

SIMMONDS ' S COLONIAL MAGAZINE.

OPERATIONS IN GWALIOR.

GWALIOR, as our readers well know, has long been a subject of earnest discussion in all circles where the interests of our **Indian** Empire are habitually canvassed. Last year it began to assume a very prominent position in **the** political horizon. Most persons foresaw that a military occupation was at hand, and though some doubted its justice, all acknowledged its expediency. What could be more dangerous to us, in fact, than a country, whose **superficies** is thirty-two thousand square miles, and whose population amounts to four millions, continuing from month to month in a state, if not always of anarchy, yet of excitement closely bordering upon, and occasionally degenerating into it; and this in the very heart of **our** empire, and in the neighborhood of the disturbed province of Bundelkund? The advocates of peace, though granting these premises, would not allow the conclusion, They exclaimed against the contemplated aggression, talked of the eternal principles of humanity, alluded to **Sinde**, called **Affghanistan** to mind, and abused the Governor-General. They refused to remember that justice has two scales, and that it was our business to weigh the injustice of forbearance to ourselves and the population of India, against the injustice of interfering in the affairs of a barbarous state governed by incapable hands, and threatening the tranquillity of its neighbours, if not by actual aggression, yet by example and encouragement. For it is not to be supposed that revolutionary movements can be carried on in Indian states any more than elsewhere without surrounding **countries** experiencing something of the shock, without an uneasiness and a restlessness being communicated to the **neighbouring** populations—a sort of undefined craving after change, a kind of impulse of imitation. No governor, moreover, ruling over a conquered people, has a right to allow the feelings of that people to be excited in this manner; knowing well that an outbreak may occur which must be quenched in streams of

blood, It was in this light that the Government of India looked upon Gwalior ; it regarded it as a dangerous example, as an **unseemly** contrast to the otherwise tranquil surface of society south of the **Sutledge**, and it felt that it was called upon to put a stop to this state of things, The steps it took were decisive, and for a time, at least, no danger may henceforth be expected from the **Mahrattas of Gwalior**.

The public at home seem to have but a very indistinct notion of all these doings. They have **heard** of a couple of victories gained, of one or two proclamations, of an accession of territory, of the acquirement of paramount influence at the Court of Sindiah without depriving him of his kingdom : but how all this was effected, except by the very intelligible agency of the bayonet ; **what** was the previous state of the country ; what the nature of the parties that distracted it ; what were the secret springs that moved them ; what the real motives that actuated the **British** ; and what are the final arrangements entered into, very few **persons** indeed seem to know. Much more pains have been taken in elucidating the **affair** of Lady Gough **and** her elephant, in discussing the Indian Stars that are to be distributed to the troops, and in determining the precise 'amount of praise due to **Lord** Ellenborough for his timely distribution of oranges to the wounded, than in studying the **important** circumstances to which we have alluded. We shall therefore sketch, for the information of our readers, an outline of the whole **proceedings**.

The capital of the territory of Sindiah *was* formerly Oojein, one of the most ancient and best-built cities in **Hindustán**, containing eighty thousand inhabitants. It is **full** of temples, **mausoleums**, and other remarkable edifices, and is renowned for its schools **and its observatory** ; it is situated on the first meridian of the **Hindú** geographers, In **spite** of these advantages, the seat of empire was removed in the early **part** of the present **century** to the fortress of Gwalior, which **is** of great **extent** and **magnificent** aspect, towering above a **town** perfectly **undefended**, except by gates placed at the **entrances of the** streets,

In giving a history of the political events which led to the recent affairs in Gwalior, we shall **not** go **further** back **than** 1827, because all that **occurred** before belongs properly to another cycle of events. In **that** year died Dowlat **Rao** Siidiah, after a reign of more than twenty years. He had always proved friendly to the British, owing indeed his elevation to them ; and had he **left** any issue, matters would probably have gone on quietly enough until now. But not only was he without children-he had not even any male relations. Under these circumstances, **Bhaizi Bhaï**, his widow, adopted, with the sanction of the British government, a distant member of the family as heir to the

throne. Some difficulty was experienced in making the election. It is probable that the **next** of kin was not by any means sought for, but one who **would** be found most ductile by the **Bhai**. Murgat Rao was at length fixed upon, though, to make him out of royal blood, it was necessary to trace the deceased Sindiah back for seven generations, and then (a still more **difficult** task) bring down the descent of a collateral branch to the young boy in question.

