CHAPTER XXIX.

India.—Retrospect from 1807 to 1826.—Lord Minto Governor-General.—Mutiny of Officers at Madras.—Trade of India thrown open.—Government of the Marquess of Hastings.—War with Nepaul.—War with the Pindarees.—The War terminated, and the Mahratta Confederacy broken up.—Conquest of Ceylon.—Singapore.—Malacca.—Lord Amherst Governor-General.—War with the Birman Empire.—Campaign of Sir Archibald Campbell.—Peace with the Birmese.—Bombardment and Capture of Bhurtpore.—Regulation of the Press in India.—The case of Mr. Buckingham.—Material progress of British India.

At the opening of the Session of Parliament at the end of 1826, the Houses were informed of the termination of war in the Birmese territories, and of the conclusion of a peace highly honourable to the British arms, and to the councils of the British Government in India. From 1824 there had been war with the Birman empire, lord Amherst being Governor-General. From 1813 to 1822, during the government of the marquess of Hastings, there had been war with the Nepaulese, and war with the Pindarees, the latter war involving changes in the relations of the British power with native princes, which eventually led to their complete submission. From 1807 to 1812 there had been war with the Rajah of Travancore; there had been mutinies in the native army; and, by a series of hostile operations, the British had become the sole European power in India. Lord Minto was Governor-General during this first period, succeeding lord Cornwallis after the very brief term of his government.* We propose to take a brief survey of the events of this period of twenty years, during which time there had been important changes in the relations of the State to the East India Company, and a general impatience amongst the commercial community at the continuance of their monopoly, and at the somewhat arbitrary regulations by which it was deemed necessary to uphold their exclusive privileges. But there had never been a year in which the British empire in India was not extending and consolidating, and the same courage, fortitude, and perseverance evinced in military enterprises which first laid the foundations of that empire, and would still have to sustain it through years of danger and difficulty. Nor let us forget that, during these twenty

* *Ante*, vol. vii. p. 226.

years in which the native powers adverse to our rule and influence were either crushed or propitiated, some efforts were made to accomplish a more complete subjection of the native populations by a civil rule of justice and beneficence, by repressing, as far as was safe, the barbarous rites of their idolatries and superstitions, and by winning them over to some possible recognition of Christian principles by encouraging rather than repressing efforts for their conversion, and by the establishment of an Anglican Church, whose first bishops were tolerant as well as zealous, active in well-doing, of high talent, and of blameless life.

At the beginning of 1807 India was at peace. On the death of the marquess Cornwallis, the powers of the Governor-General were temporarily exercised by sir George Barlow, who was subsequently entrusted with the full authority of his post by the Court of Directors. The Grenville administration had just come into office, and they wished to bestow the appointment upon one of their own supporters, and especially upon some nobleman. The harmony that had hitherto subsisted between the two independent bodies in whom was vested the government of India, was now interrupted. The ministry, who had at first consented to the continuance in office of sir George Barlow, recalled him, by an exercise of the royal prerogative, in direct opposition to the Board of Directors. The debates in Parliament on this subject were continued and violent. The conflict was finally settled by the appointment of lord Minto. The tranquillity of his government was after a while seriously disturbed by an outbreak against the power of the Company at Travancore. There was war against the Rajah of this state, which originated in a dispute between his Dewan, or chief minister, and the British resident. His troops were beaten in the field during 1808, and the lines of Travancore being stormed at the beginning of 1809, and other forts captured, relations of amity between the Company and the Rajah were restored. A more serious danger arose out of a circumstance which appears now amongst the most incredible things of the past. The officers of the Madras army, who had long been stirred up to discontent, had mutinied, and lord Minto, in August, 1809, sailed for Madras to quell this extraordinary insubordination of British officers. There were various and contradictory regulations existing in the several Presidencies. There were inequalities in the rate of allowances. At Madras, what the Council termed "a very dangerous spirit of cabal" had been pointed out as early as March, 1807, by the Council to the Court of Directors. There was there an officer high in command, lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, who was described in the despatch of the

