

BOOK III. deficit had been made good by the territorial  
 CHAP. IX. revenue, the whole of the Indian debt having

1832. grown out of the necessity of borrowing money for the Company's investments. In order to establish this assertion, it was necessary to revert to the earliest years of the trade, before the Company's acquirement of the Dewani, in 1765, from which time, until the renewal of the Charter, in 1813, the political and commercial transactions of the East India Company had been so intimately blended, that it was impossible to submit them to an unimpeachable discrimination.<sup>1</sup> To what extent the trade had assisted the revenue, or the revenue the trade in remote periods, could no longer be determined, and it was useless to inquire; and the only legitimate subject of investigation, was the nature of their connection, since the separation of the accounts had rendered it capable of ascertainment.

With the charter of 1813, a plan was devised for keeping the territorial and commercial accounts distinct in future. Without attempting to analyse the composition of the actual property in India, or the demands against it, the Indian Debts and Assets were declared to be territorial, with a few inconsiderable exceptions. The property at home and afloat, was carried to the credit of the com-

<sup>1</sup> "All the statements which have been drawn out with a view to an enquiry into the relative position of the two branches of the Company's affairs, antecedently to the commencement of the present Charter, differ materially from each other, as well in point of principle as in their details and results, and show the extreme difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of arriving at any certain conclusion upon a point of which the accounts, whence the statements are drawn, do not afford either the perfect illustration or the proof."—Comm. H. of Com., 1832, Finance App. No. 2, Mr. Pennington's Report.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

*Relations with Native States,—Abandonment of Protective Policy,—System of Non-interference,—partial and mischievous Operation,—Interference authorised with Extra-Indian States,—Inconsistency—and consequences.—King of Delhi sends an Agent to England.—The Governor-General declines an Interview.—Assassination of Mr. Fraser.—Punishment of the Murderers.—Affairs of Oude.—Guarantee of the Person and Property of the Minister,—continued in Office by the new King for a short time,—Dismissal and Demands against him,—allowed to retire to Cawnpore,—his Death.—Conduct of the King.—Appointment of Hakim Mehdi.—Salutary Reforms,—not considered sufficient.—King threatened with Deposal,—Resident not to interfere,—Solicitations of the Minister.—Progress of Reform.—Intrigues against Hakim Mehdi,—his Dismissal.—Conditional Instructions to assume the Government,—their Enforcement suspended.—Death of the Nizam.—His Successor requires the Removal of the British Officers.—Decline of the Country.—Affairs of Palmer and Co.—Differences between the Directors and the Board of Control.—Writ of Mandamus.—Bhopal.—Disputes between the Begum and the young Nawab,—the latter set aside in favour of his Brother.—The Begum unwilling to relinquish*

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*his Progress.—Raja alarmed.—British Government interferes,—cautious Character of Interference,—Mediation accepted.—Secret Hostility of Man Sing, he favours and shelters Marauders.—Force collected against Jodhpur.—Man Sing, alarmed,—submits to all demands.) (Jaypur,—long and uneasy Intercourse.—Influence of Jota Ram and Rupá Bhandarin.—Dislike by the Regent Rani of the Manager Bhyri Sal,—his Removal.—Doubts of the Existence of the young Raja.—Return of Jota Ram.—Sentiments of the Chiefs in favour of the Regent-Mother.—Public Appearance of the Raja.—Unpopular Measures of Jota Ram.—Discontent of the Chiefs.—Inveterate Animosity of Jota Ram to Bhyri Sal,—Efforts against him,—frustrated by British Guarantee.—Death of the Dowager Rani.—Force sent into Shekhawat.—Forts destroyed.—Raja protests against the Expedition,—his sudden Illness and Death.—Universal Suspicion.—Resignation of Jota Ram,—and Removal of Rupá.—Political Agent sent to Jaypur.—Bhyri Sal, Manager.—Attack on the Agent, and Murder of Mr. Blake,—traced to Jota Ram,—who is imprisoned for life.—Murderers punished.—Council of Regency under general Control of the Resident.—Evils of Non-Interference in regard to secondary Rajput States,—necessarily resumed.—Sirodhi Frontier.—Adjustment of disputes between Bhikaner, Jesselmer and Bahawalpur.*

THE intercourse maintained with the Native States BOOK III.  
 in alliance with the British Government of India CHAP. VIII.  
 during the period under review, presents an 1828-35.

BOOK III. unfavourable picture of the results of the policy pur-  
 CHAP. VIII. sued by the latter—the decline of that salutary  
 1823-35. influence which it had at first exerted for the main-  
 tenance of public tranquillity, and a tendency to  
 a revival of those disorders which had occasioned  
 so much misery and desolation in Central Hin-  
 dustan.) (For a short interval after the close of the  
 Pindari campaign, the ascendancy acquired by the  
 British power, and the subordination of several of  
 the princes whom it had seated on their thrones, and  
 whom, in the immaturity of their years or their  
 sovereignty, it was bound to protect, neither ex-  
 cited any discontent among the native states nor  
 disquieted the consciences of the authorities in  
 England, usually haunted by the dread of extend-  
 ing the British territory beyond the limits which  
 were set to it by the wisdom of Parliament)  
 (But with the consolidation of the supremacy, the  
 apprehension of its visionary evils recurred; and in  
 a short time instructions were reiterated to the  
 local governments, to withdraw from all inter-  
 ference with the native princes, beyond such as was  
 indispensable for the realisation of the tributes they  
 were bound by treaty to pay, or to prevent them  
 from going to war with each other, and to leave  
 them to the independent and uncontrolled exercise  
 of their power in the administration of their own  
 affairs.) (However mischievous the consequences,  
 and although engendering within their respec-  
 tive dominions tumult, anarchy, and civil war,  
 non-interference was to be the rule of the policy  
 which was to be followed by the Governor-General)  
 The interposition of the British Government was

to be restricted to the vindication of its own pecuniary claims; and the character of an importunate and self-interested creditor was to be substituted for that of a benevolent and powerful protector.) These instructions were promptly attended to, particularly by Lord W. Bentinck, who entertained the like views of the expedience of abstaining from interference with native rule. It was found, however, to be extremely (difficult to desist from intervention.) (The protection of the British dominions from the contagion of contiguous disorder, the rescue of friendly princes from the effects of their own misconduct, the impossibility of looking on unconcerned whilst a tributary or ally was hastening to destruction, and the necessary assertion of its own dignity and authority, compelled the reluctant Government of India to interpose frequently, both with council and with arms, and placed its conduct in constant contrast to its professions.) Inconsistency was therefore the main characteristic of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal in its transactions with the native principalities beyond its own borders; and while it subjected them to perplexity and embarrassment, it impaired the consideration and weakened the reliance which they had hitherto entertained on its purposes and its power. Nor was this inconsistency restricted to the local Government. While urging the principle of non-interference as regarded the princes of India, the authorities in England, induced by considerations foreign to the interests of British India and originating in the jealousies of European cabinets, impelled the Indian Government into a course of

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BOOK III. interference which it had hitherto carefully avoided,  
 CHAP. VIII. and opened sources of danger and disaster which  
 1823-36. its own prudence would have shunned. The same  
 policy that was disposed to consign Malwa and  
 Rajputana to the renewed horrors of the predatory  
 system, commanded the Governor-General to carry  
 his negotiations across the Indus, and to establish  
 new relations with Sindh and Afghanistan. The  
 inconsistency was severely punished; but the results  
 belong to a subsequent period.) We have now only  
 to notice the political relations that were maintained  
 between the Native States of Upper India and the  
 British Government, to the close of Lord W.  
 Bentinck's Administration.

Upon adverting in the first place to the Moham-  
 medan powers, we find that (no change had been  
 made in the position of the king of Delhi, whose  
 dissatisfaction was still kept alive by the non-com-  
 pliance of the Government with his application for an  
 augmented stipendiary grant.) Finding the Govern-  
 ment immoveable, His Majesty had appealed to the  
 authorities in England, and had deputed the cele-  
 brated Rammohun Roy<sup>1</sup> to advocate his cause. As

<sup>1</sup> Rammohun Roy was a Brahman, of the most respectable or Kulin  
 tribe of Bengal, and was born in 1780, in the province of Burdwan.  
 His father and grandfather had held office under the Nawabs of Ben-  
 gal; and in contemplation of a similar destination, Rammohun Roy  
 was early instructed in Persian and Arabic, and being of a contem-  
 plative and inquiring turn, was led by the study of the Koran to look  
 with aversion on the polytheism and idolatry of his countrymen. To  
 his Mohammedan studies, he added the acquirement of Sanscrit and  
 English; and as he grew to manhood, he entered into the service of the  
 Government as a writer in the office of the Collector of Rungpore, rising  
 rapidly to the post of Dewan, or Head Native Assistant and Treasurer.  
 In attracting the esteem of his superior, Mr. Digby, his familiar  
 intercourse with that gentleman confirmed him in his distaste for the  
 religion of his forefathers, and in his desire to awaken his country-  
 men to a sense of the degrading character of their superstitious belief.

this mission had not been communicated to the Governor-General, and had been consequently un- sanctioned, the character of Rammohun Roy as the Agent of the King, was not recognised in England; and his advocacy was unavailing. To mark the displeasure of the Government, Lord William Bentinck, on his arrival at Delhi, in his visit to the Upper Provinces, declined the usual

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Retiring from public life at an early age, he settled at Calcutta in 1814, and employed himself in endeavouring to disseminate the doctrines of faith in one sole Supreme Being. The plan he adopted for this purpose, in addition to his personal teaching, was the publication of portions of the Vedas and of Vedanta tracts in Sanscrit, Bengali, and English, in which the unity of God was inculcated, and a spiritual form of worship was enjoined; thus endeavouring to establish a Deistical religion by authorities recognised as sacred by the Hindus themselves. Some converts were made, chiefly among the opulent and educated classes of Calcutta; and an impulse was given which has contributed materially to their enlightenment. Falling in with Unitarian Christians, Rammohun Roy adopted in some degree their tenets, and in their defence engaged in an unprofitable controversy with the Missionaries of Serampore, which diverted him from the more useful task of Hindu reform. He did not, however, wholly abandon the cause; but was always among the foremost in advocating measures for the intellectual and moral advancement of his countrymen, as was shewn in the zeal with which he supported the abolition of the rite of Suttee. Entertaining a strong desire to visit Europe, he rather ill-advisedly undertook the office of agent of the king of Delhi, with whom he could have had no sympathy, and whom interested motives alone could have tempted him to serve; and in that capacity repaired to England, where he arrived in 1831. He was received with much consideration by the Court of Directors, and by persons of rank and public importance, and attracted general admiration by the courteousness of his manners, the extent of his information, and the acuteness of his understanding. His partial adoption of Unitarian doctrines led him into a close intimacy with persons of that persuasion, but he never became a member of their church; and his mind retained to the last the colouring with which it had been imbued by the Monotheism of the Koran. His views of society also connected him, at first, with the liberal party, and he manifested a warm interest in the question of Parliamentary reform; but he lived long enough in England to detect the hollowness of party professions, and to regret his having been cheated into a belief of their sincerity. Had he returned to Bengal, his country would have reaped the benefit of his larger experience and corrected impressions; but he was unfortunately attacked by a fever which proved fatal; and he died at Bristol, in September 1833.—'Personal knowledge.'

BOOK III. interchange of complimentary visits, and passed  
 CHAP. VIII. on towards the mountains without holding an  
 1828-35. interview with the king. An addition to the pension was sanctioned by the Home authorities, on condition that the king should refrain from urging his pretensions to the revenue of the reserved districts; but as he hesitated to accede to the stipulation, the increased allowance was not granted.)

At a subsequent date, the city of Delhi was the scene of an outrage of an unusual description, and of an act of retributive justice, unprecedented in the annals of British Indian judicature. (Ahmed Buksh Khan, the Nawab of Ferozpur,) of whom mention has been already made, was succeeded by his eldest son, Shams-ud-din Khan; as Nawab. (The district of Loharu had been set apart as the appanage of his two younger brothers; and they succeeded to its independent administration. The apportionment was disputed by the Nawab; and as the district appeared to be mismanaged, the Government resolved that it should be placed under the charge of Shams-ud-din; who was to allow his brothers a pension proportioned to the nett revenue of Loharu. This decision was objected to by Mr. Fraser, the Political Commissioner and Agent of the Governor-General at Delhi; and the transfer was delayed for further consideration. The family dissensions had instilled feelings of inveterate animosity in both parties, but more especially in the Nawab, who considered that the justice of his claim had been sanctioned by the supreme authority, and was, therefore, no longer liable to be disputed. Regarding Mr. Fraser as the sole



obstacle to his being put in possession of the disputed lands, and listening only to his vindictive resentment, he employed an assassin to take away the life of the Commissioner. He had no difficulty in finding a willing instrument among his retainers; and by one of these, Mr. Fraser, when returning on horseback to his residence from a visit to the city, was shot. (The murderer at first effected his escape, but was eventually seized and subjected to trial before one of the judges of the Sudder Nizamut of Allahabad, Mr. Colvin, who had been deputed to Delhi to conduct the trial. The guilt of the assassin was fully proved, and he suffered the penalty of the law. The participation of the Nawab having been substantiated by the evidence against his emissary, Shams-ud-din was also brought to trial and convicted, and, notwithstanding his rank, hanged as a common malefactor.) Although no doubt existed of the guilt of both of the culprits, (the Mohammedan population of Delhi evinced a general sympathy for their fate, and regarded them with almost as profound a veneration as if they had fallen martyrs in the cause of their religion<sup>1</sup>.)

(During the life of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, the heir apparent to the throne of Oude had been at violent feud with his father's favourite minister Aga Mir, Moatemmed-ud-dowla, and although the breach was apparently healed, and a reconciliation was effected before the demise of the king, the latter fearing that, after his death, the minister would be

<sup>1</sup> A particular account of this transaction is given by Lieut-Colonel Sleeman in his "Rambles and Recollections," vol. ii. p. 209.

BOOK III. the object of his successor's persecution, contrived  
 CHAP. VIII. to obtain the express guarantee of the British  
 1828-35. Government for the security of his person and  
 property; advancing, on this condition, a crore  
 of rupees, as a loan to the Company in perpetuity;  
 the interest, five per cent., being paid to different  
 dependants of his Majesty, including Moatemed-  
 ud-dowla, to whom about a half of the income was  
 appropriated. The new monarch, Nasir-ud-din  
 Hyder, appeared at first disposed to forget the  
 animosity of the prince, and, retaining Moatemed-  
 ud-dowla in office, treated him with marked kind-  
 ness and profuse liberality. As soon, however, as  
 he was satisfied that the British Government would  
 not interfere with his choice of a minister, and that  
 he might safely follow his own inclinations', he  
 threw off the mask—dismissed Moatemed-ud-dowla  
 from his office, and demanded from him the repay-  
 ment of the sums of which it was alleged he had  
 defrauded the treasury, and for which his property  
 was responsible. The Minister appealed to the  
 British Government; and although it was resolved  
 that he should be made to account for the public  
 money which had come into his hands subsequently  
 to the accession of Nasir-ud-din, before permis-  
 sion was granted him to withdraw into the Com-  
 pany's territories; yet the immunity which had been  
 guaranteed to him was to be maintained for all the  
 measures of his administration under the late king,  
 whose confidence had never been withheld from

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have ascertained this more particularly from a private  
 interview with Lord Combermere on his visit to Lucknow in 1828,  
 on which occasion the king was very urgent that Aga Mir should be  
 privately arrested and shipped for England.

him, and whose concurrence in his proceedings had stamped them with regal sanction. As the object of the reigning sovereign was the entire ruin of the obnoxious minister, he warmly protested against this decision, and instituted a series of vexatious proceedings to gratify his vindictive purposes. The project was steadily resisted; and after a prolonged and troublesome discussion, and a most laborious investigation of all the pecuniary demands preferred against the ex-minister, he was suffered to retire into the territories of the Company; being still held responsible for any claims which might finally be substantiated. A military escort was necessary to protect his person and family against the vengeance of the king; and under its protection, in October 1830, he quitted Lucknow and the hope of restoration to power, for the humbler but safer enjoyments of private life at Cawnpore. He did not long survive his downfall, dying at that station in May 1832, evidently pining for the cares and excitement of office\*. (That he had been guilty of speculation and oppression to

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\* An interesting account of his last days is given by Dr. Spry, who was for some time his medical attendant.—Modern India, i. 246. Aga Mir succeeded to the office of minister early in the reign of Ghazi-ud-din, and although of humble origin was not unworthy of his elevation. He was a man of quick apprehension and acute intellect, and exhibited great address. While never losing sight of his own interests, he maintained for many years the ascendancy over his master, and his influence in the court of Lucknow. He uniformly opposed the projects of reform proposed by the British Government; yet managed to continue on good terms with its representatives, and in general to make them subservient to his purposes. In the communications with the British Government, which bore either his own signature or the king's, and which in either case were probably of his dictation, he appears to great advantage, and generally has the best of the argument.

BOOK III. an enormous extent was undoubted; and the British  
 CHAP. VIII. Government, fettered by the guarantee which it  
 1828-35. had injudiciously given him, rendered itself liable  
 to the charge of being accessory to a system of  
 both public and private spoliation.) It was not,  
 however, to punish extortion or to redress wrongs,  
 that the king pursued his minister's offences; it  
 was merely to satiate personal hatred, which was  
 to be appeased only by the destruction and probably  
 the death of Moatemed-ud-dowla. The dismissal  
 of the minister was far from conducive to the  
 improvement of the administration. The king de-  
 clared it to be his intention to become his own  
 minister; but, ignorant of affairs, and addicted to  
 dissolute habits, the effect of this determination  
 was to throw the power into the hands of dis-  
 reputable and incompetent persons, the associates  
 of his dissipation, or ministers of his vices; and as  
 venal as inefficient. Their unfitness for the duties  
 entrusted to them was so palpable and mischievous,  
 that the Resident was instructed to decline any com-  
 munication with the king through their instrument-  
 ality, and to refrain from all intercourse until a  
 respectable and responsible minister should be no-  
 minated.) After much hesitation, Nasir-ud-din re-  
 called the minister whom his father had discarded  
 in favour of Aga Mir, and invited Hakim Mehdi  
 Ali Khan to quit his asylum at Furrakhabad, and  
 resume the conduct of public affairs. The Resi-  
 dent, Mr. Maddock, opposed his elevation, under an  
 impression that Hakim Mehdi was decidedly inimical  
 to the British alliance; but the Government, antici-  
 pating important benefits from his acknowledged

abilities, concurred in his nomination<sup>1</sup>. His restoration to power was followed by measures of a beneficial tendency. The finances were improved, the expenses diminished, the corrupt practices, which had diverted a large portion of the public receipts into the hands of individual courtiers, or the inmates of the Harem, were checked; and the system of farming the revenue was exchanged, as opportunity offered, for direct collection by officers appointed by the minister — an arrangement which had been vainly urged upon the two last princes of Oude. These reforms were not, however, capable of immediate influence, nor could they be carried into effect without considerable opposition. The state of the kingdom was therefore slowly ameliorated; and, according to the report of the Resident, it had reached so incurable a stage of decline, that nothing but the assumption of the administration for a season could preserve it from utter ruin<sup>2</sup>. Although differing from Mr. Maddock in his estimate of the character and intentions of the minister, the Governor-General concurred in his views of the necessity of interference; and, in April 1831, when at Lucknow, on his visit to the Upper Provinces, the king was distinctly apprised by Lord W. Bentinck, in a speech composed for the occasion and afterwards communicated in writing, that, unless his territories were governed upon other principles than those hitherto followed, and the prosperity of the people made the principal object of his administration, the precedents

<sup>1</sup> Minute of Lord W. Bentinck on the Affairs of Oude.—Report, Committee House of Commons, Political Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Memorandum on Oude Affairs, by Mr. Maddock. Report, Comm. House of Commons, Political Appendix, VI., No. 28.

BOOK III. afforded by the principalities of the Dekhin, the  
 CHAP. VIII. Carnatic and Tanjore, would be applied to the  
 1628-35. kingdom of Oude; the entire management of the  
 country would be vested in British functionaries;  
 and the sovereign would be transmuted into a pen-  
 sioner of the State.] These menaces stimulated the  
 minister to more energetic efforts, and intimidated  
 the king into a temporary acquiescence; but, after  
 a while, the impression on the mind of the latter  
 became less vivid, and the measures of Hakim  
 Mehdi were obstructed by the same sinister in-  
 fluence by which they were formerly impeded. In  
 this difficulty, he applied to the Resident for coun-  
 sel and support, and the application was ostensibly  
 repeated by the king. With admirable inconsis-  
 tency, the Resident was restricted from compliance.]  
 The principle of non-interference was pleaded as  
 the ground of the refusal; and the Cabinet of  
 Lucknow, while made responsible to a foreign func-  
 tionary for the consequences of its domestic policy,  
 was forbidden to expect any assistance from him in  
 averting their occurrence.] It was in vain that  
 Hakim Mehdi appealed to the engagement entered  
 into with Lord Wellesley, binding the British  
 Government to afford its counsel and advice; and  
 argued that from the recent language of the  
 Governor-General, it was to be concluded that the  
 obligation was still in force. It was in vain, also,  
 that he maintained that by holding back when the  
 Native Government was anxious to advance, the  
 British Government took upon itself the responsi-  
 bility of continued maladministration, "for he"  
 observed Hakim Mehdi, "who sees a blind man on

the edge of a precipice, and will not put forth a hand to hold him back, is not innocent of his destruction." The Governor-General was not a man to be easily moved from a position he had once taken up; and the principle of non-interference for any friendly purpose, was rigorously prohibited. At the same time, reports most unfavourable to the condition of Oude, were transmitted to the authorities at home; and they were recommended to adopt, eventually, one of three courses:—to withdraw the subsidiary force and the Resident, and leave the country to the uncontrolled dominion of the Sovereign; to impose upon the latter a minister, selected by the British Government, and appoint British Officers to superintend the conduct of the native functionaries, as had been done at Hyderabad; or to take the entire government of the country, as at Nagpoore. In the meantime, however, it was proposed to give the actual minister a fair trial; as there was no doubt of his abilities, whatever might be entertained of his integrity or public spirit<sup>1</sup>.

Although recourse to such a violent mode of cure might have been justified by the supposed extremity of the case; yet, as we have already had occasion to observe, it may be questioned, if the case was as hopeless as had been represented. The misrule of native princes was no novelty in the history of India; but the deplorable accounts of its effects in Oude, seem to have been repeated without sufficient investigation. That the Sovereign was dissipated and prodigal—that his favourites, whether in the

<sup>1</sup> Minute of Lord W. Bentinck.—Political Records, etc.

BOOK III interior of his palace, or in his court, were extravagant and corrupt — that the police was lax and inefficient — that the system of farming the revenues, and intrusting the farmers with discretionary power, was pregnant with gross abuses, and productive of exaction and oppression — that the landholders were driven by it to occasional resistance, which the unaided force of the Government was unable to overcome — and that in many parts, particularly on the borders, bands of marauders plundered the peaceable inhabitants both of Oude and the territories of the Company with impunity — all these things might be perfectly true: but it did not, therefore, follow that the people at large were intolerably burthened, or that the country was in a state of irremediable anarchy or incurable decline. We have evidence to the contrary; and the frequent assertions of ocular witnesses are on record, that Oude was in as prosperous a condition as the Company's own provinces<sup>1</sup>; and that, what-

CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Heber, in 1824, vol. i. 374, 403, repeatedly expresses his surprise at finding the country so much better cultivated than he had expected to find it, after the accounts of its mis-government with which he had been familiar. Ten years later, in 1833, Mr. Shore remarks, "I have travelled over several parts of Oude, and can testify, as far as my own observation went, that it is fully cultivated according to the population. Between Cawnpore and Lucknow, numbers must daily pass, who can confirm or deny this statement. Let them declare if any portion of land there lies waste which is fit for cultivation. I have known many officers who have been stationed at Sitapoor, and have made excursions into the neighbouring parts: without an exception, they describe the country as a garden. In the number of cattle, horses, and goods which they possess, and in the appearance of their houses and clothes, the people are in no points worse (in many, better) off than our own subjects. The wealth of Lucknow, not merely of those in authority, but the property of the bankers and shopkeepers is far superior to that of any city (Calcutta, perhaps, excepted) in the British dominions. How can all this be the case, if the Government is notorious for tyranny and oppression?" — Notes, on Indian Affairs, by the Hon. F. I. Shore, i. 156.— There is much



ever grievances the people might endure, they considered them light in comparison with the unrelenting pressure of the revenue system of their neighbours, or the wearisome and vexatious processes of their Courts of Justice. Certain it is, that the subjects of the King of Oude never shewed any disposition to seek a refuge from their miseries in the contiguous districts under British rule, and that the tide of emigration, so far as it influenced the undulation of the population was more inclined to set in an opposite direction. At any rate, whatever might be the condition of the people, and however susceptible it might be of alleviation, there was no reason to believe that its improvement was alone to be secured by their transfer to foreign domination. The Governor-General had the power by treaty, and the right, to dictate to the Government of Oude the course to be followed. The right was not only recognised, but its exercise was requested; and yet, with a strange and incongruous perversity, the interference was withheld, as if it had been the policy of the British Government to create, by non-interference for preservation, a crisis which should

more to the same effect, which is deserving of attention. On the other hand, Mr. Maddock reports the country to be fast falling into a state of ruin and bankruptcy, and describes in detail the extortion, corruption, and insubordination which the farming system involves. These are, however, of a general nature, and except in the diminution of the revenue to two-thirds of its preceding amount, we have no positive indication of results. He is obliged to admit that "some parts of Oude are in a high and beautiful state of cultivation, while others are deserted and overgrown with jungle." Even his general denunciations are apparently not founded on personal knowledge, and are qualified as if based upon report. No doubt there was grievous misgovernment; but it loses none of its intensity in the pictures of official reprehension.—Memorandum on Oude Affairs — and Abstract View as gathered from Persian Papers by Mr. Maddock.

BOOK III. WARRANT ITS INTERFERING FOR THE TOTAL SUBVERSION OF  
 CHAP. VIII. THE SOVEREIGNTY. 2

1828-35.

The consequences of refusing to support the salutary reforms of Hakim Mehdi were soon apparent. The numerous and influential enemies which they had engendered recovered their uncontrolled ascendancy over the feeble mind of the King, and induced him to withdraw his confidence from his minister. The latter, disdaining to conciliate the good will of the Begums and the Courtiers, provoked their enmity by the disrespectful terms in which he spoke of them, as much as by the economy in their expenditure which he attempted to enforce; and they desisted not from their opposition until they had prevailed upon the King to dismiss him. The Resident, Major Low, endeavoured to dissuade the King from his purpose, and accomplished a temporary restoration of Hakim Mehdi to favour. The reconciliation was not of long continuance: the intrigues of his adversaries ultimately prevailed; and the minister was not only dismissed from office but was detained at Lucknow to answer numerous charges of fraud and peculation, which the instruments of his opponents were suborned to bring against him. As these were proved to be false and unfounded, the King was persuaded by the British Resident to desist from his detention; and Hakim Mehdi was allowed to return to the security and quiet of his former residence, at Furrakhabad<sup>1</sup>. All hope of permanent

<sup>1</sup> The retirement of Hakim Mehdi was followed by a circumstance characteristic of the progressive extension of European usages and notions, even among natives grown old in a very dissimilar state of society. He published in a local newspaper, the *Mofussil Akhbar*,

improvement departed with him. He was succeeded in office by Roshan-ud-dowla, a person of respectability, but of little talent, and unused to business; and the real authority devolved on the personal favourites and associates of the king, who were recommended to him chiefly by their subservience to his passions, and participation in his excesses. The impulse, however, which had been given by the menaces of the British Government and the corresponding reforms of Hakim Mehdi was not wholly extinct; and although the character of Nasir-ud-din became every day more and more an object of contempt, yet the general aspect of the affairs of Oude was such as to authorise the Governor-General's refraining from acting upon instructions, received in the beginning of 1835, to assume the government of the country, if circumstances should render such a measure necessary. The Court of Oude was apprised that such instructions had arrived; but that their execution was suspended, in the hope that the necessity of enforcing them might be obviated by the spontaneous adoption of the requisite reforms. The hope has not been realised, nor has the penalty been inflicted. The kingdom of Oude remains under the direction of a government, of which it may be justly asserted that it is not worse than native rule in general; and that, while it is discredited by many great and inherent defects, it has also its compensations, in its exemption from many of the evils which

an appeal to the public in defence of his administration and a vindication of his integrity. The document is curious, and is given in the Appendix V.

BOOK III  
 CHAP. VIII.  
 1828-35.

BOOK III. are equally inseparable from the sovereignty of  
 CHAP. VIII. strangers.]

1828-35.

The death of the Nizam, Sikandar Jah, and the accession of his eldest son under the title of Nazim-ud-Dowla, produced a material change in the relations which had been latterly established with Hyderabad. One of the first measures of the new sovereign was to require the removal of the British officers who had been appointed to superintend the assessments, as he declared it to be his determination to manage his own affairs; and, as the interference to which he objected had occasioned both embarrassment and a deficiency of revenue. Consistently with the principles now in favour with the Government of Bengal, this determination was approved of, and the Nizam was informed that it was the wish of the Governor-General that he should consider himself entirely uncontrolled in the choice of his ministers and the conduct of his internal administration; stipulating only that the engagements which had been contracted under the sanction of British officers should not be violated. To this a ready assent was promised; but the promise was little regarded. Chandu Lal, from his experience and ability, was too necessary to be discarded; and the system of exaction and prodigality which he had countenanced underwent no material modification. The expenditure was undiminished, and the embarrassment of the finances unrelieved. The engagements with the villagers were set aside, and recourse was again had to the farming of the revenues, with its usual consequences of injustice and extortion—the multiplication of robbers and plunderers, and the resistance

of the most turbulent of the Zemindars to the equitable demands of the state, requiring for their suppression the employment of a military force. In the course of a very few years, the country had relapsed into the condition from which it had been endeavoured to raise it in the preceding reign; and the Home authorities intimated a disposition to extend to Hyderabad the [appropriative policy with which Oude had been menaced.] It was not thought advisable, however, to resort to such an extremity, or to extend the scale of interference. ✕

The pecuniary dealings of the house of Palmer and Company with the Government of the Nizam, which had excited so much interest during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, continued for several years to occupy the attention of the authorities both in England and in India; and in the former, led eventually to an unusual collision, and an appeal to the Courts of Justice. The opinion given by the Twelve Judges that the limitation of the rate of interest prescribed by Act of Parliament, did not apply to loans made to the subjects of Native independent princes by British subjects domiciliated and residing within their dominions, materially altered the position of the house, and authorized their claiming the full amount of both principal and interest due to them by native debtors<sup>1</sup>. Their accounts with the Nizam had been closed by the acquittal of the demands against him by the money advanced to the minister, in redemption of

<sup>1</sup> The opinion was communicated by the Court to the Bengal Government in a letter, dated 3rd August, 1825; and by the Government to the Resident at Hyderabad, 27th July, 1826.

BOOK III. the tribute of the northern Circars, payable to the  
 CHAP. VIII. Nizam; but there remained claims of large amount  
 1828-35. upon persons of rank and influence in the Court of  
 Hyderabad, which the trustees of the late firm  
 were now at liberty to prosecute before the native  
 tribunals. The Resident was, however, still wholly  
 prohibited from exercising in any way his official  
 influence, either for or against the prosecution of  
 any claim which they might advance on individual  
 subjects of the Nizam, and from being in any manner  
 the channel of communication between them and  
 such individuals<sup>1</sup>. A few years afterwards, a more  
 lenient view of the case was taken up by the Court.  
 Doubts were expressed, whether the relation in  
 which the trustees stood towards the debtors of  
 the firm had not been deteriorated by the use which  
 had been made of the opinions originally expressed,  
 and by the interdiction of the Resident from giving  
 any facility to the recovery of claims at a higher rate  
 of interest than twelve per cent. per annum either re-  
 troactively or prospectively, a prohibition made  
 known to the Government of the Nizam and conse-  
 quently to the members of his family and court, who  
 were debtors to the house, and who were likely to  
 avail themselves of so palpable a plea for refusing to  
 fulfil their *bonâ fide* obligations<sup>2</sup>. In order to  
 counteract such possible impressions, the members

<sup>1</sup> Political Despatch, 12th March, 1828.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter from Munir-al-Mulk, one of the principal debtors to the House, to Chandu Lal, he writes—"If the order prohibiting any money transactions with them and the proclamation describing the claims as void had not arrived, my debt to them would have been completely and fully paid; but how could I, in defiance of the prohibition and of such a proclamation, pay them." Papers on the Writ of Mandamus, p. 42.

of the house were relieved from a preceding prohibition against a direct intercourse with the ministers of the Nizam, and were allowed to have access to them with the knowledge and sanction of the Resident. Sir William Rumbold was also permitted to return to Hyderabad to assist the trustees in winding up the affairs of the house, in which he had been a partner. These arrangements were considered successful, according to the official report of the Resident, whatever unfavourable impressions might have at first been produced; as was evidenced by the result which had attended the proceedings of the trustees, and the award to them of considerable sums of money through the instrumentality of the Courts of Justice in Hyderabad including interest at the rate of twenty-four per cent. per annum.

Notwithstanding the decisions of the Native Courts in their favour, the Trustees found that the sentences were but partially enforced, the Courts of Justice being powerless against individuals connected with the minister or the Nizam. This was particularly the case in regard to Munir-al-Mulk, the kinsman and nominal minister of the Nizam; against whom very large claims, arising chiefly out of the high rate of compound interest, had accumulated, and whose liquidation of them in full could not be expected, except through the influential interposition of the British Resident with the Nizam. This interference, however, the Government declined to sanction; and the only alternative adopted, was a reference to the Court of Directors, for their instructions as to whether any and what measures

BOOK III. were to be adopted for the purpose of effecting a  
 CHAP. VIII. settlement of the claims in question<sup>1</sup>. In the mean-

1823-35.

time, the matter had been the subject of a difference of opinion between the Court and the Board of Control. A draft of a letter had been prepared by the former, under date, 23rd July, 1830, disapproving of some of the measures of the Bengal Government in favour of Sir Wm. Rumbold. It was essentially altered by the Board; and a despatch was substituted, authorising the Resident's support of the claims of the firm.<sup>2</sup> To this the Court, in their turn, decidedly objected. The receipt of the reference noticed above, as well as of other despatches connected with the same subject, furnishing an opportunity of re-considering the question, the Board withdrew their emendations, and directed the Court to prepare a new draft in lieu of that formerly submitted, which should reply to the several unanswered communications from Bengal.

In compliance with this injunction, a letter was prepared on the 20th March, 1832, in which the Government of Bengal was authorised to express to the Nizam, through the Resident at Hyderabad, its wish that the claims upon Munir-al-Mulk should be settled by arbitration, upon principles, regarding the limitation of interest, formerly determined, and upon a previously obtained assurance from the Nizam that he would enforce an equitable award. The constitution of the arbitration was to be left to the discretion of the local government. This draft underwent the fate of its

<sup>1</sup> Political Letter from Bengal, 8th July, 1831.



predecessor; and in its place a despatch was written, in which it was stated, that the joint interposition of the Government of Bengal and the Nizam would be requisite to bring the matter in dispute to a final settlement, which should be effected either by arbitration (the umpire being nominated by the Governor-General), or by a commission to be equally appointed by the Supreme Government. The choice between the two arrangements was to be given to the Nizam; but his prior engagement to carry the decision of either into effect was to be required, and the Resident was to be instructed to press upon his Highness, in terms of urgent recommendation, the justice and expediency of his resolving to enforce the final award. Some verbal alterations of the letter were subsequently made; and it was added, that the interference was not to be carried beyond sincere and urgent recommendation, which it would be perfectly competent to the Nizam to adopt or reject; and that the motive of the interference was the conviction that the home authorities had, however unintentionally, arrested the earlier settlement of the claim of the house by the promulgation of an erroneous opinion. This circumstance imposed an obligation to endeavour to repair to the parties, as far as possible, the injury inflicted on them; and, in this attempt, it was not too much to ask of the Nizam to grant that which with strict propriety he was able to give, and without which every effort would be unavailing — the advantages of his co-operation. The proposed despatch was decidedly objected to by the Court. They maintained that they were not

BOOK III.  
 CHAP. VIII.  
 1828-35.

BOOK III. responsible for the erroneousness of an opinion which  
 CHAP. VIII. had emanated from the high legal authorities con-  
 1828-35. sulted; and if any detriment had at first accrued to  
 the claims of the firm, this had been fully remedied  
 by the publicity given to the different sentiments of  
 the judges, under which extensive claims had been  
 actually realised. If the decrees of the native  
 Courts could not always be enforced, this was a  
 state of things well known to the parties concerned,  
 and was in fact the only justification of the exorbi-  
 tant rates of interest prevailing, which were of course  
 intended to cover more than ordinary risk. [ To  
 employ the authoritative interference of the British  
 Government in the realisation of the claims of its  
 own subjects upon the subjects of an independent  
 prince and ally, was contrary to the principles of  
 the Indian Governments, and the practice of all  
 civilised states;] and the use of strong and urgent  
 recommendations, however qualified, was, with re-  
 spect to the relations established with the Nizam,  
 equivalent to imperative dictation. Such protection,  
 granted to British subjects in their pecuniary  
 dealings with natives of rank, could only lead to the  
 most mischievous results, such as had been fully  
 experienced in regard to the Nawab of the Carnatic  
 and the Raja of Tanjore; and, on these and other  
 grounds, the Court suggested to the Board the  
 annulment of their alterations.) As these objections  
 were disregarded, they endeavoured to evade the  
 Board's corrections by denying its right to in-  
 terfere; the despatch relating neither to the  
 military nor civil government nor to the revenues  
 of India, to which the controlling powers of the

Board were alone applicable. ( Considering it also BOOK III.  
CHAP. VIII.  
1828-35. to be inexpedient to interfere in any way with the matter under consideration, they determined to rescind the resolution under which the original despatch was prepared, and to withdraw it altogether. Strong protests were recorded against a resolution which was so utterly inconsistent with the whole course of past proceedings, and which attempted to avoid the honest expression of opinions conscientiously and rationally entertained; but the resolution was carried. It was, however, of little avail. ( The Board had recourse to the power vested in them by law, and applied to the Court of King's Bench for the issue of a writ of mandamus, compelling the Directors of the East India Company to transmit the despatch to India. ) The question was argued before the Court at considerable length, and the writ was granted<sup>1</sup>. The Court was, consequently, under the necessity of signing and forwarding the contested letter, as finally amended by the Board<sup>2</sup>.

The objections taken by the Directors to the interference sanctioned by the Board of Control, were founded on just views of the evils which had been suffered by the natives of India from

<sup>1</sup> 29th January, 1833. Papers, pp. 55, 58, 107, 111.