This matter, however, having been satisfactorily arranged, Murgat was placed on the guddee with the title of Junkooji Sindiah, and the **Bhaizi** of course became Regent: but this lady did not manage **affairs** so prudently as was expected. At any rate, she was soon expelled **along** with her brother, **Hinda** Rao, who had acted as her Minister, and another Regency appointed, until the Maharaja assumed the management of his own affairs, or rather until it was thought fit to invest him with some appearance of authority ; for so degraded was he by debauchery and sensuality, in which, it is said, he was encouraged by those about him, for the express purpose of rendering him unfit for government, that his will never influenced in the slightest degree the course of affairs.

This puppet-prince also died last year, on the 7th of February, not without suspicion of murder being attached to his **young** wife and her paramour, the Dada Rhasjiewalla, who will figure **prominently** in these pages. Like his predecessor, **Junkooji** left no heir to the crown. At this time, accordingly, it is contended, with reason, that the British Government should have stepped in and annexed the state of Gwalior to the Company's territories ; but a short-sighted moderation induced us to consent to another adoption; and the new **Bhai**, or dowager, a very young woman, almost a girl, was allowed to place on the guddee another boy, with the title of Jyahji Rao Sindiah, and to form a regency consisting of herself and Mama Sahib, the former Prime Minister. All this, we say, received the sanction of the **Governor-General**. But there was an officer in the state who enjoyed opportunities, and possessed the will to disturb these arrangements. This was the hereditary Chamberlain of the princes of Gwalior, who had obtained an influence over the mind and heart of the young and inexperienced Maharance extremely prejudicial to the interests of her kingdom. This, we say, was the famous Khasjie, a name **first** bestowed on the favorite in the private apartments of the harem, and **afterwards** borne by him as a **recognised sobriquet**. Influenced by her personal **affection** for him the Regent got up a cabal, the consequence of which was, that Mama Sahib was expelled from the country; and all those of

his party who were suspected of remaining firm to him were deprived of office. The Dada was now appointed Minister, with Bapoo Sitoolia and Oodaji Ghatkai, a relation of the **Bhaï**, as colleagues.

Among the reasons alleged by the Regent as excuses for having excited the revolution, which terminated in the expulsion of the Mama Sahib, were that he made use of the entrance into the private apartments of the palace set apart for the exclusive use of the ladies ; that he carried off a **favorite** female servant of the **Bhaï** ; that he removed all but four slaves from the apartments ; that he coined money in his own house ; and that he committed divers acts of oppression and peculation. Supposing, however, that these charges were all true, the Dada was put in his place to perform acts for the most part precisely similar, with this important difference, that he was hostile to the British Government. **The** real fact was that Mama Sahib was personally disagreeable to the Regent, and had always evinced a friendly disposition towards us. For these reasons, no sooner had a revolution expelled him, and placed the **Khasjje** in power, than the latter, perhaps out of mere opposition, began openly to insult the British, and all who evinced any friendship towards them. Colonel Speers, the Resident, accordingly, having remonstrated with the Regent, retired from Gwalior to Dholepore, taking with him the small contingent which he had previously commanded, and which was officered by Englishmen.

