

RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY AND THE LAST MOGHULS

A SELECTION FROM OFFICIAL RECORDS

⟨1803—1859⟩

EDITED WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

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PREFACE

Raja Rammohun Roy's name has acquired lasting glory in history in connexion with more things than one, of which his embassy to England in connexion with the affairs of the King of Delhi (Akbar II) is one of the most important. But this was not hitherto brought out in its proper perspective either by his biographers or by historians, which is evidently due to their inadequate knowledge of the particulars necessary for its proper understanding or appreciation. The selection of records published in the present volume would go a long way to fulfil the desideratum. To the selection has been prefixed an historical introduction mainly based on the documents herein published, but partly on works of acknowledged authorities on the subject.

The appointment of a Hindu and a Bengalee like Rammohun as an envoy of the Moslem King of Delhi, and that on such an important matter, has not unnaturally aroused surprise in many minds. But its solution is not difficult to find. It unquestionably testifies to the merit, ability and zeal of Rammohun, which must have spread their lustre far and wide not only among individuals of high rank, but also among the nobles of the Royal Courts of India with many of whom he seems to have been well acquainted, and by whom his merit and character were well appreciated. It has been said that one of the nobles of the Court of Delhi recommended to the King the name of Rammohun as the proper man to be appointed his envoy to prosecute his claims before the authorities in England, and to this must have been added the confidence arising out of the previous acquaintance of his family with the Delhi Royal House, his grand-father being said to have had rendered important services to the Emperor Shah Alam during His Majesty's residence in the Eastern Provinces. (See Appendix VI). That the above nomination did great credit to the discernment and liberality of the Shah and his advisers, and that their trust and confidence were in no way

misplaced, would be evident from the successful result of his exertions for the Royal cause as recorded in the ensuing annals.

That the history of the case of the King of Delhi would be disclosed in such a detailed and satisfactory manner was beyond expectation. I owe the undertaking of the present work to the earnest desire and encouragement of Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, who strongly felt that the history of such an important affair was worth disclosing. Besides disclosing many of the hitherto unknown details or incidents of the Royal case, this selection would, at the same time, throw an important sidelight on the last days of the Moghuls under British protection.

This work owes its publication to the munificence of H. H. the Raja Saheb of Mandi, Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Kt., the Maharaja of Pithapuram, Lord Sinha, Sir P. C. Roy, Kt., Mr. Tapan Mohun Chatterjee, Barrister-at-Law, and Mr. S. M. Bose, a proprietor of the Bengal Waterproof Works, as well as to the liberality of Lt.-Col. M. Das, I.M.S., Dr. Ajit Mohun Bose, M.B., Ch.B. (Edin.), Dr. D. M. Bose, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Mr. P. N. Dutt, B.Sc. (Lond.), of the Geological Survey of India (retired), Mr. J. N. Das, Prof. Kshitish Prasad Chattopadhyay, of the Calcutta University, Dr. D. N. Maitra, Mrs. Hemanta Kumari Choudhury, and Prof. Deb Kumar Dutt, M.A., B.E.S., to whom I owe an expression of very grateful thanks. I am also under a deep debt of gratitude to the Hon'ble Mr. S. N. Roy, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary, Communications Department, Government of India, as well as to Dr. P. N. Banerjee, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.A., for their very kind pecuniary assistance and help in various ways. I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, M.A., Editor, *Modern Review*, for his encouragement and help in overcoming many difficulties.

Though the main theme of the work has been the narration of the case of the Delhi King from its inception to its tragic end in the Mutiny, to which end most of the documents have been selected, others have also been inserted which throw light on the

incidents of the Moghul Court or of the Delhi Royal family, not wholly unconnected with the above.

I must mention in this connexion that a large number of documents relative to the prosecution of the case of the Delhi King is lying in the archives of the India Office in London, which I desired to incorporate in this volume, but abnormal circumstances having arisen, I had to drop the idea for the present. But should I be able to procure these I intend to publish them as a supplement to this volume in the near future. These important and illuminating documents should not be lost or omitted, but the accomplishment of the task would, to a large extent, depend upon the sympathy and encouragement I receive in the meantime from the generous public and admirers of the Raja.

This book may be taken to form the second volume of the series of works now being published on the life and works of the late Raja Rammohun Roy, of which the first one was published last year.

The records have been arranged chronologically. The copyists' mistakes in these have been left in most cases as they were, but this would not prevent the intelligent reader from getting at their proper meaning or purport.

Almost all the records of the Political, Secret and Home departments that have been now printed belong to the Government of India, and I have to thank the authorities for kindly giving me permission to publish them. Most of these records are brought to the notice of the public for the first time, and all of them have been collected independently.

The documents contain a variety of spelling of Indian proper names and technical terms. The glossary and the index may be consulted for the standard forms in most cases.

It now remains for me to perform the pleasant duty of expressing my grateful thanks to those who have helped me in some way or other in the preparation of this volume. I am

indebted to the Keepers of Records of the Government of India, and especially to Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A. and Mr. C. Singer, as well as to Mr. B. N. Basu, the Superintendent and their staff for giving me all facilities and help in the prosecution of my research; to Prof. Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt., and Prof. Amiya Kumar Sen, M.A., of the Calcutta University, as well as to Prof. Sushovon Chandra Sarkar, M.A. (Oxon.), of the Presidency College, Calcutta, for their many suggestions; to Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Hidayat Hussain Khan Bahadur, M.A., Ph.D., of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, for kindly helping me in preparing the glossary and the index; to Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullah, Librarian of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and his staff for giving me all facilities in the prosecution of my work; and to Mr. N. Mukherjee, Proprietor of the Art Press, Calcutta, the manager and the staff for their courtesy and the care they have bestowed on the work during the course of its publication. But for the help of the above my task would not have been so easy of accomplishment.

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INTRODUCTION

The appointment of Raja Rammohun Roy as the envoy of the King of Delhi to England marks an important event in the long history of the prosecution of the claims and grievances of the Emperors since their coming under the protection of the British after the second Maratha war in 1803. The Royal claim which Rammohun was entrusted to prosecute before the Home authorities, consisted of two points, viz. the augmentation of the Royal stipend, and the recognition of his 'superiority.' The latter involved the most important and interesting constitutional question regarding the status or position of the King of Delhi *vis-a-vis* the Company's Government in India. But to understand the case in its proper perspective it is necessary to probe into the history of the earlier period and to consider the facts and circumstances which gave rise to it. The case had really its inception in the last days of Shah Alam with the early history of whose life this narrative starts touching only on the salient points of the incidents and happenings and those which have a bearing on our subject matter.

When Alamgir II was treacherously murdered at Delhi in 1759, Ali Gowhar, the heir apparent, was engaged in renewing his attempts upon the province of Behar at the invitation of Kamgar Khan, the zemindar of Mey. When he had advanced as far as Sasaram the tragic news of the death of his father reached him, and without losing time he immediately caused a throne to be made there and assumed the royal dignity under the title of Shah Alam II.

Ali Gowhar's coming to assume the royal dignity was favoured by rather lucky circumstances. Alamgir II was made King on his father having been thrown into prison by Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the deposed Vazir, with the help of the Marathas, who himself assumed the vazarat. This happened about the month of November 1755. The King was a puppet, an instrument in Ghazi-ud-din's hands, and kept in abject bondage and restraint. In order to extricate himself from such a state, the King wrote privately to the Rohilla Chief Ahmad Shah Abdali to come to his rescue. Abdali readily embraced the opportunity and started for Shahjahanabad, where he made a triumphant entry. On entering the city he at once restored the King to his dignity, asked all the States to pay their obedience and tributes to the King, and conferred the vazarat on Ali Gowhar. But in his ensuing campaign against the Jauts, who had refused to pay obedience and tributes to the King

of Delhi, Ghazi-ud-din helped him so effectively that he was greatly pleased with him and determined to re-invest him with the vazarat. Abdali sent a proposal to this end to the King, who having resented it, the four Princes were ordered to be brought before him, when he seized the badge from Ali Gowhar and conferred it on Ghazi-ud-din. From this time Ghazi-ud-din became more powerful and insolent than ever. On Abdali's departure the Princes were released, and three of them returned to the palace, but Ali Gowhar in order to avoid the humiliation in Ghazi-ud-din's hands fled to Jedger, his *jageer*, and there raised forces to defend himself. Ghazi-ud-din was anxious to bring him back to the palace, and to that end repeatedly requested him, which was at last complied with on Ghazi's swearing not to touch his person or life. But the Prince instead of going to live in the palace began to reside in a house allotted to him outside it. Persuasion having failed to gain his purpose, Ghazi-ud-din resolved to use force, and one morning the Prince was surprised to find himself surrounded by Ghazi's troops. Ali Gowhar with great difficulty managed to escape out of the city, and after some time found shelter with Najib Khan, the Governor of Shaharanpore. Najib Khan treated the Prince with all due respect and consideration. Najib did not forget the injury he had suffered in the hands of Ghazi-ud-din and finding this opportunity to resent it he invited several Rohilla Chiefs and others to come and join him in redressing the cause of the injured Prince as well as to free the King from the tyranny of the Vazir. But the dread of the Marathas prevented the Chiefs from joining Najib, and thus his plan failed. And Najib finding it difficult to keep the Prince with him any longer advised him to seek shelter with Shuja-ud-daulah at Lucknow. The Prince complied with it, and on proceeding to Lucknow he was received with the greatest honour by Shuja. At this time plan to make an attempt on the conquest of Bengal was made. Shuja assisted the Prince with a party of his own forces, and the Prince before his departure solemnly swore to bestow the vazarat on him as a reward for his loyalty, should he ascend the throne.

Towards the end of 1758 the Prince crossed the Currumnossa and entered the province of Behar, but having met with a reverse he retired to the borders of Allahabad. He made proposal of throwing himself upon the protection of the English, but this was rejected. So he remained there forsaken by most of his followers and without any determined plan.

At this time a storm broke out which threatened to overwhelm his friend Najib Khan, against whom Ghazi-ud-din had sent a Maratha general with a large force. Najib finding himself

helpless called to his aid his old allies Shuja-ud-daulah and the Rohilla Chiefs, including the Abdali. The Maratha general also requisitioned the help of Ghazi-ud-din, but Ghazi-ud-din was not prepared to take the field leaving the King behind, as he was afraid of the King's leaguings with his enemies. So he asked the King to accompany him to the field, but on the King refusing it, he determined to put an end to his life, which he was successful in executing by treacherously murdering him, and declaring a prince of the palace King under the title of Shahjahan II.

But Ghazi-ud-din's expedition ended in a disaster. He fled before the conquering enemies, and was at last compelled to sue for peace with Abdali, which was accepted. At this time Abdali sent his nasakchis from his camp at Anupshahr to Ali Gowhar and Shuja-ud-daulah with letters offering kingship to the former and the vazarat to the latter. Just before this, as we have seen, Ali Gowhar had assumed the royal dignity. The King returned a suitable reply to the Abdali and to Shuja-ud-daulah he wrote to say that after wiping off the disgrace of his defeat in the provinces of Behar and Bengal he would return to take possession of the throne of his ancestors at Delhi. Shuja-ud-daulah leaving the King to prosecute his designs on Bengal, himself set out with his forces for the camp of the Abdali to help him in the trouble that was brewing between him and the Marathas. After various engagements Shuja-ud-daulah succeeded in winning such a decisive victory over the Marathas that the Maratha governor of Shahjahanabad was compelled to fly from the city. Shuja entered and occupied the city next day.

When things became thus very favourable for Shah Alam at Delhi, his fortune got a reverse in his campaign on Bengal. Getting a setback at the hands of the English near Patna, the king was so much frightened that he offered to throw himself upon the protection of the English, which was this time accepted. On the 8th January 1765, the King joined the English camp and proceeded with them to Patna. The English showed great kindness and consideration to him. The province of Allahabad, including the district of Corah, was not only assigned to him, but in order to render his establishment splendid the Company further agreed to pay him the sum of 26 lacs annually from the revenues of Bengal, in return for which Shah Alam granted to the Company in perpetual Dewance the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. Allahabad was selected for the King's residence, where Shah Alam kept his court in great splendour. Had Shah Alam so wished he could spend the rest of his life there in comfort and happiness. But that was not to be. Though apparently satisfied, from the first day of his settlement at Allahabad the King is said to have been sighing

in secret for the pleasures of the capital and was ambitious of re-ascending the throne of his ancestors.

The Marathas, who were at this time running the northern India, with an eye on their self-aggrandizement, were making overtures to the King to leave the protection of the English. They appeared ready to renew their efforts and interpose in the transactions of the Court of Delhi. They persuaded the Emperor that his dignity was lessened by his present situation. These representations operated on the mind of the King to such a degree that neither the reasonings of the English, nor the entreaties of the Vazir could divert him from his resolution. The King set out on his journey in the spring of 1771, and on the 25th of December made his entry into Delhi to the great delight of his people.

But the ill-fated King soon discovered his mistake. Soon after his establishment at Delhi a rebellion was brewing in one of the provinces. Zabita Khan, the son of the late minister Najaf-ud-daulah, was raising troops and erecting strong fortifications in his district. The King wanted to suppress him immediately, and led an expedition against him. The Maratha forces were sent as an advance guard and the King and Najaf Khan followed them with the remainder of the troops. In the battle that ensued Zabita was defeated and his camp occupied by the Marathas, where they found a large booty. The Marathas in violation of their former stipulations appropriated the greatest part of it to their own use. The King protested against such an act to their leader, but to no effect. The King being then helpless had no remedy against it, but the Moghul nobility resolved to retaliate it at the first opportunity. The King having settled the affairs of the province returned with the army to Delhi.

Being thus insulted by the Marathas the King was naturally desirous of being released from their power and influence. The Jauts in the meantime had again assembled their forces, and Shah Alam requested the Maratha leaders to march their forces against them. The Marathas instead of prosecuting the war against the Jauts were in league with Zabita Khan and settled that on his advancing a large sum of money to them they would return to Delhi and insist on the King not only to pardon him for his former offences, but to invest him with the office of Ameer-ul-Omrah, which his father enjoyed. The agreement being come to, the Marathas sent a messenger to the King to require his compliance with the demand, but Shah Alam relying on the attachment of the Moghul troops and Najaf Khan dismissed the messenger with a positive refusal. On this a battle ensued, but finding his position not very safe the King on the advice of his Moghul officers agreed with reluctance to submit to the terms of the Marathas. The

Marathas were invited to Court, whither they appeared with Zabita Khan, who was pardoned, reinstated to his province and appointed to the long-expected office of Ameer-ul-Omrah.

Though the triumph of the Marathas was now complete, trouble was brewing for them in some other quarter. Their depredations for the last two years in the provinces of the warlike tribe of the Rohillas excited their just indignation. Not being themselves sufficiently strong, the Rohillas applied to the Vazir for assistance, who, in concurrence with the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, agreed to join them. On this occasion the Chief of the Rohillas entered into a treaty with the Vazir and the English in which the King of Delhi had also secretly borne a considerable part. The King informed the British Government that it was his earnest desire to be rid of the thralldom in which he was kept by the Marathas.

In the war that ensued the Marathas found their position hopeless, and also knowing the King's mind to be entirely estranged from them, they resolved for the time to return to Deccan, but determined to renew their ambitious schemes as opportunity should offer.

The departure of the Marathas afforded Shah Alam the highest satisfaction. Freed from the insolent thralldom of the Marathas he hoped that he should once more be able to maintain his authority in the State, and bring his affairs into a better train. He was also resolved to place his whole confidence on Mirza Najaf Khan, who in every respect was well qualified for the important trust. And the King was not disappointed in his expectations. But to his great misfortune Najaf died shortly afterwards. After Najaf's death violent dissensions and disagreements broke out in all their fury among the Moghul Nobles of the Court. Shah Alam was compelled to yield to them and the unhappy King in the evening of his life had the mortification to perceive his authority totally annihilated and himself become a wretched pageant in the hands of his rebellious subjects. And this disgust rose to such a pitch that he at last resolved, at all events, to throw himself again into the hands of the Marathas, and by their aid to relieve himself from the insupportable insults daily offered him by his own subjects.

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which, after declaring his intention of restoring the Royal family to its former splendour, he made a request to Shah Alam to remove with his Court to Agra where he would arrange and settle to the satisfaction of all the parties the affairs of the empire. Afrasiab Khan, who was next constituted Ameer-ul-Omrah, on receipt of these letters laid them before the King and urged him to an immediate compliance. Shah Alam assented to it and got ready for departure. On the way, through party jealousy and intrigue, Afrasiab was murdered in his tent, and in the settlement that followed Sindhia succeeded to the vacant office of Ameer-ul-Omrah. But the troubles of the unhappy monarch were only changed by this event, and though the government of Sindhia was marked and attended by vigour and some brilliant successes, it could not allay the popular discontent, nor add to the stability of the throne. Though Sindhia was at first favoured by the Moghul nobility, he soon made them his enemies by the rapacity of his conduct and haughtiness of his disposition.

Towards the close of the year Zabita Khan died, and he was succeeded by his son Ghulam Kadir. Immediately after his succession Ghulam broke out in open rebellion against the imperial authority in which he was secretly encouraged by the treacherous *nazir* or steward of the Royal household at Delhi. Just before this the combined Maratha and Moghul forces were under the necessity of taking the field against Pertab Sing, Raja of Jaynagar, who had also asserted his independence. In this war, which was conducted by Sindhia in person, the royal army was defeated, and Sindhia had to fly. This gave an opportunity to Ghulam Kadir to appear on the banks of the Jumna, and encamp opposite the city. The deputy governor sent his troops to attack him in his camp, but had a reverse, and he was compelled to leave the city in confusion. Ghulam, though admitted to the Royal presence, where he made a demand of the office of Ameer-ul-Omrah vacated by the abdication of Sindhia, was compelled to retire to his camp after encountering opposition from a few faithful adherents of the monarch, and particularly from the Begam Sumru.

At this juncture of affairs the heir apparent, Prince Jawan Bakht, who was living in voluntary exile in Benares, was making a forced march to the assistance of his father. He had written to the English to come and help him in his noble mission, but on account of their non-interference policy they stayed their hands. Coming to know of the Prince's movement the *nazir* warned Ghulam and recommended him to submit to the Emperor at once. With this Ghulam complied, but Shah Alam being well aware of his character at first refused to take him in favour. But the *nazir*

by artifice at last prevailed in obtaining a royal pardon for Ghulam. Immediately after this the Prince reached Delhi and Ghulam retired to his province. Shah Alam was too happy to receive his son, and had he reposed on his own he would have spent the remainder of his life in comfort and security. But that was not to be. The Prince though perfectly loyal to his royal father had not the good fortune to enjoy his confidence for long. Through the artful insinuations of the treacherous *nazir* the King's mind was poisoned against the Prince. The Prince coming to know of his father's mind and finding his life in danger thought best to quit the imperial city and again sought shelter in Benares, where a violent attack of fever terminated his misfortune after a few months. Thus the wretched Emperor was deprived of the last and only prop of his old age when he stood in peculiar need of it. Surrounded by chiefs in whom he could place no trust, and who were either acting in defiance of his authority or intriguing among themselves for the usurpation of power, the only hope now left for Shah Alam was to look to Sindhia to advance with his forces, of which he heard of his being engaged in endeavouring to reduce Najaf Kuli Khan to obedience.

Sindhia soon after he got reinforcement entered the Doab. The arrival of the Maratha Chief, while it encouraged hope in the King's mind to get relief from his distresses, at the same time awakened the fears of the Moghul lords. They combined and prepared to resist the Maratha arms. Ismail Beg forming alliance with Ghulam Kadir felt confident of his ability to repulse the invader; but that Chief abandoned him in the nick of time. At the battle that ensued Sindhia had the better of it and the Maratha authority was re-established in the empire of Hindustan. And Ghulam Kadir now despairing of attaining the object of his ambition determined to gratify his avarice by the plunder of the imperial palace. With this in view he entered into negotiation with Ismail Beg, who, notwithstanding his previous experience of Ghulam's treachery, accepted his apologies and consented to join him in his nefarious projects. And Shah Alam's imprudence contributed to such a coalition. During the progress of Sindhia the King was carrying on private correspondence with him congratulating him on his late successes, and inviting him to hasten his advance for the punishment of the Emperor's enemies as well as of his own. Some of these falling into the hands of the *nazir* were communicated by him to Ghulam, who lost no time in effecting a complicity with Ismail Beg for facilitating his diabolical designs against the sovereign. The two Chiefs marched towards Delhi and having met no resistance obtained possession of the palace as well as of the person of the King.

A treaty was drawn up by which Ghulam was appointed to the sole direction of affairs and in return for it he pledged to defend the King and his interests against all opposition. No sooner was the treaty ratified than the guards of the palace were disarmed, the officers seized, and the palace completely filled with rebel soldiers. Shah Alam found his error and remonstrated against it, but it was only treated with cruel mockery. After undergoing many indignities at the hands of Ghulam the Emperor was compelled to quit the throne on which a son of the late emperor Ahmad Shah was seated under the title of Jahan Shah. But the calamities did not terminate there. When the rebel found that the riches in the palace fell far short of his expectation, and the treasury was found exhausted, he, in a fit of rage, caused the King to be brought before him, on whom he poured most outrageous abuse, knocked him down with his own hands and kneeling on his breast destroyed one of his eyes. He also perpetrated most shameful outrage on the *zenana*, which need not be detailed here. In the course of such outrages the treacherous *nazir* had also his punishment. Ghulam also played treacherously with Ismail Beg, which led the latter to invite Sindhia to his rescue immediately. Sindhia complied with it by at once ordering Rana Khan to march to the capital. This command was carried out so quickly that Ghulam had no idea of his danger till the army appeared in sight of Delhi. As soon as he came to know of this he left the fort and retired to Meerut taking with him the monarch whom he had enthroned as also the *nazir*, together with some branches of the Royal family. Rana Khan after entering Delhi followed Ghulam to Meerut and after an engagement succeeded in capturing and putting him to a most cruel death. The *nazir* was also captured and similarly dealt with. After the execution of such punishments to the culprits Sindhia re-enthronised Shah Alam on an appointed day to the great delight of the people of Delhi.

Though the imperial title was nominally restored in the person of Shah Alam, his power was completely annihilated, for Sindhia assumed the absolute sovereignty. And though nine lakhs of rupees were allotted for the yearly support of the Royal family, not more than fifty thousand were actually appropriated for that purpose; so that the King and his immense household were often in want of the common necessities of life. In such a degraded condition the King continued till he was rescued after the battle of Delhi in 1803, and had the satisfaction of experiencing in the liberality of the English government all the enjoyments that could render the evening of his life tranquil and happy, as we shall presently see.

After settling the affairs of Delhi, Sindhia turned his attention to the subjugation of the different Rajput States, who, during the late disturbances and revolutions, had asserted their independence of the Imperial Court. In this undertaking Sindhia was greatly assisted by the professional abilities of Du Boigne, a French military adventurer of great parts. Sindhia was immensely successful in his campaign, and as a result of it his influence extended to the Punjab frontier. At this period his power reached its meridian splendour. But soon after this he suddenly died at the age of 67, and was succeeded by his nephew Daulat Rao Sindhia.¹

Daulat Rao, though at the time very young, had favourable circumstances to enable him to consolidate his power. But he seems to have had adopted a line of policy very different from that adopted by his late uncle. Instead of attending to his interests in Hindustan, he began to exert himself at the Court of Peshwa to circumscribe his authority, counteract his rivals and to render his own influence supreme throughout the Deccan. The Peshwa was the acknowledged head and chief executive power of the united empire of the Marathas.