Council as "the champion of the rights of the Company's army." Colonel St. Leger, as well as other officers, was suspended by an order of the 1st of May, and then open mutiny burst out at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, Seringapatam, and other places. On one occasion only was blood shed in this extraordinary revolt. Many of these officers were very young men, who were incited to acts of insubordination by the example of their seniors. Brave as were the British officers in the field, their exclusiveness and assumption of superiority were offensive to civilians and dangerous in their intercourse with the natives. These misguided men gradually returned to habits of obedience. In September lord Minto published an amnesty, with the exception of eighteen officers, nearly all of whom chose to resign rather than to abide the judgment of a court-martial. It now became the wish of all to obliterate the painful remembrance of the past. During this alarming period, in which the mutiny of the officers might have led to the entire disorganization of the Sepoy army, the King's troops manifested the most entire obedience to the orders of the Governor-General. Lord Wellington, engrossing as was his duty in Spain in December 1809, wrote from Badajoz to colonel Malcolm, to express how much he felt on what had passed in the Madras establishment:—"I scarcely recognize in those transactions the men for whom I entertained so much respect and had so much regard a few years back." Those transactions, he said, were "consequences of the first error —that is, of persons in authority making partisans of those placed under them, instead of making all obey the constituted authorities of the State." *

During the administration of lord Minto a number of successful operations were undertaken in the Eastern Archipelago, which, in 1810, gave us possession of Amboyna and the Banda isles, of the island of Bourbon, and of the Mauritius. The most important of these conquests was the rich island of Java, which, after a severe battle with the Dutch troops near the capital, capitulated in 1810. Sir Stamford Raffles, who was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Java, described it as "the other India." It passed out of our hands at the Peace—a circumstance attributed by many to the complete ignorance of the British government of the great value of this possession. The policy of the Court of Directors was to maintain peace as long as possible upon the continent of India, and thus the depredations of the Pindarees and the Nepaulese were not met by the Governor-General with any vigorous measures of repression. He demanded redress of the Rajah of Nepaul for the

* Despatches, vol. v. p. 330.

outrages of his people, but he did not make any more effectual demonstration to compel a less injurious conduct. His diplomacy had for its main object to prevent the establishment of the French in the peninsula. He concluded treaties with the Ameers of Scinde, and with the King of Caubul, of which the terms of friendship were, that they should restrain the French from settling in their territories. With Persia, where France was endeavouring to establish her influence, a treaty was concluded, binding the sovereign to resist the passage of any European force through his country towards India.

The usual term of a Governor-General's residence being completed, lord Minto resigned in 1813, and proceeded to England. He came at the time when a material alteration was at hand in the position of the East India Company. By the Statute of Queen Anne, and by successive Acts of Parliament, the Company had the exclusive privilege, as regarded English subjects, of trading to all places east of the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the straits of Magalhaens. In March, 1813, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee to consider the affairs of the East India Company. The Government proposed that the charter of the Company should be renewed for twenty years, during which term they should retain the exclusive trade to China, but that the trade to India should be thrown open on certain conditions. The Government also proposed to appoint a bishop for India, and three archdeacons. The Committee examined various witnesses. The first witness was Warren Hastings, then eighty years of age. He expressed his decided opinion that the settlement of Europeans would be fraught with danger to the peace of the country and the security of the Company, and that the trade between India and England, as then regulated, was far more beneficial than if perfectly free. On the subject of the propagation of Christianity in India, and the proposed episcopal establishment, his evidence is described as having evinced "a most philosophic indifference." * The debates in both House on the Resolutions occupied four months of the session. A Bill was finally passed by which the trade to India was thrown open as proposed, the territorial and commercial branches of the Company's affairs were separated, and the king was empowered to create a bishop of India, and three archdeacons, to be paid by the Company.

Lord Minto was succeeded as Governor-General by the earl of Moira, afterwards marquess of Hastings, who took possession of the government on the 4th of October, 1813. During 1814 and

* Thornton, "British Empire in India," vol. iv. p. 228.