But it was not the intention of the British Government to confine itself to this mark of its displeasure. It easily foresaw that the usurped **power of the Dada** would be exerted in a manner injurious to our interests ; and its foreboding was confirmed, when all those who were favorable to us were **expelled** from power, and others known to be inimical, were advanced to favor. We did not, however, **immediately** interfere, contenting ourselves with assembling a large force called the **Army of Exercise** at Agra, and another in Bundelkund. Colonel **Slee-**man, our agent in the latter province, was ordered to include the territories of Sindiah within the sphere of his operations; and **Sir** Richmond Shakespeare was appointed as his assistant, to reside at Dholepore. The office of Resident was totally abolished. But though the **Army of Exercise** was collected, it was not until **Khasjiewalla** virtually usurped the supreme authority, by withholding a letter addressed by the British Government to the Regent, that it was resolved to enforce the demand previously made for the surrender of the person of the obnoxious Dada.

Before proceeding further, we shall take a view of the military state of Gwalior, which is absolutely necessary to the **comprehension** of the

subsequent events we shall have to relate. In 1805 the fort of Gwalior was transferred to Dowlat Rao Sindiah, whose capital was previously Oojein. He immediately left this latter city, in spite of its scientific celebrity, and took up his residence in the strong military position he had newly acquired. A new town, or rather permanent camp, still called the "Lushkur," now sprung up, of very extraordinary formation. Each brigade had its separate quarter, more or less fortified, and called, from a corruption of the European term, "campoo." The dnrbar, and all the offices connected with the ministry and the court, were-transferred thither ; and thus the civil and military government stood face to face as it were, whilst the governed, in their cities and villages, were far removed from either.

It will easily be seen that this arrangement was sure to bestow on the class with arms in their hands some considerable influence in the management of affairs. Like the Prætorian Guards and the Janissaries, the denizens of the "campos" learned to keep an eye on the doings of their rulers, and to interfere therein occasionally, whether for good or for evil. Pretexts were never wanting; for, according to the established custom in the East, pay was always in arrears.

The "brigades" we have mentioned, are the remains of the regular army raised and brought to so high a state of efficiency by the famous De Boigne. Under his successor, M. Perron, they became comparatively reduced and disorganized by the several defeats they received from the British forces under Sir Arthur Wellesley and Lord Lake. Of late years, their composition has very much resembled that of the East India Company's army. They have generally averaged from twenty-five to thirty battalions of regular infantry, making a total of between fifteen and twenty thousand men, though the number was increased considerably last November, by hasty levies. They are equipped like the Sipahis in the British service, and chiefly officered by Armenians, Portuguese, and h&castes, descendants from the old European officers of the brigades, who have brought them to a tolerable state of efficiency. This proves how injudicious it is for the Company to allow any native ruler in India to receive European military men into their service. We shall be glad to see the day when not one of these foreign mercenaries is tolerated east of the Indus. As it is, the drill and discipline of the Gwalior army are pretty good ; and the pay has always nearly equalled that which we ourselves give. Each battalion has four field-pieces attached; but there is, in addition, a very powerful park of artillery, called the jinsee. This has always been considered the main strength of the army, and no pains or expense has been spared in keeping it in good condition.

The Gwalior cavalry has generally amounted to about ten thousand men, of which about three thousand five hundred are called the **Pagah**, or household troops, mounted on horses belonging to the state, and receiving a high rate of pay. Amongst these is a small body of **Ekhas**, or chosen men, clothed in complete **armour**, and looked upon as the champions of the army. The men of this corps are all Mahrattas, whilst the infantry is chiefly composed of natives of Oude, Behar, the Doab, **Rohilkund**, and Bundelkund. The remainder of the cavalry, to the number of six thousand, are Silladar horse, on the same footing as the irregular **cavalry** in the Company's service. Such is or rather was the amount of regular troops mustered by Gwalior. **In** addition, they had generally five or six regiments of Nujeebs, or semi-regulars, called the Gole regiments, armed with matchlocks, and could gather almost any **amount** of Mahratta and **Pindarree** horse on an emergency; though this sort of force is of little avail, except in skirmishing and plundering—a service in which they are extremely proficient, knowing well how to enact the part of a scourge wherever they go.

