limitations, were conferred upon landholders, Regulation XV. The duties of native collectors, and of hereditary village officers, inclusive of accountants, were defined in Regulation XVI.

and in June of the following year proceeded on his BOOK III. visitation of the stations in the Upper Provinces, CHAP. V. and travelled across Central India to Bombay, 1827. visiting Ceylon on his way to Bengal, whither he returned in October, 1825. In the beginning of 1826, he visited the Madras provinces; and, in the hottest period of the year, repaired to Tanjore and Trichinopoly: at which latter station, on the 3rd of April, apparently from the effects of exposure to the climate acting upon an excitable temperament, he terminated his blameless and useful career<sup>1</sup>. He was succeeded in the see of Calcutta by Dr. James, to whom a still more contracted term of episcopal activity was granted, or from January 1828 to July, 1828; and his successor, Dr. Turner, was not permitted a much more prolonged exercise of his sacred functions. Arriving in India in October, 1829, he ended his days there in the middle of July, 1830. The shortness of the periods during which these prelates presided over the church of India, precluded them from the opportunity of effecting any material development of its organisation; but their concurrent efforts tended to raise its character, and extend its influence, and to give encouragement and animation to the extension of the teaching of Christianity.

The diffusion of education among the natives of India was also diligently fostered by the judicious

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Heber has left an imperishable record of his powers of observation in the journal of his travels, published posthumously. Although disfigured by some unimportant and venial mistakes, and some erroneous appreciation of existing institutions, the journal presents upon the whole a faithful, and at the same time, a lively picture of the condition of the country and the manners of the people.

BOOK III. encouragement which it received from Earl Am-  
 herst's administration. Collegiate institutions were  
 CHAP. V.  
 1827. founded at Agra and at Delhi, and schools estab-  
 lished in various provincial towns, upon the prin-  
 ciples which had hitherto prevailed; the improved  
 cultivation of those studies which were held in  
 estimation by the people, by grafting upon them  
 the accuracy of European information; and the  
 extended cultivation of the English language where-  
 ever circumstances were propitious to its acquire-  
 ment: very extraordinary progress was made in this  
 branch of study<sup>1</sup>.

Among the minor objects which engaged the interest of the Government of Bengal, was the equipment of a vessel to verify the reported locality of the wreck of the celebrated navigator La Perouse, no vestiges of whose disappearance had yet been discovered. Capt. Dillon, commanding a country merchant vessel, trading between South America and Bengal, came upon a small island in the Pacific Ocean, from which he obtained various articles that attested the former presence of some French ship; of the wreck of which, on the coral reefs surrounding the island, traditions were preserved by the inhabitants. In order to obtain more positive evidence, Capt. Dillon was placed in command of a

<sup>1</sup> The pupils of the Vidyalaya, or the institution founded by the native Hindus of Calcutta, were made familiar with the best authors in the English language, and acquired a critical knowledge of their merits. They were thoroughly instructed in the leading facts of history and geography, and in the elements of physical science. Some of them made a considerable advance in mathematics. That some of them possessed also the power of expressing the results of their studies in correct idiomatic, and even eloquent, English, was evinced in several periodical publications. See also a volume of English Poems by Kali Prasad Ghose.

vessel of the Government, and sent back to procure any additional indications that might be obtainable, as well as to verify the reported existence of some of the survivors of the wreck. None of the latter were found; but an ample variety of arms and ship-furniture was collected, which had clearly belonged to a French vessel of war, and which were finally identified in France as having been on board the vessels commanded by La Perouse: thus establishing the island of Vanicolo as the scene of his unhappy fate.<sup>1</sup>

In these and similar peaceful occupations terminated the government of Lord Amherst: a government which could not be charged with a spirit of ambition or of martial enterprise; but which had nevertheless effectually checked the aggressions of the Burmas; had widely extended the confines of the British territory; and by the capture of Bhurtpore, effaced the only stain that tarnished the brilliancy of the military reputation of British India, and dissipated the vain belief of the natives, that there was at least one impregnable bulwark against its prowess. The commencement of Lord Amherst's administration was a season of unexpected trouble and anxiety. It closed in settled order and durable tranquillity; and although these important objects were not achieved without proportionate sacrifices and heavy financial embarrassment, yet

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Dillon was allowed to convey the articles he had collected to France, where they were recognised as having belonged to the French vessels *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*; and he was in consequence created by Charles X. a chevalier of the Legion of Honour with a pension for life. His discoveries were confirmed by the subsequent visit of Capt. D'Urville, commanding the French corvette, the *Astrolabe*, in February, 1828.—*Voyage de l'Astrolabe. Histoire*, tome 5, p. 124, 4<sup>e</sup> suite.



BOOK III. there was every reason to hope that the evil was  
 CHAP. V. transient, and that the succeeding administration  
 1828. would be freed from every risk of interruption in  
 the prosecution of those economical reforms and  
 internal improvements which had been already  
 commenced. The departure of Earl Amherst was  
 accelerated by the illness of a member of his family;  
 and he sailed for England early in February, 1828,  
 without awaiting the arrival of his successor.

---

## CHAPTER VI.

*Lord W. Bentinck appointed.—Prior to his arrival,  
 Mr. W. B. Bayley, Governor-General.—First Meas-  
 ures of Lord W. Bentinck.—Economic Reform.—  
 Reduction of Military Allowances, or Half-Batta  
 Retrenchment.—Great unpopularity of the Reduc-  
 tion.—Memorials against it referred to the Court  
 of Directors.—Orders to maintain it.—Appoint-  
 ment of Committees of Finance.—Reductions  
 effected.—Improvement of Sources of Revenue.—  
 Attempt to limit the Production of Malwa Opium.  
 —Treaties with Native Princes.—Evils and In-  
 sufficiency of the Plan.—Abandoned.—Opium  
 Passes granted.—Successful.—Investigation of  
 Rent-free Tenures.—Origin of Exemptions.—  
 Recognised by the British Government.—Regula-  
 tions for investigating Invalid Titles.—Appoint-  
 ment of Special Commissioners.—Petition against  
 the Enactment.—Change of System in uniting*

*Judicial and Revenue Functions.*—Appointment of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit,—Advantages of Simplification,—Defects of the Plan,—its Failure.—Alterations in Civil Justice.—Extended Employment of Native Judges.—Second Court of Appeal appointed, and Députation of Revenue Board at Allahabad.—Abolition of *Suttee*,—previous Measures of the Government to restrain the Practice,—their Insufficiency.—Civil and Military Officers consulted by Governor-General,—Difference of Opinion,—Arguments against Abolition,—those in favour of it,—Resolution of the Governor-General to prohibit *Suttees*,—Regulation to that effect,—no Resistance offered,—prohibited at Madras and Bombay.—Petition of Hindus of Bengal against the Regulation,—Counter Petition—Appeal to the King in Council,—read before the Privy Council,—Appeal dismissed,—prohibited by some of the Native States.—Enactments securing Hereditary Rights of Converts from Hinduism.—Judicial and Revenue Enactments at Madras and Bombay.—Discontinuance of Separate Legislation.—Dispute with Supreme Court at Bombay,—recent Establishment of the Court—Loftiness of its Pretensions—Extension of Claims of Jurisdiction.—Case of *Moro Raghunath* of Poona.—Writ of *Habeas Corpus* issued for his Production—Execution resisted—Jurisdiction of Court denied.—Death of two of the Judges.—Letter of the Government,—treated as derogatory and illegal,—referred by Petition of Sir J. Grant to the Privy Council,—Process re-issued,—opposed by the Government,—Court

*closed, — re-opened, — Grounds of Proceedings. — Powers of the Court of King's Bench universal over the Subjects of the Crown, — same delegated to the Court of Bombay. — Privy Council decide against the Pretensions of the Court. — Investigations in Bengal in Communication with the Judges as to a Legislative Council, — recommended. — Final Arrangement, — Legislative Member of Council. — Visit of Governor-General to the Hills. — Plan of Revenue. — Settlement of the North-Western Provinces finally determined, and actively carried on. — Practices of the Murderers, called Thugs; — Measures for their Extirpation, — their Success. — Progress of Education. — Exclusive Cultivation of English proposed, — objections to. — Steam Communication with Europe. — Commerce. — Finance. — Revenue.*

**BOOK III.** THE circumstances under which Lord W. Bentinck  
CHAP. VI. was recalled from the government of Madras,  
 1828. have been recorded in a preceding volume. Dissatisfied with the partial retractation of the censure then pronounced by the Court of Directors, he was naturally and commendably anxious to receive a more unequivocal proof of his restoration to their confidence; and had for some time past made known to them, his desire to be again employed in their service. His wishes were at last complied with; and, in July, 1827, he was nominated Governor-General upon the resignation of Earl Amherst. The departure of that nobleman having taken place somewhat earlier than was expected, and Lord W. Bentinck's arrival in India being delayed until July, 1828,

during the interval between that date and the sailing of his predecessor, the office of Governor-General devolved upon the senior member of council at the Presidency, Mr. William Butterworth Bayley, a distinguished member of the civil service of the Company. No public events of any importance occurred during the period of his administration; but it was busily engaged in laying the foundation of various important measures of internal improvement, the completion of which was reserved for the subsequent government. About the same time, the other Presidencies were placed under new Governors, in the persons of The Honourable Mr. Lushington, at Madras, and Sir John Malcolm, at Bombay.

The very great deficiency of the public revenue, and the embarrassed condition of the finances of India, had been the subject of grave and deliberate consideration by the authorities in England; and the indispensable necessity of various economical reforms had been forcibly impressed upon the attention of the new Governor-General. The emergency of the case admitted of no denial; and the interests of the Indian Empire unquestionably demanded early and sweeping retrenchments. A conviction of this necessity, and a determination to conform to the letter of his instructions, influenced the very first proceedings of Lord W. Bentinck; and he had scarcely taken his seat in council, when he instituted arrangements for reducing the public expenditure; in both the civil and military branches of the service, according to the scale of 1823-4, which had been assumed by the Court

BOOK III. of Directors and Board of Control as a moderate  
 CHAP. VI. and safe standard'. The prevalence of tranquillity,  
 1823. and the little probability of its being disturbed,  
 permitted of large reductions of the numerical  
 strength of the armies of the three Presidencies,  
 and they were accordingly effected, as opportunity  
 allowed, without exciting dissatisfaction. One  
 measure, however, was enforced, which, affecting  
 the interests of a considerable portion of the officers  
 of the Bengal Army, was productive of very widely  
 diffused discontent, and exposed the Governor-  
 General to an intensity of unpopularity with the  
 military branch of the service, which no circum-  
 stances in his subsequent administration were able  
 to allay.

At an early period of the East India Company's  
 rule, a considerable addition had been made to the  
 pay of officers of various ranks under the deno-  
 mination of Batta<sup>1</sup>. The entire addition was granted  
 to them when in the field within the territories of  
 the Company. It was doubled when they served  
 beyond the frontier; but reduced to a half when they  
 were stationed in cantonments where quarters were  
 provided for them. The grant of double Batta was  
 early withdrawn, except with respect to troops  
 serving in the dominions of the Nawab Vizir; but  
 when the Lucknow subsidy was commuted for ter-  
 ritorial cessions, this advantage was also discontinued.  
 At the same time, officers were required to provide

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Court, 12th December, 1827.— Committee,  
 H. of Commons. Finance. App. No. V.

<sup>2</sup> Batta, or more properly Bhát'ha, is a Hindi and Mahratta word,  
 signifying merely "Extra-pay or allowance."

themselves with quarters when not in the field; and as a compensation for the loss of this accommodation, whole Batta was granted to them, whether in cantonments or on actual service<sup>1</sup>. This equalization of the extra-allowance, although originating in a notion that it was an economical arrangement, had never been approved of by the Home authorities, and instructions were sent to Bengal, in 1814, to revert partially to the former plan, and to grant Half-Batta only at the original stations of the army, or those which were established prior to the extension of the British territories, authority being at the same time conveyed to make an allowance for quarters at those stations. The grant of the latter was effected in 1814; but the Marquis of Hastings and Earl Amherst both objected strenuously to the proposed reduction of the Batta, and referred it for reconsideration to the Court. The Court persisted in its resolution; and the fulfilment of its positive injunctions devolved upon the new Governor-General on the very first exercise of his delegated authority. Orders so reiterated and so positive could not be disobeyed consistently with the obligations under which he had accepted office; and Lord W. Bentinck had no other alternative than to obey or resign his appointment. The latter was a sacrifice scarcely to be expected from him; and an impression prevailed that he felt little reluctance in executing the obnoxious instructions. An order was promulgated, in November, 1828<sup>2</sup>, which

BOOK III  
CHAP. VI.  
1828.

*Polwart's*

<sup>1</sup> General Order of the Governor-General in Council, 9th April, 1801. Facts and Documents relating to Half-Batta, etc. Calcutta, 1829, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> General Order, 9th Nov. 1828.—Facts and Documents, p. 132.

BOOK III reduced the allowance of Batta to a half at the sta-  
 CHAP. VI. tions of Dinapore, Berhampore, Barackpore, and  
 1828. Dum-dum, to which a fifth, Ghazipore, was after-  
 wards added. So considerable a deduction from the  
 pay of the junior officers especially, was naturally  
 productive of discontent; and urgent remonstrances  
 against it were presented by different regiments  
 through the recognised channels<sup>1</sup>. The Commander-  
 in-Chief, Viscount Combermere, also protested  
 strongly against its adoption<sup>2</sup>. It was argued, that  
 the reduction was a virtual breach of the condi-  
 tions under which officers purchased the public  
 quarters transferred to them by public sale in 1801:  
 that it fell with peculiar severity upon the junior  
 officers, whose aggregate allowances were insuffi-  
 cient for their support, and who were subjected  
 to more than the ordinary expenses of living at the  
 stations to which the order applied: that it was  
 unequal in its effects upon the different branches of  
 the army, as the cavalry were never quartered at any  
 of the Half-batta stations, while the artillery head-  
 quarters were always at Dum-dum; and that the  
 total amount of the saving to the state accomplished  
 by the retrenchment, was too insignificant<sup>3</sup> to con-  
 stitute an equivalent for the injury inflicted on  
 individuals, and the feeling of dissatisfaction which  
 it inspired. These representations were submitted  
 to the Government by the Commander-in-Chief, and

<sup>1</sup> See the Memorials printed in the Facts and Documents.

<sup>2</sup> The letter is published in the *Asiatic Monthly Journal* of Nov. 1829, p. 600.

<sup>3</sup> The annual saving was estimated at Sixca Rupees 1,98,547, or between 19,000*l.* and 20,000*l.*—Table of Military Reductions, Comm. House of Commons, Finance, Appendix, No. 7, p. 246.

through him the memorialists were apprised<sup>1</sup>, that copies should be forwarded to the Court of Directors, with an intimation that it would afford the Governor-General sincere gratification, if the Court should see fit to re-consider their orders—a reply sufficiently indicative of the little regard likely to be paid to popular agitation by the head of the Government<sup>2</sup>. The answer to such a reference it was easy to anticipate; and accordingly a letter from the Court, dated in March, 1830, which, by their instructions, was published to the army, expressed their determination, with the concurrence of His Majesty's ministers, including the Duke of Wellington, to enforce the retrenchment which they had ordered, after expressing their disapproval of the tone of the memorials which they considered to be inconsistent with the principles of military subordination, and recalling to the recollection of the officers the various measures adopted by the Court, or through their intervention, for their advantage and honour<sup>3</sup>. They asserted their right in common

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1828.

<sup>1</sup> By a circular notice issued from the office of the Adjutant-General, 67th April, 1829.—Facts and Documents, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> The same indifference was exhibited towards the Indian press, in which the Half-batta regulation was fully and freely commented upon, in a strain which preceding administrations would scarcely have tolerated; but which was prudently unnoticed: a system pursued consistently by Lord W. Bentinck throughout his government; and which, although he refrained from any removal of the existing restrictions, was equivalent to a recognition of the almost unchecked freedom of the press.

<sup>3</sup> These were thus enumerated by Colonel Salmon. The rank of Colonel regimentally; Brevet rank for distinguished services in the field, and the honors of the Bath; an increased proportion of Field-Officers to Captains and Subalterns; command-money to Officers commanding Regiments and Battalions; augmentation of Brigadiers' commands both in number and value; addition of a fifth Captain to every regiment of Cavalry and Infantry, and every Battalion of



BOOK III. with that of all governments to augment or reduce  
 CHAP. VI. the allowance of public servants, as the circum-  
 1828. stances of the state might require, and maintained  
 the justice as well as the necessity of the retrench-  
 ment in question, as no compacts had ever existed  
 between the Court and those who entered their mili-  
 tary service; and as it was the paramount duty of  
 the Court to effect such a reduction of expenditure  
 as should enable them to conduct their affairs with-  
 out the imposition of any new burthens upon the  
 people of India, or the demand of aid from the  
 people of England. The promulgation of this order  
 precluded all further remonstrance<sup>1</sup>. The necessity  
 of economy admitted of no dispute. The objection  
 taken to the measure, on account of the limited  
 amount of the saving accruing from the Half-batta  
 retrenchment, might have been equally applied to  
 many other items of the public expenditure, and  
 by preserving the individual details untouched,  
 would have prevented any diminution of the general  
 aggregate. Still, as the saving was effected at the  
 expense of a class of the military servants of the  
 Company, whose allowances were for the most part  
 regulated by a scale barely sufficient for their  
 support, and whose prospects of promotion had  
 been clouded by the recent reductions to which the  
 constitution of the army had been subjected, it was  
 much to be regretted, that a more liberal consider-

Engineers and Artillery; appointment of an interpreter to every regi-  
 ment; increased ratio of retiring and furlough pay; improvement of  
 off- reckonings at the Company's expense; and grant of advantages of  
 remittance and interest to the military retiring fund.—Comm. House  
 of Commons, Military, Evidence, 538.

<sup>1</sup> The Calcutta Government Gazette, Sept. 3, 1820.—Asiatic  
 Monthly Journal, Feb. 1831, p. 97.

ation was not given to their circumstances, and some less unpopular source of economy devised. Their remonstrances, however, had possibly the effect of deterring the home authorities from attempting a wider extension of the obnoxious retrenchment.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. VI.

1828.

An arrangement of a more deliberate and comprehensive scope was at the same time adopted by the Governor-General, in the appointment of committees for the especial purpose of investigating the particulars which constituted the augmentation of the public charges, and for bringing them back to the level of 1823-4. Two committees were at first nominated, one civil, one military, to be composed each of three members, one from each of the three Presidencies, holding their sittings at Calcutta. These committees were authorised to institute a full and detailed inquiry into the establishments entertained, and the charges incurred in all the branches, civil and military, of the administration of the different Presidencies, with the view particularly of unfolding all items of expense uselessly incurred, of exhibiting those which might admit of retrenchment, with the least public inconvenience; and of suggesting such alterations as might appear calculated to secure to the utmost practicable extent, unity, efficiency, and economy in the general management of public affairs<sup>1</sup>. The sweeping reductions made by the home authorities in the military disbursements involving a considerable diminution of the strength of the army, left so little

<sup>1</sup> Minute of Governor-General, 7th October, 1828.—Comm. House of Commons, General App. iii.

BOOK III. for the military committee to undertake, that its  
 CHAP. VI. services were superfluous. The civil committee  
 1828. prosecuted its labours with unremitting assiduity  
 for several years; and in communication with the  
 different governments, or in pursuance of instruc-  
 tions from England, suggested a number of econo-  
 mical arrangements, immediate or prospective, and  
 various modifications of existing establishments, by  
 which an aggregate annual saving of about half a  
 million sterling was effected. The military reduc-  
 tions were still more considerable, exceeding double  
 that amount! Even this, however, was less than  
 the exigence of the case demanded, as a surplus  
 revenue of at least two millions sterling in India,  
 was required to defray the annual expenses incurred  
 in England on account of the territorial administra-  
 tion of India<sup>2</sup>, consisting in great part of interest,  
 payable on loans raised in the latter country, and  
 of the allowances and pensions granted to the re-  
 tired servants of the Company—charges as burthen-  
 some as unprofitable to the finances of India: a  
 perpetual and increasing drain on its resources,  
 yielding no sort of return.

A measure, partly of a financial, partly of a

<sup>1</sup> Total of civil reductions . . . . .	Sicca Rupees 46.26.075
Ditto of military ditto . . . . .	1.09.13.837
Total . . . . .	<u>1.56.39.912</u>

or £1,553,991. Of the former, however, many of those which were prospective, depended upon remote contingencies; and of the latter, the only reductions which could be regarded as immediate, were those of irregular corps and establishments. The reductions of the regular army, depending upon not filling up vacancies as they occurred, would require from three to four years.—Comm. House of Commons, Finance, App. No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Minute of Governor-General, 30th Oct. 1829.—Comm. House of Lords, App. A. 7.

political character, was the result of Lord William Bentinck's voyage to the Eastern Settlements, which he undertook in the beginning of 1829. After a flying visit to Penang, Singapore, Malacca, and the settlements on the coasts of Tenaserim and Arakan, Lord W. Bentinck returned in April to Calcutta, prepared to carry into operation the changes which had been enjoined from home, as well as those retrenchments which his personal observation had suggested. Besides various alterations of detail, and considerable reductions of the existing establishments, the separate government of Penang, with its dependencies of Malacca and Singapore, was abolished, and made subordinate to Bengal. Each was at first placed under a deputy-resident, subject to the control of a Commissioner or Resident for the Straits'. A modification of this system became subsequently necessary, but the dependence of the eastern settlements upon the Government of Bengal was undisturbed. •

Concurrently with the adoption of arrangements for diminishing the amount of the public expenditure, others were determined upon for the actual or prospective augmentation of the available resources. Among these, the protection of the Opium Monopoly from the disadvantageous competition to which it was exposed by the cultivation of the drug in Malwa, and its export by native dealers to China, had been long

<sup>1</sup> The titles of Governor and Resident Council, among other things, abolished by Lord W. Bentinck's sweeping measure of 1830, were shortly afterwards nominally restored: it being found that the charter of 1807 was so worded, that the King's Court of Judicature in the Straits could not be held in consequence of the non-attendance of those officers.—Newbold's Straits of Malacca, vol. i. 7.