1815 there was war between the British and the Nepaulese. This is sometimes called the Gorkha war, from that portion of Nepaul which surrounded Gorkha, the capital, and which was originally subject to the separate rule of one of the princes of the Nepaul dynasty. The Gorkhas at the period of the government of the marquess of Hastings were subjecting all the smaller states to their dominion, and were able to maintain an army of twelve thousand disciplined men, who were clothed and accoutred like the British sepoys. As they advanced towards the British possessions on the northern frontier, they manifested a desire to try their strength against the Company's troops, and exhibited their ill-will in 1814 by attacking two police-stations in the districts of Goruckpoor and Sarun, and by massacring all the troops in the garrisons there. The first operations of the British troops were unsuccessful; but in 1815 Sir David Ochterlony was enabled to dislodge the Gorkhas from their hill-forts, and to compel their commander, Ammer Singh, to capitulate. A treaty of peace was concluded at the end of 1815, but its ratification by the Rajah being withheld, a large British army advanced to Khatmandu, the present capital of Nepaul. The treaty was ratified and the war concluded at the beginning of 1816. Some portions of territory were ceded to the Company; but for the most part the chiefs who had been expelled by the conquering Gorkhas were restored to their ancient possessions.

The province of Malwa was the chief seat of a body of freebooters, the Pindarees, who carried on a war of devastation with peaceful neighbours, and were more formidable from their want of that political organization which constitutes a state. They lived in separate societies of one or two hundred, governed each by its chief, but they were always ready to combine under one supreme chief for the purposes of their marauding expeditions. In 1814 fifteen thousand horsemen were assembled on the north bank of the Nerbudda, under a leader named Cheetoo. In October, 1815, they seized the opportunity of our troops being engaged in the Nepaulese war to cross the Nerbudda, and having plundered and devastated a territory of our ally, the Nizam of the Deccan, recrossed the Nerbudda to prepare for another raid with a greater force. Between the 5th of February and the 17th of May, 1816, they had again collected an immense booty, with which they retired, not only having devastated the lands of our allies, but within the Company's frontiers having plundered more than three hundred villages and put to death or tortured more than four thousand individuals. These fierce and successful attacks of the Pindarees were not solely instigated by their own desire for the rich booty of peaceful provinces. They would scarcely have ventured to defy the British power had they not been secretly supported by a confederacy of Mahratta potentates. The Governor-General had obtained certain information that the Peishwa, the Rajah of Nagpore, Scindia, Holkar the younger, and Ameer Khan, were preparing in concert with the Pindarees to invade the Company's territories whilst our troops were engaged in the Nepaulese war. The Governor-General, at the conclusion of the peace with Nepaul, applied to the authorities at home for permission to carry on the war with the Pindarees upon a great scale. Till this permission should arrive he had only to keep the Bengal army in advanced cantonments. When his warrant for extended operations did arrive, the marquess of Hastings was ready with an army in each of the three presidencies to take the field against the Pindarees, and against all their open or secret supporters. The immensity of his preparations, says a French writer, was determined by the importance of his designs. "The Governor-General took the resolution to complete the plan conceived long before and pursued without relaxation by his predecessors—the absolute conquest of the Peninsula."* Whether or no such a design, which was regarded at home as a dream of ambition, had urged the marquess of Hastings to undertake a war of enormous magnitude, it is quite certain that the issue of that war was another most decided advance in the assertion of our supremacy, which manifestly tended to "the absolute conquest of the Peninsula."

At the end of September, 1817, orders were issued for a simultaneous movement of the army of Bengal under the command of the Governor-General, of the army of the Deccan under the command of sir Thomas Hislop, and of various corps from different stations, each marching to points from which the Pindarees could be surrounded, and at the same time their Mahratta and other supporters prevented from uniting their forces. It is not within our limits to attempt any detail of this very complicated warfare. The war with the Pindarees was terminated in the spring of 1818, with the entire destruction or dispersion of these terrible marauders. The best historian of the events which led to this most desirable result is sir John Malcolm, who was himself one of the most active and sagacious of the British commanders. Their complete extinction has been graphically described by him: "Within five years after their name had spread terror and dismay over all India, there remained not a spot that a

* "Annuaire Historique," 1818, p. 357.