The strength of the Maratha States at this time may be said to have been principally divided between three feudal chieftains, *viz.*, Daulat Rao Sindhia, Tukoji Holkar and Raghuji Bhonsla. Sindhia and Holkar after having circumscribed the power and authority of the Peshwa to a shadow, was quarrelling with each other for the privilege of exercising sovereign power in the name of the Prince.

Previous to the commencement of the last Mysore war, the usurpation by Daulat Rao Sindhia of a subordinate chieftain of the Maratha empire led to the dissolution of the alliance formed by Cornwallis with the Maratha Power upon the basis of Peshwa's authority. Sindhia effected that object by the presence of a powerful army formed under the command of French adventurers.

The destruction of Tipu, accompanied by the consolidation of alliance with the Court of Hyderabad, had left no antagonist of the British Government among the native States of India, excepting the Maratha Power.

Though the possibility of the Maratha States, unconnected with any European ally, becoming formidable enemy of the British was a remote one, still it was felt prudent to employ every endeavour to effect such an arrangement as should preclude the union of the Maratha States under any circumstances which might menace interruption of the tranquillity of the British posses-

¹ The above account is mainly based on Franklin's *History of the Reign of Shah-Aulum* (1798), and Major William Thorn's *Memoir of the War in India* (1818).

sions or those of their allies. With this in view it appeared expedient to receive under the British protection of the general defensive system, of which the foundation was laid by the treaty with the Nizam in 1800, such of the Maratha States as would be willing to enter into subsidiary engagements with the British Government. On this principle a subsidiary treaty was concluded with the Gaikwar in 1802. The most effectual arrangement, however, for securing the British Government against any danger from the Maratha States appeared to be an intimate alliance with the Peshwa, the acknowledged sovereign power of the Maratha empire, founded upon principles which should render the British influence and military force the main support of that power.

It had always been the principal object of the British Government to prevent the sovereign power of the Maratha States or the power of any great branch of the Maratha empire from passing into the hands of France. France had been aiming at the establishment of her power and authority within the peninsula of Hindustan. And it had manifestly been the policy of the British Government to accomplish such a system of alliance with the Powers of India as might preclude the occurrence of those internal convulsions which would afford to France the most favourable opportunity of effecting her above ambitious purpose. And the views of France would have been materially favoured by the strength and efficiency of M. Perron's force, established with a great territorial dominion extending towards the left bank of the Indus through the Punjab and comprehending Agra, Delhi and a large portion of the Doab on the most vulnerable part of the North-West frontier of Hindustan, as well as by his holding the person and nominal authority of the unfortunate Shah Alam in the most abject and degrading subjection.

In spite of the previous disappointments to conclude an alliance with the Peshwa, the Governor-General determined in June 1802, to renew his negotiations to conclude an improved system of such an alliance. And the increased distractions of the Maratha State, as well as the successes of J. R. Holkar against the forces of Sindhia constituting a crisis of affairs, were favourable to the complete establishment of the interests of the British Power in the Maratha empire, without the hazard of involving it in a contest with any party.

In the course of the discussions which ensued between the Peshwa and the British Resident, the Peshwa though manifesting considerable anxiety to contract engagements with the British Government, continued to withhold his consent till Holkar actually arrived at the head of a large army in the neighbourhood of Poona. At this the Peshwa sent his minister to the British Resident to communicate his desire to conclude a general defensive alliance at

the earliest practicable period of time on the principles of the treaty concluded at Hyderabad in October, 1800. The Governor-General at once availed himself of the opportunity and signified his determination to the Peshwa to employ every effort of the British Power for the restoration of his just authority. Further, with a view to include the several branches of the Maratha empire in the proposed general alliance the Governor-General renewed his invitation to Sindhia to partake of the benefits of the treaty proposed to be concluded with the Peshwa.

It the meantime an engagement between the armies of Holkar on the one hand, and those of Peshwa and Sindhia on the other, had taken place, in which the former gained decisively, and which made Peshwa fly from Poona. Peshwa was being pursued, but he at last found his safety by seeking shelter in the British territory of Bassein. There he was presented by the British Resident with the draft of a definitive treaty of alliance proposed to be concluded, which after slight modifications was signed, sealed and delivered on 31st December, 1802, and was ratified by the British Government on the 18th of March, 1803. After the conclusion of the above treaty Peshwa was restored by the British Power to the musnud of Poona in May following.

The treaty of Bassein gave rather a setback to the immediate designs and ambition of the Maratha Chiefs. Notwithstanding Holkar's temporary success, Sindhia had determined to usurp the power of the Deccan, and the Raja of Berar was to have aided him in the contest and share with him the spoil. These claims and projects of rapacious aggrandisement were completely defeated by the above treaty. The confederated Chiefs therefore resolved to disturb its operations and the measures they took for that purpose, *viz.*, the junction of their forces on the frontiers of the territories of the Nizam, the ally of the British, and the menacing attitude they adopted, left no doubt of their hostile designs. They were not only conspiring to join their armies, but in the meantime they were trying their best to secure other allies and inciting others to foment trouble wherever possible in order to weaken the hands of the British. When called upon to explain the reasons of such extraordinary preparations, they would return only evasive answers. When explicitly asked whether they intended war or peace, they insultingly replied that they would declare when convenient. The confederated Chiefs were thus endeavouring to gain time, but the Governor-General, who was aware of their arts, invested Generals Wellesley and Lake with full powers to discuss all points of his representations and to bring them to a peremptory decision. The Chieftains' conduct is said to have been the most extraordinary mixture of knavish duplicity and arrogant assump-

tion on their part. The British Government displayed great forbearance, prudence and moderation. The Chieftains at last threw off the mask they assumed and war ensued.

Every measure was suggested and adopted for the successful accomplishment of those political arrangements, and preparations for military operations were all made with a view to the commencement of hostilities in every quarter of the possessions of the enemy before the close of the ensuing rainy season. The arrangements adopted were directed to provide for a general combined attack to be made at the same time on the united army of Sindhia and the Raja of Berar in the Deccan and on all their most vulnerable and valuable possessions in every quarter of India. The above plan included, *inter alia*, the delivering of the unfortunate and aged Emperor Shah Alam and the Royal House of Taimur from misery, degradation and bondage, as well as of extirpating the last remnant of the French influence in India by rescuing his Imperial Majesty the Moghul from the hands of a desperate band of French adventurers, and destroying the powerful artillery and military resources of M. Perron and of the French State founded upon the ruins of the authority of the Moghuls and under the auspices of Sindhia on the north-west frontier of Hindustan. The circumstances of the time had given a new aspect to the condition of the Moghul. It has been said that "The Moghul has never been an important instrument in the hands of the Mahrattas, but the augmentation of M. Perron's influence and power and the growth of a French interest in Hindostan, had given a new aspect to the condition of the Moghul, and that unfortunate Prince might have become a powerful aid to the cause of France in India, under the direction of French agents"¹ This plan was to be instrumental in further destroying the influence of the French and the Marathas in the northern districts of Hindustan, and to enable the British Government to commence the foundation of such an intercourse with the Sikhs and the tribes inhabiting the Punjab and the banks of the river Attock as might furnish sufficient means of frustrating any attempt of an invading enemy from the western side of the Indus. The affording of protection to the person and nominal authority of the Moghul was also to serve two most important purposes: It would accomplish the purposes of humanity, and one of the most important political benefits that was to accrue to it was the acquirement of the reputation to the British name, as the Moghul was still held in highest veneration by all classes of people in India, and especially by the Mahomedans. It was also necessary to extend the protection to the heir apparent and to any member of the Royal family who might otherwise fall into the

¹ Appendix II.

hands of the French adventurers, and under the direction of the French agents might become a powerful aid to the cause of France in India.

The plan of operations adopted by the Governor-General was immensely successful. Delhi was captured on the 11th of September, 1803, and on the 14th the British army began to cross the Jumna and occupied the metropolis. The Commander-in-Chief, General Lake, had the honour of paying his first visit to His Majesty on the 16th and to congratulate him on his being emancipated from the control of the French faction which had so long oppressed and degraded him. There is no doubt that Shah Alam was immensely happy at this change of his fortune. He had directed his eldest son to conduct the Commander-in-Chief to his royal presence. On their entry into the city they found the crowd was extraordinary and every body was anxious to witness the deliverance of their sovereign from a state of degradation and bondage. The Commander-in-Chief was pained to find the unfortunate and venerable Emperor, oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age, degraded authority, extreme poverty, and loss of sight, seated under a small tattered canopy, the remnant of his royal state, with every external appearance of the misery of his condition.

The impression which General Lake's conduct on this occasion made on the minds of the Delhians and of all the Mussulmans is impossible to describe. In the metaphorical language of Asia, the native news-writers, who described the extraordinary scene, went so far as to state that His Majesty recovered his sight from excess of joy. The Emperor was graciously pleased to confer on General Lake the second title in the empire, the first having been previously conferred on Sindhia.

These successes in the north-west provinces deeply affected the French influence and authority, and secured to the British power the possession of the Doab. The French officers finding themselves deprived of authority and becoming objects of just indignation to the country, were compelled to solicit the protection of the British Government, while the conquered country being deeply impressed with a just sense of the humane conduct and orderly behaviour of the British troops, as well as of the mild treatment of the British Government, regarded them as friends and deliverers.¹

Under the plan of operations for the prosecution of the war the Commander-in-Chief was empowered to conclude engagements with His Majesty Shah Alam, among others. By a separate letter he was communicated measures to be pursued with respect to His Majesty and his family in the event of their coming under British

¹ The above account is mainly based on Marquis Wellesley's *History of the Marhatta War* (1803).

protection. Deeming it desirable that His Majesty should be apprized of the Governor-General's intentions in his favour, the Marquis Wellesley addressed a letter on the 23rd July, 1803, to the King intimating that in the actual crisis of affairs His Majesty would probably have an early opportunity of coming under their protection, and assuring him that should he be disposed to accept the asylum every demonstration of respect and attention would be manifested towards him on the part of the British Government and that an adequate provision would be made for the support of himself and his family. The Governor-General was at the same time careful to ask the Commander-in-Chief not to make any previous stipulation regarding the arrangement to be finally made for His Majesty afterwards, involving as it did a question of great political and national importance, which was to form the subject of future deliberation. And the Marquis expressed the hope that His Majesty would be cordially disposed to conform to it.

To provide against the probable attempt of the French officer in charge of His Majesty's person to place him beyond the reach of the power of the British, and thus to frustrate the success of their plan, the Commander-in-Chief was instructed to convey the above communication most secretly. Saiyid Reza Khan, the agent of the Resident with Daulat Rao Sindhia at Delhi, was chosen to be the proper medium for the purpose. The King's reply to the above note conveyed through Reza Khan was most favourable, His Majesty expressing an anxious wish to avail himself of the British protection. Though at about this time His Majesty proclaimed his desire to take the field in person and required the Governor-General to prohibit the further prosecution of military operations, there was no doubt that he was made to do so under the pressure of the officers who were in charge of him at Delhi. Saiyid Reza Khan conveyed this news privately to the British Commander-in-Chief, which was corroborated by later events. The attempts of the French and the Marathas to deter His Majesty from accepting the protection of the British failed by the signal success of their arms in the battle of Delhi. Immediately after the victory the Commander-in-Chief was apprized of the Emperor's earnest desire to place himself under British protection.

Another incident should also be mentioned. Soon after his arrival at Delhi the Commander-in-Chief received information that a sum of about six lakhs of rupees, the property of Daulat Rao Sindhia, in the hands of M. Dugeon, the French Commandant of Delhi, had been deposited with Shah Nawaz Khan, the treasurer of His Majesty, with a view to prevent its falling into the hands of the British. The money being, in fact, the enemy's property, the Commander-in-Chief felt it his duty to claim it as prize-money. The application that was made to His Majesty by the Commander

m-Chief on the matter was in most respectful terms and with every degree of attention to His Majesty's dignity. His Majesty considered it most favourably and sent the required money to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief accompanied by a message requesting his acceptance of the sum as a donation of the King to the brave army whose gallant conduct had rescued him from his miserable subjection. The Emperor also addressed a letter to the Governor-General to the same effect.

In reply to the Commander-in-Chief's representation on the matter the Governor-General communicated his approval of his act of having claimed the money. He further observed that though the money was lawful prize, they could not decline accepting the offer of His Majesty as a donation without injury to his dignity, and it being really the property of the enemy was ordered to be distributed among the gallant army in appreciation of their conduct and manner. But the Governor-General at the same time thought it advisable to take an early opportunity of paying an equal sum for the use of the King to meet his immediate exigencies, which was to be a testimony of their early attention to the service of His Majesty. The sum was ultimately paid, but the payment could not be unfortunately made to Shah Alam on account of stringency, although His Majesty on several occasions manifested his anxiety to receive it before his death.¹

Previously to his leaving Delhi the Commander-in-Chief appointed Lt.-Col. Ochterlony, the Deputy Adjutant-General, to the post of the Resident at the Moghul Court on the part of the British Government.²

His Majesty the King of Delhi further showed his cordiality and partiality towards the British Government by conferring an honorary dress (khillat) on the Commander-in-Chief for the British victory at Laswari.³

The next thing to which the attention of the British Government was directed was the formation of permanent arrangements, according to their previous promise, for the future maintenance of the dignity and comfort of His Imperial Majesty and of the Royal family on principles calculated to provide for those desirable objects with the utmost benefit to the reputation of British justice and liberality, and to secure the important advantages to be derived from the connection between the House of Taimur and the British Power in India. Negotiations proceeded for some time between the Government and its officers who were in a position to give advice and guidance on the matter before any decision could be come to.⁴ While consensus of opinion existed on the

¹ Appendix I.
² *Ibid.*

³ No. 10.
⁴ Nos. 12, 15-18 and 20.

main and outstanding point that the King of Delhi having lost all political consequences abroad long previously it should not be revived, differences arose on other minor questions of dignity and emolument.

The Government, however, decided on a compromise on the points of difference. Their final decision on the matter was communicated to the Resident at Delhi for his information on the 23rd May, 1805.¹ The King was also asked to be apprized of its terms. The terms of the provision, stated briefly, are these: "That a specified portion of the territories in the vicinity of Delhi situated on the right bank of the Jumna should be assigned in part of the provision for the maintenance of the Royal Family.—That those lands should remain under the charge of the Resident at Delhi, and that the Revenue should be collected and justice should be administered in the name of His Majesty Shah Alam, under regulations to be fixed by the British Government—That His Majesty should be permitted to appoint a Dewan and other inferior officers to attend at the office of the Collector for the purpose of ascertaining and reporting to His Majesty the amount of the revenues which should be received, and the charges of collection, and of satisfying His Majesty's mind that no part of the produce of the assigned territory was misappropriated—That two courts of justice should be established for the administration of civil and criminal justice according to the Mahomedan Law to the inhabitants of the city of Delhi and of the assigned territory, that no sentences of the criminal courts extending to death, should be carried into execution without the express sanction of His Majesty to whom the proceedings in all trials of this description should be reported—and that sentences of mutilation should be commuted." To provide for the immediate wants of the King and his family a sum of Rs. 90,000 per month was granted, which might be increased to one lakh of rupees should the produce of the revenue of the assigned territory hereafter admit of it; also that in addition to the above sum Rs. 10,000 was to be paid annually on each of the seven chief Hindu and Mahomedan festivals agreeably to ancient usage. The Government was not only desirous by means of such a provision to keep the King and the Royal family in a condition of affluence and comfort, but also, to leave His Majesty in the unmolested exercise of all his usual privileges and prerogatives. They did not also desire to oppose those outward forms of sovereignty to which His Majesty had been long accustomed.²

Under the above arrangement there was indeed to be a sort of *imperium in imperio*. It has been said that the "great game" of Lord Wellesley embraced nothing so stupendous as the usurpation

¹ No. 22.

² Enclo. to No. 15.

of the imperial throne. "It must have taxed", observes Sir J. W. Kaye, "the ingenuity of Lord Wellesley, even with the experienced guidance and assistance of Sir George Barlow and Mr. Edmonstone, to design a scheme for the continuance or restoration of the Empire on a small scale—a scheme whereby Shah Alam might become more than a pensioner, a pageant, and a puppet, and yet less than the substance of a sovereign. He was to be a King and yet not a King—a something and yet nothing—a reality and a sham at the same time. It was a solace to us, in the 'great game' to know that we 'held the King'; but it was a puzzle to us how to play the card. It was, indeed, a great political paradox which Lord Wellesley's Government was called upon to institute; and he did the best that could be done, in the circumstances in which he was placed, to reconcile not only the House of Taimur, but the people who still clung reverentially to the great Muhammadan dynasty, to the state of things which had arisen out of those circumstances."¹

Sir J. Malcolm remarks in this connexion that "though the nominal minister of the emperor, and real dependant of the English, was permitted to assume the title and attributes of majesty, no alteration was made in the relations subsisting between the Company's government and the Imperial family, to whom Lord Hastings continued that respect and attention which they have received from the first establishment of our power in India. To those who take a general view of the character of his connexion, and consider only the actual condition of the parties, nothing can appear more contrary to reason, or a more absurd mockery of terms, than for the English Government, enjoying as it now does the sovereignty of India, continuing to coin money in the name of the emperor of Delhi, and styling itself, upon the face of that coin, the servant of a monarch who owes his daily subsistence to its bounty. But we must recollect, that the founder of the British empire in the east deemed the title to our first and most valuable territories incomplete, till conveyed by a grant from an emperor who possessed as little of real power as his successors. General reasoners may deem such conduct a sacrifice to prejudice, a reverence to a shadow. But the fact cannot be denied, that by making that sacrifice, and by reverencing that shadow, Lord Clive went in unison with the feelings and opinions of millions of men. Our situation, it may be argued, is greatly changed since that period. We are much more powerful, and the emperor of Delhi is more powerless; but this change cannot of itself constitute a ground for any alteration in our nominal relations to that weak sovereign. Such inconsistencies as those which exist in our connexion with the fallen descendants of the house of Taimur are

¹ Kaye and Malletson: *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II., p. 4.

frequent in political communities, and particularly as these have existed from time immemorial in India. They grow out of the habits, the sentiments, and sometimes the superstition of human beings, and wise statesmen, referring to their source, will ever treat them with consideration and respect."¹

But, in any case, the above arrangement was meant to be a merely experimental one. Sir George Barlow, the then senior member of the Supreme Council, wrote in his notes that "all circumstances considered, and particularly the attention necessary to be paid to the feelings of his Majesty, would appear to render the system of management here proposed the most advisable, at least for the present". But should it fail to prove beneficial, such alterations would be made as thought advisable.²

The terms of the above arrangement being communicated to His Majesty Shah Alam met with his complete satisfaction, excepting that which concerned the amount of his own stipend.³ In reply the Government though pointing out to the Resident at Delhi that His Majesty's discontent proceeded more from the unreasonable expectations which he had indulged in than from its insufficiency, they asked him to convey to His Majesty the message that the measure adopted was only a temporary one, and that they would be disposed to augment it when the exigencies of war etc. had ceased.⁴

The above arrangement of the Government also met with the approbation of the Court of Directors on all points excepting one, *viz.* on the advisability of any territory being assigned for the support of His Majesty, and on one or two other minor items.⁵ In some of the Regulations (Bengal) of the time relating to the settlement etc. of the ceded and conquered provinces the city of Delhi and subjacent territories on the right bank of the Jumna were distinctly declared to be assigned territories. And though the provision was in some cases left to remain till a long time afterwards, it was later asserted to have been superseded by the resolution, which Lord Minto's government adopted, as we shall see, on the matter in 1809.

However, Shah Alam died full of years in November 1806, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Akbar Shah, who had been declared heir apparent in the lifetime of the King. He ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Akbar II immediately after his father's death and without any incident, which is said to have been rather an unprecedented event in the history of Delhi.⁶

¹ Sir J. Malcolm: *Political History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 539-41.

² Kaye: *Life and Letters of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. I., pp. 152-53.

³ No. 25.

⁴ No. 26.

⁵ No. 53.

⁶ No. 34.

Shortly before his accession a rumour became current to the effect that his intention would be resisted by another Prince of the Royal house, for which necessary precautions had to be taken by the British authorities at Delhi, but no untoward incident actually took place. But after his accession Princess Kutluk Sultan Begam, the widow of Mirza Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of the late King, petitioned Government urging the claim of her son Mirza Khurram Bakht to the throne, which was rejected on the ground of primogeniture.¹

On his accession to the throne Akbar Shah was the recipient of a letter of congratulation from the Governor-General, in which an assurance was given that every attention to his service and to the security of his happiness, dignity and tranquillity would be paid by the British Government.² The King, in reply, while thanking the Governor-General for his kind letter, solicited him to augment the royal stipend in conformity with the promise made to his late father by Lord Wellesley.³ This, he wrote to say, was necessitated on account of the increased expences of the State. Another matter that was then agitating the mind of the King, through the zenana intrigue of his favourite wife Begam Mumtaz Mahal it may be said, was the elevation of his third son Mirza Jahangir to the dignity of the heir apparent.

Shortly after the accession of Akbar Shah the Resident, in one of his communications relative to Delhi Royal affairs,⁴ wrote to the Government on the advisability of selecting Abu Zafar, the eldest son of the King, and declaring him heir apparent on the plea of primogeniture. He thought that under the circumstances this was not only conformable to policy and expediency, but agreeable to justice and reason as well. It was supposed that at the instance of his favourite wife Mumtaz Mahal the King had already bestowed upon his third son Mirza Jahangir a variety of articles belonging to the establishment of the heir apparent, and this was taken as the forerunner of still higher distinction to come. Should this happen the Resident was afraid that it would be a most unfortunate event, as it would not only give rise to intrigue, destroy cordiality among the princes, but might occasion serious troubles in future which might even lead to bloodshed. But the authorities felt that any agitation on their part on the matter was a point of too much delicacy, and they thought it advisable to await occurrence of circumstances which might require on their part the declaration of their sentiments and resolution on the matter. They expected that as the British Government was the main

¹ Nos. 38 & 39.

² No. 40.

³ No. 41.

⁴ No. 36.

support of His Majesty he should certainly not do any such thing without previously ascertaining that the act would be acknowledged and supported by them. But at the same time they asked the Resident to take every opportunity to make known to His Majesty the British Government's exclusive recognition of the right of primogeniture¹

The King, while appreciating the fact that the British Government was his main support, and that it would not be advisable for him to adopt any measure connected with the essential interests of the State without their counsel and advice, was not willing to desist from the accomplishment of his above desire.² He made no scruple in making delicate insinuations against his eldest son, which he thought precluded him from such a dignity. The second son was also in no better position, he being illegitimate. Motives of deference, however, induced the Government to reply to it only in general terms to the effect that the King's arguments could not have any effect on changing their opinion on the matter, and they took the opportunity to remind His Majesty that as it was solely due to their exertions that he was enjoying peace and tranquillity it would be advisable for him to listen without grumble to the advice of the Government, which was always given by keeping his good in view.³

The solicitation for the augmentation of the Royal stipend was also rejected, as the Government thought that the amount that was being paid was not only much more than what was being actually received by the King before the overthrow of the Marathas, but that it was quite sufficient for their comfort and proper state. The British Government was apprehensive that any further increase of the stipend might provide such resources in His Majesty's hands which might be prejudicial to their interests and safety. His Majesty was earnestly requested always to pay heed and act according to the advice of the officers of the Government and not to ask them to do anything which it was impossible for them to obey, and thus embarrass them. Motives of delicacy and respect alone induced the Government thus to reply politely to His Majesty's requests, but in their covering note to the Resident the authorities took opportunity to express their dissatisfaction and disgust at the indelicacy of both the style and substance of His Majesty's letter, as well as at his disregard of "those observances which his actual situation and his obligations to the British Government so justly demand". While allowing a tone of subservience to exist in their epistolary intercourse, the British Government was not ready to yield to the assumption of dictatorial

¹ No. 37.