BOOK III. a subject of consideration with the Government of  
 CHAP. VI. Bengal. As long as Central India was a scene of  
 1829. anarchy and desolation, cultivation of every kind  
 was suspended, and the conveyance of natural pro-  
 duce to distant markets was rendered impracticable,  
 by the imminent hazard to which travellers and  
 traders were exposed, of being robbed and murdered  
 on the road by the lawless bands which devastated the  
 country. The poppy was therefore reared, only as  
 a scanty and precarious crop for local consumption  
 alone, and there was no fear of finding in the opium  
 of Malwa a formidable rival to the produce of Bengal.  
 With the restoration of order and security, culti-  
 vation and commerce revived; and the native  
 capitalists speedily embarked in a traffic which  
 promised them returns so lucrative as the export  
 of opium to the east. The growth of the poppy, to  
 which many parts of Central India were propitious,  
 rapidly spread; and, after abundantly supplying  
 the local demand, considerable quantities of opium,  
 the transit of which was obstructed on the direct  
 route to Bombay by the prohibitory enactments of  
 the British authorities, found their way from Malwa  
 and the eastern Rajput states, as Bundi and Kota,  
 to Pali, in the principality of Udaypur; whence  
 the drug was carried through Jesselmer, and  
 across the desert to the port of Karachi in Sindh,  
 and thence to the Portuguese settlements of Diu  
 and Daman. (The opium was there purchased by  
 the European and Native merchants of Bombay,  
 and exported in vessels under Portuguese colours  
 to the Eastern Archipelago and China; and although  
 of somewhat inferior quality to the opium of Behar,

it obtained a ready sale at prices sufficient to cover the whole cost of transport, and realise a handsome profit. There was every probability, therefore, that the trade would increase, and seriously affect the revenue derived in Bengal from the opium-monopoly.

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1829.

The anticipated consequences of the augmented export of Malwa opium attracted the attention of the Government, as soon as it became an article of substantive value; and measures for guarding against them were very early contemplated. To prohibit the growth of the poppy in states which were internally independent, was very properly held to be a stretch of power which was unwarranted by subsisting relations; and it was resolved therefore to enter the market as a purchaser, and buy up so large a portion of the supply, as should leave little or none for the indirect export. This plan, as might have been easily foreseen, tended only to keep up the prices; on the one hand, encouraging the extension of the cultivation; and on the other, absorbing the profits of the shipment and resale. A change of agency, and its transfer from Bombay to Bengal, were next tried, but without material benefit. It was therefore determined to endeavour to enlist the native princes in the service of prohibition, and induce them to place restrictions on the culture of the poppy, and prevent its transit through their territories, by undertaking to pay them an annual fixed sum as an equivalent for any diminution of revenue which

<sup>1</sup> The amount of the purchases of the agent, at first a Bombay officer, exceeded in one year (1823) eighty-six lakhs of Rupees, £860,000.

BOOK III. they might sustain in the assessment of the lands,  
 CHAP. VI. and the loss of duties upon the passage of the drug.

1829. Partly tempted by the prospect of present personal advantage, and partly overborne by the commanding influence of the British Government, most of the princes of Malwa and Rajputana acceded to this arrangement, and concluded formal treaties, by which, in consideration of certain stipulated annual payments, and after provision made for internal supply, they conceded to the British agent the unnatural privilege of paralysing national industry, and extinguishing native enterprise<sup>1</sup>: injuries almost capable of counterbalancing all the benefits conferred upon Central India, by the extermination of the predatory system. The mischievous results were very soon sensibly felt both by princes and people, particularly in those states in which the cultivation of the poppy was extensive, as in Kota, where it had usurped the place of the crops of grain which the immunity of the country from the general devastation that surrounded it, had, through the wisdom of its ruler, Zalim Sing, particularly favoured. A temporary agreement was neverthe-

<sup>1</sup> See the Treaty with the Rana of Udaypur, October, 1824. It consisted of nine articles. By the first and second, the Rana engaged to prevent the sale and transit of opium throughout his dominions; the third fixed the annual compensation at 40,000 Rupees; the fourth conditioned that the British agent should have the sole control of all arrangements and checks necessary for the object of the treaty; the fifth provided for the supply of a sufficiency for domestic use; and the sixth, for its restriction to domestic purposes; by the seventh and eighth, all unlicensed opium was to be seized and delivered to the agent, who should pay for it the price current in Malwa, half of which was to go the informer; the ninth article stipulated that the engagement should be binding as long as the restrictive measures should be considered necessary. Similar engagements were concluded with Holkar, and most of the petty princes of Malwa, but Sindhia, and the rulers of Jaypur, and Jodhpur, declined to enter into them.

less effected with the Raj Rana of the same tenor as that with the other chiefs; but the compact excited general dissatisfaction among the people, and upon its expiring, it was not renewed. It was agreed instead, that the British Government should purchase the larger portion of the opium grown in Kota, giving to the Raj Rana a bonus on the price, on condition of his preventing the sale of any further quantity for the purpose of export. This plan proved equally distasteful to the merchants and vexatious to the growers; and was attended, it was asserted, with so much injury to the revenue, that it could not be insisted on with any regard to the fair claims of the state. Although the like feelings of discontent had not been openly avowed in other quarters, yet they had been similarly excited; and had led to evasion and resistance. The forcible seizure and confiscation of the opium in transit by the subordinate officers of the British Agency, was a manifest violation of the independence which had been acknowledged by treaty, and which, although sanctioned by special agreements, could not fail to be a fruitful source of contention and annoyance; nor was the interference, in all cases, tamely submitted to: armed men were hired to escort the opium on its way through the territories where it was treated as contraband; and the attempts of the chiefs themselves to be faithful to their engagements and prevent its passage, were encountered with a resolute defiance which led to serious affrays and loss of life. Nor could the system be effectual. As long

<sup>1</sup> In Bundi, in 1827, a body of Minas, guarding a quantity of opium in transit to Jaypur, was attacked by a party of the Raja's



BOOK III. as Jaypur and Jodhpur were open to the passage of  
 CHAP. VI. the drug, it was of little avail to shut up the avenues  
 1829. through those territories the princes of which  
 were parties to the prohibition. Even, in regard to  
 them, however, it was impossible to seal hermetically  
 every channel by which the trade could find  
 an issue; and in spite of all precautions the traffic  
 went on increasing with the augmented strin-  
 gency of the checks devised for its limitation'.  
 This failure, and the obvious objections to the  
 whole scheme, had for some time past disposed the  
 Bengal Government to relinquish its prosecution;  
 and during the administration of Mr. Bayley, in-  
 quiries were instituted with a view to its abandon-  
 ment. Lord W. Bentinck took the same view of  
 the arrangement as his predecessor<sup>2</sup>; and it was  
 resolved to desist from all interference with the  
 growth and transit of opium in the territories of  
 the native chiefs, and to consider the treaties by  
 which they were bound to prevent the trade as null  
 and void, under the clause authorising the British  
 Government to continue the restriction only while  
 it should look upon it as essential to its interests.

troops, headed by a relation of the Raja. The troops were defeated  
 with loss, and their leader was slain. The hill tribes, Minas, Mhars,  
 and Bhils, were extensively employed as escorts to the illicit trade;  
 and their natural turbulence was dangerously fostered by the employ-  
 ment.

<sup>1</sup> According to information obtained at Bombay, the export of  
 opium from Daman, in the year 1827-8, was four thousand chests.  
 In 1820-21 it did not exceed six hundred. At the latter date, not less  
 than ten or eleven thousand maunds were carried out of Malwa,  
 through Bundi and Udaypur; while the quantity seized was not  
 above six hundred.

<sup>2</sup> Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, 10th June, 1829.  
 For this and other details, see the Third Report of the Comm. of the  
 House of Commons, 1831. Appendix IV.

In place of the prohibitory engagements, it was at first attempted to revert to the original plan of purchasing the produce; but, as this was not found to answer, recourse was had to a system of licensing the direct conveyance of opium from the country where it was grown to Bombay, for sale or export on private account, charging for the license such a sum as should be equivalent to the cost and risk of conveyance by the circuitous route to Daman, and the duties there levied'. This plan was attended with more than the anticipated success, and secured to Government a considerable annual revenue from the opium commerce of Central India, without doing wrong to the interests of princes or people<sup>2</sup>.

Measures affecting the financial demands of the State, and the interests of important classes of its subjects, the holders of land in the permanently settled provinces, had also been for a considerable time past under the consideration of the authorities both in England and in India. During the rule of the native princes, the sovereign exercised the privilege of exempting portions of the land from payment of the government assessment in favour of particular individuals or public establishments. Although the exemption was declaredly perpetual,

<sup>1</sup> Bombay.—Regulation XX. of 1830.

<sup>2</sup> The charge of the Pass or License was fixed at 175 rupees per chest. In 1830-31 passes were granted for 951 chests, amounting to rupees 1,66,425. In the following year, the quantity rose to 7,156 chests; and the amount paid for the Passes to Rupees 12,52,300. Comm. House of Commons. Revenue. App. p. 184. In later years, the sale of opium passes and opium at Bombay had risen to between thirty and forty lakhs of rupees. In 1844-5 the amount was, Rupees 37,90,000.—Annual Accounts.

BOOK III. yet it was well understood that it was granted only  
 CHAP. VI. during the will or the power of the prince; and  
 1829. that, if he did not resume the grant himself, a circumstance by no means unfrequent, it was likely to be held in little reverence by his successor. The practice, however, continued to prevail; and, in the absence of all controlling authority in the latter days of the empire of Delhi, the privilege was usurped, not only by the governors of provinces, but by the subordinate revenue officers, and by the occupants of the land, who thus unauthorisedly crippled the resources of the state and defrauded the public revenue. A native administration, conducted with the vigour which it occasionally exhibited, would soon have remedied this disorder; but the forbearance of the British Government induced it to adopt the principle, that all alienations made previous to its accession to the Dewani, provided the grantees were in actual possession, should be held valid to the extent of the intentions of the grantor, as ascertainable from the terms of the writings by which the grants had been conveyed, or from the nature and denomination of the exemption; As no complete register of the exempted lands was recorded, the Zemindars, and farmers and collectors of the revenue, availed themselves of the limitation to withdraw extensive tracts from assessment, (under pretext of their previous exemption) substantiated by forged and fraudulent documents; (Although aware of these practices, and in some degree guarding against them by a condition in the permanent settlement, which reserved to the Governor-General in Council power to impose an

assessment upon all such portions of the land as should prove to have been exempted under an illegal or invalid title, yet a very superfluous tenderness was shown towards the Zemindars, by securing those, who held rent-free lands by titles that might be declared valid, in the possession of their property; and by requiring that the illegality of a title should be established in a court of judicature before the land should be subjected to assessment; disregarding the facts, that every alienation of the public revenue in the lower provinces must have been made, during the preceding half-century at least by usurped and incompetent authority; and that, at no period of native rule, was the irrevocableness of such exemptions recognised in practice.) (The alienations received, however, in 1793, the formal sanction of the Government, subject to specified conditions; the failure of which was to be established by the Collector, with the sanction of the Revenue Board, through the institution of a regular suit in a court of law, (the burthen of proving the invalidity of the title resting with the Collector.) The inefficiency of the enactment was soon manifested; and, after various attempts to devise a remedy, which were but of partial and incomplete operation, (the Collectors were empowered, with the approbation of the Board of Revenue, to set on foot a direct inquiry into the titles of rent-free lands, and call for written vouchers and examine witnesses, and pronounce a decision either for or against the occupant.) (If the latter, and the sentence was confirmed by the Board, the land was assessed at the usual rate, leaving to the proprietor liberty to

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1829.

BOOK III. appeal to a court of law against the decision'. This  
 CHAP. VI. enactment proved as ineffective as the preceding.

1829. Few cases were brought forward for trial; and the decisions of the courts upon appeals from the judgments of the revenue officers were so long delayed, or so uncertain and contradictory, that neither the interests of the appellant nor those of the Government were benefited by the procedure. (It still remained necessary, therefore, to adopt more vigorous measures, in order to vindicate the just claims of the state, and recover such portions of the revenue as had been illegally or fraudulently alienated; although the lapse of time and the repeated transfer of the property rendered the task difficult without the infliction of occasional injustice upon individuals.) In order to accomplish this object, a regulation<sup>2</sup> had been promulgated shortly before the arrival of the Governor-General, but in which Lord W. Bentinck unhesitatingly concurred. (By this it was declared competent to the Governor-General to appoint Special Commissioners to hear and decide upon all appeals made to them from the adverse decisions of the Collectors in levying an assessment upon lands previously held rent-free.) These Commissioners were selected for their qualifications in both the Judicial and Revenue departments, and according to the circumstances of the district in which their services were required. The Government was not deterred from committing the inquiry and decision, in the first instance, to the Collectors of the revenue, as the rigorous separation of the revenue and judicial services,

<sup>1</sup> Regulation II, 1819.

<sup>2</sup> Regulation III, 12th June, 1829.

which was so strenuously insisted upon in the system of 1793, had long been found inconvenient, and had been, in a great degree, practically abandoned. The Collectors were, therefore, habituated to the exercise of judicial functions; and as the per-centage formerly allowed to them upon the establishment of a case of resumption had been done away with, there did not appear reason to apprehend any partial judgment from them more than from any other class of functionaries. (An excess of zeal might occasionally influence the proceedings of the Collector; but a corrective of a hasty or prejudiced judgment on his part would be supplied, it was expected, by the final award of the Special Commissioners. The check was at first found less effectual than had been anticipated, and (much mischief and alarm were ultimately created by the ill-judged activity of some of the revenue officers requiring the interposition of the Home authorities.) This belongs to a later period. (In the mean time the enactment was contemplated with much dissatisfaction by parties interested in retaining lands exempt from revenue-deductions; and petitions against the measure were presented by a number of the Zemindars of Bengal and Bahar.) Their representations were not considered, however, of sufficient weight to require the reconsideration of a measure which was intended to uphold the just demands of the State against the encroachments of interested individuals, and protect the owners of valid tenures against unnecessary disquiet and alarm<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Committee House of Commons. Revenue. App. 85. Inquiry into

BOOK III

CHAP. VI.

1829.

(Nor were the revenues of the State the sole object at this period of the attention of the Government; and measures which had been long under consideration were now brought into operation, involving a material departure from the existing system, in the re-organisation of the superior courts of Criminal Justice and the combination of their functions with the control of the Revenue—a union of duties which it was the fundamental principle of the reforms of 1793 to annul.) (The superintendance, however, of the magistracy and police, and the control over the revenue officers, as provided for by actual regulations, had long been found insufficient'.) (The provincial courts of Appeal and Circuit, partly from the vast extent of their jurisdiction, and partly from their being burthened with the functions of both civil and criminal tribunals, had proved inadequate to the demands of public justice, and while the causes appealed to them had been suffered to fall into almost hopeless arrear, the periods fixed for the regular gaol-deliveries had been protracted beyond the legal limits, and persons had been detained in confinement without trial for a length of time which was equivalent to an anticipation of punishment, even although undeserved.) In like manner the great extent of country placed under the authority of the Boards of Revenue, particularly in the Western Provinces, rendered it impossible for them to exercise an effectual check over the

*Alienation of the Land Revenue. Letter from Bengal, 23rd February, 1820.*

<sup>1</sup> Governor-General's Minute, January, 1834. Extracts, Revenue Records. Calcutta—Printed, 1837.

ceedings of the subordinate officers; and embarrassed and retarded the decision of many important questions relating to the assessment of the unsettled districts, and the adjudication of public and private claims.) In order to remedy these defects, it was considered advisable to place the magistrates and the collectors, and the executive officers of both police and revenue, under the superintendence of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, each of whom was vested with the charge of such a circumscribed tract of country as should bring him, when stationary, within ready reach of the people, and should enable him to make frequent circuits through the extent of his jurisdiction<sup>1</sup>) To these Commissioners were assigned the powers previously intrusted to the Courts of circuit and Boards of Revenue, to be exercised under the authority of the Supreme Criminal Court, and a Supreme Board of Revenue at Calcutta; and to them also were transferred the duties of the Special Commission, appointed in 1821 to redress the injuries inflicted on the inhabitants of the Western Provinces, in the assessment of the revenue.) The revenue boards in the provinces, and the office of superintendent of police, were abolished, and the functions of the provincial courts confined to the hearing of appeals in civil causes. Twenty Commissioners were nominated, besides the special commissioners already appointed in Cuttack, Asam, Arakan, and other parts of the country, to which the operation of the regulations had not yet been extended. This combination of duties, however

BOOK III.  
 CHAP. VI.  
 1829.

<sup>1</sup> Revenue Letter from Bengal, 10th December, 1828. Comm. H. of Commons. Judicial. App. No. III. Regulation I., 1829.



BOOK III.  
 CHAP. VI.

1829.

repugnant to the notions of English law and the condition of society in Europe, was better suited to the state of things in India and the sentiments of the people, than the distinctions which had heretofore existed, and which had been constructed upon an English model; but it disappointed the expectations formed of its utility, and very shortly was found to require essential modification.) The scheme of combination was (neither sufficiently simple, nor sufficiently comprehensive<sup>1</sup>); and the powers of the Commissioners were hampered by conflicting and independent authorities, (Too much of detail was also assigned to them, to leave them adequate leisure for the duty of superintendence; and the extent of their jurisdiction was still too wide to admit of minute and frequent visitation. It was found advisable, consequently, to make a provision for relieving them of their judicial functions, whenever they became too heavy, and to transfer the trial of all criminal commitments to Zilla, and city judges, specially appointed to conduct the duties of the sessions, and to hold monthly gaol-deliveries.

<sup>1</sup> These were the grounds of objection taken by Sir C. Metcalfe. He remarks:—"The best form of government, with a view to the welfare of the natives of India in their present state, I believe to be that which is most simple and most free from artificial institutions. The best form of government, with a view to the maintenance of British dominion in India, I believe to be that which is most conducive to a union of powers, and most free from the elements of collision and counteraction." He proceeds accordingly to suggest a plan, of which the summary outline is the following:—Native functionaries, in the first instance, in all departments. European superintendents, uniting the local powers of judicature, police and revenue, in all their branches, through the districts over which they preside. Commissioners over them; and a Board over the Commissioners, communicating with and subject to the immediate control of the Government. Comm. H. of Commons. Judicial. App. III., No. 4. Misuse of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

Other changes were made from time to time in the constitution of the Commissioners of revenue and circuit, and at a considerably later date their duties mostly merged into those of other functionaries.

In the department of civil justice also, essential alterations were contemplated or effected in the system of 1793, the machinery of which, inadequate from the first to accomplish more than a small part of the work it was expected to perform, had undergone almost yearly modifications necessary to remove the grounds of civil controversies, to expedite their adjustment, or to reduce arrears of suits which had nevertheless continued to accumulate. The radical defect of Lord Cornwallis's plan was the almost exclusive agency of European functionaries, in the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the assignment to them of an amount of labour, which no activity or intelligence could overtake; and which, with the increase of property and population, was still further exceeding the means of execution. No addition to the European portion of the judicial establishments, which the public finances might defray, could provide for the deficiency; and it had been repeatedly acknowledged, as we have already seen, both by the local governments, and the home authorities, that the augmented employment of the natives of India was to be looked to as the only efficacious mode of securing the due administration of civil justice. Various measures for this purpose had from time to time been devised, as has already been noticed; and it was estimated, that, in the year 1827, nineteen-twentieths of the original suits

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1829.

BOOK III. instituted in the civil courts throughout the coun-  
 CHAP. VI. try, were already determined by native judicial  
 1829. officers<sup>1</sup>) (instructions from home in the following  
 year directed a still further extension of the arrange-  
 ment, and the appointment of a superior class of  
 native civil judges, or Sudder Amins, who should be  
 allowed to decide all original suits to the value of  
 5000 rupces (£500), and to receive appeals from  
 the inferior Amins. These instructions were car-  
 ried into operation, and a regulation was promul-  
 gated<sup>2</sup>, by which the powers and emoluments of the  
 native judges were fixed upon a comprehensive  
 and liberal scale, so as to elevate the individuals in  
 their own estimation, and that of their countrymen,  
 and to invest them with the almost entire charge of  
 the administration of civil justice.)

The distance of the Presidency from the Western Provinces having been found to deter the natives of the latter from resorting to the Supreme Court of Appeal in Calcutta, and to impair the efficiency of the control intended to be exercised over the judges and magistrates, it was also determined at this time to establish a separate court of Sudder Diwani and Nizamut Adaulat, to be ordinarily stationed at

<sup>1</sup> Minute by Mr. B. Bayley, 10th November, 1829. Comm. H. of Commons. Judicial. App. VI.

<sup>2</sup> Regulation V., 1831. The credit of this enactment has sometimes been given exclusively to Lord W. Bentinck; but this is an injustice. That his lordship unreservedly admitted the principle, and zealously carried into practice the employment of respectable natives in the administration of public affairs, is undoubtedly true; but the justice and necessity of the measure had been fully recognised, both in India and in England, long before Lord W. Bentinck's appointment; and the provisions of the Regulation here cited were based, as mentioned in the Regulation, upon the Suggestions and Orders of the Court of Directors, prior to the arrival in India of the actual Governor-General.

Allahabad, for the superintendence of civil and criminal judicature throughout the Upper Provinces<sup>1</sup>. A similar arrangement was adopted with regard to the Revenue; and a deputation from the Sudder Board of Calcutta was stationed at Allahabad, to exercise exclusive control and direction over the revenue affairs of the Western Provinces, together with the province of Kamaon and the Saugur and Nerbudda territories<sup>2</sup>.

In enacting these and other subordinate modifications of the existing judicial and revenue systems in Bengal, the Governor-General had little more to do than to sanction and carry into effective operation measures which had been already well considered and were nearly brought to maturity. In another and more important innovation, he was in a greater degree (individually responsible, although the proceedings of his predecessors had long been directed to the same end, and had prepared the way for the consummation now accomplished. This was the abolition of the Suttee, or immolation of a widow on the funeral pile of her deceased husband; a barbarous superstition which had prevailed from remote antiquity, and which was sanctioned by texts believed by the Hindus to have been uttered by divine legislators, and having, in their estimation, the weight of law and religion. The sanctity of the rite was, therefore, an article

<sup>1</sup> Regulation VI., 1831.

<sup>2</sup> Regulation X., 1831.

<sup>3</sup> The term Suttee, or Sati, is strictly applicable to the person, not the rite; meaning "a pure and virtuous woman;" and designates the wife who completes a life of uninterrupted conjugal devotedness by the act of Saha-gamana, accompanying her husband's corpse. It has come in common usage to denote the act.