Pindaree could call his home. They had been hunted like wild beasts, numbers had been killed, all ruined, those who espoused their cause had fallen. Early in the contest they were shunned like a contagion,—the timid villagers whom they had so recently oppressed were among the foremost to attack them." *

On the 5th of November the Governor-General had extorted by the presence of his powerful army a treaty with Scindia, in which that Mahratta chief engaged to aid in the destruction of the Pindarees. That army was at this moment attacked by an enemy far more dangerous than any which it would be likely to encounter in the field. It was encamped on low ground, on the banks of a tributary of the Jumna. The Indian cholera morbus, which had broken out at Jessore, had ascended the valley of the Ganges, and reaching the camp of the main British army destroyed in little more than a week one-tenth of the number there crowded together. The camp was broken up and the army marched on, in the hope of reaching some spot where the disease would be less fatal. It was the end of November before the remnant of this fine army having reached Erech, on the Bettwa river, the pestilence seemed to have exhausted its force. During its rage the marquess of Hastings fully expected to be a victim; for his personal attendants were dropping all around him. Bury me in my tent, he said, lest the enemy should hear of my death, and attack my disheartened troops. Scindia had seized the opportunity, not to render aid against the Pindarees, but to invite them to come into his territory. The cholera passed away, and the Governor-General hurried back to his former position to cut off the possible junction between the marauding bands and Scindia's troops. In the remaining months of 1817 and the beginning of 1818 the Mahratta confederacy was utterly broken up by the successes of the British. The Rajah of Nagpore, after a battle of eighteen hours, was defeated, and his town of Nagpore taken on the 26th of November. Holkar was beaten on the 21st of December at the battle of Meehudpoor, and peace was concluded with him on the 6th of January. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas surrendered to the English in the following June, agreeing to abdicate his throne, and become a pensioner of the East India Company.

During the period of the administration of the marquess of Hastings Ceylon was entirely subjected to the British dominion. The Dutch had been in possession of the maritime provinces of this island from the beginning of the seventeenth century, whilst the interior, known as the kingdom of Kandy, was governed by

* Sir John Malcolm, "Memoir of Central India."

native princes, with whom the Dutch were continually at war. In 1796 these maritime provinces were wrested from the Dutch by a British armament, and our establishments there were rendered more secure by the acquiescence of the king of Kandy in this occupation of the coast districts. The British administration of Ceylon was not connected with that of the East India Company; it was a distinct possession of the crown, having been formally ceded by the Treaty of Amiens. In 1815 the king of Kandy had rendered himself so obnoxious to his subjects by a series of atrocities,—such as causing a mother to pound her children to death in a mortar,—that his deposition took place, and the British were invited by Kandian chiefs to take possession of his dominions. The conquest of the island was thus effected, and the natives had begun to taste the value of a just and merciful rule, when, in 1817, a rebellion broke out in the eastern provinces, and was with difficulty suppressed after a costly and sanguinary warfare of two years' duration. From 1819 to 1848 complete tranquillity prevailed in that island, and its material and moral condition were greatly advanced under intelligent and zealous governors. At Singapore, in 1819, sir Thomas Raffles established a factory on the south shore of the island, and in 1824, a cession in full sovereignty of this and the neighbouring islands was obtained by purchase from a person who claimed to be king of Jahore, and was afterwards raised to that throne. Malacca was ceded to the British in 1824 by treaty with the government of the Netherlands.

Had Mr. Canning become Governor-General of India when his appointment as successor of the marquess of Hastings was resolved upon, it may be doubted whether he could have carried through the policy which, as President of the Board of Control, he avowed in Parliament in 1819, upon the vote of thanks to the marquess of Hastings and the army in India:—"Anxious as I am for the prosperity and grandeur of our Indian empire, I confess I look upon its indefinite extension with awe. I earnestly wish that it may be possible for us to remain stationary where we are; and that what still exists of substantive and independent power in India may stand untouched and unimpaired. But this consummation, however much it may be desired, depends not on ourselves alone. Aggression must be repelled, and perfidy must be visited with its just reward. And while I join with the thinking part of the country in deprecating advance, who shall say that there is safety for such a power as ours in retrogradation?" * Of the prudence and wisdom of the theory of policy thus set forth, the nation at large,

* "Hansard," vol. xxxix. col. 882.