<sup>2</sup> A strong protest against the despatch was signed by ten of the members of the Court, arguing that the proposed interference was contrary to the faith of treaties—the practice of the Court—of former Governments of Bengal, the substantial justice of the case, and the right use which should be made of the past experience of the House. The protest leaned more to the whole question than the particular despatch; the interference recommended by which grew out of that previously exercised: the mistake was in the sanction originally given to the pecuniary dealings of the House with the minister of the Nizam. Protest and Appendix, Mandamus Papers, p. 123.

BOOK III. pecuniary dealings with Europeans, supported by the  
CHAP. VIII. irresistible influence of the local governments, and

1828-35.

were, consistently with the sentiments which they had all along expressed, unfavourable to the particular transactions at Hyderabad. But in their anxiety to mark their disapprobation of the proceedings, and to discard the imputation of sanctioning an undue influence over the pecuniary interests of the Nizam, they had undoubtedly, in their dissemination of the doctrine of the illegal rate of interest beyond twelve per cent. per annum, prejudiced the claims of the house upon their private debtors, and rendered it difficult for them to recover sums of money, their right to which, whatever their character or origin, would not have been disputed, or in native estimation regarded as founded on extortion, unless the notion of injustice and illegality had been suggested to them by the declaration of the British Government. This opinion unquestionably contributed to delay the settlement of some of the most important claims of the house; and the delay must have been prejudicial to their interests. Some compensation for this injury, it was therefore not unreasonable to bestow; and the influence of the Resident judiciously exercised, to prevail upon the Nizam to enforce the judicial decrees of his own Courts, was not open to any very serious objection. The interposition was not exercised to any very great advantage. Munir-al-Mulk had consented to a compromise of his debts, when the arrangement was interrupted by his death. The appointment of arbitrators to effect an adjustment with his son

and successor was sanctioned by the Nizam; but the claims of the house were still unsettled at the termination of the period under review<sup>1</sup>.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

Of the other and minor Mohammedan principalities, Bhopal became the scene of domestic dissensions which led to a change of the arrangements that had been established for its government after the reduction of the Mahratta power, by which the widow of Nazar Mohammed had been placed at the head of affairs, until the majority of the young Nawab, Munir Mohammed, the son of Amir Mohammed, the affianced husband of the daughter of the last prince. As he grew up to manhood, Munir Mohammed claimed a substantive share in the administration; but the Begum refused to relinquish any portion of her authority, and, asserting that the Nawab was equally incompetent as a ruler and a husband, cancelled the intended nuptials, and after a sharp struggle, compelled him to relinquish his pretensions in favour of his younger brother, Jehangir Mohammed. The Government of Bengal refrained from taking any part in the contest. The chiefs generally sided with the Begum, as Munir Mohammed was a young man of dissolute habits and disreputable character, while the Begum was a woman of spirit and ability, and competent to exercise the power which she was determined to retain as long as she was able. With this feeling, she delayed the solemnisation of the marriage of her daughter with Jehangir Mohammed, and withheld from him,

<sup>1</sup> The Proceedings of the Court and of the Board, with regard to the Writ of Mandamus in the case of Palmer and Co., were printed under a resolution of the Court of Proprietors.—20th March, 1833.

BOOK III. as she had done from his brother, all political power,  
 CHAP. VIII. after he had attained an age which entitled him to  
 1828-35. a voice in the conduct of public affairs. The  
 young Nawab appealed to the British Government  
 for its interference, and having been deputed to  
 meet the Governor-General on the latter's visit to  
 Saugar, in January, 1833, represented to Lord  
 W. Bentinck, in a private interview, the expectations  
 of himself and his friends to be placed in the im-  
 mediate possession of the rights attached to the station,  
 to which he had been raised with the concurrence  
 and sanction of the British Government. Considering,  
 however, that Sikander Begum enjoyed the popular  
 support, the Governor-General declined interposition,  
 beyond insisting that the marriage should take place  
 at the period at which the Begum had engaged that  
 it should be solemnised, in compliance with the  
 urgent recommendations of the British Agent and  
 the representations of her own adherents. It was  
 accordingly celebrated in the beginning of 1835;  
 and for a time, the domestic squabbles of this  
 little court were appeased. Sikander Begum,  
 however, was as little disposed as ever to lay aside  
 her power; and finding the usual restraints of  
 Asiatic manners embarrass her public proceedings,  
 discarded them for manly habits, and held public  
 levees, and walked and rode about without any  
 attempt at concealment. This conduct impaired  
 in some measure her popularity, and her per-  
 severing exclusion of the young Nawab from any  
 share in the administration, again gave rise to  
 disputes, which ended at last in a mutual appeal to  
 arms; the British authorities being precluded by

the policy of their government from maintaining the public tranquillity undisturbed.) The Nawab fled from Bhopal—levied troops, and obtained possession of several strong towns, including the fort of Ashta, which became his head quarters. The Begum sent her forces against him, and an action was fought, in which the leaders on both sides were slain, and the troops of the Nawab were defeated. The victors laid siege to Ashta; but the British Government was now satisfied of the mischievous consequences of its indifference, and offered its mediation, which was readily accepted. Negotiations were concluded under the auspices of the Political Agent; and tranquillity was restored. The intentions of the original engagements were accomplished. (The Begum was compelled to resign her sway, and accept the grant of an inferior but independent Jagir, and the Nawab was placed on the Musnud of Bhopal.)

BOOK III.

CHAR. VIII.

1823-35.

The two other Mohammedan States of Central India, which owed their origin to the decision of the British Government in favour of Ghaffur Khan and Amir Khan, require no particular notice. Upon the death of Ghaffur Khan, in 1827, disputes arose for the regency during the minority of his successor, between the Begum his mother, and the minister of her late husband; but they were prevented from coming to extremities by the timely intervention of the Resident at Indore. The territories of Amir Khan remained in a peaceable and prosperous condition until his death in 1838, when he was succeeded by his son Mohammed Khan. In 1832 Amir Khan, in common with the other

BOOK III. chiefs of Central India, visited the camp of the  
 CHAP. VIII. Governor-General at Ajnere, and effaced all  
 1828-35. recollection of his political delinquencies and pred-  
 atory practices, by his frank and soldier-like de-  
 portment', and the fulness and freshness of the  
 anecdotes he narrated of the adventures of his  
 early life.

With the administration of Lord W. Bentinck, commences a new era in the politics of British India with regard to the Mohammedan states upon the Indus, or beyond its banks, with Bahawalpur, Sindh, and Afghanistan. The character of the relations which were established was professedly commercial; and the main objects were declared to be the unobstructed navigation of the Indus, and the opening of a new and desirable channel for the access of British merchandize to the heart of Central Asia, through the Punjab and Kabul. Events, however, occurring at the moment, and still more those of subsequent years, have shown that the commercial advantages were of secondary consideration, and that others of a political complexion were the main springs of this departure from the prudence which, since the time of the Earl of Minto had actuated the Governments of India, who in their relations with the bordering principalities, had been contented to express the general subsistence of friendly feelings, while steadily declining any more intimate intercourse. Motives which had formerly dictated

<sup>1</sup> It was on this occasion that he presented to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department, the memoir of his life, written from his dictation by his Munshi (as the soldier was no scholar); of which, Mr. Prinsep has published a translation. It is a most valuable contribution to the materials of Anglo-Indian history.



a different policy, were now again in operation, BOOK III. and, as in 1809 apprehension of the designs of France had instigated the British Ministry to direct the attention of the Governor-General to the formation of alliances beyond the Indus, so, in 1829, a panic fear of the projects of Russia induced the Cabinet of St. James's to instruct the authorities in India to establish a commanding influence upon that river, in order to counteract the consequences which might be anticipated from the complete prostration of Persia and its subservience to the designs of Russia against the empire of Britain in the East.) From these instructions (originated a policy hitherto repudiated by the wisdom of the Indian Governments, as foreign to the interests of India, and only calculated to involve them in embarrassment and discredit.) Events belonging to a subsequent period demonstrated the justice of these views; and (a ruinous expenditure and ineffable disgrace were the penalty of uncalled-for interference with the affairs of Afghanistan.)

Consistently with the avowed objects of the British Government, (negotiations were conducted with the different princes ruling on either bank of the Indus for the free transit of vessels laden with European goods; and, after some hesitation, in which the Amirs of Sindh manifested extreme repugnance to open their territories to European adventure, and an instinctive dread of the result of a more intimate connection with the Indian Government, which was justified by events, treaties were concluded with the Government of Hyderabad in Sindh, by which

BOOK III. it was stipulated that perpetual friendship should  
 CHAP. VIII. subsist between the contracting parties; and that  
 1828-35. they should never "look with a covetous eye on  
 the possessions of each other;" that a free passage  
 along the Indus should be granted to the mer-  
 chants and traders of India; that fixed, proper,  
 and moderate duties only should be imposed, and  
 no vexatious delays at the Custom stations be per-  
 mitted.) By a supplementary treaty it was pro-  
 vided, that no duties should be levied on the goods;  
 but a toll be imposed on the boats carrying them,  
 at a fixed sum per boat, whatever might be its  
 tonnage. Similar engagements were concluded  
 with the Nawab of Bahawalpur, and with Ranjit  
Sing, for that portion of the river which flowed  
 through their territories, and for the rivers of the  
 Punjab<sup>1</sup>. With Ranjit Sing, it appeared to the  
 British Ministry, to be highly desirable to form a  
 still closer and more intimate connection; and with  
 the purpose of conciliating his good-will, a letter  
 was addressed to him by the President of the Board  
 of Control, Lord Ellenborough, in the name and by  
 command of his Majesty William IV., forwarding  
 for his acceptance several English horses of unusual  
 size and stature, for which it was known that the  
 Raja entertained a childish predilection. The letter  
 and the horses were conveyed to Lahore by Lieu-  
 tenant A. Burnes, and presented to Ranjit Sing in

to Afghanistan (1837)

<sup>1</sup> See Treaties with the Government of Hyderabad in Sindh, April 1832 and December, 1834. With Maharaja Ranjit Sing, December 1832 and January 1835; and with the Nawab of Bahawalpur, February 1833 and February 1835.—Treaties printed for the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.

July, 1831<sup>1</sup>; and in the following October an interview took place, at Rupar on the Setlej, between the Maharaja and the Governor-General, intended to confirm the friendly disposition of the wily ruler of the Punjab. No object of a deeper import was avowed; and a week was spent in the interchange of personal civilities and displays of the military equipments and discipline of the Sikh and British troops, who constituted the respective escorts of the Governor-General and the Maharaja<sup>2</sup>. That subjects of more importance were discussed, was manifested by the result; and the foundation was then laid of the alliance which was afterwards formed against the ruler of the Afghans. A more immediate though unacknowledged, consequence was the assistance afforded by the Sikh ruler to the ex-king of Kabul, Shah Shuja, who had been expatriated for more than twenty years; and had been indebted for his support, during the greater portion of that interval, to the generosity of the British Government—residing with his family at the station of Ludiana. (That a negociation had been opened between the Shah and the Maharaja, before the meeting of Rupar took place; and that conditions had been proposed, and generally acceded to, was known to the Governor-General; and Ranjit Sing would scarcely have entered into the project unless

<sup>1</sup> Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, by Lieutenant Alex. Burnes; forming the third volume of his Travels into Bokhara.

<sup>2</sup> The Governor-General on the occasion was attended, in addition to his usual body-guard, by two squadrons of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, a troop of Horse Artillery, two Risalas of Skinners' Horse, His Majesty's 81st Foot, and 14th and 32nd Regiments, N. I. Ranjit Sing was escorted by ten thousand of his best Horse and six thousand trained Infantry.—Prinsep's Life of Ranjit Sing, p. 161.

BOOK III. he had felt secure of the acquiescence of the British  
 CHAP. VIII. Government'. (Subsequently, indeed, compliance  
 1828-35. with the application of Shah Shuja for assistance was  
 declined upon the principle of religiously abstaining  
 from intermeddling with the affairs of the neigh-  
 bouring states. Matters were not yet mature for a  
 rupture with Dost Mohammed, although his inter-  
 course with Persia and the designs of Abbas Mirza  
 the Prince of Persia, upon Herat instigated and  
 supported, it was suspected, by the Russians for  
 their own purposes, were jealously watched agree-  
 ably to the instructions from England; and the  
 recovery by Shah Shuja of the throne of Kabul  
 was contemplated as an additional security against  
 the nearer approach of the Russian arms to the  
 frontier of India.)

Shah Shuja made his first move from Ludiana, in January, 1833, with a few hundred followers; but by the time he arrived at Shikarpore, he had collected thirty thousand. The Amirs of Sindh, who had engaged to promote his cause, at first received him amicably and supplied him with pecuniary assistance; but finding that he was in no haste to leave their country, and that he demanded still more considerable succours, they determined to compel his departure, and marched with a body of troops against him. An action was fought near Rori, in January, 1834, between the Shah's force and that of the Amirs, in which the latter sustained a very severe defeat, losing many chiefs of note. The result of the encounter was the

<sup>1</sup> The Treaty was not formally ratified until March, 1833, when the Shah was in Sindh, on his march towards Afghanistan.

submission of the Amirs; and, upon their consent-  
 ing to pay an additional subsidy, and provide him  
 with an auxiliary force, the Shah moved on to  
 Kandahar. \*No opposition was offered to his ad-  
 vance; and some ineffective attempts at resistance  
 in the neighbourhood of Kandahar, were defeated  
 without much difficulty. The Sirdars of the  
 Barakzye family, (Kohan Dil Khan, Mihr Dil  
 Kan, and Rehim Khan who jointly governed the  
 district, were confined to the city, which the Shah  
 was about to besiege, when the arrival of Dost  
 Mohammed from Kabul, with a strong body of  
 troops changed the aspect of affairs. The King  
 retired to Abbasabad, and was there attacked on  
 the 29th June, by the Kabul army.) The brunt  
 of the action was borne by two battalions of  
 Hindustani troops, who had been disciplined by a  
 European of the name of Campbell, and who be-  
 haved with an intrepidity which at one time  
 afforded promise of success. The misconduct of  
 Shah Shuja's Afghan followers, and the treachery  
 of some of his chiefs, frustrated their efforts; and  
 the consequence was, his total defeat, the dis-  
 persion of his army, and the flight of the Shah  
 with a slender escort to the fort of Lash, where  
 he was sheltered by an Afghan chief. Having  
 collected a small force, he then proceeded to Furrah,  
 where he expected to be joined by reinforcements  
 from Herat; but being disappointed of their arrival,  
 and threatened by a party of horse under Rehim  
 Khan, he fled across the desert of Sistan to  
 Kelat, after enduring severe privations and losing  
 many of his followers. Mehrab Khan, the Baluch

BOOK III.

CHAP. VII.

1828-35.

BOOK III. chieftain of Kelat, gave him refuge, and refused  
 CHAP. VIII. to surrender him to Rehim-Dil-Khan; but an  
 1828-35. agreement was concluded between them that the  
 former should withdraw his protection, and the  
 latter desist from pursuit. Shah Shuja, thus  
 forced to quit Kelat, repaired to Sindh, where  
 he was received, notwithstanding their late dis-  
 agreement, by the Amirs with respect and hos-  
 pitality. After remaining a short time at Hyder-  
 abad, the Shah returned by way of Jesselmere  
 to his former retreat at Ludiana<sup>1</sup>. A few years  
 more witnessed his second departure from that  
 place, under auspices of more brilliant promise, but  
 which, after a short interval of uneasy triumph,  
 were signally falsified by his disgrace and death. ♣

From these transactions affecting the Moham-  
 medan princes, we now proceed to consider the state  
 of the relations which subsisted with the several  
 Mahratta chiefs, particularly with the Raja of  
 Nagpore, the Gaekwar, Holkar and Sindhia. †

In the first of these principalities, the arrange-  
 ments, which were rendered unavoidable by the  
 minority of the Raja, and the incapacity or unfit-  
 ness of the persons at first intrusted with the  
 direction of affairs, imposing the task of management

<sup>1</sup> Papers relative to the expedition of Shah-Shuja-ul-Mulk into Afghanistan in 1833-4, printed by order of Parliament, 20th March, 1839. Mr. Atkinson, from materials furnished by Shah Shuja himself, gives an account of the expedition, differing in some respect from the official accounts, especially in regard to the conduct of Mehrab Khan, who is accused of having attempted to intercept the Shah's flight, and make him prisoner.—Expedition into Afghanistan, by J. Atkinson, Esq., p. 48. Mr. Masson confirms the official testimony of Mehrab Khan's hospitality to the Shah. He ascribes the defeat at Kandahar to Shah Shuja's precipitancy and want of courage.—Journies in Baluchistan, etc, by C. Masson, Esq., iii. 259.

upon the British functionaries, have been already BOOK III adverted to. Under the judicious and active ad- CHAP. VIII. ministration of Mr. Jenkins, Nagpore had made 1828-35. great advances in population and prosperity'. Moderate assessments for definite periods had been framed with the concurrence of the cultivators—arbitrary exactions had been prohibited, and the abuses of the native methods of collecting the revenue suppressed. The expenditure of the State had been contracted within the limits of its income, and the troops were obedient, and the people contented. [The theoretical dread of interference which was ever present to the imagination of the Home authorities, rendered them regardless of its beneficial operation in the case of Nagpore,] and repeated orders insisted on the country's being consigned to the misrule of a youth, who, although not deficient in ability, was of frivolous tastes, and disinclined to serious business. His age, inexperience, and pliability of disposition could not fail to throw him into the hands of interested and mischievous advisers, whose suggestions there was no person of sufficient influence or authority to correct or control, and all the evils of native mal-administration would be again inflicted on the country. Not-

<sup>1</sup> In 1820, the population of the reserved districts was 2,214,000. In 1825, it was 2,471,000, being an increase of 257,000 in five years. The revenue of the earlier date was thirty-five lakhs of rupees; the later forty lakhs; although, in consequence of augmented cultivation, the price of grain had greatly declined. Wheat, which sold in 1820 for twenty rupees the khandi, sold for less than four in 1825. Notwithstanding this fall of price, the agricultural peasantry were in improved circumstances, and the increased revenue was levied without any difficulty—shewing that they were less heavily burthened than when large sums were exacted from them, which never found their way to the public treasury.—Jenkins's Report on Nagpore, p. 259.

BOOK III.  
CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

withstanding these obvious objections, the injunctions from home, being in harmony with the policy of the local government, were implicitly obeyed; and it was determined to restore to the Raja, now in his nineteenth year, the uncontrolled management of Nagpore. It was in vain that the Resident advocated the gradual transfer of the ruling authority, and recommended a delay until the Raja should have attained a more mature age; by which time the arrangements that had been found advantageous would have acquired consistency and permanence, and a sufficient balance would have accumulated in the treasury to enable the Raja to provide for the extra demands to which he would be liable, without adding to the burthens of his people, and causing them to relapse into the condition from which they had been so recently extricated. The orders from home constituted the reply to these recommendations; and they were carried into effect. The Raja was installed as the active head of the administration. A Resident, with power to advise and control, was continued; and some of the provinces were retained under his management<sup>1</sup>; of which, the surplus revenue was destined to provide for the charge of the subsidiary force until other funds should be available. A treaty was accordingly prepared; in which it was stipulated, that the Raja should ever pay attention to the advice of the British Government, and adopt such ordinances and regulations as it should suggest

<sup>1</sup> They were Deogerh above the ghats, Chanda, Chateesgerh, and part of the Wayn Ganga; yielding a net revenue of seventeen lakhs of rupees—Treaties and Engagements with Native Powers, i. 604. Calcutta, 1846.



for ensuring order, economy and integrity in the BOOK III  
 adjustment and collection of his revenues; and CHAP. VIII.  
 that whenever a deterioration in the resources of 1828-35.  
 the state and the condition of the people might be  
 apprehended, the British Government should be at  
 liberty to bring under its own direct management  
 any portion or the whole of the Raj. ] At a sub-  
 sequent date, these stipulations were modified.  
 The reserved districts were restored to the Raja;  
 and the regulation and disposal of his military  
 force, with the exception of the subsidiary troops, left  
 to his unfettered discretion—a privilege for which he  
 was to pay a tribute of eight lakhs of rupees a year,  
 under the denomination of a subsidy. ] The article  
 respecting the eventual assumption of the manage-  
 ment of the country was also modified; and it was  
 stipulated, that, if gross and systematic oppression,  
 anarchy and misrule, should at any time prevail,  
 seriously endangering the public tranquillity and  
 placing in jeopardy the stability of the resources  
 whence the Raja discharged his obligations to the  
 Company, the British Government reserved to itself  
 the right of re-appointing its own officers to the  
 management of such district or districts of the  
 Nagpore territory, and for so long a period as it  
 might deem necessary. ] The necessity has, for-  
 tunately for the Raja, never arisen; and the admi-  
 nistration of Nagpore has been quietly, and not  
 unsuccessfully, conducted by the native ministers,  
 in friendly dependence upon the Resident.

The ex-Raja of Nagpore, Apa Saheb, had been  
 tempted to quit his asylum in the mountains about  
 the time of the agitation which prevailed in India

BOOK III. at the close of the Burmese war; and, after various  
CHAP. VIII. adventures, took sanctuary in the temple of Maha  
 1828-35. Mandira, a celebrated shrine in the territory of  
 Jodhpur. The Raja was at first required to  
 secure the fugitive and deliver him to the British  
 Agent at Ajmere; but he declined compliance,  
 pleading in excuse his inability to infringe upon  
 the privileges of the temple, and his fear that he  
 should be for ever disgraced in the estimation of  
 all Hindustan if he were to refuse to an unfortunate  
 prince the rights of hospitality. The excuse was  
 admitted, and the demand urged no further; but  
 Man Sing was held responsible for the conduct of  
 his guest, and expected to restrain him from any  
 attempts to disturb the public tranquillity. Some  
 obscure intrigues were set on foot by Apa Saheb  
 with individuals of no note, who engaged to ac-  
 complish his restoration to sovereignty; but neither  
 the persons nor the projects were of a character to  
 endanger the security or excite the alarm of the  
 government of Nagpore.

The proceedings of Syaji Rao Gaekwar on his  
 accession to the sovereignty of Guzerat, disappointed  
 the expectations which had been founded on his  
 previous familiarity with public business, and his  
 cordial co-operation with the British Resident during  
 the reign of his imbecile predecessor. Relying upon  
 his favourable disposition and matured experience,  
 considerable latitude was granted to him in the  
 management of his internal affairs, subject to the  
 general control of the Resident, and the observance  
 of all obligations guaranteed by the British Govern-  
 ment, according to stipulations which we have

already had occasion to describe. These engagements, into which Syaji had readily entered, were soon disregarded; expenses were incurred without the knowledge of the Resident, or in opposition to his judgment, and serious defalcations took place in the revenue. The capitalists of Baroda, who had advanced large sums of money to the Gaekwar upon the guarantee of the British Government, appealed to it for interposition; and as its own credit, as well as that of the Gaekwar, was at stake, its active and decided interference became necessary. Arrangements were in consequence concerted with the minister, Vital Rao Bhao, and concurred in by his master, by which extensive tracts were let in farm to the leading bankers of Baroda for a term of seven years, upon conditions which protected the interests of the people, as well as of the creditors of the state. The arrangement was concluded under Bhandari, or guarantee of the Company for its faithful execution.

These measures had no sooner been adopted than they excited deep dissatisfaction in the mind of Syaji, who complained that his minister had sacrificed his interests to those of the British Government<sup>1</sup>, and that he had been unjustly deprived of that authority to manage his own affairs with which he had been deliberately invested by

<sup>1</sup> Vital Rao had been appointed sole minister in 1820, upon the dismissal of his former colleague in office, Dhakji Dadaji, removed for peculation, rather against the wish of the Gaekwar, who was desirous of appointing Sitarám, the minister who was deeply implicated in the murder of Gangadhar Sastri, and was therefore decidedly objected to by Mr. Elphinstone. Vital Rao's nomination was acquiesced in as a matter of indifference.—Minute of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, 3 May, 1820.—Report H. of Com., Political App. vi. 23.

BOOK III. Mr. Elphinstone. He also complained, and not  
 CHAP. VIII. without some show of justice, of the many and  
 1828-35. vexatious encroachments on his authority and his  
 rights, which arose from the multiplication of  
 the guarantees granted by the British Resident.  
 Originally designed for the security of the bankers,  
 whose assistance was indispensable for the sol-  
 vency of the state, the principle of the Bhandari  
 had undergone a gradual and insensible extension  
 to very different purposes, and comprehended im-  
 munities and privileges, emoluments and pensions,  
 and offices and lands secured to different individuals  
 for a longer or a shorter period<sup>1</sup>. It was true, that  
 these grants had mostly originated with the Gaekwar  
 himself, and that it was the term of their duration  
 only which was guaranteed; but as this rendered re-  
 vocation impossible without the Resident's consent,  
 it prevented the prince from following the bent of his  
 own caprice, when disposed to resume the benefactions  
 he had bestowed under a different state of feeling,  
 and rendered the objects of his liberality independ-  
 ant of his change of sentiment. [A perpetual  
 struggle took place, therefore, between the Prince  
 and the Resident; the former attempting to set aside,  
 the latter to uphold, the guarantee;] pending which  
 the Gaekwar not unfrequently had recourse to

<sup>1</sup> Between 1801-2 and 1827-8, no fewer than 119 Bhandari en-  
 gagements had been sanctioned, of which fifty-four were in force  
 at the latter date; of these, twelve were for loans, twelve for here-  
 ditary offices and emoluments, eight for pensions and grants of land,  
 two for personal protection, eight for contracts, seven for dealings  
 between the Gaekwar and his subjects, the rest miscellaneous. The  
 office of Dewan was guaranteed to two families, as a perpetual here-  
 ditary duty; but as the representatives of both were obnoxious to  
 Syaji, he employed neither. They received, nevertheless, the sinecure  
 pay of minister amounting to about 1,34,000 rupees a year.

violence, and, by seizing upon persons or sequestrating lands for the security of which the character of the British Government was pledged, justly incurred its displeasure.

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CHAP. VIII.  
1828-35.

The good effects of the financial arrangement which had been concluded were, in the first instance, frustrated by the occurrence of an almost universal drought, which rendered large remissions of the revenue unavoidable; but a more permanent source of disappointment originated in the conduct of Syaji himself, who, with a short-sightedness not uncommon among Asiatic princes, diverted the revenue from its application to public expenditure, to accumulate it in his private treasury, regardless of the embarrassment of the finances, as long as he was possessed of individual wealth<sup>2</sup>. The reimbursement of the capitalists who had advanced him loans, the charges of the force he was bound by treaty to maintain, the pay of his own civil and military establishments, all fell into arrears; and no prospect appeared of liquidating the debt, for the realisation of which the Company was surety. In fact, the Gaekwar was labouring to subvert the settlement, which had been made with the bankers for the farming of the revenues long before their lease expired, and to transfer the assignments, without their consent, to different individuals who professed their readiness to advance

<sup>2</sup> In the course of five years, from 1820-1 to 1825-6, above sixty lakhs of the surplus revenue, appropriable to the discharge of the public debt, were lodged in Syaji's own coffers. Instead of the extinction of the debt, which was to have been effected in this period, it had rather increased, amounting in 1827-8, to one crore and thirty lakhs, although the interest had been reduced in 1822 from ten to six per cent.

BOOK III. money on more favourable terms. The sincerity  
CHAP. VIII. of these offers was doubtful; and they could not  
1828-35. be acceded to without the concurrence of the lease-  
holders, which not being accorded, the guarantee  
remained in force. Attributing the disappointment  
of his schemes to the unfriendly disposition of the  
Resident, Mr. Williams, the Gaekwar endeavoured  
to enter into a direct communication with the  
Governor of Bombay, Sir John Malcolm; and sent  
an agent of his own to the Presidency, not only for  
that purpose, but to take advantage of the dissensions  
which were now rife between the Supreme Court and  
the Government, and array the authority of the for-  
mer against the latter, in his favour. The irregu-  
larity of these proceedings, the repeated violations of  
guaranteed rights and possessions; the persevering  
efforts of Syaji to annul the Septennial leases, and  
break his engagements with the bankers, who had con-  
tracted them upon the responsibility of the British  
Government; his inattention to all the representa-  
tions and remonstrances of the Bombay Govern-  
ment; his inveteracy against the minister of his  
own election, because he enjoyed the confidence of  
the Resident, and his insulting treatment of the  
latter, at length exhausted the forbearance of the  
Government, and induced it to adopt vigorous  
measures for the enforcement of the engagements  
contracted by the Gaekwar, under its guarantee.  
It was resolved, accordingly, to assume the direct  
management of certain districts of the principality  
of Guzerat, yielding an annual revenue of twenty-  
seven lakhs, and to apply the surplus, rated at twenty-  
one lakhs, to the liquidation of the guaranteed

debt ; after which, the districts were to be replaced under the Gaekwar's officers.] A proclamation announcing the arrangement, was put forth, and possession was taken of the sequestered territory by a military force. The general management was assigned to Vital Rao, who had been dismissed by Syaji from his office of minister. A further sequestration was subsequently authorised, in order to ensure the maintenance of the contingent horse, which the Gaekwar was bound by treaty to keep up for the service of the British Government. These measures widened the breach between the two Governments; and as the presence of the British Resident at Baroda only served to augment the irritation of Syaji, it was determined to withdraw that officer, and place the intercourse with Guzerat under the charge of a Political Commissioner, who should hold his residence at Ahmedabad<sup>1</sup>) This, however, was only a temporary arrangement; and after a short time it was found expedient to re-establish the Residency. In the interval, a plan was concerted in Syaji's own family, and by the most respectable members of his Court, to remove from his councils the persons to whose advice they attributed the dangerous career in which he had engaged. The project was unfortunately betrayed to him; and the chief individuals accused of being concerned in it were apprehended and put to death, without any investigation, and in the most cruel manner<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Minute of Sir John Malcolm, 30th Nov. 1830; review of the affairs of Guzerat. Report Comm. H. of Com. Political. Appen. VI. No. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ganpat Rao was beaten to death with clubs; a Brahman, a

BOOK III. The different policy which influenced the British  
 CHAP. VIII. Government of India, after Lord William Bentinck's  
 1829-35. accession to power, disposed it to overlook the  
 refractory proceedings of the Gaekwar, in the hope  
 of getting quit of the system of guarantee, and  
 thus removing the principal cause of disagreement.  
 In 1832 the Earl of Clare, then Governor of Bom-  
 bay, after a meeting with the Governor-General at  
 Ajmere, visited Baroda on his return, and in com-  
 munication with the Gaekwar and the principal  
 bankers of the capital, concluded arrangements,  
 which were highly satisfactory to Syaji, and which  
 it was hoped would put an end to the differences  
 that had hitherto prevailed. The bankers were  
 induced to accede to the Gaekwar's proposals for the  
 discharge of his debts, and to release the British  
 Government from any other guarantee than that of  
 personal immunity. A sum of money was de-  
 posited, by Syaji, in the treasury of Bombay as a  
 security for the pay of the contingent force; and  
 upon these arrangements being carried into effect,  
 the sequestered districts were restored to him.]

The harmony which had thus been re-established  
 with the Court of Baroda, was not long preserved.  
 There still remained obligations in favour of indi-  
 viduals, of which the British Government could not  
 with any decency get quit, and which were sources  
 of constant annoyance to the Gaekwar, although in  
 some cases equally imperative on himself. He had  
 promised to respect them; but he had no sooner  
 recovered possession of his country, than he either

Bhora merchant of great wealth, and two others implicated in the plot,  
 were built up in cells and left to perish. Or. Documents.



denied their validity, or violently infringed them. He retained also, as his principal advisers, persons notoriously hostile to the British connexion, and gave countenance and protection to individuals who were charged with committing depredations on the maritime trade, or on the border possessions of the subjects of the Company. The necessary consequences were the discontinuance of the system of forbearance, and recurrence to the sequestration of valuable portions of the Baroda territory. These transactions belong, however, to a subsequent period.

As long as the youth of Malhar Rao Holkar precluded him from exercising any influence over the government of his country, the affairs of Indore continued to improve under the management of efficient ministers, and the general control of the British Resident. With the advance of the Raja to manhood, the aspect of affairs became less promising. Indolent and extravagant, he displayed no aptitude for the duties of his station, but lent a ready ear to the mischievous counsels of unworthy favourites, at whose suggestions the more prudent advice of his ministers was unheeded; and their endeavours to restrain his prodigality were defeated. The ill-effects of his conduct were partly obviated by the aid of his adoptive mother, who had the command of the accumulated treasure, which the providence of the ministers had amassed; and, partly by the brief duration of his reign, which terminated before the defects of his character had time to be fully developed. He died in October, 1833, at the age of twenty-seven.

BOOK III. No event of any serious importance disturbed  
 CHAP. VIII. the tranquillity of Indore, during the life of its  
 1828-35. Prince. A feudatory of Udaypur, the Thakur of Bigu, possessed himself for a season of the border district of Nandwai, and levied contributions from the neighbourhood. He was expelled by Holkar's troops, including the contingent under the command of a British officer; and the Rana of Udaypur, as responsible for the outrage committed by his dependant, was compelled by the interposition of the British authorities to pay a compensation for the injury and expense to which the territory of Indore had been subjected.

Some disturbance and apprehension were excited in various parts of Malwa, contiguous to Holkar's possessions, by the appearance of a Hindu fanatic, a Patel of a village in Sondwara, who passed himself off for an incarnation of the Mahratta divinity, Kandi Rao, and pretended to have the power of miraculously curing cholera and other dangerous diseases. Absurd as were his pretensions, he found abundance of adherents, and numbers both of horse and foot flocked to his standard. Thus strengthened, he proceeded to levy contributions, both in kind and money, from the surrounding villages; and raised considerable sums, which were devoted to the equipment of his followers. The officers of Sindhia and Holkar were unable to make head against the fanatic; and a strong party of the Mahidpore contingent, under Capt. M<sup>c</sup>Mahon, was detached against him. The insurgents confiding in the superhuman character

of their chief, and believing him to be invulnerable, boldly advanced to attack the division, but were received by a steady fire, under which their leader fell; thus undeceived, his adherents immediately broke and fled, and the disturbance was quelled with the same facility with which it had been excited.

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1829-35.

Malhar Rao dying childless, his widow, in concert with her mother-in-law, adopted a boy who was said to be a descendant of Tookaji Holkar. At the time of his adoption, he was between three and four years of age, and was installed by the title of Martand Rao; the administration remaining in the hands of Madho Rao Furnavis, the minister of the late Raja, with the support, and under the guidance of Kesari Bai, the Ma-ji, or mother of Malhar Rao. The installation was attended by the British representative, (but no formal sanction was given to the adoption, as the succession was likely to be disputed.) The British Government thus leaving to a probable conflict the decision of a question, which the slightest intimation of its will would at once have set at rest, either by sanctioning the elevation of Martand Rao, or by acknowledging the preferable validity of the claim of his competitor Hari Holkar, the son of Itoji, the elder brother of Jeswant Rao, who had been held in confinement at Maheswara, during the preceding reign<sup>1</sup>.

Although having good cause to apprehend the consequences of the liberation of Hari Holkar, the

<sup>1</sup> He is noticed by Malcolm, as having behaved with great gallantry at Mahidpur.—Central India, i. 319.

BOOK III. authorities at Indore appear to have taken no pre-  
 CHAP. VIII. caution against such an event, and he was very soon  
 1823-35. released from confinement by a body of Bhils and  
 Mewatis, and partisans from the neighbouring  
 Mahratta districts. The fort and town of Mahes-  
 war fell at once into his hands. [As the British  
 Resident refused to give any support to the infant  
 Raja, the Bais felt their inability to oppose Hari  
 Holkar, and sent a message, acquiescing in his  
 elevation, and inviting him to Indore.] Notwith-  
 standing this recognition of his claims, he hesitated  
 to leave Maheswara until he obtained the ad-  
 ditional security of a British escort; and with some  
 degree of inconsistency, but under a feeling that  
 the presence of a new Raja was necessary at Indore  
 to arrest the signs of popular commotion which  
 were beginning to appear, the Resident directed a  
 detachment of the 5th Local Horse, and a British  
 officer, [to conduct the Raja to the city.] Hari  
 Holkar made his entry into Indore in March, 1834,  
 and was seated on the cushion of sovereignty in the  
 following April, in the presence of the Resident.  
 A Khelat was shortly after presented to him, on  
 the part of the Governor-General. The child  
 Martand Rao, was dismissed with his parents to his  
 home in the Dekhin, where they were indebted for  
 a maintenance to the interposition of the British  
 Government.] The character of the new Raja was  
 no better calculated than that of his predecessor to  
 maintain the credit, or promote the prospects of the  
 State. His minister, Revaji Phansia, whom he  
 called from the Dekhin to his councils, apparently  
 because he had been in the service of Jeswant Rao

Holkar some fifteen years before, was wholly unfit for the duties of his office, and availed himself of his influence over the Raja to apply the limited resources of the country to his own private emolument. Under his mismanagement the revenues rapidly declined—the expenditure exceeded the receipts—the troops became mutinous for arrears of pay, and the people were oppressed and discontented. A conspiracy against the Raja was organised, and had nearly succeeded, when the hesitation of the leaders caused its failure. The Raja and his minister reaped no benefit from the lesson, and their mal-administration, unchecked by the interposition of the British Government, produced its usual results—the necessity of that interference which it had been so much an object to avoid, in order to save the State of Indore from utter dissolution'.]

The States of ~~Dhar and Dewas~~, bordering on the territories of Indore, remained faithful to their engagements with the British authorities, and were, in general, ably and peaceably governed. The tranquillity of the former was disturbed towards the close of 1831, by a serious incursion of the Bhils, subject to the principality. This was partly owing to the abolition of the British agency of Bhopawar, by the superintendence of which the Bhils were equally deterred from committing any outrage on the peaceable cultivators, and protected

<sup>1</sup> In 1837-8, the Raja was informed, that the British Government would consider it to be its duty to assume the management of the country, unless the Resident should report a material amelioration. The intimation had the desired effect, and important reforms were instituted.

BOOK III. in the enjoyment of their acknowledged rights. The  
 CHAP. VIII. removal of British superintendence was followed  
 1828-35. by a relaxed system of control, and by iniquitous  
 encroachments and exactions. This vexatious con-  
 duct provoked the Bhils to relapse into their pre-  
 datory habits; and they assembled in arms and  
 plundered the adjacent districts. They were  
 further excited to insubordination by the presence  
 of an individual, Uchet Sing, who gave himself out  
 to be the son of Murari Rao Powar, a former com-  
 petitor for the principality, and the reputed grand-  
 son of Jeswant Rao Powar, who was killed at the  
 battle of Panipet. Murari Rao had carried on a  
 desperate struggle for several years with the ruler  
 of Dhar, in which he was foiled by the aid of Jes-  
 want Rao Holkar: his chief adherents were the  
 Bhils, who transferred their attachment to his son.  
 Being unable to put a stop to the insurrection, and  
 anticipating the ruin of the country, the Govern-  
 ment of Dhar earnestly solicited the interposition  
 of the British Government; and, after some hesita-  
 tion it was granted, on condition that an inquiry  
 should be instituted into the causes of the dis-  
 turbance, and that the measures thought necessary  
 for its settlement should be complied with. To  
 this the Raja was compelled to agree; but the  
 insurgents rejected the offered mediation, and  
 troops were sent against them, under Captain  
 Outram, by whose activity the Bhils were soon re-  
 duced to submission. Uchet Sing and his principal  
 adherents came into camp, on an assurance of safety,  
 and a promise that their claims should be inquired  
 into and equitably adjusted. Accordingly, an

agreement was concluded, by which Uchet Sing, in consideration of a pension from the Dhar State, consented to relinquish his pretensions; and the acts of extortion and oppression of which the Bhils complained, were redressed. Shortly after tranquillity was restored the Raja died, and as he left no son, the widow, with the concurrence of the British Government, adopted a son, who succeeded by the title of Maha Rao Powar.