BOOK III. of Hindu faith) with which, however repugnant to  
 CHAP. VI. the feelings and creed of the rulers of the country,  
 1829. the tenure by which they held their power rendered them for a long time averse and afraid to interfere.) Under the administration of Lord Cornwallis, public officers, (although authorised to withhold their consent to the ceremony, should it be applied for, were prohibited from preventing it by any exertion of their official functions.) In 1805, a reference was made by Lord Wellesley (to the Nizam Adaulat to ascertain, whether, in the opinion of the judges, the practice might not be authoritatively suppressed; and their reply stated, that they considered the (immediate abolition highly inexpedient,) although they thought it might be gradually effected, and at no distant period; suggesting at the same time the enactment of provisions for preventing the illegal, unwarrantable and criminal abuses, which were known to occur in the performance of the rite.) These suggestions do not appear to have been adopted; (and it was not until the beginning of 1813 that any interposition of authority was sanctioned.) This was of the most cautious character, being declaredly intended, not so much to put a stop to the rite, as to prevent the gross abuses and irregularities by which it had been rendered more revolting and inhuman, and to enforce those provisions of the strict letter of the Hindu law, which imposed certain restrictions and limitations, calculated, in some degree, to lessen its barbarity and diminish its frequency.) In the circular instructions, addressed, (on this occasion, to the judicial officers, they were directed to ex-

plain to persons of the Hindu persuasion, that nothing was further from the intention of Government than to infringe any recognized tenet of their religion; and that its only object was, to restrain the use of arts and practices which were not less repugnant to the doctrines of their own faith, than revolting to the general dictates of humanity.) With this view, it was ordered that the rite should never take place without previous communication to the magistrate or the principal officer of police, who was to ascertain that it was entirely voluntary; that the widow was not under the influence of stupifying and intoxicating drugs; that she was not under the age of sixteen, and not pregnant; and the police were bound to be present and take care that no intimidation or violence was employed. Besides the positive prevention of unauthorised atrocities, it was expected that the difficulties and checks thus attached to the performance of the rite, (would discourage the fanaticism by which it was prompted and indirectly lead to its discontinuance.) (The hope of benefit from these measures was disappointed; irregularities and abuses were still perpetrated, and constant violations of the law were committed, particularly with regard to the age and condition of the widow, and the use of forcible means in preventing her from retracting her resolve, or from making her escape from the flames.) (The practice appeared also to increase in frequency with the activity of the supervision to which it was subjected; and there was reason to apprehend that the regulations devised for its discouragement and suppression, had, by recognising

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1829.

BOOK III. its due performance according to the Hindu law,  
CHAP. VI. afforded it the countenance and sanction of the  
 1830. Government, and favoured its repetition.) This  
 inference was probably erroneous; and (the in-  
 creased number of Suttees,) during a part of the  
 time at least for which returns were made, was to  
 be accounted for by the prevalence of unusual  
 mortality, and, throughout the whole period, to  
 greater precision in the police reports. (The possi-  
 bility, however, of such a result, combined with the  
 general and growing abhorrence of the sacrifice,  
 was gradually overcoming the fear of encountering  
 the consequences of more decided interposition;  
 and the abolition of the practice, either universally,  
 or in those provinces where it was of comparatively  
 rare occurrence, had been strenuously urged by  
 several of the Company's most experienced func-  
 tionaries.) The great majority, however, still con-  
 tinued to be too apprehensive of the consequences  
 of prohibition, to coincide in the recommendation;  
 and the Government still leaned (to the side of non-  
 interference.) It was reserved for Lord William  
 Bentinck to prove the futility of these apprehen-  
 sions; and to establish the safety, as well as to  
 discharge the duty, of abolishing a practice equally  
 repugnant to the feelings of nature and the laws  
 of civilisation.)

Soon after his arrival in India, the Governor-  
 General circulated a confidential letter to a number  
 of the civil and military officers of the Presidency,  
 calling upon them for their opinions (with regard  
 to the immediate or gradual abolition of the rite  
 of Suttee, and the consequences which might ensue

from any interference on the part of the ruling authority, and more particularly as to the impression which such a measure might produce upon the minds of the native soldiery.) The replies indicated a considerable variety of sentiment. (No difference was entertained as to the barbarous character of the ceremony, and the desirableness of its total abolition; but whether it could be attempted with success and with safety, gave rise to much diversity of opinion.) It was urged against the measure, that the abolition of the rite by the will of the Government was a departure from the principles of toleration hitherto professed, and was an interference with the religion of the Hindus, from which all previous Governments, while equally abhorrent of the practice, had been deterred by the dread of mischievous results<sup>1</sup>, and that such consequences were still to be apprehended from its forcible suppression—that, even if an extensive and formidable insurrection should not occur, it was likely that local tumults would take place which could not be allayed without loss of life and widely-extended disaffection, which would shew itself in perpetual attempts to evade or resist the law—would inspire the people with fear and hatred of the Government, and would oppose an indefinite interruption to the progress of improvement which had been commenced within the last few years, and

<sup>1</sup> Thus, in addition to the passages referred to in the text, we have in the correspondence of Earl Amherst the same sentiment expressed—“Nothing but apprehension of evils infinitely greater than those arising from the existence of the practice, should induce us to tolerate it for a single day.”—Letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, 3rd Dec. 1824. Parliamentary Papers, 6th July, 1825.



BOOK III.  
CHAP. VI.

1829.

had been attended with the most favourable indications of ultimate success—indications which had shewn themselves even in regard to the subject under discussion, as the practice was evidently diminishing, particularly among persons of respectability, without whose encouragement it would gradually fall into disuse; and, finally, that the stability of the British Empire in India might be imperilled, if the native army, composed as it was in a large proportion of Hindus of high caste, should take part with their countrymen in resistance to the measure. In answer to these objections it was maintained, that the rite of concretion was not an essential part of the Hindu religion, as it was not even alluded to by *Manu*<sup>1</sup>, the lawgiver, held in the highest veneration by the Hindus; and that consequently it was no infringement of the principle of toleration to prohibit the continuance: that, even if it could be so regarded, it was not likely to fill the Hindus with any apprehension of the ultimate designs of the Government, as they would ascribe the act to its true motives—feelings of humanity—and would learn, from subsequent proceedings conducted in the spirit which had always influenced the state, to discard any temporary impressions of fear or mistrust. The course which preceding administrations

<sup>1</sup> The texts of *Manu*, referring to this subject, are as follow:—"A faithful wife, who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her husband, must do nothing unkind to him, be he living or dead. Let her emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her husband is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue until death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women as have been devoted to one only husband." B. 156—158.

had pursued was, no doubt, to be justified by the reasons by which it was dictated) and, under similar circumstances, would still have to be followed; but (the circumstances of native society and the progress of enlightened ideas had now become propitious to more decided legislation.) It was possible that some attempts might be made to resist the enforcement of the prohibition, but they were not likely to be frequent or formidable, or beyond the exercise of the civil power; for the great seat of the rite was the province of Bengal,<sup>3</sup> the inhabitants of which were notoriously an unresisting and spiritless race: were the ceremony frequent in the Upper, instead of the Lower Provinces, in the midst of a bold and manly people, the impunity of the prohibition might be less problematical: in the vicinity of Calcutta, such was the want of courage and vigour of character, and such the habitual subserviency of centuries, that insurrection or hostile opposition to the will of the ruling power might be affirmed to be an impossible danger. (That although for a time discontent and distrust might disincline the people to accept the amelioration of their moral and intellectual condition, benevolently offered by

<sup>3</sup> In 1828—9, of the 463 Suttees which took place, 420 occurred in the lower provinces, or, Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and of these, 287 in the Calcutta division alone. The following is the official return of the Suttees from 1815 to 1828:—

Divisions.	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828
Calcutta .....	253	290	442	544	431	370	373	328	340	373	398	324	337	308
Dacca .....	31	34	52	58	55	51	52	45	40	40	101	65	49	47
Murshedabad .....	11	22	43	30	25	21	18	23	13	14	21	8	9	10
Patna .....	20	29	49	57	40	33	36	70	40	42	47	65	55	55
Benares .....	48	65	103	137	92	103	114	102	121	93	55	48	49	33
Bareilly .....	15	18	19	18	17	26	18	16	13	10	17	8	18	10
	378	412	707	830	650	597	654	693	675	673	630	518	517	463

BOOK III. the Government, yet the check, if any were suffered,  
 CHAP. VI. would be transient, and the disinclination would  
 1829. give way to the expectation of advantage, and to a  
 returning reliance upon the adherence of the  
 Government to the principle of non-interference  
 with religious belief, in all matters in which it was  
 not incompatible with the security of property or  
 person. That it was doubtful how far the decline of  
 the practice could be ascribed to the dissemination  
 of instruction, as little or no change could have yet  
 affected the bulk of the population, and the process  
 of self-conviction must be precarious and remote.  
 The only remaining consideration of sufficient  
 weight to justify hesitation was, therefore, the feeling  
 which the abolition of the rite might excite in the  
 minds of the native soldiery; and on this subject,  
 although several distinguished officers considered  
 it dangerous and unadvisable, yet the majority  
 concurred in opinion that the Hindu Sipahis took  
 little or no interest in the question.) In the dis-  
 tricts from which they were mostly drawn, the prac-  
 tice was unfrequent; and it still more rarely occurred  
 in cantonments, as the men were not usually ac-  
 companied by their wives; the greater number  
 had, therefore, never even witnessed the rite, and  
 felt no personal concern or pride in its perpetuation.  
 Some danger might accrue from the instigations of  
 ill-disposed and intriguing individuals, inimical to  
 British rule; and it might be unsafe to call upon  
 the troops to take any part in enforcing the pro-

<sup>1</sup> It was stated by several officers, that in the course of 30 years' service, they never knew nor heard of a Suttee taking place in the native army.

hibitory provisions of the law ; but as long as these sources of insecurity could be obviated, and as long as the Sipahis felt assured that the Government was determined to respect their religious habits and usages in all essential points, its interference in the case of Suttee would neither alarm their fears, nor rouse their resentment, nor impair in any degree their loyalty and devotion to the service.

(Fortified with these opinions,) and supported by the concurrence of the members of his council, the Governor-General decided upon abolishing the rite; and in communication with the Nizamut Adawlat enacted and promulgated a regulation<sup>1</sup>, by which the practice of Suttee, or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, was declared illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Courts. The Police-officers were authorised to prevent its performance, and to apprehend the principal persons engaged in aiding or abetting it, who should be liable to trial for culpable homicide, and subject to imprisonment and fine. Nothing in the regulation was to preclude the chief criminal court from inflicting capital punishment, according to the circumstances of the case, upon any persons convicted of having used violence or compulsion, or employed stupifying or intoxicating drugs so as to debar a widow from the exercise of her free will, in the event of such a sacrifice taking place in violation of the law. Thus was the question brought to a determination honourable alike to the decision and to the humanity of Lord William Bentinck.

The apprehension which had been entertained of

<sup>1</sup> Regulation XVII., 1829.

BOOK III, the probable evil consequences of the abolition of  
 CHAP. VI. the Suttee, and of the violent resentment and  
 1829. tumultuary resistance which it was likely to pro-  
 voke, were singularly falsified: some few attempts  
 to evade or defy the law were at first tried, and  
 with occasional success; but the vigilance of the  
 police, and the seizure and punishment of the  
 parties principally concerned, evinced the deter-  
 mination of the Government to enforce the pro-  
 hibition; and the people quietly submitted to the  
 law. Enactments of a similar tendency were pro-  
 mulgated at Madras, and at Bombay; and with the  
 like result as in Bengal'. Some feeble efforts were  
 made in Bengal to obtain a reconsideration of the  
 measure; and petitions were presented against it  
 by a number of Hindus, chiefly persons of opulence,  
 both in the interior and in Calcutta. Addresses of  
 a contrary purport, commendatory of the resolution  
 of the Government, were also presented by a re-  
 spectable body of Hindus, headed by names which  
 have since become well-known in Europe, as those  
 of individuals victorious over the prejudices of  
 their countrymen, by their travels in the regions of  
 the West—Dwarakanath Thakur and Rammohun-

<sup>1</sup> At Madras the Regulation was simply re-enacted: Regulation I., 1830. At Bombay, the direct prohibition was considered inadvisable, as great part of the territory had been but recently annexed to the British possessions. It was, therefore, thought sufficient to rescind, by Regulation XVI., 1830, the exemption from the punishment of culpable homicide, which had been accorded to persons assisting at the rite of self-immolation, by Regulation XIV., 1827. One case of serious resistance occurred in 1835, in a dependency of the Bombay Presidency, where, upon the death of the Raja, five of his wives were forcibly burned, in defiance of the efforts of the Assistant Political Commissioner to prevent it: although he had a force of 300 men at his command, a still larger body of armed men was assembled, who were not dispersed without loss of life, and the necessity of calling in regular troops.

Roy.) As the application to the Governor-General, BOOK III.  
CHAP. VI.  
1839. by the votaries of the ancient superstition, proved un-  
availing, the petitioners had recourse to the remain-  
ing legal source of redress, an appeal to the king  
in council. Their cause was deliberately and dispa-  
sionately argued before the Privy Council, in June,  
1832; and after hearing the arguments of the  
appellants, and of the advocates of the Court of  
Directors, as respondents, the council recommended  
that the petition should be dismissed; and it was  
dismissed accordingly. The rejection of the peti-  
tion was not followed by any excitement: an uneasy  
and sullen suspicion of the objects and intentions of  
the British Government continued for a while to  
pervade a considerable portion of the Hindu popu-  
lation, but it never assumed the form of popular  
agitation: and the progress of time, and the con-  
tinued caution with which the British Government  
has abstained from further interposition, have dis-  
sipated any alarm and apprehension that might have  
been generated by its conduct in the prohibition of  
the Suttee. Its influence has been even extended  
to the states of its allies; and various native princes  
have been induced to proscribe the ceremony within  
their dominions<sup>1</sup>. They have not been always  
perhaps very sincere in their zeal for its suppres-  
sion; but their professed discountenance, and the  
diffusion of more humane principles and more en-  
lightened ideas, have contributed to check and

<sup>1</sup> See Asiatic Monthly Journal, August 1832, pp. 167, 223.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Reports and Correspondence, printed by order of Parlia-  
ment, relating to the burning of Hindu widows from July 1821 to  
March 1830; also printed Statement and Supplement presented on  
the part of the Court of Directors to the Privy Council.

BOOK III. restrict the practice; and, except on the death of  
CHAP. VI. some chief of high rank, the occurrence of the rite  
 1829-32. has become a rare event in the annals of Hindustan.

A measure even more unpalatable to the Hindu community, was some while afterwards enacted; but it attracted no notice at the time of its promulgation, as it was mixed up with a variety of provisions, which were mere modifications of the rules extending the powers of the native judicial officers, or supplementary to those previously established, and was worded with some degree of obscurity. By the existing regulations, all questions regarding succession to property were to be decided according to the religion of the parties; the Mohammedan laws forming the general rules by which the judges were to be guided with respect to Mohammedans; Hindu laws, with respect to Hindus<sup>1</sup>. It was now declared, that these rules applied to such persons only as should be *bonâ fide* professors of those religions, at the time of the application of the law to the case, being designed for the protection of the rights of some persons, not for the deprivation of the rights of others. Whenever, therefore, in a civil suit, the parties were of different persuasions, —one being a Mohammedan, the other a Hindu, or one or more being neither Mohammedans nor Hindus, the laws of those religions were not to be permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties

<sup>1</sup> Regulation VII. 1832. It is headed, a Regulation for modifying certain of the provisions of Regulation V. 1831, and for providing supplementary rules to that enactment.—Passed by the Vice-President in Council, 16th October, 1832.

<sup>2</sup> Sect. XV., Regulation IV. 1793. Sect. XVI., Regulation III., 1803.

of any property to which, but for the operation of such laws, they would have been entitled. In all such cases, the decision was to be governed by the principles of justice, equity, and good conscience) The object of the enactment was, in fact, to bar the operation of the Hindu law, by which a convert to Mohammedanism or Christianity, becoming an out-cast, forfeited his claim to the share of any heritable property, to which, as a Hindu, he would have been entitled, a forfeiture contributing powerfully to deprive the Hindus of the free exercise of their judgment, in the adoption of a different creed. It was not until a much later period, that the tendency of this enactment attracted the notice of those who were principally affected by it.

The principal arrangements for the better administration of revenue and justice, which were enacted at this period, (especially those which provided for the union of police-duties with the collection of the revenue, and for the extension of the employment of native officers in responsible stations in either department, had been previously introduced at Madras.) Little more was there necessary, than to modify existing enactments for the better carrying out of the objects proposed by them, and the adoption of such a re-organisation of establishments, as should provide for the more economical discharge of their duties, without impairing their efficiency.) Nothing of any very particular interest

<sup>1</sup> Regulation IV. of 1832, following the example of the Bengal Regulation, admitted to judicial employment, in addition to Mohammedans and Hindus, natives of India who were the descendants of Europeans. In 1833, by Regulation III., Sudder Amins were empowered to try criminal cases under the authority of the European or Native



BOOK III. occurred in the legislative proceedings at this Pre-  
 CHAP. VI. sidency during the administration of Mr. Lushington  
 1829-32. and Sir Frederick Adam, by whom the former was  
 succeeded. Neither were any innovations of any  
 magnitude introduced at Bombay, (the chief objects  
 of the regulations there passed being to explain  
 and enlarge the provisions of those constituting  
 the code of 1827, to bring within the operation of  
 the existing laws the provinces to which they had  
 not been previously extended, to improve the  
 organisation of the judicial and revenue depart-  
 ments, and to extend the powers of both European  
 and Native functionaries. In the latter respect, the  
 enactments of the Bombay Government were more  
 liberal than those of Bengal, as they assigned no  
 limitation whatever to the value of the property in  
 civil suits brought before the principal native  
 officer<sup>1</sup>. From the end of 1834, the separate  
 legislation of the several Presidencies ceased, under  
 the provisions of the new charter granted to the  
 Company; and acts applicable to the whole were

criminal judges; and the value of the property litigated in civil suits,  
 which might be tried before the same description of officers, and before  
 District Munsiffs, was raised respectively to 3000 and to 1000 rupees.  
 —See also Minute of Mr. Lushington, 14th Sept. 1830, Comm. House  
 of Commons, 1832. General App. III.

<sup>1</sup> Regulation XVIII. of 1831, established three classes of native  
 judicial functionaries: a native judge, a principal native commissioner,  
 and a junior native commissioner: original suits before the first were  
 of unlimited amount; and he was authorised to decide appeals from  
 the native commissioner in property not exceeding the value of 100  
 rupees. The principal native commissioner was empowered to adjudicate  
 suits to the extent of 10,000 rupees, the junior to that of 5000:  
 the latter being the limit in Bengal of the principal Sudder Amins.  
 —For the modifications of the system at Bombay, see Minute of Sir  
 John Malcolm, 10th Nov. 1830, printed in the Judicial Appendix to  
 the Report of the Comm. of the House of Commons, No. IV.; also  
 Letter of the Calcutta Finance Committee, 20th Sept. 1830, No. III.  
 —General App. Report of Comm. House of Commons, 1832.

thenceforth passed by the Governor-General of India in Council.)

BOOK III  
CHAP. VI.

In the early part of the administration of Sir John Malcolm at Bombay, the local government was involved (in a discussion with the Supreme Court at the Presidency, which originated in the same lofty conceptions of its powers, and the same contemptuous disregard of the political circumstances of the Indian Government, which had been manifested by the Supreme Court of Bengal, at the period of its first institution) The question of conflicting jurisdiction had been in some respects set at rest (by subsequent acts of the British legislature; but there were others in which the language of the statutes was so vague and unprecise, as to afford a foundation for the pretensions of the British judges to extend their authority beyond the limits within which it could alone be exercised compatibly with the interests of the people, and the stability of the Government.) (At Bengal and Madras, the prolonged existence of the Courts had accustomed the judges to pay some consideration to the relations in which they stood to the state, and although even with them collisions occasionally occurred, yet their general conduct was cautious and conciliatory, and no serious dispute had arisen between them and the local governments.) (At Bombay, the institution of a Supreme Court was a novelty; and the judges had yet to learn the exact nature of their position. The administration of English law, restricted at Bombay, as well as at the other Presidencies, to the seat of Government, and to British subjects in the provinces, had been for a consider-

1829.

BOOK III. able period entrusted to a single European judge,  
 CHAP. VI. with the designation of Recorder, whose court had  
 1829. been fully adequate to the adjudication of all the  
 causes which could be brought before it in the  
 legitimate spirit of its institution.) As, however,  
 there were courts at Calcutta and Madras presided  
 over by three of His Majesty's judges, (the precedent  
 suggested a favourable plea for the extension of  
 ministerial patronage; and without any advertence  
 to the relative circumstances of the Presidencies,  
 their comparative extent of wealth and population,  
 a similarly cumbrous and costly machinery was  
 devised for the administration of English law in  
 Bombay.) In 1823, a Supreme Court was accordingly  
 established at Bombay, of which Sir Edward West,  
 who had previously held the office of Recorder, was  
 appointed the Chief Justice in the following year.  
 The effects of the augmented dignity of the new  
 courts were soon exhibited; and cases occurred  
 which, although of (no very great importance,  
 clearly evinced a disposition to set aside the local  
 government, and usurp an independent and para-  
 mount authority.) At the period at which we are  
 arrived, Sir Edward West was associated on the  
 bench with Sir Charles Chambers and Sir John  
 Peter Grant; and he and his colleagues engaged,  
 with more than decorous vehemence, in contests  
 with the Government regarding the extent of their  
 jurisdiction) (of which interested individuals in  
 Bombay were not slow to take advantage.) One  
 occasion of this kind brought matters to a crisis.  
 A Mahratta youth of wealth and distinction, Moro  
 Raghunath, had been left, upon the decease of his

parents, under the guardianship of his grand-uncle Pandurang Ramchander, a kinsman of the late Peshwa, and an inhabitant of Poona) (The relations of his wife, desirous of having charge of Moro Raghunath for purposes of their own, repaired to Bombay; and declaring that the youth was compulsorily detained by his grand-uncle in a state of confinement, by which his life was endangered, obtained from the Supreme Court a writ of Habeas Corpus for the conveyance of the lad to Bombay.) The execution of the writ was resisted by the magistrate of Poona with the sanction of the Government, not only because the affidavits on which it was granted were entirely false,<sup>1</sup> but because neither uncle nor nephew had ever resided or possessed property in Bombay by which they could be considered in any degree amenable to the processes of English law; and the jurisdiction of the supreme court did not extend to Poona.) (The court, although admitting, that, according to the restrictions of the Charter, Pandurang Ramchander and Moro Raghunath might not be subject to its jurisdiction, yet, holding that, as it had been endowed with the powers of the King's Bench, it was bound to watch over and protect the personal liberty of all the king's subjects in India without reference to territorial limitation,<sup>1</sup> persisted in its

<sup>1</sup> According to the Report of the Judgment of Sir C. Chambers, he said:—"Neither Moro Raghunath, the boy in whose favour the writ has been issued, nor Pandurang Ramchander, the person who detains him in custody, are subject to the jurisdiction of the court (according to the declarations of the Charter) (and if the court have any authority, it must be founded upon some other principle of a wider and more extensive influence."—Asiatic Journal for April, 1829, p. 491.