² No. 45.

³ No. 46.

authority by His Majesty. To curb his zeal and pretension the Resident was even directed to inform the King rather indirectly that disregard of the counsel or advice of the Government might induce them rather to adopt the system of constraint and control exercised by the Marathas than allow him to continue in his present condition of freedom within the limits of his domestic authority. Communication other than through the channel of the Resident was discouraged, and the Resident was also asked to examine and check any communication from His Majesty in future before being forwarded to the Government, as well as hint him to adopt a conduct, if necessary, consistent with the spirit of their strict instructions issued previously, should these fail to produce the desired effect.¹

Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was at that time the assistant to the Resident at Delhi, made some strong remarks against the policy of the Government which he thought gave opportunity to the King of Delhi to presume in the way that had been objected to. He remarked: "Even upon the vestige of authority that remained to him the Shah was inclined to presume; and the excess of delicacy and generosity with which a man of Mr. Seton's temper was sure to treat the poor puppet, tended to increase this natural presumption."² Regarding the Resident's conduct Metcalfe wrote to a friend—"I do not exactly conform to the policy of Seton's mode of managing the Royal Family. It is by a submission of manner and conduct, carried on in my opinion far beyond the respect and attention which can be either prescribed by forms, or dictated by a humane consideration for the fallen fortunes of a once illustrious family. It destroys entirely the dignity which ought to be attached to him who represents the British Government, and who, in reality, is to govern at Dilhee; and it raises (I have perceived the effect disclosing itself with gradual rapidity) ideas of imperial power and sway which ought to be put to sleep for ever. As it is evident that we do not mean to restore imperial power to the King, we ought not to pursue a conduct calculated to make him aspire to it. Let us treat him with the respect due to his rank and situation; let us make him comfortable in respect to circumstances, and give him all the means, as far as possible, of being happy; but unless we mean to establish his power, let us not encourage him to dream of it. Let us meet his first attempts to display imperial authority with immediate check; and let him see the mark beyond which our respect and obedience to the shadow of a King will not proceed."³ In another letter he said: "I am much of your way of thinking with regard to his Majesty of Delhi. If I do not go all lengths with you

¹ No. 47.

² Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*. Vol. I. p. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

in destroying every part of the shadow of his royalty, I am, at all events, for letting him see very clearly that he is a mere shadow; and if this could not be done completely without destroying even the empty name which I would wish for the present to leave to him, I would destroy even that. Thinking as you do, you will be vexed, as I am, to find that the tone, language, and behaviour of the *Court*, together with all the outward marks, and in some respects, the real operative influence of royalty, have become in an increasing ratio much more ridiculous and preposterous since the accession of the illustrious Ukbar than they were before. It has often made me wonder, and at the same time almost made me mad, to see a most worthy, excellent man blind to such gross absurdity, and a dupe to wild and romantic feelings”¹

But Mr. Seton thought differently. His idea was “that by yielding to the King the exercise of power in small points, we shall be able to oppose him with a better grace on great and important occasions,” though of course great difficulty existed in determining the nature of what were small or great points.²

In any case, if the manifestation of such manner and conduct by the Resident, and the previous communication of the intention of the Government to leave the King in the exercise of his usual privileges and prerogatives, as well as the retention of other marks expressive of their vassalage and the sovereignty of the King of Delhi had not unnaturally been operative factors in the above presumptions, it may not be said to be any fault of His Majesty. Pious hopes may be said to have had existed on both sides. The British Government was expecting that fully realising his condition the King would of his own accord and according to all rules of decency remain perfectly obedient to their advice and counsels, and should not do anything which might be embarrassing to them; the King, on the other hand, may be said to have rested his faith on the promises of the British Government which must have been solemn and sincere, and was expecting that in conformity thereto the authorities would of their own will condescend not only to enhance his comforts, but restore some substance of his former power and dignity. But both sides were wrong, and which side was more wrong than the other we need not discuss here. And that this was at the root of the misunderstanding which gave rise to all future troubles and tribulations there perhaps can be no doubt.

Anyhow, the King was not to give up his claims so easily. Shortly after His Majesty again wrote to the Resident informing him of his pecuniary distress. He also solicited a monument to be erected by the Government over the grave of his late father and requested

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-64.

² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

them to endow it with lands and funds for donations of a pious and charitable nature.¹ The Resident in his note to the Government observed that the above distress of His Majesty arose more out of mismanagement of the funds than from its insufficiency, and compliance with the latter request also could not be recommended.²

In a later communication³ the Resident further wrote to say that though it may seem unaccountable that with his lively sense of security, comfort and respectability gained through the liberality of the British Government, as well as with the information that the Government was not disposed to comply with his wishes, the King should so frequently apply for the augmentation of his stipend, etc., yet the reason is not far to seek. It did not originate with himself, but with the ladies of the family, especially his wife, mother and aunt, who urged the King to persevere in his applications, which, though repeatedly discouraged by the Government, would succeed if persisted on. The Government in reply was glad to accept the recommendation and explanation of the matters of the application of the King, and instructed the Resident to adhere to their late instructions and to be particularly strict and restrain all undue assumptions on the part of the King whether originating in the counsels of others or in the dictates of his own disposition, which the Resident assured to carry out.⁴

But all these remonstrances and warnings could not keep the King silent for long. Failing to gain his object by petition or correspondence he hit upon the plan of sending a deputation to Government to represent his claims and grievances. The Government at first refused to consent to his sending such a deputation, but on strict assurance being given by His Majesty, both verbally and in writing, that the deputation would be strictly of a private nature, the authorities assented to it. On this Shah Haji and Raja Sher Mal were sent to the Presidency on behalf of the King of Delhi, which was known as Shah Haji's mission.

The Persian Secretary to Government gave a long interview to the deputation, the result of which was communicated to the Resident at Delhi on 8th March, 1809,⁵ about a year after the deputation reached the Presidency. The Persian Secretary wrote to say that it was obviously necessary that the mission of Shah Haji should terminate unsuccessfully. To concede any points to the King on the representations of his private agent, would obviously destroy the influence and authority of the Resident at His Majesty's Court, which was undesirable. The King's representations had been previously rejected through the regular and established channel of official intercourse, and it was also ex-

¹ *Encls.* 1. to No. 49.

² No. 40.
No. 51.

³ No. 52.

⁴ No. 57.

pedient that the various points of the King's petition should be answered through that channel only. So the sentiments and observations of the Government were communicated to the Resident to have His Majesty apprized of it.

The Persian Secretary observed that the first act of the Haji was to violate the condition under which the Government assented to the mission by avowing that he was charged with an honourary dress for the Governor-General, notwithstanding the King's solemn undertaking that he did not intend to send any such dress, and by proposing to invest His Lordship with it, which was to be accompanied by every mark of exterior ceremony and submission on the part of the British Government calculated to represent the exercise of Imperial authority and to manifest to all the States a public acknowledgment of vassalage and submission on their part to the throne of Delhi. Shah Haji did not hesitate to declare that "this measure was not only preparatory to the execution of His Majesty's design of conferring similar honors on the principal Chiefs and Princes of India, but that after such an acknowledgment of submission on the part of the British Government, any Chiefs who should refuse to pay His Majesty due homage should be reputed delinquents and punished accordingly". The Government took exception to such irregular designs on the part of the King, and absolutely refused to comply with it.

Shah Haji also endeavoured that the Governor-General should receive publicly the King's letter, of which he was the bearer, with certain exterior marks of humiliation, which was also rejected. The authorities determined that the letter and the dress should be sent through the Persian office.

The letters and presents which Shah Haji was charged with for the Governor-General from the King's mother and wife, were also directed to be received through the Persian office.

But the Government at the same time communicated to the Resident to be peculiarly careful to counteract any unfavourable impressions on the King's mind, should Shah Haji complain about this to His Majesty.

Thus the pretension to actual superiority or sovereignty on the part of the King of Delhi was checked or resisted. The other representations were on various points of emolument and dignity, *e.g.*, the old claim to the augmentation of the Royal stipend to the extent of a lakh and thirty thousand a month, right to nominate the heir apparent, supply of appendages of regal state, furniture, etc., restoration of the allowance of the heir apparent, revival of the former practice of presenting nuzzurs by the Chiefs and Princes, restoration of the escheated lands at Agra, etc., as also their compliance with the terms of the arrangement made by Lord Wellesley in 1805.

With most of these the Government refused compliance. On the point of his old claim to the augmentation of stipend His Majesty was asked to be informed that the same reasons which originally precluded their compliance with his wishes continued to exist in full force. The other claims and expectations were thought to be extravagant, and thus rejected. And the Government hoped that the unsuccessful issue of the above mission would be instrumental in inducing the King to abandon what they thought to be his undue pretensions and claims, "whether originating in the councils of the Princesses of the palace or in the dictates of his disposition, and lead him to adopt a line of conduct more consistent with the state of dependence in which the Royal family has been placed by the revolution of affairs".

However, the dismal failure of Shah Haji's mission could not produce the desired effect on the mind of the King. His Majesty was not to be disheartened. Shortly afterwards he again took occasion to petition the Government for the augmentation of his stipend but not mentioning any specific sum.¹ When the King expressed his desire to send in the petition, the Resident at first tried to dissuade him and reconcile him to his existing condition, but he failed in his efforts, and at the earnest solicitation of His Majesty was at last made to forward it with his observations. In this petition the King after referring to the mission of Shah Haji and making a solemn declaration of the services received by his family from the British, went on to set forth that in consequence of his keeping the establishment of the late King and of his incurring other expences, he was labouring under great pecuniary difficulty and embarrassment, which he hoped the Government would be pleased to relieve. His Majesty, as before, was basing his claim on the main ground of General Lake's communication to the effect that the arrangement made for the maintenance of the Royal family was to be considered merely of a temporary nature, and when the country should have recovered from the effects of the war an arrangement of a more satisfactory nature would be adopted. The Resident, of course, refused to admit the force of the argument and left the decision to the Government. But whatever the decision, the Resident suggested that the Government should take the opportunity of annexing to it a condition that none of the Princes were to entertain armed men of any description, which would be a precaution of a most salutary effect. This specially referred to the case of Prince Jahangir, whose *risala* of horse not only gave him an appearance of pomp and grandeur which threw the unattended heir apparent into the shade, but was instrumental in feeding and

¹ No. 58.

fostering in his mind the fatal sense of his right to be declared heir apparent, over which so much agitation was going on.

The circumstances of the time turned favourable for the King. Lord Minto, the Governor-General, is said to have taken pity on His Majesty, and took occasion to review the whole correspondence and to weigh the degree of the Royal claim founded on the provisional promises of the Government and upon the Royal exigencies, as well as upon the political considerations which appeared to affect the question. And this turned in favour of His Majesty. The result of the above examination was communicated to the Board in a minute dated 3rd June, 1809, in which the Royal stipend was recommended to be increased to twelve lakhs a year.¹

By a communication from the Secretary to Government the Resident at Delhi was informed of the terms as well as the arguments and considerations of the above resolution to which they were willing to give immediate effect. At the outset it stated that "an accurate review of past transactions and a minute investigation of all the circumstances of the case, have materially changed the ground of those arguments which have hitherto been considered to oppose both the equity of the King's pretensions to an augmentation of stipend, and the expediency of a favourable attention to them." The Government took this opportunity to lead the King to a true sense and just view of his real situation and his relation to the British Power with a view permanently to repress those pretensions, which on many a former occasion had given rise to disquietude to His Majesty and vexation to the Government. The Government felt sorry that their 'refined forbearance' had not met in the past with a corresponding return.

They were also pleased to inform that the allowance of the heir apparent was resolved to be granted immediately on his being elevated to that dignity, but he was to be none other than the King's eldest son. On the previous representation of the Resident, Prince Jahangir's guard was also ordered to be dispersed.

The Government was careful to instruct the Resident to impress it upon the King that "although Government has judged it expedient to combine the period of those representations with that of the grant of an additional stipend, the Governor-General in Council deems it improper to render the latter a condition of the King's compliance with the objects of the former". They were also careful to ask the Resident to preclude any supposition, either by the King or the public, that Shah Haji's mission had any share in producing the above resolution of augmenting the Royal stipend, and necessary steps were asked to be adopted to that end.

¹ No. 59.

The above information could not be communicated to the King immediately on its receipt by the Resident for more than one reason.¹ The first was that just a week before its receipt there occurred a very unpleasant disturbance in the palace in consequence of Mirza Jahangir's resistance to the King's commands respecting the occupancy of the palace-gates. In the engagement some casualties took place among the Prince's guards, and in consequence of which the Prince was sent to Allahabad to be kept in confinement. The King's mind in consequence being then greatly agitated, and in order to obviate the impression that might arise in the minds of the people that the augmentation was intended as a sort of compromise, a species of indirect inducement to lead His Majesty to consent more readily to the removal of Jahangir to Allahabad, it was thought expedient to postpone the communication. Another reason for the above postponement was the return of Shah Haji and Raja Sher Mal to Delhi shortly before it, who, had it been announced then, might have claimed the credit for it. However, after some time, when the King's mind was rather pacified and tranquil, and after he had elevated his eldest son to the dignity of heir apparent, the Resident thought proper to communicate the above resolution of the Government to him, which was received with pleasure and satisfaction. In his reply² to the Governor-General's letter the King not only expressed in the strongest manner his satisfaction with the arrangement and his unbounded confidence in the attachment of the Governor-General, but also his determination to be guided by his advice and to abstain from every application which might be embarrassing to the Government. He also expressed an earnest desire for the speedy return of his son Mirza Jahangir, which the Resident also recommending, the Government was pleased to comply with, and the Prince's return to Delhi on certain conditions and restrictions, and on his executing an agreement to that effect, saw the happy end of a very unpleasant affair.

From the Resident's report the Government was also pleased to find that their resolution had produced the desired effect. They were happy to have had reason to believe that "His Majesty had been led to understand the real nature of his condition and to acquiesce in the limitations which belong to it and by which it was the object of the British Government to recall to his Majesty the necessity of regulating his conduct."³ The resolution being communicated to the Court of Directors also received their approbation.⁴

¹ No. 60.

² No. 63.

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³ No. 61.

⁴ No. 63.

But the above hope arising from the settlement of the Royal affairs was not long in being frustrated. Though apparently satisfied the King must have been sighing for the realization of his hopes and objects of his desire by some other ways and means. He was soon involved in another affair, which, instead of bringing gain or honour was rather instrumental in bringing humiliation and dishonour on him. This affair was known as Pran Kishan's mission. Pran Kishan was a native of Murshidabad in Bengal, and an adventurer in search of fortune in the Upper Provinces. After travelling through many parts of the Upper Provinces, and serving in various capacities in various places, he at last came to settle at Delhi, where through the instrumentality of one of the nobles of the Royal Court he managed to be engaged as the Agent of the King of Delhi. Hope was given that he would be able to gain the most important objects of the King's desire by advancing his claims first at the Presidency, and if unsuccessful there, then at the Court in England. The King was pleased to confer on him the title of "Raja" and sent him to the Presidency as his agent. The affair was a clandestine one, done at the back of the Resident at Delhi, who, had he known of it, would certainly have thrown the agent into confinement. An interesting account of this clandestine mission may best be given in the words of Sir J. W. Kaye. He observes: "The secret history of this mission is diverting in the extreme. Two wily natives—the one a Hindoo, the other a Mussulman, headed by a Moollah, or Mahomedan priest—persuaded the Shah that they could do great things for him at Calcutta, especially in respect of the succession of Prince Jahanguir, through the agency of the Chief-Justice, Sir Henry Russell, from whom a letter, addressed to his Majesty, was produced. The weakness of the King caught at the imposture. The cunning knaves were sent as wakeels to Calcutta, whilst the expounder of the Koran remained behind in the imperial city to consummate the fraud. They did their work with considerable address, and for some time, by means of a series of amusing fabrications, contrived to live upon the credulity of their master. There was no falsehood—there was no forgery—which these sharpers hesitated to utter or commit. They wrote astonishing accounts of their reception by "Lord Russell", and despatched letters to the King in the name of that high functionary. They declared that they had waited on him immediately on their arrival at Calcutta; that on receiving an account of his Majesty's situation he had "wrung his hands with grief;" and, on reading the King's letter he had bitten his lips, and assured the Envoy that he had caused the Governor-General to write a letter to the Nizam

(Metcalf), saying, "I have sent you that you should honour his Majesty, not that you should distress him. If, another time, I hear of your offending his Majesty, you may expect to be punished..... Be tranquil, for the business of the heir-apparentcy, and of the removal of the Nizam shall soon be effected, and the other matters also, will be easily accomplished." Having thus assured the King that all his representations had been favourably received, they told him, in a subsequent letter, that they were "off for London" with the Governor-General and the old Delhi Resident, and requested his Majesty to pay their wages to a friend, whom they named, in their absence. Lord Minto and Mr. Seton were just at that time embarking for the Eastern Archipelago; and the knaves taking advantage of a circumstance, the outline of which might obtain notoriety even at Delhi, assured the King that they were going to England, and that his humble servants were going with them. The lying Moollah protested that the story was correct, that the imperial wakeels had sailed with the Governor-General, and that all his Majesty's wishes would be speedily fulfilled.

"In due course the fraud was discovered. The letters from Calcutta, in which such great things had been promised, were placed in Metcalfe's hands. The Shah expressed unbounded contrition, but it was doubtful whether he did not grieve over the failure of his mission rather than over his own misconduct in attempting to carry on an underhand intrigue; and Metcalfe, therefore, took the opportunity of counselling his Majesty to 'relinquish that torment of his life, the worrying desire to effect impracticable changes' "¹

Pran Kishan had also his share of humiliation. He was disgraced by being divested of his title and discharged after being thoroughly exposed before the public.²

Metcalf had hoped that his advice would dissuade the King from any further attempt in the same direction. But his hope did not materialize. Being baffled at Calcutta he is said to have been carrying on another intrigue at Lucknow with the Vazir. This was being done through the agency of his favourite son Mirza Jahangir, who, on the pretext of attending a marriage festival, had gone to Lucknow from Allahabad, to beseech the Nawab to intercede with the British Government for the augmentation of his father's stipend, etc. Mr. Kaye observes: "There was, indeed, an under-current of intrigue continually flowing out of the palace; and, although it could hardly at any time become dangerous in its effects, it was likely to become inconvenient, and was, therefore, to be restrained. Preposterous visions of a great

¹ Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. I., pp. 252-54.

² No. 82.

future revival were indulged by these decayed princes. The more the generous sympathy of the British Government sought to cover their actual humiliation with outward marks of courtesy and respect, the more they dreamt of recovering the substantialities of their by-gone greatness."¹

The letter that the King wrote to the Vazir fell into the hands of the Resident at Lucknow, and as a result of the discovery of the intrigue the Prince was recommended to be subjected to salutary restraints. In order to show their resentment at such conduct the Government directed the suspension of the payment of the additional stipend to the King granted in 1809 until His Majesty should be brought to a proper sense.² This measure had its effect. The King showed his contrition, on which the grant was restored. And this, of course, gave great satisfaction to his mind. The Prince also regretted for his action, and promised thenceforth to strictly conform to the will of the Government. The Government took this opportunity to effect a necessary reform in the Prince's household by greatly reducing the expences from Rs. 14,315 to Rs. 1,500 only per month.³

Soon after this Lord Moira assumed the Governor-Generalship of India. In his Minute of 1809 Lord Minto wrote, *inter alia*, that "the King bent on his unattainable purpose, but destitute of power to attempt it openly, and too feeble even to avow it, stoops to every little artifice, engages in every petty intrigue, and is drawn into all the oblique and disingenuous courses which the ladies of his palace, or councillors equally feminine, can suggest and recommend to him. An opening is furnished for such practices by the liberal courtesy with which the exterior observances due to the real sovereignty of his ancestors are, most properly, extended to his nominal title; and under cover of the formal homage, which a tenderness for his personal feelings alone prompts us to render him, he seeks to advance a silent and gradual claim to the substantial attributes of greatness."⁴ Sir Charles Metcalfe, when Assistant Resident at Delhi, had occasion to draw the attention of the authorities to the store of future trouble they were laying for themselves by not curbing the so-called pretensions of the effete Moghul. What they thought to be an offensive state of things standing out obtrusively before them was not to be changed or remedied due to the weak policy of the Government. But a complete change over in the policy and conduct of the authorities came with the assumption of power by Lord Moira. "Time passed; and the English in India, secure in their great possessions, dreading no external enemy, and

¹ Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. I., p. 255.

² No. 75.

³ No. 77.

⁴ Kaye: *Life and Correspondence of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, Vol. I., p. 255.

feeling strong within them the power to tread down any danger which might arise on Indian soil advanced with a firmer step and a bolder presence. They no longer recoiled from the thought of Empire. What had appeared at the commencement of the century to be perilous presumption, now seemed to be merely the inevitable accident of our position. The 'great game' had been imperfectly played out in Lord Wellesley's time; and ten years afterwards Lord Hastings saw before him the results of that settlement where nothing was settled, and resolved to assert the supremacy of the British Government over all the potentates of India. Times were changed both at home and abroad, and our feelings had changed with them..... There was no longer any reluctance to assert our position as the paramount power. It was a necessary part of the scheme then to put down the fiction of the Delhi Empire. The word Empire was thenceforth, to be associated only with the British power in the East; and the mock-majesty, which we had once thought it serviceable to us to maintain, was now, as soon as possible, to be dismissed as inconvenient lumber."¹

And Lord Hastings soon found an opportunity to put his bold forward policy in action as against the Delhi Emperor. It was not unnatural if the appointment of a new Governor-General had aroused hopes in the mind of the Moghul to realize the long-desired objects of his ambition by personal intercourse with the head of the British Government in India. Coming to know of the intended tour of the new Governor-General in the Upper Provinces the King had been carrying on a wearisome negotiation with Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident, to arrange that the Governor-General should visit him. The Governor-General was, of course, very desirous of paying his personal respects to His Majesty, but there was formidable difficulty for him in acquiescing to a ceremonial of the meeting implying the paramountcy of the King over the British Government. "The King tried a variety of modifications," the Marquis observes, "as to the particular form in which his suzerainty over the Company's territories was to be asserted; but at length, after Mr. Metcalfe's assuring him that the more or the less of the distinctions to be shown to me could have no effect where my resistance was to the admission of any foreign supremacy over our dominions, his Majesty at length gave up the hope of a meeting. This procedure on my part was dictated not more by the tenure of the recent Act of Parliament which declares the sovereignty of the Company's possession to be in the British Crown, than by a clear conviction of our impolicy in keeping up the notion of a paramountship in the King of Delhi."²

¹ Kaye and Mollison: *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II pp. 6-7.

² *The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, Vol. I, pp. 318-19.

The bold forward policy of the Government was now set at work rather with a vengeance. A few cases by way of example would suffice to illustrate the new order of things. In his private journal¹ the Governor-General observes: "The house of Timour had been put so much out of sight, that all habit of adverting to it was failing fast in India; and nothing has kept up the floating notion of a duty owed to the imperial family but our gratuitous and persevering exhibition of their pretensions—an exhibition attended with much servile obeisance in the etiquettes imposed upon us by the ceremonial of the Court. I have thence held it right to discountenance any pretension of the sort, either as it applies to us or to any of the native princes". Down to the time of Lord Wellesley the British assertion of sovereignty within the Company's possessions had been spasmodic and incomplete, but from the time of Lord Hastings it had been definite and full, as the above quotation evinces. And the Governor-General let go no opportunity to prove this change. While the Governor-General was on a visit to Lucknow he had occasion to witness a sight of the Nawab Vazir, on whose bounty two brothers of the King of Delhi was dependent, paying his homage to them by making the elephant on which he was riding to kneel before the royal Princes on his happening to meet them on the street. The Governor-General at once took the opportunity of remarking to him that such demonstration of inferiority rested with him alone, as the British Government had already dropped those servile forms of homage with which it had heretofore unbecomingly complied. The Governor-General hoped that such a remark would act favourably on the Nawab's mind, and the Resident was instructed to watch and encourage any disposition in the Prince's mind to that end. The mode for the realization of his emancipation would have been for the Nawab to assume the kingly dignity. And the above expectation of the Governor-General was not long in fructifying. The assumption of the kingly title by the Nawab was naturally treated with undisguised indignation by the Court of Delhi and led to an irreparable breach between the two States.²

Another instance of the working of the new policy is to be found in the compliance of the Government to the solicitation of Faiz Muhammad Khan, the son and successor of the Chief of Kanond, to have khillats conferred on him by the British Government. Hastings's Government took the occasion to review all the possible objections that might be said to have previously withheld the adoption of such a line or procedure, and determined to assume that power to themselves, and thus curb the exercise of the royal

¹ P. 320.