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✓The arrangements at Gwalior which ensued upon the death of Dowlat-Rao-Sindhia, involved abundantly the seeds of future dissension. Baiza Bai, forced very reluctantly to adopt a successor to her husband, clung tenaciously to the notion that it was Sindhia's intention that she should hold the regency during her natural life, and regarded with extreme jealousy the growing years and pretensions of the young Raja. As he was on the eve of adolescence when adopted, Janakaji soon came to think himself old enough to be let loose from the trammels of tutelage, and to be entitled to more than nominal authority; and he did not want advisers to stimulate him to assert his claims. [They were, in truth, recognized by the British Government when it insisted upon the Bai's consent to the Raja's being provided with a separate seal, and refused to receive any official communication from the Court of Gwalior, which was not authenticated by its impression.] The Bai was under the necessity of complying; but she did not therefore forego her hope of being allowed to retain her power, if not in her own right, at least, as Regent. She did not despair of setting Janakaji aside altogether, especially as the grand-

BOOK III. daughter to whom he was affianced, had died, and  
 CHAP. VIII. her own daughter, Chimna Bai, was pregnant, afford-  
 1828-36. ing a prospect of an heir to Sindhia, in a direct  
 line. Repeated applications were made by her to  
 the British Government to favour her views, but  
 they met with no encouragement: the adoption of  
 a son, and his succession to the throne, having  
 received the concurrence of all the chief members  
 of the court of Gwalior and the principal persons  
 of the camp, not excepting the nearest relatives of  
 the Bai.

The restraints imposed by the Bai upon the  
 young Raja having become intolerable, he took  
 an opportunity of escaping from the palace in which  
 he was kept under strict supervision, and sought  
 refuge with the Resident, asserting that he did not  
 consider his life safe, from the insolence of his  
 guards, and from the machinations of the Bai.  
 With some difficulty, a reconciliation was effected;  
 but upon the visit of Lord W. Bentinck to Gwalior,  
 both parties were earnest with him to sanction  
 their respective pretensions. With that indecision  
 which characterized the policy of the Govern-  
 ment in its relations with native states, no positive  
 expression of its will or opinion was pronounced.  
 The Governor-General recommended the young  
 Raja to be satisfied with the position he occupied,  
 in which he might regard himself as a fortunate  
 person, and for which he was indebted to Baiza Bai,  
 to whom a feeling of gratitude should, therefore,  
 render him submissive. If he awaited patiently  
 the course of events, the Governor General would  
 recommend to the Bai not to supersede the Raja by



any other adoption; but if he raised disturbances, the consequences must fall upon himself: the British Government would not interfere in his favour.<sup>1</sup> The parties were, in short, to follow their own views—the Bai to keep her power as long as she was able—the Raja to wrest it from her if he could. The general purport of the recommendations was, however, rather favourable to the continuance of the Bai in authority; and such was her impression.<sup>2</sup> The only result of the visit of the Governor-General was to render the breach more irreparable than ever.

At length, in the middle of 1833, the quarrel came to a crisis. The cause of the Raja was embraced by some of the disciplined battalions of the Gwalior state; and on the morning of the 10th of July, the palace was beset by a turbulent soldiery, a portion of whom carried off the Raja to the camp, and the rest, mounting guard upon the palace, threatened the adherents of the Bai with destruction. The Bai, alarmed for her personal safety, fled from the palace by a private door, and repaired on foot to the residence of her brother, Hindu Rao, where she requested the presence of the Resident. Agreeably to the prin-

<sup>1</sup> Report of a conference between the Governor General and Janaka Rao Sindhia at Gwalior.—Asiatic Monthly Journal, xiv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The Bai, in her correspondence with the Governor-General, always unhesitatingly asserted that he had confirmed her in the Regency, and authorised her to continue in the management of the state. "It is very extraordinary," she remarks, "that, while your Lordship is my protector, such injuries have been inflicted on me, a circumstance which cannot but be considered a cause of shame to yourself." The only answer she received was the remark that no station in life was exempt from vicissitudes, and an exhortation to bear her fate with resignation.

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ciple of neutrality which had been enjoined, [he declined to obey the summons; and the Bai, having obtained the escort of a battalion of one of the brigades, of which the commandant Jose Sikander remained faithful, repaired by a circuitous route to the dwelling of Mr. Cavendish.] She was met on the way by a strong party of the Raja's troops, under Gopal Bhao Sindhia, and a conflict might have ensued, unless it had been stopped by the Resident, who required both parties to suspend hostilities until he had communicated with the Raja. In consequence of his representations, the Raja consented to permit the Bai to retire unmolested from the Gwalior territory, and promised to grant her a liberal annual income if she would reside peaceably within the dominions of the Company. [To these conditions the Bai was prevailed upon to accede; and she withdrew in the first instance to Dholpur, on the confines of Gwalior, the possession of the Raja of Gohud, whence she endeavoured to interest the British Government in her restoration, and to excite a counter revolution in the Gwalior State, declaring that she was willing to cede the country entirely to the Company;] but that she was resolved never to submit to the usurpation of an ungrateful boy whom she had raised to power, and who was wholly incapable of exercising sovereign sway. [The Raja was, however, acknowledged by the British Government; and a letter from the Governor-General congratulated him on his accession—recommending him at the same time to treat the Bai with consideration, restore to her what she claimed as her private property,

and set such of her adherents as had been arrested at liberty, with permission to join their mistress. The recommendations were complied with. Chimna Bai, with her husband and daughter, and Hindu Rao, repaired to the camp of Baiza Bai; and the whole party removed to Agra. Chimna Bai, who by her amiable character had engaged general regard, died in giving birth to an infant, which did not survive its mother; and the hopes of a male heir in the direct line were extinguished. The vicinity of Agra enabling the dispossessed princess to carry on secret intrigues at Gwalior, she was sometime afterwards obliged to cross the Jumna, and retire to a greater distance. She refused to move further than Furrukhabad, where she remained encamped, surrounded by a numerous body of armed followers, and importuning the Government for its interference, as far as regarded her claims to a large amount of treasure to which her right was disputed: her application was complied with, and a liberal pension was ensured to her on condition of her abstaining from all intrigues against the Raja, and retiring to a Jagir in the South of India.] With great reluctance, and after a long delay, Baiza Bai, finding that her followers were deserting her, and that there was no chance of recovering her authority at Gwalior, acceded to the conditions proposed, and repaired to the Dekhin. She was a woman of high spirit, and respectable conduct, not destitute of ability to govern, but disposed to shew injudicious partiality to her own kin, and greedy in accumulating private wealth at the expense of public establishments.

BOOK III. She was violent in temper, but not cruel or vindictive, and during her (administration the affairs of Gwalior were conducted with as much efficiency as those of any other native principality.) The first years of her successor might have justified regret for her deposal, as they were a perpetual scene of turbulence and danger. The insubordination of the ill-trained and irregularly paid battalions, which constituted the chief military force of the state, displayed itself in repeated mutinies and disturbances, not only fatal to internal prosperity, but dangerous to the tranquillity of the neighbouring states; and they at last produced the catastrophe, which Dowlat Rao had predicted, — the virtual assumption of the civil and military administration of the Gwalior principality by the British Government<sup>1</sup>.

The relations with the Rajput states during this period, presented the same fluctuating and contradictory policy, arising from the same causes — the desire to withdraw from interference, and the impossibility of so doing consistently with the preservation of these states from the effects of their own misrule, and the evident obligation imposed upon the British Government as the paramount power. The conflict between these opposing principles, gave occasion to much temporary mischief, and most commonly ended in an extent of interposition exceeding the limits which had been originally proposed.

<sup>1</sup> See treaty with Jyaji Rao Sindhia, 13 January, 1844.— Papers respecting Gwalior, printed by order of Parliament, March and April, 1844.

After the death of Zalim Sing of Kota, he was succeeded in his joint-administration of the principality by his son, Madho Sing; and although, during the life of his father, the Maha Rao Kishore Sing had regarded him with strong feelings of dislike, which there was little hope his own conduct would remove; yet, by the prudent and judicious mediation of the Agent, Colonel Caulfield, and the moderation of the Raj Rana, the Rao and his ministerial co-equal continued on friendly terms, until the death of the former, which took place in July, 1828. When on his death-bed, he required the presence of the Agent, at that time, Lieutenant Hislop, and consigned to his care the honour of his family and the safety of his nephew, Ram Sing, whom he had adopted, and by whom he was succeeded. The young prince was taught to entertain less amicable feelings for the Raj Rana, and frequent dissensions prevailed between them. The administration of the Rana was unpopular, from the heavy taxes laid upon the people, in consequence of the embarrassment of the finances. Arrangements suggested by the Resident, relieved the latter, and the obnoxious exactions were taken off; but no cordiality could be restored between the sovereign-minister and his nominal master. The death of the former in February, 1833, removed one object of the Rao's discontent, but the same division of authority was perpetuated by the treaty, and Madan Sing the son of Madho Sing succeeded to the reality of power attached to the dignity of Raj Rana. The youth and inexperience of Madan Sing rendered him the tool of mischievous advisers,

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BOOK III. whose counsels widened the breach with the Maha  
 CHAP. VIII. Rao; while a party against him was formed by his  
 1828-35. own followers, in order to place his uncle Goverdhan Das at the head of affairs. These intrigues were baffled by him with the assistance of the Resident; and he continued in possession of his obnoxious office. (The impossibility of reconciling interests so reciprocally repulsive as those of the Raj Rana and Maha Rao imposed upon the Government, at a date somewhat posterior to that at which we have arrived, the adoption of the only means of terminating the disagreement—the partition of the state between the two princes, in mutually independent sovereignty. A third of the territories was assigned to the Raj Rana, under the name of Jhalawar; and the other two thirds, constituting the principality of Kota, were placed under the undivided government of the Maha Rao<sup>1</sup>)

The affairs of Bundi, during the minority of the Raja, Ram Sing, continued under the arrangement of the Rani mother, whose object, and that of her creatures with whom the court was filled, was the exclusion of the Raja from the independent exercise of authority as long as possible, and the perpetuation of the administration of the Rani. In furtherance of this project, she kept her son in a state of ignorance and vice, and encouraged him in all kinds of mischievous indulgence. Part of her policy consisted in estranging him from his wife, a daughter of Man Sing, the Raja of Jodhpur; and

<sup>1</sup> The district was estimated to yield a revenue of from twelve to fifteen lakhs (120,000*l.* to 150,000*l.*) a year. A third of the tribute payable by Kota, or 80,000 rupees a year, was transferred to Jhalawar. These arrangements took place in 1838.

persuading him to treat his bride with coldness and neglect. The Marwar princess, a lady of lofty pretensions on the score of birth, and arrived at years of maturity, being ten years older than the Raja, ✓ highly resented this treatment, and complained of the contumely she had experienced to her father, who warmly pressed the British Agent to interpose his influence to secure for her the consideration to which she was entitled. As this was declined, the Raja of Jodhpur sent an envoy to Bundi to insist that his daughter should receive the treatment due to her superiority of rank and her nuptial rights, or that she should be allowed to return immediately to Jodhpur. Some improvement followed the intimation, and the young Rani became pregnant; an event which aggravated the aversion and jealousy of the Queen-mother, and instigated her to influence the Raja to a renewal of his former disregard of his wife. Her appeals to Man Sing were repeated, and a deputation, attended by a strong body of armed men was sent to demand the return of the Princess, and to escort her to her father, who did not hesitate to express his apprehension that the lives of his daughter and her infant were insecure from the practices of the Dowager Rani. The party, three hundred strong, encamped outside the walls of the city; but there was also a considerable number of Marwaris in the town, forming the original suite of the princess. One of the newly-arrived party presented himself before the minister, Deva Krishan Rao, in public durbar, under pretext of being sent to learn when the deputation would be received; and, before an answer could be returned, he drew his sword and killed the

BOOK III. minister. The assassin was attacked and slain; and  
CHAP. VIII. the Raja ordered the chief of the deputation to be  
1828-35. seized; but the execution of the order was delayed  
for the arrival from Kota of the Political Assistant,  
Mr. Trevelyan, to whom information of the assassi-  
nation had been quickly conveyed. The gates were  
closed, by which the Marwaris on the outside were  
prevented from joining the party in the town, who  
had fortified themselves in a house occupied by the  
principal servants of the young Rani. By com-  
mand of the Raja, who exhibited unexpected firm-  
ness and resolution, guns were brought to bear  
upon the mansion; and it was soon rendered unten-  
able. The defenders retired to another, near the  
city wall, where they were surrounded by the Raja's  
troops. The persuasions and assurances of Mr.  
Trevelyan, who had reached Bundi, induced the  
body on the outside of the town to withdraw within  
the Kota frontier, and at his intercession the Rao  
permitted the departure of those who were in the city  
with exception of three of their leaders who were  
seized and put to death. The deputation returned  
to Jodhpur, where the indignation of Man Sing was  
vehemently excited by the death and disgrace of  
his emissaries. He denied having in any way  
authorised the murder of the minister, and asserted  
that it was an act of private revenge, unconnected  
with any inimical feeling against him for the share  
that might be imputed to his advice, in the indigni-  
ties to which the princess had been subjected. The  
members of the deputation declared also that they  
knew nothing of the assassin, and had gone to Bundi  
without any hostile design against the minister, and



that they had desisted from forcing their way into the town and rescuing their countrymen, only under the impression that the political agent was responsible for their safety<sup>1</sup>. Great excitement prevailed throughout Haravati and Marwar. The universal feeling of the Rahtores was expressed by Man Sing, when he represented to the Political Agent at Ajmere, that life was burthensome to him; that he and his tribe would be the laughing-stock of Hindustan; they would every where be put to shame by the reproach that a Hara had killed a Rahtore, and nothing had been done to wipe away the disgrace. A long and acrimonious discussion ensued; but the firm interposition of the British authorities compelled a sullen acquiescence in the mutual oblivion of injuries; and British ascendancy averted the breaking out of a war, which, in preceding years, would, in all probability, have spread bloodshed and desolation throughout Rajputana.) The approach of the Governor-General confirmed the continuance of concord, and intimidated the dowager Rani into a reconciliation with her daughter-in-law, who was restored to the good graces of her husband, to whom she had in the meantime borne a son. The murder of the minister

<sup>1</sup> Notwithstanding their earnestly disclaiming the purpose of killing the minister, there was reason to suspect that it was one of the principal objects of the mission. Bhubbut Sing, one of the leaders who had accompanied the party from Jodhpur, but had joined that in the city, had openly avowed his intention; and he was supposed to have been the especial agent of Man Sing in the assassination. It was also remarkable, as Colonel Sutherland observes, that the news-writer of the Political Agent at Jodhpur gave intimation of Man Sing's intention to put the Bundi minister to death several days before the crime was perpetrated; and that the report was published in the Delhi native newspapers without attracting any notice.—Sketches of Political Relations, 91.

BOOK III. deprived the Raja of a valuable servant, by whose  
 CHAP. VIII. good management the debts of the state had been  
 1828-35. cleared off, the revenues had been increased, and  
 the prosperity of the country had been augmented;  
 but his example was not lost upon the Raja, and  
 the condition of Bundi is said to bear favourable  
 testimony to the character of its ruler.

We have not had occasion to advert in any detail to the affairs of the principal Rajput states since the close of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, and our retrospect of the relations maintained with them must therefore comprehend the interval which had subsequently elapsed. The prosperous condition of Udaypur, which had been the work in a great measure of the British Resident, speedily declined with his secession from the immediate direction of affairs, and the transfer to the Rana and his ministers, of that uncontrolled authority which it was their duty and privilege to exercise. The Rana, profuse in his expenditure and lavish in his liberality, was soon involved in pecuniary embarrassments, and by improvidently alienating the revenues of the crown lands in grants to his favourites greatly impoverished his resources. The Thakurs, who had engaged to restore the lands they had usurped, reluctantly and imperfectly executed their engagements, and the want of means to maintain a respectable force relieved them from any apprehension of compulsion. The same want of a sufficient body of effective troops emboldened the lawless tribes in Udaypur and on its confines to renew their depredations, and their ravages supplied the cultivators with a plea for the non-payment of the

government revenues. From these circumstances, the defalcation in the public finances became daily more considerable, and the Rana was unable to pay the tribute which he was bound by treaty to discharge. The pecuniary interests of the Company being thus endangered, resort was again had, in 1823, to more decided interference. In consequence of the interposition of the Resident, the minister Sheo Lall, by whom the prodigality of the Rana had been checked, and the demands on the chiefs resolutely urged, and who had therefore been displaced, was restored to power. The Kalsa lands were let out to farm: the collection of the customs was superintended by officers appointed by the Resident, and the personal expenses of the Rana were limited to a fixed sum. The same amount of control that had been at first exercised by the Resident was again vested in him through the urgency of the case, and at the desire of the Rana; and he became virtually the Prime Minister of Udaypur. Beneficial consequences resulted from the arrangement. In the course of two years, or in 1825, the revenues and expenditure were equalised, the debts of the Rana were liquidated, and the arrears of the tribute discharged; although the improvement of the financial interests of the state was impeded by the disturbed condition of several of the hilly districts, and the predatory practices of their inhabitants, the Minas and Bhils, on the south and west of Mewar.

The south-western portion of Udaypur, designated Chappan, formed an irregular square, of which the capital, the cantonment of Nimuch, and the towns of Dungarpur and Pertabgerh, might be considered as the angles. It consisted chiefly of

BOOK III. a series of hills and forests, of which the most in-  
CHAP. VIII. accessible portions were occupied by tribes of  
1828-35. Minas; but the plains and more open parts were  
cultivated by other and more industrious races;  
and many tracts were in a highly prosperous con-  
dition. The forest tribes inhabited small villages  
on the skirts of the hills, each under its own head-  
man, and of which several constituted a Pal, also  
under its elected chief. The villages covered a  
considerable extent, as every house was detached,  
having round it a patch of ground sufficient for  
the supply of the moderate wants of the moun-  
taineers, whose principal food was the meal of  
Indian corn, and buttermilk the produce of their  
herds, which found pasture in the wilderness. A  
number of Pals constituted a Jagir, the head of  
which was a Rajput; who, while professing fealty  
to the Rana, enjoyed little authority for good  
among the tribes, and retained his influence chiefly  
by being the secret abettor, and not unfrequently  
the instigator of the depredations committed by his  
people, sharing in the plunder. These depredations  
were carried, in 1823, to an alarming extent; and as  
the irregulars in the service of the Rana were wholly  
unequal to check them, it was determined to send  
a detachment of regular troops against the ma-  
raders. Lieut-Colonel Lumley, with two Regi-  
ments of N. I., a squadron of regular cavalry, and  
four of Local Horse, with a train of artillery, ac-  
companied by the Resident, and a body of the  
Rana's military, marched into the hills. The Minas  
made no attempt to oppose them: concealing their  
women, children, and cattle, in the recesses of the  
hills, and, abandoning the villages, they lurked in

the surrounding thickets, cutting off stragglers, stealing or maiming the baggage cattle, and harassing the line of march. Cavalry could not reach them. The matchlocks of the irregulars were ineffective, and the musquets of the Sipahis were often fruitlessly discharged against an object scarcely distinguishable from the bushes, amidst which the Minas cowered. The chief weapon of the mountaineers was the bow and arrow, which they used with singular force and precision, and many of the men and horses received serious and sometimes fatal wounds. It was evident that regular military operations could be undertaken with little prospect of success; and measures of conciliation were tried, which, combined with the destruction of a few villages, and the awe inspired by the presence of the Company's troops, had the desired effect. The head-men were induced to come into camp, and engagements were formed with them personally to the exclusion of their nominal chiefs, whose Jagirs were resumed, and to whom lands were given in the plains as compensation. The villagers subscribed to conditions, by which they promised to pay through their Gomaitis, or head-men, the stipulated proportion of the crop, and to give up their weapons, and admit the establishment of police stations among their hills, and to abstain from all acts of violence and plunder: from putting their infants to death, and from killing cows. In requital of which obligations they were exempted from a number of vexatious and oppressive demands formerly made by the Jagirdars. The regular troops were then withdrawn, and police-stations were established at convenient places. The Minas appeared to be well satisfied with the change.

BOOK III. As long as these stipulations were enforced, a tolerable degree of quietness was preserved; but some  
 CHAP. VIII. of the sequestrated lands were restored by the  
 1828-35. Rana's officers to their former occupants. Those who were still dispossessed recovered sufficient influence to excite the people to tumult and plunder. The example of the adjacent districts encouraged the repetition of disorder; and, although no formally organised system of resistance was developed, yet Chappan continued for several years to be the scene of partial outbreaks and frequent acts of violence and rapine.

A principal cause of the difficulty of preserving subordination among the Minas of Chappan was the incessant state of disorder which prevailed throughout a similar tract of country, extending to the south and east of Udaypur from the confines of Dungarpur to the borders of Sirohi (tenanted, in great part, by Bhils, but numerous interspersed with the descendants of a mixed race sprung from Rajput fathers and Bhil mothers. To this class, known here collectively as Grasias, the chiefs belonged; and their blended affinity with either class of the population secured them the fidelity and attachment of both.) The Grasias had probably occupied these tracts originally as feudatories of Mewar; but for many years they had yielded no service which was not compulsory; and the Rana of Udaypur had not, for a long period, been able to extract from them homage or revenue. Conceiving, however, that the Rana was entitled justly to both, and that the pecuniary claims of the British Government, which pressed heavily on his resources, required that he should be enabled to

realise what was due to himself, it was deemed BOOK III. advisable to comply with his earnest solicitation, CHAP. VIII. that the Resident would take upon himself the 1829-35. enforcement of his demands on the districts of the Grasia chiefs, and compel them to pay a tribute or a proportion of their crops to the public treasury. Advantage was taken of the presence of the regular troops employed in Chappan to intimidate the Grasia chiefs into acquiescence; and for a time it was successful. ¶The chiefs, while asserting their claims to independence, acknowledged the supremacy of the Rana; agreed to pay him a small annual tribute; to admit military stations within their boundaries; and promised to abstain from all acts of violence and pillage. They declared, however, their inability to keep their people in order; and threw the maintenance of tranquillity and security upon the Rana. ¶As long as a regular force was on the spot, the Bhils and Grasia, although occasionally harassing them and cutting off stragglers, refrained from any serious molestation of their neighbours the peaceable Ryots or cultivators of the lands, from inter-village feuds, and from depredations on travellers and traders. This source of intimidation was not long held over them. ¶In the beginning of 1827, instructions from the authorities in England forbade the employment of the Company's troops for the purpose of preserving order in the territories of allied princes, and agreeably to the orders received from home, the detachment which had been sent from Nimuch was recalled to cantonments. The peace of these wild districts was consequently left to the troops of the Rana stationed at the several Thanas, in very insufficient strength, and composed

BOOK III. of men undisciplined, imperfectly armed, ill paid, and  
 CHAP. VIII. not unfrequently cowardly or disaffected. Of such  
 1828-35. a force the Bhils stood in little fear; and the Thanas  
 were the objects of repeated and desperate attacks. They usually, however, maintained their ground; a result attributable solely to the untiring energy and skilful arrangements of a British officer, Captain Black, assistant to the Resident, to whose personal superintendance, the management of these districts was entrusted. By the judicious manner in which the several posts were distributed, and by the confidence of the men in the vigilance and activity of their commandant, each station was assured of support in the moment of danger; and resolutely resisted its assailants until the expected re-inforcements, which never failed, arrived. The character of his men, and the nature of the country, prevented Captain Black from following up his successes; and he was restricted, by the inefficiency of his means, to a course of defensive operations against, not a mere desultory rising of barbarians banded together for plunder, but against an almost universal insurrection of the Bhils, in vindication of the claims of a chief whom they considered unjustly deprived of his rights; and who, by his personal character and his connection with other Thakurs, exercised a very extensive influence over the wild tribes of the Grasia hills.

At the time of effecting settlements with the Grasia chiefs, one of their number, the Rao of Jawas, was prevailed upon to place his Jagir, entirely in the hands of the British Agent, and to be contented with a small portion only of his here-



ditary chiefship.) He not only acquiesced in the arrangement, but submitted cheerfully to the authority of the Rana; and, on several occasions, rendered good service to the stations which were attacked by the Bhils. The general feeling in the hills was, nevertheless, that his submission was the effect of fear, and that he was only temporising; an impression apparently erroneous, the Rao being a young man of no resolution, who had enjoyed little power while nominally independent, and who probably cared but little whether a British officer or an overbearing kinsman relieved him of the burthen of government. That kinsman was not equally indifferent. Dowlat Sing, the maternal uncle of the Rao of Jawas, who had hitherto managed the estates of his nephew, accompanied by a confidential servant, Govind Khwas, a man of great activity and daring, refused their assent to the negotiation, and returned to the hills, where they kept up, for more than four years, a perpetual state of irritation and alarm. The indiscriminate rapine which they allowed their followers to commit, rallied round them all the desperate characters of the hills; and, aided by the contributions which they received secretly from the other Grasia chiefs, and which it was said they obtained even from persons of influence about the Court, they were enabled to give solidity to their marauding bands by enlisting Arab and Sindh mercenaries from Guzerat and Sindh. At the head of these, they repeatedly attacked the Thanas under Captain Black's superintendence, and especially that of Khairwara, which commanded the road from the Eastern to the Western

BOOK III.  
 CHAP. VIII.  
 1823-35.

BOOK III. hills. On one occasion they brought against it  
 CHAP. VIII. three hundred matchlock men and two thousand  
 1828-35. Bhils; but the steadiness of the irregulars, and the  
 prompt succours which they received through the  
 admirable arrangements of Captain Black, as well  
 as the courage inspired by his presence, foiled  
 the assailants. Had a single station been over-  
 powered, the whole of the border villages would  
 have been in a state of open rebellion; the suppres-  
 sion of which would not have been effected without  
 the employment of a powerful force and the loss of  
 many valuable lives.

↳ The vacillating policy of the British Government had for some time past discountenanced the interpo-  
 sition of the Resident in the affairs of Udaypur, and the Rana and his minister had been left once more  
 without aid or control. ↳ The necessity in which the minister was thus placed of requiring support from  
 other quarters, together with the absence of any check upon his proceedings, ↳ led him into an extra-  
 vagant course of corruption and expenditure, to maintain a fund for which intolerable exactions  
 were levied from the people. ↳ The Thakurs also, no longer intimidated by the presence of British  
 troops, broke their engagements, withheld their pay-  
 ments and their quotas, and plundered ↳ the domains  
 of the Crown. ↳ The bordering tribes, encouraged by the weakness of the Government, and the example  
 of the chiefs, became still more daring in their  
 outrages, and carried their devastations to the  
 gates of Udaypur. The insecurity of person and  
 property, from the numerous bands of robbers who  
 infested the road, and the extortions of the fiscal

officers of the minister, completely ruined all commerce, and put a stop to cultivation. The emergency roused the Rana to exertion. The minister was again dismissed, and the exactions of the collectors prevented. Some of the hill chiefs, who had been replaced in their fiefs, were prevailed upon to co-operate with the Rana's detachments, under Captain Black, in restoring order; and through their aid, several villages, which had become notorious for deeds of pillage and murder, were attacked and destroyed. The British Government also found itself obliged to interfere effectively, and while awaiting the organisation of a local corps, which Captain Black was authorised to levy, a detachment of three regiments of Native Infantry was sent from Nimuch, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Burgh, to act under the directions of the Resident. Combining with the display of power thus at his disposal the conciliatory principle of restoring the dispossessed chiefs to their sequestered Jagirs, under restrictions calculated to prevent their exacting from the villages more than a due proportion of the crops, and subjecting them to the supremacy of the Rana to be exercised through the superintendance of a British functionary, the restoration of order went briskly forward; and towards the end of 1827, the Minas of Chappan had mostly returned to the peaceable cultivation of the lands under their former chieftains. The progress of pacification in other directions was suspended by the untimely death of Captain Black, who fell a victim to the unhealthiness of the climate. His duties were for the time transferred

BOOK III to Captain Spiers, Political Agent in Sirohi, who  
 CHAP. VIII. was equally well acquainted with the nature of  
 1828-35. the country, and the character of the population.

The evident determination of the British Government to take an active share in the suppression of the disorders by which the country had been distracted soon exercised a salutary influence, and the border chiefs of Panarwa, Jowra, Mherpur, and Oгна, presented themselves in the camp of the superintendant, and professed their disposition to return to the duties of allegiance to the Raja. Dowlat Sing, hopeless of prolonging the contest with advantage, accepted the offers which were made to him of pardon, and a provision for his maintenance, until he should recover his authority in Jawas, upon its restoration to its former ruler. The fermentation which his expulsion from his hereditary rights had excited was thus allayed; and as much security and order restored to the hills as could be expected from the habits of the people. The main body of the troops consequently returned to Nimuch, leaving detachments for a time at Khairwara, and on the Sirohi frontier.

Shortly after the pacification of his border districts, or early in 1828, the Rana of Udaypur, Bhim Sing died: his reign, protracted through more than half a century, had witnessed extraordinary changes in the condition of Hindustan; the decay and extinction of the Mogul empire; the ascendancy, decline, and final overthrow of the Mahrattas; and the first dawn and full expansion of the British power<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In 1826, Bhim Sing conversed with the British Resident on the changes which, in common with other parts of India, his dominions

His reign had been fertile in vicissitudes: he had experienced all the sufferings which Mahratta and Patan insolence and rapacity could inflict; but his latter years had been free from insult, and his country had been protected from predatory aggression. The indolence of his disposition, and the weakness which rendered him the tool of favourites, prevented him from reaping the full benefit of the change; and the constant urgency of his new allies and protectors, for punctuality in the discharge of his pecuniary obligations, must have been scarcely less obnoxious to him than the exactions of Amir Khan. He preserved, however, uniformly, a calm and dignified deportment, worthy of his high descent and his pre-eminent rank among the Hindu Princes of India. He was succeeded by his son Jivan Sing, who, during the last years of his father's life, had exercised considerable influence in public affairs, and by whose experience and ability it was expected that the affairs of Udaypur would be retrieved. One of the first steps taken towards the new Raja was the recurrence to the policy of non-interference, which had now become avowedly the principle of the Government: the preservation of tranquillity in the Mina and Bhil districts of Udaypur was declared to

had suffered from the aggressions of the Mohammedans, and the conquests of the Mahrattas; but none of these events were in his opinion so unintelligible as the empire of foreigners, who came from the West in ships, from a country before unknown. "Seated in Durbar in the halls of his ancestors, with his princely son, the present Maha Rana, on his left hand, and surrounded by the nobles and chiefs of his house, Bhim Sing discussed these subjects with a frankness and good humour, which belong in a more remarkable degree to a Rajput than to any other native of India." Sutherland's Political Sketches, 71.

BOOK III. be of no material concern to British India. The  
 CHAP. VIII. management of these territories was accordingly  
 1828-35. relinquished. The Rana assumed the charge of  
 Chappan, and the Grasia hills were replaced under  
 the exclusive control of their several chiefs—the  
 whole being held responsible for the conduct of their  
 subjects towards the adjacent states; a responsi-  
 bility which the Grasia declared they could not  
 undertake, when the British troops or the Rana's  
 were withdrawn, as they could not control the tur-  
 bulent and marauding propensities of their de-  
 pendants. Notwithstanding these representations,  
 and the evils certain to result to the peace, not only  
 of the Grasia hills, but of Sindh and Malwa; and  
 the insurmountable bar thus opposed to the im-  
 provement of commercial intercourse, the Govern-  
 ment persisted in its purpose—the regular troops  
 were withdrawn—the levy disbanded—and the  
 barbarous tribes on the frontiers privileged to rob  
 and murder without fear of hindrance or punish-  
 ment from the paramount power. The political con-  
 nexion with Udaypur was shortly afterwards still  
 further relaxed by the abolition of the Residency,  
 the communication being transferred to the Political  
 Agent, stationed at Ajmere, in subordination to  
 the Resident at Delhi. The tribute, which had  
 fallen into arrears, was discharged<sup>1</sup>; but the debt  
 incurred on account of the expense of military

<sup>1</sup> In 1831 the arrears of tribute amounted to Rupees 5,13,000, and the expenses of military operations in the hills to two lakhs; the latter was remitted. The tribute had been commuted from a proportion of the revenue, to the fixed annual sum of three lakhs; but this was complained of as pressing too heavily on an income, the whole of which rarely equalled ten lakhs; and it has since been reduced one-half.

operations against the Bhils and Grasias was re- BOOK III.  
mitted. The Raja, who in the outset of his reign had CHAP. VIII.  
fallen into a course of dissipation, adopted a 1828-35.  
change of conduct; and by his application to business effected important reforms in the administration of the revenue and the police, by which the internal tranquillity of his country was preserved, and border-violences were kept under some restraint. Little intercourse has since been held with Udaypur<sup>1</sup>.

The feud which we have had occasion to describe between Man Sing and the Thakurs, who were concerned in his temporary deposal, and the elevation of his son, having apparently lost some of its virulence, the Political Resident at Delhi was induced to interpose his good offices to perfect the reconciliation. At his suggestion, the Raja consented in 1823 to receive envoys from the chiefs, and to attend to their representations, promising them free leave to come and to return, whatever might be the result of the negotiations. Notwithstanding this promise, the Vakils were arrested when on their way to the capital—cast into prison—and menaced with death, upon the accusation that they had treacherously tampered with the villagers in the Jagirs belonging to their masters which had been sequestered, in order to accomplish their recovery. As no attempt was made to substantiate the charge, the Resident strongly remonstrated against the breach of faith which had been committed, and effected the liberation of the envoys. This affair

<sup>1</sup> It became necessary, however, in 1840, in communication with the Rana, to raise a Bhil corps for the purpose of keeping the tribes of Chappan in order, constituting the Mewar Bhil Corps, under British officers.

BOOK III. was scarcely settled, when he was appealed to by the  
CHAP. VIII. Court of Jaypur, to interfere in behalf of the sister  
1828-35. of the late Raja, who was married to Man Sing,  
and who complained of being treated with injustice  
and inhumanity. On the other hand, the Raja  
represented to the Governor-General, Lord Amherst,  
that the Resident, Sir David Ochterlony, was un-  
duly biassed in favour of his disobedient Thakurs,  
and supported them in their opposition to his com-  
mands. He maintained, also, that the countenance  
given to the pretensions of Sirohi to independence,  
was a violation of his right to supremacy, and he  
demanded the restoration to his own officers of that  
portion of Mherwara, which had been taken under  
the British management. This district, the country  
of the Mhers, a wild hill and forest tribe, situated  
on the southern and south-western confines of Ajmere  
along the frontiers of Malwa and Marwar, was, in  
fact, an integral portion of Ajmere, but portions  
were claimed by Jodhpur and Udaypur. Their so-  
vereignty was, however, little more than nominal;  
for the Mhers detested the Rajputs, yielded them  
none but forced obedience, and retaliated for the  
aggressions on their independence by predatory de-  
vastations. Their proximity, and the undiscrimi-  
nating nature of their outrages, rendered it necessary  
at an early period, after Ajmere became a British  
province, to curb their excesses; and an arrange-  
ment was made with the Rajput princes, by which  
the whole of Mherwara was placed under the super-  
intendence of a British officer; and portions of the  
revenue to be collected were assigned to them re-  
spectively. Under this system the state of things



soon changed. A few examples were at first necessary; but the Mhers gradually submitted to British authority, desisted from their ravages, and resorted to peaceable and agricultural avocations. A moderate assessment was imposed, and realised without difficulty, and the district made rapid advances towards prosperity<sup>1</sup>. To have restored it to the inefficient hands of the Rajputs would have thrown it again into disorder, fatal to its own improvement, and troublesome to its neighbours; and the application of Man Sing, as well as a similar one at a later period from the Rana, was not assented to. In order to explain to the Raja the grounds of the refusal, as well as to promote the adjustment of his disputes with his chiefs, Mr. Wilder was despatched in the beginning of 1824, to Jodhpur. His negotiations were successful. Man Sing was persuaded to execute an agreement, pledging himself to pardon the refractory Thakurs<sup>2</sup> and restore the confiscated estates—to admit the presence of an accredited officer of Jaypur to be attached to the especial service of the Jaypur Rani, and to leave

<sup>1</sup> The whole revenue raised in Mherwar in 1823-4, was but 10,000 rupees; in 1830-1, it amounted to 43,000 rupees. In the first three years after the settlement, the annual payments of nett revenue to Udaypur were 13,000 rupees, 17,000 rupees, and 28,000 rupees, although the seasons were unfavourable. Udaypur had never before realised any revenue whatever. In 1832, an agreement was made with the Rana for eight years' additional revenue of 20,000 rupees.

<sup>2</sup> The principal of them were the Thakurs of Pokarn, Nimaj, Asobh, and Ahwa; the first was the grandson of Siwai Sing, the uncompromising adversary of Man Sing from the first, and supporter of the claims of Dhokal Sing; this chief succeeded in retaining his fort and part of his lands. Nimaj was the son of Surtan Sing, who was killed in the affray at Jodhpur, occasioned by the Raja's attempt to seize his friend, the Thakur of Pokarn. The two last were accused of being concerned in the murder of the Raja's minister, and the usurpation of the prince. The lands of all three had been confiscated by Man Sing; but he had not been able to get possession of the town of Ahwa.

BOOK III. Mherwara under its present management for a further period. An attempt was made to prevail on  
CHAP. VIII.  
1828-35. him to commute the military quota, which he was bound by treaty to furnish whenever required, for a money payment of equivalent value; but to this proposal he steadily declined to accede.