the East India Company, the great Indian administrators, never appeared to entertain the slightest doubt. But, practically, it was invariably found that without advance there would be retrogradation It was in vain that those who led the British armies in India must have felt what Mr. Canning expressed—with how much jealousy the House and country are in the habit of appreciating the triumphs of our arms in India; how our military operations, however successful, have always been considered as questionable in point of justice.* Lord Amherst, who in March 1823 embarked for India as Governor-General, had to pass through this almost inevitable process of entering upon a war of conquest with the most sincere desire to remain at peace. Within six or seven months after his arrival in India, he had to write to a friend at home :—"I have to tell you that I most unexpectedly find myself engaged in war with the king of Ava." † This was the war with the Birman Empire, which involved us in hostilities from March, 1824, to February, 1826. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the name of Birman signified a great warlike race that had founded various kingdoms, amongst which were Siam, Pegu, Ava, and Aracan. The kingdoms of Ava and Pegu were in a continued state of warfare, in which the Peguers were ultimately victorious. Ava had been conquered by them, when, in 1753, a man of humble origin but of great ability, who has been called "the Napoleon of the Hindo-Chinese peninsula," ‡ raised a small force, which, constantly increasing, expelled the conquerors and placed Alompra on the Birman throne." It has been remarked as equally curious and instructive, that "the last restoration of the Birman empire, and the foundation of ours in India were exactly contemporaneous. Clive and Alompra made their conquests at the same moment." § For nearly seventy years the British from the Ganges, and the Birmese from the Irawaddi, pushed their conquests, whether by arms or negotiation, till they met. Their inevitable rivalry soon led to hostilities. The Birmese had gradually subjugated the independent states which formerly existed between their frontiers and those of the Company. Lord Amherst, in the letter which we have already quoted, describes how they seized an island on which we had established a small military post, and when the Governor-General mildly complained to the king of Ava of this outrage, attributing it to the mistake of the local authorities, a force came down from Ava, "threatening to invade our territory

* "Hansard," vol. xxxix. col. 866. † "Diary of Lord Colchester," vol. iii. p. 316.
‡ "Annuaire Historique," 1824, p. 537. § "Edinburgh Review," vol. xlvii. p. 183.

from one end of the frontier to the other, and to re-annex the province of Bengal to the dominions of its rightful owner, the Lord of the White Elephant."

At the beginning of April the Bengal army embarked for Rangoon, the chief seaport of the Birman dominions, situated at the embouchure of the Irawaddi—according to lord Amherst "the Liverpool and Portsmouth of Ava." This important place was taken possession of almost without striking a blow; but the hope of the Governor-General that from thence he should be able to dictate the terms of a moderate and therefore lasting peace, was not very quickly realized. The British had to deal with the most warlike of their neighbours. The king of Ava called his people to arms. During the rainy season they had abundant time for preparation; and sir Archibald Campbell, who occupied Rangoon, felt the immediate necessity of fortifying it against the probable attack of a bold and persevering enemy. An enormous pagoda, more than three hundred feet high, became a citadel, garrisoned by a battalion of European troops, and the smaller Bhuddist temples assumed the character of fortresses. During June and July the Birmese made repeated attacks upon the British positions, but were as constantly repelled. On the night of the 30th of August, when the astrologers had decided that an attack upon this sacred place would free the country from the impious strangers, a body of troops called Invulnerables advanced to the northern gateway. A terrible cannonade was opened upon these dense masses, and they fled at once to the neighbouring jungle.

The Birmese were more successful in their offensive operations in Bengal. Under the command of an officer called Maha Bandoola, the Aracan army advanced to Ramoo, and completely routed a detachment of native infantry. The alarm was so great in Calcutta that the native merchants were with difficulty persuaded to remain with their families, and the peasants almost universally fled from their villages. The Birmese, however, did not advance. The British had taken some important places of the Birman territory, and Maha Bandoola was recalled by the Lord of the White Elephant for the defence of his Golden Empire. In December Maha Bandoola brought sixty thousand fighting men to make one overwhelming attack upon Rangoon. For seven days there was severe fighting. The Birmese troops were repeatedly driven from their stockades, and at last, when they advanced on the 7th of December for a grand attack on the great pagoda, they were driven back into their entrenchments, and after severe fighting were chased into the jungle.