BOOK III. assertion of jurisdiction in this particular case, and  
CRAP. VI. repeated its warrant for the production of the person  
 1829. of the boy.) At an early stage of the proceedings, Sir  
 Edward West died<sup>1</sup>. Sir C. Chambers died shortly  
 afterwards, previously declaring his determination  
 to uphold the proceedings of the court<sup>2</sup>. The sole  
 management of the case devolved upon the surviving  
 judge, Sir J. Grant. Prior to the death of his col-  
 league, an effort was made by the Government of  
 Bombay to recall the judges to a dispassionate con-  
 sideration of the mischievous consequences of the  
 course they were pursuing; and an informal, but tem-  
 perate and respectful, letter was addressed to them by  
 Sir J. Malcolm and the other members of the Coun-  
 cil, requesting the court to abstain from acts which  
 must produce a collision between the authorities,  
 until the result of a reference to the Court of  
 Directors should be known; announcing, that in  
 the mean time they had directed, that no returns  
 should be made to any writ of Habeas Corpus,  
 directed to officers of the provincial courts or to  
 any native subjects not residing in the island  
 of Bombay.) This letter was not only disregarded,  
 but the sending of it was treated by the judges as a  
 presumptuous and impertinent derogation from  
 their dignity, an unwarrantable attempt to obstruct  
 the independent distribution of justice, and an act  
 both highly unconstitutional and criminal.) The  
 letter formed also the subject of a voluminous peti-  
 tion to the Privy Council by Sir John Grant; and

<sup>1</sup> On the 18th August, 1828.

<sup>2</sup> Judgment was pronounced on the 29th of September. Sir C. Chambers died in the middle of October.—*Asiatic Monthly Journal* for April, 1829, pp. 489, 506.

in the mean time further (processes were issued for BOOK III. the bringing of Moro Raghunath to Bombay) The CHAP. VI. execution of these was (resisted by order of the 1829. Government, to the extent of placing a native guard at the dwelling of Pandurang Ramchander.) An attachment against the person of the guardian was next served through the Government; but, as they persisted in refusing to recognise the power of the court, Sir John Grant thought it incumbent upon him to close the court altogether for a season.) This measure drew from the Government a proclamation, (declaring its determination to protect the persons and property of the inhabitants of Bombay; and calling upon all classes of the community to give such aid, as would enable it in some degree to alleviate the evils which such a measure was calculated to produce.) (The Chief Justice replied to this, by denying that the court was closed; and explaining his orders to imply, that the functions of the court were suspended simply, not absolutely as was stated in the proclamation, only for a period) and under a condition which it was within the power of the Governor and Council to fulfil. A reference was at the same time made to the Supreme Government, which, (declining to interfere, under the impression that the final decision of the Privy Council would be shortly received in Bombay, Sir John Grant thought it unadvisable to continue the suspension indefinitely; and the proceedings of the court were resumed after an interruption of two months<sup>1</sup>.) The determination of the question was not much longer delayed.

<sup>1</sup> From 21st April to the 17th June, 1829.

BOOK III. Although overwhelmed with a cloud of words,  
CHAP. VI. and obscured by a laboured display of legal learning,  
1838 the proceedings of the Supreme Court of Bombay, as was confessed by both the judges, were based mainly on two grounds, the powers of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, and the delegation of the like powers to the Supreme Court of Bombay. According to the dicta of the judges, the Court of King's Bench was empowered, on behalf of the Crown, to issue mandatory or high prerogative writs to all and every one of the subjects of the Crown wherever they might be, even although they should be resident in foreign countries. The writ of Habeas Corpus was a writ of this description, having no reference to suits between party and party, which was the proper interpretation of the term jurisdiction; but, being of universal and irresistible application for the protection of the King's subjects—for "the King ought to have an account why any of his subjects are imprisoned; and it is agreeable to all persons and places, and no answer can satisfy it except the return, *cum causa*, of the reason of the detention, and the *paratum habeo corpus*, the production of the person detained." The Court of King's Bench was entrusted with the power of issuing such writs, because it was always considered the King's Supreme Court of Justice for the exercise of his prerogative. Inasmuch, therefore, as the people of India were, according to the principles of the constitution, to be regarded as the subjects of the King, they were, without any exemption or exception, amenable to his authority, as administered by the Judges of his Court. There

was not a native of India resident within the dominions over which the East India Company was permitted to hold temporary rule (but which were in law and fact dominions of the Crown), to whom a high prerogative writ, such as the Habeas Corpus, might not be issued, and who was not bound at once, and without reservation to obey it.

As, however, the remoteness of the two countries rendered it inconvenient for the Court of King's Bench sitting at Westminster to be applied to on every occasion on which the liberty of the subject might be endangered, it had become necessary that the same high trust should be exercised by delegation; and such vicarious powers were conferred upon His Majesty's Courts at all the Indian Presidencies. This was a totally different thing from the question of jurisdiction; which was merely a power given to the Court, within certain local limits, to determine the rights of parties in adverse suits, according to the laws prevailing within those limits, and to award compensation for any wrong or injury that had been committed by one party against the other. Under such limitations, the court could not be empowered to issue a prerogative process; but that such was not the intention of the Charter, was evident, from its further provisions and the specification which constituted the Court the representative in India of the Court of King's Bench, and gave to the Judges, individually and collectively, throughout the territories subject to the Presidency of Bombay, all the authority which the Judges of the Court of King's Bench had within the limits of England—meaning, in fact, that they should have the same



BOOK III. power of watching over and securing the liberty of  
CHAR. VI. the subjects of the Crown, without any distinction  
 1829. of colour or religion, as the Judges in England  
 possessed with respect to the European subjects of  
 the realm. It was not, therefore, an unwarranted  
 stretch of jurisdiction in the technical sense of the  
 term, which induced the Judges to issue the orders  
 to a Mahratta chief, resident at Poona and out of  
 their jurisdiction as far as regarded a writ at com-  
 mon law, but the fulfilment of their obligations,  
 as the representatives of Majesty, and the exercise  
 of that sovereign power, which was the undoubted  
 privilege and prerogative of the Crown.)

That the wording of the Charter (and the absence  
 of any clear definition as to the meaning of the  
 designation "British Subjects", furnished a plea  
 for the pretensions of the Court, could scarcely be  
 denied; but at the same time there can be no  
 reasonable doubt of the intention of the Legisla-  
 ture, which, without compromising the rights of  
 the Crown to territory conquered by its subjects,  
 had invested the Company with the sovereign  
 authority over the natives of India, in the obvious  
 meaning of that denomination.) (In restricting the  
 jurisdiction of the English Courts to the Presiden-  
 cies, and to British-born subjects in the Provinces,  
 it had never purposed to confine the term to the  
 technical application given to it by the Judges  
 of the Court of Bombay, and to sanction processes  
 — which, whatever their origin, had the effect of  
 bringing persons before the Court, who, even by  
 the admission of the Bench, were not amenable  
 to its judgment as plaintiffs or defendants.) (By

restricting the authority of the Courts to certain specified persons in the provinces, the exemption of all others was necessarily implied, and it was placed beyond all doubt by the sanction which the Supreme Legislature had given to the local governments, to appoint judges, and institute courts, and devise processes, and originate laws for all those who were not amenable to the King's Courts. If the power of the King's Bench had been delegated to the English Courts in India, the powers of the Sovereign had been also delegated, with certain exceptions, to the Indian Government, subject alone to the authority of the Supreme Legislature, the Parliament, and the Crown; and in their place, in all that concerned the natives of India beyond assigned limits, they were reigning supreme over all the Courts of Judicature whatever. One advantage of these disputes was the determination of the question. The petition of Sir John Grant to the Privy Council, and the arguments of his advocates, exhausted all that could be urged in defence of the Court of Bombay, to no avail; the judgment of the Council, confirmed by the King, pronounced the Judges to be in error, and decided that the writs of Habeas Corpus were improperly issued; and that the Supreme Court of Bombay had no power or authority to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus, except when directed either to a person resident within those local limits wherein such Court had a general jurisdiction; or to a person out of such local limits, who was personally subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.<sup>1</sup> The decision

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1829.

<sup>1</sup> It has not been thought necessary to detail the circumstances of

BOOK III. was received by the natives of the provinces, under  
 CHAP. VI. the Bombay Presidency, with universal satisfaction;  
 1829. although, in Bombay itself, a different feeling seems  
 to have prevailed<sup>1</sup>.)

The discussions at Bombay, and questions of a similar nature, but investigated in a very different spirit, induced the Government of Bengal, in communication with the Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, to take into consideration the means of securing the co-operation of the two authorities in framing laws for the administration of justice, and preventing the recurrence of conflicting jurisdiction.)

another case, in which the Court issued a writ of Habeas Corpus to compel the keeper of the gaol at Thanna to produce the person of a prisoner detained under an order of one of the Company's Judges; but as this formed one subject of the inquiry, the case was provided for by the two following decrees of His Majesty in Council: "The Supreme Court has no power or authority to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus to the gaoler or officer of a Native (Company's) Court, as such officer, the Supreme Court having no power to discharge persons imprisoned under the authority of a Native Court"; and "the Supreme Court is bound to notice the jurisdiction of the Native Court without having the same specially set forth in the return to a writ of Habeas Corpus."—As Monthly Journal, July, 1829, p. 124.)

<sup>1</sup> In an address to the Governor from the natives of Poona, referring to an address from the natives of Bombay to Sir J. P. Grant, in which it had been asserted that the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to the provinces would be gratifying to the whole population, they declare "that they have received the intelligence with dismay and grief;" and, referring to the transaction which had given rise to the discussions, observe, "Last year when a process was issued against Pandurang Ramchander Dhamdhari, a representation of our fears of the infringement of our privileges was made to the Government. The Government was pleased to answer us by an assurance that our fears were groundless; and the subsequent measures which saved the honour of the house of the Dhamdhari, inspired the community with confidence"—and they conclude by "imploping the Government to lose no time in transmitting to the home authorities their prayer, that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Bombay will not be extended to their province"; signed by two thousand persons, including all the principal chiefs. There can be no doubt that this was the genuine expression of the sentiments of the native population everywhere beyond the limits of Bombay. Asiatic Monthly Journal, Feb. 1831, p. 80. See also Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 1st Sept. 1831.

In the actual state of the law there were many and obvious defects, which the prospective alterations in the relations between Great Britain and India were likely to render still more embarrassing; for which anticipatory remedies could not be provided, and which could not be at all times conveniently referred to the only authority competent to correct them—the Parliament of Great Britain. It was, therefore, concluded by the Government, that it was a matter of urgent expediency to have in India a person or persons legally competent to legislate for all classes and all places subject to the political rule of the Company. The only elements for such a legislature, available in India, were the two supreme authorities of the Company, and the crown; and it was proposed, therefore, to recommend that the members of the Supreme Government, and the judges of the Supreme Courts of Calcutta, should be constituted a Legislative Council, with power to enact laws for the guidance of all courts, whether established by the king, or by the local government, within the territories of the East India Company, and for the regulation of the rights and obligations of all persons subject to their authority<sup>1</sup>. The necessity of a legislative council was fully recognised by the judges; but the nature and extent of its powers, and the members of whom it should consist, were questions of greater perplexity.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Governor-General in council to the Honourable Sir Charles E. Grey, Sir John Franks, and Sir Edward Ryan, judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, 14th July, 1829. —Comm. H. of Commons, 1831. Third Report, Appendix, No. V. For striking instances of the encroachments of the Courts at all three Presidencies, see Minute of Sir C. Metcalfe, 25th April, 1829, in the same Appendix.

BOOK III. (That it should legislate for all persons within the  
CHAP. VI. territories subject to the British power, was the  
 1829. main object of its formation; but as those persons  
 belonged to a variety of races, professing different religions, observing different institutions, and existing in various conditions of society, it was evident that one common system was utterly inapplicable to them all; and that legislation for their benefit must be founded on different and not unfrequently discordant principles, keeping also in view the subordination of the council to the Government of Great Britain, and the necessity of conforming to the spirit of the laws in force in the paramount country. A still more embarrassing question was the composition of the council—of whom should it consist? The members of the Government would, of course, retain at least a principal voice in the passing of laws affecting the numerous population with whose interests they were charged, and of whose wants and wishes they were likely to be best informed. The Judges of the Supreme Court would bring to the council the weight of their authority and the knowledge of those national laws, which an influential although limited number of individuals in India claimed as their birth-right, and which the prejudices of the British public would render it dangerous to set aside. At the same time the association of the legislative and judicial power was open to obvious objection, as the judges might be expected to administer, with an unfair and partial bias, the laws which they themselves had enacted. The accession of members drawn from other classes, however desirable, as likely to furnish individuals most cognisant of the

provisions required for the interests of the people, was inexpedient, as involving a character of representative government, to which the circumstances of the country were wholly unfitted. The servants of the company could not be expected to exercise independent judgment; and their experience was already available to the government. The other portions of the European community were too insignificant in number and information, and too little identified with a country with which they had only a temporary and self-interested connection, to be of any weight in devising laws for the whole of India: and the only class of individuals who could be contemplated as the legitimate representatives of the people, were natives, of wealth and respectability. Their admission, however, would be too wide and sudden a departure from the political principles which had hitherto prevailed; and the constitution of the legislative council, in the opinion of the Government and of the Judges, was, for the present, at least, to be limited to those two authorities, with such additional person or persons as should be appointed by the Crown. A recommendation to this effect, and the draft of a Bill to carry it into operation, were transmitted to England<sup>1</sup>.

The proposed combination of the supreme executive and judicial bodies was there disapproved of; but the power to legislate for all persons, whether British or native; and for all Courts of Justice, whether established by Royal Charter or otherwise; and for all places and things soever throughout the

<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, 14th October, 1830. Ibid. Appendix, V, No. 25.

BOOK III. territories subject to the Company's government,  
 CHAP. VI. was granted by the renewed charter to the Governor-  
 1829. General in Council, [with the aid of an additional  
 member of Council, appointed by the Court of  
 Directors from among other persons than their  
 servants, subject to the confirmation of the King;]  
 such additional member not to be entitled to sit and  
 vote in Council, except at meetings thereof for  
 making laws and regulations. [The Court of  
 Directors was authorised to repeal any acts and  
 regulations so made; and nothing in the enactment  
 was to bar the controlling and legislative powers  
 of the Parliament.] In India, however, the enact-  
 ments of the Council were to have the force of  
 Acts of Parliament, and to be similarly obeyed.  
 These provisions armed the Government with an  
 arbitrary power, which, however foreign to the  
 British constitution, was [suited to the political  
 circumstances of India, and which was little liable  
 to abuse, as long as the control of the home  
 authorities was vigilant and effective.]

The greater part of these important measures were either accomplished or brought into an advanced state of progress within the two first years of Lord William Bentinck's administration. At the end of that period, the Governor-General determined to make a protracted stay in the Upper Provinces, having previously, on two different occasions, paid brief visits to some of those most readily accessible from Calcutta<sup>1</sup>. Besides the con-

<sup>1</sup> In January, 1829, Lord W. Bentinck visited the Bengal provinces of Purneah, Rungpore, and Dinagepore; and in the first three months of 1830, Behar, Benares, and Goruckpore; returning through Tirhut.

venience of communicating more readily with the several native states in alliance with the British Government, a principal object of the journey was the conclusion of some definite arrangement for the settlement of the revenue of the Western Provinces upon a more permanent footing than had yet been established. (Arrangements which had been adopted ten years before for the determination of the preliminary steps taken for the ascertainment of the capabilities of the land, and the rights of occupants, had still to be carried into effect. Little or no progress had been made. In many of the districts, no settlements had been concluded; in those in which some few villages had been settled, scarcely any had been confirmed; and, in the greater number, periods, varying from twenty years to something less than a century, were spoken of as necessary for the termination of the task. This failure was ascribed partly to the want of precise instructions for the guidance of the collectors; partly to the infinite number and minuteness of the details to be investigated; but partly also to the laborious and distasteful character of the duty, inspiring a marked disinclination to carry it on in many of the functionaries charged with its performance<sup>1</sup>. To give a fresh impulse to the inquiry, and determine by what means a satisfactory settlement might be accomplished within a reasonable period, were the especial objects of the Governor-General's communications with the

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Governor-General to Sudder Board of Revenue on Deputation, par. 70.—Report Comm. House of Commons, 1832, Revenue, Appendix III., No. 82.



BOOK III revenue officers who were summoned to form committees at the several stations on his way up the

CHAP. VI.

1831. country, to discuss questions connected with the revenue management. The subject was unremittingly agitated during his residence in the hills, and was brought to a close on his return by a personal conference with the members of the Sudder Board for the Western Provinces, some of the chief revenue officers of the same, and the officers of the Survey Department, held at Allahabad, in January, 1833. The arrangements proposed in consequence, received the sanction of the Governor-General in Council in the following March. They differed from those proposed by the earlier enactment, chiefly in their simplification, and in the omission of various heads of inquiry, which, however desirable to be known, were not indispensable to a just and accurate assessment, and the ascertainment of which involved a disproportionate expenditure of labour and time. They were still, however, based upon general surveys of the areas of the village lands and the measurement and registration of individual fields: the former conducted by European officers; the latter, by native surveyors under European superintendence. The results of the general survey were embodied in a map; those of the field survey were preserved in village registers. The surveys specified also the proportion of cultivated, culturable, and waste land; and noticed any circumstances favourable or unfavourable to cultivation, although it was not thought necessary to enter into a minute classification of soils. Disputes concerning boundaries were determined on the spot

by the collector or his assistant, through the instrumentality of Panchayats chosen from the inhabitants. The exact limits and dimensions of the village being thus determined, the amount of the assessment and the ascertainment of the parties by whom it was to be paid, devolved on the collector, by whom disputed claims, of more than one year's standing, were reserved for future adjudication. In fixing the amount of the assessment, reference was not had, as previously proposed, to tables of the kinds of produce and their fluctuating prices; but to a comparison with the past assessments of the same district, or of others of like extent and situation; to a general consideration of the circumstances and capability of the land; and to a free and public communication with all who claimed an interest in the decision. The respective rights of individuals were ascertained and recorded; and engagements entered into with them personally, or with representatives chosen by themselves, according to the tenures by which they held, and under which they were separately or jointly responsible for the amount of the public revenue. In place of the brief intervals hitherto adopted, the assessment was settled for a term which was finally extended to thirty years<sup>1</sup>. Subsidiary to these measures, a regulation was enacted to provide for the more speedy determination of judicial questions cognisable by the revenue officers employed in making settlements; and to authorise them to have re-

BOOK III.  
CHAP. VI.  
1831.

<sup>1</sup> Minute of Lord W. Bentinck, 26th of September, 1832. Simla. Circular Instructions of the Revenue Board, Western Provinces. September, 1833.

BOOK III. course to arbitration, at their discretion; and to  
 CHAP. VI. enforce the award of the Panchayats, from which no

1831.

appeal was allowed.) The village accountants who had manifested a great reluctance to produce authentic accounts, were compelled by the same enactment to furnish them regularly to the collector; and in order to strengthen the establishments of the fisc, deputy collectors were appointed, who might be selected from the natives of India, of any class or religious persuasion.) Under this enactment, the instructions furnished to the revenue and survey officers, and the spirit infused into the whole system by the example and encouragement of the Governor-General, the work received an impulse which carried it briskly forward. The torpor which had hung over the preceding ten years was dissipated; and in the course of an equal period, the revenue settlement of the Western Provinces was completed upon principles equally conducive to the improving resources of the state and the growing prosperity and happiness of the people.)

<sup>1</sup> Regulation IX., 1833.

<sup>2</sup> Reports have been printed of the settlements of different portions, conveying a great mass of curious and important information. To that upon the settlement of Azimgerh we have already had occasion to refer. vol. i. p. 425. This was concluded in December, 1837. There are others for Agra, Cawnpore, Mynpuri, Muzaffarnagar, Beharanpur, Etawa, etc., completed, for the most part, about 1840-41. A particular and authentic description of the whole settlement-process is given in a periodical work published at Meerut, the Meerut Universal Magazine, vol. iv. No. 16. The communication between the collector and the cultivators is highly characteristic. See App. IV. The results of the arrangement are published in the Journal of the Statistical Society, by Col. Sykes, from official documents. The total revenue of the North-west Provinces in 1816-7, was Rupees 4,03,91,527, or about four millions sterling, being an increase on that of 1815 of 1,200,000*l.*, while its pressure upon the cultivators is shown to be exceedingly light, amounting to little more than two Rupees, or about four shillings per head per annum.—Journal of the Statistical Society of London, vol. x., p. 243.

(Little progress was made in the general improve- BOOK III.  
ment of criminal law and police; but a very im- CHAP. VI.  
portant boon was conferred upon extensive portions 1831.  
of the Company's territory, and the adjacent coun-  
tries, by the active and efficacious measures which  
were pursued for the extirpation of the numerous  
and formidable gangs of depredators, known by the  
name of Thugs.) These miscreants, robbers, and  
murderers, by hereditary descent, were numerous  
scattered through Central India, following ostensibly  
the peaceful avocations of agriculture or trade, but  
subsisting chiefly by the booty obtained from their  
victims, whom they invariably put to death by stran-  
gulation,<sup>1</sup> before they rifled them.) Quitting their  
homes in bands more or less numerous, according  
to the object of the expedition, and travelling  
sometimes to a considerable distance, it was their  
practice to fall in, as if by accident, with the  
persons whom they purposed to destroy; and by  
a pretended similarity of destination as merchants,  
travellers, or pilgrims, become companions of their  
way—winning their confidence by cheerful and  
conciliatory manners, and by simulating the like  
apprehensions of the dangers of the road.) (On  
arriving at a place favourable for the safe exe-  
cution of their project, a strip of cloth, or an  
unfolded turban was suddenly thrown round  
the neck of the victim, the ends of which were  
crossed and drawn tight by some of the party, while  
others secured the feet and hands, until life was

<sup>1</sup> The term Thug properly denotes "a cheat." In some parts of In-  
dia these people are known by the more appropriate designation of  
Phanai-gar, the bearer of a noose "phanai," with which they strangle.