The reconciliation of Man Sing with his chiefs was neither sincere nor permanent; and on various pretexts he persisted in retaining the sequestered lands, or instituted fresh spoliations, compelling them to emigrate from Marwar, and seek refuge in the neighbouring territories of Jaypur and Bhikaner. The altered policy of the British Government interdicted the repetition of the Resident's interposition, even for the fulfilment of engagements contracted under its sanction, and at its suggestions; and the Thakurs were left to redress their injuries by their own unaided strength; although redress was manifestly hopeless, except by an appeal to arms, and through the interruption of that tranquillity which it was the office and duty of the paramount power to preserve unbroken. Accordingly, in 1827, the chiefs invited Dhokal Sing, who we have seen was asserted to be the posthumous son of the last Raja of Marwar, and to have, therefore, a preferable title to that of Man Sing, to join them in the Jaypur country whither they had fled; and they engaged to acknowledge him as their prince, and aid him to establish his rights. The invitation was eagerly accepted. Dhokal Sing, who had for some years resided in the British territory at Baraich, left his residence, and hastened to Jaypur, where he found the Thakurs of Nimaj, Asobh, and Ahwa, with their

retainers. Several of the Jaypur and Bhikaner chiefs joined his camp; and the Regent Rani of Jaypur, who cherished an intense hatred of the sister of Man Sing, also one of the wives of the late Raja, who had treated the Rani-mother with disdain on account of her inferior descent, and who always affirmed the spurious origin of the minor Raja, assisted Dhokal Sing with men and money; and by these succours he was enabled to collect a force seven thousand strong, with which he marched into Marwar. The remonstrances of the British Agent at Ajmere, compelled the native states to disavow their support of Dhokal Sing, and to recall their subjects from his service; but their acquiescence was merely external, and they continued secretly to aid his enterprise. Dhokal Sing encountered no opposition, and advanced to Dudhwana, a populous town not far distant from Jodhpur<sup>1</sup>.

The re-appearance of Dhokal Sing, and the support which he had received from the Thakurs of Marwar, seriously alarmed Man Sing, and impelled him to look to the British Government for protection. He immediately sent envoys to Delhi and to Ajmere, to represent that the Government, by suffering Dhokal Sing to set out from the British dominions with hostile purposes against him, had impressed both his subjects and those of the neighbouring states with a belief that they countenanced his pretensions, and that they had consequently con-

<sup>1</sup> In favour of Dhokal Sing's pretensions, it was argued, that he was allied by marriage to some of the most illustrious families of Jaypur and Jodhpur, who never would have given him their daughters, unless they had been assured of the genuineness of his descent. Man Sing, who was the grandson of the Raja of Jodhpur, Bijay Sing, always denied the authenticity of his birth.

BOOK III. tributed to his success; and he demanded the assistance of troops to oppose, not a rebellious dependant, but a foreign invader—for such was the true character of Dhokal Sing, and against all such enemies the Government of India was bound by treaty to arm in his defence. The application was referred to the Governor-General in Council, who was disposed to regard the disturbances in Marwar, as a struggle between the Raja and his feudatory chiefs, whom he had driven into exile and rebellion by his own acts; and against whom the British Government was not pledged to protect him. It was admitted, at the same time, that as a competitor for the throne had been set up by the chiefs, the case was somewhat complicated, and as the Raja's personal safety, as well as sovereign authority, was imperilled, he might be thought to possess some claim to interference. It was, therefore, resolved, to comply with his application, on the condition that he should consent to submit his differences with his Thakurs to the arbitration of the Government, and engage to abide unhesitatingly by its decision. [A cautious provision was, however, made for abandoning him to his fate, under the possible contingency of his proving the weaker party.] With this view the Political Agent was apprised—that if the insurrection should be so general, as to indicate the almost universal desire of the Raja's chiefs and subjects for his deposal, and his own condition should be so helpless as to leave him without power to make head against their rebellion, then there would not appear to be any reason for undertaking to force

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on the state of Jodhpur, a sovereign, whose conduct had deprived him of the support and allegiance of his people. If, on the other hand, the insurrection was only partial, and the Raja continued to be supported by a respectable portion of the chiefs and the people, then the mediation was to be offered, although not as a right, as asserted by Man Sing, in virtue of the existing treaty. Native Princes were expected to have the power of controlling their own subjects; and if they drove them into rebellion, they must take the consequences: the British Government was not under any obligation to defend them in such cases. In these instructions it was assumed that rebellion was the natural result of oppression; an inference unwarranted by the past history of Rajputana, which repeatedly exhibited the feudatory chiefs of the several states combining against their sovereign for the furtherance of their private interests, or the gratification of private resentment. It was assumed, also, that there existed a people with political rights and wishes, which was utterly at variance with the actual condition of affairs or the state of society; the merchants, artisans, and agriculturists of Marwar being wholly indifferent in the quarrel, and preferring tranquillity, however preserved, to the triumph of either the Thakurs or the Raja: and to consign a protected state to be desolated by the ravages of a civil war, which the slightest degree of interposition would at once have prevented, was an obvious dereliction of the obligation which the British Government had undertaken, of maintaining the peace and prosperity of Hindustan. There was, in fact, no real difference whether

BOOK III. hostilities occurred between the Rajas of Jaypur  
 CHAP. VIII. and Jodhpur, or between the Thakur of Pokarn and  
 1828-35. his liege lord. In either case, the interruption of  
 trade, the desolation of the fields, the assemblage of  
 lawless undisciplined bands, and indiscriminate  
 rapine and murder, were certain to ensue; and it  
 was the duty of the British Government, as the  
 paramount power, to prevent, what it might easily  
 prevent, the perpetration of outrages, which tended  
 to bring back the times of anarchy, which had at  
 first compelled its interference with the politics of  
 Central India. ]

The intimation of the purpose of the British  
 Government to mediate between Man Sing and his  
 rebellious chiefs, was received with ready submission  
 by them both. No material advantage had been  
 gained by either, and although Dhokal Sing occupied  
 Dudhwana and threatened Nagore, he and his ad-  
 herents had been unable to raise the siege of Ahwa  
 by the Raja's army. Neither seemed inclined to  
 risk an encounter in the field, or was able to keep  
 on foot an effective force for want of funds to pay  
 the troops. In this condition of weakness, Dhokal  
 Sing was apprised that he must retire from Marwar,  
 or he would be treated as an enemy to the British  
 Government. He immediately complied and with-  
 drew to Bhikaner, expressing a hope that some  
 provision would be made for him—a hope he was  
 not allowed to retain, as no notice was to be taken  
 of him in any negotiation that might be instituted.  
 None was, however, opened. The proposed inter-  
 ference had impressed the contending parties with  
 a conciliatory disposition, and terms were settled

between Man Sing and his Thakurs by mutual agreement. The confiscated lands were restored to the principal chiefs, and the possessions and privileges of others no longer menaced. Hostilities consequently ceased.

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The termination of actual hostilities in Marwar failed to restore to the principality the advantage of order and good government. Man Sing was superstitiously devoted to a sect of religious mendicants or Jogis, from whom he chose not only his spiritual guides, but his principal counsellors, entrusting to them a large share of his revenues, and the whole charge of the administration<sup>1</sup>. Great abuses followed; and the hill tribes, a prey to the exactions of the fiscal officers, abandoned their villages, and turning robbers, plundered the contiguous districts. The frontier of Sirohi particularly suffered; and the ravages in that direction were secretly encouraged by Man Sing. The expostulations addressed to him were either unavailing, or provoked manifestations of sullenness and disrespect; an instance of which was displayed in his declining, upon frivolous excuses, to meet the Governor-General at Ajmere in 1831, although

<sup>1</sup> The origin of his devotion to the Jogis, commenced with a lucky guess made by Deo-nath. When Man Sing was besieged in Jalore, and proposed to surrender, Deo-nath promised, if he would wait two or three days, he would effect a change in his position. It so happened, that on the third day, his cousin Bhim Sing, then Raja of Jodhpur, died, and Man Sing was called to the succession. He ever after believed implicitly in the supernatural knowledge of the Jogis. Deo-nath was murdered, as described vol. ii. 179, and one cause of Man Sing's inveteracy against the chiefs, was their being implicated in the murder. His son, Ladu-nath, kept alive this feeling in the mind of the Raja. Of the revenues of Jodhpur, estimated at thirty-seven lakhs (£370,000), seven were alienated in favour of the Jogis and their temples. Ten lakhs formed the jagirs of the Thakurs, leaving twenty for the Raja. The Jogis had, also, five per cent. on the revenues of the Khalsa or Crown Lands, which were valued at fifteen lakhs.

BOOK III. the Rana of Udaypur, and the young Raja of Jaypur, his equals or superiors, afforded him an example.

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The tribute also fell into arrears, and the urgent demand for payment made by the agent at Ajmere was not calculated to improve his temper. He was also compelled to furnish his quota of 1,500 horse to serve with a British detachment sent from the Bombay presidency in 1833, under Col. Litchfield, against the robber tribes of the desert of Parkur, whose depredations on Sirohi were secretly instigated by the Raja. The British troops defeated a body of the Khosas, and, advancing to Chattan and Balmer, two of the principal towns, took and destroyed them. The Jodhpur contingent not only proved useless, but were convicted of treacherously giving the Khosas private information of the movements of the force, and endeavouring to obstruct the capture of Balmer. After its capture, the leader of the Khosas was secreted by the commandant of the Jodhpur horse, who very unwillingly gave him up to the determined demand of Colonel Litchfield. The capture of Balmer was a source of profound vexation to Man Sing, who ascribed the success of the expedition in part to the co-operation of the Jesselmer contingent which had also been called out, and shortly afterwards displayed his resentment, by allowing his troops to invade and lay waste the Jesselmer territory, carrying their ravages to within twelve miles of the capital. Obligated to recall the troops by the menaces of the Political Agent, Man Sing denied that they had entered Jesselmer with any other intention than that of concerting with the Raja's officers the means of



suppressing border disturbances, and unhesitatingly asserted that they had not committed any outrage; an assertion notoriously untrue. Other acts of violence followed on the Krishnagerh territory, which were traced to a feudatory of Jodhpur; and chiefs adhering to the party of the Raja were allowed to connive at the depredations of marauding bands, affording them an asylum, and sharing their booty. As this conduct could not be overlooked with any regard to the character of the British Government, Man Sing was informed that he would be held responsible for these disorders, and desired to suppress them; but he either disputed their occurrence, or professed his inability to prevent them. (He also asserted his right to shelter fugitives from justice, and refused to apprehend and give up a number of Thugs who had escaped from the pursuit of the British officer into the Marwar territory.) To such a degree of audacity were the banditti of Jodhpur excited by the conduct of the Raja, that a strong party attacked and plundered the residence of a British medical officer situated close to the station of Ajmere. As there appeared to be no likelihood of prevailing on Man Sing to take any measures for preventing these excesses, or indemnifying the sufferers; and as he pertinaciously refused to deliver up the malefactors who had fled into his territories, [it was judged advisable to have recourse to more absolute means, and force him to acquiescence, or dispossess him of his dominions.] It was accordingly determined to recur to military operations; and a force was assembled at Ajmere after the rains of 1834, under the command of Brigadier

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BOOK III. Stevenson<sup>1</sup>, which was destined to move against  
 CHAP. VIII. Jodhpur. Their services were not requisite: the

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demonstration sufficed. A deputation of his most confidential and respectable advisers was despatched by Man Sing to Ajmere with full powers to concede whatever was demanded<sup>2</sup>. The only difficulties turned upon the payment of the expense of the armament, which the envoys declared the inability of the treasury of Jodhpur to discharge; and the relinquishment of the privilege of protecting persons who should take refuge within the confines of the principality. These were, however, surmounted; and an agreement was concluded, by which Man Sing consented to indemnify the people of Sirohi, Jesselmer, and Krishnagerh, and Dr. Mottley, for the damages committed by the Jodhpur robbers. 2. To address a letter to the Governor-General in a respectful form, expressing his regret for the past. 3. To give up fugitive Thugs without detriment to the general right of 'Sarana,' or protection of persons seeking asylum within his territory<sup>3</sup>. 4. To admit the

<sup>1</sup> Consisting of three troops of horse, and seven companies of foot artillery, two squadrons of His Majesty's 11th dragoons, 2nd, 4th, 6th, and 7th regiments of cavalry, and Blair's local horse, His Majesty's 26th foot, and eleven regiments of Native Infantry; the 3rd 6th, 22nd, 23rd, 28th, 32nd, 36th, and 51st, 61st, and 68th with siege and field trains.

<sup>2</sup> "What occasion could there be," inquired the Vakils, "for the march of an army against the Raja? a single Chaprasi (a servant wearing a badge,) sent to Jodhpur to communicate the Governor-General's pleasure, would have secured obedience."

<sup>3</sup> The obligation to grant protection to persons soliciting it without any reference to the occasion which has made them need it, is of universal recognition by the Hindus, is one of their most cherished prejudices, and is apparently of ancient date. The feeling, probably, originated in a state of society, when there was little protection of persons, either by the laws or the government; and has in India, at least, survived its advantages.

arbitration of British officers in regard to the mutual claims of Jodhpur and Sirohi for acts of border violence. 5. To reimburse the cost of the troops collected against him. 6. To furnish his contingent in a state of efficiency. This last condition was finally commuted to the payment of an annual sum which was applied to the maintenance of a local corps, the Marwar Legion, which, under British officers, has been employed to prevent disturbances and depredations on the confines of Sirohi and Marwar. A share of the Salt Lake and district of Sambhar, which appertained to Jodhpur, was taken possession of as a security for the payment of the pecuniary demands upon the Raja. The subsequent transactions with Jodhpur belong to a later date.

The intercourse with Jaypur, through the whole period embracing the administrations of Lord Amherst and Lord W. Bentinck, was more intimate and more uneasy than that maintained with any of the leading states of Rajputana; and after exhibiting the extremes of interference and of abstinence from interference, terminated in a catastrophe which was wholly unprecedented, and which was followed by a still closer and more authoritative connection. We have already had occasion to advert to the necessity of appointing a permanent Resident at Jaypur, arising out of the infancy of the Raja, the regency of his mother, and the conflicting pretensions of competitors for the duty of conducting public affairs. The latter had been silenced by the compulsory retirement of Jota Ram, a man of the mercantile profession, and a 'Sraogee' or Jain by

BOOK III. religion, and the appointment of Rawal Bhyri Sal,  
 CHAP. VIII. one of the principal Thakurs of the state, and the  
 1828-35. nearest in affinity to the Raja, to the office of  
 Mukhtar or Manager—the struggle was far from  
 being ended.

The departure of Jota Ram from the Court of Jaypur, was followed by no diminution of his influence with the Rani; and he kept up a constant correspondence with the Zenana, through Rupá, a Bandharin, or slave girl, who had acquired the most absolute ascendancy over the mind of the regent mother. His interests were also represented by his brother, Hookum Chand, Sraogee, who was permitted to retain the charge of the disbursements of the female apartments. To these individuals were united several of the Thakurs, the personal or political opponents of Bhyri Sal, and their joint efforts were incessantly directed to occasion embarrassment in his administration, and involve him in discredit with the British Resident. Among other intrigues, a formidable mutiny was excited among the troops; and five battalions marched from their quarters, and occupied the city on the usual plea of requiring payment of arrears. Bhyri Sal was threatened with their vengeance, and was obliged to fly to the Residency for protection. With some difficulty, and only after troops had been ordered from the cantonments of Nasirabad, the mutineers were prevailed on to retire; but the country was in a general state of alarm and insecurity, and a serious defalcation of the public revenue was incurred, which was likely to impede the punctual payment of the tribute due to the British Government.

As the Rani mother and her partisans attributed the public disorders and the decrease of the revenues to the incapacity and malversation of the Rawal, and insisted that the only remedy for such an unsatisfactory aspect of affairs was his removal; and as the advantages expected from his nomination had not been realised, Sir David Ochterlony recommended, in 1824, his displacement, and the formation of a new ministry, to be appointed by the Rani. The recommendation was adopted. Megh Sing, one of the Thakurs of the Rani's faction was made Mukhtar, and Hookum Chand, Dewan, or Minister of Finance. Bhyri Sal was allowed, on submitting his accounts for audit, to retire to his Jagir of Samode, under the guarantee of the British Government for his property, his life, and his honour. He was also permitted to have a representative in regular attendance on the Resident. The new ministers were the creatures of Jota Ram and the Bandharin; and the conduct of public affairs became every day more notoriously inefficient and corrupt. Doubts began to be entertained also as to the existence of the young Raja; for, although he should have made his appearance in public, having attained his seventh year, he was still secluded in the privacy of the female apartments of the palace; and had not been seen by any of the chiefs or people for the last three years. The doubt was not confined to the popular voice. It was openly expressed to the Resident, by the Raja of Bhikaner, whose daughter was the affianced bride of the Raja of Jaypur; and who insisted on the presentation of the young Raja, if really living, to his chiefs, and the appointment

BOOK III. of one of them as his guardian. The appearance  
 CHAP. VIII. of the Raja in public, was nevertheless, still de-  
 1828-35. layed; and the Rani persisted in ascribing all the  
 popular discontent, and the embarrassment of the  
 finances, to the effect of Bhyri Sal's misgovernment,  
 pressing importunately for permission being granted  
 to Jota Ram to return to Court, as the only indivi-  
 dual capable of restoring the affairs of Jaypur to a  
 prosperous condition, and enabling her to discharge  
 with regularity the tribute to the Company. Her  
 importunities at length succeeded, and Jota Ram  
 was allowed, early in 1826, to return from his exile,  
 and again exercise his personal influence over Rupá  
 and her mistress.

The restoration of Jota Ram to power was most  
 distasteful to many of the principal Thakurs; and  
 they earnestly requested the interference of the  
 Resident, to obtain their admission to the pre-  
 sence of their Raja. "If you were not here," they  
 observed, "we should soon compel the Regent  
 Rani to produce her son;" and they complained  
 bitterly that soldiers of a tribe so distinguished as  
 theirs, of kin to the oldest princes of Hindustan,  
 should be subject to the orders of bankers and  
 women. They professed their readiness to obey  
 whatever the Resident should command. The  
 reports of the death of the young Raja gained  
 extensive credence; and it was affirmed, that the  
 child having died, a Brahman boy had been secretly  
 introduced into the Zenana, in his place, by Rupá,  
 to personate the son of the Rani, and so prolong  
 her regency, and that from her instrumentality in  
 this plot, proceeded her despotic influence over her

mistress. In order to put an end to these rumours, the Resident was ordered to require the Rani to state what her intentions were with regard to the production of the Raja. She consented that his public appearance should take place on his attaining his eighth year; but objected to the attendance of Bhyri Sal and the chiefs of his faction; while he claimed a right to be present, and to take precedence as the hereditary Patel<sup>1</sup> of the Raj. The disputes on this subject, and with respect to the Rani's right to fix the time for the Raja's appearance rose to great violence, and apprehensions were entertained of a civil war, if the chiefs with their adherents should be congregated at Jaypur. In the mean time the Rani contrived to hold an informal levee, at which the young Raja was introduced and presented to the Resident, and to a few of the chiefs who supported the party of the regent mother. The question of the continued regency of the Rani, or of the appointment of a guardian was next to be decided; and its determination was not likely to be peaceably settled, without the interposition of the British Government.

Most of the Thakurs had been drawn to Jaypur by the expected public appearance of the young Raja; but those only of the Rani's faction were allowed to enter the city. Bhyri Sal and his confederates were encamped outside. The instructions of the British Government sanctioned this assemblage, and directed the Resident to take advantage of the

<sup>1</sup> The term is usually confined to the head of a village: but it was not incompatible with that of a Thakur, or military chief, indicating the primitive agricultural character even of the Rajput noble.

BOOK III. opportunity to collect the votes of all the chiefs, with  
 CHAP. VIII. regard to the right of the Rani to retain the regency,  
 1826-35. and appoint her own Minister. Seventy-two Thakurs  
 attended at the Residency, and the majority voted  
 against the Rani's claims, affirming that the manage-  
 ment of affairs should now be entrusted to a male  
 guardian, and that the fittest person for the office was  
 Rawal Bhyri Sal. A few days afterwards, their  
 opinions underwent a change. The Political Resident  
 at Delhi, Sir Charles Metcalfe, having come to Jay-  
 pur at the end of 1826, and repeated the scrutiny,  
 found that a large majority now voted in favor of the  
 continuation of the Regent Rani's absolute authority.  
 No precedent existed for its cessation at any given  
 period under maturity: nor did it appear that the  
 usages of the Rajputs authorised any appeal to the  
 chiefs on the subject. At a subsequent visit to  
 the palace, where a conference was held with the  
 Rani through the usual screen, the young Raja came  
 from behind it, and seating himself on the knees of  
 Sir C. Metcalfe, threw his arms round his neck, and  
 begged for protection for himself, and support for  
 the rights of his mother. Both parties were willing  
 to leave the decision entirely to the British Resi-  
 dent, but he preferred to repeat the appeal to the  
 chiefs, after winnowing the list and excluding those  
 who were considered not entitled to vote. The  
 number was thus reduced to fifty, and out of them  
 twenty-eight voted in favour of the Rani's claims.  
 She was guaranteed in the retention of the Regency  
 and the privilege of nominating her officers. Rao  
 Chand Sing was accordingly appointed Mukhtar,  
 or Vice-Regent, and Kahan Sing commander of the



forces; Hookum Chand made way for his son-in-law Prem Chand; but continued virtually Minister. Jota Ram had no ostensible office, but was, in fact, Regent. A public Court was held, at which the young Raja, seated on the lap of the Resident, received the homage of all his chiefs, except Bhyri Sal and his principal adherents, who withdrew from Court. Sir Charles Metcalfe, after visiting the Rana of Udaypur, returned to Delhi.

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The new Government was not more prosperous in its administration of affairs, than any of its predecessors. The great objects of the persons in power were to enrich themselves at the expense of the state, and to humiliate and despoil the chiefs who were opposed to them. The different factions became more inveterate in their mutual animosities; and they were only prevented from coming to open hostilities by the guarantee which the British Government had granted to the chiefs as long as they preserved their allegiance to the Raja, a guarantee which, while it baulked the vindictive projects of Jota Ram, retained the Thakurs in obedience through apprehension of the forfeiture of the security by any act of violence originating with themselves. The misappropriation of the revenue produced its usual results—arrears of pay to the troops, and their consequent insubordination, oppressive exactions from the peasantry, and their abandonment of their fields for a life of robbery and murder—arrears of the tribute payable to the British Government, and threats of assuming territory for its liquidation. Jota Ram in fear of his life, which was threatened by the mutinous soldiers, was compelled to

BOOK III. discharge some of his ill-gotten treasure, and succeeded for awhile in averting the storm. Arrangements were also made for the payment of the arrears of tribute; and its regular discharge was promised by the Rani, if the British Government would consent to the public recognition of Jota Ram as the prime minister of Jaypur. Hitherto, although he had been allowed to return to the capital and exercise the full weight of his personal influence with Rupá and the Rani, he had not been invested with any official character, in consequence of the reluctance of the Government of India to acknowledge him in a ministerial capacity. The objection was now waived, in the hope that he might be able to act with more confidence and energy when publicly responsible, and devise some remedy for the disorders of the principality.

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The measures adopted by the new minister, although not inconsistent with the interests of the state, were ill-calculated to allay the resentment and jealousy of the Thakurs, as it was proposed to make them answerable for all plunder committed by their followers — to deprive them of some of their hereditary offices — and to displace by regular garrisons the troops of the Thakurs, who originally occupied certain forts, having lands assigned to them on that account, which lands were to be resumed. A demand was also made upon the chiefs for a money contribution for the maintenance of the troops of the Raja; a tax which, although formerly levied, had been discontinued for many years. These arrangements provoked general dissatisfaction among the chiefs; and many of those

who had supported the Rani and her minister now BOOK III. deserted her cause. Troops were raised on either CHAP. VIII. side. The four hereditary governors of Ranthambore, 1820-35. a strong fortress jointly garrisoned by contingents of the chiefs, and a detachment of the royal forces, expelled the latter, strengthened the fortifications, and collected the revenues of the surrounding districts. Hookum Chand, with the regular battalions, was sent against the fort, and urgent applications were made in 1830, to the Political Agent, at Ajmere, for the assistance of troops to quiet the disturbances, under the article of the treaty which bound the British Government to protect the territory of Jaypur. As this protection was designed against external enemies only, the assistance was refused; and all interference was declined beyond an intimation to the Thakurs, who had the benefit of the British guarantee, that if they failed in the performance of their prescriptive duties, the guarantee would be withdrawn. The parties were, in a great measure, left, therefore, to their own passions, the effects of which were speedily manifested in the general prevalence of disorder and tumult, and the perpetration of violent outrages not only within the limits of Jaypur, but on all the surrounding districts.

The mutual weakness of the parties compelled them, after some idle indications of reciprocal animosity, to desist from hostilities, and concur in an apparent reconciliation. The privileges of the Thakurs were acknowledged; and all were admitted to favour, except Bhyri Sal, between whom and Jota Ram, there subsisted an unappeasable hatred;

BOOK III. and the young Raja of Khaitri, whose Jagir the  
 CHAP. VIII. minister, taking advantage of his youth, was bent  
 1828-35. upon sequestrating. That the Raja of Jaypur had  
 been tutored to adopt the policy of his mother's  
 chief councillor, was evident from the tenor of his  
 communications with the Governor-General, whom  
 he visited when at Ajmere; and his subsequent  
 correspondence, and that of the Rani with Lord  
 William Bentinck, in which they earnestly pressed  
 the annulment of the guarantee, and the exclusion  
 of the Vakils, or agents of the Chiefs, from access  
 to the Political Agent. These requests were re-  
 fused; but the Raja was assured that no interference  
 would be exercised with the internal administration  
 of his principality, beyond the specific instances in  
 which a guarantee had been granted; and that such  
 security would be considered as cancelled by any  
 disregard of the obligations, which, according to  
 the usages of the Raj, were incumbent on its  
 feudatories. Putting his own interpretation on  
 these concessions, Jota Ram shortly afterwards  
 levied a powerful army; and, under pretence of  
 enforcing the military contribution due by the  
 Thakurs, and restoring order in the Shekhawati  
 country, in which Khaitri was situated, despatched  
 it against the latter: menacing at the same time  
 Samode, the Jagir of Bhyri Sal, who was accused  
 of having employed assassins to murder the minis-  
 ter; and Chamura, the estate of one of the sons of  
 Bhyri Sal, who had been adopted by the former  
 chief, and had succeeded in virtue of that adoption,  
 which the Minister pretended to regard as invalid.  
 Although informed that these aggressions would

not be permitted by the British Government, as the Jagirs in question were under its protection, and desired to recall his troops, it was not until he was threatened with an advance of a British force that he consented to remove them from the menaced districts. The accusation against Bhyri Sal, of having employed hired assassins to destroy Jota Ram, was made the subject of a special investigation by Captain Spiers, who was sent for the purpose to Jaypur, and was proved to be utterly without foundation: all proceedings against the Rawal were, therefore, positively interdicted.

The malevolence of Jota Ram having been frustrated of the object which he had endeavoured to accomplish by force of arms and by false accusations, he resorted to other expedients, and attempted to substantiate claims against Bhyri Sal to a ruinous amount for the arrears of the military contribution, to which the Rawal denied that he had ever been liable. The representations of both parties were submitted, through the Political Agent, to the Governor-General. Those of the Raja and the Rani, evidently under the dictation of the Minister, were couched in the most intemperate language; accusing the Agent of partiality and corruption; and intimating a want of reliance on the justice and impartiality of the Governor-General himself. For this style of communication they were reprimanded, and the Raja was obliged to offer an imperfect apology. At this period, early in 1834, the Rani regent died; and it was announced that the Raja was now of sufficiently mature age to undertake the personal conduct of the administration. Jota Ram, however,

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BOOK III. continued to retain his ascendancy, and to persist  
 CHAP. VIII. in his vindictive projects against Bhyri Sal and  
 1828-33. his friends. Their execution was suspended by the  
 alarm occasioned by the assemblage of a force at  
 Ajmere, although collected without any hostile  
 intention towards Jaypur.

The force assembled at Ajmere was at first intended, as we have seen, to march against Jodhpur: but when its movements in that direction were arrested by the timely submission of Man Sing, the next object of its employment was the subjugation of the robber chiefs of Shekhawat, who for some years past had infested the territories on their confines with predatory incursions, and had latterly committed daring acts of outrage upon the subjects and dependants of the British Government. Nominally feudatories of Jaypur, the chiefs of Shekhawat paid no regard to the injunctions of the Court; and confiding in the strength of their forts, and the desert aridity of their soil, pursued a reckless career of insubordination and rapine. As the Jaypur Government was either unable or unwilling to put down the Shekhawati plunderers, the task was undertaken by the Government of India, and a part of the Ajmere force was directed to march against them<sup>1</sup>.

The division entered the Shekhawati country at the end of November, 1834; and was met by the Sikhar Raja, one of the most powerful of the Thakurs, who placed himself and his town at the disposal of the

<sup>1</sup> Consisting of two regiments of Cavalry, the 4th and 7th, and the 3rd Local Horse, six regiments of N. I., two troops of Horse, and five companies of Foot Artillery, with Sappers and Miners.

British Agent. His example was followed by the other chiefs; and their forts were given up without resistance. On advancing to the north, a detachment of Local Horse, commanded by Lieutenant Forster, encountered some opposition in attempting to apprehend Sujawal Khan, one of the most notorious of the plundering chiefs; but the Shekhawatis were defeated and their leader was secured. The different strongholds in this part of the country were also occupied; and such as had been the haunts of the banditti were dismantled. After the accomplishment of these duties, the army was broken up, a small detachment only being left in the province until a contingent force, to be raised in the country from among the feudatory tribes, known as Larkhanis, Bidawats, Barautias, and by other designations, and placed under British officers, could be organised. The country was retained, and the tributes due to Jaypur transferred to the British authorities; and the portion of the Sambhar Salt Lake and district belonging to Jaypur was also occupied until the cost of the expedition should be reimbursed. The more respectable chiefs professed to be well-pleased with the change of rule; but the whole transaction gave great offence to Jaypur. At an early stage of the proceedings, Jota Ram had repaired to Ajmere, where he had expostulated against the expedition as unnecessary, engaging to prevent the repetition of the excesses of the Shekhawatis. When he found that his inclination or ability to effect the object was doubted, he requested permission to accompany the force; but his presence was thought more likely to embarrass than to facilitate

BOOK III. communication with the chiefs, and his request was  
 CHAP. VIII. declined. On his return to Jaypur, he counselled  
 1828-35. the Raja to protest against the occupation of the  
 Shekhawati district and the Sambhar lake, or to be  
 made responsible for the military charges; and the  
 disregard shewn to his wishes was attributed to the  
 private enmity which the Political Agent, now  
 Major Alves, was accused of entertaining against the  
 Minister. Strong suspicions were suggested of the  
 motives of Jota Ram's anxiety concerning the  
 Shekhawati expedition; and there were good rea-  
 sons to infer his participation in the booty of the  
 plunderers. A general rumour also prevailed, that  
 the Raja was held in a state of restraint which left  
 him no longer a free agent; and a still more serious  
 charge against the Minister was shortly afterwards  
 current.

Soon after the dispersion of the Shekhawati field  
 force, or in February, 1835, the Raja of Jaypur died.  
 His death was sudden. No previous indisposition  
 had been heard of; and an almost universal opinion  
 was current that his end had been accelerated by the  
 machinations of Jota Ram and Rupá Bandharin, in  
 order to prolong their ascendancy during the mino-  
 rity of the infant son of the Raja. The popular  
 belief that the Raja had been poisoned was publicly  
 manifested when the body was carried to be buried;  
 and the attempts to silence the demonstration  
 occasioned an affray, in which several lives were  
 lost. Jota Ram professed his anxiety to resign his  
 authority, and suggested that the British Govern-  
 ment should take the administration upon itself.  
 His sincerity was questionable, for he was known to



be engaged in active intrigues to gain partizans; and a letter was pretended to have been received by him from the mother of the infant, imploring him to remain to watch over the interests of her son. Although conceiving that a present investigation of the charges against Jota Ram and Rupá would not be likely to lead to any satisfactory result; the Government admitted that the universality of the belief was a sufficient reason for their removal. The resignation of the former was accepted; the latter was desired to leave the palace. The guardianship of the infant Raja was undertaken by the British Government; and the Political Agent was directed to repair to Jaypur, and concert with the principal chiefs the arrangements to be adopted. Agreeably to these resolutions, Major Alves went to Jaypur, where his timely arrival prevented a threatened tumult and affray. Many of the Thakurs, with their armed retainers, were in the city. Jota Ram's adherents were also numerous, and commanded the mercenary troops of the palace, and the people were in a state of violent agitation. After consulting with Bhyri Sal and the other chiefs, it was determined that the personal charge of the infant Raja should remain with the mother; but that the administration should be intrusted to a council of the principal chiefs under the presidency of Bhyri Sal, and in communication with the Political Agent. Jota Ram was sent off to Deosar, about thirty miles from Jaypur; and Rupá was conveyed to a residence in the town, where a guard of British Sipahis was required to protect her from the fury of the mob. The council of

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BOOK III. Regency was formed; and notwithstanding the  
 CHAP. VIII. intrigues of a party to obtain power by instigating  
 1828-35. the mother of the Raja to lay claim to the Regency; the new government was apparently in the course of acquiring consolidation and efficiency, when its labours were interrupted by an unexpected and alarming disturbance, attended with an attempt upon the life of the Resident, and the murder of Mr. Blake, his assistant, and of several of the native servants of the Residency.

On the 4th of June, the Resident, attended by Mr. Blake, Lieutenant Ludlow, and Cornet Macnaghten, had an interview with the Rani mother and the Thakurs, at the palace. As the party quitted the palace, Major Alves, when mounting his elephant, was attacked by a man from among the bystanders, armed with a sword, by whom he was severely wounded. The assassin was seized: the Resident, whose wounds were not mortal, was placed in a palankin, and accompanied by Lieut. Ludlow and Cornet Macnaghten, conveyed to the Residency. They met with neither insult nor molestation as they passed through the city, nor did Mr. Macnaghten, who returned to the palace, encounter any obstruction. Having recommended Mr. Blake to leave the assassin, who had been well secured, in charge of the guard, Mr. Macnaghten again quitted the court-yard to rejoin the Resident, and upon his issuing from the gateway, was assailed with all kinds of missiles from the mob outside, from which he escaped with difficulty. The tumult was confined, however, to the immediate vicinity of the palace, and other parts of the town presented no

appearance of excitement. Reports had been insidiously spread among the crowd, who had assembled about the palace gates, that some undefined act of violence had been perpetrated by the British Resident, and the ferment thus excited was aggravated by the appearance of Mr. Blake, who held in his hand the blood-stained sword of the assassin. As he left the palace on his elephant a number of armed men, chiefly Minas, joined by the mob, attacked him, and endeavoured to hamstring the elephant or climb up into the howda. Stones and spears were also thrown at him; and finding it would be impossible to make his way alive through the furious multitude, he stopped at a temple, and with one attendant chaprasi, and the driver of the elephant, entered it through a window, as the doors were closed. Two persons in the temple conducted the party to a small chamber and shut the doors, endeavouring to provide for their safety; but the mob forced their way in, and while some of them burst open the doors, others ascended the roof, and breaking through it hurled various missiles upon the fugitives. Mr. Blake then attempted to quit the chamber, but was cut down as soon as he left it. The chaprasi was also killed. The elephant driver was saved. The body of Mr. Blake was cast into the streets, but was recovered on the following day, and sent to the Residency by the Rawal, who, although somewhat tardy in his exertions, succeeded in suppressing this tumult without much difficulty. The chiefs at Jaypur united in expressing their regret and indignation, and their determination to punish all concerned in the outrage.

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Several of the most active in the affray were accordingly apprehended and sentenced to death; and a minute investigation was instituted with regard to the origin and instigators of the crime. From the depositions of the assassin and of another miscreant who had led the attack upon Mr. Blake, with other collateral and documentary evidence, the instigation of the crime was traced to a knot of Jain bankers of Jaypur, partisans of Jota Ram, and acting under his suggestions and those of his brother and nephew, Hookum Chand and Futteh Lal. The main object of the plot was to embroil Bhyri Sal with the British Government; and the murder of the British Resident was to be perpetrated with the design, either of its being imputed to the treachery of the Thakur, or to establish his incapacity for the office with which he was invested, and his inability to maintain order in Jaypur. The popular tumult which followed the assault upon the Resident and led to the murder of Mr. Blake, was in some measure the work of the emissaries of the conspirators; but it arose in a still greater degree from the contagious influence of causeless agitation upon a turbulent crowd, many of whom carried arms, and from a mixed feeling of fear and hatred of Europeans. The excitement was, however, the work of the moment. The city in general had remained tranquil; and the tumult round the palace was allayed by the very first efforts of the authorities for its suppression. No demonstration whatever was made by any class of the people in favour of those who were apprehended and condemned; and they all paid the full penalty.

of their crimes by the sentence of a native tribunal of the principal Thakurs. Death was inflicted on those who had been convicted of being personally engaged in instigating the murder of the Resident or in perpetrating the death of Mr. Blake. Jota Ram and his brother were sentenced to the same fate, but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life in the British territory. Other subordinate agents were imprisoned for various periods. A military detachment was ordered from Nasirabad for the protection of the Resident and the Regency, but its services were not needed, and it was recalled. The presence of the Political Agent was felt to be essential to the efficiency of the native government, and he was continued at Jaypur. At a subsequent period, it became necessary to appoint a permanent Resident, and to place the council of Regency under his immediate protection. Such being the termination of the long-continued and mischievous policy of holding back from interference with the internal government of Jaypur, and leaving it to the uncontrolled will of a weak and vicious woman and an unprincipled and profligate minister.

The secondary states of Rajputana suffered in various degrees from the same undecided policy; and during its operation were subjected to internal disorder and external aggression. The disputes between the Raja of Krishnagerh and his feudatories, which ended in his abdication, have been already adverted to, and they were not quieted until they had exposed the bordering districts, including that of Ajmere, to be ravaged by the lawless bands of mercenaries who were enlisted on either side, and

BOOK III. who, ill-paid and insubordinate, supported themselves by undistinguishing plunder. The petty  
 CHAP. VIII.  
 1828-35. states of Dungarpur, Banswara, and Pertabgerh, as long as they were under the direction of British officers, subject to the authority of the Resident at Indore, enjoyed internal tranquillity, and were gradually advancing in prosperity; when the discontinuance of the separate agencies, and the relaxation of British control over the misrule of their princes, again subjected them to the depredations of the neighbouring forest tribes of Bhils and Minas, and the contumacious conduct of their dependant chiefs; the immediate effects of which were the diminution of the revenues, and the arrears and ultimate reduction of the tributes. The state of Sirohi, which had been reduced to extreme wretchedness by the aggressions of its neighbours and the imbecility of its rulers, was, in like manner, recovering from its depression, when the removal of the Political Agent, who was directed to station himself at Nimuch, in the general charge of the affairs of Sirohi, Banswara, Dungarpur, and Pertabgerh, and who could no longer, therefore, exercise an immediate personal influence over the proceedings of the Rao, threw the principality back into its former state of disorganization. As much of the mischief resulted from the depredations committed on the frontier by the plunderers from Marwar, they were in some degree checked by the military demonstration against Man Sing; but the nature of the country, the habits of the people, and the feebleness of Sirohi, still continued to encourage aggression; and the Government was obliged

to admit that it was necessary to take more effectual measures to put a stop to the system of outrage which prevailed, and protect the valuable trade which passed between Guzerat and Pali, in Marwar, across the Sirohi country. With this view, one of the military assistants of the Political Agent, was stationed on the frontier, in command of a detachment of the Jodhpur contingent, and afterwards of the Jodhpur Legion under British officers. An arrangement which effectually provided for the security of the frontiers. In Jesselmer and Bhikaner, interference had, at an early date, been exerted to repress internal dissensions, and although the practice was discontinued, the good effects in part subsisted, and no serious interruption of tranquillity arose from disputes between the rulers and their feudatories. Border quarrels, however, occurred, in consequence of which, an army was sent by the Raja of Bhikaner, to retaliate for outrages committed by the subjects of Jesselmer, and a military invasion of the same country followed mutual frontier aggressions on the part of Bahawalpur. The forces of the latter were, however, spontaneously recalled by the Nawab, in consequence of alarming movements of the Sikhs, threatening the invasion of his territory; and the Bhikaner troops were withdrawn by the desire of the British Government, as their employment was a palpable violation of international tranquillity. As the necessity of more active interposition began once more to be experienced, a British officer, Captain Trevelyan was deputed to bring the disputes between these Rajput

BOOK III.

CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

BOOK III. Princes to an amicable termination<sup>1</sup>. [The resolute  
 CHAP. VIII. tone with which Man Sing had been intimidated  
 1828-35. into submission — the display of military strength  
 in the Shekhawati country — the virtual assumption  
 of the administration of Jâypur — and the authority  
 now exercised to enforce the maintenance of peace  
 between contending princes — all of them departures  
 from the principle of non-interference, were attended  
 with the most beneficial consequences, redeeming the  
 British Government from the charge of indifference to  
 the best interests of the native states, and affording  
 the only security for the perpetuation of order and the  
 promotion of prosperity in Hindustan; reliance on the  
 will, as well as on the power, of the paramount state  
 to repress public violence and punish political delinquency.]

A few months prior to the catastrophe at Jâypur,  
 Lord William Bentinck had resigned his high office,  
 and departed from India. [For his management of  
 the relations with the native states, and the mischievous  
 consequences by which it had been succeeded, he was less  
 responsible than the superior authorities in England,  
 whose orders it was a principle of his administration  
 implicitly to obey. The more vigorous measures  
 subsequently adopted, although forced upon him by  
 circumstances, were more entirely his own, and were  
 entitled to the merit of decision, and adaptation to  
 the necessities of the native principalities.] The  
 attention of Lord W. Bentinck had, however, been  
 more especially directed

<sup>1</sup> The objects of the mission were completely effected.—See Personal Narrative of a Tour through the Western States of Rajwara in 1835, by Lieut. A. H. E. Boileau, Calcutta. 1837.



towards the improvement of the Company's possessions; and, although some of his proceedings might have been of questionable expediency, their general tenor was eminently conducive to the present and prospective amelioration of British India. He diminished the burthens, and augmented the resources of the Government; placed in the course of equitable and beneficial adjustment the revenues of the Western Provinces; afforded liberal encouragement to both European and native industry; promoted the extension of the education of the natives; released them from the trammels of one of their most debasing superstitions; freed them from the scourge of one of the most desperate races of miscreants who preyed upon their domestic intercourse, and brought them forward cheerfully and cordially into public situations of trust and respectability, from which they had too long been excluded. His instrumentality in effecting the military retrenchments, ordered by the Home authorities, and a disposition which he occasionally manifested, to mistrust the integrity of the public servants, drew down upon him at first extensive unpopularity; but this seems to have been dissipated before the general persuasion that he was actuated by a sincere desire to promote the advancement of British India in civilisation and prosperity, and by a firm conviction that this great end was to be mainly effected by the diligent and upright discharge of the duties imposed on the servants of the Company, not for their own benefit, but for the good government and happiness of the vast population over whom they were placed in authority. In his earnestness

BOOK III. to excite and encourage their perseverance in this  
CHAP. VIII. honourable career, he may have sometimes been  
1829-35. too little regardless of individual feelings; but his  
 purpose was as much to uphold the credit and  
 efficiency of the European officers of the state, as  
 to secure the welfare of its native subjects. He was  
 not unsuccessful in either of these objects; and a  
 dispassionate retrospect of the results of his govern-  
 ment will assign to Lord William Bentinck an  
 honourable place amongst the statesmen who have  
 been intrusted with the delegated sovereignty over  
 the British Empire in the East.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Proceedings in England.—Termination of the Com-  
 pany's Charter.—Select Committees of both Houses  
 of Parliament.—Parliament dissolved.—Com-  
 mittee of House of Commons re-appointed,—in-  
 terrupted and renewed,—appointed for the fourth  
 time,—divided into Sub-Committees.—Reports  
 submitted.—Questions at issue.—Monopoly of  
 China Trade,—Objections to its continuance,—  
 replied to.—Correspondence between the Court of  
 Directors and the Ministers.—Paper of Hints.—  
 Government of India to be left to the Company.—  
 Objections of the Court.—Necessity of Commerce  
 for the Government of India.—Payment of Ter-  
 ritorial Charges in England dependant on Pro-  
 ceeds of Trade.—Deficiency of Revenue made good*

*in part by Commercial Profits.—Reply of Mr. Grant.—Property of the Company to be transferred to Territory, and Dividends to be charged to it.—Objections of the Court.—Demand Securities.—Insinuated Liabilities of Assets.—Qualified Assent of the Court.—Stipulation for a Guarantee Fund, and for liberty to appeal to Parliament,—objected to.—Question referred to Proprietors.—Proceedings of General Courts.—Resolutions proposed,—Amendment,—carried by Ballot,—communicated to Ministers,—consent to modify the Terms,—still objected to by the Court.—Ministers persist, and the Court submit.—Dissent of the Chairs.—Arrangements agreed to by the Proprietors,—submitted to Parliament.—Pecuniary Claims on Natives of India.—Claims of Bankers on the King of Oude.—Interference declined by the Court,—required by the Board.—Mandamus applied for,—not persisted in.—Claims on the Zemindar of Nozid,—disallowed by the Court,—adopted in Parliament.—Act passed in favour.—Claims of Mr. Hutchinson,—submitted to Parliament,—rejected.—Renewal of Charter brought before Parliament.—Observations of Mr. Grant.—Measures proposed.—Remarks of Mr. Wynn and Mr. Buckingham.—Resolutions passed and communicated to the House of Lords.—Opposition of Lord Ellenborough and Duke of Wellington.—Clauses of Bill discussed in both Houses,—communicated to the Court of Directors,—Objections of Court to a Change in the Constitution of the Indian Government,—to a fourth Presidency,—to Abolition of Subordinate Councils,—to additional*

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

BOOK III. THE proceedings of the Houses of Parliament  
 CHAP. IX. and the Court of Proprietors during the early  
 1826. years of the period that has been reviewed,  
 exercised no material influence on the substantial  
 interests of British India. The disposition evinced  
 by Lord Amherst at the commencement of his ad-  
 ministration, to adopt the views of his predecessor  
 with regard to the restrictions imposed on the  
 public press, a disposition which, however, was soon  
 laid aside, excited the hostility of a small party  
 amongst the proprietors, and provoked them to  
 bring forward inculpatory motions suggestive of  
 his recall. The unpropitious opening of the war  
 with Ava, supplied materials for plausible denuncia-  
 tion for a season, but the improved progress of  
 the armies, and the final humiliation of the enemy,  
 with the capture of Bhurtpore, imposed silence on  
 the cavillers, and converted the proposed votes of  
 censure into an almost unanimous tribute of appro-  
 bation. This result has been already noticed; and  
 nothing further of any importance occurred, until

it became necessary for the Legislature to take into consideration the question of continuing for a further period, the privileges and political functions of the East India Company.

BOOK III.  
 CHAP. IX.  
 1829.

✓The right of exclusive trade with India, had been withdrawn from the Company on the last renewal of the Charter; but they had still continued (to carry on a limited import from India, chiefly in silk and saltpetre, for the purpose of effecting remittances to provide for charges in England; and through India, principally in cotton with China, to assist in providing funds for the purchase of their investments of tea at Canton. The amount of their Export trade to India had long been inconsiderable, and the trade had latterly ceased altogether so that the Company might be regarded as no longer connected with India by commercial relations. The trade had fallen entirely into the hands of the manufacturers and merchants of Great Britain; and they now looked with confidence to a like transfer of the traffic with China to free mercantile competition. The Company's Charter expired in 1834.) In 1829, petitions from the principal manufacturing and commercial towns, were presented to both Houses of Parliament against its renewal, and a motion was made by Mr. Whitmore, in the House of Commons, (for a Select Committee to investigate the subject.) The nomination of the Committee was postponed till the ensuing session, when the ministers undertook to recommend its appointment; and, accordingly, early in February, 1830, select Committees were agreed to in either house, upon the motion of Lord Ellen-

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CHAP. IX.

1830.

borough, President of the Board of Control, in the House of Lords; and of Sir Robert Peel, Secretary of State, in the House of Commons. In proposing the formation of the Committees, the ministers carefully abstained from the expression of any opinion with regard to the renewal of the Charter, or from pointing out any modification which might be made in the existing system by which India was governed. It was their wish to leave the question to the calm and dispassionate judgment of the Parliament formed upon a deliberate consideration of the information which it would be the business of the Committees to collect; and upon which it would become their duty to report. The inquiry imposed upon the Legislature higher obligations than almost any other in the whole sphere of public affairs. The question, however important to the commerce of the Empire, was not confined to commercial interests; it involved the whole character of the Government of India, the mode in which it might best be administered for the prosperity and happiness of the people, the reputation of the Legislature, and the dignity and rights of the Crown. Some objections were taken to the comprehensive character of the inquiries to be instituted by the Committee; and some doubt was expressed, whether the consideration of the constitution of the Government of India, the condition of the people, the administration of the law, the state of the finances, and the commercial interests at stake, were not subjects too distinct and difficult to come within the grasp of a single Committee. Some exceptions were also taken in the House of Commons, to the composition of the Committee;

but they were overruled, and a Select Committee in either House<sup>BOOK III.</sup> "was appointed to inquire into the present state of the affairs of the East India Company; and into the trade between Great Britain and China, and to report their observations therefore to the House." <sup>CHAP. IX.</sup> The committees were formed accordingly, and proceeded to take evidence, and collect information, which was from time to time laid before their respective houses. Their labours were brought to an early close by the dissolution of Parliament, on the 24th of July, consequent upon the death of the King, and the accession of William the Fourth; but they had previously accumulated much important oral and documentary testimony, calculated to prepare the public mind for a more mature investigation at a subsequent season. 1831.

The first months of the Session of the new Parliament were wasted in violent party-struggles, which ended in the displacement of the Ministry, and the appointment of an administration pledged to accomplish Parliamentary reform. Amidst such vehement contests, the claims of India were little likely to be heard; and it was not till February, 1831, that the Select Committee of the House of Commons, for the purpose of enquiring into the affairs of the Company, was re-appointed. Further evidence was heard, and additional documents were compiled; but the proceedings of the Committee were again interrupted by the dissolution of Parliament in April, arising out of the differences of opinion respecting the Reform Bill, which had been introduced in the preceding Session. The Committee was once more instituted, soon after the

BOOK III. meeting of the house, in the middle of June; but,  
CHAP. IX. like its predecessor, enjoyed but a brief vitality,  
 1832. Parliament being again dissolved in the following  
 October, in consequence of the rejection of the  
 Reform Bill in the House of Lords. In January,  
 1832, the Committee of the House of Commons  
 was appointed for the fourth time, with a sugges-  
 tion that it should resolve itself into several Sub-  
 Committees, whose attention was to be directed to  
 the different heads of the inquiry. The Committee  
 was accordingly sub-divided into six branches, the  
 several objects of which were classed: as Public—  
 Financial, including trade — Revenue — Judicial —  
 Military — Political. Evidence, oral and written,  
 was collected with great assiduity; and in August, a  
 Report was submitted by the Committee, which  
 comprised the several topics of the investigation,  
 and supplied the ground-work of the arrangements  
 proposed by the Ministers to the Company and to  
 Parliament.

However comprehensive the investigation in its  
 constituent details, the great questions which had  
 to be determined, resolved themselves into but two,  
 the continuance or cessation of the Company's ex-  
 clusive trade with China—the continuance or ces-  
 sation of the Company's administration of the  
 Government of India. The determination of the  
 first was never for a moment doubtful—that of the  
 second was the subject of more deliberate hesitation.  
 Although the Ministers refrained from offering to  
 the Legislature any intimation of their intentions,  
 yet, from their earliest communications with the  
 Court of Directors, it was evident that the exclusive



privilege of the trade with China could no longer be continued, consistently with the expectations of the great body of the manufacturers and merchants of Great Britain. ] They maintained that the monopoly of the Company imposed upon the country at large, for the benefit of the Proprietors, a heavy tax in the extravagantly high prices demanded for their tea, which had become an indispensable article<sup>1</sup> of the daily consumption of all classes of the community—that it was vain to expect any considerable reduction of the price as long as the trade remained in the hands of the Company, as it was required to cover the cost of a most expensive system of management—an exorbitant charge for freight—and the maintenance of a princely establishment, which the past practice of the Company had rendered essential, but by which the private merchant would not be encumbered. With a diminution of cost and charges, and a more moderate computation of profits, the sale-price of the article would be reduced to a level with that which was paid in the markets of the Continent, and of America; and teas of good quality would be brought within the reach of every order of the population; the demand would consequently be proportionably augmented, while the comforts of the poorer classes would be materially befriended. There was another point of view, (in which important advantages might be anticipated from throwing open the trade to individual enterprise, and the same result which had

<sup>1</sup> Estimated by some of the witnesses at from £1,250,000 to £1,700,000 per annum. Financial Report, Comm. House of Commons, 1830.

BOOK III. followed the opening of the commerce with India, CHAP. IX. a vast extension of British exports, might be confidently predicted. The Company's exports to China had always been of limited value, and had latterly even declined; but, looking to the immense population, and the wealth of China, and the inferiority of its manufactures, it was wholly inconceivable that the country should offer so insignificant a market for the cottons and woollens of Manchester and Glasgow, or the hardware of Birmingham and Sheffield. The deficiency was imputed not to the absence of consumers, but to the inertness of the Company; and when their obstructive interposition should be abolished, the commerce of Great Britain would, no doubt, exhibit, in respect to China, the same elasticity which it had manifested in every other region where it laboured under no artificial compression. The distress which prevailed in England, and the difficulties to which trade and manufactures had for some time past been exposed, also urgently called for the alterations which new and improved channels of export could alone provide; and no quarter of the globe presented so novel and promising a field as the vast and opulent empire of China.

To these assertions, it was replied; that it was not true that the prices of tea in Great Britain were enhanced beyond their natural amount by the establishments of the Company, the expense of which bore an inconsiderable ratio to the total value of the trade<sup>1</sup>;—and that, if the prices in foreign

<sup>1</sup> It was asserted that the whole expenses of the factory amounted to but three per cent. on the value of the goods produced; the commission of private agents was five per cent.

markets were lower than those in Great Britain, it was because the teas were of a quality greatly inferior, the steady and valuable connection of the Company with the merchants in China, and the influence exercised by the supercargoes, securing them the preference of purchasing at a more favourable rate, and the experience of their qualified officers assuring a judicious selection. The profits of the Company on their sales of tea were grossly overrated, and the Company were not responsible for any extravagant augmentation of the sale-prices, as they were compelled to put up their teas at the cost-price, with an allowance for charges and interest of outlay, and to sell upon an advance of one penny in the pound. All additions to the up-set price rested with the purchasers at their public sales; and in truth, instead of a hundred per cent, their profits, in some years, had not exceeded six<sup>1</sup>: there was little prospect of a material diminution of the cost-price, for the trade in China was a monopoly, traffic in all the most valuable commodities—tea, raw silk, woollens, and cotton—being reserved by law to a corporation, or Hong, consisting of a few merchants, to whom the

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1832.

<sup>1</sup> Report of Committee of House of Commons, 1830. Evidence. This, however, was in a very unfavourable season. The average annual profits of the Company on their China trade for the last fifteen years, from 1814-15 to 1828-9, had exceeded a million sterling, being 15,414,000*l.*—*Ibid.* 5875. According to the assertion of one witness, Mr. Rickards, the profits of the China Trade were inadequate to defray the interest on the bond debt in England and the dividends of the proprietors.—Evidence. Comm. House of Commons, 1830. 3435 a. and 3764 a. But these statements were shown clearly to be erroneous; by counter statements submitted by Mr. Melvill.—*Ibid.* 4375. 5875. The Report of Mr. Pennington, an accountant employed to revise the Company's accounts, shows a profit on their whole commercial transactions in fifteen years of 20,488,000*l.*

BOOK III. China Government restricted trade with foreigners;  
CHAP. IX. and, as private merchants would not have the same  
1832. power of resisting their combination as that which  
was exercised by the Company, they would be ex-  
posed to any degree of extortion in the purchase of  
the teas which the Hong merchants might inflict.  
It was very unlikely, therefore, that the selling-price  
would be much reduced, although very inferior kinds  
of tea would be imported. A fluctuation of prices  
might be also anticipated, which was now guarded  
against by the condition of the Charter, which made  
it imperative on the Company to have always on  
hand, over and above the quantities in transit or in  
course of sale, a stock sufficient for one year's con-  
sumption—a stipulation to which private importers  
could not be subjected; and they would be alone  
guided by their own interested views in propor-  
tioning the supply to the demand—occasioning  
at one time a scarcity, at another a superabund-  
ance, to the great inconvenience and detriment  
of the consumers. In fact, there was great  
danger of a total deficiency of supply. The policy  
of the Chinese Government had always been averse  
to foreign trade and to foreigners; and, although  
aware of the advantages derived from the inter-  
course, might be disposed, if offended by the miscon-  
duct of the traders or ship's crews, to close the port  
of Canton, as had been done in regard to other ports  
in China, to foreign commerce. The local authorities  
were interested in the continuance of the trade;  
but they were notorious for their arrogance and  
cupidity, and had been only deterred from a system  
of insulting and vexatious extortion, under which

the trade must have languished or expired, by the firm, calm, and judicious conduct of the Company's servants. The beneficial effects of their interposition had given shelter and security to private trade; and European and American merchants settled at Canton were protected from Chinese intolerance by the presence of the Company's factory. If that were withdrawn, and private merchants visited Canton without some such protection, they would be helpless against the course of contumely and exaction which they would have to undergo, and which must prove fatal to commercial intercourse. The same disinclination to foster foreign commerce would not fail to check the introduction of British goods, even if the demand for them should exist; a fact which was rendered highly problematical by the continued importation into China of Bullion in preference to merchandise. The Americans, who were influenced by no other principle than mercantile advantage, were at liberty to provide goods to any extent for the purchase of their investments, but their importation of dollars gave reason to infer the unprofitableness of any other medium of exchange. The trade with India, admitting that it had extended as greatly as had been asserted, although much exaggeration on the subject prevailed, offered no analogy to the trade with China, from a very obvious consideration. The trade with India was entirely under the control of the British Government—a government interested in giving it every possible facility, and promoting its extension. The government of China was beyond any kind of control, except

BOOK III. perhaps that of force, which was not likely to be  
CHAP. IX. employed; and it had always avowed and acted upon  
 1832. principles inimical to commercial intercourse with  
 strangers. Under such circumstances, it was not  
 to be expected that China would become a market  
 for British manufactures to any considerable ex-  
 tent; and the anticipations of those who looked  
 forward so confidently to its unlimited demand,  
 could only lead to disappointment, and might ter-  
 minate in ruin.

Whatever truth there might have been in the arguments on either side, and as usual in all keenly controverted questions, there was a mixture of fact and fallacy in both, (it was felt to be impossible to resist the clamours of the manufacturing and commercial classes.) One of the cyclical periods of depression, the infallible consequence of the excess of productive power over all possible consumption, had recently returned, and the over-production and the over-trading of a season of demand, had been followed as usual by the recurrence of stagnation and distress. However engendered, the mischief demanded remedial measures; and none were so calculated to reanimate speculation and re-employ labour, as the prospect of a new and inexhaustible market in the admission of the public to the trade with China. On this point, the change of administration made no difference. The general intimation that had been given to the Court of Directors by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough, at the close of 1830, was repeated still more specifically by Earl Grey and Mr. Charles Grant, at the end of 1832. The first article of the plan proposed to the Court,

under the modest denomination of a Paper of Hints, was "the China Monopoly to cease;" and little opposition was made to the proposition by the Court. They contented themselves with suggesting that the throwing open of the China trade might be eminently detrimental to Great Britain, by removing the beneficial influence of the Company's Factory, by causing a deterioration in the quality of the teas imported, and by seriously interfering with a large revenue levied under the existing system with perfect equality to all classes of consumers, and with incomparable regularity and cheapness to the State.<sup>7</sup> They also expressed their doubts if any material reduction of price would be effected, as the augmented charge of collecting the duty would be an additional tax upon the consumers; and they questioned, for the reasons assigned above, the supposed advantages of an open trade in affording new marts for British manufactures. They, however, were conscious of the inutility of attempting to stem the current of public opinion, and only stipulated for a period sufficiently protracted to allow of their disposal of the stock which they were obliged by statute to have on hand.

The second great question—the administration of the Government of India by the East India Company—was too exclusively a matter of interest to India to excite much attention in England; and the Ministers were evidently unprepared to take the office into their own hands. The principle was,

<sup>7</sup> The average amount of the annual duty was about 3,300,000*l.* annually collected by the Company, most economically, the whole charge to the Crown being less than 10,000*l.* a year. Report Commons' Committee, 1830, p. 33.

BOOK III. therefore, at once admitted; and the second article of  
 CHAP. IX. the "Paper of Hints" proposed that the East India  
 1832. Company should retain their political functions.

The mode in which these functions were to be exercised, was to continue in all essential respects unaltered; and the powers of the Court, and their relations with the India Board, were to remain the same, with certain modifications. In reply, the Court professed their readiness to recommend to the Proprietors to consent to be continued as a useful instrument in the execution of an important national trust, provided the means were insured to them, by which they might be enabled to administer the Government of India consistently with their own character, and with the benefit of India and of the United Kingdom; although at the same time they expressed their doubt of the practicability of accomplishing these objects if the Company were deprived of their commercial character; the means of remittance supplied by their investments being indispensably necessary to provide funds in England for disbursements made at home on account of political charges in India; and the surplus profits of their commerce with China being equally indispensable to make good the deficiencies that had always prevailed, and were still likely to prevail in the territorial revenues of India.

The payments annually made in England<sup>1</sup>, which

<sup>1</sup> Consisting of payments made on account of passage of military; pay to officers, including off- reckonings; political freight and demurrage; pay-office demands for King's troops serving in India; retiring pay; pensioners, etc. etc. King's troops; civil, annual, and absentee allowances; political charges generally; including the proportion of charge for the establishments at the India House, Board of Control, Haileybury, Addiscombe, Chatham, etc; miscellaneous expenses on



were considered as territorial charges, had for some years averaged about three millions sterling, of which nearly one million was incurred in the discharge of the principal and interest of the Indian debt, and constituted no additional burthen on the revenues. Provision, however, for the whole had to be made by funds remitted from India, and this had been most readily and economically effected by the appropriation of the requisite sums in India to the purchase of goods in India and China, and the realisation of their proceeds in England<sup>1</sup>? Deprived of these resources, the Company would have to depend upon the purchase of private bills or remittances of bullion, the former of which would be attended with uncertainty and risk, and might, expose the company to an enhancement of the price of the bills beyond their value in exchange, by a combination on the part of the merchants; and the latter would be liable to create inconvenience and pecuniary distress in India.

A still more important consideration was the mode of providing for the deficit of the revenues of India, which had constantly occurred upon a term of years; and which had been only partly made up by the loans raised by the Government.

account of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, etc.; territorial stores; charges at St. Helena; advance to Public Institutions repayable in India, etc.—Report, Committee, House of Commons, 1832. Finance Report of House of Lords, 1830. App. Accounts from 1814-5, to 1828-9.

<sup>1</sup> From 1814-5, to 1826-7, the application of Territorial Funds to the purchase of investments for remittance, averaged 2,028,000*l.* of which 1,155,000, were applied to the purchase of Indian Investments, and 873,000 to the investments in China. Whatever further sums were necessary, were mainly derived from the profits of the China trade, and advanced to Territory.—Report Comm. House of Commons, 1832. Finance.

BOOK III. The average annual excess of the charges abroad  
 CHAP. IX. and at home, had been, for the last five years, ending  
 1832. in 1828-9, 2,878,000*l.*, and no material reduction  
 was anticipated. On the contrary, a further deficiency  
 was apprehended<sup>1</sup>. The whole excess of charge  
 from 1814-15, to 1828-9, including miscellaneous  
 outgoings, something less than one million,  
 amounted to 19,400,000*l.*, of which there had been  
 raised by borrowing 14,642,000*l.*; the rest had  
 been furnished by the direct application of surplus  
 commercial profits, to the extent of 4,762,000*l.*, or  
 above one fourth of the deficiency<sup>2</sup>. Before, there-  
 fore, the company could undertake to conduct the  
 administration of the government of India, it would  
 be indispensably necessary that they should be  
 secured in the regular supply of funds to defray the  
 territorial payments to be made on account of India  
 in England.

In reply to the first of these difficulties, it was  
 stated by mercantile men and capitalists, who were

<sup>1</sup> Estimated as likely to exceed in 1834, the deficit of 1828-9, by £827,000.—Third Report of Committee of House of Commons, 1831. Accounts and Papers, No. 6. Other computations made it range from rather more than a million to little more than one hundred thousand pounds.—Comm. Report, House of Commons, 1832. App. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Statement, Report Committee House of Commons, 1832. Finance. The sum obtained from Commerce is there stated, as well as in the evidence of Mr. Lloyd, Report, House of Lords, 1830, at £4,923,000. The difference is an increase of assets of 161,000*l.* According to the statement of the Committee of Correspondence of the Court of Directors, unsupported however, by any figured documents, if the Company had not derived resources from the China trade, the public debt of India would have been upwards of seventeen millions sterling, more than it was in 1832-3, exclusive of the balance due on account to the Commercial Branch, which with interest, was computed at five millions.—P. 6 of Papers respecting the negotiations with His Majesty's Ministers on the subject of the East India Company's Charter. Printed by order of the Court of Directors for the information of the Proprietors. 1833.

called in evidence, that no apprehension need be entertained as to the remittances requisite for the discharge of territorial payments in England. The amount of the trade now carried on by the Company being transferred to private merchants, would afford facilities to the same extent as those already possessed; and bills on England would be always obtainable in India and China for the funds which the excess of exports from both countries to Great Britain over the value of imports from it would require. The value of the commerce, and the extent to which it would probably be carried, would be more likely to produce competition than combination; and bills, except under unusual circumstances, would be obtainable at a rate of exchange, not exceeding the bullion value of the rupee. Should that be the case, a bullion remittance might be resorted to without any fear of its being attended with permanent embarrassment; for, if the exportation proceeded to an inconvenient extent, a re-importation would follow, and the evil would produce its own remedy: a third course would be the sale to merchants in England, of bills on the Indian treasuries, which might in general be profitably effected.

The fact of the appropriation of any portion of commercial profits, as a provision for a deficient Indian Revenue, was the subject of a keen controversy; the opponents of the Company not only denying that such appropriation had been made, but asserting that the Commerce of the Company had been always attended with loss, and that the

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mercial branch; and it was charged with all debts which were not incurred on account of clearly territorial disbursements. Some doubt existed as to the assignment of the Home Bond Debt; but that was finally pronounced to be also of territorial origin<sup>1</sup>. From the comparison, which it thus became easy to institute, it was not to be denied that the joint commerce with India and China had realised, in the interval between 1813-14 and 1828-9, considerable profits, a portion of which had been applied to the relief of the territorial deficit<sup>2</sup>.

But it was urged, that the commercial profits arising wholly out of the China trade were, in fact, paid by the English consumers of tea, and constituted a tax upon Great Britain in favour of the Indian revenue, which the former could not in equity be called upon to defray. Otherwise direct assistance would be the preferable course. There was no reason, however, to infer, from there having been a deficit in past years, that it must occur in future, and for ever. Its occurrence was, in all probability, attributable, at least, in part, to the reliance of the local governments upon the extraneous resources which had been found available, as it was natural that they should not be very rigorous in repressing an expenditure for the excess of which the commerce was ever ready to provide. Perseverance in the

<sup>1</sup> Incurred for money raised on the Company's Bonds, under the authority of Parliament, 9 and 10 Wm. III., and subsequent enactments. In 1829, the amount was £3,796,000.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the application of the sum above stated to the discharge of the India Debt, the accounts on the 30th April, 1820, shewed a balance due to the commercial branch of £3,036,000.

BOOK III. searching measures of economy which had latterly

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been enjoined, would in due time confine the expenses of the Indian Governments within the limits of their income; and no rational doubt could be entertained of the competency of India to answer all just demands upon her Exchequer. The revenue, notwithstanding occasional fluctuations, had been steadily progressive, and promised still to increase. The resources of the country, still imperfectly developed, had continued to improve, and the people had increased in numbers and prosperity. It was only necessary that the system of economy now established should be followed out with wisdom and steadiness, and the resources of the country be fostered both by active encouragement and judicious forbearance. If these objects were pursued with firmness and judgment, the financial prosperity of India would undoubtedly be secured, and the revenue be found fully equal to defray the whole charges of the state.

But, although, as far as India was concerned, the means of remitting the amount requisite to defray expenses incurred in England, and the observance of strict economy on the one hand, and an improvement of the national resources, on the other, might obviate the recurrence of any deficiency of the public income; yet, inasmuch as the East India Company was possessed both of valuable property and of valuable claims, it was required to consider how they should be dealt with for the benefit of Great Britain and of India. Whatever might be thought of the applicability of the profits.

of the commerce to territorial disbursements, there was no question that they formed the source, whence the dividends payable on the capital of the proprietors of India Stock were derived; and, it was equally certain, that an amount of principal existed, the right of the Company to which could not be contested. How was this to be disposed of?

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The plan suggested by the Ministers, proposed to consider the payment of the whole dividends in future as an annuity to be granted to the Proprietors, to be charged upon the territorial revenue of India, not to be redeemable for a given term, and then, at the option of Parliament, by the payment of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. In order to provide a fund for this additional charge on the Territorial Revenue, it was proposed that the whole of the Company's commercial assets, which were capable of conversion into money, should be so converted; and with the cash balance of the commercial department should be appropriated to the discharge of an amount of the Indian Territorial debt, equivalent to a capital yielding an income equal to the dividends on the Stock, or 630,000*l.* a year. This plan, therefore, involved no augmentation of the Indian debt, nor imposed any new burthen on the Indian resources. The measure was merely one of substitution, and the substitution might be effected in a manner peculiarly advantageous by the redemption, in the first instance, of the remittable loan, which pressed most heavily on the Indian finances. Instead, therefore, of impairing,

BOOK III. the arrangement tended to improve, the general re-  
CHAP. IX. sources of the Indian Empire.

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To these propositions it was objected by the Court, that they involved in substance the abolition of the Company, and the surrender of all their rights, privileges, and property, for no other compensation than the chance of receiving, after every other territorial demand had been satisfied, a dividend of 10½ per cent. for an unspecified term, and for the regular payment of which, as well as for the ultimate discharge of the principal, they considered the revenues of India insufficient security. They therefore required as an indispensable condition of continuing to administer the Government of India, that the Proprietors should be fully secured in the regular half-yearly payment of their dividends, and to such an amount of principal whenever redeemed, as would produce that rate of interest in the public funds. They rested their claims to these provisions on the ground that the Company was actually possessed of property amply sufficient to provide an investment in Consols, equal to the required dividend—property of which it was proposed to despoil them without any assurance of an equitable equivalent.

Whatever might be thought of the right of the empire at large to the territorial acquisitions of the East India Company, there could be no question of the rightful claim of the Proprietors to the value of their capital, and of the assets which had been created in their commercial character. According to the calculation of the Company, the Stock on the

1st of May, 1829, amounted to rather more than twenty-one millions<sup>1</sup>. But this sum included a debt due by territory, amounting, principal and interest, to 4,632,000*l.* There was also the balance of the bond debt to be provided for, 3,796,000*l.*; and unless this were also chargeable to territory, it would constitute a proportionate deduction from the Company's property. There still remained, however, about twelve millions in the public funds, in cash, goods, and buildings, which were legitimately appropriable to the security of the dividends, as far as they extended. If the claims upon the territorial

BOOK III  
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1 Cash at home and abroad, and property in the public funds . . . . .	2,186,000
Goods and merchandise at home and abroad . . . . .	7,384,000
Property afloat and freight . . . . .	3,532,000
Debts due to the Company, at home and abroad . . . . .	2,227,000
Buildings and Dead Stock . . . . .	1,468,000
East India Annuities . . . . .	1,208,000
Due from Territory . . . . .	4,632,000
	<u>£22,637,000</u>
Deduct debts . . . . .	1,534,000
	<u>£21,103,000</u>
Deduct as questionable—	
Due by territory . . . . .	4,632,000
Bond debts . . . . .	3,796,000
	<u>£8,428,000</u>
Nett Assets . . . . .	<u>£12,675,000</u>

On the other hand, the Court claimed a further sum of five millions for the value of the property in India, estimated by the Indian Minister, in 1793, at £250,000 per annum; which, at twenty years' purchase, was equivalent to five millions, the Company's right to which property had been distinctly recognised and reserved in the several Acts by which the term of the Company's privileges had been renewed. Letter of the Court, 27th February, 1833. Of the indisputable balance of the nett assets—£12,675,000; above £11,000,000 were realised and applied between 1834-5, and 1839-40, to the general expenses of the Indian territory.—Parliamentary Accounts. 1842.



\* BOOK III. revenues were admitted, the principal, as stated by  
 CHAP. IX. the Court, was amply sufficient for that object. And  
 1833. this was acknowledged by the Minister; but it was  
 objected, that the property claimed by the Com-  
 pany was exposed to many doubts and questions,  
 both as to the total amount and the nature of its  
 component parts; and was further supposed to be  
 subject to heavy liabilities. In fact, it was matter  
 of great uncertainty, whether the whole of the  
 Company's commercial property was not legally  
 responsible for those debts and engagements which  
 had been contracted in the Company's name for  
 political and territorial purposes; and whether it  
 would not continue so responsible even although  
 the Company should be wholly deprived of their  
 political powers and functions. One thing, at least,  
 was indisputable, that these doubts and uncer-  
 tainties could not be disposed of without a very  
 minute and protracted investigation; before the  
 close of which, the Company's Charter would ex-  
 pire, and the India stockholders would be left  
 without any available means of realising their divi-  
 dends. Whatever, therefore, might be the remote  
 issue of the inquiry, whether pursued by a parlia-  
 mentary commission or by the courts of law, the  
 institution of the process must be most injurious  
 to the interests of the Company; and it was, there-  
 fore, their obvious policy to accede at once to a  
 compromise which waived all discussion, and which  
 in requital of a concession of questionable rights,  
 secured them in all the influence and consideration  
 derivable from their instrumentality in the govern-  
 ment of India, and in the receipt of the usual interest

upon their capital. The object of the Ministers was evidently the intimidation of the Company into an acquiescence with their scheme, and the contest was too unequal to admit of any doubt of the result<sup>1</sup>.

Whilst positively affirming, from the language of the several Acts conferring upon the Company their commercial privileges, that the Territory had no right to any part of the Commercial Assets, and denying that the latter were subject to any liabilities on account of the Indian Debt, the Court of Directors disclaimed any purpose of pursuing their claims with unqualified rigour, or withholding their assent to a settlement upon the principle of a fair and liberal compromise. They were, in short, prepared to agree to the mutual transfer of property and claims between Commerce and Territory, if the interests of the Proprietors were more effectually protected, and the security of

<sup>1</sup> Various other arguments were adduced to reconcile the Proprietors of India Stock to the measure. It is unnecessary to repeat them; but the following is of very suspicious seriousness and sincerity. "While the Government deeply feel the obligation of providing for every fair and just claim that can be preferred on behalf of the Proprietors, it is from other and higher considerations that they are led to attach peculiar value to that part of their plan which places the Proprietors on Indian Security. The plan allots to the proprietary body important powers and functions in the administration of India; and, in order to ensure their properly exercising such powers and functions, His Majesty's Ministers deem it essential that they shall be linked and bound, in point of interest, to the country which they are to assist in governing. The measure, therefore, of connecting them immediately with the territory of India is evidently not an incidental or immaterial, but a vital condition of the arrangement; and in proportion as this condition is dispensed with, the advantages of the arrangement are sacrificed. If the Proprietors are to look to England rather than to India for the security of their dividend, their interest in the good government of India, and consequently their fitness as one of the principal organs of Indian government, will in the same degree be impaired."—Letter from the Right Hon. C. Grant, 12th Feb. 1833. Papers respecting the Charter, p. 50.

BOOK III. the dividend was better defended from any possible  
CHAP. IX. interference of the Board, or from the chances of  
1833. embarrassment in the finances of India, by which  
its punctual discharge might be disturbed. } The  
method in which this object might be accomplished  
was the provision of some collateral security for the  
regular payment of the dividend, and ultimately,  
if necessary, of the principal, in the shape of an ef-  
fective sinking fund, based upon the investment in  
the national stocks of some portion of the commer-  
cial assets. To this proposal a reluctant assent  
was given by the ministers; and they expressed  
their willingness to permit £1,300,000 to be taken  
from the Company's commercial assets, which should  
be invested in the national stocks, and, with accu-  
mulated interest, should form a fund, as a guarantee  
or collateral security for the capital stock of the  
Company, and be applicable to its future redemp-  
tion. The principal was to be suffered to accumu-  
late until it either reached the amount of twelve  
millions, when accumulation should cease, and the  
interest be employed as the Board and the Court  
might think most expedient for the benefit of India,  
or, whatever the amount might be, at the period fixed  
by Parliament for the redemption of the annuity,  
it should be applied in or towards that redemption.  
To this proposal the court hesitated to accede, as  
they considered the amount of the guarantee fund  
should not be less than two millions, and that the  
interest accruing on it should be available as a  
temporary appropriation for any interruption in  
the payment of the dividends from territorial diffi-  
culties in India. The Court also required that the

government of India should be continued to the Company until the annuity should be redeemed. To these conditions, His Majesty's Ministers declined to accede. They expressed themselves willing to assign a term of forty years, within which the annuity should not be liable to a compulsory discharge; but they left it to Parliament to fix the term of the exercise of the administration of the government of India, as that rested entirely on political not commercial considerations.