In February, 1825, Sir Archibald Campbell began to move up the Irawaddi into the interior of the Birman empire. As part of his force advanced to attack the formidable works of Donoopew, they were repulsed, and the retreat was so precipitate that the wounded men were not carried off. The barbarity in warfare of the Birmese was notorious. These unfortunate men were all crucified, and their bodies sent floating down the river upon rafts. On the 25th of March sir Archibald Campbell undertook the siege of Donoopew. For a week there had been an incessant fire from our mortars and rockets, and the breaching batteries were about to be opened, when two Lascars, who had been taken prisoners, came to the camp, and said that the chiefs and all the Birmese army had fled, for that Maha Bandoola had been killed the day before by one of our shells. By the possession of Donoopew the navigation of the Irawaddi became wholly under our command. The army continued to advance, and Prome was occupied at the end of April. The rainy monsoon now set in, and there was a suspension of operations. In the middle of November and beginning of December there were two great battles, in the latter of which the Birmese were thoroughly discomfited. Overtures of peace were now made, but their object was only to gain time. At the beginning of 1826 there was severe fighting as the British advanced towards Ava. Repeated defeats and the approach of a conquering army compelled the king really to sue for peace when the British had reached Yandaboo, only forty-five miles from the capital. He had previously refused to ratify preliminaries which had been concluded on the 3rd of January, in announcing which event to her friends at home lady Amherst described herself "in the highest state of exultation and joy."* The vigorous operations of sir Archibald Campbell, who had defeated a large army styled "The Retrievers of the King's glory," had finally compelled the treaty of Yandaboo, which was signed on the 24th of February. By this treaty the king of Ava agreed to renounce all claims upon the principality of Assam and its dependencies; to cede in perpetuity the conquered provinces of Aracan, of Yeh, of Tavoy, of Mergui, and of Tenasserim; and to pay the sum of one crore of rupees towards the expenses of the war. He further agreed that accredited British ministers should be allowed to reside at Ava; that an accredited Birmese minister should reside at Calcutta; and that free trade to British subjects should be allowed in the Birmese dominions.

The fierce conflict of two years on the banks of the Irawaddi presented a memorable example of that courage and endurance

* Lord Colchester's "Diary," vol. iii. p. 430.

which eventually overcomes dangers and difficulties apparently insuperable. It has been truly said by an officer engaged in this war, "Perhaps there are few instances on record in the history of any nation of a mere handful of men, with constitutions broken down by many months of previous disease and privation, forcing their way in the face of such difficulties, and through a wilderness hitherto untrodden by Europeans, to the distance of five hundred miles from the spot where they originally disembarked, and ultimately dictating a peace within three days' march of the enemy's capital."* During these land operations, with all this bravery and fortitude of the little army, it would have been impossible to succeed without the active co-operation of a flotilla on the rivers. The naval assistance thus rendered is memorable for "the employment of a power then for the first time introduced into war—steam. The steam-vessel had been very useful, not merely in carrying on communications with despatch but in overcoming formidable resistance."†

During the last year of the Birmese war the East India Company became engaged in a new conflict, for the purpose of protecting a native prince, with whom we were in alliance, against an usurper. The Rajah of Bhurtpore, before his death, at the beginning of 1825, had declared his son to be his successor, and had included him in the treaty of alliance with the Company. The nephew of the deceased prince raised a revolt against this succession. Many of the native princes looked on anxiously to see if the British, with the Birmese war on their hands, would put forth any strength to maintain one of their devoted adherents. In the streets of Delhi the populace had shouted, "The rule of the Company is at an end." The prince who had been expelled had been assured by sir David Ochterlony that he should be supported. Lord Amherst was at first for non-interference. He knew that Bhurtpore had been deemed impregnable; and he might fear that, now occupied with an enormous force by the usurping Rajah, the same ill fortune might befall an attack upon the place as had befallen lord Lake in 1805, when he was beaten from the city by the Jauts, who had ever since regarded themselves as invincible. The Commander-in-Chief in India, lord Combermere, in his Peninsular experience as sir Stapleton Cotton, had seen what war was in its most difficult operations, and he could not despair of taking an

* Lieut.-Col. Alexander M. Tulloch, quoted in Mac Farlane's "Our Indian Empire," vol. ii. p. 325.