Colonel Jacob, before our arrival, commanded the most powerful brigade, consisting of ten regular regiments or battalions, and **two irregular** ones; **Bapoo** Sitoolia had another, better known as the Maharaja's own brigade; Major **Secunder** a third; and the **Bhai's father**, **Ghorepurra**, a fourth. Each of the brigades, it must be remembered, **occupied** a separate campoo, and gave its name to it.

The great jinsee, or park of artillery, to which two regiments, those of **Rama** and Futteh **Mansor**, are attached, was for several years under the orders of the veteran Colonel **Baptiste**, who **also** commanded the **Alijah** and light battalions; but at the time of the late battles it was under Jeswuot **Rao** Bhow, a celebrated Mahratta chieftain. Whether **from** prudence or from a desire to remain with the chief part of his guns, **which** were left to protect the Lushkur, he did not go out to fight. Before Baptiste was discarded, the jinsee had about fifty serviceable guns; but as soon as the **Khasjiewalla** came into power, one hundred pieces were put into thorough order; besides the great jinsee, there is a small **one** with eighteen guns in Jacob's campoo, and another with twenty-three, in that of **Sitoolia**, over and above those pieces which are attached to the several corps. . . .

We have observed that the presence of this **formidable** array of troops in the neighborhood of the durbar must necessarily have influenced its public deliberations. It was by a military movement that the **Khasjiewalla** effected his purpose of **displacing** Mama Sahib; and it was, the soldiers who, of their own accord, on the 16th of July, 1843, dismissed their superior officers, who seemed extremely favorable to the

British. This they did not perform in the gentlest possible way; and it is only surprising that they confined themselves to insulting and beating them without proceeding to extremities. The fact was that Jacob and Baptiste were themselves rather inclined to the Mama's party at first, though afterwards the former favored the **Khasjiewalla**.

During the insurrection two or three native Portuguese officers joined the soldiery and assisted in turning out and ill-using their brethren ; for which, **afterwards**, on occasion of the rising of the Maharaj campoo—which will presently be described—they were severely punished with shoe beating. Jacob and Baptiste were immensely rich, and the latter **was** expected to be plundered. The Khasjie wished him on one occasion, as soon as he thought he had consolidated his power, to receive back his command ; but the veteran refused, **alleging** his extreme old age.

For a long time, as we have said, large arrears of pay had been due to the soldiery, and they had accordingly begun to be very turbulent. When they had expelled the Armenian and Portuguese commanders, and accepted others appointed by the Khasjiewalla, the latter began to imagine that he had placed his power upon a **firmer** basis. But this was by no means the case. In the Durbar, at which all the Sirdars and great military commanders assembled to give their advice, it was soon perceived that Sitoolia, the commandant of the Maharaj campoo, and the person named as chief assistant to the Dada in the government, was endeavoring to form a party. This **Sirdar**, moreover, seems to have been in great favor with his own soldiers, though he was disliked and suspected by the Bhai.

We must here call the attention of our readers to the fact that Babs Jacob, as his men familiarly termed him, still retained his authority over his regiment, although they had several times mutinied against him. Not being a native, he did not put himself very prominently forward in the conflict of parties, fearing to encounter the fate of the Christian **officers who had** formerly been his coadjutor. Thus Jacob's **campoo** remained 'at **first** neutral ; whilst Colonel Sekunder (son of Babee **Sekunder**) adhered to the Khasjie, as did the jinsee, or park of artillery, **remodelled** and strengthened by the usurper. Ghorepurra, **also**, the **Bhai's** father, lent a partial adherence to this party, though he secretly entertained the design of setting up for himself.

On the other hand, Sitoolia's campoo (containing, as we have said, eight regiments, and called the Campoo **Kalan**, or Great Camp,) formed the nucleus of a second great party, which, by its unity, was well calculated to cope with the other.