Another question, on which the Court and the President of the Board of Control entertained irreconcilable sentiments, regarded the independence of action to be retained by the former. The weight and influence which the Company had enjoyed in England had been mainly derived, it was affirmed, from their commercial character; and the loss of their commerce could not fail to lessen their consideration with the public, and their authority with the Government. There was reason to fear, therefore, that the Company would be reduced to a state of weakness and dependence incompatible with the right performance of their duties, and become merely an instrument for giving effect to the views of the Indian minister, whose sway would be almost absolute, and neither subject to the check of the Company nor the vigilance of Parliament. The Court, therefore, earnestly pressed upon His Majesty's Ministers the expediency of allowing an appeal, in cases of a difference of opinion between the Board and the Court, or, at the least, of providing for giving publicity to such differences by communicating them, when relating to important subjects, to Parliament. In the plan

BOOK III. submitted to the Court in regard to its relations  
CHAP. IX. with the Board, it was proposed to reserve to the

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latter, the power of confirming or disapproving of all pecuniary grants or allowances made by the Court, how inconsiderable soever the amount; and in the event of the Court's refusing to prepare or send a despatch, as alluded to by the Board, the latter was to be empowered to send the despatch. To both these conditions the Court very reasonably objected, the first depriving them of the power which they had hitherto possessed of rewarding services and conferring pecuniary benefits within the moderate limits already fixed, and the second superseding the authority of the Court over the local governments, and virtually making them subject to the Board and independent of the Court. In reply, the President disclaimed all intention of impairing the authority or reducing the power of the Court; but considered that as the functions of the Board had a special reference to the territorial revenue of India, it must be an essential part of its duty to control all disbursements; and that in order to secure the dignity of the Court, despatches should in future be signed by an officer of the Court appointed for that purpose, who should be bound to obey the orders of the Board in the transmission of any particular despatch, but that the Ministers could not allow an appeal to a third party in case of differences between the Board and the Court. Neither was such a provision necessary, as all such matters might be brought in various ways to the notice of Parliament.

Besides these principal propositions, others were

intimated, which were, with one exception, of comparatively minor importance; such as a possible alteration of the number of Directors, a different arrangement for the appointment of the junior civilians, and the access of Europeans to the Presidencies, without license: but the suggestion most fatal to the independence of the Court was, that the Board should have a veto on the power granted them by the last charter of recalling any of the Governors of the Presidencies, and the Commander-in-Chief. To this a decided objection was expressed by the Court, as incompatible with the declared intention of the ministers that the Court and the Board should, in all material points, retain the same comparative powers as they had hitherto exercised; and as depriving them of a privilege, which it might be more important than ever to possess, when the dividend should become dependent upon the territorial revenue<sup>1</sup>. Upon these and the other subjects under discussion, it was now time to call for the opinions of the general body; and a Court of Proprietors was accordingly summoned to meet on the 25th March, 1833. The correspondence with the Board was communicated to the Court, and was ordered to be printed; and the consideration of the

<sup>1</sup> As observed by Mr. Tucker, if the power of recall, which had been rarely exercised, should be withdrawn, the public functionaries abroad might set at nought the authority of the Court, and hold it in contempt. A Governor might be lavish in public expenditure; might think only of providing for his own dependants or those of the ministry; might be indolent and inactive, or arbitrary and capricious in the exercise of his powers: and notwithstanding these and other defects of character and conduct, he would retain firm possession of his station as long as he should succeed in propitiating the minister of the day, who might be interested in his continuance in office, and even derive influence and advantage from his mal-administration.—*Papers*, p. 128.

BOOK III. contents adjourned to the 15th of the following  
 CHAP. IX. month.

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At the General Court, held on the 15th April, an elaborate and able dissent of Mr. Tucker, a member of the Court of Directors, having been read, a series of Resolutions was moved by Sir John Malcolm to the following effect:—After acknowledging the ability with which the interests of the Company had been advocated by the Court of Directors, it was proposed—1. That the Company should signify their assent to conduct the Government of India, at the sacrifices demanded, provided they were furnished with powers sufficient for the effective discharge of so important a duty; and their pecuniary rights and claims were adjusted upon the principle of fair and liberal compromise: 2. That looking to the present and prospective condition of the revenues of India, and the probable difficulty of remitting money to England, for the liquidation of territorial charges incurred at home, the Company could not consent to give up the whole of their assets, commercial and territorial, to the Crown for the benefit of the territorial Government of India, in exchange for an annuity of 10*l.* per cent. for a term of forty years, redeemable at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.*, unless such a sum were set apart from those assets as should constitute a guarantee fund, which, with accumulated interest for forty years, should be sufficient at the end of that term to redeem the annuity at the rate proposed, such fund to be also available to provide for payment of the dividends, in the event of India failing to remit them—all sums so applied to be replaced by terri-

torial repayments: 3. That the management of the affairs of India should be secured to the Company for a term of at least twenty years; and, that at the expiration of the period, if then discontinued, they should be allowed the option of demanding payment of the principal of the annuity on the terms already proposed: 4. That during the Company's administration of the Government of India, all measures involving direct or contingent expenditure, should originate with the Court of Directors, subject as at present to the control of the Board, under the existing law; 5. That sufficient powers should be reserved to the Company to check, by a system of publicity through Parliament or some other competent authority, any acts of the Board which might appear to the Court of Directors to be inexpedient or unjust: and, 6. That the Court should retain sufficient power over the commercial assets to enable them, with the concurrence of the Proprietors, and confirmation of the Board, to provide for the discharge of all outstanding commercial obligations, and for such of the commercial officers and servants of the Company as might be affected by the proposed arrangements. These resolutions the Court of Directors were to be requested to communicate to His Majesty's Ministers.

The resolutions thus submitted to the General Court, gave rise to a protracted and desultory discussion, which lasted for seven days. The arguments which had been urged by the Court of Directors against the abolition of the privileged trade with China were repeated; but it was admitted that the



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tide of popular opinion set too strongly against its continuance, to be resisted, either by the Ministers or the Company. Some of the members recommended the Company's continuing to carry on the trade in competition with the private merchants; but this suggestion met with little encouragement, as it was obvious that the competition was likely to be attended with ruinous results. The relinquishment of their commercial character was therefore submitted to; but it was less readily agreed to undertake the Government of India at the sacrifice of their whole commercial property. It was acknowledged, that it was of vital importance to the prosperity and preservation of India, that it should be subject to an intermediate governing body, unconnected with party politics or parliamentary divisions, and independent of the changes of ministry in England—one that should look to the government of India as its sole interest and obligation, and should not be liable to be diverted from its one great duty by the manifold objects which, whether of European, or purely British origin—whether of great or trivial magnitude—must ever render Indian interests of secondary weight with a British administration. But it was denied that the Proprietors of India Stock could be reasonably expected in return for occupying this intermediate post, to give up a large and valuable property, which, notwithstanding the insinuated threats of the Ministers to call in question, they maintained to be their own under the repeated sanction of the Acts of the Legislature. They claimed a more than sufficient amount of assets, to provide for the perpetual payment of their dividends,

without taxing the natives of India for their benefit; and they considered any restriction upon the disposal of their property, according to their own notions of expedience and equity, to be a gratuitous interference with private rights, and little better than an act of authoritative spoliation. An immediate investment of a sum sufficient to provide for the annual dividends was, therefore, urged by some of the speakers; by others, of such a sum as should furnish the requisite principal at the end of forty years.<sup>1</sup> Any other arrangement would be incompatible with the legitimate demands of the Company, and with the honour and justice of the nation, and a most unworthy requital of the exertions and sacrifices by which the Company had achieved the conquest of India, and presented so magnificent an accession to the wealth and power of the parent country. An amendment was, therefore, proposed by Mr. Hume, in which, after announcing the acquiescence of the Company in the loss of the trade with China, their willingness to undertake the administration of India, and their being prepared to accede to any fair and liberal compromise, the Court felt obliged to declare that the plan proposed by the Ministers for adjusting the pecuniary claims of the Company was neither satisfactory nor liberal, nor a just equivalent for the immense amount of commercial and territorial assets which they were called upon to surrender; and a hope was therefore expressed, that the Ministers would consent to such

<sup>1</sup> £18,000,000, was the sum computed for the former object, by Mr. Randle Jackson; £4,500,000 for the latter, by Mr. Weeding. —Debates, India House, 16th April, 1833.

BOOK III. an arrangement, as should place the dividends and  
 CHAP. IX. principal of the Company's Stock beyond the risk  
 1833. of those political changes and occurrences in India,  
 which might endanger both. Other amendments  
 were suggested, but they were objected to as  
 closing the door of negociation which was left open  
 by the original resolutions; and the latter were  
 finally submitted to the ballot, and adopted by a  
 large majority<sup>1</sup>. The doubts which the Ministers  
 had intimated of the liability of the commercial  
 assets to demands, by which they might be over-  
 whelmed, evidently operated upon the fears of the  
 proprietors, and influenced them to accede to the  
 terms proposed, with the chance of some slight  
 modification in their favour. They were not  
 wholly disappointed.

The resolutions of the Court of Proprietors  
 having been communicated to the Ministers, the  
 President of the Board announced to the Court,  
 their consent to extend the amount of the  
 Guarantee Fund to two millions, and to allow  
 money to be raised upon its credit for the payment  
 of dividends, should a deficiency of remittance  
 accrue, although they considered such an emergency  
 as little likely to occur; since it was proposed to give  
 to the dividend the legal preference to all other  
 home territorial payments. With respect to the  
 term for which the Company were to administer  
 the government, the Minister consented to suggest

<sup>1</sup> On the 3rd of May, the result of the ballot was in favour of the  
 resolution proposed by Sir J. Malcolm - - - - - 477  
 Against it - - - - - 52

Majority in favour - - - - - 425

(limit of twenty years) and in regard to the relations BOOK III.  
 (between the powers of the Court and the Board,) CHAP. IX.  
 (they abandoned the suggestion of reserving to the 1833.  
 latter a veto on the result of Governors and Military  
 Commanders from India.) Ministers also agreed that  
 if, at the expiration of twenty years, or at any sub-  
 sequent period, the Company were to be (deprived of)  
 the political government, (the proprietors should  
 have the option at three years' notice, of being paid  
 off at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity;  
 and that they should then be entitled to apply  
 that capital, or any portion of it to the resump-  
 tion of their right to trade, if they should see fit to  
 resume it.) (To the origination of expenditure by  
 the Court of Directors, subject in all cases, except  
 in the details of the Home Establishment, to the con-  
 trol of the Board; and (to a provision for the dis-  
 charge of outstanding obligations and individual  
 claims under the sanction of the Board, no objec-  
 tion was taken; (but with respect to the suggested  
 appeal to Parliament or the public on the occasion  
 of differences of opinion between the Court and the  
 Board, Ministers, while professing a readiness to  
 entertain any practicable expedient for the purpose,  
 expressed their disbelief of the necessity of the  
 arrangement, or the possibility of devising an un-  
 exceptionable plan for carrying it into operation.)

The concessions of His Majesty's ministers still  
 (failed to satisfy the Court of Directors upon the two  
 principal subjects of discussion; the amount of the  
 Guarantee Fund, and the means of giving publicity  
 to differences with the Board.) (To secure the  
 amount of twelve millions, requisite for the

BOOK III. redemption of the annuity at the end of forty years,  
 CHAP. IX. it would be necessary to set apart at least three  
 1833. millions from the Commercial assets, or to prolong  
 the period at which the annuity should be redeem-  
 able, an arrangement less satisfactory to the Pro-  
 prietors.) With respect to the publicity they desired,  
 they explained, that it was not (so much of the  
 nature of an appeal,) which might have the effect of  
 inconveniently suspending the orders of the Board,  
 (as of a protest which they suggested should be  
 laid before both houses of Parliament against any  
 orders of the Board against which they should  
 have remonstrated in vain) Their objections were  
 unavailing. To the first, (the President of the  
 Board replied) that an (enlargement of the Fund,  
 was superfluous ; for, (as the Government was  
 pledged whenever it exercised the option of re-  
 deemming the annuity at a fixed rate, which was  
 equivalent to a principal of twelve millions,  
 it made no difference to the Proprietors of India  
 Stock what might be the value of the fund.)  
 It was for the (Government to provide the neces-  
 sary addition to raise it to twelve millions, or  
 to let it go on accumulating until it had reached  
 that amount.) (The reference to Parliament in the  
 result of a collision between the Court and  
 the Board required no formal enactment, as the  
 Court could always exercise the privilege which  
 they enjoyed in common with all other subjects of  
 the realm, of approaching Parliament by petition ;  
 and Ministers refused to accede to a measure of  
 which they could not admit the necessity, and  
 which, whatever the precise shape that it might

assume, could not fail to operate, in their apprehension, very prejudicially to the purposes of good government.) This communication, Mr. Grant intimated, was to be considered as final<sup>1</sup>.

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Upon taking the conclusive reply of His Majesty's Ministers into consideration, the Court of Directors, although still retaining their opinion, that the arrangement recommended by them would have been most consistent with the just expectations of the Proprietors, yet, as the principle had been admitted to the extent that, (if paid off before the period at which the Guarantee Fund should have become twelve millions, the Company would have the same advantages as if the fund provided had been larger: or if not paid off before that period, they would have the same advantage as if the term of redemption were extended; they determined to recommend to the Proprietors to acquiesce in the limitation of the fund to two millions.) With respect to the question of publicity, they also adhered to the opinion of its utility; (but, if the Proprietors concurred in the recommendation regarding the guarantee fund, it would be unnecessary to adopt any further proceedings until the Proprietors should have before them the Bill which was to be submitted to Parliament.) To this resolution, the Chairman, Mr. Marjoribanks, and the Deputy-Chairman, Mr. Wigram, recorded their dissent, upon the grounds, that the sum of two millions, instead of three, set apart for a guarantee fund, was insufficient; and that some legislative provision for giving publicity, in certain cases of difference between the Board of

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Mr. Charles Grant, 4th June, 1833.

BOOK III. Commissioners and the Court of Directors (was indispensable for maintaining the independence of the  
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 1833. Court, and consequently the good government of India.) Agreeably to the decision of the majority of the Court, their recommendation was submitted to a General Court of Proprietors on the 10th of June, and after some discussion received their concurrence. In the mean time, the question of the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter had been introduced to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament.

Before noticing the proceedings of the Legislature relative to the renewal of the Company's Charter, we may here advert to some transactions which took place about this period, and which were especially alluded to in the Dissent of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, as illustrative of the necessity of introducing some provision for giving publicity to cases of differences between the Court of Directors and the Board. Unless, it was observed, it were known that the two co-ordinate authorities acted under a positive responsibility to Parliament; the paramount authority might enforce their views and opinions, however contrary to good government or wholesome rule, (without the possibility of the Legislature becoming acquainted with the facts, by the Minister's refusing the production of documents requisite for a proper understanding of the case.) The truth of this assertion was clearly substantiated by what had actually taken place with reference to different pecuniary claims on the revenues of India, (which had been steadily resisted by the Court, but which had been upheld, and in

some instances enforced; by the Board) The papers, BOOK III.  
 explanatory of these occurrences had been printed CHAP. IX.  
 at the instance of the Proprietors. 1833.

Of one of the cases of difference between the Court and the Board, that of the pecuniary claims of Messrs. Palmer and Co., we have already had occasion to give an account. Another instance of this description, concerned claims put forward on behalf of Manohur Das and Sital Baboo, Native bankers, having establishments in various cities of India, upon the king of Oude, for debts contracted by Asof-ad-Dowla, as far back as 1796. The claims had been repeatedly under the consideration of the Court, who had invariably declined to countenance or support them, in which determination they had hitherto received the concurrence of the Board. A different view had, however, been taken up by the President of the Board. In 1832, Mr. C. Grant, and the Court had been desired to adopt the draft of a despatch framed by the Board; in which, after recapitulating the particulars of the transaction, the Government of Bengal was instructed to use its utmost efforts in strongly urging upon the king of Oude the importance of an immediate and effectual adjustment—or, in other words, the payment of Asof-ad-Dowla's debts. The justice of this decided interposition was based upon the part taken by the Governments of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, in assisting the Nawab to ascertain the extent of his debts, and to put them in a train of liquidation. The Resident was authorised to contribute to the investigation, and the Governor-General had assented to express his sentiments on the adjustment of



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them, provided it was understood that the Company should not be implicated in any responsibility by reason of such interference. Statements furnished by the creditors, and counter-statements by the ministers of the Nawab Vizir, were accordingly made out and transmitted to the Government: but, in the meantime, the Vizir undertook for himself the settlement of the demands against him. In effecting this, he granted more favourable terms to his European than to his native creditors; but the latter, nevertheless, acceded to the conditions he offered, with the exception of the Calcutta Bankers. They demanded the same terms that had been granted to the Europeans; and their claims had consequently remained unadjusted at the time of Asof-ad-Dowla's death. The obligation of discharging the public debts of his predecessor was urged upon Sadat Ali, by Lord Wellesley's Government, but the Nawab had evaded or declined compliance. The Marquis of Hastings, considering that the demand had been originally admitted to be just; that it had been countenanced by the preceding administration; and that the bankers might reasonably expect, from their character of British subjects, and from the peculiar circumstances of their claim, the good offices of the Government, once more authorised the Resident's interposition to the extent of recommending to the Nawab Vizir an equitable settlement of the demand. The Nawab, in reply, expressed so positive a determination not to entertain the claim, that the Governor-General did not conceive himself warranted in pressing it further without the sanction of the Court. The sanction was unreservedly

withheld, both on the general principle of non-interference in pecuniary transactions between individuals and native princes; and on the peculiar relations which subsisted with the Nawab Vizir<sup>1</sup>. The Government was, therefore, interdicted from any future attempts to effect an adjustment. In this resolution the Court had steadily persevered, and had, on various occasions recorded their determination to permit no authoritative interference in a matter in which the Nawab was entirely independent of control. They denied that the particular claim in question was distinguished by any peculiarity from other claims which had been brought forward, and which the Court had equally refused to support: that it had been recognised as just, or in any way investigated as to its real merits: or that the Government of India, in giving assistance and advice to the Nawab, to extricate himself from his embarrassments, had thereby contracted any responsibility to his creditors, or given any countenance to their claims<sup>2</sup>. To this view of the case they firmly adhered; and on being again desired to forward the despatch, unanimously refused to act upon the orders of the Board, unless compelled by law to do so. The

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<sup>1</sup> In the letter which was addressed to the Government, and which had the concurrence of Mr. Canning, as President of the Board, it was observed. "We are so much aware of the difficulty of divesting a friendly communication to a weaker power of the character of authority, and are so apprehensive that the consequence of pressing upon the Vizir the consideration of those claims might bring upon him others from various quarters; that we direct you to rest contented with the attempt you have already made, and to abstain from any similar proceedings hereafter, at the instance either of these, or any other claimants."—Letter of Court, 12th February, 1819.—Papers, Pecuniary Claims, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from the Court to the Board, 12th March, 1833. Papers on Pecuniary Claims.

BOOK III. President of the Board of Control was, therefore,  
 CHAP. IX. driven to his favourite resource of compelling the  
 1833. Company, by a writ of mandamus, to lend themselves to the enforcement of claims, the justice of which they questioned, and the payment of which they had no right whatever to extort from the king of Oude. The writ was applied for, and the rule granted; but at the last moment the application was abandoned, and the consideration of the subject was indefinitely postponed<sup>1</sup>.

Whatever expectations might be entertained of any benefit being derived from a reference to Parliament in the case of a difference between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, the latter had no great reason, (from experience of the past, to expect that the legislature would ever take part with the Company in opposition to ministerial influence.) On the contrary, Parliament had recently shown itself equally disposed as (the Board to promote private ends at the expense of public justice, and to give the weight of its authority to demands of obsolete date, equivocal origin, and unauthenticated amount, in subservience to the interests of individuals, and in disregard of the well-founded objections of the Court. Thus, a bill was brought into Parliament early in 1831, to provide for the discharge of a claim in respect of money advanced by the late James Hodges, Esq., on security of the lands of the late Zemindar of Nozid and Mustaphanagar, in the East Indies, now under the sovereignty of the East India Company. The progress

<sup>1</sup> Papers on Pecuniary Claims, printed by order of the House of Commons, May, 1834.

of the bill was suspended by the close of the session; but it was again brought forward and referred to a Select Committee, before whom counsel was heard both in support of and in opposition to the measure. The Committee having recommended that the bill should pass, petitions were presented against it by the Company, but to no purpose. It was approved of by the Commons, and sent up to the House of Lords, where counsel was again heard; and notwithstanding the opposition of Lord Ellenborough and the adverse opinion of the Chancellor, Lord Brougham, it also passed the House, and became law. The Company were, therefore, compelled by the legislature to pay, at the expense of the people of India, a considerable sum, the claim for which originated at the distance of more than half a century in transactions of a highly questionable description.

In 1775, at a time when the civil Government of Madras was deeply tainted with corruption of every kind, Mr. Hodges, a member of the Council of Masulipatam, took upon himself certain debts, said to be due to other members of the Council by Narsing Apparao Zemindar of Nozid, and he also lent money to the Zemindar, the whole amounting with interest to 57,661 Madras Pagodas: the entire proceeding being a violation of the known sentiments of the Court, and being carried on without the sanction or cognizance of the Government. The contraction of the loan was not communicated to the latter, until 1779, when in consequence of the irretrievable embarrassments in which Apparao, through his own improvidence and

BOOK III. the help of his European creditors was involved,  
 CHAP. IX. he was unable to discharge his obligations to the  
 1833. State, and the Council of Masulipatam, of which Mr. Hodges continued to be a member, proposed that the Zemindari should be taken possession of by the Company, the revenues being appropriated in the first instance to the payment of the yearly tribute, and of a fourth of the arrears annually, until the whole was discharged; secondly, to the maintenance of the Zemindar; and lastly, the surplus, if any, should be assigned to the creditors. No specification was made who the creditors were, nor of the assignment to them of certain villages, the revenues of which they had for some time past enjoyed. This assignment was continued until 1784, when Lord Macartney, although expressing his opinion that the transaction was unwarranted in its principle, and pernicious in its tendency, yet as it had been recognised by a preceding administration, consented, upon their giving up the mortgaged villages and rendering satisfactory accounts, to recommend the case of the creditors to the Company, and to establish such provision for them as could be with propriety set apart from the Company's superior demands. The districts were taken possession of accordingly; and it was declared that no provision should be made for any of the creditors until the public claims were fully satisfied<sup>1</sup>. This result was never realised. In 1803, a balance of nearly five lakhs of pagodas remained due to the Government from the Nozid Zemindari; and the permanent settlement of the

<sup>1</sup> The orders of the Government to this effect were communicated to Mr. Hodges, as creditor, by himself as chief of Masulipatam.

northern Circars being then introduced, the claim on account of arrears of revenue was remitted, and the estate suffered to start unencumbered with a reduced rate of annual payment, for which it was expected the occupant would be able easily to provide, as well as for the discharge of his private obligation—the recognition of the Government amounting to no more than the validity of the claim as against the Zemindar, not against the Company. The Court had therefore resisted various applications for the payment of the money made anterior to the settlement of the Estate, and its restoration to the owner. Subsequently to that date, nothing had been heard of the claim until it was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. J. Wood, on behalf of a Captain Murray, the grandson of Mr. Hodges, by his daughter, a gentleman fortunate in having influential Parliamentary friends. Unless some such agency was at work, nothing, as was observed by Lord Brougham, could be found to sanction the extraordinary interference of the Legislature, to pass an act in favour of a claim contaminated in its origin, and illegal in its prosecution. Nor did it less deserve the condemnation of the Committee of Correspondence, who designated the Bill as a most unwarrantable attempt to make the revenues of India answerable for a private debt, and to confer an undue benefit on parties who had no other claims to consideration, than that of having by irregular means obtained a recognition by Government of dealings of such a character as to call not for approval and encouragement, but the severest

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BOOK III. reprehension. It was not, however, so much to the  
 CHAP. IX. parties who found the Legislature so compliant that

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censure was applicable, as to the Legislature, which had lent itself to the promotion of private interests; and the whole transaction deserves notice, as inspiring a salutary distrust of the mode in which parliamentary influence might be misused to the disadvantage of India, if the British Legislature should ever be intrusted with the direct and uncontrolled administration of the Government of that country.

The approving spirit with which the claims of individuals against the Government of India were listened to in Parliament, encouraged other applications of a similar purport; and in the course of 1832, a select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire into the merits of a petition presented by a Mr. Henry Hutchinson, complaining that the East India Company had interfered to prevent payment of a debt due to the estate of his uncle, the late Mr. J. Hutchinson, by the Raja of Travancore. The Committee reported favourably of the claim. The close of the Session prevented a Bill from being sent to the House of Lords; but the application was revived in the Session following; and in February, 1833, leave was given to introduce a Bill to provide for the favourable adjustment of the demand. Mr. Hutchinson was in the Civil Service of the Company, Commercial Resident at Anjengo, the only medium of communication with the Raja of Travancore, and in an especial manner charged with the duty of purchasing from the Raja investments of pepper and cloth, on account of the Company. He availed himself

of his position to carry on private commercial deal- BOOK III.  
ings with the Raja—to lend him money at high CHAP. IX.  
interest, and to sell and buy various articles, 1833.  
including pepper, which it was his business to provide for the Company's investments. In consequence of those dealings, between 1792 and 1800, a balance was made to appear against the Raja, of Surat Rupees 4.89.735.; and of which, after Mr. Hutchinson's decease in 1799, rather more than half was realised by his representatives. These transactions were not brought to the notice of the Supreme Government until 1804, when the orders of Lord Wellesley restricted all intercourse with the Raja to the Political Resident, and it was, therefore, necessary to apply for his mediation to effect a settlement of the debt said to be still due. Upon the Resident's bringing the claim to the knowledge of the Governor-General, he was desired to apprise Mr. Hutchinson's agents, that no interference on their behalf would be allowed, until the Government should be satisfied that their claim was founded in justice, and of such a nature as should require a deviation from the general principles of policy which regulated the conduct of the Government towards states in alliance with it. Upon instituting an inquiry to this effect, the Raja's Dewan disputed the justice of the demand, and declared the debt to have originated chiefly in fictitious transactions; and as the statements of the parties were found irreconcilable, it was determined, by Lord Wellesley in 1807, to refrain from any interference, and leave them to settle the claim between themselves. In consequence, however, of the application



BOOK III. made to the Court by Mr. Hutchinson's representatives in England, the Governments of Madras  
CHAP. IX. and Bombay were desired to furnish further information with respect to the demand; until the receipt of which, the Resident was instructed to recommend to the Raja, to decline further payment on account of it until its justice should be made out to the satisfaction of the Government of Madras. The information required was not received until 1823; when the Court decided, that the demand, even granting it to be in other respects unquestionable, was not of a character to receive their countenance, or to be insisted on through their agency. They expressed their purpose, therefore, to leave the parties entirely to themselves, and withdrew their recommendation to the Raja to suspend his payments. It was chiefly on their previous suggestion to that effect, that Mr. Hutchinson's representatives grounded their complaint, affirming that the settlement of the demand had been prevented by the Company's interposition at a time when the Raja was disposed to discharge it. This allegation was denied by the Court, as the demand had four or five years before been denounced as fictitious by the Minister of the Raja; and it could not be supposed that he would have agreed to liquidate a claim, the justice of which he so unqualifiedly denied. Although it also appeared, that the fact of Mr. Hutchinson's dealings with the Raja was known informally to the Government of Bombay, and as far as they bore a commercial character, were not interdicted, yet his proceedings in the purchase of pepper had been obviously detrimental to the

public interests, and his pecuniary transactions with the Raja were a breach of the regulations which in 1777 prohibited all Company's servants from loans of money to natives, under pain of suspension from the service. The claim was, therefore, one which had no title to the support, either of the Court or Legislature<sup>1</sup>. The clever advocacy of Mr. Macaulay, one of the secretaries of the Board on this occasion, satisfied the house of the exceptionable origin of the claims, and notwithstanding the contrary recommendation of the preceding Session, the Bill was rejected.

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The Parliament assembled in January, 1833, but the discussion of subjects of local interest prevented the Ministers from bringing forward their proposed arrangements for the renewal of the Company's Charter, until the Session was so far advanced that little opportunity remained for that careful and deliberate consideration which its importance demanded. Had, however, the time permitted of due investigation, little inclination was manifested by either house to devote much attention to the inquiry. The attendance was invariably scanty, and but few members of any note took part in the discussions. The subject was evidently distasteful to the majority of the house, and the future welfare of the vast empire of India was of much less magnitude in their estimation than an affray between the mob and the police, or the representation of the most insignificant borough from which reform had not yet wrested the elective franchise. On the

<sup>1</sup> Report of Committee of Correspondence, 11 April, 1832.—Papers, Pecuniary Claims, 32.

BOOK III. 13th of June, the question was introduced by Mr. Grant, to a Committee of the whole house, whose

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indulgence he felt it necessary to solicit, as the subject was one which could not be expected to excite that strong interest which belonged to some other topics recently discussed, as it wanted the stimulus of party or political feeling, and the details it would be necessary to offer might be found tedious and uninteresting. Such was the language which it was thought advisable by a minister of the Crown to employ in order to conciliate the attention of the members of a British House of Commons to one of the most grave and momentous questions that could be submitted to their decision, and involved considerations of vital importance to the future prosperity of both India and Great Britain.

(The first question to be decided, respected the agency, by which the political Government of India was to be conducted) and in looking back through the last forty years, it was (undeniable that, notwithstanding the existence of many evils and imperfections in the system, a great improvement had been effected in the condition of the people) the Government was such as they required—it was one which gave them ample security as to person and property—protected them against the perils of violence and rapacity, and ensured them tranquillity and repose. (These reasons were sufficient to justify the continuance of the political Government of India in the hands of the Company for a time longer; but the measure was further recommended by the advantage which the interposition of the Company, secured for India, in protecting it from the fluctua-

tions of party and political feeling which prevailed in England, and which could not fail to oppose an insuperable obstacle to the tranquil advancement of the natives of India, in order and prosperity. The efficiency of the Company's Government had been impaired by their commercial character, and the incongruous combination of the objects of sovereign and merchant. This would no longer be the case, as it was proposed that their connexion with all commerce should cease) — and this would also have the advantage of rendering the Company more vigilant in checking the territorial expenditure of the Indian Presidencies, as they had hitherto been accustomed to rely on their commercial profits for the payment of territorial deficiencies. Another drawback from the efficiency of the Company's administration, was the frequent interference from home. It was essential to the well-being of India, that ample confidence should be placed in those to whom the Government was delegated; and that, as far as possible, the interposition of the home authorities should be confined to cases of a strong and extraordinary nature, or rather to cases of a general description. (All that depended on the administration of the Government in India ought to be left to the administration there.) With regard to the exclusive trade of the Company with China, the course of events, the progress of commercial enterprise, and the universal voice of the nation had decided the question; and it must be considered to have arrived at its natural termination. There were also considerations of a public and political tendency, which rendered it indispensable to place

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BOOK III. the intercourse with China upon a different footing,  
 CHAP. IX. and to substitute for the officers of the Company,  
 1833. whose sovereignty over India, and whose conquests  
 in Ava and Nepal could not fail to have alarmed  
 the sensitive jealousy of the Chinese Government,  
 the presence of a public functionary directly re-  
 presenting a remote kingdom, whose objects could be  
 none other than the reciprocal advantages of com-  
 merce. For these, and other reasons which Mr.  
 Grant enumerated in some detail, he considered  
 that no hesitation could be admitted, with respect  
 to the admission of the private merchants to an  
 unrestricted trade with China, as soon as the  
 Company's privileges should expire, subject to such  
 arrangements as the political and financial interests  
 of the country might render it advisable to impose.  
 The plan which he should propose was, therefore,  
 shortly this, that the East India Company should  
 surrender all their rights, and privileges, and pro-  
 perty—that the Government of India should be  
 continued to them for the period of twenty years, but  
 that they should cease to carry on trade of any de-  
 scription. That, in consideration of the concessions  
 made by them, the Company should be entitled to  
 an annuity, equivalent to the actual dividends, or  
 630,000*l.* per annum, to be paid by the territorial  
 revenue of India. A guarantee fund of 12,000,000*l.*  
 should be gradually formed for securing the  
 payment of the annuity, as well as for finally  
 paying off the capital stock of the Company. The  
 annuity was to be payable for a term of forty years;  
 when it should be at the option of Parliament, on  
 giving three years' notice, to redeem it at the rate

of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. The Company also might, at the end of the twenty years, if deprived of the government, demand payment of their capital at the same rate. No injury would, therefore, be sustained by the Proprietors of India Stock; nor would any burthen be inflicted upon the resources of India to which they were not fully equal. The arrangement was of the nature of a compromise which equally consulted the interests of the Company and the public. The Company had already expressed their willingness to accede to it; and he trusted that the Parliament would entertain a similar view of the principle of the arrangement as that which was most beneficial to the interests of the country.

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In carrying into operation the general plan, some changes were proposed in the constitution of the Indian Governments. (A fourth Presidency had been rendered advisable by the great extent of the jurisdiction of the Government of Bengal, which at present comprehended the North Western provinces, the separation of which was essential for their effective administration. They were, therefore, to be placed under a separate Government. It was also thought advisable that the Governor-General should be relieved from the functions of a single and separate Government; and should be invested with a more decided control over the subordinate Presidencies than he actually possessed, especially in regard to matters of expenditure. Whether the Governor-General should retain the immediate charge of one of the Presidencies, and whether the Councils of the subordinate Presi-

BOOK III. dencies should be reduced or abolished, were ques-  
CHAP. IX tions for further deliberation. The state of the  
 1833. law in India required amelioration. At present  
 the laws were so various and so vague, that in many  
 cases it was impossible to know what the law was.  
 The nature of the authority from which the laws  
 originated, was ill-defined and questionable; and  
 the powers of the different courts of Judicature  
 were, in many respects, indefinite and contradictory,  
 leading to embarrassing and mischievous collision.  
 These questions were of peculiar importance with  
 regard to the probable increase of European resi-  
 dents on the removal of the restrictions which  
 had hitherto prevented their settling in India, and  
 which it was proposed to abolish—as advantages  
 of the highest moment to India and to Great Bri-  
 tain might be anticipated from the free admission  
 to the former of British enterprise and capital:  
 the only obstacle that impeded their unrestricted  
 settlement, was the present state of the law; and  
 until British Settlers were made amenable to the  
 Courts of that part of the country where they  
 should reside, it would not be advisable to give  
 them free access to the provinces. This difficulty  
 might be obviated by arming the Government with  
 power to enact such regulations for the conduct of  
 both natives and Europeans as would have the effect  
 of approximating the two people, and the laws of  
 the two countries, and pave the way for ultimate  
 assimilation. For this purpose, Mr. Grant pro-  
 posed to strengthen the Supreme Council by the  
 addition of two more members than it was actually  
 composed of, and of one or two other persons,

barristers of high standing, or retired judges, who would apply their professional knowledge to effecting the requisite alterations in the local law, and also to authorise the Governor-General to appoint a Commission, to consist of persons experienced in the administration of Indian justice, with the assistance of one or two persons from this country, to inquire how far it might be practicable to establish a uniform system of law and judicature in India. Natives were likewise to be relieved from all disabilities to hold office or employment on account of their birth or religion. Slavery in India was very different from that in the West Indies; and was so closely connected with the domestic habits and religious feelings of the natives, that it required cautious treatment.) Finally, Mr. Grant proposed to call the attention of the House to the alterations in the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India, which, without materially adding to the charge, should give Suffragan Bishops to Madras and Bombay, and relieve the Bishop of Calcutta of the laborious superintendance which now devolved upon him. In conclusion, he moved the adoption of three resolutions, which declared it expedient.

1. To open the trade with China to all British subjects.
2. To require from the Company the transfer to the Crown on behalf of the Indian territory, of all assets and claims of every description, in consideration of such equivalent payment as the Parliament should enact; and the acknowledgment by the Crown on behalf of the territory of all the obligations of the Company; and
3. The continuance of the Government

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BOOK III. of India to the Company, under such conditions as  
 CHAP. IX. the Parliament should determine.

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As it was intimated by the Minister that the adoption of these resolutions would not pledge members to any specific course, no objections were taken to them in the discussion that ensued. Mr. Wynn, late President of the Board, recommended a material alteration in the constitution of the Court of Directors; the reduction of the number to six or eight, who were to be nominated by the Crown, from persons who had served at least twelve years in India. No difficulty, he conceived, would arise from that arrangement as to the distribution of the patronage, as while a portion might be exercised as at present by the Crown and the Directors, some appointments might be given to the Universities, and the rest might be placed at the disposal of the chief civil and military authorities in India. He expressed a general concurrence with the principle of the resolutions. Mr. Buckingham objected to the assignment of the political administration of India to a Joint Stock Company consisting of a fluctuating body of individuals, of whom the largest portion were women and children, and of the rest of whom few were likely to feel any other interest in India than the realization of their dividends. He denied the correctness of the assertion of the President of the Board of Control, that India had prospered under the system of administration pursued by the Company, as, even according to an admission recently made by a member of the Board, the people of India were the most oppressed and

heavily taxed race under the sun. Symptoms of rapid decay were every where visible; the population, the commerce, and the revenue, had declined; and nothing had gone on increasing but embarrassment and debt. It would be much more for the benefit of India that the Government should take the management of the territory, with all its incumbrances, and leave the Company to dispose of their commercial assets as they should think proper. The only prospect of advantage that could be expected to result from the plan proposed by the Board arose from the unrestricted admission of Europeans, by whose settling in the country the resources of India would be developed, and a revenue of a hundred millions a-year might come to be levied with a lighter pressure on the people than was now laid upon them by a fifth of the amount. The Resolutions were agreed to.

On the 5th of July, the Resolutions adopted by the House of Commons were introduced by the Marquis of Lansdowne to the House of Lords. Like his colleague in the Lower House, he was under the necessity of deprecating the habitual inattention of his hearers to a subject which had seldom found in them a willing audience—the Government of India. The magnitude of the question now at stake might, he trusted, induce them to forego their usual indifference, and to bear patiently with those who sought their decision with regard to the disposal of a country which far exceeded the colonial possessions of any other state in extent, population, and importance. His Lordship then

BOOK III. went over the grounds on which the Ministers had  
CHAP. IX. determined to propose the entire discontinuance of  
1833. the commerce of the East India Company, and the  
consignment to them of the government of India,  
and which were substantially the same as those  
detailed by the President of the Board of Control;  
the anticipated extension of the trade with China  
by the energies of private enterprise, and the  
practical benefits which had resulted to India from  
the Company's administration. The mode in which  
the arrangements were to be carried into effect  
were then similarly described; and the Noble  
Marquis maintained the adequacy of the resources  
of India to provide for all the territorial disburse-  
ments that might be required in England; and the  
probable existence of a surplus after their dis-  
charge: a result attributable, in a great measure,  
to the vigour and judgment with which Lord W.  
Bentinck had reduced the expenses of the Indian  
Governments. The admission of the natives to a  
larger share than they had hitherto enjoyed in the  
administration of their local affairs; the assimi-  
ation of the various systems of law which existed  
in India; the formation of a fourth Presidency;  
and augmented power of the Governor-General;  
the extension of the Ecclesiastical Establishments;  
and the unrestricted access of Europeans to the  
old settlements, and with licenses to the new;  
from which his Lordship anticipated the highest  
advantages to the civilisation of the population of  
India—were likewise adverted to in support of the  
Resolutions which were laid before the House.