² Marquess of Hastings: *Summary of the Administration of the Indian Government* (1824), pp. 103-05.

prerogative. But they were careful not to make any precise declaration of their design at the moment. nor was such a grant resolved to be accompanied by the promulgation of any resolution on their part to exercise this privilege on all occasions. And should any reference to this have been made by the King of Delhi, the Resident was instructed not to submit any explanation, but merely to mention that such was the pleasure of the Government.¹

A further instance may also be cited. On his accession to the throne the new Raja of Jaipur was at this time willing to perform the ceremony of the *Tika*, as was usual, on the part of the King of Delhi, and asked the permission of the Government for this. Hastings's Government refused to grant any such permission, as they thought that it would be impolitic on their part to depart from the "established principle of discouraging every communication between His Majesty and Foreign States, that can tend to keep alive or resuscitate the expiring notions of his supremacy and their dependence; or give colour to the semblance of a distinction between his acts and those of the British Government."²

The presentation of nuzzur by the British Commander-in-Chief on the occasion of certain festivals to the King of Delhi was also discontinued by Lord Hastings.³ Every opportunity was since then availed of to discontinue those observances which upheld recognition of the sovereignty of the Crown of Delhi over the Company's possessions in India.

The anomaly existing between the assertion of such ascendancy and the acknowledgment of vassalage on the part of the British Government was also sought to be removed at this time by introducing a change in the form of the epistolary intercourse, which led to its suspension for some time. The occasion of communicating the news of the appointment of Sir J. E. Colebrooke to the post of the Resident at Delhi was taken by the Government to establish a new form of epistolary intercourse between His Majesty and the Head of the British Government in India. The Persian Secretary to Government remarks in this connexion that "until about 1819/20 A.D. the Governor General used a great seal on which the Title "*Fiduce Akber Shah*" or "Vassal of King Akber", were inscribed, and addressed His Majesty by letter, in the humble form of an Arzee, or Petition. At that period it was determined, although no formal resolution was recorded on the subject, to discontinue the use of the seal bearing the above impression, and to substitute the one which had been long previously prepared for the Governor-General's foreign correspondence with the Princes of Western Asia, Ava. &ca. and from the same date the Head of

¹ Appendix I.

² Appendix III.

³ No. 87.

the British Government ceased to address any written communication whatever to His Majesty".¹

This cessation of all epistolary intercourse, as also the omission of the compliment of a written communication on occasions like the appointment of a new Resident at Delhi, or the arrival or departure of a Governor-General, were taken as an intentional slight by the King, which caused him much uneasiness in mind.

Another incident should also be noted. The news of the death of the King of England on the 29th January, 1820, and the accession of his son to the throne, was conveyed to the King of Delhi. On receiving the information His Majesty was desirous of sending through the Governor-General a letter of condolence and congratulation to the new King of England, and thus taking the opportunity to revive the friendly intercourse between the two Governments, which though long existing, was for a time interrupted. But Lord Hastings declined compliance on the ground that such an attempt was inadmissible with reference both to the constitutional character of the British Government in India, as well as to the circumstances and situation of the Delhi Court in relation to that Government.¹

From this time onward the remonstrance or resistance of the British Government to what has been called the proud pretensions of the Moghul became marked, and the lopping off of the ceremonial obeisance, which had so long maintained the inflated dignity of the House of Taimur, went on consistently and persistently much to the chagrin of the King and the inmates of the palace, as it was thought to be among the necessities of the continually advancing supremacy of the English.

But, any way, nothing could divert the mind of the King from the attainment of the objects of his desire. It is true that Lord Hastings's conduct and procedure had been most opposed to His Majesty's interests, but he must have had better hopes in the liberality and benevolence which the new Governor-General, Lord Amherst, might have possessed. Lord Amherst started on a usual State tour in the Upper Provinces in the beginning of August 1826. As soon as the King came to know of it he was naturally anxious for a meeting with him. After remaining in dejection for some time the King must have been elated with a new prospect. When the Governor-General reached Muttra he sent his favourite son Mirza Salim on deputation to convey a complimentary message to the Governor-General and express His Majesty's desire for an interview. The ceremonials of a meeting having been previously

¹ *Enclo. 2 to No. 93.*

satisfactorily arranged, His Lordship proceeded to Delhi and met the King at the palace. The meeting was on a footing of equality and bereft of all marks expressive of vassalage on the part of the British Government.¹ In a letter to the Resident the King wrote: "Providence at length favoured me with a visit from Lord Amherst, which I hailed with feelings of the fullest confidence and delight at the prospect which afforded of securing to me the fulfilment of the pledges that had been given me and the realization of all my desires. I accordingly did every thing in my power to please his Lordship, and showed him every kindness that I could possibly manifest, explaining at the same time the engagements of the British Government with me, and making a full disclosure of my wishes to him."² This was done in a Paper of Requests, which he took occasion to deliver to the Secretaries of the Governor-General at the same time. The heir apparent also submitted a separate Paper of Requests on the subject of his own affairs.³

In his Paper of Requests the King was solicitous of a compliance on the part of the Government with the terms of what he calls the engagement entered into with his late father, but he was further desirous of their granting other requests on his part concerning emolument and dignity, most of which were old ones. In course of conversation the Persian Secretary is said to have had remarked to Afzal Beg, the Vakil of His Majesty at the Presidency, that the Articles referred to in the King's Paper of Requests could in no case be regarded as public engagements. To this he returned a written reply in a communication received on the 14th August, 1827, in which he tried to refute the contention of the Secretary by asserting, (1) that when the Resident signed and delivered the papers in question to his late Majesty he declared that they were intended to be an agreement between the parties, (2) that according to a written stipulation in the papers Rs. 70,000 was being paid on the seven religious festivals, (3) that in conformity with one of the articles, papers in capital offences used to be submitted for His late Majesty's final sentence, and (4) that in Regulation VIII of 1805 it is distinctly enjoined that the Regulations of the Company are not to extend to the Town of Delhi and subjacent territories which were assigned for the support of the Royal family. Moreover, the reason for His Majesty's not having pressed this point since 1809 was that he always wished that the Resident would of himself lay the matter before the authorities or that he would permit somebody to proceed to Calcutta on behalf of the King to represent his wants and requests. When His Majesty was

¹ Appendix V.

² *Enclō.* 2 to No. 128.

³ No. 89.

considering to forward his representations on the subject to Government he received the intelligence of His Lordship's intended tour and resolved to have an interview, in order to ascertain the reason of the original engagement not being acted up to.¹ The King was basing his claims on this agreement and could never renounce it.

However, the Government sent a copy of the above Paper of Requests of His Majesty to the Resident at Delhi and solicited his sentiments on it.² Sir Charles Metcalfe was then the Resident at Delhi, and in a long note he communicated his sentiments and observations to the Government.³ Sir Charles, since his early days as assistant to the Resident at Delhi, had never been sympathetic towards the claims and supposed pretensions of the King, but had rather occasions to resent these strongly. So it was natural that his views would not be favourable to the King. He discussed and reviewed the whole case on the claim to augmentation of stipend which he held formed the main subject of the King's petition. At the outset he held that the paper which was delivered to his late Majesty by the Resident in 1805 was never an engagement positively binding the Government as to its future conduct, but it contained the mere intentions of the Government at that time. For it was not deemed binding any the shortest period, and that it was scarcely written before it was virtually annulled. The British Government, moreover, did never intend to enter into any compact with the King, as having come into their hands without power or possessions he had nothing to confer in return for the benefits to be received. Metcalfe's other sentiments on the main subject may be stated briefly in his own words thus: "It is not certain what the intention of 1805 was, whether to limit the King's stipend to a fixed amount, or to give him the nett revenue of a certain territory; but there is strong reason to believe that the utmost contemplated in any event, was the maximum of fixed stipend mentioned at that time; supposing the nett revenue of the territory to have been meant without limitation as to the amount of the stipend, it is not clear that it was settled what really constituted nett revenue and what expenses were to be included, or excluded, with reference to the charges to be borne by the territory, although it is manifest, that in 1804, the expense of the troops was considered as a charge to be borne by the territory. But whatever was the intention of May 1805, it was never acted or the territory specified as to be assigned to the King was given away to other Chiefs, and what was reserved of it was beyond measure inadequate to defray the expence of his stipend. The Royal stipends continued to be paid without reference to the amount of revenue; and final arrangement was made in

¹ *Enclo.* to No. 99.

² No. 90.

³ No. 91.

1809, by which an increase was allowed, and by which the assurances before held out to the King were considered, both by the Government in India, and by the Honorable the Court of Directors to be, sufficiently fulfilled—if in consequence of the apparent increase of revenue in the Dehlee territory it be proposed to revert to such parts of the intention of 1805, as relate to the assignment of territory it must be recollected that the present southern division of the Dehlee territory was not included in the assignment then contemplated, and that other districts which were included do not now form a part of the Dehlee territory—It is remarkable that the present revenue of the Dehlee territory, after defraying the charges of local civil administration, amounts nearly to the sum proposed in the liberal arrangement contemplated in 1804, i.e., thirty lacks, and of which the military establishment also was to have been paid, and if the same plan were now adopted it would not produce any increase to the King's stipend. On the whole there does not seem to be sufficient reason to deviate from the only plan that has ever been really acted on by the British Government in furnishing a stipend for the King that of a fixed money payment corresponding with His Majesty's supposed exigencies and our means of meeting the Charge." Sir Charles thought that it would be very inconvenient at the time to increase the stipend, nor did he think that such an exigency existed for it. The greatest exigency rather existed with reference to the scanty pittance of some of the junior branches and distant relations of the Royal family. Most of the other points also were refused a favourable consideration.

The Government in replying to the King of Delhi's Paper of Requests entirely adopted the above views of Metcalfe on the subject of His Majesty's claim to an augmentation of his stipend.¹ The King was naturally much grieved at the frustration of his hopes. In a letter to the Resident he observes: "His Lordship however evinced as little disposition as others to redeem those engagements or execute the provisions contained in the regulations of Government, and not confining himself to this, he had recourse to the novel procedure of setting aside the ceremonials and forms of address (*ad ab wo Alkab*) observed by his predecessors, thus lowering me even in respect of the style of correspondence adopted towards me, a thing that I could least have expected".² The cessation of epistolary intercourse which took place some time ago, as we have seen, and which caused much uneasiness to the King's mind, was thought to be revived after the satisfactory interview of Lord Amherst with the King. The occasion of Sir J. E. Colebrooke's appointment to the Delhi Residency was taken to revive

¹ No. 98.

² *Enclō 2* to No. 128.

the correspondence which did away with the use of all terms and phrases indicative of vassalage or political dependency on the part of the British Government.

But the King while making a last attempt with the authorities here to have his grievances redressed and claims granted, was at the same time making up his mind to prosecute his case before the Home authorities should his representations fail here. Coming to know of the Governor-General's intended departure for England shortly before his receipt of the above communication from the Government, His Majesty took the opportunity to write a letter to His Lordship soliciting that his requests and affairs should be satisfactorily settled, but should it fail, in anticipation of a reference to England, His Lordship would be pleased to lend his assistance by explaining to the authorities in England the real nature of the royal case and the situation of his affairs.¹ This reference was being intended to be made through the agency of Rammohun Roy. And soon after his receipt of the resolution of the Government the King lost no time in appointing Rammohun to the important and responsible task of prosecuting his claims before the Home authorities, for which Rammohun must have previously been prepared.

As we shall presently see, the appointment of Rammohun marked an important event in the history of the Delhi Royal affairs. In the beginning of March following Rammohun received the Royal sunnud of appointment, together with copies of several papers bearing on the case.² He was asked to draw a petition in Persian, as well as in English, to be forwarded to England, which he did, and on its being approved by the King was transmitted in advance. A copy of it was also sent to the Government of India for their information, and that they might be in a position to prepare for meeting the complaints made therein.³ On this occasion Rammohun was conferred the title of 'Raja' by His Majesty, for the recognition of which, as also of that of his embassy, the Government was applied to by him, but both of which were refused.⁴ The requisition for the supply of copies of certain official papers by the King of Delhi bearing on his case was also refused at this time.⁵ In their communication on the subject the Government instructed the Resident at Delhi to inform the King that they were surprised at what they called the unmeasured and unfounded accusation against the Company of having violated its engagements with the Royal family. They were much annoyed at such a procedure of sending an envoy to England by the King, which they thought was rather unusual, though of course they were careful at the same time to instruct the

¹ *Enclo.* 2 to No. 103.

² Appendix VI.

³ No. 109.

⁴ No. 116.

⁵ No. 107.

Resident to inform the King that such act being based on the provisions of law had not offended them in the least, and that he had every right to adopt such a course. But at the same time they were anxious to ascertain from the King personally if Rammohun had been actually appointed an envoy by His Majesty.¹

On his representation on the above subject the Resident was assured by the King that Rammohun had been actually appointed his agent to England. His Majesty while feeling sorry that his petition couched in strong but dignified terms should have been deemed objectionable by the Government, took the opportunity to add that nothing but extreme necessity had compelled him to adopt the present course. He observes "that his former applications for an allowance more adequate to his absolute wants, were occasionally met with a partial encrease to the stipend, but that from the state of his family, both in direct descendants and in collateral relatives, those wants are daily aggravated—that in his solicitations to Earl Amherst he was content to have accepted as a Boon any relief which might have been extended to his distresses without reference to the amount of it as compared with what he conceives himself entitled to claim and that despair alone under a peremptory refusal has induced him to make this Appeal".²

The main subject of the King's petition of claim³ was the augmentation of his stipend, which he thought was much less than to what he was rightly entitled. After reiterating the terms of the Government's engagement communicated to Shah Alam in 1805, the King was asserting that according to its first clause he was entitled to the whole gross revenue of the mahals originally assigned to him, which at this time amounted to about thirty lakhs, and which Sir Charles Metcalfe, as we have seen, had remarked was surprisingly the sum originally contemplated in the intention of the Government in 1804, inclusive of all charges of government, but exclusive of military charges. And that the promise of the Government being expressive of the mutual obligations of the contracting parties, non-compliance with such a claim was clearly a violation or evasion of one of its most important terms. In his recent communication Lord Amherst, the late Governor-General, admitted that the original intention of Government was to assign certain mahals to the west of the Jumna for the support of himself and his family, but that the plan was never carried completely into effect from unavoidable causes. But this plea was taken to be erroneous. The King asserted that when the revenues of the assigned mahals did not exceed the minimum of the royal stipends, the royal mutsuddies were allowed to attend at the khalsa according to

¹ No. 110.

² No. 111.

³ No. 109.

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Resident to inform the King that such act being based on the provisions of law had not offended them in the least, and that he had every right to adopt such a course. But at the same time they were anxious to ascertain from the King personally if Rammohun had been actually appointed an envoy by His Majesty.¹

On his representation on the above subject the Resident was assured by the King that Rammohun had been actually appointed his agent to England. His Majesty while feeling sorry that his petition couched in strong but dignified terms should have been deemed objectionable by the Government, took the opportunity to add that nothing but extreme necessity had compelled him to adopt the present course. He observes "that his former applications for an allowance more adequate to his absolute wants, were occasionally met with a partial encrease to the stipend, but that from the state of his family, both in direct descendants and in collateral relatives, those wants are daily aggravated—that in his solicitations to Earl Amherst he was content to have accepted as a Boon any relief which might have been extended to his distresses without reference to the amount of it as compared with what he conceives himself entitled to claim and that despair alone under a peremptory refusal has induced him to make this Appeal".²

The main subject of the King's petition of claim³ was the augmentation of his stpend, which he thought was much less than to what he was rightly entitled. After reiterating the terms of the Government's engagement communicated to Shah Alam in 1805, the King was asserting that according to its first clause he was entitled to the whole gross revenue of the mahals originally assigned to him, which at this time amounted to about thirty lakhs, and which Sir Charles Metcalfe, as we have seen, had remarked was surprisingly the sum originally contemplated in the intention of the Government in 1804, inclusive of all charges of government, but exclusive of military charges. And that the promise of the Government being expressive of the mutual obligations of the contracting parties, non-compliance with such a claim was clearly a violation or evasion of one of its most important terms. In his recent communication Lord Amherst, the late Governor-General, admitted that the original intention of Government was to assign certain mahals to the west of the Jumna for the support of himself and his family, but that the plan was never carried completely into effect from unavoidable causes. But this plea was taken to be erroneous. The King asserted that when the revenues of the assigned mahals did not exceed the minimum of the royal stipends, the royal mutsuddies were allowed to attend at the khalsa according to

¹ No. 110.

² No. 111

³ No. 109.

another term of the above engagement, to report the amounts of receipts and disbursements to his late father; but when those revenues materially exceeded the minimum it was found inconvenient by the Government to carry the plan completely into effect, and the mutsuddies were asked to withdraw. Moreover, the recognition of his claim to the revenues of the mahals were distinctly made in several of the Company's Regulations concerning the ceded and conquered provinces, which were still extant. This further proved that the plan was carried completely into effect for a series of years. It had been asserted by the Government that the decision of Lord Minto in 1809, which was taken to be the final decision of the authorities, superseded whatever might have been their former intentions. But the King contended that it was null and void on the ground of its being unilateral. Furthermore, it was asserted, what was claimed to be a substantial increase of the royal stipend by the above decision would turn out to be fictitious, the increase being a paltry sum without having the slightest reference to the improved revenues of the khalsa lands. Reference to the breach of other terms of the engagement was also made. In brief, the King asserts: "I claim the entire revenues, whatever they may be of the mahals originally assigned for the support of the Royal family unjustly alienated from the rightful owner and appropriated to themselves by the Honorable Company. I claim restitution of the sums of which the Royal family have been deprived in past years, and I claim your Majesty's guarantee for the rigid fulfilment in future of the articles of convention by which a *minimum* is fixed for the Royal stipend, by which the gross revenues of the mehals to the west of the Jumna are assigned to the Royal family should they exceed the *minimum*, and by which the means and opportunity of obtaining a perfect knowledge of the actual revenues of those mehals are stipulated rights. I am not unaware of the practical evil that is likely to result, according to the known principles of human nature, by imposing upon one party all the toil of superintendence and all the expense of improvement, and bestowing upon another all the fruits of his labours and sacrifices. I am therefore willing to submit to any reasonable compromise of my rights, either by assuming for a fit compensation all the trouble and outlay attending the Government, police, and cultivation of the territory in question, or by receiving a fixed monthly sum in lieu of all future claims. In the latter case the present annual gross revenues of the mehals would form a proper standard, and, if they do not fall short of 30 lakhs, I hereby offer to commute all my prospective claims under the articles of convention for that yearly stipend." The King was also at the same time careful to assure that should there be an apprehension in the minds of the authorities

that he had a wish to accumulate money for some concealed and hostile purpose, he was ready to give security against any such apprehended object by holding a specified sum in his treasury, and by investing the surpluses, if any, in the Company's loans.

The King's second complaint against the adoption of the changed form of the epistolary intercourse, though not avowed with any specious argument, was no less important. It led to the suspension of the epistolary intercourse again by Lord William Bentinck, and the personal interview which the King was desirous of having, was also abandoned, on the plea of its forming an important point in the King's complaints.¹

The Government did not give any reply to the above points of the King's complaint, but in their despatch to the Court of Directors on the above subject² they thought proper to state at some length the grounds of their adoption of the new forms of address, but regarding the other point of the augmentation of stipend they added that they had nothing further to add to the observations of Sir Charles Metcalfe, stated above. Regarding the adoption of the new forms of address the Government observed that during the government of Lord Hastings the great seal of the Governor-General bearing the title of vassal of the King of Delhi was indicative of a liege subject addressing his feudal superior. A new seal was engraved with omission of the term 'vassal,' and all epistolary intercourse ceased, as the Marquess preferred letting the correspondence drop than entering into any discussion on the subject with the King, being deterred from the agitation of any question of the kind. Matters remained in such a pass until the year 1826/27 when an opening was presented to Lord Amherst to revive it. We have seen that the King had taken the suspension of the correspondence as a slight which caused him much uneasiness in mind, so that Lord Amherst was anxious to remove it if possible. During his tour in the Upper Provinces the King was anxious to have an interview with the Governor-General, and the ceremonials of a meeting having been satisfactorily arranged the meeting took place. It was on a footing of independence on His Lordship's part, the superiority of rank due to a sovereign in his own right being recognized in His Majesty. Believing that the meeting on such a footing had given great satisfaction Lord Amherst thought the time favourable for renewing the suspended correspondence with the King. But after all this they were surprised to find that it formed one of the chief points of complaint of the King. The Government's decision was instructed to be communicated to the King by the Resident, and he was asked to ascertain the grounds of His Majesty's thinking it to

¹ No. 129.

² No. 134.

be insulting and degrading to him. His Majesty gave his reasons. He held that he conceded to the forms of the ceremonial of the interview under the apprehension of injurious consequences, of which, he said, he had experience from refusing to do so to Lord Hastings. He thought that it was due to that refusal that the King of Oude was instigated to assume the kingly dignity much to his chagrin. He had also hoped that by so conceding to the demands of Lord Amherst he would have his desires realized, but in which he was totally disappointed. Anyway, the Government thought best to await the result of the appeal on the point.

The intended mission of Rammohun to England, in the meantime, aroused "hatred, scoffing and abuse" in more than one quarter. A scoffing article in the "*John Bull*" insinuated that the papers with which he was proceeding to England were taken out by bribes from the public office. This, of course, raised a heated controversy in the press at the time. Rammohun also, as soon as it was brought to his notice, lost no time in protesting against it to Government and asking them to hold an enquiry into the matter. He asserted that the charge of bribery was absolutely unfounded so far at least as he was concerned. The Resident at Delhi was asked by the Government to hold the necessary enquiry into the matter and report the result of his investigation to them. In his report the Resident had not a word to say against Rammohun, which totally vindicated his character. A communication on the above matter was made to the Court of Directors by the Government in due course.

Shortly after this the heir apparent of Delhi also made a serious allegation of intrigue having been committed against him by his brother Mirza Salim and some officers of the Royal Court, in which Rammohun's name was included. The Prince wrote to Government thus: "Afzul Beg on his arrival in Calcutta soon evinced the evil nature of his disposition and having formed an intimacy with one Rammohun Roy, a Bengallee, represented to His Majesty that the latter had formerly been a friend of the late Daboorood Dowlah Khujah Furreed Khan. The fact is that during the time of the late Duburood Dowlah I never once heard of this Rammohun Roy, nor did I ever see any mention of him in any Urzee that was presented by Duburood Dowlah to His Majesty. Doubtless therefore that letter is a forged one which was produced by Afzul Beg as from Duburood Dowlah in which the latter's acquaintance with the aforesaid Bengallee is asserted. This forgery has been committed with the knowledge of Murza Suleem by Sohun Lal, Afzul Beg and Rammohun".¹

¹ Appendix VI.