Throughout the whole, however, of the troops, but **especially** those of the **jinsee**, much insubordination prevailed, The Khasjie himself

was continually insulted; and, he at length became alarmed for his safety. Letters, too, coming in day after day from the **Governor-General**, dictating terms, and demanding his person from the **Bhāi**, did not contribute to ease the mind of the usurper. In vain did the Regent depute the Sirdar Oodaji Ghatkai to wait upon the Resident who had retired to Dholepore. No satisfactory answer could be obtained; and the **Khasjīe**, apprehensive of his own troop as much as of the vengeance of the British, at length never left the **Bara**, fortifying himself therein, and remaining constantly with the **Bhāi**, though his own house was but a very short distance from the palace walls.

At length matters came to a crisis. The **Sipabis** of the **Maharaj campoo**, instigated, secretly, no doubt, by Sitoolia, being joined for a time by those of the great jinsee, determined on effecting a revolution. They accordingly gave the signal, by mounting heavy guns on a high elevation, commanding the palace, and making preparations to level it with the ground. The **Khasjiewalla**, being informed of their proceedings, ordered **Anunt Ram**, with the **Alijah** and light battalions, and the cavalry attached, with twelve guns, to assault the rebels. This commander accordingly took up his position; but the **Sipabis** of the **Maharaj campoo** attacked and gained possession of his guns, aishans, drums, horses, and trappings, and made prisoners all the native officers, whom they treated to a taste of shoe-leather on their naked skulls. They compelled, also, all the vanquished privates to join them. Meanwhile **Anunt Ram**, their commander, hid himself in a shop, from which he endeavored to escape in a female disguise; but was discovered by the enraged soldiery, who beat him most unmercifully, and bore him, bound naked to a gun, into their campoo.

Next morning the troops were still in insurrection, vowing vengeance against the **Khasjiewalla**, for having caused a quarrel with the British Government, and refusing to obey **Sitoolia**, who endeavored to quell them. **Sekunder's** troops, far from aiding the **Khasjīe**, actually remained in observation, waiting for the course of events; and **Colonel Jacob** also looked on without attempting to do anything. In vain did the **Khasjīe** send to the insurgent troops, offering pay and whatever they wanted. They indignantly refused, demanding his person, and declaring they would be satisfied with nothing less. Upon this he retired to the **Zenana**, and took possession of the young **Raja**, threatening to stab* him if any attempt were made against his own life. But the **Sipahis**, heedless of the orders and persuasions of **Sitoolia**, **Sumbahji** and **Ram Rao**, replied with scorn, and ranged over the city with drawn swords and clubs, apprehending the **partizans** of the **Khasjīe**, and loudly promising to have him in their power before long.

Next day, that is, Saturday, the 28th of October, Sitoolia and his adherents showed openly that they entertained no distaste for these proceedings, by repairing to the Maharaj campoo, and holding a **consultation** as to the best means of apprehending the usurper and his accomplices. All expressed a decided aversion to blood shedding; and when an attack was determined on, they pushed their moderation so far as to order it should be done with “**loóttas**” or clubs. Accordingly, all the regiments of the campoo, armed with these weapons, poured forth **and** besieged the palace, preparing to **escalade** it. Upon this Khasjiewalla retired to the females’ apartments for refuge. Here he was received and protected during the night, while the Sipahis without were with difficulty restrained by their prudent commander from bursting in. But on the morning of the **29th**, 500 **Sipahis**, armed with clubs, entered the palace. No resistance was made, and they soon advanced to the Zenana, and surrounded it. They then sent **in** to the **Bhaï**, telling her that if the Khasjie was not delivered over to them they would violate the sanctity of her apartments, and force their way in and seize him themselves. She hesitated and **expostulated**, demanding a promise of honorable treatment ; but they rushed in, and dragging him forth, conducted him in triumph to their camp. **Bapoo** Sitoolia now became his gaoler, and he was put in close confinement; whilst Sitoolia, with the **Bhaï’s** reluctant consent, assumed the management of affairs, and endeavored to enter into a treaty with **our Resident**, who was still at Dholepore.