† Mr. Wynn, in debate on Vote of Thanks to the Army, "Hansard," vol. xvii. col. 668.

Indian fortress when he recollected the terrible sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. He had just come to India to succeed sir Edward Paget in the chief command. The duke of Wellington described his old companion-in-arms as having lost no time in joining the army on his arrival in India, and as having travelled upwards of a thousand miles in ten days, in order that he might begin the operations at a proper season. "He had commenced those operations," says the duke, "carried them on with that vigour and activity which insured their success, and had closed them by a military feat which had never been surpassed by any army upon any occasion." * Lord Combermere, upon his arrival before Bhurtpore, addressed a letter to the usurper, requesting him to send out the women and children, who should have safe-conduct. This humane request was not acceded to. On the 23rd of November the bombardment commenced. On the morning of the 18th of January the assault began at the signal given by the explosion of a mine, which utterly destroyed the whole of the salient angle of the fortress. Our troops rushed in at the breaches. In two hours the whole rampart, though obstinately defended, was in our possession, and early in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. The formidable works of Bhurtpore were afterwards destroyed; the rightful prince was reinstated; and the people returned to their allegiance. The rapid and decided success of lord Combermere dissipated the fears which bishop Heber had expressed to his friends at home at the beginning of the siege. He thought that should lord Combermere fail, "all Northern and Western India, every man who owns a sword and can buy or steal a horse, will be up against us, less from disliking us than in the hope of booty."

Before concluding this notice of the affairs of India during the administration of three governors-general, we must advert to a matter of important controversy—the regulation of the Press in India. The first newspaper published under the rule of the Company was one established at Calcutta in 1781. Other newspapers were set up during the next twenty years. In 1799, under the administration of the marquess Wellesley, regulations were issued for the newspaper press, the most important of which was that no paper should be published until it had been previously inspected by the Secretary to the government, or by a person duly authorized by him. The penalty for contravening these regulations was immediate embarkation for Europe. Mr. James Mill, in his "History of British India," describes the Indian press as a great nuisance, in its indecorous attacks upon private life,

* "Hansard," vol. xvii. col. 771.

and its ignorant censures of public measures, to control which lord Wellesley's regulations were framed. In 1818 the marquess of Hastings promulgated new regulations, which did not attempt to establish a censorship, but prohibited animadversions on proceedings in England connected with the government of India; discussions on the political transactions of local administration; private scandal; and disquisitions having a tendency to create alarm amongst the natives as to the probability of any interference with their religious opinions or ceremonies. In 1816 Mr. James Silk Buckingham, who had obtained a licence to reside in Calcutta, purchased the copyright of two of the newspapers published there, and amalgamated them under the title of "The Calcutta Journal." Although the marquess of Hastings had abolished the censorship previous to publication, he had established a tribunal whose business it was to watch the statements and opinions of the Indian newspaper press, and to give to their conductors that sort of warning with which we are familiar enough in the control of the press in a neighbouring country. In India a neglect of such warnings would be followed by the deportation of the offending proprietor, if not by a total suppression of the journal in which he had embarked his property. Mr. Buckingham, according to a statement of Dr. Phillimore in the House of Commons, received three such warnings previous to the marquess of Hastings resigning his administration, one of which, in 1822, was called for by his offence in traducing the government of India respecting the kingdom of Oude.* Mr. Adam, during the interval in which he administered the government previous to the arrival of lord Amherst, took a very summary mode to put an end to the freedom of Mr. Buckingham's strictures upon Indian affairs, and especially of a freedom most obnoxious to the authorities—the disposal of their patronage. The appointment by Mr. Adam of a Scotch clergyman, the head of the Presbyterian establishment in India, to the lucrative agency through which the government was supplied with stationery, called forth the animadversions of "The Calcutta Journal." Mr. Adam immediately annulled Mr. Buckingham's licence to remain in India, adding the threat that if he were found in the country after two months he should be sent to England as a prisoner. Mr. Buckingham transferred his paper to a British-born subject of the name of Arnot. At the period of lord Amherst's arrival, by a series of arbitrary proceedings the deportation of Mr. Arnot was effected; "The Calcutta Journal" suppressed; and its circulation merged in a

* "Hansard," vol. xv. col. 1013.