BOOK III. extinguished.) The dead body was then plundered  
 CHAP. VI. of everything of value, and buried in a hole dug in  
 1831. the ground, in a place little exposed to observation.

Whatever the number of the travellers, not one was suffered to escape, as the Thugs took care always considerably to out-number those whom they intended to attack. Scouts were stationed to intercept or give notice of approaching passengers; and every vestige of the deed of violence was carefully obliterated; nor could the circumstances of its perpetration be ascertained, as no evidence was procurable, except that of the Thugs themselves; and they were bound to secrecy by the most solemn oaths they could devise—as well as by their own interests—the habits of their lives, and the influence of a blind and mischievous superstition.)

The practice of committing murder, in the mode pursued by the Thugs, was common to a number of associations, who, although composed of persons of different religions and castes (and inhabiting very distant parts of India, were identified as a confederacy of criminality, and were known to each other, wherever they met, by a system of secret signs, and a peculiar conventional dialect. The members of each gang were taught from their earliest youth, to consider the commission of murder by means of the noose as their hereditary calling, and to regard themselves as the mere instruments of destiny, whose irresistible will was to be necessarily accomplished by them, and exempted them from all responsibility.) The boy was at first employed as a scout, and not permitted to witness the proceedings of his seniors; as he grew older, he was

allowed to see and handle the corpse of the victim, and assist in the interment; and when he attained manhood, and displayed adequate strength and resolution, he was intrusted with what had then become to him an object of ambition, the application of the noose. (Previous to the murder, he went through a form of mysterious initiation by one of the elders whom he chose for his Guru or spiritual guide.) The influence of education and example were thus confirmed by a solemn rite; and the Thug proceeded in his career with no feelings of compunction or remorse. (Nor was he, in general, in other respects cruel or sanguinary.) He looked upon the plunder of travellers as his professional avocation, and their murder as the necessary condition of his own security—sanctioned by divine indications, and the approbation of his tutelary divinity.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the Thugs, in all parts of India, were Mohammedans; but being wholly ignorant of the principles of the Koran, and having admitted Hindu castes into the confederacy, they had borrowed from their associates many of the superstitious notions of degenerate Hinduism, and the especial veneration of Devi, Durga, or Bhavani, the bride of Siva,

<sup>1</sup> "A Thug leader, of most polished manners and great eloquence, being asked one day, in my presence, by a native gentleman, whether he never felt compunction in murdering innocent people, replied with a smile 'Does any man feel compunction in following his trade, and are not all our trades assigned us by Providence?' The native gentleman said—'How many people have you killed with your own hands in the course of your life?' 'I have killed none.' 'Have you not just been describing to me a number of murders?' 'Yes, but do you suppose I could have committed them? Is any man killed from man's killing? Is it not the hand of God that kills him, and are we not instruments in the hand of God?'—Sleeman, Ramsiana, voce Bhurtoe. The doctrine is genuine Hinduism, understanding by the term God—Time or Destiny—or, rather, the inevitable consequences of pre-existence manifested in a present life, which is what the Hindus mean by destiny.

BOOK III. under one or other of those terrific forms which,  
CHAP. VI. according to the Pauranic legends, she assumed for

1831. the destruction of malevolent spirits, but in which she is now held by popular credulity to be the particular patroness of all vagabonds, and thieves, and murderers.) In common with Hindus of all classes, the Thugs attached great significance to signs and omens; the appearance of birds, beasts, or reptiles, the cries they uttered, the direction in which they accompanied or crossed the path—and similar accidents which they, however, (were singular in ascribing to the immediate influence of Devi, and interpreting as indications of her pleasure with regard to the prosecution of their enterprises.) (The omens were so numerous, that a right knowledge of them was difficult to be acquired; and to a mistaken interpretation the Thugs ascribed any disappointment or calamity that might befall them.) Besides observing the usual Hindu festivals of [which Durga or Kali is the presiding goddess, and occasionally presenting offerings at her most celebrated temples<sup>1</sup>, the priests of which were sometimes connected with the gangs, the Thugs solemnised special feasts in her honour, and presented to her goats, rice, fruits, and spirits; and after every murder it was their invariable custom to offer to her, with due ceremony, a piece of silver and a quantity of molasses, of which latter those only of the party who had previously applied the

<sup>1</sup> Especially at Kalighat, at Calcutta, and Vindhya-vasini, near Mirzapur. The latter is the favorite resort of all the miscreants of the western provinces. It was visited by the author, in 1820, and presented an extraordinary assemblage of most atrocious-looking vagabonds.

fatal noose, were permitted to participate. The credulity with which the Thugs trusted in the peculiar favour of the goddess was unbounded; and to her displeasure were attributed the apprehension and punishment of their leaders by the officers of the British Government.

According to their own traditions, the different clans of Thugs sprang originally from seven tribes, who were all of the Mohammedan faith, in the vicinity of Delhi. They were dislodged from their haunts as recently as the seventeenth century, and had since spread throughout central India, and penetrated to the Dekhin. The majority are still Mohammedans; but there are also among them low caste Hindus, and it is obvious that the former have borrowed their superstitions from the latter. The employment of the noose as an offensive weapon in war, and an instrument of punishment in peace, is of remote antiquity, and was common among both the ancient Persians and the Hindus<sup>1</sup>. The existence of a set of murderers by whom it was used, was known to early travellers in India. As results from the tradition of their

<sup>1</sup> A tribe, that of the Sagartii, is noticed by Herodotus, as using the noose in battle, and the use continued to be familiar to the Persians to the 10th century, as it is frequently made mention of by Firdausi, as—"He threw the well-twisted Kamand (noose or lasso) and bound them fast upon the spot"; and "when the kamand was cast from the hand of Rustam, the diademed head was caught in the coil." The Fasa, or noose, although most appropriate to the Hindu divinity of the ocean, Varuna, is borne by several others, as by Yama, the regent of death, by Siva, Vishnu, Ganesa, and the goddess Devi; it also appears as an implement of war among the mystical weapons, with which Rama was equipped by Viswamitra—"I give thee the noose of Dharma, and also the noose-weapon of Kala, difficult to be resisted—and likewise the highly-venerated noose of Varuna."—Ramayana, Book i., chap. 30. The existence in India of robbers who murdered by strangling is mentioned by Tavernier.



BOOK III. dispersion, the native princes sometimes inflicted on  
CHAP. VI. them the punishment they deserved, but the subordinate  
 1831. chiefs and the officers of the states of Western India, commonly connived at their crimes, and allowed them to settle within their jurisdiction, in consideration of sharing in their spoils, and on condition that they should not follow their nefarious practices in the districts which they inhabited.] With the transfer of the country to the British Government, and the extension of its influence, there was an end of connivance; and as soon as the nature of their organisation was understood, active measures were instituted against the Thugs. In the Mysore country, many were apprehended as early as 1799; and in 1807, others were secured and punished, in the district of Chitur. The territories obtained from the Nawab Vizir, were found to swarm with these and other murderous bands, and many individuals were brought before the Courts of criminal justice, by which a considerable number were sentenced to imprisonment or death, and the gangs were, in consequence, much reduced in strength; and many were intimidated into emigration from the Company's districts. (The anarchy that prevailed in Malwa and Rajputana, attracted them to that quarter; and the restoration of order slowly and imperfectly attained, afforded them for a while a rich field for their atrocious depredations. The active pursuit of the Company's Government followed upon their footsteps. The services of the Gwalior contingent horse were directed against them by order of the Marquis of Hastings, although probably with little benefit.

In 1820, a large gang was apprehended in the valley of the Nerbudda by General Adams. In 1823, a still larger body, amounting to one hundred and fifteen, was arrested by Mr. Molony, in the same valley, on their return from the Dekhin; and a numerous gang was secured in the same locality by Major Wardlaw. In the two last instances, the prisoners were convicted; in the first, they escaped; and, in the trials before the judges in the provinces where the regulations prevailed, the forms of the criminal courts, and the provisions of the Moham-medan law, were too often favourable to the acquittal of the culprits. Although checked, therefore, the crime was nowhere extirpated; and the Thugs, protected by the corruption of the petty landholders, and native revenue and police officers, and by the reluctance of the natives to appear as accusers before the Company's courts, continued for a season to pursue their murderous practices with comparative impunity. In 1829, arrangements were made under the orders of the Government for their more effectual suppression, particularly in the Saugar and Nerbudda territories, where they most abounded. The Political Commissioner, in charge of the districts, Mr. F. C. Smith, who, in his judicial capacity, had manifested great activity and vigour in bringing these malefactors to punishment, was invested with full powers to subject the Thugs who were apprehended, to summary trial and conviction upon the evidence of accomplices; and an officer equally distinguished for his successful exertions and familiarity with the duty, Major Sleeman, was appointed under him commissioner for the suppression of the

BOOK III.  
CHAP. VI.

1831.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. VI.

1831.

crime, having the especial duty of superintending the operations of the arrest of the Thug gangs, and collecting the evidence for the cases in which they were to be committed for trial.) At a subsequent date<sup>1</sup>, several other officers were charged with a similar superintendence, in subordination to the General Superintendent, for conducting the operations south of the Nerbudda, those between the Ganges and the Jumna, and those in Rajputana, Malwa, and the Delhi territories, or in communication and under the orders of the Residents at Hyderabad and Lucknow. Such were the efficiency of the system, and the activity of the superintendents, supported by the concurrent exertions of the political functionaries in Hindustan, that, in the course of six years, from 1830 to 1835, two thousand Thugs had been arrested and tried at Indore, Hyderabad, Saugar, and Jubbulpore, of whom about fifteen hundred were convicted and sentenced either to death, transportation, or imprisonment. Many died in confinement: a number were pardoned in consideration of the value of their evidence, but their character with their confederates was destroyed; and the consequence was, the reduction of the gangs to a few scattered and intimidated individuals who had contrived to elude the pursuit of justice. That the crime is wholly extirpated, is scarcely to be hoped; but its commission has become infrequent; and peaceable travellers and traders have of late years pursued their way along the roads of Central India, without dread of falling

<sup>1</sup> Resolution of the Government of India, Jan. 7, 1835.—Monthly Asiatic Journal, from the Government Gazette, vol. 17, 124.

a prey to the insidious arts and murderous practices of men more merciless and destructive than the savage denizens of the adjacent forests.<sup>1</sup>

BOOK III.  
CHAP. VI.

1838.

The efforts made in the territories more favourably circumstanced, to promote the advance of useful knowledge, received from the Governor-General the most solicitous encouragement; and considerable progress was made under his auspices, in the multiplication of educational establishments, and the cultivation of the English language and literature. English classes or seminaries were instituted at several of the principal stations in the Upper Provinces, as well as in Bengal; while at the same time the system of native study pursued at the colleges exclusively appropriated to the education of Hindus and Mohammedans, was diligently superintended and improved, and was in the course of being rendered co-operative in the dissemination of sound knowledge, by providing instructors qualified to enrich their own literature through the medium of translations from the English language. Influenced, however, by the examples of extraordinary progress in English made at Calcutta, under peculiarly favourable circumstances, and

<sup>1</sup> Most of the chief peculiarities of these gangs were described several years ago by Dr. Sherwood of the Madras service, by whom an article "On the Murderers called Phansigars" was published in the 13th volume of the Asiatic Researches, Calcutta, 1820. A supplementary notice of the Thugs, and other predatory clans in the Ceded Provinces, was extracted from the official report of the Superintendent of Police for the Western Provinces, dated in 1816. The latest authentic information is furnished by Colonel Sleeman in his Ramasians; or, Vocabulary of the Slang Dialect of the Thugs: with an Introduction and Appendix descriptive of their practices, and containing reports of proceedings on their trials. Calcutta, 1836. And in his Report on the Depredations of the Thug Gangs from 1836-7 to 1839. Calcutta, 1840.

BOOK III  
CHAP. VI.

1836.

misled by advisers, who had no knowledge of India, or its people, beyond a limited intercourse with the anglicised portion of the inhabitants of the metropolis, Lord W. Bentinck, shortly before his departure, adopted the notion that English might be made the sole channel of instruction; and resolved, that all the funds appropriated to the purposes of education should be employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language alone.<sup>2</sup> In order to carry this resolution into effect, the endowments heretofore granted to the students of the native colleges were to be resumed, and the colleges themselves were to be abolished upon the diminution of the number of the students, which was effectually provided for by depriving them of their principal and often only means of prosecuting their studies. In this exclusive encouragement of the study of English, the circumstances of the great body of the people were wholly disregarded. In Calcutta, where a considerable portion of the more respectable inhabitants were in constant and intimate association with Englishmen of every degree, and where numbers found employment in public or private offices, there were both an extensive want of the language and abundant facilities and ample leisure for its acquirement. Beyond Calcutta the accomplishment was of no practical usefulness, and no inducement existed to engage in a necessarily long and arduous course of study. It was, therefore, evidently im-

<sup>2</sup> Resolution of Government, 7th March, 1835. Appendix, Report of Committee of Public Instruction for 1835. Calcutta, 1836.

possible that it should be cultivated to any extent; and all attempts to introduce it universally, could be attended with but imperfect success. The great truth was also overlooked, that a national literature can only co-exist with a national language; and that as long as knowledge is restricted to a foreign garb, it can be the property only of the few who can command leisure and opportunity for its attainment. It was obvious that a language so difficult as English, and so utterly discordant with every Indian dialect, could never become the universal medium of instruction; and that, even if it should be extensively studied, which, beyond certain narrow limits, was highly improbable, it would constitute the literature of a class—never that of the people. The means of improving the spoken dialects, and fitting them to become the vehicles of sound instruction, were at hand in the languages considered classical by Hindus and Mohammedans, the Sanscrit and Arabic, and through them an easy passage might be found for the infusion of European thought into vernacular expression; but whether they were to be employed as had previously been done in accomplishing the object, or whether it might be more expedient to attempt the literary use of the spoken languages at once, it was undeniable that the exclusive encouragement of English was unjust to the native literary classes, and was of no benefit to the bulk of the population. The better judgment of Lord W. Bentinck's successor, Lord Auckland, while it gave the most liberal encouragement to the extension of English study, rescued the native colleges from the mis-

BOOK III.  
CHAP. VI.  
1835.

BOOK III. appropriation of the funds specially assigned to  
 CHAP. VI. them; and by a liberal distribution of scholarships  
 1835. to all the seminaries alike, remedied, in some degree, the discontinuance of the subsistence-allowances, on which most of the students, like the poor scholars of the middle ages in Europe, had been accustomed, under all previous rule, Hindu, Mohammedan, or Christian, to depend<sup>1</sup>;

A new and important era in the communication between the East and West, dates from the period of Lord W. Bentinck's administration; when the powers of steam were first applied to contract the interval which divides Great Britain from British India. The result of the first trial, in which a vessel, the *Enterprise*, depending partly upon steam and partly upon sails, followed the usual route round the Cape of Good Hope, was not encouraging, as little saving of time was effected<sup>2</sup>. An attempt was made to open a route by the Euphrates, and thence down the Persian Gulf to Bombay; but this was undertaken upon most inaccurate views of the capabilities of the river, and the lawless condition of the Arab tribes upon its borders. The project, after an unprofitable expenditure of time and money, was not persisted in. The more feasible route was soon ascertained to be that by the Red Sea, from

<sup>1</sup> Minute of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, Nov. 24th, 1839. App. Report General Committee of Public Instruction, 1839-1840. The latest reports from the North-Western Provinces show, that the demand for the English language is extremely limited; while that for useful knowledge, diffused through numerous publications in the spoken languages, is rapidly augmenting.

<sup>2</sup> The *Enterprise* sailed from Falmouth on the 16th of August, 1825, and arrived at Diamond Harbour, 7th December; having been, therefore, more than three months on the voyage.

the several Presidencies to Suez, and across the isthmus to Alexandria. The first voyage was made by the Hugh Lindsay from Bombay, which she left on the 20th of March, 1830. She arrived at Suez on the 22nd of April; being thirty-two days on the passage. In her next voyage, in December of the same year, the time was diminished to twenty-two days. Subsequently other voyages succeeded, which established the practicability of the route, the possibility of navigating the Red Sea throughout the year, and the probability of accelerated despatch<sup>1</sup>. It only remained, therefore, to complete the line of communication, by providing for the voyage between Egypt and England; and this was accomplished by arrangements concluded between the East India Company and his Majesty's Government, upon the recommendation of a select committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1834 to investigate the subject. Those arrangements have since been perfected; and the communication between regions separated by a fourth of the circumference of the globe, requires now a smaller number of weeks than it formerly did of months for its accomplishment<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In 1836, the Government of Bombay congratulates the Court upon the arrival of despatches from London in fifty-eight, forty-five, and sixty-four days. Report of Committee, 1837. Statement of Sir J. Hobbhouse. Later years have witnessed their conveyance in half the time.

<sup>2</sup> Reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons on Steam Communications with India, 1834 and 1837. Lord W. Bentinck presided on the latter occasion, and was examined as a witness. It may be doubted if the advantages he so sanguinely anticipated have been, or ever will be, realised. "It is," he observes, "through the means of a quite safe and frequent communication between all India and England, that the natives of India in person will be enabled to bring their complaints and grievances before the authorities and the country; that large numbers of disinterested travellers will have it in their



BOOK III. The augmentation of the commerce of British  
 CHAP. VI. India, which had at first ensued upon the removal  
 1835. of all restrictions upon private trade, had not  
 latterly indicated any disposition to advance; and  
 the value of both exports and imports in the last  
 year of Lord W. Bentinck's government, fell con-  
 siderably short of that of the first year of his  
 predecessor's administration<sup>1</sup>. This was partly  
 ascribable to the reduced prices of the principal  
 articles of the commerce with Great Britain, parti-  
 cularly cotton goods, in which a larger quantity  
 represented a smaller sum. It was partly owing  
 also to the shock which credit received in the  
 beginning of 1833, when all the oldest established  
 commercial houses in Calcutta became suddenly  
 insolvent to an enormous extent. These firms,  
 not more than five in number, had been settled  
 for more than half a century in Bengal, and,  
 under the wing of the East India Company's mo-  
 nopoly, had appropriated almost exclusively that  
 portion of the trade with the countries of the East,  
 or with the United Kingdom, which the Company  
 relinquished to private enterprise. Under this

power to report to their country at home, the nature and circum-  
 stances of this distant portion of the empire. The result, I hope, will  
 be to rouse the shameful apathy and indifference of Great Britain to  
 the concerns of India; and by thus bringing the eye of the British  
 public to bear upon India, it may be hoped that the desired ameliora-  
 tion may be accomplished." Report, Steam Committee of House of  
 Commons, p. 190.

<sup>1</sup> The value of the trade of the three Presidencies at the several  
 periods was as follows:—

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1822-3 - -	£8,600,000	10,690,000	19,290,000
1834-5 - -	7,654,000	9,675,000	17,329,000
Less - -	£946,000	1,015,000	1,961,000
			MSS. Returns.

system they enjoyed security and prosperity, and the unbounded confidence of both natives and Europeans. With the usual short-sightedness of commercial insatiability, they nevertheless joined in the clamour against the East India Company's exclusive privileges, and contributed essentially to their abolition. But with the opening of the trade, started up a host of competitors, diverting no inconsiderable portion of their profits, and provoking them to emulative and fatal speculation. The consequences were their downfall; the ruin of thousands whom their long-recognised stability had tempted to entrust them with their fortunes; and a check to the commercial prosperity of Calcutta, and an injury to its mercantile credit from which it was slow to recover. The mischief was, in some degree, aggravated by the financial measures of the Government.

Encouraged by the success which had attended the reduction of the rates of interest from the higher proportions which had previously prevailed, to the more moderate rate of five per cent, and being in possession of a superabundance of cash, the Government of Bengal made an attempt, in 1824, about the beginning of the Burma war, to carry the reduction still further, and opened a loan at four per cent. per annum. It was soon found, however, that the growing wants of the state were not likely to be supplied on terms so inferior to the market-value of money; and in the following year, the rate of five per cent was reverted to, with the permission to holders of the four per cent securities to transfer them to the new loan. The interest

BOOK III

CHAP. VI.

1835.

BOOK III. was also made payable by bills on Europe, and above  
CHAP. VI. ten millions were readily raised upon these con-  
1835. ditions. After the close of the Burma war, and  
the intermission of the heavy demands on the trea-  
sury, the attempt to force the rate of four per cent  
upon the public creditors was repeated in 1828-9,  
but was equally unsuccessful. In the year ensuing,  
five per cent was the rate offered upon a new loan,  
but this was also a failure, as the interest was  
made payable only in cash, and no part of it  
realisable by bills on the Court in favour of resi-  
dents in Europe. As the larger proportion of the  
creditors consisted of the servants of the Company,  
who had either returned to Europe or looked for-  
ward to such a return, these reiterated attempts  
to get rid of the most convenient means of re-  
mitting the interest of their accumulations filled  
them with alarm, and induced a considerable number  
to accede to the offer of a four per cent loan, with  
bills on the Court for the interest in favour of  
residents in Europe. At the same time arrangements  
were made for paying off the first five per cent  
loan and portions of the second; and the holders of  
those loans submitted, therefore, to the diminution  
of the rate of interest, and subscribed to the four per  
cent. loan to the extent of nearly ten millions. Many,  
however, rather than accede to a rate which was  
evidently premature, and which was certain to end  
in the depreciation of the principal, handed over  
their property to the houses of business, and were  
consequently involved in their ruin. The Govern-  
ment benefited by the alarm which was thus created,  
and opened a fourth four per cent. loan in 1834—while

in 1835 the instructions from England, consequent upon the provisions of the new Charter, put a final term to the only 6 per cent. loan still outstanding, partly by its discharge, and partly by its transference to a remittable loan, at 5 per cent. not redeemable, before the expiration of the period of twenty years, for which the administration of India had been continued to the East India Company. The full effect of those measures was not felt until the succeeding year; but in 1835-6, an important relief was afforded to the finances of India by an actual reduction of both the principal and interest of the public debt<sup>1</sup>; and a further prospective improvement was anticipated, from the altered relation between the charges and the receipts, by which the latter considerably exceeded the former, and afforded a surplus more than sufficient to cover the territorial expenses, incurred in England. The embarrassments consequent upon the Burma war were thus to a great degree sur-

<sup>1</sup> The principal of the Registered Debt in India, on the 30th April, 1823, was called 22,983,000*l.*; on the 30th April, 1829, it had risen to 30,188,000*l.*; on the 30th April, 1836, it was 26,947,000*l.* The annual amount of interest at these several dates was 1,540,000*l.*, 1,958,000*l.*, and 1,428,000*l.*; showing, therefore, a reduction of 632,000*l.* from the second, and 111,000*l.* from the first, although the principal was of higher amount.—Annual Account of the Territorial Revenues and disbursements of the East India Company; also, statements of Revenue and Charges, printed by order of the House of Commons, 12th August, 1842. In these Statements, as compared with all preceding accounts, a very material reduction has apparently taken place; as, for instance, in the amount of the Registered Debt for 1829, which is stated by the Committee of the House of Commons of 1832, to be £39,378,000, or nine millions more than is specified above. The greater part of this seeming difference arises from a different calculation of the value of the Rupee in exchange. In the accounts prepared for Parliament, subsequently to 1830, the computation of the value of the Sicca rupee in pounds sterling, through the medium of the current rupee, was discarded, and an apparent diminution of the revenues and charges to the extent of 16 per cent. consequently takes place—the Sicca rupee being at once rated at two shillings.