In the first exuberance of victory the **Sipahis** demanded the **expulsion** of the **Tara Bhaï** and her father Ghorepurra, a disgrace to the Mahratta nation ; but they subsequently cooled down, or rather fresh divisions among themselves came to turn away their thoughts. **Sekunder’s** **campoo**, indeed, the former soldiers of **Anunt Ram**, and the **jiusee**, now appeared on the scene as a **fresh** party demanding the release of Khasjie, and the manifestation of an anti-British ‘feeling; whilst the Maharaj campoo, joined by Jacob and his ten regiments, refused to accede to this request. The **Bhd**, of course, encouraged Sekunder, who wanted a thousand Bundeelas to join him, and prepared with their assistance to fight for victory. **Babee Sekunder**, his mother, alias Miss Smith, took up her quarters in the palace, and removed as much treasure as possible into her son’s camp, in order to raise new troops. The whole Lushkur was now in confusion. The Sipahis of the Maharaj campoo loudly threatened the life of the **Bhaï** and their prisoner the Khasjie; whilst the **Bhaï** in her-turn laid plots to murder Sitoolia and his companions,

Affairs remained in this position for nearly three weeks; but on

Sunday, the 19th of November, four companies of the Maharaj campoo, as they were parading the streets, encountered one of the regiments of Sekunder, which was proceeding to the palace. The former ordered the latter to return to their camp, bursting out into a shower of accusations against their female' commandant, Babee Sekunder, and her son. From words they came to blows, and Sekunder's men were the **first** to use their guns. This example was immediately followed by the opposite party, and a tremendous fight ensued, which lasted twenty-five minutes—each party receiving fresh accessions **from** their respective camps. At length the Sipahis of the Maharaj campoo gained the day, captured their enemies' guns, and repulsed them with the loss of many lives. This news, of course, soon spread to the palace, and the Regent, though her party had got the worst of the **affair**, came to the determination of settling the whole by an appeal to arms. She accordingly ordered the native officers of the jinsee and Sekunder to march out with their whole force and storm the Maharaj campoo, enjoining them above all things to save the life of her beloved Khasjiewalla. Her wishes were complied with, and the formidable park of artillery began playing on the Maharaj campoo. But it happened that the guns were ill served, **doing** only a great deal of mischief to the innocent people of the Lushkur, **whereas** the volley, which soon began to be **returned** were exceedingly well directed. **The** roaring of cannon now became incessant, and **balls** flew about on every side. The batteries belonging to the jinsee were deliberately directed against the Koottee, the princely dwelling of its former commandant, Baptiste; and at length two pieces were sent on with a large force to storm and sack it; but the Januck battalion, commanded by Christian officers, seeing its **defenceless** position, obtained permission from Sitoolia, and by a manœuvre, acknowledged by all to have been executed with great ability, not only defeated their project, but succeeded in doing great damage to the jinsee. This was rewarded the next day with a present of four hundred rupees to buy sweetmeats. It is to be observed that the double-dealing Jacob, as soon as the battle began, **left** his regiments without giving them orders to assist the campoo; but Sitoolia sent him word that if he did not return and do so, he would punish him next day. Upon this he complied; and at length, after a desperate fight, Sekunder's troops and the jinsee were got under, though the cannonading did not cease until the morning.

During this disturbance, which cost the lives of more than six hundred men, what became of the Khasjiewalla, who was still a prisoner in the **hands** of the Maharaj campoo? On the report of the **first** gun, the Sipahis, according to their threat, brought him out, and were about to put **him to** death, -when Sitoolia and Ram **Rao** interfered, ordered thirty seers' weight of fetters to be put on his legs, and persuaded the soldiers that they must deliver him up to the Company alive. In this way they saved his life.

When the conflict had been brought to a close, Bapoo Sitoolia began to take advantage of the victory gained by his men to dictate terms to the humbled **Bhai**. In the first place, Rabee Sekunder, her female confidant, and the engine by which she had acted on the troops of the young Colonel Sekunder, himself only seventeen **years** of age, were