Lord Ellenborough stated, that he had always regarded the question of the China Trade as one of finance; and had been anxious to reduce the territorial expenditure of India so as to make the revenues independent of commercial assistance. As soon as this was effected, there could be no objection to the freedom of commerce with China being placed at the disposal of Parliament; although he was far from expecting from the measure the great advantages which some persons so sanguinely anticipated. On the contrary, much mischief would infallibly ensue if private merchants embarked rashly and precipitately in the trade. He did not question the adequacy of the revenues of India to provide in due time for all territorial disbursements; but he considered that the views of Lord Lansdowne were at variance with the statements laid before the Committees and the Board; and that the reduction of the expenditure very much depended upon the adoption of measures which he (Lord Ellenborough) had recommended when at the head of the Board of Commissioners. The additional charges involved by the plan of the Government; the difference between the produce of the commercial assets and the greater amount of the dividend; the compensation to be granted to Commercial Servants; the cost of the proposed Law and Slavery Commissions; the salaries of the three new Members of Council, and two new Bishops; and the travelling expenses of a migratory Governor-General, were likely to amount to a considerable sum, and, with other deductions, might be expected to leave a deficiency instead

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BOOK III. of a surplus of receipts<sup>1</sup>. His Lordship anticipated an unfavourable change in the future composition of the Courts of Proprietors and Directors, and the exclusive formation of both by persons connected with India. He did not think that this was desirable, as the consequence would be the predominance of feelings imbibed in India, which were not those best fitted to promote the happiness of the people of both countries. By the present system, the Court of Directors consisted partly of persons connected with India and partly of eminent English merchants and influential members of society, securing an amalgamation of British and Indian sentiments, and the diffusion of the patronage over a wider and more comprehensive surface. The proposed changes at home were, however, less exceptionable than those abroad; and the purpose of abolishing the local councils at the subordinate Presidencies threatened to deprive their Governors of assistance absolutely essential for the discharge of their duties, and the people of the strongest guarantee that they possessed for their security and

<sup>1</sup> The additional charges were estimated by Lord Ellenborough at 571,000*l.* per annum.

Difference between Dividends . . . . .	£630,000
And amount of interest on Remittable Loans . . . . .	467,000
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Excess of charge . . . . .	163,000
Compensation . . . . .	206,000
Law Commissioners . . . . .	30,000
Slavery ditto . . . . .	30,000
Travelling Charges . . . . .	30,000
Three New Members of Council . . . . .	30,000
Government of Agra . . . . .	22,000
Two Bishops . . . . .	10,000
Travelling Expenses, Governor-General . . . . .	50,000
<hr/>	
	£571,000

protection. He objected also to any diminution of the powers of the subordinate Governments as no respectable persons would hold them under such restrictions. The increased numbers of the Supreme Council, which it appeared was to consist of six members, of whom four were to be officers of the four Presidencies, the fifth a philosopher, and the sixth a soldier, could only be a source of contest, delay, and inefficiency. The new legislative powers to be given to the Council, by which the Supreme Courts were virtually abolished, filled him with astonishment. The Courts were established not only for the benefit of Europeans, but to protect the natives of India against European oppression, and every security which had been given them would thus be swept away. With regard to the permission to be granted to Europeans to settle in India, the fact was, that all persons of capital had practically long had that liberty. No one who could assign a colourable pretext for going to India, had for a long time past been refused a license; but it was a great mistake to suppose that capitalists went out to India. No British capital went there. The capital actually employed was mainly derived from the Civil and Military servants of the Company. The assimilation of the laws he looked upon as impossible, without violating all the prejudices and feelings of the natives, and exciting their abhorrence and disgust. Any interference with the domestic slavery of the people of India would lead most certainly to insurrection and bloodshed in every part of the country. Although equally desirous as any of His

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BOOK III. Majesty's Ministers to raise the moral character of  
CHAP. IX. the people of India ; and hoping that the time  
 1833. would come when they might fill the highest situa-  
 tions, with benefit to the country, and honour to  
 themselves, yet he was satisfied that any attempt  
 to precipitate such a result, would defeat the  
 object in view ; and with respect to Military and  
 Political power, the very existence of the British  
 rule in India depended upon their exclusive exer-  
 cise. He looked upon the whole plan as crude  
 and ill-digested, and called upon the House to  
 delay their accession to it, until a sufficient time  
 should be allowed for that deliberate consideration,  
 which its importance, and the character of the  
 House as statesmen and benefactors of the people  
 of India, imperatively exacted.

The Earl of Ripon defended the plan of the  
 Ministers, maintaining that it had not been adopted  
 hastily or without extensive inquiry, and the ad-  
 vantage of much experience of the practical results  
 of the renewal of the last Charter. The Duke of  
 Wellington felt it incumbent upon him to offer his  
 opinion on a measure which proposed so materially  
 to change the constitution of a Government, which,  
 from the personal opportunities he had enjoyed of  
 witnessing its operations, he believed to be the  
 best, the most purely administered Government  
 that ever existed—a Government that provided  
 best for the happiness of the people committed to  
 its charge. It was deceiving the people of England  
 to affirm that a trading Company, which, after nearly  
 a century of constant wars had acquired the sove-  
 reignty over a vast population, and a territory yield-

ing a revenue of twenty millions, with a debt not exceeding forty, was unfit for the functions of Government, or unfit for the management of commerce. The present plan paid no regard to former stipulations, and completely changed the position of the Company—it had no longer the same power in relation to His Majesty's Government which it had hitherto retained, nor in relation to its old servants: it was no longer in the same independent, respectable, and influential situation in which it had existed for so long a period. One of the worst parts of the plan was, that the Company would have to draw their dividends from India—a necessity which would increase the amount of the annual remittances to an extent that could not fail to be embarrassing to the commerce. It was proposed to alter the constitution of the Local Governments, and to give to the Governor-General the power of nominating members of Council—a nomination hitherto reserved by the Court to themselves, as one of the means by which they were enabled to exercise a moderate influence over the Governor. When he found that it was designed that their appointment should be entrusted to the Governor-General, the very individual whose proceedings they were intended to control, and, moreover, only to be appointed when such Governor-General thought fit—he could not but feel much alarm for the success of the Indian Government, and was most anxious to impress upon the ministers the immense importance of maintaining the Councils in their actual condition. He also objected to any diminution of the authority of the subordinate administrations, and the proposed in-



BOOK III. crease of that of the Governor-General. He had  
 CHAP. IX. seen a great deal of Governor-Generals, and had  
 1833. also had means of judging of the nature and extent  
 of the powers intrusted to them; and the result of  
 his observations was a conviction that they were  
 vested with as much power as they could desire to  
 have, or could exercise with satisfaction to them-  
 selves or those under them. There was another  
 part of the plan which he would entreat Ministers  
 to re-consider—the separation of the provinces of  
 Bengal from the immediate charge of the Governor-  
 General. The province of Bengal was the source  
 and spring of the power of India, and should never  
 be lost sight of by the Government of that country.  
 The Noble Duke considered that the legislative  
 powers proposed to be given to the Governor-  
 General were too extensive to be intrusted to any  
 one individual, and that the augmented employ-  
 ment of the natives would be frustrated by an in-  
 creased resort of Europeans; and he concluded by  
 expressing his regret that the advice of the late Sir  
 John Malcolm had not been followed, constituting  
 an independent body in London, representing the  
 interests of India.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, in reply to the ob-  
 jections of Lord Ellenborough and the Duke of  
 Wellington, explained, that it was not intended to  
 withdraw from the home authorities the appoint-  
 ment of members of Council. He denied that the  
 Ministers had ever disputed the fitness of the Com-  
 pany to govern India; and fully admitted that  
 under their sway the condition of the people had  
 been greatly improved; and that they had been

comfortable and happy to an extent which they had not experienced under any other government. After some further remarks in vindication of the opening of the trade with China, and of the admission of Europeans to settle in India; he concluded, by informing the House, that he was authorised to express the entire concurrence of the Marquis Wellesley, who was prevented by indisposition from attending his place, in the Resolutions. They were then agreed to.

A Bill having been drafted according to the tenor of the Resolutions was brought into the House of Commons. No proceedings took place on the first reading; but on the motion for a second reading on the 10th of July, it was again opposed by Mr. Buckingham, on the grounds argued in his former objections to the Resolutions—the unfitness of the Company to be intrusted with the Government of India, as shewn by the history of their past mismanagement, both of their commerce and their territory, relying for his proof of both, almost wholly upon the erroneous or exaggerated statements of Mr. Rickards. He concluded a long address, by proposing, as an amendment, that, with reference to the importance of the subject, and the advanced period of the Session, the consideration of the Bill should be postponed till the Session ensuing. The postponement of the discussion was not agreed to, and the Bill was read a second time, after an eloquent defence by Mr. Macaulay, of the principles upon which it was founded. No other alteration or modification was proposed by the members who took part in the discussion.

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BOOK III. On the 12th of July the House of Commons  
CHAP. IX. resolved itself into a Committee, for the purpose of  
 1833. considering the Clauses of the Bill in detail. To  
 the greater number, no objections were started;  
 and they passed with some unimportant verbal  
 alterations. A few gave rise to discussion in the  
 successive sittings of the Committee.

On proposing to fill up the blank in the first  
 clause with the words "one thousand eight hundred  
 fifty-four"—renewing the Charter till that period—  
 an amendment was moved by Mr. Hume, to contract  
 the period within narrower limits, and reduce it to  
 ten; but it was reasonably objected, that the term  
 constituted too short an interval for the Company  
 to administer the government of India, with a view  
 to the stability of their measures or the develop-  
 ment of the resources of the country. Even in  
 granting a Turnpike Bill, it was usual to fix its  
 continuance for twenty-one years, in order to afford  
 a feeling of security; and it would be very incon-  
 sistent to accord a shorter term for an object of  
 such magnitude. The amendment was negatived.

On the Clause which enacted that the Presidency  
 of Fort William should be divided into two, it was  
 suggested by Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, that the Pre-  
 sidencies of Madras and Bombay should be allowed  
 to remain on their actual footing; and that there  
 should be established at Agra a Government subor-  
 dinate in rank, but suited to the circumstances of  
 the North Western Provinces. If the Presidencies  
 of Madras and Bombay were to be reduced in the  
 manner proposed, no man of efficient talents or  
 high character would be found to accept them; and

the whole of India would fall under the dominion of one Governor, unassisted and uncontrolled—a state of things fraught with infinite mischief. In reply, Mr. Robert Grant maintained the expediency of rendering all the Presidencies subordinate to one Supreme Government, of which it would be inconvenient to change the seat from that which it already occupied at Calcutta. He doubted not that competent persons would be found to accept the subordinate governments, even if reduced in importance; but the Bill was so framed as to empower the Court of Directors to make such changes in the distribution of the territories under the several Presidencies as might from time to time appear advisable; and the question as to appointing Councils to the Subordinate Presidencies was also left open for future consideration, to be settled according to the judgment of the Court of Directors and Board of Control.

The 42nd clause, which intrusted to the Governor-General in council to make laws and regulations for all persons, whether Europeans or natives, and for all Courts of Justice within the territories, subject to the Company, was objected to by Mr. Wynn and Mr. Fergusson, as giving to the Governor-General unprecedented authority, and as departing from the principle by which Englishmen in India were placed under the protection of the Supreme Courts. Mr. Fergusson, therefore, moved an amendment, the object of which was to secure to the British and other residents of the towns of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, all the rights and privileges of British law, as administered within

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BOOK III. those limits by His Majesty's Courts: a division  
 CHAP. IX. took place, when the amendment was negatived.

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The subject of the appointment of Councils at the subordinate Presidencies was again discussed, upon the submission of the 55th clause, which enacted, that the executive government of each of the Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and Agra, should be administered by a Governor; that the Governor-General of India should be also the Governor of Fort William, in Bengal; and that it should be left to the discretion of the Court of Directors to continue or appoint Councils at any of the Presidencies. It was objected to by Sir Harry Verney, that the clause enabled the Court to empower any of the Governors to carry on their duties without the aid of a council, and to confer upon them an extent of arbitrary authority, which could not fail to be injurious. Mr. Fergusson supported the objection. The council was an appropriate check upon the acts of a Governor, who was now obliged to state his reasons for adopting any course contrary to their sentiments. Without such a provision, the Government at home, and the Court of Directors, would have no means of judging of the real grounds of his proceedings. Mr. Hume knew of no good reason for making any change. The Presidencies, as now constituted, were too immense to be placed in the hands of any one man. The obligation of recording their opinions, imposed upon the members of the Council, was an excellent means of enlightening the authorities at home, and of conveying to the Governor of all India the sentiments of persons most competent to

form a judgment. Sir Robert Inglis concurred in these views, and urged the vast importance of a Council to the Governors of the Presidencies, who being sent out from England, in many cases with little previous knowledge of India, must depend upon information received on the spot, and could acquire it from no source more authentic or trustworthy than (the concurrent opinions of individuals of the highest respectability, and most mature experience in the service.) Mr. Grant replied, that the claim was not intended to make any immediate alteration, but to leave the question to be decided by circumstances. It was proposed to continue the Councils where they existed, but not to appoint one for the new Presidency of Agra. If the experiment succeeded in that instance, the Bill enabled the Court of Directors to extend the arrangement to the other Presidencies. The abolition of a Council would not deprive the Governor of information and assistance, for which he at present was accustomed to look to the secretaries, whose services he would still command. Mr. Ferguson denied that the opinion of the secretaries was equally valuable with that of the Council, as it involved no responsibility—and appealed to the evidence of Mr. Elphinstone in favour of the existing arrangement. He therefore proposed as an amendment, that the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay should be administered by a Governor and Council. Observations to the same purport were urged by different members, but the amendment was negatived by a small majority<sup>1</sup>. Another

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<sup>1</sup> The numbers were—ayes, 32; noes, 41. Majority—9.

BOOK III. amendment was proposed by Sir H. Verney, to the  
 CHAP. IX. effect that the Governor-General should be the  
 1833. Governor of the whole of Bengal, having under him  
 two Lieutenant-Governors, one for the Upper and  
 one for the Lower Provinces—which was negatived.  
 It was then proposed by Mr. Charles Buller, that  
 the Governor-General of India should be relieved  
 from the charge of any particular Presidency—but  
 this amendment was also rejected.

The consideration of the Bill was resumed on  
 the 17th of July, with the clause which provided that  
 British subjects should not be suffered to reside in  
 the territories acquired since 1800, without a license  
 —to which Mr. Hume moved as an amendment,  
 the removal of all restrictions whatever, other than  
 those of the law: it was negatived. The President  
 of the Board himself proposed the correction of the  
 clause, which enacted that all rights over persons  
 in a state of slavery should be abolished by the  
 12th April, 1837, as an unwarranted and dangerous  
 interference with the institutes and usages of the  
 natives of India; and suggested, therefore, the sub-  
 stitution of a provision, that the Governor-General  
 in Council should be required forthwith to frame  
 laws and regulations for the extinction of slavery,  
 with a due regard to the laws of marriage, and the  
 rights and authorities of fathers, and heads of  
 families; and to report such laws to the Court of  
 Directors for the purpose of their being laid before  
 Parliament. The amendment was agreed to.

The next clause, proposing to increase the  
 number of Bishops to three, one for each Presidency,  
 gave rise to a more prolonged discussion. Mr.

O'Connell objected to the clause as recognising a state religion in India, by establishing a church for one only of the three great denominations of Christians in the United Kingdom; and Mr. Sinclair also, on the part of the Presbyterian community, claimed a share of any provision to be made by the Government. Mr. Macaulay, although not an advocate for Episcopacy, considered any objection, founded on the expense of the establishment, which was not more than 11,000*l.* a year, and which was rather less than that hitherto incurred, inconsistent with the magnitude of the religious establishments of the Pagans and Mohammedans, drawing from the state, as he averred, several millions. Mr. O'Connell explained that his objection was not to the cost, but to the principle. Mr. Wilks thought it unnecessary to augment the Ecclesiastical establishment for the benefit of the comparatively few persons who were likely to benefit by their ministry, not exceeding, inclusive of the European soldiery, forty thousand persons; and who could not require three Bishops, while for the great object of promoting the progress of Christianity, the services of the Bishops and Chaplains had been found of little avail. The diffusion of Christianity, as far as it had been accomplished, was the work of missionaries, not of the members of the clerical establishment. The clause was defended by Mr. Wynn, who argued that the natives of India had an obvious interest in the maintenance of a Christian establishment, for they would suffer most detriment, if those who were to govern them were destitute of religious instruc-

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tion. It was a necessary consequence that India must bear whatever expences were necessary for its good Government; and the maintenance of the ceremonies of their religion among those who were to administer the Government was necessary for maintaining their morality, and, therefore for the welfare of India. The discussion was adjourned, and was resumed on the 19th, when Mr. O'Connell repeated, with additional earnestness, his objection to the introduction of a dominant church into India, as likely at the same time to introduce all the rancour and hate of religious animosity. He asserted that of the Christians in India, the large majority were Catholics, above half a million of whom would be taxed to pay the salaries of Protestant Bishops. If provisions were made for the Protestant, the same should, in justice, be supplied to the Catholic and Presbyterian. Mr. Grant disclaimed the idea of a dominant church in India, and professed himself willing to concert with Mr. O'Connell the means of extending to the Catholic community in India, the consideration of the local Government. Mr. Shiel referred to the opinion expressed by the Company, of the injustice of taxing the natives of India for the support of a religious establishment, the expences of which had within a few years very largely increased; and argued, that as the majority of Christians in India were Catholics, all the evils of the Irish Church-establishment would be transferred to India, and with the same results. After some further observations from Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Hume, the discussion was suspended. It was resumed at the evening sitting; and after a

few brief observations by several members, the clause was put to the vote, and passed in the affirmative. An additional Clause was subsequently moved by Colonel Leith Hay, that, of the established Chaplains at each Presidency, two should always be ministers of the Church of Scotland, which was agreed to. Some discussion was elicited by the Clause, proposing, that for every vacancy in the Civil Service, and consequent admission of a student to the East India College of Haileybury, four candidates should be invariably nominated, the best qualified of whom should have the preference. Mr. Wynn recommended the reference of this question to a Special Committee, as it required deliberate consideration. He doubted the advantage of the College. Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Hume also questioned the benefit of continuing the establishment; the usefulness of which was advocated by Mr. Macaulay, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Grant. No amendment was proposed, and the clause having passed, the House directed the Report to be received.

On bringing up the Report of the Committee, Mr. Wilbraham moved a clause prohibiting the exclusive manufacture and sale of salt, by the Government of India, the object of which motion was to secure a new market for the salt of Cheshire. Mr. Ewart seconded the motion on behalf of the export trade of Liverpool; and it was supported by Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Hume. The President of the Board of Control made but a feeble opposition, stating that it was not the purpose of His Majesty's Government to defend the continuance of the tax; but it was a question of time, and involved important considera-

BOOK III. tions with respect to the revenue derived from the  
 CHAP. IX. taxes on Salt and Opium, amounting annually to  
 1833. two millions and a half. The authorities in India  
 as well as those at home were in favour of the  
 abolition of the tax on Salt ; and he hoped, there-  
 fore, that the amendment would not be pressed. It  
 was accordingly withdrawn.

In the meantime, a summary detail of the provisions of the Bill, exclusive of those relating to the Trade, the Political Government of India, and the terms of the compromise, had been communicated by the President of the Board of Control to the Court of Directors; who, in their reply, pointed out the palpable inconveniencies of the proposed alterations in the constitution of the Government of India. The control to be exercised by the Governor of India over the Subordinate Presidencies would virtually supersede the check and authority hitherto exercised at Home; or, if a reference were still to be required to the Home authorities, the double proceeding would be attended unavoidably with additional expense, delay, and inconvenience. Nor was the project likely to answer the purpose of relieving the Governor-General from embarrassing details, so that he might maintain an efficient control over the Subordinate Presidencies—as, to be efficient, the control must be minute—and the labours of the Governor of India, including the Government of Bengal, would be too heavy to be efficiently performed by any individual. Although sensible of the importance of checking the expenditure of the Governments of Madras and Bombay, the Court doubted how far the duty could be entrusted to that of Bengal; as

the most striking instances of unauthorised expenditure, and of the creation of new establishments, were to be found in the proceedings of the Supreme Government. With respect to the separation of the Upper Provinces from those of Bengal proper, the Court admitted the advantage; but they thought the object might be attained, as satisfactorily and more economically, by the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor, subject to the Bengal Government, than by the erection of a fourth Presidency, which must be productive of great additional expense, and would create much confusion in the distribution of the service. The Court expressed also strong objections to the proposal of depriving the Governors of Madras and Bombay of the assistance of their Councils. They doubted the expediency of the appointment of the fifth or additional member of the Council; the necessity of adding to the Ecclesiastical Establishment; or the advantage of the plan for the admission of students to the College. They expressed their satisfaction with the purpose intimated by Mr. Grant, of not proposing any alteration in the constitution of the Court which would be likely to impair its independence. Some further observations on the clauses of the Bill were submitted to the Board, affecting chiefly matters of detail. A subsequent communication further objected to the proposed extension of the Episcopal Establishment as not called for by the necessities of the case, and as incompatible with the duty which the Company owed to the natives of India, of imposing upon them no heavier a tax for the support of a church-establishment with

BOOK III. which they could have no community of feeling, beyond  
 CHAP. IX. such as was essential for the use of the servants of  
 1833. the State. They denied that the mortality which had  
 taken place was attributable to the laborious duties  
 of the office or the exposure of the Bishop to ex-  
 cessive fatigue; and they contemplated with appre-  
 hension the financial consequence of erecting two  
 more Sees, when the institution of that of Calcutta  
 had been followed by an increase of expenditure  
 from 48,000*l.* to more than 100,000*l.* per annum,  
 and augmented clerical pensions from 800*l.* to  
 5,000*l.* a year: while unwilling, therefore, to place  
 themselves in opposition to the wishes of the King's  
 Government, of the Lord Primate, and the Religious  
 Societies which had urged the proposed addition,  
 the Court trusted that ministers would pause before  
 pressing the adoption of a measure involving a cer-  
 tain, and perhaps, unlimited, addition to the per-  
 manent burthens of India. Objections to the intended  
 changes in the constitution of the Government were  
 also repeated; the needless and costly extension of the  
 Supreme Council, and to the abolition of the Local  
 Councils. The former was not persisted in; the ad-  
 dition being restricted to the fourth or Legislative  
 Member, and the continuance or abolition of the  
 Local Councils was, as we have seen, left to the dis-  
 cretion of the Court. The Court finally requested  
 that the third reading of the Bill should be postponed  
 until they should have had time to consider the  
 amendments; which not having been complied with  
 by Mr. Grant, they prepared a petition to the House  
 against the Bill, which was submitted to a General  
 Court of Proprietors for their approval, and having

been agreed to was presented on the 26th July, by Mr. Fergusson. The petition recapitulated the objections of the Court to the Bill—on the grounds of its making no provision for an appeal to Parliament, in cases of difference between the Court and the Board of Commissioners—of the inexpediency and expense of the alterations proposed in the constitution of the Indian Governments—of the unnecessary augmentation of the ecclesiastical establishment—and of the continuation of the college of Haileybury, which was maintained at a large annual charge, and was less efficient than a general system of education would be for securing good servants to the Indian empire. The house declined to receive the petition, or to hear counsel in behalf of the Petitioners, and, on the motion of Mr. Grant, proceeded to the third reading of the Bill. After some desultory discussions, in which the debateable provisions were attacked or defended according to the personal character and interests of the members, it was read a third time. It was then proposed by Mr. Wynn to add a clause empowering the Court of Directors to set apart a fourth of their military appointments for the sons of officers who had served for ten years in the military or civil service of the Company; but the proposal was resisted by Mr. Fergusson, because the Court had always practically shewn a disposition to pay due attention to such claims<sup>1</sup>; and by Mr. Grant, because he thought a case sufficiently strong had not been made out to warrant

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fergusson stated that the number of Cadets appointed during the last twenty-one years was 5,092, of whom 409 were the sons of civil, and 411 of military officers; 124 the sons of maritime officers; 308 the sons of clergymen; and 1018 orphans.

BOOK III. any interference with the patronage of the Court.  
 CHAP. IX. The motion was negatived without division. Mr.

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Shiel then proposed that a provision should be made for the support of the Roman Catholic Church in India. This was objected to by Mr. Grant; but he proposed, instead, to add a proviso to the clause, by which the Governor-General in Council should not be precluded from granting, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, to any sect, persuasion, or community of Christians, such sums of money as might be expedient for the purpose of instruction, or for the maintenance of places of worship. After some opposition, this addition was acceded to. Mr. Wynn finally proposed that the College of Haileybury should be abolished; but the motion was negatived, and the Bill was passed.

✕ The Bill, having passed the House of Commons, was transmitted to the House of Lords, and was read for the first and second time on the 29th of July, and 2nd of August. On the 5th, a petition was presented by the Company, praying to be heard by Counsel; but it was met by the motion of the Marquis of Lansdowne for going into Committee on the Bill. Lord Ellenborough urged the impropriety of hurrying to a premature decision, a measure involving such momentous changes in the constitution of the Indian Government—a Government which had stood the test of more than half a century; and was the offspring of men who stood in the foremost rank of practical statesmen, Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt. He objected to the additional powers of the Board of Control, which would alter all the relations between the

Board and the Court of Directors, and give to the former a complete command over the latter ; still further impairing that influence which the Court had hitherto beneficially enjoyed, and which could not fail to be materially enfeebled by the loss of the China trade. The proposed alterations in the organization of the Indian Governments would weaken, not strengthen, the administration, by vesting absolute power in the hands of the Governor-General. He concluded, by moving an instruction to the Committee to omit all such clauses as tended to alter the constitution and power of the Government of the several Presidencies in India. The objections of Lord Ellenborough were replied to by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and supported by the Duke of Wellington; and the amendment was negatived: no further discussion of any importance ensued: the clauses of the Bill were adopted with a few verbal amendments; and the Bill was ordered for the third reading. Prior to its passing into a law, a brief interval was suffered to elapse, in order to afford to the Proprietors an opportunity of considering whether or not they would place their commercial rights in abeyance, and to the Court of Directors to decide what course they would recommend the Proprietors to pursue.

At a Court of Directors, held on the 12th of August, it was moved by the Chairman and Deputy chairman, that the Court having unfortunately failed in their endeavours to obtain those modifications of the East India Bill, which were essential to enable the Company satisfactorily to conduct the territorial

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BOOK III. Government of India, regretted that they could not  
CHAP. IX. recommend to the Proprietors to place their com-

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mercial rights in abeyance, with a view to their being continued in the Government under the arrangements embodied in the Bill; and they, therefore, referred it, without any expression of opinion, to the Proprietors, to be dealt with at their discretion. A resolution was, however, adopted by the majority of the Court, which, while it recapitulated the most palpable objections to the Bill, determined to recommend to the Proprietors to defer to the pleasure of both Houses of Parliament, and to consent to place their right to trade in abeyance, in order to continue to exercise the Government of India for twenty years longer. To this resolution a dissent was recorded by Mr. Marjoribanks, the chairman, and Mr. Wigram, the deputy-chairman, in which, having explained their motives for concurring in the former proceedings of the Court, which constituted the basis of the proposed compromise, they objected to recommend to the Proprietors the relinquishment of their commercial rights; as the Bill had not provided for the conditions on which alone an equitable and safe compromise could have been effected. They considered that the Proprietors were entitled, both in justice and equity, to a guarantee fund of at least three millions from the proceeds of their Commercial assets, and that the provision for publicity as a rule was indispensable to the independence of the Court of Directors. Neither of these points had been conceded; and, on the other hand, although some important modifications had been made in the most

obnoxious provisions of the Bill, yet others had been introduced which rendered the scheme still more objectionable. The alteration in the constitution of the Indian Governments involved an unnecessary departure from the principles upon which the subordinate Presidencies had been conducted; and by which they had been held directly responsible to the authorities at Home. Instead of obviating the delay which had been so much complained of, it would increase the evil; and, instead of relieving the Governor-General from a portion of his duties, it would impose upon him additional labour and responsibility. It also created a considerable additional charge upon India without conferring any adequate benefit; while it deprived it, in some measure, of those resources without which the financial means of that country, both as regarded Income and Remittance, would be put to great hazard of diminution and loss. The transfer of the commercial Assets to Territory was likely to occasion, not only a serious depreciation of property, but great disappointment and distrust; and, lastly, they apprehended that the Court of Directors would be converted into little else than a mere instrument for giving effect to acts of the controlling Board; and that it would be better that His Majesty's Government should at once openly and avowedly assume the direct administration of India, than attempt to maintain an intermediate body in deference to those constitutional principles which led to its original formation under parliamentary regulation, but which was deprived by the present measure of its authority and rendered inefficient,

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BOOK III. and converted into a mere useless charge upon the  
 CHAP. IX. revenues of India. Under these impressions, they  
 1833. could not consent to recommend to their constituents  
 to confirm the compromise by consenting to place  
 their Chartered Rights in abeyance under the pro-  
 visions of the Bill<sup>1</sup>. The reasons which induced  
 the majority, while concurring in the objections of  
 the Chairman and Deputy to many of the provi-  
 sions of the Bill, to recommend its acceptance to  
 the Proprietors, were also put on record by several  
 of the leading members of the Court, who adopted  
 it as a lesser evil than its unqualified rejection,  
 the result of which might be equally injurious to  
 the pecuniary interests of the Company and the  
 political interests of India. To carry on the trade  
 would expose the Company to a destructive com-  
 petition, which would render it a source of loss to  
 all concerned, and the right of the Company to the  
 commercial assets might be disputed, and their value  
 reduced to insignificance, by being burthened with  
 territorial debts, and debarred from the realisation  
 of those demands which were justly due. With  
 regard to the Government of India, the Court,  
 though very inefficient as an administrative body,  
 would still retain powers that might be beneficially  
 exerted for the good of India, and that would  
 secure important influence; such as the appointment  
 of Members of Council at the several Presidencies—  
 the power concurrently with the Board, of appoint-  
 ing, and the absolute power of recalling, the Governor  
 of India and other high functionaries; the power

<sup>1</sup> Negotiations regarding the Renewal of the Charter, p. 462.

to repeal, alter, and amend the laws and regulations enacted by the Local Legislature, and other judicious and useful provisions. If the Company withdrew, what would be the result. It was to be apprehended, that the administration would fall into less experienced hands, that India would be overrun and disturbed by commercial and political adventurers, and that the integrity of the British constitution would exist only by the sufferance of the minister who should hold an uncontrolled sway <sup>BOOK III.</sup> <sup>CHAP. IX.</sup> <sup>1833.</sup> twenty-two millions of annual revenue. If the Company should abdicate their functions, those evils to India which were most to be deprecated and dreaded would probably be aggravated; for the Ministers would be justified in assuming the entire administration and patronage of that vast empire to gratify their political adherents, and strengthen their Parliamentary influence; and influenced by these reasons, and by a consideration of the extent to which their previous recognition of the basis of the arrangement implied their acquiescence, the Court of Directors, with the exception of the Chairman and Deputy, agreed to recommend to the Proprietors to assent to the plan of the Government. A General Court was in consequence held on the 13th of August, when the resolutions of the Court of Directors and the minutes of the several members were laid before the meeting. In conformity with the recommendation of the Court, a resolution was moved by Mr. Randle Jackson, which, while it expressed the

<sup>1</sup> Paper by H. St. St. George Tucker, Esq., in explanation of his dissent from the propositions of the Chair. Negotiations Company's Charter, p. 469.

BOOK III. entire concurrence of the General Court in the strong  
 CHAP. IX. objections entertained by the Court of Directors to  
 1833. the provisions of the Bill, yet, referring to past proceedings and looking to the difficult situation in which they were placed, declared it to be the intention of the Proprietors to defer to the determination of the Legislature, relying on its wisdom and justice, in the event of the expectation held out by His Majesty's Ministers being disappointed, for such further legislative measures as the interests of India, and those of the East India Company, might require. An amendment, declaring that the Proprietors could not, with justice to themselves or the people of India, consent to place their commercial charter in abeyance under the provisions of the Bill, was moved by Sir Charles Forbes; but it was rejected. A ballot was then demanded on the original motion, which took place on the 10th of August, and by a large majority decided the relinquishment by the Company of their commercial character, and their acquiescence in the plan of the Ministry for the future government of British India<sup>1</sup>. The Bill passed the House of Lords on the 19th of August, and received the Royal assent on the 20th.

Thus finally closed the commercial existence of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, who, after a remarkable career of per-

<sup>1</sup> The Proprietors of East India Stock had learned to participate in the indifference of the Parliament; and this great question was decided by little more than two hundred votes:

For the question . . . . .	173
Against it . . . . .	64
	<hr/>
Majority . . . . .	109

severing and spirited exertion, struggling boldly in the outset with great and serious obstacles, and holding on an unflinching course through good and evil, had created and perpetuated a vast and valuable trade, which, while it stimulated and rewarded the industry of the Eastern nations, contributed essentially to the wealth, the prosperity, and the power of Great Britain. It might seem to be an ungrateful requital of the unquestioned services of the Company to deprive them of the commerce which was their work, when they were beginning to reap the recompence of their energy and perseverance; but the interests of the East India Company were necessarily subordinate to those of the Empire, or rather were identified with them; so that whatever they might be justly called upon to relinquish in their corporate character, they recovered in their capacity of citizens of the same state. The general included the individual good, or if incompatible, the latter must necessarily be sacrificed to the former. The only question was, therefore, whether the discontinuance of the commercial character of the Company was for the benefit of the community; and upon this head no reasonable doubt could be entertained. The necessity of that consolidation of resources and unity of design which, as we have already had occasion to observe, was indispensable in the early state of the Company's commerce had long ceased to exist; and nothing now obstructed the free participation of the English merchant in the profits of Eastern commerce, except the privileges of his countrymen. No further benefit could accrue to the state from the prolonged inviolability of

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BOOK III. these monopolies; and they were productive of positive  
 CHAP. IX. prejudice to its commercial interests. They ob-  
 1833. structed the natural expansion of the commerce  
 through the greater boldness—it might be rash-  
 ness, of individual enterprise. They restricted the  
 amounts of the export trade to limits which it was  
 likely that more adventurous trade would overleap  
 in China as it had done in India; and they kept up  
 the cost of the principal import beyond the level to  
 which it might be expected to be reduced by mer-  
 cantile competition. Whatever the convenience or  
 advantage to the Company which might be secured  
 by the monopoly of the China trade, its continuance  
 was clearly irreconcilable with the interests of the  
 nation, and it was the duty of those who presided  
 over the affairs of the Empire to require its re-  
 linquishment as soon as the time for which it had  
 been granted had expired.

If the commercial interests of the Empire  
 demanded the discontinuance of the Company's  
 mercantile character, those of India equally re-  
 quired the complete and final severance of the  
 incongruous functions of Sovereign and of Mer-  
 chant. There might be some convenience in the  
 command of a ready channel for remitting to  
 England the means of paying the expences in-  
 curred on account of the Indian territory; but  
 this was of little importance compared with the  
 opportunity which the cessation of the trade afforded  
 for the concentration of the attention of the Com-  
 pany on the great duty of well-governing India,  
 undistracted by the incompatible, and sometimes  
 conflicting, objects of commercial speculation.

The plan of appropriating the whole of the commercial assets of the Company, as at first proposed, to the territorial resources of India, in consideration of the grant of an annuity, secured upon its revenues, is not easily accounted for. The territory gained no advantage; as, although it was relieved of a part of its liabilities, it was burthened with a heavy annual payment of perhaps rather more than equal amount, and the commerce reaped no benefit; as there was offered only an annuity for a term of years, in place of an amount of capital yielding a larger income for ever. The arrangement consulted the benefit of neither party, and will probably be ultimately productive of embarrassment to both. The provision of a guarantee fund, enforced by the perseverance of the Directors, may remedy part of the inconvenience; but the amount of the principal set apart, was evidently insufficient. To most persons it would have seemed to be the simpler and the honester process to have suffered the Company to realise and divide their capital, as far as their means extended, any surplus being applied, as legally applicable, to the discharge of the territorial debt. The only reason assigned by the President of the Board of Control for not following this course, was the proposed continuance of the Government of India to the Company, upon the principle of their being connected with the country by a pecuniary interest. Without some such link, he observed, there could be no greater propriety in entrusting the administration of India to the Company than to any other incorporated association. Had this objection been insurmountable, there would probably have been no great difficulty in

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BOOK III. devising a preferable substitute; for, although the  
CHAP. IX. East India Company included a fair proportion of  
 1833. individuals well-acquainted with India, and well  
 fitted to be intrusted with the conservancy of its  
 interests, yet, as a body, it was open to the imputa-  
 tions cast upon it in the House of Commons; and, in  
 the majority of its members, presented no peculiar  
 adaptation to the important office which it was to  
 be empowered to discharge.

Whatever might be thought of the unfitness of the East India Company, that of the Supreme Legislature had been most unequivocally exhibited in the course of the discussions upon the Renewal of the Company's Charter. It was not merely indifference with which the subject was treated in both Houses of Parliament; but feelings of impatience and disgust were unmistakably manifested upon almost every occasion in which the members were called upon to pronounce a decision essential to the well-being of the people of India, and to the most important interests, not of India alone, but, in connection with India, of the United Kingdom. That such a mood of the parliamentary mind is likely to be permanent is to be expected from the constitution of Parliament, the members of which are necessarily pre-occupied by details of more immediate and local, although frequently insignificant, importance, and who have neither the information requisite to form correct views of the condition and necessities of a remote and unknown region; nor enjoy the leisure, nor feel the obligation, to acquire it. As long as this ignorance, and its natural consequence, indifference, prevails, it is in vain to look to Parliament for a vigilant and

wise guardianship of the affairs of India; and it will most assuredly ever evince a disposition to resign the management entirely into the hands of the Minister of the day, who will thus be invested with absolute and uncontrolled authority over the Indian Government. That he will render such power subservient to the command of a dominant influence in Parliament, is nothing more than the necessary consequence of the dependance of ministerial vitality upon parliamentary majorities; and an abuse of power can scarcely be avoided, unless a competent check be provided in the intermediate existence of an independent and influential body, interested in the welfare of our Indian Empire, competent to decide upon all questions affecting its prosperity and perpetuation, enjoying the confidence and support of the public, and commanding that weight in the deliberations of the Legislature, and the measures of the Administration of the day, which shall protect the people of India against the encroachments of the one and the negligence of the other. In which way this may best be accomplished, it may not be easy to determine; but in the case under consideration, however imperfect might have been the organisation of the Company, it was fortunate that the Court of Proprietors, in concert with their executive representatives, the Court of Directors, were left in the enjoyment of their political power. An undue proportion was perhaps retained by the Board of Commissioners; but the attempt of the ministers still further to enlarge the control of the Board, and to circum-

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BOOK III. scribe the authority of the Directors was manfully  
 CHAP. IX. and beneficially resisted.