BOOK III. mounted, and the finances of the British Indian  
 CHAP. VI. Empire were placed by the economical arrangements  
 1835. of the Governor-General, once more in that condition of prosperity, which they may be calculated to preserve, as long as the maintenance of tranquillity obviates occasion for extraordinary expenditure<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The correction, explained in the preceding note, as applied to the whole of the statements of revenues and charges from 1814-15 to 1839, was submitted to the House of Commons 24th August, 1842— from which document the following comparison is derived of the three periods of 1823, 1829, and 1836 :—

	1823.	1829.	1836.
Revenues .....	19,645,000	19,497,000	19,548,000
Charges .....	16,906,000	15,641,000	15,961,000
Surplus Revenue	2,650,000	944,000	3,587,000
Home Charges ..	2,806,000	1,506,000	2,110,000
Deficit .....	£ 147,000	£1,621,000	£1,622,000 Surplus.

providing therefore fully for all territorial disbursements in England.

Some apprehension was excited by a slight decline of the land-revenue between 1831-2, and 1833-4; but the depression was only temporary, according to the following statements of the average land-revenues of those three years, with the preceding and three succeeding years—

Land Revenue.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
From 1828-9 to 1830-1,	26,739,000	2,322,000	1,361,000	11,000,000
" 1831-2 to 1833-4,	8,875,000	2,767,000	1,346,000	10,988,000
" 1834-5 to 1836-7,	7,040,000	2,850,000	1,615,000	11,514,000

## CHAPTER VII.

*Internal Occurrences, — occasional Disturbances, — Tumult raised by Mohammedan Fanatics near Calcutta, — suppressed. — Troubles on the Eastern Frontier. — Asam, — Incursions of Singphos. — Kasya Hills, — Murder of Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, — desultory Hostilities, — Submission of the Chiefs, — Surrender of Raja Tirath Sing, — imprisoned for Life, — succeeded by Raja Sing, — Agreement with him. — Kachar, — Assassination of the Raja, — annexed to the British Provinces. — Jyntia, — British Subjects sacrificed, — Land sequestered, — Raja pensioned. — Tenaserim, — Insurrection at Tavoy and Mergui, — defeated. — Malacca, — Demands on the Panghulu of Nanning, resisted, — deposed from his Office, — Detachment sent against him, — defeated, — Reinforcements sent from Madras, — opposed by the Malays, — advance to Tabo. — The Panghulu flies, — surrenders himself, — Nanning annexed to Malacca, — Disturbances on the Western Frontier. — Sambhalpur, — Kole Insurrection in Chota-nagpur. — Bamanghati. — Burrabhüm. — South Western Frontier Provinces placed under a Commissioner. — Troubles in the Northern Circars and at Kemedi quieted. — State of Mysore, — Misgovernment of the Raja, — popular Insurrections. — Raja deposed. — Mysore governed by a Commissioner. — Visit of Governor-*

*General to the Madras Presidency. — Affairs of Coorg. — Cruelty of the Raja, — Enmity to the British, — Treacherous Designs, — declared an Enemy. — Invasion of Coorg in Four Divisions, — Advance of the First and Second to Madhukaira, — the Third repulsed, — the Fourth obliged to retire, — the Raja surrenders, — sent a Prisoner to Bangalore, — the Province annexed to the British Government. — The Governor-General in the Nilgiri Hills. — First Council of India. — Change of System proclaimed. — Return of Governor-General to Bengal.*

**BOOK III** ALTHOUGH the progress of legislature and domestic  
CHAP. VII. improvement, which has been described, was undisturbed by any interruption of internal tranquillity

1831. of a serious nature, yet occasional demonstrations of turbulence and disaffection took place in the interval, which merit notice as characteristic of the temper and feelings of the people, and as illustrative of the advantage of treating them with due consideration, while vigorously repressing any attempt to throw off the restraints which are imposed by all civilised governments upon the passions of the multitude.

The chief seats of the disturbances in question were the recently acquired provinces on the eastern and western frontiers, inhabited by races little habituated to legitimate control: but, in one instance, the immediate vicinity of Calcutta was alarmed by the unusual occurrence of a tumult, which was not put down without the employment of military force. We have already had occasion to ad-

vert to the rise of a fanatical sect among the Mohammedans, originating with Syed Ahmed; the professed object of which was to restore Mohammedanism to its original simplicity, and to purify it from the corruptions which had sprung up in India through the practices of the Shias, or followers of Ali; or which had been borrowed from the idolatrous ceremonies of the Hindus. Islam and Kafir, according to the phraseology of the disciples of Syed Ahmed, had become mixed together like Khichri (a dish of pulse and rice), and it was their aim to get rid of the extraneous defilement. They prohibited accordingly the Shia celebration of the Moharram, when prayers are read in commemoration of the death of the Khalif Ali and his sons, and Tazias or representations of their tombs are carried in procession. To demolish a Tazia was, they asserted, as meritorious an act as to break an idol. They denounced also the prevalent custom of going in pilgrimage to the tombs of certain reputed prophets and saints, of offering prayers to them, and making presents at their shrines, and soliciting their intercession for the obtaining of blessings, or the averting of misfortune; such vicarious dependence being, in their doctrine, an impugment of the unity of God, and the most reprehensible blasphemy. Various other popular usages, evidently tinged by Hinduism, were equally condemned. This interference with long cherished abuses, the affectation by these puritans of greater sanctity, and the contumely which they displayed towards all, except those of their own persuasion, excited the resentment and provoked the recrimination of both Moham-



BOOK III medans and Hindus. A community of the re-  
CHAP. VII. formers was settled in the vicinity of Baraset,  
1881. in Lower Bengal, and, by their pretensions  
and denunciations, aroused the indignation of  
the other Mohammedan inhabitants of the neigh-  
bourhood, who carried their complaints to the  
Hindu Zemindar, on whose estate both parties  
resided. Taking part with the complainants, the  
Zemindar imposed fines upon the sectaries, and en-  
couraged their opponents and his personal retainers  
to treat them with ridicule and insult. They re-  
presented their grievances to the magistrate; but  
redress being delayed beyond their endurance, they  
took the law into their own hands, assembled in  
arms in considerable numbers, under the leading of  
one Titu Miya, a fakir, who inculcated the doc-  
trines of Syed Ahmed, and commenced a religious  
warfare against their Hindu neighbours, by destroy-  
ing a temple, and killing a cow. From this they  
proceeded to acts of aggravated violence, compelling  
all the villagers to profess adherence to their re-  
ligious creed, and forcing the Brahmins especially  
to repeat the Mohammedan formula of faith, and  
to swallow beef. In proportion as they collected  
numbers, they increased in audacity, plundered and  
burnt the villages and factories in the neighbour-  
hood, and put to death all who were in any way ob-  
noxious to them, or who ventured to offer resistance.  
Two attempts to suppress the disturbance by the  
civil power were unsuccessful; and, on the second  
occasion, the magistrate and his party were dis-  
comfited by an overwhelming multitude, and were  
obliged to seek safety by a precipitate retreat. The

chief native officer of police was overtaken and murdered. Several of the insurgents were also killed, but they remained masters of the field; and continued for some days to spread terror and devastation through the district. Troops were ordered against them. The 11th and 48th Regiments of N. I., with guns, and a party of Horse, marched from Barackpore and Dum-dum, and came up with them at Hugli. They were at first boldly resisted in the open plain. A few rounds of grape, however, drove the insurgents to take shelter in a stockade, where they maintained themselves resolutely against the troops. The post was carried after about an hour's fighting, with the loss of seventeen, or eighteen Sipahis; but about a hundred of the fanatics were killed, and two hundred and fifty were taken prisoners. The remainder dispersed: parties of them occasionally made their appearance in the lower parts of Bengal, but they never again collected in force, nor hazarded a conflict with the authorities. The doctrines which they thus endeavoured to disseminate at the point of the sword, have still their votaries among the educated Mohammedans of India, whose bigotry has rather augmented than decreased with the extension of liberal opinions among the Hindus; but the rigorous puritanism of Syed Ahmed is too repugnant to the tastes and habits of the lower orders of Indian Mohammedans, ever to exercise over them any wide or permanent influence.

The troubles on the eastern frontier extended at intervals throughout the whole boundary, from Asam to the Peninsula of Malacca, but were

BOOK III

CHAP. VII.

1831.

entirely of local operation, and were suppressed without much difficulty. A Singpho chief, in the commencement of 1830; crossed the mountains separating Asam from Hookong, and being joined by the Gaums, or head-men of the Latora and Tengapani villages, who had previously professed allegiance to the British Government, attempted to surprise Sadiya, the most eastern station in that quarter. Their united force amounted to about three thousand, of whom not more than two hundred were provided with musquets; the rest being armed with spears and heavy swords. Plunder and the carrying off of the Asamese as slaves appeared to be the only incentives of the inroad. It was promptly repelled. The political agent, Captain Neufville, having assembled a small party of the Asam Light Infantry, and about two hundred of the militia of the Khamti and Moamaria tribes, attacked the marauders at Latao, on the Tonga River, and, after a short action, put them to flight. They fell back to Latora, where they stockaded themselves. Having been joined by a reinforcement of the Asam Infantry, and the contingent of the Gaums who remained faithful, one division, under a native officer, Subahdar Zalim Sing, was sent to take the stockades in rear, while another, under the political agent, threatened them from the front. As soon as Zalim Sing made his appearance, the enemy, after firing a few shots, abandoned their works and fled to the hills, over which they were driven, with some loss, into the Burma boundary. Advantage was taken of their incursion by a body of disaffected Asamese to attack the small British party at Rungpore; but

BOOK III

CHAP. VII.

1831.

timely intimation of their purpose having been received, they were repulsed and pursued into the thickets<sup>1</sup>. These checks were insufficient to deter the Singphos from renewing their incursions, although attended with repeated discomfiture; and the eastern frontier of Upper Asam can scarcely yet be regarded as secure. To put a stop to the petty insurrections of the Asamese, instigated chiefly by individuals who had held authority under the former native Government, it was determined to effect a partial restoration of the latter. A tract situated in Central Asam was, in consequence, assigned in sovereignty to Purandhar Sing, who, as we have seen, was for a season Raja of Asam, upon condition of subordination to the British Government, and payment of an annual tribute.

(Disturbances of a more serious character broke out in the Kasya hills) The village of Nanklao, about half-way between Sylhet and Asam, had been obtained from Tirat Sing, who was considered as the chief of the Kasyas, by an amicable cession; and was intended to be converted into a sanatory station for European invalids, being situated at an elevation of above five thousand feet above the sea, and enjoying a cool and salubrious climate. In April, 1829, the village was suddenly surrounded by a number of armed hill-men, headed by Tirat Sing and other chiefs; and Lieutenant Bedingfield, who, with Lieutenant Burlton and Mr. Bowman, were resident in the place, was invited to a conference. As soon as he presented himself, he was attacked and murdered. Lieutenant Burlton and

<sup>1</sup> Sketches of Asam, p. 64.

BOOK III. his companion, with four Sipahis, defended them-  
CHAP. VII. selves in the house they occupied till night; and  
 1831. next morning endeavoured to retreat towards  
 Asam. The party made good their retreat till  
 evening, but were then overpowered and murdered.  
 One of the Sipahis alone escaped. The causes of  
 this violence were for some time unascertained; but  
 it appeared to have originated in the dissatisfaction  
 of the chiefs with the arrangement into which Tirat  
 Sing had entered with the Political Agent, acknow-  
 ledging the supremacy of the British Government,  
 and assenting to the formation of roads and sta-  
 tions. He had been treated with as the Raja of the  
 country; but this was an error, as he was only one  
 of an oligarchy of petty chiefs of equal authority;  
 and to pacify their indignation at the powers he  
 had assumed, he joined in the outrage committed  
 at Nanklao. The presence of Europeans, and their  
 transit through the hills, was exceedingly distasteful  
 to all classes; and the feeling was said to be aggra-  
 vated by the extortion and insolence of the native  
 subordinate officers in their treatment of the Ka-  
 syas, whom they forcibly compelled to assist in  
 the labour of making roads and constructing can-  
 tonments<sup>1</sup>. So barbarous a mode of expressing  
 their resentment necessarily required retribution;  
 and detachments were sent from Sylhet to punish

<sup>1</sup> According to Captain Pemberton, the murders of Nanklao were supposed to have been caused by the speech of a Bengali Chaprasi, who, in a dispute with the Kasyas, threatened them with Mr. Scott's vengeance; and told them that they were to be subjected to the same taxation as was levied on the inhabitants of the plains. Although wholly false, the threat excited the alarm, and roused the indignation of the mountaineers, already excited by the insolent demeanour and abuse of the subordinate native agents who had accompanied Mr. Scott into the hills.—Report on the Eastern Frontier, p. 223.

the offenders. Whenever the troops came in contact with the mountaineers, the latter were easily overthrown and scattered; but the nature of the country protected them from any decisive infliction, and enabled them to prolong the contest. A harassing series of predatory attacks upon the frontier villages of Sylhet and Asam was carried on by the Kasyas through the three succeeding years; and were retaliated by the destruction of their villages by detachments which penetrated into the thickets. The chiefs were at last wearied of the contest; and by the end of 1832 most of them had entered into engagements acknowledging the supremacy of the Company, and ceding the tracts which were required for the communication between Sylhet and Asam, notwithstanding their repugnance to the cession. Those who had taken part with Tirat Sing submitted to pay a pecuniary fine for having assisted him; but they declined to aid in his apprehension; and the condition was not insisted on. In the beginning of the following year, however, the Raja gave himself up, only stipulating that his life should not be forfeited. He was sent as a state prisoner to Dacca. Raja Sing, his nephew, a lad of fourteen, was acknowledged as his successor by the Kasyas; and the district of Nanklao was restored to him by the British Government, on condition of its right being admitted to make roads through the hills between Asam and Sylhet, and to construct stations, and guard and post-houses, along the line of road; and the Raja promised to supply workmen and materials for constructing the roads and

BOOK III.

CHAP. VII.

1831.

BOOK III. keeping them in repair on being paid for the same;  
 CHAP. VII. to furnish grazing land for as many cattle as the

1831. Government should deem it necessary to keep on the hills; to arrest and hand over to the British authorities any person who might have committed any offence within the limits of a British post and endeavoured to abscond; and to submit to payment of a fine for breach of any of the conditions of the engagement. These measures, and an improved appreciation of the advantages of civilised intercourse have since allayed the jealousy of the Kasyas, and secured a free communication across the hills between Asam and the lower provinces of Bengal<sup>1</sup>.

The authority of the British Government was still more decidedly established in the contiguous provinces of Jyntia and Kachar, chiefly through the folly and criminality of their native rulers. (In the latter, the Raja, Govind Chandra, who had been restored to his authority after the Burma war, was murdered, in the beginning of 1830, by his own guard. He had made himself obnoxious to his people, by his preference of Mohanmedans and Bengali Hindus in the conduct of public business, and by the extortion which he practised through their agency. His murder was not, however, exclusively ascribable to this cause; and although positive proof of his guilt could not be adduced, there was no doubt that Gambhir Sing, the Raja of Manipur, was deeply implicated in the

<sup>1</sup> Not fewer than nineteen petty chiefs entered, at different times, into these engagements; but there are others with whom no intercourse has been established.

crime, from the perpetration of which he calculated on obtaining the government of Kachar. In this expectation he was disappointed. As there was no acknowledged successor to Govind Chandra; and great inconvenience had been suffered on the Sylhet frontier from the imbecile management of the neighbouring districts by native rule—as the measure also was acceptable to the people, by whom it had been repeatedly solicited—it was determined to annex Kachar permanently to the territories of the Company. The hills east of the western curve of the Barak river were made over to Gambhir Sing; and a tract of country bordering on Asam was guaranteed, under condition of allegiance, to a chief named Tula Ram, whose father, a servant of a former Raja of Kachar, had made himself independent in that part of the country during the anarchy which preceded the Burma invasion. Gambhir Sing died a few years afterwards, in the beginning of 1834, and was succeeded by an infant son, under the protection of the British power.

At the end of 1832, the Raja of Jyntia having died, he was succeeded by his nephew; but the Government hesitated to acknowledge his title, unless security could be obtained for the maintenance of order in the country, and the payment of a small annual tribute. It soon appeared that neither could be expected. The subordinate chiefs defied the Raja's authority; and he was wholly without the means of enforcing it. In the time of his predecessor, four men had been carried off from the British territory to be offered as victims to the goddess Kali, who was worshipped by the Raja and

BOOK III.

CHAP. VII.

1831.



BOOK III his principal ministers. Three were sacrificed—  
 CHAP. VII. the fourth effected his escape. A peremptory demand  
 1831. was made for the apprehension of the persons principally concerned in this atrocity, at the head of whom was the Raja of Goha, a dependant of the Raj. The demand was not complied with; and it was equally evaded by the reigning Prince, when repeated upon his accession. In order to punish him for his contumacy, and deter the surrounding chiefs from the repetition of an act of barbarous violence, of which previous instances, it appeared, had not been uncommon, it was determined to sequestrate the possessions of the Raja in the level land, leaving to him the more hilly portion. Deprived of the resources from the more fertile tracts, the Raja declared himself unable to restrain his disobedient subjects in the hills, and voluntarily relinquished them for a pension, and permission to reside in the British territory: the terms were acceded to, and Jyntia thenceforth became a British province. >

The loss of power which the change of Government had inflicted upon the Burma functionaries in the Tenaserim provinces, and the reduction in the numbers of the troops by which they were protected, induced some of the chiefs to engage in a rashly and ill-supported conspiracy for the re-possession of the towns of Tavoy and Mergui. At the first of these, Mung-da, the former Governor, made his appearance at the head of about five hundred men; and, although repulsed from an attack on the magazine, he compelled the small party of Madras infantry to retreat to the wharf, and occupied the town. The troops maintained their

position, with the assistance of the Chinese settlers, BOOK III  
who adhered to the British, until they were rein- CHAP. VII.  
forced from Moalmain, when they recovered Tavoy, 1851.  
and succeeded in securing Mung-da and his principal  
adherents. They were tried for revolt, and ex-  
ecuted, and tranquillity was restored. At Mergui  
no actual collision occurred. The report of an in-  
tended insurrection, and the weakness of his detach-  
ment—not above fifty Sipahis—impelled the officer  
in command to abandon the place before any actual  
demonstration had been made by the insurgents.  
The defeat of the rising at Tavoy, deterred the con-  
spirators at Mergui from prosecuting their project;  
and the arrival of a stronger force completed their  
submission. Some of the ringleaders were seized  
and punished. Tranquillity was further secured by  
the death of Ujina, the ex-Governor of Martaban,  
who had instigated the rebels to their unsuccessful  
enterprise, and who was murdered by order of the  
Viceroy of Rangoon, as a turbulent chief, equally  
troublesome to his own Government and that of its  
allies.

Military operations of scarcely a more important  
character, although of more protracted duration,  
took place at the extremity of the British dependen-  
cies, in the Eastern Archipelago, at a somewhat  
later date. A small district named Naning, lying  
north of Malacca, had been originally reduced to  
subjection by the Portuguese, and had continued to  
acknowledge allegiance to the Dutch, and their  
successors, the English, to the extent of paying an  
inconsiderable annual tribute in kind, and accept-  
ing the confirmation of their Panghulu, or Head-

BOOK III  
 CHAP. VII

1831.

man, on the occasion of his accession, by the European Governor of Malacca. As long as this arrangement lasted, the Malay chiefs of Naning were equally obedient to the British power as they had been to the Dutch; but it had been determined, under orders from home, to regard Naning as an integral part of the Malacca district; and in 1828, the Panghulu was required to accede to the revenue arrangements which had been introduced at Malacca, founded on the asserted right of the Government to the Proprietorship of all the lands; and to consent to pay as tribute, one tenth of the produce. A pecuniary compensation was offered to Abd-ul Sayid, the Panghulu, for the relinquishment of his claims. It was also proposed to take a census of the population, and the Panghulu was forbidden to pronounce any judicial sentence, except in trivial matters, but to send offenders for trial to Malacca. The census was allowed to be taken, but the limitation of jurisdiction was resisted, and the right of the Government to appropriate the lands and levy a tenth of the crops, was resolutely denied. The Panghulu, who had established a reputation among his countrymen for extraordinary sanctity, resented the propositions by discontinuing his periodical visits to Malacca, and withholding his tribute altogether. He further incurred the displeasure of the Government by plundering lands within the Malacca boundary, the hereditary property of an acknowledged British subject, from which Abd-ul Sayid claimed a revenue, and disputed the right of the Company to interfere. A proclamation was accordingly issued declaring him

in a state of contumacy, and deposing him from BOOK III. his office as Panghulu of Naning. A detachment CHAP. VII. of one hundred and fifty Sipahis, of the 29th Madras 1831. N. L., under Captain Wyllie, having been sent into the district of Naning to enforce the decree of the Commissioner of Malacca, advanced, on the 16th August, 1831, after a slight opposition, to a village about seventeen miles from Malacca, and five from Tabo, the residence of the Panghulu. The difficulty of the country, abounding with jungle, through which narrow footpaths blocked up by felled trees afforded the only access, and the increasing boldness and numbers of the Malays practised in the desultory warfare which the closeness and intricacy of the thicket favoured, arrested the further advance of the party, cut them off from their supplies, and compelled them to fall back in order to maintain the communication with Malacca, to Sanjie Pattaye, where a storehouse was erected and stores had been deposited. Additional troops having arrived at Malacca, a reinforcement was detached to the party at Sanjie Pattaye; but the road was barricaded, and the detachment was not strong enough to carry the stockades; after sustaining some loss, including one officer killed, Lieutenant White, the division returned to Malacca, and orders were despatched to the first party to continue their retreat. This was accomplished with some difficulty and loss, and with the abandonment of all the heavy baggage and two field pieces, which had accompanied the detachment. The defeat of the troops gave fresh audacity to the Malays. They were masters of all the open country,

BOOK III and the inhabitants of Malacca trembled for the  
CHAP. VII. safety of the town.