² *Enclo.* to No. 117.

That the cliques in the palace should have given rise to such apprehension in the Prince's mind of an intrigue being made to undermine his interests was not unnatural, but his charge or insinuation against Rammohun was more imaginary than real, as was proved by later events, if not by anything else. But in the meantime the matter being privately communicated to Rammohun he did not hesitate to write a strong but dignified note to the Prince remonstrating against the insinuations thrown against him unjustifiably.¹ The Prince got much annoyed at this unexpected and unusual procedure on the part of Rammohun, but instead of replying to him, made a further complaint to Government against such a conduct.² The Government authorities had all along their sympathy with the Prince, and after assuring him that his interests would ever be safeguarded, made no secret in sharing his feelings of dissatisfaction with the style and tenor of Rammohun's arzee.³

His orthodox compatriots also had a share in the "hatred scoffing and abuse" of the time. In order to put him up to contempt and ridicule they made no scruple to insinuate that the boy Rajaram, who was accompanying him to England, was an illegitimate son of his. But curiously enough this allegation was not believed by his enemies or opponents in other ranks and communities, who had any spark of fairness and decency in them, thus proving in perhaps the best way of its utter groundlessness and absurdity.

However, thus vindicating his character, Rammohun sailed for England on the Company's ship *Albion* on 19th November, 1830. In a letter bidding farewell to Lord William Bentick Rammohun wrote: "From due regard to the purport of the late Mr. Secretary Stirling's letter of 15th January last, and other considerations, I have determined not to appear there as the Envoy of His Majesty Akbar the Second, but as a private individual. I am satisfied that in thus divesting myself of all public character, my zealous services in behalf of His Majesty need not be abated. I even trust that their chance of success may be improved by being thus exempted from all jealousy of a political nature to which they might by misapprehension be subjected."⁴

Rammohun reached the shores of England on 8th April, 1831. His presence created a sensation in the minds of the great people of England, both high and low. It has been said that the Ministers of the Crown recognised both his embassy and title as the ennobled representative of the Emperor of Delhi. A great change in the attitude and demeanour of the members of the

¹ *Enclo.* 2 to No. 122.

² *Enclo.* 1 to No. 122.

³ No. 124.

⁴ Collet: *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. 160.

Court of Directors was also visible. They were anxious to show him all honour and consideration.

Rammohun presented his petition both to the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. Negotiations on the subject went on for some time, and as the authorities at Home were very busy at the time in connexion with the Reform Bill and the renewal of the Company's Charter, no decision could be come to before the expiration of a considerable period of time.¹ The decision of the Court of Directors was communicated to the Governor-General in Council on the 13th February, 1833.² After a mature consideration of all the documents on the question of the augmentation of the stipend of the King of Delhi the Court wrote to say: "It is not our intention nor do we deem it at present necessary to enter into a discussion of the various points that have arisen out of the agitation of this question, being persuaded for their tendency rather to embarrass and impede, than to facilitate a sound and satisfactory decision." They were agreeable to grant an increase of three lakhs of rupees per annum provided it be received in full satisfaction of claims of every description that the King of Delhi may be supposed to possess. And as regards the mode of its distribution it was left to the discretion of the Governor-General in Council. But regarding the other point at issue, *viz.* on the question of the change of the form of epistolary intercourse, the Court remained silent.

The news of the above success of Rammohun's mission, even though partial, may be said to have caused quite a sensation in the Native Courts of India. Baiza Bai, the widow of the late Daulat Rao Sindhia, was at this time desirous of appointing Rammohun her envoy in England to bring her grievances before the Home authorities, for which she wrote to the Government.³ The rage of sending ambassadors to England is said to have been on the increase at the time.⁴ Col. Du Bois de Jancigny, one of the Aid-de-Camps of the King of Oudh, was on the point of being deputed to the Court of Great Britain. The Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad was also about to send presents to the King of England to be followed by some pecuniary claims.⁵ The Mysore Prince being encouraged by Rammohun's success was said to be embarking for England to lay his claims before the authorities.⁶

However, the above decision of the Court was promptly communicated to the Governor-General's Agent at Delhi to

¹ *Encl.* 5 to No. 155.

² No. 139.

³ Appendix VIII.

⁴ *Sumachar Durpan*, 28 June, 1834.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 4 July, 1835.

⁶ *Friend of India*, 29 January, 1835.

have the King apprized of it, and should His Majesty be willing to accept the grant the Agent was instructed to require of him a *Razeenama* to that effect. The Agent was also at the same time required to submit his sentiments as to the most equitable and expedient mode of distributing the increase among the members of the Royal family, as well as to send a list of the members who were deriving subsistence from the King's stipend, and the families each of them had to support.¹

The communication of the Court's decision did not at first meet with the approbation of the King of Delhi.² He declined expressing himself decidedly on the matter until accounts should have been received from Rammohun through whose exertions the result was being expected to be of a different nature. But the Government took this to be a refusal on his part to receive the increase, and informed the Court accordingly.

In the meantime the King was in receipt of Rammohun's letter in which he was advised not to accept anything that was offered.³ Rammohun was not at all satisfied with the Court's decision, and it is said that he was intending to bring the matter before the Parliament.⁴ The British parliament had undergone a great reform. That Rammohun had great faith in the reformed parliament there can be no gainsaying the fact. In a letter to a friend in India in some other connection Rammohun wrote at the time: "The case is now, however, very much altered. The present Government seems very liberal, and the voice of the mighty people of England grows every day stronger in proportion to the growth of their intelligence."⁵ He must have had high hopes that in the hands of the representatives of such a mighty and just people his case would have a more righteous consideration and relief. But before he could do so the cruel hands of death snatched him from the field of his activity much to the detriment to the interests and hopes of the King.

Being heavily pressed by debtors and all hopes gone His Majesty was now compelled to acquiesce in the terms of the Court and communicate his acceptance of the offer.⁶ But the language of the King's letter being in places objectionable, and the meaning in others rather obscure, he was required to signify explicitly his acceptance of the proffered increase with the conditions annexed.⁷ The Government further asked the Resident to inform His Majesty that on the receipt of his unqualified

¹ No. 140.

² No. 141.

³ No. 142.

⁴ No. 142.

⁵ Majumdar: *Indian Speeches and Documents on British Rule* (Longmans), p. 48.

⁶ No. 148.

⁷ No. 149.

acceptance of what they called the gratuitous boon with the conditions attached, a communication would be made to England for further orders. In compliance the King sent a further letter¹ signifying almost unqualified acceptance of the proposed grant on the above stipulations, but expressed a desire that it be made available from the period when the intentions of Government were made known to him. But the Government in reply² informed the Resident that this could not be complied with without the order of the Court; all that they could do was to grant it from the date of the communication on which such consent was expressed. The Court of Directors were informed of this in due course and their orders were awaited.

In the meantime, after the King had intimated his unqualified acceptance of the offer, and had executed the required *Razee-nama*, he was asked to furnish a list of the names of the members of his family to whom he was desirous that the increased sum should be distributed. In reply³ the King after specifying the terms of remuneration agreed upon to be paid to Raja Rammohun Roy stated that "after he shall have performed the engagements with the heirs of Raja Rammohun Roy the residue of the increased allowance should be disposed of in repairs of the palace and among the members of the Royal family" of which he submitted a list. The King had hoped that his list would be accepted, but to his great surprise and regret he heard in reply that his list was rejected. The Government submitted their own list in which he found that neither he himself nor his sons and females were to have a single cowrie, not to speak of the sons of Raja Rammohun Roy and others. The authorities, of course, had their reasons, but those seemed to His Majesty to be quite inequitable. In consequence of this and in disgust the King refused to accept the increase and asked for the return of the *Razeenama*.⁴ Before doing this the King had written to the Governor-General to reconsider their decision, but to no effect.⁵ So the case remained where it was without being settled. Shortly after this the King died just at the age at which his father had died, i.e., 82 years, and similar honour, as was shown to his father, was also shown to him by firing minute guns from the ramparts of the forts at the three Presidencies to the number of 82.⁶ On the death of Akbar Shah, Abu Zafar, the heir apparent, ascended the throne of his ancestors peacefully under the title of Bahadur Shah II. The new King was also the recipient of a letter of congratulation from the Governor-General on his accession to the throne in which assurance was given that manifestation of every attention to his

¹ No. 150.

² No. 152.

³ *Enclo.* 1 to No. 155.

⁴ *Enclo.* 2 to No. 155.

⁵ No. 156.

⁶ No. 158.

welfare as well as to his security, dignity and tranquillity would be made as before.¹

Bahadur Shah had not long succeeded to the title before he began to put forward his claim to the increase of the Royal stipend which had been promised to his late father.² The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces was unwilling to recommend for its grant, but it being once allowed the Governor-General could not resist it, but it was not to be done without the conditions being fulfilled as before. But Bahadur Shah would not consent to it. Of course he adduced his reasons for it, but the Agent at Delhi in his communication to Government considered them to be "mere subterfuges, for it is well known that His Majesty's reply was the result of a consultation with the principal native gentlemen who either are, or were formerly connected with the affairs of the palace."³ A long negotiation proceeded on the matter, but no solution could be made. The Court also refused to grant any increase without the conditions being fulfilled.

In the meantime Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, was on tour in the Upper Provinces and was desirous of paying a visit to His Majesty. The Agent at Delhi was instructed to arrange the ceremonial of the meeting by consultation with the King, which was to be on terms of perfect equality.⁴ It would be recalled that the meeting of the late King with Lord Amherst could not be done on the basis of perfect equality, and this time the Governor-General wanted to do away with the defect. But the King was not ready to go beyond what was conceded at the time of Lord Amherst's interview in 1827.⁵ This led to the abandonment of the project on the part of the Governor-General.

However, the King's objection to renounce all claims on the British Government was taken as his refusal to accept the proffered grant and communicated to the Court accordingly. But at the same time the Government was anxious to do something towards the amelioration of the condition of the *salatins* or junior members of the Royal family. Efforts were made to determine the extent of their wretchedness and misery, on which a long report was made to the Government. The Court was requested to make a little relaxation in their previous resolution by allowing the Government to appropriate certain part of the intended increase to the stipend for the purpose.⁶ But the Court refused to do so. They were only willing to allow the grant for the formation of a college for the instruction of the Princes.⁷

Being baffled in his efforts with the Government the King was not to give up hopes. He was cherishing the hope of sending an

¹ *Enclo.* to No. 159.

² *Enclo.* to No. 164.

³ No. 161.

⁴ *Enclo.* to No. 161.

⁵ No. 164.

⁶ No. 165.

envoy to England that he might obtain the object of his desire without any embarrassing restrictions or conditions. In fact, he was treading in the footsteps of his late father. At that time an Englishman of repute and of much philanthropic inclination had come to India. He was Mr. George Thompson. He had come to this country, at Prince Dwarkanath Tagore's invitation, on his philanthropic mission. Bahadur Shah was anxious to enlist his services, and to this end invited him to Delhi. While at Calcutta he was approached by a representative of the King to ascertain if he was willing to take up an appointment of His Majesty to proceed on a mission to England on certain alleged grievances. After some discussion on the matter Mr. Thompson agreed. He was granted a sunnud of appointment, and asked to visit the King at Delhi. Mr. Thompson was allowed by the Government to see the King and hold personal communications with him. On this occasion Mr. Thompson was also granted a suitable title by His Majesty. On Mr. Thompson's application to Government the authorities recognised both his title and embassy.¹ The authorities seem to have had grown wiser since their refusal to recognise the title and embassy of Raja Rammohun. Mr. Thompson started for England towards the end of 1843.

Mr. Thompson was the bearer of a *namah* or epistle from His Majesty to Queen Victoria soliciting her condescension in removing the royal grievances. The grievances and claims of the King of Delhi had previously been communicated to the Government in a Paper of Requests on 5th January, 1843.² Some of these requests had reference to questions of dignity, while others to that of emolument. Some of the former, again, involved a reassertion of the claims to the attributes of sovereign power over India, which the Delhi Royal family never ceased to cherish. These included the enjoining the Rajas and Chiefs and their vakeels to attend the Royal darbar, present nuzzurs, and to be permitted to receive khillats and titles ; the recognising of the Royal measure and currency, as well as the establishing of a Royal mint; the abolishing of the correspondence on terms of equality lately adopted by the Government ; and the restoring of the practice of presenting nuzzurs to him on account of Government. The question of emolument consisted chiefly of his claim to the augmentation of the Royal stipend, besides other minor items. In short, the King was reviving in their full extent the claims for the prosecution of which Raja Rammohun Roy was deputed to England by his late father.

The Court communicated their decision on the petition of the King to the Governor-General in Council on the 4th December,

¹ *Enclo.* to No. 171.

² No. 173.

1844.¹ Previous to this they had refused to recognise the mission or embassy of Mr. G. Thompson, who was told that no communication with His Majesty could be held except through the channel of the Indian Government.² The Court informed the Government that most of the claims of the King of Delhi were unmaintainable and thus rejected. Regarding the vexed question of the augmentation of the Royal stipend the Court, while adhering to the principles of their former resolution, consented to make a slight relaxation and was ready to assign some portion of the amount to His Majesty for his own use, provided he should consent to assign from it reasonable allowances to the *salatins* for the amelioration of their deplorable condition, and consent to the removal of his more distant relatives from the palace and to their becoming subjects of the British Government and amenable to their laws, to accomplish which the Government had been trying for some time past. Further, to facilitate negotiation on the matter the Court was also willing to accommodate the King in the matter of his immediate and pressing exigencies by either granting him a moderate sum of money or by placing the Palace building in substantial repair, or by a union of both. By which they earnestly hoped to solve the embarrassing question once for all. But unfortunately the vexed question remained unsolved. The King was reluctant to accept the conditional offer or to conform to their terms.

Now some greater blow was to follow. The Royal dignity all these years, as we have seen, was being shorn of its beams little by little. Lord Ellenborough gave a finishing stroke to the system of nazar-giving, thus abolishing almost the last vestige of the recognition of the imperial dignity of the Delhi King.³ But the last remnant was still there to be thrown off, *viz.*, the royal title and the residence of the King and his family in the palace. The removal of the King and the Royal family from the palace at Delhi was long in contemplation of the Government. The settlement of the Royal affairs at Delhi by Lord Wellesley, as we have seen, of course conferred many advantages on the British Government, but it was not without its dangers. There was apprehension that if the Moghul was allowed to live in the palace with all the grandeur around him, there might be an attempt at some future time to reconstruct and revive the ruined monarchy, and it was to guard against such a possibility that Lord Wellesley was desirous that the King and his family might be removed to some other place, if possible. And for this Monghyr was suggested to be a suitable place. But as this suggestion is said to have given a shudder to

¹ No. 173.

² *Encl.* to No. 171.

³ No. 174.

the King and his family it was thought advisable to drop the matter for the time, to be conveniently taken up afterwards. And this task was undertaken in right earnest by Lord Dalhousie. Lord Dalhousie is said to have been too honest a man to bolster up semblances of royalty without royal powers. So he was anxious that the fiction of the Delhi empire should be ended as soon as possible. And an opportunity came in his way. In February, 1849, Prince Dara Bakht, the recognised heir apparent to the throne of Delhi, died and the next Prince in succession was to be chosen. Mirza Fakhr-ud-din, the next in descent, was to be the natural heir and successor. He was then 30 years of age, and being born long after the family had ceased to reign, and not until its sovereignty had been for many years a mere pageant, Dalhousie determined that with the death of Bahadur Shah the existence of the dynasty of Taimur should be terminated or abolished. In his despatch to the Court dated the 16th February, 1849, Dalhousie wrote to say that Mirza Fakhr-ud-din should not be recognised as the heir apparent to the throne of Delhi, but he should only be styled Shahzada, and should also be called upon to vacate the palace and go and reside in the Kutub. It was also suggested that he and his immediate family only should be exempted from judicial processes after the demise of the then King. The proposals of Lord Dalhousie raised a heated debate not only among the members of the Court of Directors but also between the Court and the Board of Control, and though the Court was at last compelled to acquiesce in the opinion of the Board and to send a despatch to the Governor-General sanctioning his proposals, Dalhousie stayed his hands as he came to know of the unpleasant controversy through private sources previously. He thought best to postpone his action, and let things remain as they were till the death of the King.¹

But another difficulty arose in the meantime. The King being instigated by the intrigue of his favourite wife Zenat Mahal protested against the recognition of Mirza Fakhr-ud-din as heir apparent. He was advancing the claims of the young son of the Begam on some very curious pretext. However, the Governor-General came to a decision and communicated it to the Court as follows: "That affairs should remain unchanged during the lifetime of the present King—that the Prince Fakir-ud-din should be acknowledged as successor to the royal title, but that advantage should be taken of the pretensions of a rival claimant to the titular dignity to obtain the desired concessions from the acknowledged Head of the Family—that inducements should be held out to him to leave the Palace and to reside in the Kutb, and that, if necessary,

¹ Lee-Warner: *Life of Marquis of Dalhousie*, Vol. II, p. 133ff.

this advantage should be purchased by the grant of an additional stipend."

To all these the Court assented.¹ The Governor-General was also successful in negotiating their wishes and having it confirmed and conceded to by the Prince to their great delight and satisfaction. But a short time after this the Prince suddenly died much to the suspicion of the authorities that he had been poisoned. By this time Lord Canning succeeded to the Governor-Generalship. The death of the Prince gave them an opportunity to consider the whole question of the Delhi succession *de novo*. And the new Governor-General coincided with the views of his predecessor. On the question he and his council came to the decision that during the King's lifetime no communication regarding the succession to the throne should be made either to Mirza Korash, the next Prince in succession, or to any other member of the Royal family. The Prince should be designated only as Shahzada, and recognised as the head of the family, which should be declared as the determination of the Government on the question. And the sum of 15,000 rupees from the family stipend should be fixed as the future assignment of the heir of the family.²

It has been said that the King, stricken in years, would have been well content to end his days in quietude and peace, had not the intriguing spirit of Zenat Mahal led the King to keep up what has been called his undue pretensions. It was stated that the King had never resented the determination to exclude the Royal family from the palace, as it could not affect him, and he did not care for the interests of his successor. But the Queen Zeenat was loud in her lamentations when it was known that Prince Fakhr-ud-din had surrendered this ancient privilege.³

In any case, the intrigues of the palace, which led to the tragic consequences of the mutiny, may be said to have been fanned, or at least to have found a breeding ground, in the ranklings of the members of the Royal family caused by the long frustration of the realization of their hopes, which we have seen before. The joining with the mutineers by the King and his family led to the tragic end of the abolition of the dynasty of Taimur, thus facilitating the accomplishment in a more successful way of the long-felt desire of the British Government to abolish the fiction of the

¹ No. 177.

² Kave and Malleon: *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, pp. 22-24.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25

Delhi Empire, which they were forced to set up and retain under the exigencies and circumstances of the time. After the re-capture of Delhi from the mutineers the King was tried for treason and waging war against the British Government,¹ and as a result of his conviction was transported with his family to Rangoon;² the palace passed into the hands of the British, and the Royal stipends were also suspended, excepting in the case of a few who had been loyal to the British during the most trying times of the revolt.³

¹ No. 189.

² *Ibid.*

³ No. 190.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

*The Governor-General in Council to the Honourable the Secret Committee
of the Honourable the Court of Directors re : events and
transactions of the late Mahratta War.*

Fort William, April 12, 1804.

Honourable Sirs,

The despatches of the Governor-General and of the Governor-General in Council to the address of your honourable Committee of the dates noted in the margin,¹ contain a general statement of the events and transactions in the Mahratta Empire, which led to the conclusion of a treaty of defensive alliance

between the British Government and the Peishwa, and which succeeded that event, together with a communication of the measures adopted by the British Government for the promotion and security of the public interests in every change of circumstances, and of the triumphant progress and glorious termination of the war in which the British Government was compelled to engage by the violence, injustice and ambition of Dowlut Rao Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar.

It was impracticable to furnish your honourable Committee with that detailed information with regard to those events and transactions, and to the proceedings of the British Government, (which it is the duty of the Governor-General in Council to convey to your honourable Committee by the earliest possible opportunity) until the close of the war ; not only because the multiplicity and urgency of public affairs precluded the possibility of preparing and arranging the necessary documents, but because a knowledge of the result of many measures and transactions then in a course of operation was necessary, to enable us to appreciate their importance and to apply the explanation of them in a satisfactory manner to the purposes of affording full and clear information of your honourable Committee.

The Governor-General in Council now deems it to be his duty to combine in one regular and connected narrative all the principal events and transactions which have passed in India, and all the measures and proceedings of the British administration, connected with the late glorious and successful war, and to furnish your honourable Committee at the same time with the details of them as recorded on the proceedings of Government. For this purpose the Governor-General in Council has now the honour to transmit to your honourable Committee our broken set of proceedings in the Secret Department, from the 3rd of February 1803 to the 12th of April 1804, to the documents recorded in which reference will be made throughout the whole of the following narrative for the details of transactions noticed in this letter.

* * * * *

The Commander-in-Chief was also empowered to conclude engagements with his Majesty Shah Aulum, with reference however to a separate letter respecting his Majesty ; and the Commander-in-Chief was further authorized to conclude such engagements with the subordinate Mahratta chieftains, situated on the north-west frontier of Oude, as might appear expedient for the purpose of securing their co-operation in the event of war with the confederated Mahratta chieftains.

* * * * *

The Governor-General in Council now proceeds to state to your honourable Committee the substance of his Excellency's separate instructions to the Com-

mander-in-Chief on distinct branches of the general plan of operations and political arrangements communicated to the Commander-in-Chief in the Governor-General's despatch to his Excellency of the 27th July.

By a separate letter of that date, the Commander-in-Chief was furnished with a detail of the measures to be pursued with respect to his Majesty Shah Aulum and the royal family, in the event of his Majesty and the royal family coming under the protection of the British Government.

Deeming it to be desirable that his Majesty Shah Aulum should be speedily apprized of the Governor-General's intentions in his Majesty's favour, the Governor-General addressed a letter to his Majesty, intimating that in the actual crisis of affairs, his Majesty would probably have an early opportunity of placing himself under the protection of the British Government ; and assuring his Majesty that if he should be disposed to accept the asylum which the Commander-in-Chief had been directed to offer to him, every demonstration of respect and attention would be manifested towards his Majesty on the part of the British Government, and that an adequate provision would be made for the support of his Majesty and of his family and household, and referring his Majesty for further details to the communications of the Commander-in-Chief.

This letter was transmitted to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, with instructions respecting the mode of forwarding it to his Majesty.

With a view to provide against the probable attempt of the French officer in charge of the Mogul's person, to place his Majesty beyond the reach of our power in the event of any movement of the British troops against Delhi, the Commander-in-Chief was particularly instructed to regulate the operations of the army in such a manner as to frustrate the success of such a plan.

The Governor-General observed to the Commander-in-Chief, that the arrangement to be finally concluded with respect to his Majesty Shah Aulum, involved questions of great political and national importance which would form the subject of future deliberation. That for the present it was the intention of the Governor-General merely to secure for his Majesty the protection of the British Government, and to assign to his Majesty and to the royal family of Delhi, a provision for their immediate support, the extent of which must be regulated by future events. The Governor-General, however, expressed his opinion that the Emperor would not hesitate to place himself under British protection without any previous stipulation. The apparent impossibility of his Majesty effecting his escape from Delhi for the purpose of claiming the proffered protection of the British Government, rendered it unnecessary to contemplate that event.