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It is unnecessary to repeat the objections which were urged to the proposed changes in the legislative powers, and the internal constitution of the Indian Government, which seem to have deterred the minister from carrying his plan into complete and consistent operation. The consolidation of the laws affecting the different races and religions of the people of India into one uniform system, was soon shewn to be an impracticable and a dangerous undertaking; and it was scarcely necessary to have nominated a special and expensive commission for the purpose of inquiring into the powers of the existing courts, and the nature and operation of the laws in force, as these were subjects quite within the reach of the judicial servants of the Company, as well as the capability of suggesting useful or necessary alterations. The power of legislating for all persons, and for all Courts of Justice, was advantageously vested in the Supreme Government; but it might be doubted whether the association of the Chief Justice as a legal member of the Council, would not have more effectively and economically answered the purpose, than the special appointment of an individual from England, unfamiliar with the law or the practice of the Indian Courts, and recommended by no remarkable forensic qualifications. The concentration of the Supreme Government in a Governor-General and Council of India, was well adapted to secure uniformity of design and energy of action; but it was incomplete and contradictory in its

construction. The fourth Presidency was never BOOK III.  
CHAP. IX. established: the suggestion of the Court of Directors that the nomination of a Lieutenant-Governor 1833. would better answer the purpose being tacitly adopted. No council was attached to the office, nor to that of Governor of Fort William, which was somewhat incompatibly combined with the appointment of Governor-General of India. The Councils of Madras and Bombay were nevertheless retained, constituting a departure from the original scheme, the judiciousness of which, notwithstanding the weight of the reasons by which it was influenced, may perhaps be questioned. The other alterations were of minor consideration. The augmentation of the Ecclesiastical establishment was probably not very urgently needed; but as it involved no additional burthen on the people of India, it was immaterial to them, and might be useful to the Christian community. The extended liberty of access granted to Europeans, was also a matter of little importance, as it was not likely to be taken advantage of, nor was it subject to abuse as long as the power of legislating for Europeans was vested in the Supreme Government. The provision for the four-fold nomination of candidates for the civil service was quietly abandoned. These changes were, therefore, inoperative or immaterial; those which were of real magnitude were not unpropitious to the good Government of India.

The consequences to India of the measures which had been pursued in that country by the administrations which have passed under review, were throughout the whole period, progressively beneficial. Tranquillity had been maintained undisturbed in

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the old territories of the Company, and in those more recently acquired, had not been allowed to suffer any serious or durable interruption. { International peace had also been upon the whole successfully enforced; and the results of the suppression of rapine and war were everywhere manifested in the increase of agriculture and population. Although the systems of judicature and police which prevailed in the Company's provinces laboured under many imperfections, yet much had been done towards their improvement; and they were still the objects of the unremitting care of the Government. The steps which had been taken towards the prolonged adjustment of the revenue of the Upper Provinces promised to bring that long-agitated question to a satisfactory conclusion; and the attention of the Government to the amelioration of the intellectual and moral condition of the people was beginning to produce the anticipated advantages. Much undoubtedly remained to be effected to counterpoise the evils which are inseparable from the nature of the connexion that subsists between the Government of India and its subjects—the unnatural rule of foreign masters differing in origin, language, civilisation, and religion—whose only sympathy with the natives of India arises from a sense of duty, not from identity of interests or reciprocity of feeling; who have no permanent stake in the country, no personal pride in its embellishment, no personal profit in its improvement—to whom, in short, it can never be a home. It is by this inherent and irremediable defect, that the main faults

of the Indian Government—the costly and complicated machinery of an administration ill-suited to the condition of the society on which it has been forced—the slow and imperfect distribution of justice, the feeble and vicious organisation of the police, the perpetual and exhausting drain upon the public revenue—are to be accounted for; and not by any want of wisdom or benevolence in those who have been entrusted with the prosperity of India, and who have always assiduously and earnestly laboured for the good of the people. Nor have they laboured in vain. For, although the country has suffered, and must ever suffer, many and great disadvantages from the substitution of strangers for its own functionaries, its own chiefs, its own sovereigns, it has been, in some degree, compensated for their loss, by exemption from the fatal consequences of native mis-rule—by protection against external enemies—by the perpetuation of internal tranquillity—by the assured security of person and of property—by the growth of trade—the increase of cultivation—and the progressive introduction of the arts and sciences, the intelligence and civilisation of Europe.

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## APPENDIX.

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*Declaration on the part of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, 24th February, 1824.*

During a long course of years, the relations of peace and friendship have been established between the Honorable East India Company and the state of Ava, by public engagements, and by the mutually beneficial intercourse of trade and commerce. The Supreme Government of India, scrupulously adhering to the obligation of public faith, and cordially solicitous to cultivate a good understanding with all surrounding states, has never ceased to manifest, in a special degree, its desire to cement and improve the relations of amity, subsisting with the Court of Ava. It is notorious, however, that, notwithstanding the uniformly pacific and conciliatory demeanour of the British Government, the sovereign of Ava has, in repeated instances, committed or sanctioned acts of provocation and aggression which have more than once placed the two countries on the brink of hostilities, and the natural consequences of which have been averted only by the moderation and forbearance of the British power, conscious of its superior strength and resources, and naturally disposed to make the largest allowances for the peculiar character of the people and the Government.

No. I

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No. I      Of late, the Burman monarch, emboldened by a career of successful encroachment against the petty states intervening between the two empires, and more especially elated by the conquest of Assam, has dared to offer injury to the British power, under circumstances of studied insult, menace, and defiance, such as no Government, alive to a sense of honour, and duly mindful of its safety and best interest, can suffer to pass unavenged.

In the prosecution of a singularly wanton and unfounded claim to the island of Shapuree, situated at the Southern extremity of the Chittagong district, the Burman chief, styled the Rajah of Arracan, addressed a letter to the Governor-General in August last, demanding, under the implied alternative of rupture with the state of Ava, the removal of a small guard which had been stationed on that island, as an arrangement purely of police. No time was lost in replying to this letter, by a temperate exposition of the undeniable title of the British Government to the place, as established no less by its position on the British side of the main channel of the Naf, than by the indisputable evidence of the public records. The Governor-General on the same occasion expressed his persuasion, that the tone assumed in the Rajah's letter had been adopted without due reflection, and that neither that, nor the abrupt and unwarrantable demand for the evacuation of Shapuree, could have been authorised by the Government of Ava. An offer was farther made, should the arguments contained in the letter fail to satisfy the Rajah's mind, as to the justice of our title, to depute an officer during the approaching cold season to afford additional explanation on the spot, and to adjust all disputed boundary questions appertaining to the Chittagong frontier, in concert with commissioners from Arracan.

Some of the subordinate Arracanese authorities having previously declared, in writing, to the local officers of the Chittagong district, that the British guard, if not speedily withdrawn from the island of Shapuree, would be attacked and forcibly expelled; they were, in reply, distinctly warned,



under orders from the Governor-General in Council, that any such procedure must be resented by the British Government as an act of positive hostility, and be punished accordingly.

The language of the Burmahs, in their official communications with the British officers, had been ever of a singularly boastful, assuming, and even insolent strain, and advertg to this habitual extravagance of tone, and to the fact that the Government of Ava itself had never raised a claim, nor addressed any representation to the Supreme Government on the subject of this paltry object of contention, it was not imagined that the Arracanese rulers seriously meditated the execution of their threat.

It was therefore, with equal astonishment and indignation that the Governor-General in Council learnt early in October last, that the Burmese chiefs of Arracan, called the four Rajahs, after suddenly assembling an unusual force at their frontier posts on the Naf, had, under cover of the night, deliberately attacked our guard on the island, consisting of a Jemadar and twelve privates of the Chittagong Provincial Battalion, whom they forced to retire after killing and wounding six of our men. The Rajahs at the same time sedulously promulgated, both verbally and in writing, that they had acted under the authority of a mandate from the Sultan of Ava, and that any attempt of the British Government to recover possession of what that Government had solemnly declared to be its unquestionable right, would be followed by an invasion of the eastern districts of Bengal, for which purpose the forces of the Burman Empire were advancing to the frontier. In a letter also addressed shortly afterwards by the Rajah of Arracan to the Governor-General, that chief had the unparalleled audacity to declare, that the party on the Island of Shapuree had been destroyed in pursuance of the commands of the great Lord of the Seas and Earth ; that if the British Government wanted tranquillity, it would allow the matter to pass ; but if it should rebuild a stockade on the island, the city of Dacca and Moorsheda-

No. I. bad, which originally belonged to the great Arracan Rajah, would be taken from it by force of arms.

No comments can be needed to illustrate the character of proceedings thus pushed to the extreme of insult and defiance, by a people who, notwithstanding their barbarous character, and extravagance of national pride, are by no means ignorant of the principles and observances which ordinarily regulate the intercourse between independent states, and who, as their whole conduct and language have shown, can feel keenly enough, in their own case, any supposed infraction of national rights or honour. If any additional circumstance were wanted to demonstrate to the conviction of the whole world, the utterly wanton as well as gross nature of the injury thus offered to a friendly power in a time of profound peace, and when no question or discussion had arisen between the two governments, it will be found in the fact, that recently these very officers have professed their perfect willingness that Shapuree should be considered neutral ground—thus acknowledging the dubious nature of the Burman title, and insidiously tendering a proposition at this late period of the season, which, if advanced in proper language by their Government on the first commencement of the discussion, would probably have been assented to by the British authorities, as an admissible compromise, where the object in dispute was so utterly worthless and unimportant.

The first impulse of the British Government, on learning the outrage at Shapuree, was naturally to take into its own hands the instant chastisement of its authors, by fitting out an expedition to attack any assailable points in Arracan. But various considerations induced the Governor-General, subsequently, to pause in the adoption of this course. On farther reflection, it appeared possible that the King of Ava might have been misled by false and interested reports, or that the name of their sovereign might have been used without authority by the Rajahs of Arracan and Ramre, whose intemperate and even insolent language had, on former occasions, excited the serious displeasure of the British Govern-

ment. It was deemed, at all events, a step worthy the magnanimity of a powerful nation, and consistent with our uniform policy towards the state of Ava, to afford to the Burman monarch an opportunity of disavowing and making atonement for what we were willing to consider, in the first instance, as the unauthorized act of a subordinate authority. Under this view, a letter was addressed to the ministers of the King of Ava, in the form of a declaration on the part of the Governor-General, explaining in decided, but moderate language, the sentiments to which the occurrence at Shapuree had given rise on our part : demanding reparation for that outrage, by the disgrace and punishment of its immediate authors ; and solemnly warning the Burman Government of the consequences which must inevitably attend a refusal to comply with this just demand, and to repress, in future, the insolence and hostility of tone which its local officers had invariably assumed at every point where they had come in contact with the British power, whether in Chittagong or Assam. Copies of this letter were forwarded to the capital of Ammerapoor, by two separate channels about the middle of November last.

Conformably with the intention avowed in the letter to the Court of Ava, the Governor-General in Council, at the same time despatched re-inforcements to Chittagong, in order to ensure the safety and restore the tranquillity of that district which had been so seriously disturbed by the conduct of the Burmese, and likewise to overpower any opposition that might be made to the re-occupation of the island of Shapuree. On the arrival of the force in the Naf river, the limited objects with which it had been deputed, and the pacific intentions of the British Government pending the reference to the Court of Ava, were distinctly explained to the Arracanese authorities, both by the magistrate of the district, and the officer commanding the troops, and so perfectly disposed were the Burmese to credit our assurances, that an intercourse was speedily re-established between the officers and the functionaries of both states, on the most friendly and confident footing.

No. I. For a time hopes were entertained, that the differences with the Burmese might be amicably adjusted on terms consistent with the national honour, and that the Burman Government would consent to the definition of such a boundary between the two countries, as would obviate the future occurrence of disputes and misunderstanding on the south-east frontier.

About the middle of January, this pacific aspect of affairs was suddenly changed, and all friendly intercourse suspended, by the arrival of a military officer of the highest rank, at the head of large re-inforcements, accompanied by two commissioners from the capital, vested with extensive powers, and bringing positive orders to dislodge the English, at whatever hazard, from the island of Shapuree. The purport of these orders was ostentatiously proclaimed with a distinct intimation, that any attempt on our part to interrupt their execution, would be considered tantamount to a declaration of war between the two states. The first act of the commissioners was to cross over, in state, to the disputed island, obviously for the purpose of recovering a nominal possession; the British detachment having been previously withdrawn, in consequence of the unhealthiness of the spot. The following day, they succeeded in decoying to the shore two of the officers of the Honourable Company's armed vessels in the Naf, whom, with their boat's crew, they treacherously seized, in defiance of the laws of good faith and hospitality, and imprisoned and detained them for nearly a month, expressly on the ground of their having anchored their ships off the island of Shapuree. Shortly afterwards, the standard of the Burman empire was hoisted by stealth, during the night, on the disputed ground, an act which, however contemptible in itself, must necessarily be regarded as a farther pledge of the obstinate determination of the Burman Government to carry its point, even at the known hazard of involving the two nations in war.

During all this period the King of Ava has maintained a haughty and contemptuous silence on the subject of the

remonstrance addressed to the Burmese Court more than No. I  
 three months back. The above document must have  
 reached the capital some time previous to the deputation of  
 the commissioners; and the Governor-General in Council is  
 hence compelled to interpret the acts and declaration of  
 those ministers, as the only answer which the Government  
 of Ava deigns to return.

Whilst the British territories on the southern frontier  
 have been thus actually violated under circumstances of  
 peculiar and aggravated insult, the language and proceedings  
 of the Burmese, on the north-east frontier of Bengal, have  
 evinced more extensive and mischievous designs of aggres-  
 sion, and leave no rational ground to doubt that the King  
 of Ava has deliberately resolved to pursue the schemes  
 avowed by his officers, in contempt of the rights and dignity,  
 and in open defiance of the British Government.

For many years past, the parties dividing authority, and  
 struggling for ascendancy in the Raj of Cachar, had inces-  
 santly applied to the British Government, soliciting it to  
 interfere, as the paramount state, to settle the affairs of that  
 country. Its internal dissensions had frequently disturbed  
 the tranquillity of the adjoining district of Sylhet, and the  
 Governor-General in Council having satisfied himself, that  
 Cachar was altogether independent of the Burmese, and that  
 the measure could afford no just ground of umbrage to that  
 Government, adopted a resolution on the 19th June last, to  
 take the country avowedly under protection, on the usual  
 conditions of political dependence. Whilst arrangements  
 and negotiations were in train for defining the terms of our  
 connection with the chief, whom it was determined to re-  
 instate in possession, and who was residing under British  
 protection within the Honourable Company's territory,  
 intelligence arrived from Assam, that the Burmese were  
 preparing an army to invade and conquer Cachar. The  
 Governor-General's agent on the north-east frontier, lost no  
 time in addressing letters to the Burmese governor of  
 Assam, briefly apprising him of the nature of our views

No. I. and measures in regard to the Raj of Cachar, and calling upon him to desist from any project of molesting that country. The outrage at Shapuree having in the interval occurred, the agent subsequently warned the Burman authorities, under the express instructions of Government, that their occupation of Cachar would not be permitted, as, independently of the resolution recently taken by the British Government to protect that territory, it could not, without a culpable dereliction of duty, and a disregard of the plainest maxims of prudence, allow the Burmese to advance unopposed to a position, the command of which would so greatly facilitate the execution of the threat of invasion, repeatedly pronounced by their countrymen in other quarters. The only answer returned to these communications was that orders had arrived from the King of Ava, to follow up and apprehend certain Munniporian chiefs (peaceably residing within the British territory), wherever they might be found; that these orders would be executed without any respect to territory or jurisdiction; and that the Burmahs were not to be hindered from carrying into effect the mandates of their sovereign, by any opposition which the British authorities might offer.

It soon appeared, that an army had been assembled in the Burman dependency of Munnipore, as well as in Assam, for the execution of the fresh purpose of aggression now distinctly threatened.

On the advance of the invading force from the eastward; the acting magistrate of Sylhet addressed letters of remonstrance, under the orders of Government, to the military chiefs in command, of a purport and tendency similar to those which had been previously transmitted to the commander of the forces in Assam.

Totally disregarding, however, the intimation thus explicitly given by the British Government of its determination to resist their occupation of Cachar, on grounds the justice of which cannot be questioned, and anxious only to effect their object of concentrating a large army on the

immediate frontier of the Company's possessions, the parties from the northward and eastward hurried on, by forced marches, in avowed defiance of our remonstrances, and effected a junction at Jatrapore, only five miles from the frontier of Sylhet, where they entrenched themselves in extensive and formidable stockades. Happily, a party of observation had been advanced to the frontier on the first intelligence of the near approach of the forces of the King of Ava, of sufficient strength to keep them in check, and prevent any actual violation of the British territory in that quarter. But the injury already sustained by their advance has been serious, no less to the suffering country of Cachar, than to the district of Sylhet, throughout which a general alarm has been spread, causing many of our Ryots to abandon their homes, and materially impeding the collection of the public revenues.

The conduct and declarations of the Burman commander on the Sylhet frontier have unequivocally disclosed, if indeed any further proofs were wanting, the ambitious designs and insufferable arrogance of the Court of Ava.

After long detaining and grossly insulting the vakeel and successive messengers deputed to their camp by the Governor-General's agent, they notified in a letter to Mr. Scott, that they had entered the country of Cachar to restore the Rajah, and to follow up and seize the Munnipoorian chiefs wherever they might be found, knowing well at the time, that the whole of those chiefs had obtained an asylum within the British provinces. "Should (they observed) Chorjeet, Marjeet, and Gumbheer Sing, and the Cossayers enter the English territories, apprehend and deliver them, to save any breach of friendship. So doing, no rupture will take place, and the commercial intercourse now in existence, will continue. If the Cossayers enter the English territories, and their surrender is refused, and if they receive protection, be it known, that the orders of the most fortunate sovereign are, that, without reference to any country, they must be pursued and apprehended."

No. I. Whilst occupying their threatening position in Cachar, the generals of the King of Ava had, moreover, planned the conquest of Jyntia, another petty chiefship situated similarly with Cachar in regard to the British frontier; but which having formerly been restored as a gift to the Rajah's family by the British Government, after a temporary convulsion, was more distinctly recognized as a dependency of Bengal. The Rajah of Jyntia, in a letter addressed to him by the Burmese commanders, was called upon to acknowledge submission and allegiance to the King of Ava, and to repair forthwith to the Burman camp. A demonstration was further actually made against Jyntia, to enforce the above requisition, when the British troops frustrated the execution of this hostile and menacing encroachment.

Two successive checks sustained by the armies of his Burmese Majesty on the Sylhet frontier, at length induced their partial retreat from the threatening position which they had taken up in that quarter. One party, however, still maintains its position in Cachar, and the retirement of the Assamese force, which had taken post more immediately on the British frontier, has been made under circumstances indicating no retraction of the hostile designs of the government. The officers and men also of the Honourable Company's armed vessel *Sophia* have been released; but no kind of apology or explanation of their detention has been offered by the chiefs who committed that outrage.

From the foregoing detail it will be evident, that in a season of profound peace, and wholly without provocation, the Court of Ammerapoorah has grossly and wantonly violated the relations of friendship so long established between the two states; and by the hostile conduct and language of its officers, and the actual advance of its forces to several and widely distant points of our frontier, has compelled the British Government to take up arms not less in self-defence, than for the assertion of its rights, and the vindication of its insulted dignity and honour.\*



The scornful silence maintained by the sovereign of Ava, after the lapse of so many months, and the commission of renewed outrages and insults in that interval, obviously by his sanction and command, evince, that all prospect of an honourable, and satisfactory adjustment of our differences, by correspondence and negotiation, is at an end. At the same time, the season for military operations is rapidly passing away; and it hence becomes indispensable, whilst an effort may yet be made, to adopt measures, without delay, for repelling the dangers which menace the eastern districts, and for placing the safety of our frontier beyond the reach of the caprice and violence of the Burman monarch.

The Governor-General in Council has therefore ordered the advance of the force assembled at Gowalpareh, into the territory of Assam, to dislodge the enemy from the commanding position which they occupy at the head of the Burhampooter, and is prepared to pursue such other measures of offensive warfare as the honour, the interests, and the safety of the British Government demand recourse to at the present crisis.

Anxious, however, to avert the calamities of war, and retaining an unfeigned desire to avail itself of any proper opening which may arise for an accommodation of differences with the King of Ava, before hostilities shall have been pushed to an extreme length, the British Government will be prepared even yet to listen to pacific overtures on the part of his Burmese Majesty, provided that they are accompanied with the tender of adequate apology, and involve the concession of such terms as are indispensable to the future security and tranquillity of the eastern frontier of Bengal.—By Command of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council,

GEORGE SWINTON, Secretary.

## II.

PAGE 116.

*Proclamation by Brigadier General Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B., and K.C.T.S., Commander of the English Army; December, 1824.*

No. II. Inhabitants<sup>x</sup> of Pegu! What folly can actuate you to attempt any further opposition to the British arms: you know and have seen how weak and contemptible all the efforts of the Burma army have proved in combat with the troops I have brought against them.

Against you, inhabitants of the ancient kingdom of Pegu, and the noble Talien race, we do not wish to wage war. We know the oppression and tyranny under which you have been labouring for a length of time by the cruel and brutal conduct of the Burmese Government towards you. They acknowledge you by no other title than the degrading and ignominious appellation of Slaves. Compare, therefore, your condition with the comfort and happiness of the four maritime provinces, Mergui, Ye, Tavoy and Martaban, now under the protection of the English flag: follow their example to enjoy their blessings, by placing yourselves under my protection: it is a duty you owe to your aged and infirm parents, to all your female relatives, your wives and innocent children, instead of keeping them and yourselves in constant terror of your lives, and like wild beasts frequenting the jungles; and that in trying to support the hopeless cause of your merciless conquerors, the Burmese. Choose from among yourselves a Chief, and I will acknowledge him.

## III.

PAGE 212.

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*Death of Dowlat Rao Sindhia. Extract from the dispatch of Major Stewart, Resident, Gwalior, 22nd March, 1827. Sutherland's Political Sketches, p. 155.*

“ About nine o'clock yesterday morning a horseman came at full speed from the Maha Raja's camp to the residency, with a message from Hindoo Rao, stating that the Maha Raja had expressed an anxious wish to see me, and begging that I would as soon as possible proceed to the palace. Conceiving that the Maha Raja must be in his last moments, I instantly mounted a horse, and, accompanied by Captain Dyke alone, I reached the palace in a very short time after I had received this message. I found an anxious crowd outside, and all the chiefs and people of respectability assembled in the different apartments of the palace. As soon as I met Hindoo Rao, I anxiously inquired after the Maha Raja. Hindoo Rao said that he was very ill, and that I should see him immediately, etc., etc. During this conversation, messages were carried backwards and forwards, from the interior apartments, where the Maha Raja was, and it was at last announced that H. H. was ready to receive me. I proceeded to his apartment, accompanied by Hindoo Rao, Raojee Khasjee Walla, Atmaram Pundit, and perhaps there were one or two more. Captain Dyke also accompanied me. H. H. lay, or rather reclined, on a couch supported by pillows, and a number of female servants were in attendance around him. Behind a purdah close to him were Baeza Bae, Rookma Bae, and Bala Bae, and their attendants. I was much shocked to observe the sad change that had taken place in the Maha Raja's appearance: his arms and upper part of his body had

No. III.

No. III. become quite emaciated; his belly and lower extremities were greatly swelled. I went up to him, took his hand in mine, and leant over him, so as to hear what he might say. He remained silent for some time, apparently unable to speak. At last he said, in a distinct and audible voice, so as to be heard by every one present, and even I believe behind the purdah, I wish you to do whatever you think proper (“*Jo toom moonasib jano so kuro*”). I replied, that every thing should be aranged according to His Highness's wishes, and I added some words of consolation; and said, I trusted by the blessing of God he would yet recover. He appeared affected, and said, By the sight of you, and your friendship (“*Ap ke dekhne se, aur ap ke mohubbet se*”), but he could not finish the sentence. A long pause now ensued, and I at last said, “Is there any thing else that your Highness would wish to say to me.” He replied, I have a great deal to say to you (“*Bhoutera sa kuhna hy*”). But after waiting a considerable time he could add no more. I then proposed to retire into another room for a short time, and to return when His Highness might revive a little, and be able to speak. This was agreed to by all present. When I was about to retire, I heard the voice of Baeza Bae suggesting that Dr. Panton should be sent for. I asked the Maha Raja if it was his wish that that gentleman should be called, when His Highness made a faint sign of assent.

“I have been thus particular in giving the expressions used by the Maha Raja on this occasion, as they were probably the last words he uttered. I had not retired above an hour to an upper apartment, when the screams of females announced that the Maha Raja's life had fled.

“It would be difficult for me to give any adequate notion of the scene that ensued; the cries of women and the lamentations of men, the uproar, and the tumult, were beyond all description.

“With reference to what I have stated in the last paragraph of my letter of the 20th instant, I immediately determined to remain at the palace till the Maha Raja's body

should be carried to the funeral pile; and a request to that effect was also made to me by Hindoo Rao, and the other principal persons present. It was very satisfactory to me to find, that though there was a great appearance of grief, there were none of the appearances that indicated an intended Sutte. When a woman intends to ascend the funeral pile of her husband, her grief assumes a more sublime character: she sheds no tears, she makes no lamentation, she lays aside her veil, and no longer conceals herself from the sight of men. There were none of these signs. When, therefore, I was informed that the Baeza Bae had declared she would follow the Maha Raja, I was certain that it would not be difficult to restrain her. For this purpose, however, I was called on to speak to the lady, with only a thin piece of cloth held up by two females between us.

“ It is not necessary to detail all that was said on this occasion. I terminated the discussion by assuming the authority which the Maha Raja's dying declaration had, I said, given me, and I desired that she would withdraw to her own apartments. She was at last dragged away by her female attendants. Shortly after, a memorandum consisting of seven articles was brought to me, purporting to be the Maha Raja's last will but not bearing his signature, the principal of which were, the Maha Raja's declared intention to adopt a son; the appointment of Hindoo Rao to be the superintendant, and another person to be the Mookhtar. In case of the birth of a son, he is to be heir to the possessions; “ and,” it is added, “ that the adopted son shall be obedient to the orders of the Maha Raja and the Baeza Bae as long as they live.” For the fulfilment of all these intentions he appeals to the support of the British Government.

It was a singular and a melancholy sight to see the Maha Raja dressed in his last apparel, adorned with jewels and pearls, seated in his palankeen with his face uncovered, as if still alive, accompanied by all his state-elephants and led

No. III. — horses, set out on this last procession. He was accompanied to the funeral pile by almost every man in camp; and the tears of the multitude showed, that however deficient in many of the qualities of a good prince, he was neither a cruel nor a tyrannical sovereign. The Maha Raja was by no means deficient in understanding, to which indeed he owed the salvation of his state amid the wreck of the Mahratta Empire. In conversation, the comparisons and illustrations he used were frequently very striking and happy. His temper was mild and gentle in the extreme, though his courage was never doubted. Whatever may have been the vices and crimes of his youth (and these I believe are more to be ascribed to evil counsellors than to himself), his latter years have been unmarked by any gross violation of morality. Apathy and indolence were his besetting faults, which through life prevented him from ever executing the duties of a sovereign with efficiency. On the whole, when it is considered that he was raised to a sovereignty at that time the most extensive in India, at the early age of fourteen, and that he was brought up from childhood amid the scenes of treachery and rapacity that characterise a Mahratta camp, it is easy to find an excuse for many of the errors and vices of his reign. If in any part of this dispatch I have transgressed the rules of official correspondence, I trust the occasion will plead my excuse. I should be insensible indeed, if I could, with feelings unmoved, report the death of a chief whom I have long known, and with whom I may of late be said to have been on terms of intimacy. Nor is it the least affecting circumstance attending his death, that the last act of his life showed his unbounded confidence in the justice and generosity of the British Government."

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## IV.

PAGE 296.

*Initial Proceedings in adjusting Revenue Settlements of a Pergunna, in the Western Provinces. From the Meerut Magazine, vol. iv., p. 347.*

When the survey of the Pergunna was completed, and ready for settlement, the collector, after examining the records of his office to ascertain the fiscal history and proprietary changes which had transpired in every village, issued a proclamation to the effect that his tent would be pitched at Shahjehanpore, in the centre of the Pergunna, on the 5th of December. The proclamation was not issued in the usual *chuspaneedu shood* style; but to every chuprassee were allotted ten villages in one vicinage, in each of which he was to publish three different times, by beat of drum, that the twenty years' settlement was about to take place, and that any man who had any claim to be adjusted of any kind connected with the settlement was to make his appearance, whether Chokeydar, Asamee, Coparcener, or Lumberdar. The number of people that this drew together was astonishing; not only all the litigants but all the *tumashabeens* of the neighbourhood were attracted to the spot. There were 250 villages in the Pergunna, and there must have been at least 3,000 men present whenever the Cutcherry hour approached. The Comitias were invariably held in the open air; and regularity in so large a crowd was preserved in the following way. A space of about forty feet square was marked out by ropes, within which no one was allowed to come, except for special reasons. A mound was raised in the middle of one side of the square, on which the Collector, one or two of his Omlah, and visitors and friends from Cantonments (ourselves amongst the number), were privileged to sit. Op- No. IV.

No. IV. posite to this point two smaller squares were formed outside the larger one, and these were always kept open to admit litigants, remonstrants, and petitioners. Two squares were formed on this plan instead of one, merely for the purpose of dividing plaintiffs from defendants; and this was very necessary, as there were frequently fifty men on each side in disputed questions respecting village administration. On the right and left of the Collector, carpets were strewed outside the rope for the most respectable of the Native visitors and Zemindars. All the feuds in the Pergunna were distinctly marked by the people of one side clubbing together, and not intermingling with the other. Those who could not be comfortably accommodated on the ground, by reason of the crowd, climbed up the trees, and seated themselves on the boughs. When the Collector reached the spot where all had been prepared for his reception, he ordered all the men who were assembled to seat themselves, and the business of the day commenced.

But before these grand tribunals were held, the Collector had for the first fortnight been out in different parts of the Pergunna, inspecting the villages, and holding personal communication with every intelligent person in the neighbourhood. By the Pergunna map he could easily arrange, so as to visit the villages in regular succession. His camp was moved to the four remotest corners in the Pergunna for two or three days, each time, and all the surrounding villages were inspected. His establishment remained meanwhile at Shajehanpore preparing the papers. The remaining villages which were closer to the fixed camp were easily examined during the remainder of his stay. The use of these personal visits has been questioned; but surely a fair judgment may be formed of the pressure of the Jumma from the state of repair of the village, from the mode of husbandry, the comforts of the people, and the state of the crops, and above all the general character of the soil may be examined, so as to trace from what part a new variation occurs, It must be considered, however, that this is merely auxiliary



to other means of inquiry. Were entire dependence placed on such results and deductions, and were they not submitted to comparison, it might, perhaps, be considered presumptuous in any officer to profess to gain a knowledge of the assets of a village by riding across its area, and inspecting or pretending to inspect its capabilities; but with the survey and other preliminary statements before him, such inquiries and examinations must obviously be of great service.

No. IV

The day we arrived in camp was the first on which the public Comitias were assembled; and we confess ourselves struck with the patriarchal mode of distributing justice. Of the private conferences held every day, we shall speak shortly when we come to the subject of assessment. Almost the first petition presented was by a certain Sibba, who stated that he had been unjustly ousted from the possession of one hundred beegas of land through the instrumentality of the Lumberdar, Maharaj Sing, who, when the Khusruh measurement was taking place, had caused him to be apprehended in the Foujdaree Court on a false accusation, and had, through collusion with the Putwaree, got this land measured as his (the Lumberdar's) property. We remarked to the Collector that the complainant appeared to excite great interest among the Zemindars; and he, after hearing the statement of both parties, which were of course contradictory, directed that any man who could speak in favour of the petitioner's claim should come forward and avow his knowledge. On this a confused murmur arose, and every one seemed to speak in favour of the Petitioner; but the Collector, not being satisfied that he distinctly apprehended them, ordered all who were persuaded of the justice of the claim to stand up. On this, the whole multitude stood up *en masse*. Nevertheless, apprehensive that they might possibly have misunderstood his question, he directed them all again to be seated. When they were all level, and scarcely one head appeared above the other, all those who considered the Petitioner's claim to be unjust, were ordered to stand

No. IV. up. But not a soul rose in favour of the oppressor; and the Collector having examined the Putwaree's accounts minutely, and ascertained that the Petitioner had been in possession of the land, of course directed his reinstatement, and excluded, with the concurrence of the proprietors, Maharaj Sing from the future management of the village. Sibba was allowed to succeed him. The air was rent with acclamations at this summary, expeditious, and certain mode of dispensing justice; and one's heart rejoiced to see a simple and uncorrupted people (because they were happily nescient of Courts and their injurious influences) so enthusiastic and unanimous in defending the poor and helpless against the proud man's contumely.

Cases on which evidence was requisite, were disposed of by the Collector's own order, or reference to a more private PUNCHAYUT; but all questions into which the Pergunna Zemindars might be supposed to have entered, and which could not have escaped their observation, were referred in this manner to the public sense of the meeting; and really the unbought and unsolicited testimony of three or four thousand peers must come very near the truth; and at any rate must be more trustworthy than the *Gunga Julee* oath of two paid witnesses.

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V.

PAGE 379.

*Statement of the Nawab Mehndi Ali Khan. From the Mofussil Akhbar. Asiatic Monthly Journal, December, 1833.*

No. V. " In appealing to the opinion of the public, I profess that I am solely actuated by a desire to do myself justice; and I disclaim every intention of wishing to draw conclusions inimical to the character of any one: facts as they are here related will speak for themselves, and they are sufficiently

clear to show the injustice with which I have been treated through the intrigues of certain interested persons at the Court in Lucknow. No. V.

“ While residing at Furruckabad, in retirement, in the hope of passing the remainder of my life in quietness, I received two firmans from the King of Oude; the first stating that Mr. Maddock had, at the King's request, applied to the British Government for its sanction to my accepting office. Having resided at Futtyghur for nearly twelve years, I considered myself a subject of the Honourable Company, and consequently thought it my duty to submit, for the information of that government, the communication made to me by his Majesty; I immediately transmitted a copy of the firman in question to Mr. Secretary Sterling, who, according to custom, forwarded the same to the Resident at his Majesty's court.

“ At the expiration of twenty days, I received a second firman from his Majesty, stating that he had received the Resident's permission to send for me, and directing me to repair to Court. A copy of this order I forwarded to Mr. Maddock, and immediately left Futtyghur for Lucknow. On my arrival, I waited upon his Majesty, who received me with much kindness; and some days afterwards invested me with the usual dress of honour, elephant, palkee, etc. Upon this occasion, his Majesty directed me to wait on Mr. Maddock I did so; when the Resident informed me, that, in obedience to the will of his Majesty, I was to conduct the affairs of government in the character of Prime Minister.

“ At this period, Akber Alli Khan (son of Haidar Beg Khan), Ikbal ood Dowla (son of Captain Futteh Alli), and Mewa Ram, who were conducting the affairs of the state, were, by order of his Majesty, removed from office, and prohibited from attending the durbar.

“ Immediately on my appointment, I proceeded to examine the amil's accounts in the office of Mewa Ram, who, though entirely incompetent to the duties, had been appointed to the situation of dewan by the ex-minister,

No. 7. Matamid-ool-Dowlah, and discovered that many lacs of rupees had been received from the different amils and afterwards embezzled by the dewan. A list of the different balances due by the amils; together with a statement of the sums received by the dewan and unaccounted for, I laid before his Majesty, who ordered that his displeasure should be expressed toward Mewa Ram; and further directed, that, until the immense sums of money of which he had defrauded the state were made good, that individual should be prohibited from appearing at Court.

“Rajah Balkishun, son of the late Dya Kishun, though nominally assistant to the dewan, Mewa Ram, was in reality the principal person in the office of the dewan; this person was allowed exclusively to transact all the affairs of the office, with the assistance of his uncle Mul Ram. I was repeatedly advised, upon coming into office, to appoint my own dewan, and, as vacancies occurred in the minor branches of the establishment, to fill them up by mootsuddies of my own; but to prove that I was not, like my predecessors, actuated by motives of gain, I allowed those whom I found in office to continue on; and all papers and documents relative to the public collections and the revenue department went through the hands of Balkishun and Mul Ram, and continued to do so until the period of my removal from office.

“In consequence of orders from my successors, Roshun ood Dowla and Muzaffer Ali Khan, the office of dewani, and its establishment, together with the accounts of the revenue collections for the last two years (embracing the whole period of my administration), were made over to Roshun ood Dowla. I challenge any one to prove the existence of a defalcation of a single rupee during the whole period. I can, indeed, lay my hand upon my heart and solemnly declare before heaven, that the whole of my conduct was actuated with the most disinterested views of serving his Majesty and the state. During the two years of my administration, all the money I paid to the troops, the head

servants, and the royal family, went through the hands of Captain Futteh Alli and his mootsuddies; and I solemnly declare, that neither myself nor any of my dependents have been concerned, in the least degree, in any pecuniary transactions of a public nature, except through this channel; a fact which can be easily ascertained by a reference to the records of the captain's office.

"The jagirs, appropriated to the support of the ladies of his Majesty's muhal, were made over in amani to amils, (collectors) including the Punj Kosi; and during the period of my administration, the collections made therefrom were regularly paid to the parties entitled to them, and receipts bearing their signatures obtained.

"To account for this part of my conduct, it is necessary I should state that these tracts of country were, before my coming into office, accustomed to be farmed out by the ladies of the muhal to individuals, who abused their trust by the greatest acts of tyranny and oppression towards the unfortunate ryots. In consequence of the measures adopted by me in making over these tracts of country as amani (direct collection), and giving triennial leases to each of the amils I selected, the jagirs began in a short time to assume a prosperous appearance, and the collections, from the beginning of Akwar or November to the end of Assar or June, were punctually paid; and I have no doubt, that, had this arrangement been permitted to remain in force, the estates would have continued to improve, and have yielded a higher revenue."

Appended to this memoir or appeal is a curious statement of the revenues derived by the ladies of his Majesty's muhal from jagirs assigned to them. Their annual incomes (without reckoning contingent surpluses) were, during the two years of the hakeem's administration, as follows:—

Nuwaub Khoodseah Sooltan Banu Begum Sahib	. Rs. 2,40,000
Nuwaub Taj Mahal Sahib	. . . . . 2,40,000
Her Highness Badshah Begum Sahib	. . . . . 9,00,000
Joonab Malikah Zummaneeah Sahib	. . . . . 3,00,000
Joonab Mookudder Owleea, Nuwaub Sooltan Begum Sahib	. . . . . 2,40,000

No. v. making a total of 19,20,000 rupees (about 190,000*l.*) for  
the support of these five personages: a sum nearly twice as  
great as the allowance settled upon the Queen of England;  
and not far short of the entire charge upon the civil list for  
maintaining the whole royal family of the British Empire  
with the exception of the King.

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