1832.

As it was now apparent that the Settlements in the straits of Malacca had been left with means inadequate to suppress any display of a refractory spirit, reinforcements were despatched from Madras; and in 1832 a force was organised at Malacca, consisting of the 5th Regiment Madras N. I., a Company of Rifles, two Companies of Sappers and Miners, and a detail of European and Native Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert. The force moved on the 2nd March, but had advanced only to Alor Gajeh, not more than fifteen miles from Malacca, by the 5th of April, having been delayed by the necessity of clearing a road through the forest, and driving the Malays from the stockades which they had thrown up. In these operations, several of the Sipahis and Lieutenant Harding fell. At Alor Gajeh, the resistance was still more obstinate, and the force was obliged to remain on the defensive. The Malays made repeated attacks on the encampment — in repelling one of which Ensign Walker was killed. Reinforcements, chiefly of the 46th Madras N. I., joined in the course of May; and on the 15th June, Tabo was taken, after a feeble defence. The Panghulu and his principal advisers fled for refuge to the neighbouring states. The district was taken possession of, and placed under the management of fifteen different Panghulus, in place of the fugitive, and the people finally settled into order and obedience. Abd-ul Sayid surrendered himself unconditionally, in 1834, and was allowed to remain at Malacca, upon a pension,

on condition of his furnishing securities for his peaceable behaviour. Tranquillity was thus restored to the peninsula after a loss of life and waste of expenditure, which might, perhaps, have been avoided by a more conciliatory course of proceeding in the first instance, and by a more efficient application of military force when it was resolved to have recourse to coercion<sup>1</sup>. The justice of the claim in which the quarrel originated, rested upon the same grounds as the occupation of Malacca—the power of the intrusive Government, whether Portuguese, Dutch, or English, to compel the people to obey its orders. The value of the demand, was a poor compensation for the cost of enforcing it: but the annexation of Naning to Malacca was politically advantageous to the latter; and the population of the former has evidently benefited by the change of administration<sup>2</sup>.

Returning to the proper limits of British India, and crossing over to the western frontier, we find the districts in the south in a state of protracted and lawless disorder, arising from causes not very easy to trace, but acquiring intensity and permanence from the undecided and procrastinating policy of the British Government, and the mistaken economy

<sup>1</sup> Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, by Lieutenant T. J. Newbold, vol. i. chap. 5. Naning. Also, details from the Singapore Chronicle, and in the Monthly Asiatic Journal, N. S., vols. vii. and viii. The same Journal, vol. xi. p. 75, contains extracts from a translation of a Malay document, attributed to a native in the service of the Panghulu, giving an account of the origin and progress of the war. With respect to the former, the justice of any demand on the Panghulu beyond an annual complimentary token of amity and good faith, is strenuously denied.

<sup>2</sup> The Revenue of 1833-4 was 760 Dollars; in 1835-6, 1240 Dollars. The population at the former period was less than 5,000: at the latter, nearly 8,000.—Newbold, i. 136, 261.

BOOK III. of reducing its military strength below the amount  
 CHAP. VII. required to awe and control the barbarous border  
 1832. tribes, incapable of understanding the obligation of  
 the engagements which had been contracted with  
 them from time to time, and chafing under the re-  
 straints of civilised society, which it was prematurely  
 attempted to impose upon their lawless habits. As  
 long as a strong curb was maintained upon the  
 Koles and Dargas of Sambhalpur and Singbhum,  
 by the superintendence of a Political Agent, who  
 was empowered to interfere authoritatively for the  
 preservation of internal peace, and had at his dis-  
 posal a military force sufficient to overawe the re-  
 fractory, some degree of order was maintained,  
 and most of the Kole districts enjoyed a condition  
 of progressive prosperity. When the powers of the  
 agent were curtailed, and the troops on the frontier  
 reduced, the barbarous tribes relapsed into the in-  
 dulgence of their former propensities, and aban-  
 doned the labours of the plough for the more  
 exciting avocations of plunder and bloodshed, until  
 their excesses compelled the Government to recur  
 to the only means by which they were to be re-  
 pressed, effective supervision, and an adequate  
 military establishment.

Towards the end of 1829, disturbances com-  
 menced in Sambhalpur, arising from a quarrel  
 between the agricultural Koles, and their Raja.  
 They were appeased for a time by the mediation of  
 the officer commanding the Ramgerh battalion. At  
 the close of the following year, they revived; the  
 head-men of several of the dependent districts of  
 Sambhalpur, complaining that the promise of the

local government to replace them in the possession of lands which they had lost in opposing the Mahrattas had never been fulfilled. The right of the reigning Rani was at the same time disputed by various claimants, and she had become unpopular by the partiality which she displayed towards her own relatives, and the exclusion from office of those of her late husband. Her uncle, who was her chief minister, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious by the rigour with which he exacted the payment of the public revenue. The discontented Ryots took up arms, and, assembling in great numbers threatened to attack the capital, from which they were diverted by the interposition of the Agent, through whose mediation the lands were restored to their original possessors, and the minister was dismissed. It was necessary, however, to station a military force at Sambhalpur for its security, and ultimately to remove the Rani, who was evidently unable to keep her turbulent subjects in order. She was placed upon a pension; and Narayan Sing, a relation of the last Raja, was elevated to the government.

Shortly after the settlement of these disorders in Sambhalpur, or at the end of 1831, disturbances of a still more serious and protracted character broke out amongst the subjects of the Company, and of various petty tributary chiefs, in the province of Chota Nagpur, comprising, under that general designation, the forest cantons of Sirguja and Singbhum, as well as the tract more properly known as Chota Nagpur; having Sambhalpur to the south,



**BOOK III** and the districts of Ramgerh, Hazaribagh, and  
**CHAP. VII.** Palamu on the north, Burdwan and Midnapore  
 1632. on the east, and the sources of the Nerbudda, and  
 part of Nagpur on the west. Although presenting  
 extensive open and fertile tracts, which were par-  
 tially cultivated, much of the country was overspread  
 with thickets, in which the wild tribes of Koles and  
 Dangas resided under the loose authority of Rajput  
 chiefs, to whom they were personally attached.  
 Some of them followed a savage life, depending for  
 subsistence chiefly on the chase; but numbers also  
 pursued, with various degrees of skill and industry,  
 the occupations of agriculture, from the profits of  
 which they paid a limited revenue to their chiefs.  
 In the open plains also, and those places which  
 were directly under the British authority, besides the  
 Kolé population, a number of families from Behar  
 and Bengal had been encouraged by the Zemindars  
 to establish themselves; and, in many instances,  
 the hereditary occupants had been dispossessed in  
 favour of the new settlers, in consideration of  
 the advanced rents which their more industrious  
 habits and skilful cultivation enabled them to  
 afford. The internal government of the several  
 estates was generally entrusted to the chiefs;  
 but they were required to pay a small annual tri-  
 bute, to prevent robbery and murder within their  
 districts, and to apprehend and give up to the  
 British authorities all fugitives and criminals. In  
 the other parts of the province, the judicial and  
 revenue regulations of the Bengal Government  
 were in force. This state of things was most un-  
 palatable both to chiefs and people: the former felt

themselves humiliated by the conditions which BOOK III made them responsible to the courts of justice and CHAP. VII. police; and the tributary payments which they were . 1832. called upon to make, pressed heavily upon their restricted means, and impelled them to levy exactions from their subjects to which they had not been accustomed, or to let the lands to strangers, attributing both to the necessity of complying with the demands of the British Government, and throwing upon it the whole odium of their proceedings. It is not unlikely also, that the extortionate and insolent conduct of the subordinate native revenue and police officers tended to aggravate the discontent of the Koles; and their anger and apprehension were excited by reports, diligently disseminated by the chiefs, that it was the intention of the British Government to expel them from the lands they cultivated, in behalf of the settlers, against whom they had already occasion to cherish sentiments of jealousy and hatred. From these and other exciting causes, the precise character of which could not be ascertained, and which was perhaps scarcely known to the Koles themselves, an almost universal rising took place, the first efforts of which fell especially upon the peaceable inhabitants, and the foreign settlers, whose fields were laid waste, and villages set on fire, and who were ruthlessly slaughtered by the infuriated barbarians<sup>1</sup>. From these outrages the insurgents proceeded to attack such of the chiefs as had been most oppressive in their exactions, or against whom their fury was directed by the

<sup>1</sup> From eight hundred to a thousand settlers from the surrounding districts were said to have been murdered or burnt in their houses.

BOOK III. machinations of some among the Zemindars, who  
 CHAP. VII. availed themselves of this opportunity to gratify  
 1852. an ancient feud, or to wrest from their neighbours  
 a portion of their estates, by turning upon them,  
 through false and malicious reports, the whole tor-  
 rent of popular indignation. Although the Go-  
 vernment of Bengal acknowledged no obligation to  
 protect the Zemindars of Chota Nagpur against  
 each other or their subjects; yet even its cold  
 and selfish policy was roused to the necessity of  
 interference by the impossibility of confining the  
 outrages perpetrated to the estates of the dependent  
 chiefs, and their menaced extension to the British  
 districts on the one hand, and those of the Raja of  
 Nagpur on the other. As the Raja of Singbhum,  
 Achet Sing, was suspected of having been con-  
 cerned in instigating the disturbances, for the fur-  
 therance of his own designs against his neighbour,  
 the Raja of Karsama, he was apprised, that, unless  
 he maintained tranquillity within his own bound-  
 aries, and refrained from molesting the adjacent  
 districts, the Government would take the manage-  
 ment of Singbhum into its own hands; and at the  
 same time troops were despatched from Ramgerh,  
 Dinapore and Benares; and a respectable force was  
 collected at Pethuria, under the general direction  
 of Captain Williamson, the political agent<sup>1</sup>. In  
 the campaign against the insurgents that followed,  
 the military operations were scarcely worthy of the  
 designation, being limited to the desultory employ-

<sup>1</sup> It consisted of the 50th Regiment N. I., a company of the 2nd., the Ramgerh battalion, a squadron of the 3rd Native Cavalry, a brigade of guns, and a body of Irregular Horse and Foot. Many of the chiefs also furnished contingents.

ment of detachments in scouring the country, dispersing parties of the insurgents, surprising their villages, burning their huts, and apprehending their leaders. The Koles, although they assembled sometimes in considerable numbers, amounting to several thousands, rarely hazarded an action, being, in fact, miserably armed with bows and arrows and axes, and a few matchlocks, and wholly incapable of withstanding regular troops. Some injury was suffered from their arrows; and horses and men were severely wounded; a few of whom died of their wounds<sup>1</sup>. Of the insurgents, great numbers were killed; and amongst the slain was the only leader who made himself of note, Buddho Bhagat; whose village, Silagaon, was surprised by a party of the 50th N. I. and a troop of the 3rd Cavalry; and who, with his sons and nephews, and a hundred and fifty of his followers, perished in the attack. No loss whatever was sustained by the assailants. Similar results attended most of the surprises and skirmishes which took place; and there was reason to apprehend, that, in some of these affairs, the Koles were attacked and killed when they were assembled with the purpose of tendering their submission, but had no means of making their purpose known, either party being ignorant of the language of the other<sup>2</sup>. Worn out by the incessant pursuit

BOOK III.  
CHAP. VII.  
1852.

<sup>1</sup> Ensign Macleod died of a wound received from an arrow; but the casualties of the whole campaign amounted to but sixteen killed and forty-four wounded.

<sup>2</sup> A remarkable instance of this is recorded by Dr. Spry from the testimony of an eye-witness. "A multitude, by their own account four thousand, but perhaps not so many, approached a military division, as was supposed, with hostile intentions. Their approach was gradual, until at length about one hundred, more courageous than the rest, came within musket range, and every one anxiously listened to

BOOK III. of the military detachments; and convinced of the  
 CHAP. VII. hopelessness of the struggle, the people at length  
 1852. manifested a general disposition to throw themselves  
 upon the mercy of the Government; and Achet Sing  
 and the other chiefs and head-men, intimidated by  
 the resolute measures adopted, lent their active aid  
 to restore the pacification of the province. Quiet  
 was accordingly re-established, and the troops were  
 withdrawn. Of the insurgents who had been taken  
 prisoners, a number were detained in custody, and  
 brought to trial before a Special Commission, by  
 whom sentence of death was necessarily pronounced  
 upon a considerable proportion. Taking into con-  
 sideration, however, the impulses by which they  
 had been actuated, the sentence was remitted, and a  
 general amnesty was proclaimed. The disputes  
 among the chiefs which remained to be adjusted,  
 were settled in the middle of the following year, at  
 a conference held at Srikola by the Agent with all  
 the principal Rajas and landholders and heads of vil-  
 lages, when they renewed their promises of fealty  
 and submission, and engaged to obtain compensa-  
 tion for the losses inflicted on the orderly portion  
 of the population. The arrangements subse-  
 quently adopted, to which we shall presently ad-  
 vert, confirmed the impression that effected and

hear the word 'Fire' given. Finding we did not fire, they came still  
 closer; on which, the butcher of the force, as he had been in this part  
 of the country before, and knew something of the language, went out  
 of camp and made signs expressive of a desire to speak to them.  
 They allowed him to approach; and so effectual was the man's elo-  
 quence, that they all consented to lay down their arms, and came in  
 crowding round us. The poor wretches seemed greatly delighted at  
 the manner in which the business had terminated."—*Modern India*,  
 by H. Spry, M. D., vol. i. p. 120.

perpetuated the maintenance of peace and order in BOOK III  
Chota-Nagpur. CHAP. VII.

The same barbarous races were also in a state of tumult about the same period in a different part of the country—on the confines of Cuttack and Midnapore—excited more particularly by false reports, spread among them by the agents of one of their chiefs, in order to make them the instruments of his designs against another. The Zemindar of Bamanghati, having acquired extensive influence among the Koles and Goands in that part of the country, attempted to throw off his dependence on the Raja of Mohurbhunj, and commencing the usual process of indiscriminate devastation, committed acts of outrage on the villages of the Cuttack province. The Commissioner, having in vain remonstrated against these excesses, was under the necessity of recourse to military assistance, and the 38th Regiment was despatched from Midnapore. The refractory Zemindar was then induced to come into camp and submit his grievances to the arbitration of the Commissioner, which obviated the necessity of active operations. The extreme unhealthiness of the country proved, however, more destructive than any hostile force, and such was its unsparing severity, that not one officer of the corps was capable of exercising command. Several died; and the rest escaped death only by an immediate return to their quarters at Midnapore. The men also suffered, but not to the like extent.

The campaign against the Koles of Chota Nagpur had scarcely terminated when the presence of the troops was required in the adjacent districts of

BOOK III. Barabhúm and Manbhúm; inhabited principally  
CHAP. VII. by the tribe of Choars, subject, like the Koles, to  
1832. Zemindars and Rajas of Rajput descent, and  
equally addicted, at the instigation of their turbulent  
lords, to the perpetration of outrage and murder.  
The cause of the rising of the Choars was sufficiently  
clear—the strong dislike entertained, by the chiefs  
especially, for the judicial regulations of Bengal; by  
which their rank was disregarded, their privileges  
were circumscribed, their power impaired, and they  
were made personally amenable to the processes of the  
Court and the authority of the Police. The people took  
part with their leaders. The Zemindari of Barabhúm  
had been disputed between two brothers; and had been  
assigned to the elder by decree of the Court. Of the two  
sons of the successful competitor, the elder, Ganga Govind  
Sing, became Raja; the younger, Madho Sing, his Dewan  
or minister, and he incurred extreme unpopularity by  
his extortionate and usurious demands. He had also  
treated his cousin Ganga Narayan Sing, the son of the  
unsuccessful candidate for the Zemindari, with peculiar  
cruelty and contumely; and had exasperated the  
resentment which the family contention had engendered.  
Determined on vengeance, Ganga Narayan collected a  
body of armed retainers, attacked, and set fire to the  
official residence of the Native Judge at Barabazar, whom  
he accused of favouring his enemies, killed a number  
of people, particularly Mohammedans, and, forcibly  
carrying off Madho Sing to the neighbouring hills, put  
him to death. Notwithstanding these acts of violence,  
many of the petty chiefs and

Choars espoused his cause; and he was soon at the head of between two and three thousand men, in a strong and almost inaccessible fastness at Bandi, where he defied the local authorities. After a fruitless attempt against Bandi, the setting-in of the rains compelled the troops to quit the field; and Ganga Narayan availed himself of the interval to assume the title of Raja, and levy contributions from the surrounding country; making occasional incursions into the districts that continued well-affected, and destroying the police stations. As soon, however, as the season permitted, these ravages were arrested. Three regiments of N. I. with guns, the Ramgerh battalion, and a body of Irregular Horse and Foot, marched from Bancora, at the end of November, against the insurgents; and after overcoming difficulties, occasioned more by the nature of the country than the valour of the enemy, captured and destroyed the post of Bandi, which Ganga Narayan had made his head-quarters. The chief himself was absent; and soon ceased to be the occasion of further anxiety. He had repaired to Singbhúm to raise reinforcements amongst the Koles; and taking part in hostilities set on foot by Achet Sing against the Zemindar of Karsana, was killed in the affray. Tranquillity was not immediately produced by his fall. Several other chiefs continued refractory; and it was not until April 1833, that they were secured, and the disturbed districts were pacified. The ringleaders were punished; but the Government of Bengal, convinced of the injudiciousness of attempting to introduce laws adapted to an advanced stage of

BOOK III.

CHAP. VII.

1832.



BOOK III. civilisation, among the ignorant and uncivilised  
CHAP. VII. inhabitants of the Jungle-Mahals, determined to

1833. relieve them from the operation of the Regulations, and they were placed under the discretionary administration of a Commissioner<sup>1</sup>; an arrangement much more intelligible to the people, and better suited to their condition, than the more complex and vexatious system of revenue and judicial enactments, which had been the mainspring of their discontent<sup>2</sup>.

The Presidency of Madras was not exempted from interruptions of the public tranquillity, and the necessity of employing its troops in the maintenance or extension of its authority. The northern Circars, as we have before had occasion to remark, present, in the impenetrable and insalubrious thickets which clothe the skirts of the eastern ghats where they approach the sea, a convenient asylum to fugitives from the decrees of justice or from the stringency of the fiscal exactions of the state. To maintain themselves in their retreat, these outlaws, when possessed of influence, assembled round them parties of the hill tribes, or of refugees of an inferior order; and issuing from their fastnesses, levied contributions or committed ravages along the districts lying contiguously to the mountains. This state of things having continued for some time almost with impunity, it was resolved by the Madras Government, at the end of 1832, to attempt its

<sup>1</sup> Regulation XIII. 1833.

<sup>2</sup> The authority of the Commissioner was extended to the neighbouring districts of Chota Nagpur and Sambhalpur; and embraced a population, in 1840, of above three millions of people. *Bengal and Agra Gazetteer*, 1841, vol. II., part I. p. 225.

extinction; and troops were posted in the hills, in sufficient strength to guard the passes and prevent the incursions of the marauders, and when favourable opportunities offered, to dislodge them from their haunts and apprehend or slay them. These measures were in some degree successful. Payakrao, one of their principal chiefs, was compelled to fly into the Hyderabad country<sup>1</sup>; another, Virabhadra Raj, a descendant of the Raja of Vizianagaram, was taken and imprisoned for life; and a considerable number of their adherents were seized, of whom about thirty were sentenced to death: the rest were subjected to penalties less severe. Other tumults, which arose at Palconda, were suppressed with like vigour; and quiet was restored in the southern division of the province. Presently afterwards, insubordination, with its ordinary concomitants of plunder and massacre, manifested itself in Kimeri, a dependency of Ganjam, where the Bisayis or cultivators of the hills, rose against their Raja, and soon extended their ravages into the adjacent districts, where a portion of the 41st Regiment was the only force in the field. A detachment of that corps, having been led against Jeringhy, the chief town of the insurgents, was successfully opposed. Major Baxter, who commanded, was wounded mortally, and the detachment was obliged to retreat. Reinforcements<sup>2</sup> were speedily despatched; and military operations were carried on with an activity

<sup>1</sup> He was taken two years afterwards, in 1834, and executed.

<sup>2</sup> Detachments of the 8th, 21st, 41st, and 49th Regiments, a company of Golandars, and a detachment of Sappers and Miners. Gen. Orders, Madras, 1st July, 1834.

BOOK III. which soon produced the desired effects. The  
 CHAP. VII. leaders of the insurrection were apprehended and  
 1838. punished, and the people submitted.

Although not exactly of the character of an infraction of domestic peace, yet the situation of the principality of Mysore, and its intimate connection with the Presidency of Fort St. George, identified the disorders by which it was disturbed with those of Madras, and led to its becoming, in a still greater degree, an integral portion of the Presidency. As long as the administration was conducted by the abilities of Purnia, who had been given to the minor Raja as Dewan, Mysore became one of the most flourishing of the native principalities. The people were contented and prosperous; the assessments were light and regularly realised; the revenues exceeded the disbursements; and, upon the retirement of the minister in 1811, there was a large accumulated balance in the treasury. The successor of Purnia, Linga Raj had neither his talents nor his influence; and the Raja, arrived at mature years, spurned at advice or control. Although not destitute of ability, he was indolent, dissolute, and profusely extravagant, lavishing his wealth upon unworthy favourites, and upon the Brahmins, for whom he entertained a superstitious veneration, and in whose favour he largely alienated his revenue. The hoards of the former administration rapidly disappeared; heavy embarrassments were contracted, and the establishments suffered to fall into arrear. The revenues declined; and to compensate for the deficiency, immoderate exactions were levied upon the people,

which were aggravated by the corrupt and oppressive practices of the collectors. The consequences of this mismanagement were brought to the notice of the Raja by the Resident repeatedly, but to little purpose, until 1825, when Sir Thomas Munro deemed it advisable to visit Mysore, and express in person to the Raja the sense entertained by the Government of Fort St. George of his proceedings, and insist upon his adoption of measures of reform. Compliance was readily promised; and for some time a better system was pursued; by which the amount of debt was reduced and the expenditure diminished. The Raja, however, soon relapsed into his former prodigality; and by his exactions, forced the people into acts of insubordination. Repeated insurrections took place among the Ryots, in which the revenue officers of the Raja were murdered or driven out of the country; and the disturbances by which Mysore was distracted, began to extend into the Company's territories. The interference of the Resident occasionally succeeded in quieting the people and in obtaining a more equitable adjustment of their assessments; but the quiet was only temporary; and recurrence to a course of extortionate demands provoked the cultivators to a renewal of resistance. Personal and political interests were finally mixed up with the grievances of the people, and were the source of still more alarming disturbances.