The occupation of Delhi, appeared to the Governor-General to afford the only prospect of affording to his Majesty the protection of the British power. The Governor-General expressed to the Commander-in-Chief an anxious desire that when that event should take place, his Majesty and the royal family should immediately experience the benefit of the change, by receiving from the Commander-in-Chief and from all persons acting under the British authority, every demonstration of reverence and respectful care, and that every regard should be paid to the comfort and convenience of his Majesty and the royal family, consistent with the due security of their persons. The Governor-General directed that if his Majesty Shah Aulum should come under the protection of the British Government, the Commander-in-Chief should immediately appoint a civil or military officer properly qualified to attend his Majesty in the capacity of representative of the British Government, with instructions to such officer for the regulation of his conduct towards his Majesty and the royal family, founded on the actual circumstances of their situation.

Under the Governor-General's resolution to postpone any final arrangement with respect to his Majesty and the royal family, the Commander-in-Chief was instructed to decline entering into any negotiation with his Majesty for that purpose. The Commander-in-Chief was also directed to refer to the Governor-General any

propositions that might be received from his Majesty of a nature to admit the delay of a reference.

* * * * *

The Governor-General in Council now proceeds to state to your honourable Committee the circumstances attending the deliverance of the Emperor Shah Aulum from his grievous subjection to the power and authority of the Mahrattas and the French ; and of the restoration of that aged and venerable monarch, under the protection of the British Government, to a state of dignity, competency, and comfort.

The letter addressed by the Governor-General to his Majesty Shah Aulum, of which the substance was stated in a preceding paragraph of this letter, was secretly transmitted by the Commander-in-Chief to Syud Rezza Khaun, the agent of the Resident with Dowlut Rao Scindiah at Delhi, for the purpose of being delivered to his Majesty. It was accompanied by a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, expressive of his anxiety to afford every demonstration of respect and attachment to his Majesty. The strictest secrecy was enjoined to Syud Rezza Khaun in the delivery of these letters.

On the 29th of August, the Commander-in-Chief received through Syud Rezza Khaun the answer of Shah Aulum to the Governor-General's letter, expressing the anxious wish of his Majesty to avail himself of the protection of the British Government.

On the 1st of September, the Commander-in-Chief received from Syud Rezza Khaun a letter, under the seal of his Majesty to the Governor-General, declaring that his Majesty had entrusted the management of all his affairs to Dowlut Rao Scindiah, and to M. Perron as the deputy of Scindiah, and announcing his Majesty's intention of taking the field in person, and requiring the Governor-General to prohibit the further prosecution of military operations.

It is proper to apprise your honourable Committee that the transmission of letters on the part of his Majesty was at all times subject to the control of the officers who were stationed at Delhi on the part of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, and who acted under the immediate authority of M. Perron. His Majesty was never permitted to despatch any letters which had not been either dictated or approved by those Officers. The reply which the Governor-General received to his letter to the King was clandestinely prepared and forwarded, added to which, the actual state of misery and distress in which that unfortunate monarch had long been involved, and the known solicitude of his Majesty to be relieved from the oppressive control and inhumanity of the Mahratta power, precluded any supposition that the letter described in the preceding paragraph was prepared and transmitted by his Majesty's voluntary command, or that the declarations and injunctions contained in it accorded with the real wishes and designs of his Majesty. These considerations, added to information which the Commander-in-Chief received from Syud Rezza Khaun, that the letter in question was actually dictated by the French officers at Delhi, afford unquestionable proof of that fact.

A letter in the same spirit, addressed by his Majesty to the Nawaub Vizier, had been delivered by the Vizier to the Resident at Lucknow, and Syud Rezza Khaun reported to the Commander-in-Chief that his Majesty had publicly declared his intention to address similar letters to several of the chiefs of Hindostan. The whole of these proceedings evidently originated with the French officers at Delhi, and subsequent events have proved the correctness of the opinion which was formed of his Majesty's anxious solicitude to place himself under the protection of the British power.

Syud Rezza Khaun having been compelled to quit Delhi by the violence of the French officers, proceeded to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, and rendered a favourable account of the disposition of his Majesty and of his court towards the British Government.

All the attempts of the French and others in the interest of Dowlut Rao Scindiah to deter his Majesty from accepting the protection of the British Government, were however frustrated by the signal and decisive success of our arms in the memorable battle of Delhi, on the 11th of September, 1803. Immediately after that event, the Commander-in-Chief was apprized of the Emperor's earnest desire to place himself under the immediate protection of the British army.

On the 16th of September, the Commander-in-Chief, attended by the principal officers of the army, waited on the Emperor Shah Aulum at the royal palace in the fort of Delhi. On that occasion his Majesty's eldest son, Mirza Akber Shah, the heir apparent, proceeded to the British camp, and conducted his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the presence of his Majesty, who received his Excellency seated on his throne. His Majesty and the whole court testified the utmost joy at the events which had placed his Majesty and the royal family under the protection of the British Government.

Soon after the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief at Delhi, his Excellency received information that a sum of money, amounting to six lacs of rupees, the property of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, had been lodged in the hands of M. Dugeon, the Commandant of Delhi, for the payment of the troops; of that sum M. Dugeon had disbursed 60,000 rupees for the payment of his troops, and on the approach of the British army, he had deposited the remainder with Shah Nawaz Khan, the treasurer of his Majesty, with a view to prevent it from falling into the possession of the Commander-in-Chief.

His Excellency being satisfied that the money in question was the public property of the enemy, and that the transfer of it to the hands of an officer of his Majesty's treasury had no other object than to deprive the British Government of the benefit of the capture, deemed it to be his duty to claim the property, as belonging to the British power. This application was made in the most respectful manner, and with every degree of attention to his Majesty's dignity. After some consideration, the Emperor sent the money to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, accompanied by a message to his Excellency, requesting his acceptance of the money as a donation to the brave army, whose gallant conduct had released his Majesty from a miserable subjection to the Mahratta and French power, and placed him under the long-desired protection and liberality of the British Government.

The Commander-in-Chief received the money, and referred the question of its disposal to the consideration and orders of the Governor-General.

The Emperor addressed a letter to the Governor-General, at the same time stating the circumstance of his having bestowed this donation on the British army.

The Governor-General communicated to the Commander-in-Chief without delay his sentiments and instructions relative to the transaction above described.

In those instructions the Governor-General stated his decided opinion to be, that the original sum of six lacs of rupees, as well as the residue of that sum, after deduction of the disbursement made to the troops of the enemy, was certainly the public property of the enemy; and that any part of that property captured in the hands of M. Dugeon, or any officer, soldier, or subject of the enemy, would unquestionably have been adjudged lawful prize to the British Government.

The Governor-General observed, that the fraudulent transfer of the enemy's property to the hands of the officers of his Majesty Shah Aulum, at the time of the approach of the British army, could not change the nature of that property, or exempt it from the right of the captors, who had defeated the enemy's troops in the battle of Delhi, and in consequence of that glorious victory had captured the city and fortress of Delhi, occupied at that time by a division of the enemy's army; that no circumstance appeared to warrant a suggestion, that this deposit could have been intended for the service of his Majesty, although placed in the

hands of the chief officer of his Majesty's treasury ; that the state of indigence and misery to which his Majesty, his royal family, and household had long been reduced by the Mahratta power; the degraded and destitute condition to which the imperial house of Timur had been subjected under the officers of Scindiah ; and the deplorable situation in which the Commander-in-Chief found the Emperor upon his entrance into Delhi, excluded the possibility of a supposition that M. Dugeon intended to contribute so large a sum to relieve the sufferings of Shah Aulum, and of his impoverished court ; that the object of the deposit was evidently to elude the rights of the conquerors, and to cover the property of the enemy in the hands of his Majesty's officers and under the royal name, without the authority or knowledge of the Emperor, and without any intention of relieving his Majesty's urgent distress. That under the conclusion, therefore, that the residue of the original sum of six lacs of rupees deposited by M. Dugeon in the hands of Shah Nowauz Khaun, continued to be really the public property of the enemy, the right of that property appeared to the Governor-General to have been vested in the British Government by the conquest of Delhi.

Under these circumstances the Governor-General expressed his entire approbation of the Commander-in-Chief's conduct in having claimed the sum of money in question, and in having observed in his mode of preferring a claim to it, the respect and attention which the Commander-in-Chief had uniformly manifested towards the unfortunate Emperor.

The Governor-General proceeded to observe, that his Majesty Shah Aulum having been pleased to offer to the army as a donation the sum of money claimed by his Excellency in right of conquest, the Commander-in-Chief could not have declined to accept that offer without injury to his Majesty's dignity, unless at the same time the Commander-in-Chief could have relinquished altogether the claim on the part of the British Government to that part of the property of the enemy, and that in the judgment of the Governor-General the Commander-in-Chief would not have been justified in relinquishing that claim without the express authority of the Governor-General in Council.

The Governor-General further stated to the Commander-in-Chief, that the treasure in question being lawful prize, the Governor-General could not have deemed himself warranted in any stage of the transaction (under the circumstances stated by the Commander-in-Chief) to have authorized his Excellency to withhold the assertion of the claim of the British Government to obtain the enemy's property from the hands in which it had been concealed ; adding, that the limited amount of the sum, combined with the memorable events which attended the conquest, would have rendered the Governor-General peculiarly anxious to secure, for the purpose of granting to the enemy, a reward earned by a degree of exertion and merit which had never been surpassed.

The Governor-General, therefore, by those instructions, authorized and directed the Commander-in-Chief to consider the treasure, amounting to five lacs and 40,000 rupees, received as a donation from his Majesty, but being really the property of the enemy, to be prize-money granted by the authority of the Governor-General in Council to the army, in testimony of the high sense entertained by the Governor-General in Council of the discipline, perseverance, fortitude, and zeal displayed by that gallant army.

The Governor-General, however, thought it advisable to take an early opportunity of paying an equal sum to the use of the Emperor in such a manner as should be most acceptable to his Majesty, and as should secure its due application to his Majesty's service.

Accordingly the Governor-General addressed a letter to the Emperor, in which his Lordship stated to his Majesty the circumstances which appeared to render the money claimed by the Commander-in-Chief, the undoubted right of the British Government acquired by the conquest of Delhi, from the Mahrattas and French.

After establishing this fact, the Governor-General proceeded to state, that agreeably to the pleasure of his Majesty, he had issued orders to the Commander-in-Chief for the distribution of the property among the troops. The Governor-General then intimated to his Majesty, that his Excellency's attention was directed to the formation of a permanent arrangement, calculated to provide security for the happiness, dignity, and tranquility of his Majesty and of the royal family, and that his Excellency had issued instructions to the Commander-in-Chief to pay into the royal treasury the sum of six lacs of rupees, with a view to provide for the immediate exigencies of his Majesty's household, and the Governor-General issued orders accordingly, which have since been carried into execution, and the money applied to his Majesty's use.

Previously to the march of the army from Delhi, the Commander-in-Chief appointed Lieut-Colonel Ochterlony, the Deputy Adjutant-General, to reside with his Majesty on the part of the British Government. Every possible degree of attention and respect has been manifested towards the unfortunate Emperor and his family and household, and his Majesty appears to be fully impressed with a sense of the benefits which he has already derived from the protection of the British Government.

After the battle of Laswaree, his Majesty deputed a special mission for the purpose of congratulating the Commander-in-Chief on that brilliant victory, and conferring on his Excellency an honorary dress agreeably to the customs of India.

The arrangements which the Governor-General in Council proposes ultimately to adopt for the support of his Majesty and of the royal family will hereafter be stated to your honourable Committee. The Governor-General in Council, however, deems it to be advisable to apprise your honourable Committee in this place, that it is not his Excellency's intention to require any concession whatever from his Majesty, nor to proceed in any immediate arrangement beyond the limits of establishing a liberal allowance for his Majesty's support, and for the comfort of his royal family and nobility, under the protection of the British power, with such arrangements at Delhi as may render his Majesty's residence in that city tranquil, secure, and dignified; may improve the condition of the inhabitants of the city, and of the contiguous provinces; and may combine with these desirable objects additional augmentation and strength to the military resources and defences of the Company's possessions in that quarter.*

We have &ca.,
WELLESLEY
G. H. BARLOW
G. UDNY

* Martin: *Wellesley's Despatches*, Vol. V, Supplement—Mahratta War, pp. 1 ff.

APPENDIX II

The Governor-General in Council to the Secret Committee of the Honourable the Court of Directors re: the importance of placing H. M. Shah Alum and his family under British protection.

(Extract)

Fort William, 13th July, 1804.

Honourable Sirs,

67. Your honourable Committee is aware that the late Mahajee Scindiah, after having rescued the unfortunate representative of the house of Timour from the sanguinary violence of Gholaum Kaudir, obtained from his Majesty the grant of the office of Vakeel ool Mutluck, or executive prime minister of the Moghul Empire, for his Highness the Peishwa, and was himself appointed to execute the functions of that office under the title of Deputy, and that Dowlut Rao Scindiah succeeded to the office of deputy Vakeel ool Mutluck, and to the consequent control which his predecessor had established over the person and family of the aged and unhappy monarch of Delhi. By successful intrigue, M. Perron obtained the office of commandant of the fortress of Delhi, which is the residence of the royal family, and thus secured the possession of the person and of the nominal authority of the Emperor.

68. Notwithstanding his Majesty's total deprivation of real power, dominion, and authority, almost every state and every class of people in India continue to acknowledge his nominal sovereignty. The current coin of every established power is struck in the name of Shah Aulum. Princes and persons of the highest rank and family still bear the titles, and display the insignia of rank which they or their ancestors derived from the throne of Delhi, under the acknowledged authority of Shah Aulum, and his Majesty is still considered to be the only legitimate fountain of similar honours.

69. The pride of the numerous class of Mussulmans in India is gratified by a recognition of the nominal authority of the illustrious representative of the house of Timour over the territories which once constituted the extensive and powerful empire of the Moghul, and the Mussulmans are still disposed to acknowledge the legitimacy of pretensions or demands, ostensibly proceeding from the authority of the imperial mandate.

70. Under these circumstances, the person and authority of his Majesty Shah Aulum might form a dangerous instrument in the hands of any state possessing sufficient power, energy, and judgment, to employ it, in prosecuting views of aggrandizement and ambition.

71. The Moghul has never been an important or dangerous instrument in the hands of the Mahrattas, but the augmentation of M. Perron's influence and power and the growth of a French interest in Hindostan, had given a new aspect to the condition of the Moghul, and that unfortunate Prince might have become a powerful aid to the cause of France in India, under the direction of French agents.

72. The views with which the Government of France prepared to resume its possessions in India under the provisions of the treaty of Amiens, were unequivocally manifested by the extent and nature of the staff and equipments which accompanied the officer appointed to exercise the chief authority over all the restored possessions of the French in this country, and additional demonstrations of those views have appeared since the renewal of the war with France. No

doubt remained that it was the intention of the Government of France after the conclusion of peace, to establish on the foundation of her possessions in India a political and military state, and to strengthen and augment it by every practicable connection with the native states of India, and by every art of indefatigable intrigue and systematic ambition. The system of introducing French adventurers into the armies of the native states, for the improvement of their discipline and efficiency, had been found to afford the readiest and most effectual means of establishing the influence and authority of the French in the government of those states, and of erecting an independent territorial and military power within the limits of a foreign dominion. The extension and improvement of this system during the continuance of peace, would undoubtedly have constituted a principal object of the attention of the Government of France in India, and adverting to the facilities which would be afforded to the views and projects of the French by the extent of territorial and military power and independence established under the direction of M. Perron in the north-west of Hindostan, it cannot be doubted that under the continuance of peace between his Majesty and France and between the British Government and the Mahratta states, the progress of French intrigue, and the aggrandizement of the French power in India, would have been most rapid and dangerous to our security. In the prosecution of these views, the French would manifestly have derived essential aid from the possession of the person and family of the Emperor Shah Aulum. The name of that monarch would have been employed to justify exaction, violence and encroachment, and under the plea of restoring his Majesty to his hereditary dominion, the power of France in India might have been directed to the subversion of every state, and to the appropriation of every territory unprotected by alliance with the British nation. The Emperor might have been compelled to constitute the territorial possessions of France in India an independent sovereignty, and under the plea of possessing sovereign authority, the proceedings of the Government of France in India might have proved in the highest degree injurious to the interests and security of the British Empire in this quarter of the globe.

73. If any doubt could be entertained of the views of the French in this respect, that doubt would be removed by the tenor of documents obtained at Pondicherry and Calcutta, and transmitted by the Governor-General to the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, of which copies are now annexed to this despatch.

74. With a view however to submit to your honourable Committee's immediate and particular notice a distinct proof of the projects in the contemplation of the Government of France with respect to the Emperor Shah Aulum, the Governor-General in Council deems it advisable to insert in this place a translation of an extract from one of the documents to which the preceding paragraph refers.

75. That document is entitled a Memorial on the present importance of India, and on the most 'efficacious means of re-establishing the French nation on its ancient splendour in that country'.

76. That document was obtained at Pondicherry from a French officer, named Le Febre, who accompanied General Decaen to India. 'Such has been the treatment received from a company of merchant adventurers by the Emperor of Hindostan, the sole branch of the illustrious house of Timour, so revered throughout the East, that his sovereignty is universally acknowledged although his power is no more, and the English Company derived its own constitutional power from his infinite goodness. It is evident that Shah Aulum ought to be the undisputed sovereign of the Moghul Empire, as the great grandson of Aurung Zebe, the tenth succession in a direct line from Tamerlane. This great question with respect to the sovereignty of the Empire being decided, it remains to consider whether it is not possible that the branches of this unfortunate family may find at some time protectors, who shall assert their sacred rights and break their ignominious chains. It will be then that a mutual alliance, and a judicious union of powers

shall secure the permanent sovereignty of the Emperor, and render his immediate subjects, as well as his tributaries, happy in the enjoyment of personal security, and of that wealth which springs from peace, agriculture and a free trade. The English Company, by its ignominious treatment of the great Moghul, has forfeited its rights as dewan and treasurer of the Empire; the Nabobs of Oude and of Bengal are equally criminal, because they have acted as traitors towards their lawful sovereign: thus the Emperor of Delhi has a real and indisputable right to transmit to whomsoever he may please to select, the sovereignty of his dominions, as well as the arrears due to him from the English. These arrears of the tribute of 26 lacs of rupees, promised by the Company, with the interest of the country added, will amount at this present time to four hundred and fifty-two millions tournois, a sum which greatly exceeds the value of the Company's moveable capital'.

77. The preceding observations may serve to illustrate the importance of placing the person, family and nominal authority, of his Majesty Shah Aulum under the protection of the British Government, and the accomplishment of that arrangement was accordingly considered by the Governor-General to be a principal object, though not a cause of the war, and an indisputable condition of the peace.

78. Independently of the considerations above stated, adverting to the degree of veneration with which the illustrious descendant of Timour is regarded by all classes of people in India, and especially by the class of Mussulmans, and to the state of indignity and misery to which that unfortunate monarch had been reduced under the oppressive control of the Mahrattas and the French, the Governor-General in Council considered among the most important political benefits of that arrangement, the reputation which the British name would acquire by affording an honourable and tranquil asylum to the fallen dignity and declining age of the King of Delhi, and by securing the means of comfort to his Majesty's numerous and distressed family.*

We have &ca.
WELLESLEY
G. H. BARLOW
G. UDNY.

*S. J. Owen: *A Selection from the Despatches, Treaties, and other Papers of the Marquess Wellesley*, pp. 629-33.

APPENDIX III

Re : Conferring of Khillauts on Fyze Mohummud Khan.

To

J. Monckton Esqr.

Ag. Secy. to Govt.

Fort William.

Sir,

5. His Excellency the Vice President in Council is apprized of the general grounds of the opinion entertained by the Governor General with respect to the political expediency of asserting the sovereign rights of the British Government in India, and it is satisfactory to His Excellency to know that his colleagues at the Board concurred in those sentiments. The reasons on which that opinion is founded appear to His Lordship to bear with peculiar force on the branch of the question now under consideration.

6. It may be expedient however to consider the weight of the objections which may be urged against the prosecution of the proposed measure of titles being granted by the British Government.

7. One general objection which naturally presents itself on the first consideration of this question, is the apparent inconsistency of the assumption by the British Government, of a prerogative hitherto exercised by the King of Delhi, and properly constituting an attribute of Royalty, with the acknowledgment of our fealty to the King, in the term "Tidwee" or "servant" inserted on the seal of the Governor General. While the British Government shall continue to issue money in the name of the King, and to retain the established forms of correspondence with His Majesty and the several native courts of India, it might be said that as nominally holding under the King, the British Government could not issue Letters Patent conferring titles, (an act which implies the exercise of sovereign power) under the seal of the Governor-General bearing the inscription of "Tidwee". This objection, cannot however be considered to possess much real weight, as the same would apply to every act of sovereignty which is daily exercised by the British Government within its territories in India. Indeed, cases must occur where an interest of such magnitude presents itself as imperiously to demand utter disregard of that consideration. For instance the sudden death of Saadut Ali, on which occurrence it was a matter of political necessity for the British Government to seat his eldest son immediately on the Musnud without previous communication with the Court of Delhi, altho' the slight to the King was to be heightened by the circumstance that the succession involved the highest nominal office in the distributions of the Mogul Empire. The real corrective for such inconsistencies is, in the opinion of the Governor General, the alteration of expressions on the seal and coin, as well as in the diplomatic phraseology, no longer reconcilable to the change which has taken place in the relative situation of the parties.

8. Another plausible objection which might be urged against the assumption of the Power in question is the effect which that assumption might produce on the minds of the King of Delhi and the native inhabitants of these provinces, who might be disposed to view in the supersession of His Majesty's privilege an attempt gradually to deprive the King of even the show of Royalty and to reduce him to the condition of a private pensioner on the bounty of the British Government. While our native subjects, it might be said, are perfectly aware that in essentials the British Government exercises the full and absolute powers

of sovereignty, their pride is flattered by the maintenance of the external forms of Royalty with which the fallen House of Timoor continues to be surrounded, and they would naturally feel hurt at an encroachment on one of those innocent Prerogatives by which His Majesty still continues to be the Fountain of Honor from whence their Titles flow. It may also be urged that no embarrassment can ever be experienced from leaving the exercise of this power in the hands of the King, as although the titles are issued by His Majesty the application for them must be made through the British Resident, or the previous sanction of the British Government be obtained by His Majesty. Tho' this argument be stated with a view that nothing may be passed over which could justly be urged against the measure, the supposition of such a feeling on the part of the natives seems rather a gratuitous assumption. The very application which is the subject of this letter proves that no such sentiment existed in the mind of Fyze Mohummud himself ; and it may be inferred that he did not apprehend it's having any force in the breasts of others, or he would have been withheld from soliciting Investiture from the British Government by the dread of entailing on himself the censure and reproach of his fellows.

9. It might be doubted also, whether in the event of the British Government determining to assume the privilege of granting titles, the successors of those Native Princes who have been accustomed to receive those dignities from the King of Delhi would be contented to accept titles from the British Government as the substitute of the Mogul Power. The principle however advanced by the Governor General is, to confine the exercise of this privilege by the British Government to the granting of titles to it's own subjects, leaving it open to the discretion of the successors of those Native Princes, independent of the Honorable Company, who might wish to keep up their nominal Fealty to seek a confirmation from the Moghul, by whom the titles were first conferred on their ancestors. All further remark must be confined to this point. If such a disposition exist in those Native Princes it has it's foundation in the fictitious superiority still assigned by our Government to the King of Delhi, and the prejudice would expire when we no longer upheld the phantom of supremacy to which it is attached.

10. These appear to His Excellency to be the principal objections which might be urged against the adoption of the proposed measure. They are, however, in His Excellency's judgement, rather to be regarded as theoretical, and it is probable that no difficulty would be experienced in practice, and no serious alarm be excited in His Majesty's mind, nor dissatisfaction among the Mahomedan community ; but on the contrary it may be expected that the prosecution of the measure in question, if cautiously, and gradually, introduced, would be attended with the best effects, and that the occasional if not the exclusive exercise of this power, combined with the general assertion of the preeminence of the dignity and greatness of the British Government, would materially assist in destroying the prejudice in favour of the nominal sovereignty of the House of Timoor, and would teach the inhabitants of these provinces to look up to the Representative of the British Government as the sole, as he is the real, Head of the Government of this extensive Empire, and to consider themselves, as they are in fact, subjects of the British Crown.

11. His Excellency the Governor General, on a question of such importance is desirous of receiving the opinion and sentiments of His Excellency the Vice President in Council and His Lordship accordingly requests that His Excellency in Council will be pleased to take the subject into his consideration and that the Vice President in Council will have the goodness to communicate the result of his deliberations to the Governor General ; in order that the latter may lay the whole subject more distinctly before the Honorable Court of Directors.

12. With respect to the particular case of Fyze Mohummud Khan, the Vice President in Council is requested by the Governor General to state his opinion whether

it would be expedient to comply with this person's request for the grant of Titles from the British Govt., previously to the adoption of the general arrangement which may be agreed on for giving effect to the measure in contemplation. Putting aside the Governor General's view of the question at large, the step so recently taken with regard to the Nabob Vizier would in his Lordship's opinion throw much colour of inconsistency on any hesitation as to acceding to Fyze Mohummud's request. Neither does it appear to his Lordship a case that would provoke discussion. Should it be mentioned to the Resident by the Court of Delhi, he would have to answer that he received the Instruction unaccompanied by any explanation ; and it is certain the explanation would not be sought elsewhere. The point submitted to the Honorable Court of Directors would thereby be still kept open for their decision. Tho' this be the light in which his Lordship sees the matter, his sincere deference for the judgment of his colleagues, and his unfeigned solicitude to be enabled to weigh their opinions, urge him to entreat that he may have the benefit of their unbiassed sentiments.*

Ilahabad
the 23d Sept., 1814.

I have &ca.
(Signed) Geo. Swinton
Persn. Secy. to the Gr. Genl.

To George Swinton Esqre.
Persian Secy. to the Governor General

Sir,

1. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of the 23d of September.

2. The subject of the reference contained in your dispatch has been considered by His Excellency the Vice President in Council with all the attention due to the delicate and important nature of it. I am now directed to transmit to you for the purpose of being submitted to His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor General the enclosed extract from the Minutes of His Excellency in Council containing the sentiments and opinions of the Board on the general question of asserting the sovereign rights of the British Government in India to the exclusion of the nominal supremacy of the King of Delhi, and also on the particular point referred to. His Excellency in Council's consideration regarding the expediency of exercising the privilege of granting Titles to subjects of the British Government as forming one of the measures to be adopted for the gradual execution of the purpose above stated.

3. With respect to the individual application of Fyze Mohummed Khan, the son and successor of the late Chief of Kanound, to receive his Titles immediately from the British Government, his lordship will observe that the Vice President in Council has stated the only objections which in the judgment of His Excellency in Council can be considered to oppose a compliance with it, and that His Excellency in Council conceives that the mere act of conferring Titles on Fyze Mohummud Khan, unconnected with any promulgation of a design to exercise the privilege generally, might not excite discussion.†

Fort William
18th Nov. 1814.

I have &ca.
(Signed) J. Monckton
Actg. Secy. to Govt.

* Sect. Cons., 18 Nov., 1814, No. 14.

† Sect. Cons., 18 November, 1814, No. 20.

To

C. T. Metcalfe Esqr
Resident at Delhi

Sir,

With reference to my letter under date the 23d September in reply to your dispatches of the 9th June and 17th July 1814 on the subject of the application from Fyze Mohummud Khan for the titles held by his father the late Nujabut Alli Khan which he is desirous of receiving immediately from the British Government, I am now directed to communicate to you the resolution of the Governor General to gratify the wish of Fyze Mohummud in that particular and to authorize you to inform him that his request has been granted, and to confer on him and certain members of his family Khillauts of Investiture and honor similar to those conferred on his father and others of the family in the year 1811.

I am also directed to observe to you that while the Governor General has availed himself of so marked an opportunity afforded to the British Government to grant titles to its native subjects and dependants, a right which his Lordship is of opinion it is highly expedient to assume, it is not intended that any precise declaration of this design should be made at the present moment, nor that the grant of titles in this instance to Fyze Mohummud should be accompanied by a promulgation of a resolution on the part of the British Government to exercise this privilege on all occasions.

The Governor General does not suppose that the mere act of conferring on Fyze Mohummud the Titles held by his late father will attract the particular notice of the Court of Delhi or produce any remonstrance on the part of the King with respect to this innovation of the Royal Prerogative ; but in the event of the subject being mentioned by His Majesty you will not consider it to be necessary to enter into any discussion of the question, observing merely that you have received the instructions of Government to comply with Fyze Mohummud Khan's request unaccompanied by any explanations.*

Camp Kurnaul
4th January 1815.

I have &ca.

(Signed) Geo. Swinton
Persn. Secy. to the G. G.

* Sect. Cons., 24 January, 1815, No. 33.

APPENDIX IV

Re: Performing of the Ceremony of "Tika" by the Maharaja of Jaipur on the part of the King of Delhi.

To Charles T. Metcalfe, Esqr.
Secy. to Govt. Pol. Dept.
Fort William

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit a copy and translation of a letter received from Juypoor.

2. It appears to be an established custom, that on the accession of every new Prince, the Teekah should be sent by every state, with whom they are in friendly relation, or amicable correspondence, and as the British Government sanctioned this proceeding many years after the late Rajah ascended the musnud, there seems a very particular anxiety that it should not be omitted to his son and successor.

3. It is an object equally desired by the Ranee mother, the minister of Jeypoor and His Majesty, each supposing it of importance to themselves in the eyes of the public.

4. I submit the subject to the consideration of the most noble the Governor General in Council, in the hope, that the gratification may be considered unimportant to us, and that I shall not have the mortification of communicating a refusal, that cannot fail to be most humiliating to His Majesty, and by Jeypoor will be considered a diminution of that independence which they hoped to retain, even in a protective alliance.*

I have &ca.

(Sd.) D. Ochterlony
Rest.

Dehli Residency
13th April, 1820.

Translation of a letter received from Rawul Byree Saul, minister of Jeypoor, on the 9th of April, 1820.

By the favor of God, the performance of the ancient custom of Teeka (Installation) on the part of the Company, and the most noble the Governor General, which, owing to your goodness has been renewed, has afforded much encouragement to the will disposed, and given fresh splendour and vigour to the interchange of friendship between both states—and as the House of the Maharaja is the first in rank of the Chiefs of Hindustan, having the honor of being nearly allied to His Majesty, it is an hereditary rule of the family to be honoured with the Teeka by him—for instance, the investiture of the late Muharaja, thro the friendly interposition of Nazim ud Dowlah Behadur is well known—By the blessing of God, conformably with the wishes of friends, you sir, who are a sincere friend to the House of the Muharaja, and the founder of the arrangement of the state, and from your goodness of disposition hopes of the attainment of many objects are entertained, and since you are the principal manager of the affairs of His Majesty—and the favor dripping clouds of the almighty having given lasting verdure to the garden of this Family, which has afforded singular happiness to it's friends, more particularly to yourself, who are the sincere friend of the late Muharaja, and given us hopes of the attainment of our designs.

* Pol. Procs., 6 May, 1820, No. 20.

This humble servant, in the confidence of your kindness is heartily engaged in the service of his master—at this time, the attainment of the Teeka, from the August Presence, will encrease your good name, and give stability to the ancient custom of the family, and make apparent my services, which in fact, are your own—It is therefore anxiously hoped from your kindness, that in the attainment of this boon, whatever measures may appear necessary, you will be pleased to use your best endeavours to carry into effect—Truly—this object—as it encreases the friendship of the British Government with the House of the Muharaja, and which is daily encreasing, will also receive the unfeigned approbation of the world.—

Ordered that the following letter be addressed to the Resident at Dehlee.—

To

Major General Sir D. Ochterlony, Bt. G.C.B.
Resident at Delhi.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch of 13th ultimo relating to an application from the minister at Jeypoor for the performance of the ceremony of the Teeka on the part of the King of Dihlee.

2d. The Governor General in Council deems it impolitic to depart from the established principle, of discouraging every communication between His Majesty and Foreign States, that can tend to keep alive or resuscitate the expiring notions of his supremacy and their dependance; or give color to the semblance of a distinction between his acts and those of the British Government.

3d. It is only as the Emperor of Hindoostan, and the sovereign whose supremacy was formerly acknowledged that the state of Jypoor can now desire His Majesty to perform a ceremony, which heretofore would have been essential for the confirmation of the Raja's succession, and is still therefore desirable on account of a remaining attachment to old forms. It is only with reference to that relation, that His Majesty can be willing to accede to the wish—As a separate and ordinary state of the present time with which the Court of Jeypoor is "in friendly relation or amicable correspondence" the King of Dihlee has no existence; and to put the application on a footing implying such a condition would be no less degrading to His Majesty than uncandid on the part of the ministry at Jypoor.

4. The Governor General in Council relies on your address for softening the unavoidable refusal which the nature of the application compels him to give.*

Fort William
6th May, 1820.

I have &ca.
(Signed) C. T. Metcalfe
Secretary to the Govt.

* Pol. Procs., 6 May, 1820, No. 21.

APPENDIX V

Ceremonial observed on the occasion of the visit of the Governor-General (Lord Amherst) to His Majesty the King of Delhi in 1827.

From A. Stirling, Esquire, Persian Secretary in attendance on the Governor-General, to G. Swinton, Esquire, Secretary to Government in the Secret and Political Department, Fort William,—dated Camp at Beekumpore, 3rd March 1827.

In continuation of my letter to your address, in the Secret Department, dated 6th December last, I am now directed to communicate, for the information of His Excellency the Vice-President in Council, that the Right Honorable the Governor-General reached Delhi on the 15th ultimo and was met at the Lahore Gate of the city by the Heir-Apparent and Mirza Baber, who conducted His Lordship to the Residency.

2. The Prince, Mirza Selim, had been deputed by the King to Muttra to convey a complimentary message to the Governor-General and express His Majesty's wish for an interview, and the ceremonial of a meeting with the King having been previously arranged, on a footing which was considered proper and satisfactory, His Lordship proceeded to the Palace on the morning of the 17th to visit His Majesty.

3. Mirza Selim came to the Residency to conduct the Governor-General to the Palace. When the Governor-General's *sowaree* reached the inner gate called the *Nuqqar Khaneh*, the Resident and the several gentlemen of His Lordship's suite alighted from their elephants, according to custom, and proceeded on foot, whilst the Governor-General was carried in his *Tonjohn* to the steps of the *Dewan-i-Khass*. The King came into the Hall of Audience from the apartment called the *Tasbeeh Khaneh* at the same moment that the Governor-General entered on the opposite side, and, meeting His Lordship in front of the throne, embraced and welcomed him in the most cordial manner. His Majesty then ascended the *Takht-i-Taos*, or Peacock Throne, and the Governor-General took his seat in a State chair in front of it, on the right, and sat at right angles to His Majesty, the Resident and other officers present, as well as the chief personages of the Court, all standing. No *nuzzers* were presented. After a short conversation, consisting entirely of expressions of a complimentary and congratulatory nature, the King took a handsome string of pearls and emeralds from his neck and placed it around that of Lord Amherst, His Lordship rising to receive the Royal gift. *Utter* was then given by the King, and His Majesty, descending from the Throne, took the Governor-General by the arm and led him to the door of the *Tasbeeh Khaneh*, where His Lordship took leave. Salutes of 19 guns were fired from His Majesty's Artillery Park, both upon the entry and departure of the Governor-General.

4. On the 22nd the gentlemen of His Lordship's Staff and suite, 20 in number, were introduced to the King by the Resident. Each presented the usual *nuzzer* and received a *Khelaut*.

5. On the morning of the 24th the King proceeded to the Residency to return the visit of the Governor-General, where he was received with every demonstration of respect and honor. Sir Charles Metcalfe proceeded to the Palace to escort His Majesty, and His Lordship, attended by his suite, went out half the distance to make the *Istukbal*. On His Majesty's arrival he took his seat on the Peacock Throne, which had been previously placed in the principal room of the Residency for the purpose, and the Governor-General, as before, sat on a State chair to the right, every other person present standing. At the proper period presents were

brought for His Majesty, consisting of 101 trays of jewels, shawls and cloths of various kinds, two elephants richly caparisoned, and 6 horses with costly trappings, as per separate list. The Governor-General then rose and presented the *utterdam* to His Majesty, after which His Majesty signified his intention of taking leave, and was accompanied by Lord Amherst to the Royal Litter in the veranda.

6. On the 26th His Lordship was visited by the Heir-Apparent, Mirza Abboo Zuffur, and eight of the King's sons. His Royal Highness was conducted to the Residency by Sir C. Metcalfe, and met at the head of the steps by the Governor-General. The Prince sat in a State chair on His Lordship's right and the other sons of His Majesty were seated below His Royal Highness according to their ages. Presents, consisting of 51 trays, one elephant and three horses, were given to the Heir-Apparent, and 21, 15 and 13 trays, with horses, to each of the junior Princes. Account of these is contained in Statement No. 2.

7. The following day the Governor-General returned the Heir-Apparent's visit at the Koodsia Bagh, and was received with the same honors and ceremonial observances as had been shown to His Royal Highness. The same number of articles were offered to His Lordship as had been previously presented to the Heir-Apparent and accepted on the public account. The gentlemen in attendance were all seated in the presence of the Princes on both occasions.

8. The Moomtaz Mahul Begum, usually designated as the Queen in official correspondence, and the wife of Mirza Selim were visited by Lady Amherst. Her Ladyship presented to those ladies a handsome necklace and pair of earrings from the *Tosha Khanah*, and received articles of jewellery in return, which were all placed in the public stores.

In conclusion, I am directed to state that the whole of the articles expended as presents to the Royal Family were supplied from the *Tosha Khanah* of this office, with exception to a charge of Rs. 2,600 for pearl necklaces.

APPENDIX VI

Insinuation against Rammohun Roy, his remonstrance, and proceedings thereon.

(Extract). -

Now—what we would ask do our readers think of all these most amusing and instructive proceedings on the part of the “natives of wealth and intelligence” and so forth, who are daily held up to us, as samples of the growing mind of the age? In the papers and letters now before us, from which we have culled the above *historical* details of the “Timoor Mission,” we observe the names of several European gentlemen, who, we cannot help thinking, had as lief not been lifted to fame by such a lever. We are sorry we can give our readers no particular information, as to the papers of which Mr. Martin was employed to take duplicate copies, and with which he was to proceed to England; but when he states as we observe he does, that these papers were obtained from a public office by bribery, how could he ever had entertained the notion, that with such credentials he would have been listened to a moment by either the Court of Directors or the Board of Controul? The whole business, so far as we have related it, is a complete farce, exposing all concerned in it to ridicule.*

To

A. Stirling Esq.
Secy. to Govt.

Sir,

It having being brought to my notice by a friend that the John Bull newspaper of the 25 Ultimo has amongst a tissue of other falsehoods and misrepresentations connected my name with the charge of having obtained certain Papers by bribery, I think it but due to myself as well as to the individuals in the employment of Govt. who may be supposed implicated in such a charge, to deny the allegation.

All the Papers alluded to were sent to me from His Majesty the King of Delhi many of them he must have had in his own possession as having been publicly addressed to his Predecessors or himself, and others may have been procured by private favor from Functionaries who were above the reach of bribery—that however this may be I beg distinctly to repeat my assertion that as far as I am either directly or indirectly concerned, the charge of bribery is absolutely false and unfounded.

I beg leave to submit for your satisfaction a letter of old date from His Majesty who will confirm what I have now stated. The Hand writing you write readily recognize as that of the Moonshree usually employed by him, so as to leave in your mind no doubt of its authenticity.†

Calcutta
7 March 1830.

I have &ca.
(Sd.) Rammohun Roy.

* *John Bull*, 27 February, 1830.

† *Pol. Cons.*, 26 March, 1830, No. 96.

From His Majesty the King of Delhi to
Rammohun Roy Bahadoor.

Let our devoted servant know that his Arzee dated 2d March 1828, was forwarded to the presence by Dubeer ood Dowlah and its contents were duly understood.

For a long time it has been our Royal desire to refer this affair first to Calcutta and afterwards to England in order that we might discover what degree of justice really obtains with this people.

For various reasons, however, the reference has not yet taken place and we therefore write this to instruct our devoted Servant to send for our perusal a Correct Draft in Persian, together with Translation of the same in English.

Altho' on account of the good services rendered by your grandfather to His late Majesty at the time of his residence in the Eastern Provinces we had entire confidence in you, now that we have learnt from the conversations of Dubeer ood Dowlah the extent of your zeal and fidelity and have become more fully satisfied that the arrangement of the affair which we have at heart will be entirely effected by you ; and we appeal that as consistent with your duty you will exert yourself to the best of your ability in this business and act agreeably to our orders.

Farther we apprise you that Dubeer-ood-Dowlah has submitted several Copies of English Papers, and two or three recently and has represented that these Documents will most essentially further the Royal Cause. We therefore send them to our Servant, and direct him to retain them in his possession, if he consider that they will be useful.*

True Translation.

Sd/- G. T. Lushington, acg. Secy.

To Francis Hawkins Esq.
Officiating Resident at Delhi.

Sir,

I am directed to transmit for your information the accompanying Copies of a Letter from Rammohun Roy an Inhabitant of Calcutta, and of its Enclosure, and to desire that you will call upon Dubeer ood Dowlah to explain how the English Documents which the King of Delhi declares he furnished and which it appears from Rammohun Raee's Letter, were Copies of Official Records regarding the question of the Royal Stipend, came into his possession. You will be pleased also to make enquiry with the view of ascertaining if practicable whether the copies now referred to, were furnished from the Records of the Resident's Office at Delhi and by whom.†

I have the honor to be &c.

Signed/- A. Stirling

Secretary to the Govt.

* Pol. Cons., 26 March, 1830, No. 97.

† Pol. Cons., 26 March, 1830, No. 98.

The following papers received from the office of the Persian Secretary to the Government are ordered to be here recorded.—

From the Officiating Resident at Dehlee.—

To A. Stirling Esqre
Secretary to the Government in the Political
Department
Fort William.

Sir,

On receipt of your letter dated 19th Ultimo, enclosing copys of a letter to you from Rammohun Roy, an Inhabitant of Calcutta, and Translation of a letter to him from the King of Dehlie, I enquired whether there was any person in the City bearing the title of Dubeer-ud-Dowla, and was assured that Khuajah Furreed who had borne that Title and was Controller for some time of His Majesty's Household, died about two years ago, leaving two sons, one of whom named Zeir-ul-Aubideen had acted as assistant to his Father in conducting the affairs of the Palace. Him I immediately sent for, and finding that he really had been employed under his father, I put the following questions to him in writing, which he answered in the same manner under his seal and signature.

Question.—In what year and on what date of the Hijree and Christian aira did your Father die?

Question.—How long and in what years did your father hold the office of Mokhtar or Controller of the King of Dehly's household?

Answer.—He died on the 27th of July 1828, corresponding with the 14th Mohurru 1244 His.

Ansr.—The first time he was appointed Mokhtar and received an honorary Dress from the King, through the recommendation of the Resident Muntizzum-ud-Doulah¹ (Sir Charles Metcalfe) on the 24th January 1814 or 1st of Suffon 1229 H, and on the 17th of March following I was honored with a Khilat on being appointed his naib. My Father continued in office one year and nine months, that is until the 13th of October 1815, when he resigned of his own accord, and went to Calcutta. On the 23d of March 1817 or 4th of Jemaud-ul-Amul 1232 H, at the particular wish of the King, he, my father was again appointed Mokhtar, but declined the ceremony of being invested with a Khillat, and having acted for two years and four months, he resigned his office on the 30th July, 1819 and became a Recluse.

Question.—Was your father in the habit of waiting upon the King after he had ceased to hold the office of Mookhtar.

Answer.—From the time my Father retired after his second resignation, and became a Recluse, until his death, he never once went to the King's Palace.

2. These answers of Khajah Zein-ul-Aubideen 2d son of the late Dubber-ood-Doulah which are transmitted herewith in original, are altogether at variance with the King's assertion in his letter to Rammohun Roy, that the copies of English

¹ Not recommended by me—C. T. Metcalfe.

Papers sent down with that letter had been submitted to him the King, by Dubeer-ud-Doulah, and another Proof of the inaccuracy of His Majesty's assertion is, that on the 23d October 1828 the Resident Sir E. Colebrooke received a shooqa from the King, with a list of English Papers of which he required Copies, to which the Resident answered by pleading his inability to comply. That list with Sir Edward Colebrookes initials thereon, is also transmitted herewith in original.

3. I strongly suspect that Rajah Sohun Lal, the King's Mookhtar in 1828 and ever since, obtained the copies in question through Baboo Ram Gopaul the Resident's private Dewan an expert writer of English with whom he was known to be on very cordial terms, and that to screen himself, he inserted in the King's his master's letter to Rammohun Roy, the name of a former manager, who, being dead, could not appear to refute the statement, for the King's written application to the Resident for copies of English Papers was not made until October 1828, and Sohun Lal himself was the bearer of it.*

Dehly Residency,
3d April 1830.

I have &ca.
Sd/- F. Hawkins
Acting Resident.

Enclosure in a Letter from the Officiating Resident at Delhi—dated 3d April 1830.

Memorandum with Sir E. Colebrooke's initials Papers required by His Majesty from the Resident's office.

Copy of the original Letter of Supreme Government relative to the agreement entered into by Lord Wellesley, in English, a translation of which was forwarded to the King by Sir D. Ochterlony signed by him.

Copy of opinion and order of Lord Wellesley (Minto) dated 1809 (Christian Era) in English, with reasons for the same.

Copy of Mr. Ross's letter of 1823 in English, opinion and orders of Lord Amherst, dated 1828.

Copy of Roobekarrees of the Criminal Court at Delhi, relative to the obtaining the orders of the King in the capital offences for the years 1804/5/6/7/8 in Persian with English signatures thereto.

Statement relative to the ejectment of the Royal Mootsuddies from the Collector's office at Delhi, viz. and in what year they were discontinued, and up to what year they had attended the Ketcherrie? These points should be ascertained from the kutcherrie officers and the statement written in Persian and signed in English.

Copy of Mr. Seton's Letter of 30th April 1809, relative to the encrease of Revenue in English.

Copy of Letter of Lord Wellesley dated 29th July 1805, agreeably to which an arzee was addressed to the King by the Resident.†

(True Translation)

Sd/- G. T. Lushington
Assistant Secretary to Govt.

Enclosure in a Letter from the Officiating Resident at Delhi, dated 3d April 1830—
From

Zein-ool-Abudeen, to Mr. Hawkins.—

Your Shooka of the 2d April 1830, written to ascertain—

First—On what day my Father the late Nuwab Dubeer-ood-Doulah died.

* Pol. Cons., 16 April, 1830, No. 140.

† Pol. Cons., 16 April, 1830, No. 141.