The province of Nagar<sup>1</sup>, forming one of the

<sup>1</sup> Or more properly Bednore. The name was changed after its conquest by Hyder, to Hyder-Nagar, or City of Hyder. The first part of the term has been dropped, and Nagar "the city," alone retained. Wilks's Mysore, i. 47.

BOOK III. four principal divisions of Mysore, situated on its  
CHAP. VII. western borders, had been governed with almost  
 1833. absolute sway by the Fojdar, Ram Rao, a favourite  
 of the Raja; who not only exercised intolerable  
 oppression over the Ryots, but encouraged any act  
 of violence or abuse of authority from which he  
 might reap pecuniary profit. Complaints addressed  
 to the Raja were unavailing, as the interest of Ram  
 Rao, and his connections at court, precluded all  
 hope of redress. At last, in 1830, unable to bear  
 the tyranny of their Fojdar any longer, the Ryots  
 assembled in arms, and invited the peasantry of the  
 other provinces to join them. Many obeyed the  
 summons; and the insurgents were aided by Ran-  
 gapa Naik of Terukeri, who, with the head-men of  
 Nagar, had, in the preceding year, set up a pre-  
 tended descendant of the family<sup>1</sup> which had  
 formerly ruled over the province, in the person of  
 a peasant, Boodi Baswapa of Kaladi, who had  
 obtained from the spiritual guide of a former Raja  
 the signet of the chief; and they professed to  
 acknowledge him as their lawful and hereditary  
 prince. The Raja of Mysore endeavoured to allay  
 the discontent by advancing to the confines of the  
 district and professing his readiness to receive and  
 attend to the complaints of the people; but, at the  
 same time, officers were sent into Nagar with orders  
 to punish and put the insurgents to death. As  
 these measures were ineffective, a strong body of  
 Mysore troops—eight hundred Regular Infantry,  
 six hundred Silladhar Horse, seven hundred Peons  
 armed with matchlocks, and four guns—accom-

<sup>1</sup> Wilks's Mysore, i. 64.

panied and directed by Lieutenant Rochford, an officer of the Resident's escort, marched into the district, took the fort of Kumar Droog, and defeated a considerable body of the rebels at Honelly. In these actions a number of prisoners were taken; of whom a hundred were executed. The force then marched to the fort of Nagar or Bednore, which had been occupied by the insurgents, and where they had hanged a number of the revenue officers, mostly Brahmins, towards whom the inhabitants of the province entertained a violent antipathy, not only as sufferers from their unmerciful extortions, but as followers of a different form of religious faith, being chiefly Lingaits. Nagar was found deserted. Chandraguti, a strong post on the north frontier, was next captured; but the insurrection was unsubdued; and, although the peasantry began to be intimidated and to return to their cottages, the pretender, supported by Rangapa with his son and nephew, Hanumapa and Surjapa Naiks, being joined by adventurers from the southern Mahratta country, and by the armed Peons of Mysore, who cherished a feeling of attachment to the Poligars, their ancient lords, continued at the head of a force which the unaided means of the Raja of Mysore were unable to contend with. Two regiments of N. I., the 15th and 24th, had already been despatched to the scene of action; and a third corps, the 9th, with two companies of his Majesty's 62nd, a squadron of the 7th Native Cavalry, and a brigade of guns, with the Mysore contingent, was despatched, under the command of Colonel Evans, in the beginning of

BOOK III.  
CHAP. VII.

1833.

BOOK III. 1831, from Bangalore. The first movements were  
CHAP. VII. unsuccessful; and a check was sustained at Fattah-  
1833. pett, which induced Colonel Evans to fall back to  
Simoga, where the division was concentrated, and  
whence it again advanced to Nagar, accompanied  
by the Resident and Dewan, who circulated a pro-  
clamation inviting the cultivators to come in and  
represent their grievances, and promising them  
redress. The invitation was promptly accepted,  
although the Ryots declared that they had been  
treated with more humanity and justice by Tipu  
than by the Raja. A conciliatory investigation en-  
sued. Large remissions of revenue arrears were  
made, and numerous abuses were corrected. Entire  
confidence was manifested in the British officers;  
none in those of the Raja; and by the exertions  
of the former, tranquillity was in some degree  
restored. The main body of the troops returned  
to Bangalore; leaving the 9th Regiment and the  
Mysore troops in the province. The Poligars  
continued in arms; and although not in any con-  
siderable force, were not reduced till some time  
afterwards. In the mean while, the universality  
of the disaffection and the evident incapacity  
of the ruler, rendered it manifest that no hope  
of permanent pacification could be entertained  
as long as the Raja was entrusted with the  
administration; and it was resolved by the British  
Government to enforce those stipulations of the  
treaty of 1799, which provided for its conditional  
assumption of the entire management of My-  
sore. The Raja was accordingly divested of all  
political power, and the principality was placed

under the authority of a Commissioner, assisted by BOOK III. four Superintendents, for the divisions of Bangalore, CHAP. VII. Ashtagram, Nagar and Chittledroog: a pension was assigned to the Raja, equal to one-fifth of the nett revenue. 1833. The administration of the country was unchanged in other respects, being carried on by native officers, and on the same principles which had been previously in practice, under the general control and direction of the Commissioner and his assistants, subject to the authority of the Supreme Government<sup>1</sup>.

The revolution thus effected in Mysore, was followed by a still more radical change in the constitution of the petty principality of Coorg, which was converted by the deposition of its Raja into a province of the Presidency of Madras. The Raja of this small mountainous district, lying between Mysore and Malabar, Vira Rajendra Wudiyar, had for some time past been in the habit of perpetrating acts of outrage and ferocity, which could be accounted for only by the ungoverned impulses of insanity: not only were the officers in his service put to death by his orders without any apparent offence, but the inmates of his palace and his nearest relations were not spared in his paroxysms of cruelty; in the height of which he performed the office of executioner, and with his own hands mutilated and murdered in the most savage manner the unhappy objects of his frantic fury<sup>2</sup>. He had long cherished

<sup>1</sup> These arrangements were made with the concurrence and sanction of the Home authorities. See letters from the Court of Directors to Fort St. George, 6th March 1832, and 6th March 1833. Report Com. H. of C.—Political App. VI. p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> After the capture of his capital, seventeen bodies were disinterred



BOOK III. a vehement animosity against the English, and had  
 CHAP. VII. strictly prohibited all intercourse with the British  
 1833. territories or Mysore. No person was permitted,

under the penalty of death, to leave Coorg; and no stranger was suffered to cross its borders except those who had signalised themselves as the opponents of the British Government—like the refractory Poligars of Nagar. In this mood his resentment was inflamed by the flight of his sister and her husband, both of whom he had threatened to put to death, but who found a shelter from his fury under the protection of the Resident of Mysore. It was in vain that efforts were made to bring him back to the amicable terms which had been maintained with his predecessors, and to prevail on him to refrain from those excesses which had made him a terror to his family and his people. A British officer was despatched with these objects from Mysore to Madhukaira, but the mission was unavailing<sup>1</sup>. The Raja obstinately refused to allow any intercourse between Coorg and the adjacent provinces, and insisted on his sister and brother-in-law being given up to his revenge. There was reason also to suspect the Raja of secret communication with the Raja of Mysore, exciting him to resist the British Government, and of employing emissaries to seduce the native troops at Bangalore from their allegiance; in consequence of which a plot was concerted by a few desperate and disaffected individuals to seize the fort of

by order of a Committee of Inquiry into the charges against the Raja. They had been decapitated or strangled, and thrown together in a pit dug in the jungle: among them were recognised the aunt of the Raja, his sister's child, and the brother of her husband.

<sup>1</sup> A native agent sent on the same fruitless errand was detained a prisoner by the Raja.

Bangalore, murder their European officers, and subvert the Company's Government. The plot was brought to the knowledge of the authorities by some of the Sipahis who remained faithful to their employers, and the guilty suffered the just retribution of their offence<sup>1</sup>. Without charging the Raja of Coorg with being accessory to this conspiracy<sup>2</sup>; there was sufficient reason in his prohibition of all friendly intercourse, and in the tenor of his communications with the British Government, to treat him as a public enemy, whose independence was incompatible with the security of the British possessions in his neighbourhood; and it was consequently resolved to occupy the principality, and annex it to the territory of Madras. A proclamation was issued, declaring that "the conduct of the Raja had rendered him unworthy of the friendship and protection of the British Government; that he had been guilty of oppression and cruelty towards his subjects; and had assumed an attitude of defiance and hostility towards the British Government; received and encouraged its proclaimed enemies; addressed letters to the Government of Fort St. George and to the Governor-General replete with the most insulting expressions; and had placed under restraint an old and faithful servant of the Company who had been deputed by the Commissioner of Mysore to open a friendly negotiation: for which offences Vira Rajendra was no longer to be con-

BOOK III.

CHAP. VII.

1833.

<sup>1</sup> General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, Madras, 18th Dec. 1832.

<sup>2</sup> Several Mohammedans of consideration who were convicted of having instigated the conspiracy of Bangalore, were taken at the capital of the Raja, upon its being occupied by the British troops.

BOOK III. sidered Raja of Coorg. An army was about to  
 CHAP. VII. march against him, which would respect the per-  
 1834. sons and property of all who were peaceably dis-  
 posed; and such a system of government would be  
 established as might seem best calculated to secure  
 the happiness of the people".

In order to carry the purposes of the British Government, now under the immediate direction of the Governor-General, who had come from Bengal to Madras more conveniently to superintend the different financial arrangements then in progress, and who was now resident at Bangalore, four several divisions were ordered to enter the province from as many different points: one from the east, commanded by Colonel Lindesay<sup>2</sup>; one from the west, by Colonel Foulis<sup>3</sup>; one from the north, by Colonel Waugh<sup>4</sup>, with a supplementary division under Lieut.-Col. Jackson, from Bangalore<sup>5</sup>; and the fourth, consisting of the Wynad Rangers, under Captain Minchin, from the west. Colonel Lindesay, who held the general command, crossed the Kaveri on the 2nd of April; dispersing a small body of the enemy, who appeared disposed to contest the passage. On the 5th, after two marches, rendered difficult by the nature of the route, the ghat of

<sup>1</sup> See the Proclamation, 1st April, 1834, Monthly Asiatic Journal, vol. xv. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Consisting of his Majesty's 39th, the 36th, and 48th N. I., with a company of European Artillery, with eight guns and 22nd Sappers and Miners. Lieut.-Col. Stewart, who was attached to this division, had part of the 39th, and the 4th and 35th, N. I.

<sup>3</sup> His Majesty's 48th, 20th, N. I., and details of Native Artillery, with four guns and a party of Sappers and Miners.

<sup>4</sup> His Majesty's 56th and the 9th, and 31st Regiments, N. I., one company Rifles, detachment of Artillery, and Sappers and Miners.

<sup>5</sup> Detachment of his Majesty's 48th and 40th Regiment, N. I.

Arany was forced, after a slight opposition; and on the following morning the column entered Madhukaira, the capital of Coorg, from which the Raja had retreated. A second division of the eastern column, under Lieut.-Col. Steuart, which marched from Periapatam on the 1st, also crossed the Kaveri on the 2nd, after putting a body of the enemy to flight. On the following day a stockade of some strength, commanding the road, was carried after a slight resistance. On the 5th, the column advanced to Rajendrapett; skirmishing on its march with the Coorgs posted amidst the thickets, but without experiencing any serious loss. On the 6th, it rejoined Colonel Lindesay at the capital<sup>1</sup>.

The western column, commanded by Colonel Foulis, moved from Cananore on the 30th March, and arrived on the 2nd April at a small river, driving across it a party of the enemy; in which service Lieutenant Erskine of his Majesty's 48th Regiment was killed. On the 3rd, the division experienced a resolute resistance, having to carry two strong stockades, and to dispute every foot of road up a narrow path, obstructed by felled trees and skirted by jungle. The troops bivouacked at the foot of the ascent to Hugal Ghat; the passage of which was effected on the 4th with considerable labour, but without further opposition<sup>2</sup>. On the 5th, the troops moved to Virajendrapett, where they met Colonel Steuart's detachment. On the 7th, the force halted at Matra-

<sup>1</sup> No officers or men were killed in this division; a few only, private, were wounded.

<sup>2</sup> The casualties were,—one officer, Lieutenant Erskine, and eleven private, killed; two officers and thirty men, wounded.

BOOK III moody, within eight miles of the capital, now in the  
CHAP. VII possession of Colonel Lindesay.

1854.

The northern column, under Colonel Waugh, was less successful than the preceding, and sustained a check, attended with heavy loss. Having entered the Coorg territory on the 1st of April, the division advanced to Rabata on the 2nd, through a difficult country, and harassed on the flanks and rear by parties of the enemy sheltered by the thickets: a breast-work on the summit of a steep ascent was carried with some loss; the Coorgs, commanded by Kongal Naik, one of the refractory Poligars of Terukeri, behaving with resolution. They then fell back to a still more defensible position—the pass of Bak—which, presenting almost insuperable natural obstacles, was rendered still more arduous by a series of formidable stockades. On the following day the force moved at daybreak, and after slowly winding its way up a steep ascent and through an almost impermeable forest, arrived about noon within a short distance of the works, which consisted of lateral palisades following the slope of the hill, and terminating near the summit in a strong transverse barrier. The side works were masked by large trees; the front had a space cleared, forming a sort of glacis—an enemy was therefore exposed as he advanced against it to a cross-fire in flank, as well as a direct discharge in front.

In order to avoid exposing the troops to the consequences of a forward movement, the advance, consisting of a detachment of H. M. 55th, and a party of the 31st Madras N. I. with pioneers, which had been reinforced with the light company of the

55th and the 9th N. I., was ordered to break off into two columns diverging to the right and left, through the forest, so as to assault the lateral stockades from the rear. After toiling with great labour through the thicket, the two parties, either from having missed their way, or from having been misled by the treachery of the guides, issued together on the same spot, within a short distance of the transverse barricade. They were allowed to approach it; but were then assailed by a murderous discharge, by which the foremost were knocked down. The two companies of the 55th and the detachment of the 31st, nevertheless, persisted in attempting to force their way through the barricades in front; but the enemy's fire became still more insupportable; and after suffering severely, the assailants were forced to retire. A reinforcement of the 55th was sent to their aid, and was accompanied by the commanding officer of the regiment, Colonel Mill. The troops again advanced to the principal barrier and endeavoured to carry it by escalade; but the attempt ended in the death or disabling of the assailants; and after a fruitless persistence in the attack, and the loss of many officers and men, the party was compelled to retreat. The Coorgs sallied forth in pursuit, and with their large knives despatched the wounded or wearied, whom they overtook, until the pursuit was checked by covering parties sent from the camp. In this unfortunate affair Colonel Mill of the 55th, Ensign Robertson of the 9th N. I., and Ensign Babington of the 31st N. I., and thirty-six non-commissioned officers and privates were killed, and six officers and one

BOOK III.

CHAP. VII.

1834.

BOOK III. hundred and twenty men were wounded. In consequence of this repulse, Colonel Waugh deemed it expedient to fall back to Rabata, where the brigade remained encamped until the more fortunate movements of the successful columns had cleared the road for its advance to Madhukaira<sup>1</sup>.

CHAP. VII.

1834.

The Western Auxiliary column moved on the 29th March, and on the following day arrived at Komli, where it halted—having undergone unusual fatigue from the difficulties of the ascent. Resuming the advance, the column proceeded along the road to Belaripett, and on the 3rd April came in front of a strongly-strengthened post of the enemy. A party sent in advance to reconnoitre effected the object; but on its way back to camp was assailed from the cover of the dense jungle on either side by a destructive fire, to which no return could be made,

<sup>1</sup> Official despatch of Lieutenant-Colonel Waugh, *Monthly Asiatic Journal*, vol. XV., 86; also, *Narrative of Captain Hutchinson, of the 21st*, *ibid.* vol. XVI., 118. A narrative of the action is given in minute detail, and except with some questionable exhibitions of personal complacency, with every appearance of accuracy, by M. de Warren, who was personally engaged in it as a lieutenant of the 55th. According to him the failure was in a great degree owing to the injudicious precipitancy of the Brigadier, who ordered the attack to be made before the position had been sufficiently reconnoitred, and in opposition to the advice of the advance, and of Colonel Mill; and partly to the misconduct of the Sipahis of the 9th regiment. ‘*L’Inde Anglaise*.’ His estimate of the military character of the Sipahis, however, is extravagantly unjust; and his exemplification of their inferiority to Europeans, absurdly misinformed. After giving an exaggerated account of the part taken by the native troops in the discontents of their officers during the administration of Sir G. Barlow, he concludes—“*Les quarante mille Cipaya, réunis par masses, vinrent se briser contre les cinq mille Européens dispersés. Après quelques combats qui coûtèrent la vie à un grand nombre d’indigènes et à quelques officiers Anglais quand un bataillon de Cipaya en carré eut été sabré par les dragons, deux ou trois autres exterminés par les détachemens royaux, tout dut rentrer dans l’ordre.*” “*Facta*,” he remarks, “are stubborn things.” There is not a single fact in this illustration of the comparative merits of the European and Native soldiery.—*L’Inde Anglaise*, tom. ii. p. 20.

as the Coorgs effectually screened themselves behind the bushes and among the trees. A detachment sent to the relief of the reconnoitring party returned with it to the encampment, but not until many casualties had occurred, and the Sipahis had become dispirited by experience of the disadvantages with which they would have to struggle in the rugged ascent and intricate thickets through which they would have to force their way, and the murderous bush-fighting of the Coorgs, to which they would be exposed with little chance of retaliation. The consequence was, the desertion of many of the native troops and of almost all the camp-followers, and the privation of the means of carrying the baggage and stores of the detachment. It was therefore thought advisable to retire to Padampalli, where supplies were expected. The forward movement was resumed on the 5th, and Colonel Jackson again encamped on the ground he had occupied on the 2nd, in advance of Komli, to which place however he once more retrograded, having suffered severe loss from the persevering attacks of the enemy, and anticipating their closing upon his rear and cutting off his communications<sup>1</sup>. No further attempt was made to enter Coorg in this direction. Neither was any impression made on the side of Wynad. On the contrary, the Coorgs assumed the offensive, and compelled Captain Minchin to fall back to the chief station Manantoddy, to protect it against their attacks. Hostilities had in the meantime

<sup>1</sup> In this affair the loss was thirty-three killed, and forty-one wounded, besides camp-followers. Amongst the former was Ensign Johnstone, 51st N. I. Despatches of Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, Komli, 11th April.—Monthly A. J. XV., 68.



BOOK III. been brought to a conclusion by the occupation of  
CHAP. VII. the capital.

1834.

The spirit displayed by the inhabitants of Coorg in their resistance to a force which, from its numbers and discipline might have been expected at once to have overwhelmed an undisciplined and imperfectly armed handful of barbarians, and the success with which they repelled the attacks of so many of the divisions, were highly creditable to their nationality, and might suggest a suspicion that the Raja was less unpopular with his people than had been represented. Had he manifested the like courage, or shewn any military ability in availing himself of the natural defences of his country, the contest might have been more serious. The barriers on the east and west might have been found as impassable as those on the north; and the mountains and the hills of Coorg might have been defended until the unhealthiness of the advancing season had compelled the troops to quit the field, and afforded the Raja a chance of obtaining more favourable terms. Vira Rajendra, however, was unequal to the crisis he had provoked; and the occupation of Madhukaira was immediately followed by the surrender of its prince. He gave himself up unconditionally on the evening of the 10th, to Colonel Lindsay, and was detained a prisoner in his palace. He was afterwards removed with his family to Bangalore, and finally to Benares. The management of the province was consigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, as political agent, by whom the heads of the villages were assembled at Madhukaira and consulted with respect to the future administration. A

considerable number of them expressed a desire to be taken under the immediate authority of the British Government; and in compliance with their wishes, a proclamation was promulgated, announcing the resolution of the Governor-General, that the territory heretofore governed by Vira Rajendra Wudiyar should be transferred to the Company. The inhabitants were assured that they should not again be subjected to native rule — that their civil rights and religious usages should be respected—and that the greatest desire should invariably be shewn to augment their security, comfort, and happiness. How far these objects have been effected may admit of question; but the province has remained at peace, and the Coorgs have shewn no disposition to re-assert their independence.

After the close of the Coorg campaign, the Governor-General proceeded from Bangalore to the Nilgheri hills for the re-establishment of his health; and while at Uttakamund was joined by Sir Frederick Adams, the Governor of Madras, Colonel Morrison, appointed to the Supreme Council, and Mr. Macaulay, who had been nominated fourth or legislative member of Council, under the arrangements adopted in England for the future Government of British India. To these we shall have occasion to recur: such of them as affected the organisation of the general administration, the establishment of one Supreme Government of India, vested in the person of the Governor-General; and the constitution of a new Presidency, that of Agra were announced to the public in a proclamation dated the 10th July. The execution

BOOK III.

CHAP. VII.

1834.

BOOK III. of the latter arrangement was suspended until the  
CHAP. VII. return of Lord William Bentinck to Bengal, which  
1834. took place at the end of the year. The other proceedings of the Governor-General at Uttakamund were chiefly directed to the reduction of the expenses of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, which still continued to exceed their resources. Authoritative promulgation was also given to those provisions of the new Charter, which relieved Europeans from the disabilities under which their settlement had been hitherto impeded, and allowed them to acquire a proprietary right to landed property. A partial relaxation of the prohibitory regulations had been previously effected by Lord W. Bentinck; and they had been permitted to hold lands on a protracted lease. They were now freed from all material restraints; and the result has shown how little was ever to have been apprehended from the privilege: very few individuals have availed themselves of the permission; Europeans in India rarely possessing either the inclination to invest capital in landed property, or the capital by which alone such property is to be acquired.