Secondly.—How long and in what years, agreeably to the English Era, he held the office of naib or Mokhtar to His Majesty the King of Delhi, and when he quitted it,—

Thirdly.—Whether my father after he ceased to hold the appointment of Mokhtar, was ever in the habit of waiting on the King—was duly received by me—

Agreeably to your orders I send the following answers to your Queries—

Answer first.—The Nuwab Dubeer-ood-Doulah, my late father, died on the 27th July 1828, which is agreeably to the 14th Mohurram 1244 H.—

Second.—My late Father received his first honorary dress, as Mokhtar, from his Majesty, through Sir C. Metcalfe, on the 24th January 1814,—which accords with the 1st Suffer 1229—On the 17th March 1814, I was honored with a Kheleat as Naib Mokhtar or Deputy Controller—My father continued to hold this office for one year and nine months, and on the 16th October 1815, agreeably to the 9th Teekadat 1230, he, of his own free will, sent in his resignation and went to Calcutta. For one year and five months he continued unemployed, and on the 23d March 1817, or on the 4th Jumadee-ool-awal 1232, he was for the 2d time, with His Majesty's entire approbation, appointed to the Mokhtarship.—He purposely did not accept a Kheleat this time. For 2 years and 4 months he carried on the duties of the Controllershship, and on the 3d of July 1819, or on the 7th Shumval 1234, he gave up the appointment and became a recluse.—

Third. From the date of his becoming a recluse up to the time of his death, he never once waited on the King.*

(True Translation)

Sd/- G. T. Lushington

Asst. Secretary to Government.

To The Hon'ble
Court of Directors.

169. We beg leave to call the attention of Your Honourable Court the

Cons. 26 March, No. 96 to 98.

annexed correspondence, consisting of a letter with Enclosure addressed by Baboo Ram Mohun Roy to our late Persian Secretary Mr. Stirling. The object of the Baboo's letter as stated by him was to vindicate his character from certain charges and insinuations that had appeared in print in one of the Daily newspapers of this Presidency, relative to certain public documents on the subject of the stipend of His Majesty the King of Delhi, which documents the newspaper asserted had been obtained by bribery from one of the public offices. It was stated by Rammohun Roy that "all the papers alluded to had been sent to him by the King of Delhi, that His Majesty must have had many of them in his possession, as having been publicly addressed to his predecessor or himself, and that others might have been procured by private favor from functionaries who were above the reach of bribery".—With a view to our satisfaction on this head the Baboo submitted a letter of old date from His Majesty the King of Delhi to His address in which His Majesty informed the Baboo that "Dubeer-ood-Dowlah had submitted several Copies of English papers and two or three recently representing that those documents would most essentially further the Royal Cause, and that His Majesty had therefore sent them to his servant (Rammohun Roy) and directed him to retain them in his possession if he considered that they would be useful."

170. On the receipt of Rammohun Roy's letter and its Enclosure we addressed a Despatch to the Officiating Resident desiring him to call upon Dubeer-

* Pol. Cons., 16 April, 1830, No. 142.

ood-Dowlah to explain how the English Documents which the King of Delhi declared he furnished and which it appeared from Rammohun Roy's letter were copies of official records regarding the question of the Royal stipend, came to his possession. We also directed Mr. Hawkins to make enquiry with the view of ascertaining if practicable whether the copies now referred to were furnished from the records of the Residents office at Delhi and by whom.

171. The result of the Officiating Residents enquiries will be found recorded as per margin. Mr. Hawkins informed us that the Individual who bore the Title of Dubeer-ood-Dowlah had

Pol. Letter, d/- 14 October, 1830. died about two years ago but that he had ascertained from his son who resided at Delhi that Dubeer-ood-Dowlah had become a recluse in the year 1819, and had never since that been to the Palace, and that the papers alluded to could not therefore have been submitted by Dubeer-ood-Dowlah. Mr. Hawkins added that he strongly suspected that Rajah Sohun Lal the Kings Moktar in 1828 and ever since had obtained the copies in question thro' Baboo Ram Gopaul, Sir E. Colebrooke's private Dewan, and that to screen himself he had inserted in the King's letter the name of the former manager Dubeer-ood-Dowlah who being dead could not appear to refute his statement.*

* Letters to Court (Pol.), No. 18 of 1830.

APPENDIX VII

Re : Departure and return of Rammohun Roy's native attendants.

The Officiating Secretary reports that orders for the reception of Mr. Pringle as well as of the undermentioned Individuals as Passengers proceeding to the Ports and places specified have been issued on applications duly made for the purpose by the Individuals themselves or by others in their behalf on the dates subjoined—

Ramrutun Mookerjee—Hurechurn Doss and Sheikh Buxoo 15th November proceeding to England in attendance on Rammohun Roy on the Albion.*

Calcutta, April 19th 1833.

G. A. Bushby Esqre.
Officiating Secretary to Government
General Department

Sir,

We beg to enclose a Certificate from Captain Owen of the Zenobia of the return to this country of one of the native servants named Buxoo who went to England in attendance on Rajah Rammohun Roy and request the favor of your directing the Sub Treasurer to receive a Government Promissory note from us for Sa. Rs. 2,000 returning the one for Rs. 3,000 deposited at the General Treasury for 3 servants, as per Sub Treasurers Certificate herewith sent.†

We have the honor to be &ca.,
(Signed) Mackintosh & Co.

Calcutta, 7th February, 1833.

This is to certify that a Mahomedan Native servant, named Buxshoo, was sent on board the Zenobia in London by Messrs. Rickards Mackintosh and Co. the agents of Rajah Rammohun Roy, whom he attended home and in England, and that he has been landed in Calcutta from that vessel.‡

To
Messrs. Mackintosh & Co.

(Signed) W. Owen
Captain of the Zenobia.

Gentlemen,

I am directed to inform you that the officiating Sub Treasurer has been authorized to deliver up to you the deposit which was made at the General Treasury on account of the Native Servant mentioned in your letter of this date, on your returning to that officer the Certificate granted for the deposit and lodging a fresh deposit for Ramrutun Mookerja, & Hurichurn Doss the two other servants who accompanied Rajah Rammohun Roy to England and who have not yet returned.

2d. The Sub Treasurer's Certificate which accompanied your letter is herewith returned.§

Council Chamber,
The 19th April 1833.

I am &ca.
(Signed) G. A. Bushby,
Offg. Secy. to Govt.

Ordered that the necessary Instructions be issued to the Sub Treasurer.

* Pub. B. S. 23 Nov., 1830, No. 36.

† Pub. Cons. (Home), 19 April, 1833, No. 36.

‡ Pub. Cons. (Home), 19 April, 1833, No. 37.

§ Pub. Cons., (Home), 19 April, 1833, No. 38.

APPENDIX VIII

*Re : Byza Bae's intention of appointing Rammohun Roy her
ambassador in England.*

To

W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.,
Secy. to Government,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit copy of a letter from Mr. Ross with a Khareetah from Her Highness The (Baija) Bae for the Right Honble the Governor General in Council and to state that Her Highness has requested me to solicit a reply from His Lordship.

2. From a note from Mr. Ross, received some days ago, it appears that Her Highness has been advised by Bunsee Dhar, ex-Nazir of the Agra Court, to appoint Rammohun Rai Her ambassador in England and I suspect from Her Highness's being so urgent for a reply and sending her khareetah thro' me that such is indeed her intention.

3. With deference I beg leave to bring to His Lordship's particular notice the second document, annexed to Her Highness's statement of her case, dated Aughun 1889 corresponding with 28th March 1833, said to have been written and assigned by the Maharaja, fully establishing Her Highness's resolve to depose him and proving that my suspicions and cautions, as explained in my dispatches noted in the margin, were well founded and necessary.

1st June, 1833, 7th June, 1833, 8th June,
1833, 10th June, 1833, 11th June, 1833,
14th June, 1833, 18th June, 1833, 22nd
June, 1833, and its accompaniments, 24th
June, 1833.

4. I now rejoice that I acted as
stated in my reports, that I did not

become a tool in Her Highness's hands for the Moharaja's deposition and confinement and I may now know to whom to attribute the report of having received four lacs of rupees—The Bae no doubt wished the world to consider me as bought to her interests.*

Gwalior Residency,
8th Nov., 1833.

I have &ca.
(Sd.) R. Cavendish,
Resident.

To

The Honorable
R. Cavendish
Resident at Gwalior.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that the Bae's camp moved to day about a mile down the river for the advantage of having more convenient ground to encamp on than at Hunsecagunge.

2. Soon after I reached my tent in the evening a chubdar brought me the enclosed Khareetas from her Highness to forward to the Right Honorable the Governor General and to you.†

Camp on the Jumna
opposite Muttra
6th Nov. 1833.

I have &ca.
(Signed) D. Ross
Asstt. Resident.

* Pol. Cons., 21 November, 1833, No. 49.

† Pol. Cons., 21 November, 1833, No. 50.

Ordered that the following letter from Baeza Bae to the Governor General, be here recorded.—

From Baeza Bae

To

The Right Honorable
Lord William C. Bentinck G.C.B.
Governor General
Fort William

Most Respected and valued Friend

Your Lordship's kind favor of the 5th ultimo, purporting to your Lordship's having understood the accounts of changes at Gwalior and offering consolation for the event alluded to in my address and advising me to bear the occurrence with the firmness which is becoming my high rank, and that true greatness consists in bearing every condition with undisturbed equanimity—and expressing a hope that I will have succeeded in composing my thoughts to the quiet contemplation of the state of things, which has been established by the accession to power of Maharajah Jhunkoojee Rao Scindeah, and that I will have reconciled my mind to the relinquishment of the cares and fatigues of Government—and that it will always be the study of the British Government to preserve unimpaired the integrity of my late illustrious husband's dominions and that it will be some consolation for me to reflect that my name will be inseparably associated with the history of the Gwalior State, and its alliance with the British Government—and that should I prefer to reside in the territory of the Hon'ble Company, every degree of attention will be paid to my dignity and comfort; reached me through the Resident of Gwalior, on the 26th of last month, and the happy intelligence of your Lordship's welfare afforded me infinite satisfaction and much pleasure.

Although the late revolution at Gwalior has in a public point of view in no way agitated or shaken my reputation, but in effect tends in a great measure to militate against the basis of your Lordship's compact, and the able schemes formed by your Lordship, which has proved a source of regret to me—but how such a change could be endured by a reflecting mind is a question and the abandonment of the cares and fatigues of Government rests with every individual (whatever be his station in life) according to his own judgment and understanding.

The different points of your Lordship's letter now under acknowledgment, are more fully replied to in the accompanying explanatory statement (the English translation of which will be forwarded afterwards) which has been separated from this address in consequence of its prolixity. In consideration of your Lordships excusing and kind disposition, the answers have been drawn up in some haste, and not with such mature deliberation as the importance of the subject required—however I earnestly hope that my present address will attract your Lordship's kind and friendly attention to the several promises and assurances invariably made for the preservation of the late Maharajah's country, and thereby entitle me in your Lordship's superior judgment to indisputable right as his widow—By an act of justice on this occasion, your Lordship will not only confer a friendly and a lasting obligation on the state, but more particularly on me—and I sincerely trust that your Lordship will consider me your Lordship's unfeigned well wisher and faithful ally, and under such circumstances and considerations frequently favor me with epistolary communications, conveying the welcome tidings of your Lordship's health and prosperity—and allow me for the present to subscribe myself with every consideration and regard, your Lordship's most sincere well wisher and faithful friend*—

Camp Agra the 26th October, 1833.

(Signed) Byza Bae.

* Pol. Cons., 21 November, 1833, No. 51.

GLOSSARY*

- ADALAT**—Court of Justice.
- AOHAN**—The eighth month of the luni-solar year.
- AKHBAR**—News, intelligence, a newspaper.
- ALKAB**—Titles, honours, part of a form of address to persons of high rank.
- AMIL**—A collector of revenue.
- ARZI, ARZDASHT**—A petition, an address, a memorial, a respectful statement or representation.
- ATAR**—Perfume, essence, especially of roses.
- ATAR-DAN**—An ornamental box or phial containing essence of roses.
- BAOH**—A garden, an orchard, a plantation.
- BAKHSI**—A paymaster, an officer whose especial duty it was also to keep an account of all disbursements connected with military tenures, as those of *Mansabdars* and *Jagirdars*. Paymaster of the forces. Under the Mogul system, frequently one with the Commander-in-Chief.
- BAKHSI KOOL**—Commander-in-Chief of the King's troops.
- BASANT (Panchami)**—The vernal festival of the Hindus on the fifth lunar day of *Magh*; formerly observed as the beginning of the spring.
- BAZAR**—Market.
- BEGAM**—Princess, Lady.
- CHAUDHARI**—The head man of a profession or trade in towns. The head man of a village. A holder of landed property classed with the Zamindar and Talukdar.
- CHAUKIDAR**—A watchman, a police or custom peon, a village watchman.
- CHELA**—A servant, a slave, a pupil, a disciple.
- CHODDAR**—An attendant carrying a short staff or mace.
- DAFTAR**—A record, a register, an account, an official statement or report, especially of the public revenue, roll, archives, etc. An office in which public records are kept.
- DAROGA**—The chief native officer in various departments under the native government, a superintendent, a manager; but in later times he is especially the head of a police, custom, or excise station.
- DARVESH**—A Mahomedan religious mendicant.
- DIWAN, (Dewan)**—The head financial minister, whether of the state or of a province, being charged, in the latter, with the collection of the revenue, the remittance of it to the imperial treasury, and invested with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial causes.
- DIWANI**—Of or relating to a Diwan. The office, jurisdiction, emoluments &c. of a diwan. The right to receive the collections of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, conferred on the E. I. Co. by the Moghul.
- DIWAN-I-KHAS**—Private audience chamber.
- DOAB**—The country between the Ganges and Jumna.
- DURBAR**—A court, a royal court, an audience or levee.
- DURGAH**—A royal court. In India it is more usually applied to a Mahomedan shrine, or tomb of some reputed holy person, and the object of worship and pilgrimage.
- ELCHEE**—Envoy.
- FARMAN**—A mandate, an order, a command, a patent.
- FASLI**—The harvest year. The era originated with Akbar who thought of simplifying the existing chronology by introducing a new mode of computing time.
- FAUJDARI**—The office of a magistrate or head of police, or criminal judge. Adj. Relating to the office of Faujdar; criminal as opposed to civil.
- FIRDOS MUNZIL**—Located in paradise.

* Mainly based on Wilson's "Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms."

- GUZ**—A measure of length, a yard.
- HIJRI**—Relating to the Hijra, or Mahomedan era.
- HOLI**—A popular festival of the Hindus.
- HUZUR**—The presence, the royal presence, the presence of a superior authority, as of a judge or collector of revenue, and, by metonymy, the person of the prince or functionary; also the hall of audience, the court; also abstractly the state, the government.
- Ibra-nama**—A written acquittance or relinquishment of claim.
- Id**—A Mahomedan festival.
- ID-UZ-ZAHA**—The festival of the forenoon, of sacrifice, or the Bull-festival.
- IKRARNAMA**—A deed of assent or acknowledgment in general.
- INAAM**—A gift, a benefaction in general, a gift by a superior to an inferior.
- INTIZAM**—Administration, arrangement.
- ISTIKBAL**—Ceremonious reception of a person of distinction coming out of a town in procession to meet him.
- ISTIMRAR**—Continuance, perpetuity: a farm or lease granted in perpetuity by government or a Zamindar, at a stipulated rent, and exempt from *abwabs*.
- JAGIR**—A tenure common under the Mahomedan government, in which the public revenues of a given tract of land were made over to a servant of the state, together with the powers requisite to enable him to collect and appropriate such revenues, and administer the general government of the district.
- JAGIRDAR**—The holder of any assignment of revenue.
- JAIDAD**—Assets, funds, resources, an estate, property: an assignment of the revenues of a tract of land for the maintenance of an establishment, or of troops, granted for life, but very commonly with permitted succession to the next of kin, sometimes with a rent reserved.
- JAMA**—Amount, aggregate, total in general, but applied especially to the debit or receipt side of an account, and to the rental of an estate; also to the total amount of rent or revenue payable by a cultivator or a zamindar, including all cesses, as well as land-tax.
- JASHN**—A royal ceremony.
- JUMAH**—Friday, the day of public prayer with the Mahomedans.
- JUMADI-UL-AWAL**—Fifth month of the Mahomedan year.
- JUMADI-US-SANI**—Sixth month of the Mahomedan year.
- KACHARI**—A court, a hall, an office, the place where any public business is transacted.
- KADIM**—An old inhabitant of a village, one holding by hereditary descent; and, as being usually chosen from this class, applied to the head man of a village in the west of Bengal, and in some parts of the peninsula.
- KAZI**—A Mahomedan judge.
- KHADIM**—A servant, an attendant, one who is employed in the care of a shrine or mosque.
- KHALSA**—The exchequer, the office of government under the Mahomedan administration in which the business of the revenue department was transacted; as applied to lands, it means those of which the revenue remains the property of government. Lands or villages held immediately of government, and of which the state is the manager or holder.
- KHANSAMAN**—A house-steward or butler.
- KHANSAMANEE**—The office of the house-steward or butler.
- KHARITA**—Letter passing between a native prince and the Governor-General.
- KHAS**—As a revenue-term applied to the management of estates and the collection of the revenue by the offices of the government, also to lands held by Zamindars and cultivated by themselves for their own benefit.
- KHILAT**—A dress of honour; any article of costume presented by the ruling or superior authority to an inferior as a mark of distinction.
- KHILWAT DURBAR**—A private darbar.
- KHUTBA**—A public prayer or discourse pronounced in the mosques at the Friday service, in which the prince is prayed for.
- KILLADAR**—The governor or commandant of a fort.
- KISTBANDI**—Settlement of the instalments of the revenue both as to time and amount.
- Any document relating to fixed periodical payments of the revenue or of a debt.

- KOTWAL**—The chief officer of police for a city or town, a superintendent of the markets.
- LAC, (Lakh)**—A hundred-thousand.
- MAHARAJA**—A supreme sovereign prince; applied in courtesy to every Raja.
- MAHAL**—A house, apartment, seraglio, a district.
- MAUZA**—A parcel, or parcels of lands having a separate name in the revenue records, and of known limits.
- MIR-MUNSHI**—Chief Secretary.
- MIRZA**—Prince.
- MUFTI**—A Mahomedan law-officer, whose duty it was to expound the law which the *Kari* was to execute.
- MUHAR**—A seal, a seal ring, a gold coin.
- MUHARRAM**—The first month of the Mahomedan year.
- MUHARRIR**—A clerk, a writer, a scribe.
- MUKHTAR**—An agent, a representative, an attorney, chief minister.
- MUNSHI**—A writer, a secretary; applied by Europeans usually to teachers or interpreters of Persian and Hindustani.
- MUNTAZIM-UD-DOWLAH**—Administrator.
- MUSNUD**—Throne.
- MUTSADDI**—A writer, a clerk.
- NAIB**—A deputy, a representative, a lieutenant, a viceroy, a sub- or deputy-collector.
- NAJIB**—A body of irregular infantry under the native government.
- NAMA**—A Royal Epistle.
- NAUROZ**—New-year's day, held on the sun's entrance into Aries.
- NAWAB**—A viceroy or governor of a province.
- NAZAR**—A present, an offering, especially one from an inferior to a superior, or to a prince.
- NAZARAT**—Supervision, inspection, the office of the nazir.
- NAZIM**—An arranger, an administrator, a governor, a viceroy, the superior officer or governor of a province charged with administration of criminal law and the police.
- NAZIR**—An inspector, a supervisor; in ordinary use, the officer of the court who is charged with the serving of processes, or who is sent to take depositions, and make inquiry into any breach of law or the peace.
- NAWAB NAZIR**—Deputy nazir.
- NAZIRAT**—Anything dedicated to God in consequence of a vow; the first line of an army (as devoting themselves); forlorn hope.
- PADSHAH**—A king.
- PARGANA**—A district, a province, a tract of country comprising many villages.
- PESHKAR**—An agent, a deputy, a manager in general for a superior or proprietor, or one exercising in revenue and custom affairs a delegated authority.
- PESHKUSH**—Tax, tribute.
- POSTEEN**—Cloak.
- RABIA-UL-AWAL**—The first of the two months termed *Rabia*, the third of the Mahomedan year.
- RABIA-US-SANI**—The fourth month of the Mahomedan year.
- RAIYAT**—A subject, but especially applied to the agricultural population, a cultivator, a farmer, a peasant.
- RAJA**—A king, prince, a title given to Hindus of rank.
- RAJAB**—The seventh month of the Mahomedan year.
- RAMZAN**—The ninth Mahomedan month, during which eating, drinking and any sensual gratification is interdicted between dawn and the appearance of the stars.
- RANI**—A princess, the wife of a Raja.
- RAZINAMA**—A deed of assent.
- RISALA**—A troop of horse.
- RISALDAR**—A native officer commanding a troop of irregular horse.
- RUBAKARI**—The written record of a case, stating the particulars and the grounds of the decision drawn up and authenticated by the judge in a Company's court, on passing sentence.

- SADAR-US-SADUR**—The chief judge, the chancellor.
- SAFAR**—The second month of the Mahomedan year.
- SAHEEHAST**—It is correct.
- SALATIN**—Designating the younger members of a royal family, especially of that of Delhi.
- SANAD**—A grant, a diploma, a charter, a patent: a document conveying to an individual emoluments, titles, privileges, offices, or the government rights to revenue from land etc. under the seal of the ruling authority.
- SANWAT**—Rupees in the third year of their currency, when their value was reduced from 16% to 11%.
- SARDAR**—A chief, a head man, a commander.
- SARKAR**—The government, the state, the supreme authority or administration: the ruler, the king: a landlord, a proprietor, a superintendent, a chief, a manager.
- SAWARI**—A number of persons mounted, especially on state occasions: equipage, retinue, cavalcade, a troop of horsemen.
- SEAHZADA**—A prince, the son of a king.
- SHARA**—The law; or the precepts of Mahomedanism as derived from the Koran.
- SHAWAL**—The tenth month of the Mahomedan year.
- SHUKKA**—A royal letter or missive.
- SIBANDI**—Irregular soldiery, peon.
- SICCA**—A stamped coin, especially the designation of the silver currency of the Kings of Delhi.
- SUBAH**—A province, a government: one of the larger subdivisions of the Mogul dominions, such as Oudh, Bengal, Bahar, etc.
- SUBAH DAR**—The governor of a province, a viceroy under the Mogul government.
- SUFEE**—Envoy.
- TAKHT-I-TAOOS**—The peacock throne.
- TALOOK**—A division, district, an estate.
- TASBEH KHANA**—Room of worship or prayer.
- TAYOOL**—Land held in *jagir* by a member of a royal family, an appanage: applied especially to certain lands held by the King of Delhi, or members of his family in the neighbourhood of Delhi.
- THANA**—A station, a military post, a police-station.
- TIDWEE**—Vassal.
- TIKA**—A sectarian distinction, or a mark of high rank: conferring the *tika* upon a subordinate or feudatory chief is the privilege and indication of supremacy.
- TOSHA KHANA**—A store-room, a wardrobe: chambers in which objects of curiosity or value, not in daily request, are kept.
- TUKSAL**—Mint.
- TUPPA**—A small tract or division of country, smaller than a pargana, but comprising one or more villages.
- ULTUMGHA**—A royal grant under the seal of some of the former native princes of Hindostan, and recognised by the British Government as conferring a title to rent-free land in perpetuity, hereditary and transferable.
- VAKALAT**—Representation, agency, attorneyship, the office of a vakil.
- VAKIL**—A person invested with authority to act for another, an ambassador, a representative, an agent, an attorney.
- VAKIL-UL-MUTLUK**—Executive prime minister.
- VAZIR**—The principal minister in a Mahomedan sovereignty.
- WALLAHAD**—An heir, especially to a sovereignty, the heir apparent.
- WASI**—A testator, an executor, an administrator, a guardian appointed by a will.
- WASIKAH**—Letter.
- ZANANA**—The female apartments, the females of a family.
- ZILA**—A division, a district.
- ZILHIJA**—The twelfth month of the Mahomedan year.

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